

**The Role of Welsh-language
Journalism in Shaping the
Construction of Welsh Identity and
the National Character of Wales**

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What role does journalism play? It's a central role. It's part of the way in which we identify ourselves and understand ourselves. The written word. The spoken word. They are critical.

Meri Huws

Welsh Language Commissioner

(Interview, August 2012)

Acknowledgements

This project marks the culmination of six years of study and research.

Numerous people have been key to making this happen over the period in question.

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Another special mention should be given to my late parents who installed the interest in Welsh matters and Welsh culture in general. Although born in Liverpool (which, some would say, is the ‘capital’ of North Wales if not all Wales), I was the first generation not to have been born in the country. I was brought up in a Welsh environment in Wirral where I would hear the language spoken at home and where I attended the Welsh chapel in Birkenhead where my late father was minister. I later studied music at the University of Wales and took, as part of the degree route, a first year of Welsh language studies.

Finally, and most especially, a particular word of thanks to my partner Mark Hanley who had to put up with moments of serious self-doubt and panic and flashes of occasional inspiration, as this sort of study will engender. All of these were met with genuine words of encouragement. He also produced gallons of tea while I was virtually chained to a computer or found myself elbows deep in books and documents.

GLYN MÔN HUGHES

Abstract

The Role of Welsh-language Journalism in Shaping the Construction of Welsh Identity and the National Character of Wales

Ever since Edward I subjugated the Welsh in 1282 and, a little over 250 years later, Henry VIII attempted to wipe the country off the map, Wales has lived in the overpowering shadow of its powerful English neighbour. Unlike Scotland, Wales did not develop its own legal and banking systems and symbols of national identity were slow to appear.

This thesis argues that, while many national institutions are relatively recent innovations, the Welsh language is the most potent symbol of national identity. More importantly, it argues that it was the journalists who used the language to communicate “Welshness”. They, in many ways, created a radical approach to politics, an antipathy towards the Established Church, an occasional suspicion of the country’s English neighbour, an interest in international affairs and an awareness of the rich cultural heritage of the country.

This argument has been pursued by way of a critical survey of the development of Welsh-language journalism. To date, there are no specific studies on this subject - particularly relatively recent developments since the advent of S4C in 1982. Indeed, little scholarly attention has been paid to the fast-developing world of on-line journalism and the use of social media as far as the Welsh language is concerned.

The main analytical focus of this thesis is to examine the impact of Welsh-language journalism on the national consciousness in Wales. This has been done through a series of case studies, content analyses and interviews with influential and experienced journalists and editors in all fields of journalism, namely print, broadcast and on-line.

The conclusion is that journalists reintroduced the Welsh people to their literature and poetry, they wrote about traditional music, they adopted a radical approach to national and international politics, they were sympathetic to the non-conformist religion of the majority of people and news was reported from a Welsh point of view. Indeed, the phrase *Welsh Renaissance* has been applied to the section of this thesis related to Early Periodicals.

There is considerable scope for further research. There is no history of solely Welsh-language journalism in a single volume. In recent years, journalism has moved on rapidly, as new forms of journalism have rapidly become established. There is little analysis of the effects of these outlets on Welsh consumers, let alone the effects of radio and television to any great degree. In addition, as Wales becomes more confident in the post-devolution era, Welsh journalism becomes more relevant and there is scope to chart how much influence Welsh-language journalism really has on its consumers.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“One is left not so much with a coherent notion of Welshness as with a sense of many conflicting and interlocking definitions of identity which actively compete for symbolic space and public recognition” (Bowie 1993, p.169).

1: 1 Welsh national identity: What is it?

National identity has been something of a Welsh problem for decades, if not centuries.

Dylan Thomas is, possibly, one of the most famous Welshmen ever to have lived. Yet his literary epitaph is all in English. That was his language. That language underlined his considerable literary skills and took Welshness, and with it Welsh identity, across the globe.

But, as Johnes (1998, p.146) said:

He encapsulated the ambiguities and uncertainties surrounding Wales and his Welshness. His own father had consciously not passed on the Welsh language to his son, despite naming him after a figure from medieval Welsh literature.

So there *is* the Welsh dichotomy. English speaking? Or Welsh through and through? Which language speaks for Wales? Does the dragon, as Professor Gwyn Alf Morgan put it in his ground-breaking series for HTV Wales in the 1980s, have two tongues? And why is the Welsh language, despite not being spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population of the country, always seen as one of the most defining of all national identities relating to Wales, even to those who do not speak it?

1: 2 Conflicts in Welsh history

Pritchard and Morgan (1999) drew attention to Wales's "sharply politicised and inherently conflictual" history, citing both Williams (1985) and Davies (1993). They further cite Thomas (1992, p.6) who suggested that from the very earliest historical period, Wales has been defined by conflict. The very word Cymru "was derived from Combrogos, a concept of an united people fighting against their enemies". In a similar vein, the English word for the country – Wales – derives from Wealas, Anglo-Saxon for foreign (Williams, 1985, p3; Adams 1996, p10) whilst Chapman (1992) has also commented on how the term "Celtic" served to distinguish non-Anglo-Saxons.

Pitchford (1994, p.37) has argued that the Act of Union with England of 1536 "marked the beginning of a sustained campaign of cultural homogenisation by the central state . . . Welsh . . . was banned for administrative and legal purposes . . . children were punished for speaking Welsh in schools." This process continued over centuries, with middle-class Victorians doing all they could to stamp out any cultural differences.

In Wales, this attempt at incorporation was highlighted by the desire of the English state to eradicate the Welsh language, the most obvious symbol of a culturally distinct country – a process which was repeated elsewhere in the British Isles with much greater success – as witnessed by the virtual eradication of Gaelic, Irish, Cornish and Manx (Thomas, 1992, cited by Pritchard and Morgan, 1999).

1: 3 The view from over the border

A *Times* editorial in 1866 talked of Welsh as an "isolated" language, a "dead" language and suggested that everyone should simply speak English. As late as 1996, Matthew Engel, writing in *The Guardian* (quoted in Heath, 1996, p.15), spoke of Wales as a "cowed" country, its people speaking a strange language and whose national anthem can, with impunity, be described as "gibberish". Others, such as Heffer (1997) and Wilson (1993) have felt a need to malign the Welsh, often demonstrating ignorance more than anything. Osmond and Balsom (1998, p.1) noted an increasing concern that the English continue to hold distorted impressions of the Welsh "compounded by widespread prejudices held by the English about

the Welsh. The continued existence of Welsh challenges the dominance of English with many English people failing to understand that another literature and culture can exist within the UK.”

Even ‘establishment’ figures felt the need to add to anti-Welsh sentiment. In the 1950s Lord Raglan, at the time Lord Lieutenant of Monmouthshire, had fanned the flames of nationalism. The 73-year-old, who was then also president of the governors of the National Museum of Wales, wrote an article which suggested that Welsh was the “language of the illiterate”. That comment is quite amazing in today’s realm of thought and paid little heed to historical realities which he might have found on the shelves of the National Library of Wales should he have considered that worthy of a few moments of his time.

He maintained that it was used for three undesirable purposes: to conceal the results of scholarship [into traditional Welsh literature], to try to lower the standards of official competence [by requiring it for jobs where it should not be needed] and, worst of all, to create an enmity where none existed (Johnes, 2012, p.178).

Raglan was called everything, from a Nazi to a communist, least of all a fool. But it rather underlines the problems the language had in its own home. English colonialism had taken root in the 16th century and had grown substantial branches. It was a tree which was not going to be cut down any time soon. Raglan epitomised that metaphor.

1.4 Identity has exercised minds for millennia

The concept of nationhood and national identity has been something which has exercised the minds of writers for millennia. Random examples include the scribes of the early books of the Old Testament who talked regularly about nation and what it meant. The Roman writer Tacitus, charting history in the first century AD, concerned himself with what approximates to today’s Germany, suggesting that the peoples formed a “distinct nation”. He made similar pronouncements about the peoples of Judea and many other nations or states subjugated by what was then the almighty Roman Empire. Alfred the Great is thought to have drawn on Biblical attitudes to nations and nationalism to urge the English to resist the Norse invaders. The term *natio* appeared in medieval universities, especially the University of Paris, where

the term described scholars hailing from the same country or locality and sharing the same language. The University of Prague, from as early as its foundation in 1349, divided students into *nations*: its *stadium generale* drew students from the Bohemian, Bavarian, Saxon and Silesian *nations*. Indeed, throughout history, especially in the turbulent centuries which occurred as light began to shine in on the Dark Ages – in Europe and near Asia, at least – the concept of nation and state have not only interested writers and thinkers described above, but also those engaged in some of the bloodiest of battles known to humankind.

Fast-forward to a newly-emergent Wales in the 1980s, attempting to undergo major reassessment of its place in the world. At the time, those trying to steer through various re-brandings were often frustrated. For the public relations types (almost without exception London-based, then as now), the country was still supposedly dominated by heavy industry. Mines and steelworks remained in place to blight (or enhance, maybe) the horizons. And agriculture was still, in essence, still the mainstay of the local population, which led English comedians, regularly, to claim that there were four times as many sheep as people living in Wales. The associated insults which usually followed are well known. The perception of Wales, probably well into the Third Millennium, was that mine-shafts and slag heaps proliferated, and that throngs of supposedly happy miners sang hymns – in Welsh, of course – on their way to work, rictus grins on their faces. The whole country is seen as little more than a county: “I’m going to Wales for the weekend” is commonly heard on network radio emanating largely from London while the same presenter will refer to an individual road in Edmonton or Egham as though the entire British nation is supposed to know where these are. Who, in Wales, says they are going shopping in England if they take a day out to Liverpool, Chester, Shrewsbury or Bristol?

1.5 Political dominance and industrial decline change Wales

Probably from the 1930s, however, life in Wales was changing. The political dominance of first the Liberals and then the Labour Party (both, notably, English parties which, at that point, largely supported the Westminster status quo) was being challenged by the Conservatives (another Westminster look-alike) and, perhaps more significantly for the question of Welsh identity, by the relative newcomer Plaid Cymru. The end of World War II meant that political and economic dominance shifted across the Atlantic and subsequently to

continental Europe and the English could no longer rely on the Empire at the major purchaser of their goods.

So began the slow industrial decline which changed Wales. The steelworks neither needed to produce the metal for the rails of the lines that linked up parts of the Empire, nor to produce steel for the locomotives to haul the goods and peoples over those lines, never mind everything else the steelworks provided. That also led to a decrease in appetite for coal, coupled with a Westminster-government decision to modernise the railways and end steam locomotion. In the agricultural sector, cheaper shipping of meat from New Zealand meant Welsh lamb became a bizarrely expensive luxury and farmers, who had always provided meat and dairy produce, began to feel the first strictures of the supermarkets (all, save for Iceland, English-based) whose massive cost-cutting motives which would wreak havoc on the industry in years to come. Europe also played its part in the industrial changes in Wales.

1.6 Re-invention creates new tensions

Yet there were significant moves to modernise Wales. In the 1980s and 1990s Wales became, at one point, the world's biggest destination for Japanese investment, as firms such as Sharp, Brother, Sony and Hitachi set up prime European bases in the country. Lucky Goldstar, the South Korean conglomerate (which fortunately changed its name to LG), made one of its biggest investments ever in a site near Newport, Monmouthshire. Wales became a food processing centre and, in a bizarre "factoid", once even proclaimed there was a factory in Anglesey which made mozzarella and sold it to the Italians.

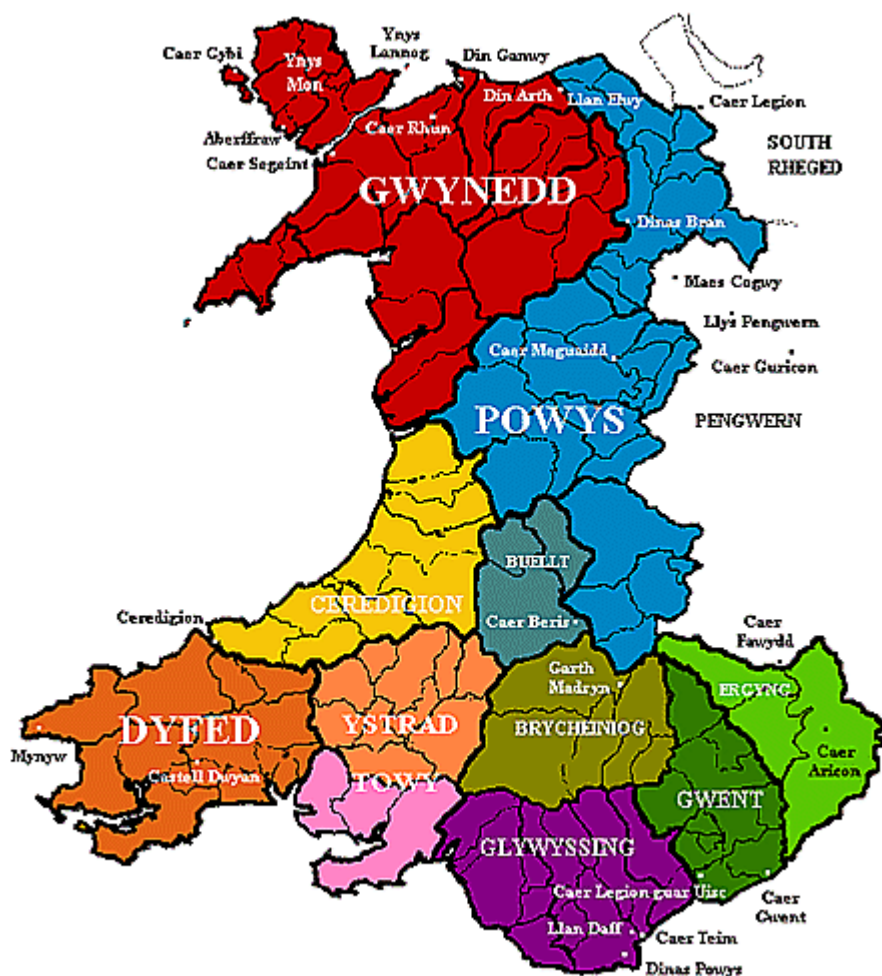
However, against that background of successful reinvention, there were tensions. The language debate, which peaked in the 1960s and continued into the 1970s and 1980s, talked about the diminution of Welsh culture, claiming that the "Fro Gymraeg" (the areas, mainly in western Wales, where Welsh is the dominant language of communication) was on the verge of disappearing. A lack of true Welsh education in schools and "immigration" from across the border meant that Welsh was ceasing to be the first language in large parts of the country and that parts, such as Ceredigion, Carmarthenshire, Gwynedd, Anglesey, Maldwyn and Meirionydd, were suffering an "invasion".

1.7 Historical Review: Did Wales ever exist?

There was much talk, at the time, of the Welsh nation. But did it really exist? History shows that Wales was only a unified nation for a relatively short time. The country was first settled by Celtic-speaking clans from Europe in around the seventh century BC and it was only upon the arrival of the Romans from AD43 that they had to defend themselves from outside invasion. St David, presently the patron saint of Wales, was credited (along with others) with the conversion of the Welsh to Christianity but, by the late fifth century, there were numerous border wars between the Welsh and the seven English kingdoms known as the heptarchy. The country, however, was first unified under Rhodri Mawr (844-78), though after his death that unity quickly evaporated.

The middle of the tenth century saw Hywel Dda bring together Welsh law and custom under a single code, most notably formalising the position of the *bard* to capitalise on the Welsh love of poetry, music and learning. However, Gruffydd ap Llewelyn succeeded in bringing together the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Deheubarth and eventually all the rest of Wales under his dominion and managed to maintain Welsh independence between 1055 and 1063.

See map over page . . . /



The above map (www.maddoxgenealogy) complements many others which summarise early Welsh history. The above does give some idea of the fragmentation of Wales and the various Princedoms which existed and, of course, the difficulty in unification.

According to Guibernau (1999, p.120), Wales was made up of three kingdoms which “by the third quarter of the 12th century formed a well-defined sphere of Welsh political influence (*Wallia* or *Pure Wallia*).” Guibernau continues to reveal how the English king Edward I sought to ensure the security of his conquests by putting in place a programme of castle building, including major edifices in towns such as Conwy, Caernarfon, Harlech and Beaumaris. Edward also ensured that a goodly number of English colonists were domiciled in each town.

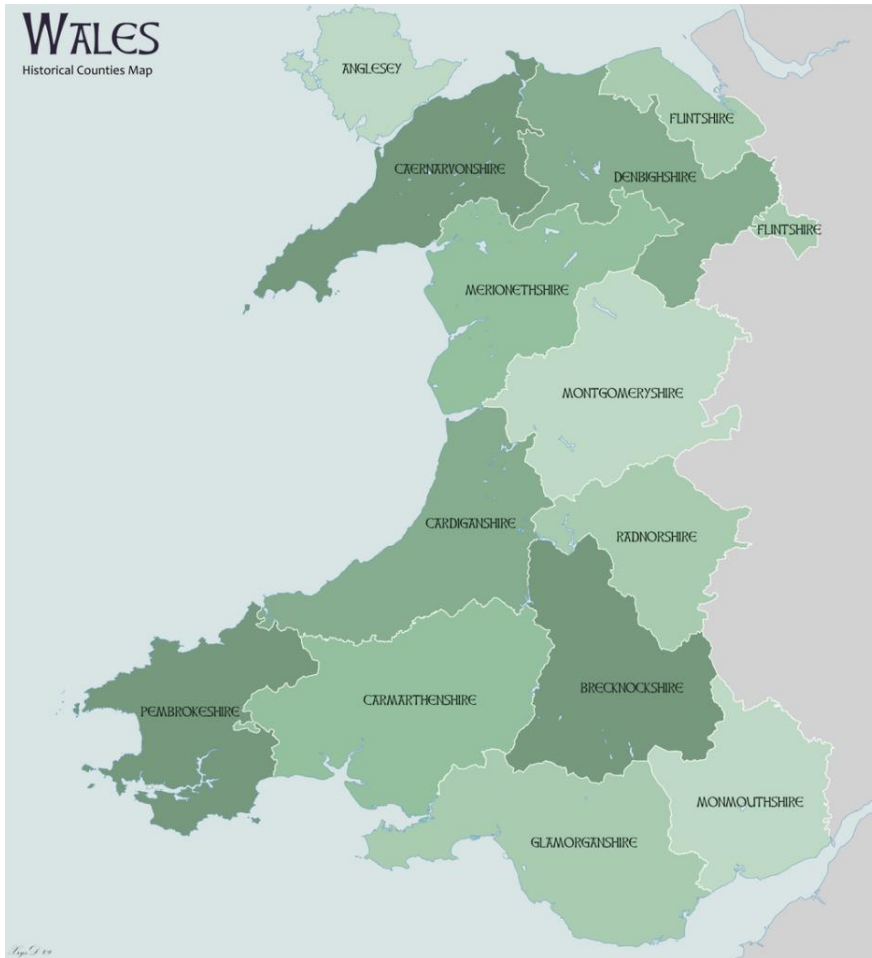
By 1282, Edward I had conquered Wales and the 1284 Statute of Rhuddlan established English rule in the country. According to Albrow (1996), the conquest did not involve the

imposition of English rule but, instead, “a colonial system was established in those parts of Llewelyn’s Principality which were by 1284 in the hands of the king”. Infamously, to eradicate any animosity on the part of the Welsh, Edward I had his son, who had been born at Caernarfon Castle, made Prince of Wales in 1301. He had stated that he would present the Welsh with a prince who spoke no English. On presenting them with a days-old boy who could speak nothing simply compounded the deceit.

The only reaction against the English conquest took place in 1400, when Owain Glyndŵr led his revolt against the new order. His actions did lead to the English losing control and Glyndŵr setting up a Welsh Parliament at Machynlleth in mid Wales. His idea was to set up a separate Princedom with its own church and education system, mainly through the establishment of a network of Welsh universities. “His ideas did not prosper after his death, but he undoubtedly contributed to generating a somehow unspecified sense of Welsh national identity” (Guibernau, 1999, p.120).

Henry Tudor’s victory at the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485 might have presaged a period of retrenchment for the Welsh, mainly on account of the Tudors’ Welsh ancestry. Instead, things took a decided turn for the worse. Wales was structured with an English pattern of shires. Favoured Welsh families were left alone and their estates were left intact while others became enforced leaseholders and tenants, after the English pattern over the border. As a result, a deep chasm was opened between landlords and tenants, something which was left unhealed probably until the 20th century.

See map over page . . . /



The pattern of counties (www.mappingwelshmarches.com), with their notably associated English names, remained intact until local government reorganisation in 1973.

Most important to the development of Welsh identity was the 1536 Act of Union, which enshrined Henry VIII's wish that Wales should be incorporated into his realm. "Welsh customary law was abolished and English was established as the sole language of legal proceedings" (Guibernau, 1999, p.121).

The Courts of Great Sessions were established in 1543 and only discontinued in 1830 amidst massive opposition. The Roman Catholic tradition died only slowly but the Anglicanism which replaced it was rejected by 18th century Wales. The Calvinistic Methodist Church, established in 1735, recruited large numbers of followers, mainly from the Church of England, establishing (along with other non-conformist sects, such as the Independents, the oldest non-conformist church in Wales, and the Baptists) possibly the genesis of a nationalist movement.

That might have been the end of the Welsh nation. Rural life was threatened and, despite the efforts of those who supported the Rebecca Riots in 1843 (where men, dressed as women, stormed the English-imposed tollbooths on major highways in Wales) there was little resistance to the Anglicisation of Wales. Add to that the chronic unemployment in the 19th and 20th centuries which saw many Welsh leaving the country, with large numbers emigrating to the USA, Canada, Australia and other places. These are just two events which clearly highlight how Wales was rapidly losing its Welshness.

Yet, the English political supremoes still regarded Wales as their own. For much of the 20th century, for instance, the Labour Party could rely on 20 or 30 members from the country. The Liberals, Conservatives and Independents struggled. It was only the drip-drip feed of nationalist sentiment which made the English establishment sit up and take notice.

Plaid Cymru – the nationalist party – had been formed in 1925. Yet it was pressure from them, largely ignored by the Conservatives and the Liberals – which led Labour to create the post of Secretary of State for Wales in 1964. A Royal Commission on the Constitution even recommended the establishment of an elected assembly for Wales as early as 1973. The botched attempt to establish a Welsh assembly by the increasingly beleaguered Labour Government of James Callaghan (himself a Welsh MP: he sat for Cardiff South and Penarth) attempted to reconcile the haemorrhage of support for Labour in both Scotland and Wales, something capitalised upon by the Conservatives and Plaid Cymru in Wales in the general elections of 1979, 1983 and 1987.

Against a background of major militancy and activism for the establishment of equality for the Welsh language – newspapers, particularly those published in Welsh, continued to decline and disappear throughout the 1970s and 1980s. By the end of the end of the 1980s, only a handful of traditional Welsh newspapers was still being published. Yet that decline came against a background of considerable expansion in broadcasting. The BBC had long broadcast in Welsh (though opening up the airwaves to the language entailed a considerable battle with London-based Corporation management in the 1930s). BBC Cymru Wales was established in 1964 and TWW (the ITV franchise holder) established a separate service for Wales in 1965. Following its takeover of the Teledu Cymru service. It was not until 1978 that the BBC established a national radio channel broadcasting for 18 hours a day in Welsh. The various commercial radio stations which opened through the 1970s, notably Swansea Sound

which was one of the stations in the first batch of openings in 1973, soon followed by Red Dragon in Cardiff and Marcher Sound in Wrexham, were required under the terms of their licences to devote a small proportion of airtime to Welsh-language broadcasting.

Possibly most significant of all was the advent of S4C in 1982 which probably did more than anything to help cement a Welsh identity. The fourth TV channel in Wales sparked protests, speeches, column miles of newspaper comment, threats of hunger strikes and civil disobedience against what seemed to be intransigence in Westminster to devote a TV channel to a Welsh service, though the Thatcher government did U-turn in 1982 (for these things did happen, despite the Prime Minister's claim that the lady was not for turning). It was the establishment of S4C along with the subsequent development of BBC Cymru'r Byd (meaning BBC Wales and the World: then the Welsh-language version of the BBC website) which has told the world that Welsh-language Wales was still there.

1.8 The identity “crisis” persists

So why is there still something of a Welsh identity crisis? That's because England – the next colonial power to rule Wales after the Romans withdrew – has yet to grasp, fully, that the country has its own identity. When the Scots were granted free prescriptions by their government, the *Daily Mail* ranted. Yet the Welsh just shrugged their shoulders, saying that had happened in Wales for some years. The English (for which read London-based) media refer to the Secretary of State for Health's latest statement, forgetting that the post-holder of the moment is Secretary of State for Health *in England*. The same is the case for education, business, culture and many other areas of devolved political life. UK national radio broadcasters regard Wales as a mere village, at most a county. They talk about taking a trip to Wales from London and almost invariably talk about going across the Severn Bridge (though which one is never made clear). They seem to forget the ability to cross the Welsh border at Queensferry in the north, over the Wrexham by-pass, at Chepstow, around Llanymynech in mid-Wales and at many other “unmanned” crossing points.

Perhaps even more demeaning is the idea that Wales is insignificant. It's still almost acceptable to make a Welsh joke, while “did you hear the one about the Irishman?” has long been outlawed. Welsh is often referred to as a “foreign” language and yet is regarded as the

oldest spoken language in Europe and was spoken in Britain long before the Anglo-Saxon invaders made their presence felt and is, now, an official language of Wales. Welsh placenames are regularly mangled on UK national broadcasts, often with a giggling apology for getting it so wrong if, that is, anyone realises that a mistake has been made.

1.9 New confidence - new identity

And yet, while so many aspects of Welsh life have been eroded, there is one constant in the whole debate. Within its own boundaries, Wales is becoming an increasingly more confident country with its own identity becoming more cemented within its fabric. Around the world, there is an increasing recognition of Wales as a nation rather than as a small region with a peculiar culture and attractive scenery.

So what really defines Wales? Could it be the various symbols and caricatures to which generations have become used over the years? Or is it something much more specific?

The Socialist author and essayist Raymond Williams was brought up in Monmouthshire, a county which was long seen as part of England but which – when Wales and Monmouthshire, the title used by the statisticians of the Westminster government went out of vogue in the 1960s – has long been regarded as part of Wales. His views on what makes Wales are apposite in the introduction to this thesis.

Real life is home, family and a job; wages and prices, politics and crisis. Culture . . . is for high days and holidays; not an ordinary gear but overdrive. So, if you say ‘Welsh culture’ what do you think of? Of *bara brith* and the *Eisteddfod*? Of choirs and Cardiff Arms Park? Of love spoons and *englynion*? Of the national costume and the rampant red dragon? (2003, p5).

Williams is concerned with finding the real culture of Wales. He rejects (looking through mid-1970s eyes) the culture of what he calls the “alien Saxon”.

Taking culture in its full sense you would be speaking of something quite different: a way of life determined by the National Coal Board, the British Steel Corporation, the

Milk Marketing Board, the Co-op and Marks and Spencer, the BBC, the Labour Party, the EEC, NATO. But that's not Welsh culture. Maybe. Maybe not. It's how and where most people in Wales are living, and in relation to which most meanings and values are in practice found. Depopulation, unemployment, exploitation, poverty: if these are not parts of Welsh culture, we are denying large parts of our social experience . . . where is it now, this Wales? Where is the real identity, the real culture? (ibid, p.5).

1.10 Identity or Identities?

Once power was transferred from Westminster to Cardiff Bay, the Welsh Government has spent much time focusing on Welsh identity, mainly through the application of the 'One Wales' strategy. Much of this has taken place under the 'One Wales' strategy which aims to strengthen the Welsh language and to focus extensively upon Wales's place in the world (www.wales.gov.uk). In the 2011 census, a question on what people considered to be their national identity was included. Under 60% of the population considered themselves to be Welsh alone (something which is discussed in the Literature Review). This begs the question: Is there a single Welsh identity or many?

In all, 7% of the population regarded themselves, at the time of that census, to be Welsh and British. Equating this to ethnicity, white Welsh are less likely to describe themselves as solely Welsh, a figure which is significantly higher in England. By contrast, Afro-Caribbean or mixed-race people born in Wales are more likely to describe themselves as Welsh rather than British. The use of the Welsh language contributes significantly to a feeling of Welshness. While the Welsh government promotes the language and its use as a significant cultural tool, a larger proportion of those who do speak Welsh consider themselves as Welsh only. Just over half the population who are not Welsh speakers consider themselves to be Welsh.

Overall, identity seems less clear cut in Wales than in either England or Scotland, most certainly less clear than in Ireland. Yet identifiable symbols are more readily available in Wales than in many other parts of the UK: the language, the culture, a defined and valuable literature, history, national institutions, a flag, national institutions such as an opera company, a national theatre, museums, a national library and so on.

1.11 Thesis Aims and Objectives

This research aims to consider the significant role of Welsh-language journalism in the construction of Welsh identity, contributing to a viable nation in the truest sense. This will be achieved through an analysis of the Welsh-language media, including the press and broadcasting as well as on-line and social media outlets. This analysis is necessarily broad and is underpinned by historical developments as the catalyst for the rapid expansion of Welsh-language journalism in the 19th century, and into the 20th, came from the work of early writers and publishers of periodicals. It was these early journalists who reignited the Welsh love for music and literature, for instance, allowing readers to rediscover something which had been practically smothered by the English establishment. This journalism was largely consumed by people living in the country (with a few notable Welsh “outposts”, such as Liverpool and London). Many publications were written and edited by amateurs, with surprisingly little professional input. Ministers of religion often doubled as periodical editors. However, the greater part of the research will be concentrated on the last quarter of the 20th century and into the present century – a time when major broadcasters such as S4C and BBC Radio Cymru came on air, new on-line ventures were launched and the *Papurau Bro* launched. Newspapers faded in significance, most simply folding, or merging, though there are glimmers of light as a series of new papers launched in west Wales (with about 25% of their content in Welsh) and a number of influential periodicals continue to thrive.

A number of specific objectives will be applied to different branches of journalism.

- Content analysis will apply particularly to early periodicals and early newspapers. These were publications which reintroduced the Welsh to much of their cultural heritage and, for many, would have been the first publications (other than The Bible and the Book of Common Prayer and a few other books) that they could read in their own language.
- Later publications will also be examined for their content, though the rather more mature press often sided with radical political stances and often threw themselves into campaigns – Chartism, for instance – which set out to change the face of Wales. The *Papurau Bro* are unique publications and research has been undertaken through

questionnaires as well as content analysis and interviews with some well-established journalists.

- A different approach will be undertaken for the contribution of broadcasting to the establishment of a Welsh identity. For the first time, the Welsh presence began to spill over its borders as radio would allow the language to be heard. Increasingly, English audiences became more used to seeing Welsh-made drama on television, sometimes even subtitled. Over well-nigh a century of broadcasting in Welsh, there appears to a universal acceptance of the presence of the nation and its culture. Research in this area will mainly be achieved by way of a historical survey, content analysis and interviews with major figures in the field of broadcasting.
- On-line journalism has taken Welsh identity into a wholly new area. It's an area which not only brings an international dimension to Welsh journalism but also encourages much more citizen involvement. Again, research in this area will be undertaken by content analysis and interviews with editors of online services.

1.12 Hypothesis

This thesis proposes that Welsh identity has been created, sustained and developed in considerable part by journalism in the Welsh language. Welsh journalism – in both English and Welsh - has underlined the importance of the nation and it has done much to create a national identity, something which is consistently ignored by the English media. Increased use of the language in the latter decades of the 20th century owe a great deal to the writings of Welsh journalists. It will argue that the expansion of journalism in the 1970s and 1980s helped create a more independent Wales, witnessed by the vote to accept devolution proposals in 1997.

Linked with this fact is the suggestion that a much more distinctive Welsh identity has come about in the 20th century due to the vast increase in the amount of coverage given to Welsh affairs by Welsh journalists. News is much more likely to be reported from a Welsh angle and issues of importance, previously ignored or glossed over, such as the state of education or the NHS in Wales, are examined in depth.

1.13 Research Questions

The questions which this thesis aims to answer are as follows:

- 1: What is Welsh national identity? How has it developed in relation to the evolution of Welsh-language journalism, especially in recent years as the Welsh Government has played an increasingly significant part in the life of the UK and internationally?
- 2: What role did early Welsh-language journalists play in laying the foundations for the vibrant journalism which is seen today?
- 3: How do print outlets (both “traditional” newspapers and the *Papurau Bro*), radio, television and on-line journalism contribute to the formation and strengthening of the distinct Welsh identity, especially since the 1970s?

1.14 Theories of Journalism Production

The application of theoretical considerations to Welsh journalism outlets will be an important area of this study, mainly because, as has already been stated, only a small amount of research has been undertaken in this area with considerable areas totally untouched.

Journalism was first formally taught, away from working “on the job”, in the USA in the 1860s and became particularly recognised in America in the first decade of the 20th century, when the University of Missouri opened a journalism school. Its claim to have been the first in the world is disputed by the Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme in Paris which purports to have opened its doors to journalism students in 1899. The UK was slow to follow suit. Cardiff University opened its journalism school in 1970 with City University in London quickly following suit. Following the advent of many other schools across the UK and worldwide, the trickle of theories in the 1920s and 1930s has become a flood, especially when coupled with the intense technological advances and challenges facing journalism.

It could be said that the establishment of early journalism schools follows in the wake of Prutz, who published a history of German journalism in 1845. Describing this as “astonishing”, Löffelholz pointed out that, even at this point, Prutz was focussing on “journalism” rather than on “media”, concentrating on aspects of news writing rather than on newspapers, magazines or periodicals. “Prutz also identified journalism as a social area that operates in relation to other social areas, and did not reduce it to the work of individual journalists” (Löffelholz, 2008, p.16).

His approach appears to be different from many other early researchers and theorists who studied journalism through analysis of the works of individual journalists, something often described as “normative individualism”.

Societal and organisational aspects, such as political constraints and the editorial work process, are not recognised as important aspects of journalistic production which, instead, is reduced to actions of individual journalists (ibid, p.16).

McQuail (1994), giving an explanation as to why he considered mass media research relevant, suggested that “the reasons for studying media content in a systematic way stemmed initially either from an interest in the potential effects of mass communication, whether intended or unintended, or the wish to understand the appeal of content for the audience” (p235). He later went on to explain that the two reasons stated above have since widened considerably to take into account a much wider range of theoretical concepts (ibid, p.235).

John Hartley’s analysis of recent journalism research believes that much present day research grew out of dissatisfaction with cultural studies. He suggested that “cultural studies emerged in the 1960s as a critical, intellectual and educational enterprise” (In Löffelholz and Weaver, 2008, p.39). Hartley found that journalism was outside the sphere of its attention as an individual area of study. Its study found itself incorporated into cultural studies not as a professional but as an ideological practice.

This thesis, therefore, focuses on eight major theories which underpin the analysis of Welsh-language journalism. Other theories may have some relevance to this study.

The overarching theoretical framework of this thesis will focus largely on the following theories:

- Agenda Setting
- Citizen Journalism
- Connotation and denotation
- Convergence
- Cultural Studies
- Discourse
- Framing and Bias
- Media Effects Theories.

1.14.1 Agenda Setting

Agenda setting says that the way in which media report on particular issues helps shape public awareness and debate, leading to formation of public opinion. According to Weaver (1981) and McCombs et al (1997) some items receive prominent and on-going coverage while others are relegated to ‘in brief’ columns. The theory has close affinity with framing and media effects but is less certain in its outcomes and is set apart from the effects of propaganda. “The suggestion is that media do not tell us what to think, they may tell us what to think about,” said Franklin (2005). What is important are words, symbols and pictures used as well as viewpoints put over along with the order in which these are presented.

Agenda setting, though, is seen as being much more calculated than framing and media effects theories and is almost a synonym for propaganda. For McCombs et al (1997), the obvious issue in news writing is that some issues are given prominence while others are ignored totally. Where agenda setting moves away from the idea of bias is that there can be a number of issues or ideas put forward for inclusion in news organs and these can all be discussed in the wider content.

In terms of this thesis, agenda setting was clearly evident when members of the Welsh establishment petitioned BBC management in the 1920s and 1930s to include items of interest to the Welsh people on radio programmes. Early writers harked back to ancient literature to reawaken a Welsh identity, something rapidly picked up by the journalists and

amateur contributors to the welter of newspapers which appeared in the 19th century. Editors often espoused radical viewpoints and were prepared to campaign on issues which were controversial if not untouchable for those involved in the English-language press in Wales. It is certainly clear, too, from the analysis of schedules of radio and television and from interviews with those involved in broadcasting and online journalism there is a defined Welsh element to the news broadcast in Welsh as well as in current affairs programmes.

1.14.2 Citizen Journalism

Often called “alternative journalism”, this area is produced by non-professionals and, usually, by those outside mainstream outlets. Hamilton (2000) argued there is a need to talk about “deprofessionalisation, decapitalisation and deinstitutionalisation” while Atton (2009, p.265) suggests the aim of radical media is to “effect social or political change” and that these media are “aimed at media practices that construct citizenship and political identity”. Atton further writes that “alternative journalism will always be contingent upon particular geographic and demographic situations” (ibid, p.268). Clemencia Rodriguez (2000) argues that independent media enable (the undefined) “ordinary” citizens to become politically empowered.

This thesis argues that Welsh journalism has long been dominated by citizen journalists. Editors of early periodicals were rarely professional journalists: they were more likely to be ministers of religion. These publications, along with most newspapers, relied on the work of amateurs when it came to filling their columns. Early broadcasters relied on contributions from people who had never been involved in journalism. Ever since the 1970s, the *Papurau Bro* have been produced by people who are completely untrained to work in journalism.

1.14.3 Connotation and Denotation

Connotation and denotation, the latter described by Barthes (1967) as the “first order of signification”, relate to the way language brings a particular subject alive. This is significant in this thesis when attempting to pin down the journalistic contribution to formation of national identity, relating to the whole area of underlying meanings in texts. Another area of interest. Lasswell’s 1949 formula believed any study of journalism should only be concerned with the very basic considerations of journalism. More recent studies have

concluded meaning is conveyed as much by absence as much as presence. Van Leeuwen (1996) calls this trait “suppression” suggesting that access to news is a power resource in itself and the more times a person, place or organisation is mentioned, the more that very inclusion provides what he calls an “index of social power”. This, again, is apposite to this thesis, since Wales had been virtually forgotten until the early Welsh writers to up their pens.

Studies by Asp (1981) looked at the “informational value” of news on certain topics – usually controversial subject areas. One of the areas considered was density, or the proportion (possibly the relevance) of all points made in a piece of journalism. Breadth looked at the number of different points made as a proportion of all those possible, while depth took into account the number of different facts and motives used to describe a particular circumstance. Within this realm, contextualised journalism is an important consideration. Pavlik (2001, p13) argues that, although journalists have always tried to place stories into a complete context, limitations of time and space usually mean that stories have to be cut. However, he argues that on-line journalism and social media reporting mean that spatial constrictions are less apparent. “Whether achievable or not, objectivity and truth can be best pursued through a storytelling medium that supplies the texture and content possible in an online, multimedia and interactive environment,” he suggests (ibid, p.25). His interpretation continues with the suggestion that the 21st-century journalist will need to be not only a skilful storyteller but also someone who can link all aspects together and link the news with a much wider set of contextualising events and circumstances (ibid, pp.217-8). Pavlik’s approach rather makes redundant the theory of gatekeeping, therefore, as the 21st-century progresses. The gatekeeper theory comes from seminal studies undertaken in the USA in the 1950s (See also section 1.13.14). Gatekeeping clearly would be an issue in early Welsh journalism where editors set an agenda appealing to a Welsh-speaking readership.

The hierarchy of influences could be said to be closely connected with the hegemonic approaches to media analysis championed by Gramsci. His approach suggests that a ruling class persuades all other classes to accept its rule and their subordination. Gramsci’s ideas, though perhaps dated, could certainly apply to the struggle between the English-language and Welsh-language journalism in Wales. Writing in 1971, he said that the ruling class takes into consideration “the interests and tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised” (p.161) while any concessions to public demands need to be publicised to give the

notion that the ruling class is listening. Finally, that hegemony is maintained and extended as the ruling class teaches its ideas and values, in particular a claim to political legitimacy.

This thesis will examine the fact that, while most of the above could all be argued to be the case for English journalism in Wales, how far does the Welsh-language press accept these notions? Indeed, Murdock (2000) comes down firmly on the side of journalists suggesting that they mediate the relationship between ruling class ideologies and news content. That, surely, is a major role for journalists writing in Welsh.

1.14.4 Convergence

In recent years, as new forms of journalism have taken root and as citizen journalism assumes a more mainstream role, the blurring of distinctions between print and broadcast journalism as well as the boundaries between computer and telecommunications technology have become more noticeable. Hargreaves (2003, p.242) noted that “journalism has become a global enterprise and a ‘two-way street’”. National boundaries have been rendered somewhat irrelevant by the Internet and anyone can join in to become a journalist.

This thesis asks what this means for Welsh-language media, already under pressure from English competitors and now inundated with media from global sources. On a macro level, this thesis will examine how mass media theories apply to Welsh journalism.

Much debate has ensued since Marshall McLuhan referred to the “global village” in 1964. Simon Cottle (2009) talks about “communication flows that are now capable of circumnavigating the globe 24/7 in real time” (p.341). Its effects are seen by critics as either being the start of a major new trend in journalism or, as perhaps seems more popular, as the continuation of European colonisation in the 19th century (Schirato and Webb, 2003, p.16). The authors go on to describe globalisation as “imperialism [which] has acquired a new form as formal empires have been replaced by new mechanisms of multilateral control and surveillance, such as the G7 or the World Bank” (ibid). However, Waters argues that globalisation is probably unavoidable, in that material goods and wealth are traded globally, political exchange happens on an international basis and the world is culturally interdependent through the symbolic exchange of information, news, entertainment, ideas,

advertising and propaganda. Again, while this might be the case for English-language journalism relating to Wales, this thesis argues that Welsh-language journalism might struggle to find a global dimension and that globalisation is a threat.

Nevertheless, digital technologies and satellite delivery systems can deliver pictures, images, news items, and broadcasts across the globe in milliseconds. As a result, distant countries and disparate cultures can see what is happening in another country on another continent.

Robertson (1992, p.9) refers to globalisation as “both the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole”. Quite whether Habermas’ 1960s concept of the public sphere is still valid is, probably, wide open to debate.

Yet there are still disagreements around the whole concept of globalisation. A basic split can be seen where some are highly supportive of globalisation as a new trend (Held and McGrew, 2000) while others, notably Schirato and Webb present a sceptical view of globalisation as “a continuation of trends that developed in the period of European colonial expansion” (2003, p.16). Somewhat less critical is Waters (1995, p.3) who argued that globalisation is a “social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede”.

Issues around globalisation, as propounded by McPhail (1996) will have relevance, especially as a small nation and language compete with global forces. The debates initiated by Tunstall, Hall and McQuail are also relevant.

1.14.5 Cultural Studies

Loffelhölz and Weaver’s list (2008) of theories, namely normative individualism, analytical empiricism, theories of action, systems theories, integrative social theories and cultural studies have considerable bearing on this research, especially in a Welsh context. Hartley (2009) reveals considerable overlaps between journalism and cultural studies. “They are both interested in the mediation of meanings through technology in complex societies. Both investigate ordinary everyday life: journalism from the point of view of reportable events; cultural studies from that of ordinary lived experience” (www.city.ac.uk).

The culturological approach to journalism study implies that the “determinants of news [lie] in the relations between ideas and symbols” (Schudson, 1989, p.16). Importantly, according to Hartley (2009), the “popular culture” model has received a massive boost in recent years “owing to the growth of user-led innovation, consumer-generated content, self-made media, DIY culture, citizen journalism, the blogosphere and peer-to-peer social networks”.

Hartley’s ideas are particularly significant for Welsh journalists. This thesis argues that there is very much a notion of popular culture when it comes to Welsh journalism. It is a culture with which every Welsh speaker can relate and interact. As argued above, there is a well-developed area of citizen journalism in Wales. In addition, this thesis argues that Loffelhölz and Weaver’s views of culture being an investigation of ordinary, everyday life. That has been a significant part of Welsh journalism from its very inception.

1.14.6 Discourse Theories

Discourse theories are some of the most over-used and misused in the entire field of social and human sciences, according to Richardson (2005, p.61). Two main areas apply particularly to journalism. The formalist and functionalist definitions applied by Schiffrin (1994) and Michel Foucault’s notion of “orders of discourse”, where groups challenge, fortify and subvert existing power structures. This thesis will examine how these theories are enacted when it comes to Welsh journalism.

The Schiffrin stance considers language as a “system of systems” dealing with the idea of language above sentence. The formalist and structuralist approaches pose the question as to how we know that a collection of sentences is a “text” rather than a random collection of fragments. Brown and Yule (1983) take the view that discourse should be studied as “language in use”. According to Cameron (2001, p.13) consideration needs to be given to “what” language is conveying and “how” language is employed when used “purposefully” in context. Meanwhile, Foucault’s views of the “orders of discourse” sees discourses as “practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak” (1972, p.49).

Discourse analysis is also discussed by McQuail, where he refers to the writings of Fiske (1987, p.14). Suggesting that “discourse” itself has gained wider currency in many analyses of media content, Fiske cites that it is “a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about a topic area”. Text, certainly for this study, is a particularly potent area to analyse since, as Fiske (ibid) points out. Newcomb (1991) goes even further, suggesting that it is not only the words that matter but also codes of dress, physical appearance, class and occupation, religion, ethnicity, region, social circles and many more, something which has a bearing on this particular study. This, however, is a view which is somewhat disputed by Hall (1973/1980) whose encoding and decoding model suggests a “preferred reading” encoded within the text, with the reader taking away the message that the writer or producer wishes to convey.

Although theories relating to ways in which readers interpret news and other aspects of journalism, one particular theory is important when considering national identity. Fiske (1987, p.53) looked at interpellation in a rather different way from the “inscribed reader” of Sparks and Campbell (1987) or the “implied audience” of Deming (1991). In Fiske’s view, “interpellation refers to the way any use of discourse ‘hails’ the addressee. In responding . . . we implicitly accept the discourse’s definition of ‘us’, or . . . we adopt the subject position proposed for us by the discourse.” Goffman (1986, cited in van Ginneken, 1998, p.22) argues that the understanding of the world from the point of view of the consumer of journalism precedes any stories in the press and that this predeterminism of stories “selects which ones reporters will select and how the ones that are selected will be told”. Known as the culturological approach, Fowler (1991, p16) considers it be central to the selection of news. This idea is developed even further by Schudson (1989, p.20) who suggested that the telling or the form of news is, in the same way, culturally determined.

Journalists assume that a particular meaning will be attached to a piece of writing – an ‘encoded meaning’ – while the reader’s interpretation of what has been written may not be the same thing, something known as the “decoded meaning”.

1.14.7 Framing and bias

According to Schudson (2003, p.35), framing has largely replaced the notion of bias. Frames, wrote Gitlin (cited in Schudson, 2003, p.35) are “principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters”. Schudson (ibid, p.37) believed that the advantage of framing over bias is that it “opens the discussion to examining unintentional and even unconscious as well as selective presentation . . . Critics of political bias ordinarily presume that the journalist should be a professional who tells the truth and that it is possible to do this without prejudice”. His argument, however, does not pick up on the notion of objectivity.

To return to the question of bias, this is an especially potent area when considering national identity mainly because those writing may well not be writing objectively. “The standard of news objectivity had given rise to much discussion of journalistic media content, under various headings, especially in relation to some form of bias, which is the reverse of objectivity,” wrote McQuail (1994, p.253). McQuail goes on to argue that accuracy and completeness are important aspects of journalism, as well as relevance and impartiality, even questioning whether news is a reflection of reality or a distortion of facts.

The concept of othering could easily involve an element of bias. Othering is the process where some people are seen to be slightly or even radically different, often positioned as an ‘outgroup’. Hall (1994, p392) argued that an identity, of an individual or of a group, should be considered as “a ‘production’ which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside, representation”. The process of othering does tend to lead to an “us and them” scenario, certainly apparent in Wales, and something examined in this thesis, where the two linguistic communities have not always co-existed happily. Riggins (1997, p.9) suggested that othering does not necessarily lead to a situation which “dehumanises and diminishes groups, making it easier for victimisers to seize land, exploit labour and exert control”.

1.14.8 Media Effects Theories

Media effects theories are significant yet inexact. According to McQuail (1987, p.251) media effects theories remain the area in mass communications where “there is least agreement and least certainty”. The “hypodermic model” suggests that the media plant a particular notion into the minds of the audience and there is a direct effect. That effect was supplanted by the “two-step flow” and the “uses and gratifications” model. The two-step flow model has its basis in Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudin’s 1944 study *The People’s Choice*. Their study looked at media usage in US Presidential elections, with the assumption people’s choices could be changed. The reality was the media had little effect on electoral outcome but it did influence, to an extent, opinion leaders in the community who, in turn, influenced the electorate. Uses and gratifications suggest that audiences look for a particular satisfaction from its media consumption and that can be derived from everyday social circumstances and needs: not what the media do to people but what people do with the media.

This thesis will look at how the Welsh, prior to the early trickle of periodicals, received little information about their own culture or identity. That changed, radically, once journalists began looking back to ancient literature and, then, reporting on matters of interest to a Welsh readership, eventually aiding in the creation of an identifiable Welsh national identity.

1.14.9 Application of theories

The eight major theories highlighted above have significant bearing on the research in this thesis. Early Welsh journalists set an agenda for discussion, something carried on by newspapers and broadcasting. Little had been discussed as far as the Welsh nation was concerned until those writing in the Welsh language looked to their historic roots and reimagined the nation. In turn, media effects theories and the notion of framing and bias are important since the choice of subject matter helped to create and sustain the idea of national identity. In a similar way, the informational values discussed in the connotation and denotation section as well as the culturological approach which looks at the notion of ideas and symbols carrying a great weight of meaning will be considered. The circulation of meanings noted in the section on discourse analysis is particularly relevant while the notion

of the whole of Welsh-language journalism was largely undertaken by untrained “citizen journalists” is of particular interest.

1.15 Peripheral Theories

A number of theories relating to journalism are peripheral to this study and have been considered but largely rejected for the purposes of research.

Analytical empiricism seeks to clarify the meaning of statements and concepts.

By the 1970s there was a growing dissatisfaction with linguistic philosophy, and philosophers began to show more interest in the philosophy of mind and the application of philosophical methods to wider issues in politics, ethics and the nature of philosophy itself (Rorty) (www.philosopher.org.uk/).

There has been some research around the idea that journalism uses a “private language”, an accusation which might have been levelled at Welsh broadcasters in the early days of the BBC when there was much opposition to hearing the language on air.

Critics have also pointed out that much analysis of journalism comes from a Western standpoint. Beate Josephi (2005) drew attention to the excessive concentration on the analysis of Western media, referring to Curran and Park’s efforts to broaden media – and journalism – theory in *De-Westernising Media Studies* (p.3). She quoted the authors: “Embarrassed about viewing the rest of the world as a forgotten understudy [they set out the question and correct] the self-absorption and parochialism of much Western media theory” (Curran and Park, 2000, p.3).

The important decision made by the authors is that the nation-state is still centrally important (ibid, p.11). This, of course, could be something of an issue for Welsh journalists, where until 1999, certainly, they worked as part of a bigger nation state, where Welsh culture, language and tradition were often at odds with the dominant political authority. Nevertheless, Curran and Park still argue that communications systems are still inherently national and that nation-states still shape media systems, especially in relation to the laws and regulations in which they must operate. Crucially, they add that the nation is still a vitally important marker of difference, be it in terms of language, political systems or cultural traditions (ibid, p.12).

The work undertaken by Galtung and Ruge (1965) attempted to pigeonhole various aspects of newsworthiness. Although there have been attempts to update their theories the original work still carries some weight in relation to Welsh journalism. Their ideas regarding threshold are of interest, where notable events need to have a particular level of impact before they can be considered newsworthy. In a similar way, meaningfulness – cultural similarity, perhaps – is important. The duo also talked about reference to élite nations and élite people. It could be argued that élite could be applied to Wales: it is a small nation with a small population of speakers of the native language. Gans (1979, p.147-52) worked along a similar vein. He suggested stories become “important” by satisfying some or all of the following criteria: rank in government or other hierarchies, impact on large numbers of people, impact on the nation and national interest and significance for the past and future. Welsh journalism could easily satisfy the latter two categories.

McQuail found that genre is a particular area of concern for him. “The concept of genre appears to be an essential tool in the analysis of media content, since it provides an organising framework to cope with the enormous volume of what the media offer and a path to understanding how meaning may be constructed out of the experience of reading, watching and viewing” (ibid, p.236). Linked with this is the concept of intertextuality which assumes that texts cannot be viewed and analysed in isolation since they are neither produced nor consumed in isolation. Leitch (1983, p.98) suggested that “prior texts reside in present texts”, further writing that “no text is ever fully self-present, self-contained or self-sufficient; no text is closed, total or unified.” Further analysis of intertextuality suggests two areas of concern: text-internal and text-external. An analysis by Fairclough (2003) of text-internal characteristics suggests that a news report may have elements from several sources: the news report itself, a press conference, a press release and further comments from sources relevant to the story. Text-external characteristics would suggest that texts can only be understood fully by referring to background knowledge which the reader would possess. So, to read and fully understand a story about the National Eisteddfod of Wales might require some knowledge of Wales, the Eisteddfod movement, the National Eisteddfod itself and maybe something related to the particular development being considered in the story.

Much debate around national identity is often blurred with nationalism. The two are often regarded as being interchangeable. Gatekeeping theory is also deeply ingrained in this area of research – both keeping the “good” aspects of national identity and rejecting the “bad”.

Nossek (2004) examined foreign news and tried to apply an “us” and “them” gloss on some aspects of war reporting, considering some actions as good or acceptable and others as the opposite, suggesting that “professional norms become subordinate to the national identity of the reporting correspondent” (www.academia.edu). His study also concluded that, when looking at national identity in foreign news, there is an “inverse relation between professional news values and the national identity of the journalist and the journal’s editors”.

There is further examination of Tunstall (1977) who stated that “despite the import and export of news and other communication products and because of the dominant position of American media organisations in the world, every country has three media levels: international, local-ethnic and national, which exist side by side” (ibid).

Fiske (1994) sees nation as being separate from other similar organisations. It is a sign to show what others are not. Nation is sometimes confused with nation state. A nation state, he says, is a “sovereign state with its own government, boundaries, defence forces etc. and symbolic markers of nationhood such as a flag, and anthem, local currency, head of state, membership of the UN and so on.” But many nations do not have all these attributes: Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland within the UK, for example. Fiske continues to argue that race and ethnicity, language and culture are not necessarily markers of nationhood, since most nations are multi-cultural entities. However certain institutions play a marked part in the formation of a nation, and amongst these one finds the media.

Issues around ownership have proven highly contentious, certainly as far as the UK media are concerned, impacting on issues of partiality, bias, censorship, objectivity, agenda setting and deregulation as noted by Franklin (2001, pp.146-160).

Proprietorialism is closely allied to the concept of agenda setting. According to Harcup (2004, p13) “the ownership of a media business provides the opportunity to dictate the style of journalism and influence company policy.” Press barons such as Northcliffe, Rothermere and Beaverbrook famously leant on their editors in order to influence coverage and, in recent years, shareholders at companies such as Trinity Mirror have demanded to know certain aspects of the company’s editorial processes. Significantly, both (English) morning papers produced and circulating in Wales - the *Western Mail* and the *Daily Post* – as well as *Wales*

on Sunday are Trinity Mirror publications. Ownership issues are crucial as multi-nationals seemingly view Welsh publications and broadcasts as largely irrelevant. Considerable disquiet was voiced, for instance, when Trinity Mirror closed its features desks at the newspapers it owns in Wales, replacing them with a centralised operation in Liverpool. Critics feared that features written about organisations such as the NHS would focus on England ignoring the fact that health provision is a devolved responsibility. However, very few Welsh-language publications have been or are owned by major multi-nationals. Whether the same could be argued for organisations such as the BBC and the commercial broadcasters is a moot point, since regulatory processes could well be seen almost as proprietorialism in all but name. Herman and Chomsky (op cit) also suggested, in their propaganda model of US media operations, that the first of their five filters through which news choices are made result from concentrated ownership, wealth and profit orientation.

Turning to older theories such as the two-step flow concept, pioneered by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet in the 1940s, just how valid is the notion that a journalist forms an opinion then passes it on to others for dissemination in the Welsh context? The trio looked at journalism issues around a Presidential election campaign and how electors came to form an opinion. “These researchers expected to find empirical support for the direct influence of media messages on voting intentions. They were surprised to discover, however, that informal, personal contacts were mentioned far more frequently than exposure to radio or newspaper as sources of influence on voting behaviour. Armed with this data, Katz and Lazarsfeld developed the two-step flow theory of mass communication” (www.utwente.nl).

The theory assumes that information provided by the media moves in two distinct stages. Opinion leaders pay close attention to the media along with its messages and then pass on the information received in their own words. Opinion leaders then pass on their own interpretations in addition to the actual media content. “The term ‘personal influence’ was coined to refer to the process intervening between the media’s direct message and the audience’s ultimate reaction to that message. Opinion leaders are quite influential in getting people to change their attitudes and behaviours and are quite similar to those they influence” (www.utwente.nl).

The two-step flow theory has improved both consumers’ and academics’ understanding of how the mass media influence decision making. The theory aims to refine the ability to

predict the influence of media messages on audience behaviour, and to explain why certain media campaigns may have failed to alter audience attitudes and behaviour. The two-step flow theory gave way to the multi-step flow theory of mass communication or diffusion of innovation theory.

1.16 Conclusion

The thesis which follows will look at the literature that has been produced around Welsh-language journalism, critically analysing its content. While there is a substantial body of literature dealing with Welsh history and the elements of national identity, there is a significant gap when it comes to Welsh journalism and, most significant for this research, that gap widens considerably when Welsh-language journalism is taken into account. In addition, while there are numerous theoretical standpoints available, as detailed above, there is no literature which relates these selected theories of journalism as they related to journalistic writing in Welsh. This thesis, therefore, will take theoretical and historical standpoints and relate them to Welsh-language journalism and, at the same time, will position Welsh journalism within the discourse around the creation of a Welsh national identity.

Chapters 2 and 3 contain the literature review and the methods and methodology chapters.

Chapter 4 will look at *The Place of Wales in the World*, discussing the elements that come together to form a national identity and how significant these elements are to Wales. While many historians have discussed these issues, few have linked identity to Welsh journalism, with Welsh-language journalism often getting little more than a passing mention. This gap clearly needs to be filled and this project aims to make a distinctive and original contribution to existing knowledge in this field.

Chapter 5 looks more specifically at Welsh identity in the media, looking respectively at print, broadcast and on-line outlets. It serves, in many ways, as summary of what has been detailed in the historical chapters later in this thesis.

Chapters 6 to 10 contain individual analyses of various sectors of Welsh journalism, beginning with early periodicals in chapter 6, a chapter subtitled the beginning of the Welsh renaissance. Chapter 7 looks at later periodicals and newspapers, dealing in part with the ‘identity crisis’ of the time when improved communication brought a flood of newspapers produced in England into Wales and, with them, English attitudes and opinions. Chapter 8 looks at broadcasting in Wales, which had a particularly torrid beginning but, since the advent of BBC Radio Cymru and S4C has become probably to most influential outlets for Welsh journalism to date. Chapter 9 looks at the unique contribution of the *Papurau Bro* while chapter 10 considers the rather stuttering start for the Welsh on-line presence. Conclusions and recommendations for further research are contained in chapter 11.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

“What unites us all as Welsh is a cultural awareness. It is why we are brought together by sport, music, language (whether we speak Welsh or not) and arts” (Nick Webb)
(www.iwa.wales)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the available literature relevant to this thesis. The review will look at a number of aspects of nations and nationhood as they relate to this study. It will also examine what has been written about Welsh-language journalism to date and will also suggest what gaps there are in current literature. At the outset, it should be pointed out that no comprehensive volume charting Welsh-language journalism has been produced. The only effort to date is a small book produced in 1945, reviewing the Welsh press. Broadcasting and, of course, on-line journalism and social media were not covered at all in that publication.

The chapter will first examine literature relating to the meaning and construction of nations and states, more especially relating these examinations to Wales and the Welsh. It will ask how the various definitions promulgated by authors and thinkers fit into the Welsh dimension, seeking an answer to the question as to whether present-day Wales can be considered a nation in her own right at all.

The second part of this examination of nationhood will touch on issues of national identity and nationalism, taking into consideration some of the major identifying factors which make a nation what it is, namely things such as ethnicity, language, culture, national institutions, political institutions and so on.

The third part of this review will look at issues around Welsh-language journalism, something – as previously noted - which has not been examined anywhere in any particular depth. The last effort to produce a single volume looking at Welsh-language journalism

(referred to later in this chapter) appeared in 1945 and looked merely at the press which was, even at that point in serious if not terminal decline. Radio was ignored, television was not to switch on in Wales for a decade and anything on-line was the stuff of fantasy. In addition, no scholar has taken into consideration the effects of Welsh journalism. It has been charted, but no-one has linked what was written in Welsh with the way in which the Welsh people perceived themselves.

The review will also look at what has been written about the early press and will examine the literature which probes what might well be considered the heyday of Welsh-language print journalism, namely the period from around 1840 to approximately 1890. It will also examine the tense stand-off between management of the BBC in Wales in its early days and the struggle to get the Welsh language broadcast, against stiff opposition from the London-based BBC hierarchy, in particular Reith, whose Scottish roots did little to encourage the celebration of a culture at least as old and, arguably, even more distinct than that of his homeland. This section will also review the especially tense issues around television, culminating in the civil disobedience in the 1970s and the early 1980s, unrest which even caused ‘Iron Lady’ Margaret Thatcher to bend and do one of her extremely rare U-turns. The review will also look at the literature which has been written about phenomena such as the *Papurau Bro*, localised newspapers which break almost every media rule but, yet, are some of the most successful publications which ever saw the light of the Welsh day as well as the considerable impact which websites and social media are having on the language both in Wales and internationally.

The review will finally look at a number of theoretical stances and notions which have a particular bearing on this piece of research.

2.2 Welsh-language journalism and Welsh identity: so little?

What is of particular significant to this thesis is the paucity of literature in the area relating to the connection between Welsh-language journalism and Welsh identity. Comment is concentrated in history books, which will be examined below, though it is increasingly common to find journalism-related articles within journals such as *Agenda*, published by the Institute of Welsh Affairs – for example that by Nicola Porter (2009) suggesting a robust

approach towards the survival of Welsh journalism - and *Cyfrwng*, the journal of the Welsh media industry, though specific references to journalism even within that publication are, surprisingly, relatively sparse.

Some book chapters have appeared, for example Robert Smith's 2000 survey entitled *Journalism and the Welsh Language*, but it is almost sobering to consider the only dedicated volume so far looking at Welsh-language journalism was published in 1945. Print media outlets were surveyed by Tony Bianchi (2008) for the now defunct Welsh Language Board. Increasingly, too, as funding for TV services such as S4C becomes more challenging (it is now partially funded from the BBC licence fee, the DCMS grant having disappeared) more research is being undertaken to ascertain who is consuming broadcasts in Welsh, notably that unveiled in August 2013 by Beaufort Research. Other surveys, for example that of Lloyd in 1979, are outdated. Other chapters appear in *The Welsh Language and its Social Domains* (Jenkins (ed), 2000), where Philip Henry Jones surveys Publishing in the Welsh Language 1800-1914, Huw Walters looks at the Welsh Language and the Periodical Press and Aled Jones again surveys the Welsh Language and Journalism. Recent broadcasting developments, particularly regarding digital television and on-line journalism are very rarely mentioned.

Many of the references in general history books are highly useful, even if relatively few and far between. They do put the early Welsh press into context and they do delve, at times, into the content of these publications. However, for anyone with an interest in Welsh publications, it does mean looking at numerous sources and piecing various snippet of information together. There is also the differing approach between authors: some are highly analytical, looking at publications and their contents in some depth. Others take a less detailed approach. Some (see below) even pass off the contribution of journalists in either language current in Wales as practically irrelevant, making their assessment in a few lines.

2.3 Nations and States

What, precisely, is a nation? Trawl the Internet, and it's likely that around 200 million definitions will be offered, each with a minutely different emphasis, each suggesting a subtle variation. Consult a thesaurus for definitions of nation and a lexicon of words, often seen as interchangeable one with the other, pour forth. These include country, state, land, power,

superpower, commonwealth, kingdom, sovereign state, nation state, republic, federation, confederation, motherland, fatherland, people, race, civilisation, tribe . . . the list is certainly long, if not inclusive of words with miniscule and subtle variations of meaning and definition (Chambers Thesaurus, 1986).

Where does Wales find herself amongst all these definitions? All around the world, nations and peoples are in a constant state of change, sometimes by mutual consent, at others because of aggressive action by a neighbour. How is Wales affected? How is the country – or nation – perceived both by itself and by others? Is Wales, itself, changing as the media become increasingly globalised and influences from all over the world are felt in an increasingly strong way?

While many authors struggled with the concepts of states, nations and national identities through the centuries it was possibly Ernest Renan, the 19th century French philosopher and historian, who was the catalyst for the often fractious debates relating to nations and nationhood which developed in the 20th century, certainly as far as the European continent was concerned.

His essay *Que'est-ce qu'une nation?* (What is a Nation?) was first delivered in a lecture at the Sorbonne in 1882. In an extraordinarily prescient comment, he wrote: "Nowadays . . . race is confused with nation and sovereignty analogous to that of really existing peoples is attributed to ethnographic or, rather, linguistic groups" (Renan in Eley and Suny, 1996, p.42).

Renan argued that since the fall of the Roman Empire and the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire, Europe has been in a constant state of change, though with some sort of equilibrium. France, Russia, England and Germany will remain political units for centuries to come, "crucial pieces on a chequerboard whose squares will forever vary in importance and size but will never be wholly confused with each other" (ibid, p.43).

Renan argued that the modern nation is "a historical result brought about by a series of convergent facts" (ibid, p.45). That could be as the result of a ruling dynasty, as in France, or through the direct will of several provinces, as is the case with Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium. In other cases, it is through the direct will of diverse provinces, as was the case

with Italy and Germany. In Wales's case after the "annexation" of the country by the Tudor monarchy in England, things were slightly different.

Renan later explored the links with feudalism – a "link between families and the soil" as he put it – race or dynastic creations which, he suggested, give legitimacy to nations. He also explored, in some depth, issues of ethnicity, noting that the British Isles are populated by a fusion of Celtic and Germanic peoples where the proportion, one to the other, is difficult to define. Again, this begs the question as to how Welsh Wales really is.

Four types of national development in Europe were described by Miroslav Hroch. His first phase talks of the "inception of national agitation . . . under the old regime of absolutism" (Hroch in Eley and Suny, 1996, p.64). The second phase would occur in a similar way, though it would follow a constitutional revolution. The third type would see the development of a national character under the old regime – Serbia, Greece or Bulgaria under the Ottoman Empire, for example. The final characteristic, which encapsulates Wales, sees national agitation begin under constitutional settings and against the background of a capitalist structure, such as in the Basque country, Catalonia or Flanders and, to a degree the Celtic lands of Wales, Scotland and Brittany.

Goonatilake (1995) argued that globalisation could account for many changes in the ways nations perceive themselves. "Economies and cultures around the world are being embedded increasingly in more and more pervasive global webs," he wrote (p.225). In many ways, Wales – as well as many other smaller nations – is being threatened, if not engulfed, by multinational companies, global media empires, supra-national political and economic unions where, while individual national trails are encouraged and celebrated, in reality they are subservient to macro-political and economic agendas.

Others argued that a nation is a rather more fluid notion, as noted above. It could be people from numerous backgrounds administered by one central government – as was the UK, prior to devolution. Or it could be defined as a smaller group within that central political unit, which would apply to Wales, or it might encompass the likes of the Basques whose nation identity straddles two nation-states, namely France and Spain.

Ethnicity is also used as a definition of nation. However, Das and Harindranath (1995, p.

505) suggest that:

For an ethnic community to be considered a nation it must be politicised into first considering itself a nation, it must have or be seeking independent statehood. Communities which are seeking statehood based on assumptions of common ethnicity are said to be involved in ‘nationalist’ movements (or secessionist movements, depending on who’s talking).

That’s where arguments in Wales spill over into issues around Welsh and non-Welsh speakers with some putting forward the view that someone who speaks the language is, somehow, more Welsh – even more “pure” Welsh – than someone who does not. And what of Welsh independence? As far as secession is in question, there is little appetite at this time for Welsh independence with a poll, taken immediately after the September 2014 Scottish independence referendum, showing less than 5% of the Welsh population considering independence as a desirable goal for the future.

A state has a rather more certain definition. Hall (1984, pp.9-10) said that power is shared, the rights of participation in government would be legally (or constitutionally) defined and that political representation should be wide. State power should be secular and the boundaries of national sovereignty should be clearly defined. That is clearly not the case in Wales, though the notion of national sovereignty has grown slowly since the advent of the Welsh Assembly in 1999.

Wilson and Donnan (1998) argue that state borders are virtually obsolete. Their premise is that both nation and state have declined almost to the point of obsolescence and that the word political embraces not only nationality but also gender, sexuality, race and that these issues have taken up a significantly more important political significance.

Post-modern political analyses often fail to query the degree to which the states sustains its historically significant dominant role as an arbiter of control, violence, order and organisation for those whose identities are being transformed by world forces (p.3).

The notion of the nation-state is more complex. Connor (1993) suggested that there are very few states which have a mono-ethnic population. These include places such as Portugal and Japan while other territories – including Wales – are homes to multiple ethnic groups. The suggestion by Eriksen (1993, p.28) that “many inter-ethnic relations are highly asymmetrical regarding access to political power and economic resources” suggests that a dominant community will succeed in making their particular culture the accepted national culture. To an extent, this is true in Wales today where many attributes perceived as English come to define the nation. But yet, there are many national characteristics which are solely Welsh and which have survived the constant onslaught from across Offa’s Dyke for four centuries and more. The language is one. A distinct Welsh ‘feeling’ in literature – an almost sombre, introspective Celtic moodiness – has survived. A feeling of radicalism in politics remains – just. There are others, of course.

2.4 National Identity and Nationalism

Hartley (1994) spoke of “one nation being what others are not”, arguing ‘nation’ often means ‘nation state’ and suggesting that sovereign states have their own governments, boundaries, defence forces and symbolic markers of nationhood, such as flags, anthems, currencies, a head of state, UN membership and so on. Das and Harindranath (1995) spoke in rather more general terms, suggesting that a nation means power sharing with clearly defined rights of participation in government. Certainly, national identity is clearly on show when it comes to sport, major historical events, disasters, wars and conflicts, where loyalty to one’s flag and fellow citizens forges those critical bonds. It is akin to what Parekh (1994) said when he wrote about national identity being constituted as a result of interlacing forces of history and collective choice.

Mackay’s suggestion (2010) is that the words ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ are highly contested and often mean different things.

Welsh and English, Pakistani and Polish can be seen as ethnic groups. An ethnic group is one whose members share a distinct awareness of a common cultural identity separating them from other groups around them (p.93).

For Anthony D. Smith (1996), the very notion of nation is often created by nationalists to serve their own political ends. His working definition of a nation is quite clear. “A nation is a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights” (p.107). Quite whether this works for the purpose of this research is questionable. There is clearly a sense of history and culture, there is now a clearly unified territory, and there is an emerging economic structure which is clearly Welsh, due to efforts made by the Welsh Government, though Westminster remains a major influence on the nation. The Welsh Government does look after the education system, but there is not a defined Welsh legal system. Meanwhile Connor (1993, p.377) wrote of the creation of a “common psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all non-members.” Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) even suggest that many national characteristics are artificial inventions – flags, national anthems, and so on – and that these traditions provide the population with a way to identify with their nation-state.

The element of invention is particularly clear here, since the history which became part of that fund of knowledge is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularised and institutionalised by those who function it is to do so (p.13).

Guibernau (1999, p.13) took the argument one stage further.

To be or not to be recognised 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.

She further argued about the definition of a specific community as a nation. This

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 (ibid).

Guibernau suggests that there are five dimensions to the nation. There is a psychological dimension, where people consciously feel they belong to a group. There are also cultural, territorial, political and historic dimensions. Her discussion of multinational states could be applied significantly to Wales. There is much talk, particularly in political circles, of “multi-cultural Britain” though Wales is often rather overshadowed in this particular debate. While there are ethnic minorities living in Wales – predominantly in larger metropolitan centres such as Cardiff and Newport where shipping links helped make those cities home to a multitude of newcomers to the Welsh shores, but also in places like Wrexham, long the home to Polish immigrants dating from well before World War II - how does the indigenous population of the country think of itself? The divisions are significant and will be examined later in this thesis. And what of people to move from other parts of the UK to settle in Wales? Can they become Welsh by “naturalisation”? Or are they, as some might argue, diluting the ethnic and cultural “DNA” of Wales? And would it be fair to consider a Welsh speaker (part of just 20% of the population of Wales) as an ethnic minority in his or her own country?

Anderson (1983), for instance, suggests that many nation-states are “imagined communities”, mainly because, although people will imagine that everyone else in their community will share the same ideals, they will never really know since they will not meet everyone within a community of thousands, if not millions.

This is not to say, insists Anderson, that nations are counterfeit communities foisted on the peoples of Europe and the Americas by manipulative elites or abstract historical processes. Rather the nation must be an imagined community “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives them image of their communion”.” (Anderson, 1990).

Anderson seeks after the truth of how people establish boundaries of similarity and difference. His conclusion is that nation-states are impersonal forms of a socio-political organisation, glued together by institutions such as a common education system which promotes shared values, institutions such as museums and arts bodies and a mass media consumed by the majority of the country. Anderson also suggests that national identity is neither absolute nor exclusive. Nationalism might be a powerful force but regional and national loyalties are far from exclusive: it is possible to be Welsh and British, for instance (Hajkowski, 2010, p.6). Another criticism of Anderson’s approach is the notion that regional

differences are, equally, imagined. Think of the antipathy between North and South Wales as an example. To counter this, Anderson points to the print industry as being one of the most powerful forces to destroy an “imagined” community by reporting and writing about a national entity, something that early Welsh journalists began and acted as the catalyst for future media development in Wales, especially in the Welsh language.

A major issue for Guibernau, though, is that while some nations exist they remain within the political boundaries of other, often more powerful, national entities. Examples include Catalonia, Québec, the Basque Country and, of course, Wales. Yet globalisation is often serving to homogenise national identities: the complaint that countries are being “Americanised” is common, referring often to the overwhelming nature of media, commerce, political ideas and conventions and so on from the USA, though for Wales, Americanisation has, until relatively recently, been much less of a threat than that of Anglicisation. Clearly, though, globalisation is not a concept which could apply to Welsh values or traditions, since the language is not a major world medium of communication and, while the Welsh diaspora is extensive, those values and traditions are not spread worldwide and cannot stand up to the power of the Anglo-American cultural ‘tsunami’. Guibernau suggested that the

Rise of nations without states is closely connected to two interrelated factors, the intensification of globalisation processes and the transformations affecting the nation-state (1999, p.17).

Hobsbawm (1990) argued this very point, even suggesting that smaller nations were more protected by their inclusion into larger nations. It was left to Tönnies to consider the differentiation between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*).

The theory of the *Gesellschaft* deals with the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the *Gemeinschaft* in so far as the individuals peacefully live and dwell together. However, in the *Gemeinschaft* they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in *Gesellschaft*, they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors (Tönnies in Anderson 1986, p.74)

Those considerations have considerable merit for “strong” countries. What about those which are relatively weak? Guibernau (1999, p.35) further considers those countries suffering from a weak national identity. She talks about a successful assimilation programme by the

dominant state results in a considerable degree of integration of the national minority involved or a situation in which the national minority has been repressed over the a long period. She even suggests that it could all be the result of an historical accident.

Identity, though, is one of the most fundamental aspects of nationhood. “Identity is people’s source of meaning and experience,” suggested Castells (2004, p.6). He sought out further clarification from Calhoun (1994), who wrote:

We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distractions between self and other, we and they, are not made . . . Self-knowledge – always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery – is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others (1994, pp.9-10).

Castells (ibid) goes even further in his clarification of identity.

The construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations (p.7).

In recent years, argued Stuart Hall (1996), national identity has become disrupted. He suggested that the Marxist view ‘de-centres’ any stable sense of identity in that it argues that there are always conditions to identity which the subject cannot construct. Men and women, according to Marxist ideals, make history but it is not made under conditions of their own making.

Hall explores Freudian notions that national identity is very much grounded on subconscious ideas, what Hall calls “the huge unknowns of our psychic lives” (p340). Saussurian linguistic theories suggest that all discourse – which would include questions of nation identity – are placed and described within our existing linguistic abilities. In order to alter an idea or concept, all previous connotations linked with any word must be eradicated. Hall’s fourth force which he examined is that of destabilisation, where he links the notion of national identity to that of expanding our own concepts of the world. The Western world, for instance, including its values and perceptions, were challenged as other areas of the world were discovered.

In many ways, those challenges are now reversed, even in an age when it is assumed the globalisation is creating a single world order.

“The last half of the 20th century will go down in history as a new age of rampant and proliferating nationalisms of a more durable nature than the dreadful but now banished tyrannies which have also characterised our century. The urge to express one’s identity, and to have it recognised tangibly by others, is increasingly contagious and had to be recognised as an elemental force, even in the shrunken, apparently homogenising, high-tech world of the end of the 20th century” (Hooson, 1994, pp.2-3)

The notion of nationalism is “notoriously slippery”, according to Hoffman. Writing in 1966, he sought to analyse the distinction and interaction between nation-state and the international system. He highlighted ‘national consciousness’ which would give one nation a sense of cohesion and distinctiveness thus setting them apart from other groups.

The existence of national consciousness does not dictate foreign policy, does not indicate whether the people’s ‘image’ of foreigners will be friendly or unfriendly . . . nor does it indicate whether or not the leaders will be willing to accept sacrifices of sovereignty (p.867).

Hoffman went further, suggesting that a people’s “national situation” includes things such as heredity and character of the people and well as their position in the world. These can include the social structure and political system in which a people lives, as well as outside influences, which would include values, prejudices, opinions, reflexes as well as one’s own traditions and assessments of others. As for nationalism, Hoffman suggested that it is “one of the numerous ways in which political leaders and élites can interpret the dictates, or rather the suggestions, of the national situation” (p.868). His explanation is that national consciousness is a feeling; the national situation is a condition whereas nationalism is a doctrine.

Kellner (1995) takes a rather more critical view, especially as far as multi-culturalism is concerned. “Critical perspectives toward culture and society have long attacked domination and oppression while positively valorising resistance and struggle which attempt to overturn these sources” (p.94). This might well be applied to the Welsh as Kellner goes on to suggest that multi-culturalism seeks values of resistance, empowerment, democracy and freedom and normal, thus criticising the various forms of oppression and domination (ibid). There is also extensive reference to British cultural studies within his book *Media Culture*. A focus on

class and ideology came from an acute sense of the “oppressive and systematic effects of class in British society and the struggles of the 1960s against class inequality and oppression” (p.36). Here’s an area which could easily define the relationship between the Welsh, the English and the respective media which they consumed.

Clearly, many of the notions explored above could apply to Wales. There are clear national symbols – the flag, national institutions, and the language – which can apply to traits of identity. Much of what Smith (1996) proposes does exist in Wales but Connor (1993) cannot be necessarily right when he talks about nations being unified, because the language can be a highly divisive factor in Wales. Guibernau’s ideas (1993) that a nation is defined by its feeling of self-determination may also not work in Wales. While the Welsh narrowly voted for devolution in 1997, there is clearly very little appetite for full independence at this stage. Overall, then, some writers do relate strongly to many aspects of Welsh identity but others pinpoint the ways in which Welsh identity is very hard to pin down.

2.5 Welsh National Identity

This section attempts to pinpoint what, exactly, creates a Welsh national identity and how that has been charted in literature. This, as suggested above, can be a tricky task. Martin Johnes (2012) suggests that it is precisely because Wales was forced to wait a long time before the political overlords in Westminster allowed some political autonomy – a Secretary of State for Wales in 1964, for instance, when Scotland had been afforded the same office almost a century earlier. Johnes further talks about how intertwined the Welsh economy is with that of England and how many institutions are shared. “When Wales is dissected or deconstructed, beyond institutions, only the Welsh language makes the nation different to England,” he wrote (p.3). Yet, by the end of his survey of Wales since 1939, the fact that there is a Welsh Government, that responsibility for certain institutions such as the NHS have been devolved (with more to follow in the wake of the Scottish Referendum of 2014) and with education and the NHS, for example, acquiring a distinctly Welsh brand underline that change is afoot. Johnes further conceded that people feel more definitely Welsh than they did before World War II. Add to that the distinctly Welsh flavour of major BBC shows such as *Torchwood* or the comedy *Gavin and Stacey*, and the blurred border between England and Wales seems rather less indistinct.

As early as 1949, Alun Oldfield-Davies, then Controller of BBC Wales said that the “basic job of the BBC in Wales is to nourish and encourage national unity and to add wealth, depth, and value to all aspects of national life” (Hajkowski, 2010). He further suggested that much of South Wales had been anglicised but that the BBC regarded the “least anglicised and modernised . . . to be the most “Welsh” (ibid, p.169).

Hajkowski (ibid) continues that there was a feeling that, once the Cardiff station opened, that “BBC stations in the Principality would express the “Welshness” of the areas they served. (ibid, p.168). He further underlines the fact that South Wales was served by stations in Cardiff and Swansea while North Wales had to rely on what was served from Manchester. That is in stark contrast to what was offered to Scotland: virtually a national broadcasting service while Wales was represented by two “local” radio outlets at Cardiff and Swansea.

However, Hajkowski (ibid) is a little more forgiving of the BBC in its early days in Wales (compared to some critics), noting that the Welsh language was heard just two weeks after the Cardiff station first went on air – on St David’s Day in 1923. He does note, however, that the West Region could never really serve Wales. The region produced 20 hours of programmes a week. Divide that between the Welsh and the West of England interests, it reduces to ten. Divide that ten between English-language and Welsh-language interests in Wales, it was likely that just five hours of a week of programming would in Welsh (p.179). Moreover, complaints began to flood in from Devon and Cornwall, upset by too much Welsh content on their regional service. Collie Knox even said, in the *Daily Mail*, that “Wales should be served, but not to such an extent as to bring the entire West County up in arms” (Lucas, 1981, p.54).

But establishing that notion of nationhood has been not so much an uphill struggle for the Welsh, more the ascent of a near-vertical mountain where the summit simply gets further away. Comparing Wales with Scotland helps underline the difficulties Wales has faced. Scotland has its own legal system, a national church, a defined banking system where clearing banks issue distinctly Scottish banknotes and, of course, a Parliament (though there are moves to rename the Welsh Assembly as the Welsh Parliament: indeed, it was always called *Y Senedd* in Welsh, which translates as The Parliament) and, when the BBC was first established, extensive Scottish programming was an integral part of its remit. These are just a few of the national institutions Wales lacks. Scotland is a clearly defined kingdom – not a “federation” of formerly independent princedoms - where many governmental powers were devolved even before the Scottish Parliament was re-established in the late 1990s.

Barlow (2005) puts it succinctly. He writes about a newcomer to Wales turning to the mass media for enlightenment.

They are likely to be puzzled by the limited amount of locally produced material broadcast by ITV1 Wales (previously HTV) and BCB Wales, and how little the programming schedules of these two services differ from the UK-wide ITV and BBC networks. On the other hand, they may be pleasantly surprised at the range and quality of local programming offered in Welsh on S4C (p.194).

Barlow (ibid) also draws attention to what is left behind when a colonial master leaves a territory (something which, obviously, has not happened in Wales). He suggests they leave behind “a language; and education system; certain values and attitudes; religious practices; ways of organising public life and systems of mass communication” (p.196). Further, he suggests that the literature on media in Wales is “littered with references to infiltration, exploitation, centralism, stranglehold, contempt and domination” (p.197).

The principality of Wales, as a commentator put it in 1925, was an “extinct palatinate”. “The average Englishman”, wrote an emissary from Head Office [of the BBC] in 1935, “who is perfectly prepared to regard the Scotch or the Irish as being essentially different in outlook and character from the English . . . is seldom prepared to believe that the Welsh are a different nation – in fact, if there is any general attitude towards the Welsh, it is that they are a nuisance” (Davies, 1994, pp.49-50).

Golding and Murdock (2000, p.70, quoted in Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley, 2005) talk about the difference of those organisations referred to as the “cultural industries” which will, of course, include the Welsh media. They are different, they say,

Because the goods produced, such as newspapers, films, television and radio programmes, generate many of the images and discourses that people use to interpret, understand and, ultimately, act upon their own social, cultural and economic environment.

This is, in fact, an important factor in this study. Understanding what aspects of Welsh life go together to create national identity is fundamental to this thesis. The argument will build on Golding and Murdock’s ideas, adding that language is an unassailable part of the national

mix and that journalism did much to bring that language into the homes of the people of Wales.

The notion, stated above, that the Welsh might be a nuisance has not stopped large numbers of English people moving across the border. As R. Merfyn Jones wrote:

The Welsh, in particular, have survived despite the lack of a separate legal and educational system and a recent history that has witnessed massive immigration and integrationist pressures (Jones, R., p.330).

Jones analyses Welsh identity along party political lines, rejecting the romanticised, caricatured visions of Victorian writers George Borrow and G. J. Bennett. The Liberals dominated Wales in the 19th century and, according to Jones, had established a *gwerin* by the 1880s. The Welsh embraced land reform, non-conformity and temperance. And yet, wrote Jones, from this regard for liberalism

flows a number of forcefully delimitative factors that constricted the growth of a national identity: it was partial and had its core in a religio-cultural rather than a national discourse . . . Welshness thus became a cause to which one adhered, rather than a country to which one belonged (ibid, p338).

Jones's views, again, will fuel some of the debate in this thesis. Why would people "adhere" rather than feel that they "belong"? What role does journalism play in this state of mind?

For much of the 20th century, Labour ruled Welsh political minds. From its power base in the South Wales coalfields, it spread its influence deep into rural areas. Welshness was measured against the cultural and sporting achievements of the coalfields, as well as strained labour relations – the strikes and lockouts of 1910-11, 1921 and 1926, along with bands, choirs, rugby and boxing. Disasters related to mining also etched their part in the Welsh psyche, notably Senghenydd in 1913, Gresford in 1934 and Aberfan in 1966.

Whereas . . . the Liberal monolith had its sectarian aspects and conflated Welshness with a particular set of values, so Labour upheld not only a degree of working-class exclusivity but also saw Welshness in terms of the universalist values of collectivism (ibid, p.341).

Language, though, remains a major Welsh identifier, according to Jones.

In the discourse of the Welsh language, there are certain people distinguished by their attachment to *y peth* (things); these are the concerns considered to be central to a Welsh identity: the *eisteddfod*, poetry, *cerdd dant*, harp music and non-conformist religion. During the 1980s, the communities that nurtured such people, guardians of a popular Welsh-language culture, came to be under siege both from the ceaseless bombardment of English-language television and, equally dramatically, from inward invasion (ibid, p.350).

Yet, suggested Jones, while a 1989 meeting of the House of Commons Welsh Affairs Committee suggested that Wales presented a “fragmented image”, there remains a demographic and cultural crisis in the country where, just as the Welsh institutional identity has “become more sharply delineated” its political, economic, social and cultural crisis has deepened” (ibid, p.352).

Much of the quest for Welshness is, according to Ross (2008) founded not so much on seeking an identity but more preserving the language. Writing about the birth of Plaid Cymru, he wrote:

For the Plaid Cymru members, the cause of the Welsh language and the cause of Welsh self-government became one. For many of them, the main reason for a government was to protect the language, rather than as the people’s expression of identity . . . [unlike Ireland or Scotland] . . . there was no tradition to be restored (p.237).

A study of what constitutes Welshness was compiled by Denis Balsom, Peter Madgwick and Denis Van Mechelen in the wake of the 1979 General Election. They concluded that “class appears to have replaced chapel and language as the basic source of partisan allegiance in rural Wales” (1984, p.160). They also concluded that

Language remains too exclusive a motivation to account for the wider Welsh phenomenon. National identity, a sense of being Welsh, provides a more inclusive bond of fraternity, but appears to be a trait which can vary enormously in intensity (ibid, p.160).

A 1968 report by Rose, cited by Balsom, Madgwick and Van Mechelen, suggested that people in Wales considered themselves to be more British than Welsh (ibid, p.162). However, barely a decade later, and Welshness was becoming more pronounced.

In contemporary Wales knowledge of the language is a significant attribute, giving a social capability, a claim to an indigenous and, today, a prestigious culture and a badge of identity (ibid, p.162).

The trio went on to divide Wales geographically and along linguistic capabilities and found that the identification with Welshness had grown, with Welsh speakers describing themselves as predominantly Welsh while non-Welsh speakers divided themselves between a perception of being primarily Welsh or primarily British. The prime denominators for cultural attachment, amongst Welsh speakers included being taught Welsh at school, adhering to a non-conformist religious denomination and, significantly for this study, watching Welsh television news at least once a week and reading a Welsh-orientated daily newspaper. Amongst all those surveyed, what constituted a Welsh identity included national consciousness, language and culture, the economy, community bonds, the environment and very significant items such as music, singing and rugby.

Childs (1992) notes, along with other authors, that the policy of direct action by nationalist sympathisers did bring about radical change in Wales. Official governmental business began to be carried out in Welsh and greater resources were devoted to broadcasting, notably with the establishment of BBC Radio Cymru in 1977 and its expansion in 1979 which led to the station being on air and broadcasting in Welsh for 18 hours a day and the launch of S4C, the Welsh language TV channel, in November 1982. Welsh language primary and secondary schools rapidly gained in popularity, especially with non-Welsh-speaking parents who had moved to Wales and wanted their children to absorb the national identity.

Childs further noted how politicians in Westminster in the late 1960s and 1970s seemed to be rattled by the newly resurgent Welsh nation and, especially, its outward characteristics.

The touchy regime of George Thomas, an amiable non-Welsh speaking Secretary of State for Wales, who proved curiously impervious to Welsh-language claims, seemed

out of touch with the new spirit of conciliation. What was beyond doubt was that the government had to respond in political terms (ibid, p.289).

In Wales, language – as noted above - remains a major national definition, especially as gaining linguistic recognition took a long struggle, starting with the struggles of the Welsh establishment with the newly established BBC in the early 1920s and culminating with Saunders Lewis's dire warnings about the future of the language in his lecture *Tynged yr Iaith* in 1962 (www.peoplescollectionwales). For Anderson, author of *Imagined Communities* referred to above, a country like Wales does, indeed, form an “imagined community” (1983, p41). Here Anderson discusses the use of the English language as a part of national identity, at the same time revealing that the notion of England at one point covered “not only today’s England and Wales, but also portions of Ireland, Scotland and France.”

Yet Gwynfor Evans (1971, p.48) suggested

Language is the vehicle of the nation’s culture, the medium through which the nation’s values have been and continue to be transmitted through the treasury of the nation’s experiences and memories . . . it is the badge of Welsh nationhood.

Evans’ views are broadly in line with those of Dayan (1998) who talked of mass media “reconstructing or maintaining in existence already established but somehow fragile or imperilled communities”. The views of Evans and Dayan are summed up by Peter Dahlgren (quoted by Dayan) who talked of a “micro public sphere” of Welsh literature and journalism, existing within another, bigger micro sphere of Welsh output in both Welsh and English which, in turn, exist within the British context. All their views are summed up in the unlikely figure of Joseph Stalin who saw language as one of the principal attributes of a nation (Stalin in Hutchinson et al, 1994). Stalin, though, suggested that a nation needed four areas of commonality as a recipe for success. Language was one, but so was a common territory, a uniform economic system and what he considered to be a common psychological make-up. But how Welsh is Wales now? According to Mackay (2010, p.105) Wales is the most ethnically diverse part of the UK, with around a quarter of the population born outside Wales. Where, exactly, does that put the Welsh language in the early part of the 21st century? The American linguist Sapir talked about the relationship between language and identity as far back as the 1970s. He suggested that “language is the most potent single factor for the

growth of individuality” (pp.15-16). That, as noted above, is surely the case in Wales. The banning of Welsh from all official use by Henry VIII within the Act of Union in 1536 was a first step to linguistic persecution. The 1847 report into education in Wales said that the language was a “great evil” and pointed to the moral and economic degeneracy of the Welsh. Amazingly, that was a document produced in Westminster with little regard for those affected by its content. Not one of those who produced the report could speak the language for which they produced such vitriol though, at the time they produced their report, virtually 100% of the Welsh people communicated in Welsh. The actions of Henry VIII and subsequent administrations meant that what Welsh institutions existed were slowly eradicated and merged into the English state. But, noted Charlotte Aull Davies (2010, p.170): “Welsh identity was based virtually entirely on cultural differences, most obviously the Welsh language.” Davies went on to chart the significance that the political activism of Welsh nationalists had on cementing the position of the language as a vital part of the Welsh identity.

The Welsh language provided an officially sanctioned recognition of Welsh distinctiveness for the first time since the 16th century. Furthermore, it became one basis for creating an institutional infrastructure within Wales, again something that had not existed for centuries (ibid, p.172).

Davies further talks of how a national language can bolster a nationalist movement by securing public recognition from the state, whether through publication of official literature in that language, its use in public areas such as courts or in broadcasting. Its use in education can create organisations and institutions specific to the national territory – in Wales, the National Eisteddfod, for example – and it gives speakers, as well as non-speakers who are resident in the country – a feeling that they are “different”. All political parties in Wales have been supportive of moves to encourage the use of Welsh.

In opposition to much of what is said regarding making Wales distinct, Renan was also somewhat dismissive of using language to define a nation.

The political importance attaching to languages derives from their being regarded as signs of race. Nothing could be more false . . . In Wales, English is spoken . . . Even if

you go back to origins, similarity of language did not presuppose similarity of race (Ibid, p.50).

For historian Andrew Marr, though, Wales is almost an irrelevance. The country only affords miniscule mention in *A History of Modern Britain* (2008), and that largely around the struggle for devolution. His dismissal of all the history of Wales comes by way of a comparison with Scotland. Referring to Wales, he wrote that

Her act of union came in 1536, not 1707, and it was a crucial difference. Wales had no single powerful national church, no parliament to look back on, no Enlightenment universities or modern legal code of her own. Indeed, she had no official capital until Cardiff was recognised as late as 1955, no minister or administrative offices until the 1950s and no Secretary of State for Wales until 1964 (p.448).

Yet any identity was almost lost following the 1536 Act of Union, right up to the early 19th century and, arguably, virtually until the end of the 20th century. Morgan (2005) talked of a loss of any sense of history.

The Welsh scholars always bewailed the fact that the Welsh in previous centuries had lost a sense of their own history: this was remedied to some extent in the 18th and early 19th centuries . . . [though] there were also popular history booklets in Welsh, often giving highly romanticised and sometimes mythical versions of early Welsh history (p.216).

As was the case of France, the ruling dynasty – in Wales’s case England – dictated much of what it regarded should be the national characteristics of the country. England forbade the use of Welsh in Wales, for instance. Indeed, the will of the Tudors was to erase Wales completely from the map, willing that it should be a part of England. They later imposed the Anglican church on a country which was, in early Tudor times, still predominantly Roman Catholic but which, as time passed, embraced the religious practices offered by the Non-conformist churches with considerable zeal, largely by-passing the traditions and values of the Church of England. And yet, despite the efforts to anglicise the whole of Wales, the country retained regional characteristics, something which will be discussed later in this chapter: the old Princedom of Gwynedd, in the mountains and harsh backdrop of North West Wales felt a world away from the lowlands of Morgannwg in the south. But, ignoring the internal diversities, Wales was still distinct from England – and from anywhere else, for that matter -

in terms of language, culture and, to an extent, ethnicity. This was something completely ignored by the English throne.

While many points discussed above apply to Wales, some do not. Peter Childs (1997) argues Wales is clearly distinguishable from England. “In terms of place, it is country rather than nation, that remains the major cultural, though not necessarily political, grouping with which people identify” (p47).

Hartley (2008) adds:

If territory does not define a nation, then neither does race nor ethnicity, and neither does language nor culture – most modern nations are multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-cultural to some degree, if not always in official policy (p.181).

Eriksen (1993), Smith (1991) and Connor (1993) speak of multi-ethnicity while other writers (Kumar 2003, Price 1991, Langlands 1999, Castells 1999) examine nationhood from a variety of perspectives, variously suggesting government, geography and community define nation. Castells (2004) also suggests that contemporary nationalism is less proactive than reactive, saying that it is more cultural than political and thus “more oriented towards the defence of an already institutionalised culture than toward the construction or defence of a state” (p.33).

Eriksen (ibid), for instance, focuses on a number of issues faces major ethnic groups around the world.

Native American and Australian Aborigines have organised themselves politically and are demanding that their identities and territorial entitlements should be recognised by the state . . . the political dynamics in Europe moved issues of ethnic and national identities to the forefront of political life in the 1990s (p.2).

Interestingly, that was precisely the point at which the Welsh voted for a measure of devolved government.

Eriksen went further and quoted from Glazer and Moynihan's 1963 work which suggested that the oft-quoted American 'melting pot' did not actually exist.

"Rather than eradicating ethnic differences," they wrote, "modern American society had actually created a new form of self-awareness in people, which is expressed in a concern about roots and origins." (Glazer and Moynihan in Eriksen, 1993, p.9). Again, this was the period in which self-awareness really took root in Wales, the Nationalists achieved considerable political success, the Free Wales Army's violent protests took to the streets and the rather more gentle demonstrations of the likes of Welsh Language Society made frequent headlines.

One of the popular myths of Welsh identity, namely that the people are really English but a little different – one of the free-to-pick-up AA maps, widely available in the 1950s at service stations, talked about the Welsh having their own language but that tourists would soon become used to 'the *dialect*' – is exploded by Eriksen.

Referring to indigenous peoples, he suggested that

The inhabitants of a territory who are politically relatively powerless . . . are only partly integrated into the dominant nation-state . . . the Welsh of Great Britain are not considered indigenous populations although they are as indigenous, technically speaking, as the Sami of northern Scandinavia or the Jívaro of the Amazon basin (ibid, p.7).

Connor (1993) explores the fine line which defines nationalism and patriotism.

Nationalism refers to an emotional attachment to one's people – one's ethno national group. It is therefore proper to speak of an English, Welsh or Scottish nationalism, but not of a 'British' nationalism, the latter being a manifestation of patriotism (p.374).

Although writing in 1993, he talked of the paucity of nation-states in the world, where one people inhabits a single nation. "Of some 180 contemporary states, probably not more than 15 could qualify as nation-states: Japan, Iceland, the two Koreas, Portugal and a few others" (ibid, p.375).

Where does this put Wales? It's a country where four-fifths of the population do not speak the indigenous language and where the dominant neighbour swamps the country with its broadcasts, newspapers and magazines, tourists and "immigrants". All transport links go to centres in that dominant neighbour and most retailing, banking, communications and most other aspects of modern-day living are provided from over the border. While Balsom, Madgwick and Van Mechelen (op cit) noted something of a revival of Welsh identity in the early 1980s – possibly linked with the emergence of BBC Radio Cymru and S4C as major forces in the Welsh-language media - Webster (2006) implies that there has been a dilution of 'Welshness' in Wales – along with so many other places – would be hard to pinpoint.

While the development and growth of the British empire occurred over many centuries, it is difficult to be precise about dates without first defining what is to be included under the category of imperial expansion (p.7).

Many, of course, would argue that Henry VIII's efforts went a long way towards igniting the flame of imperial expansion simply by looking to the west and spying Wales.

The absorption into an English dominated 'British Empire' of Wales, Scotland and Ireland inevitably carries the chronological scope of imperial conquest back into the Middle Ages (as early as the 12th and 13th centuries) and merges debates about empire and the forging of a distinctive British national identity (Webster, p.10).

Morgan (1980) lamented how Wales had been gradually eradicated from the map, citing a 19th century Bishop of St David's, much maligned by both politicians and other churchmen for suggesting that Wales was merely a 'geographical expression' (p.60).

There is considerable discussion of the national differences between Scotland and Wales by Morgan (in Taylor and Thomson, *ibid*, p.201) where he talks about the systematic destruction of Welsh institutions after the 1536 Act of Union, culminating in the "quiet demise" of the Court of Great Sessions in 1830, an institution which had allowed the use of Welsh in legal proceedings, something which would not happen again for approaching another century and a half. Morgan acknowledges the Scottish legal and banking system, its church and its ancient universities which dated from not long after the establishment of Oxford and Cambridge. "In

Scotland, enduring and powerful institutions and images created a surviving sense of Scottish citizenship,” he wrote. “A similar sense of Welsh citizenship prior to 1800 lay in the realms of imagination or fantasy” (p.202).

Yet there is still a feeling of ‘Welshness’ in the country, probably best described by Connor (ibid) in which people perceive the state – and, here, probably read the nation or the country – as an extension of one’s own national group. So indigenous Welsh (not necessarily Welsh speakers) and those who do speak the language see the whole country as their homeland and as a homogenous state – a situation which the Germans call *Staatvolk*.

This does, however, create tensions. As Connor (1999) notes:

Basque or Catalan nationalism has often been in conflict with a Spanish patriotism; a Tibetan nationalism with a Chinese patriotism; a Flemish nationalism with a Belgian patriotism; a Corsican nationalism with a French patriotism; a Kashmiri nationalism with an Indian patriotism; a Quebec nationalism with a Canadian patriotism. Nationalism and patriotism are vitally different phenomena and should not be confused (p.196).

Langlands (1999) interprets the British-English situation in broadly similar terms. She suggests that Britain is a “modern political entity grounded in the pre-modern institutions of the constitution and the monarchy”.

What is Britishness? Is it just a transnational state patriotism, or is it a secondary form of national identity constructed largely in English terms? In other words, is Britishness a political and territorial identity or does it operate on civic and ethnic levels at the same time? (p.53).

Overall, though, Langlands’ interpretations of Britishness suggest a predominance of English institutions, beliefs, historic aspects and traditions. Even the creation of the United Kingdom in the 18th century was mostly English with a little Scottish flavouring added that Wales barely mentioned. “Does Britishness have continued resonance for the Scottish and Welsh?” she asks.

Maybe not, according to Max Jones (2007) who wrote:

The collapse of Empire, the declining significance of religion in public life and relative economic decline have combined to call Britishness into question in the last decades of the 20th century.

If, then, Britishness is largely influenced by English ideals, what would constitute Welshness? How influential is the dominant neighbour to the east on Welsh attitudes and national identity? Langlands (ibid) draws some attention to the old Celtic notion of Britishness, particularly in the early literature of the Welsh bards. She also noted the influence on England of the nominally Welsh Tudor dynasty which acceded to the English throne in 1485 – but went on to do their utmost to subjugate the Welsh who were ruled in religious, political, legal and economic matters as a dependency of England. That might have started in the 16th century and, although the Anglican church in Wales was disestablished in 1914, a more independent Wales only really began to emerge post-devolution with the setting up of the Welsh Assembly in 1999. Until then, however, Wales was content to be mainly Welsh but with British overtones and shared characteristics and values – most notably the English language – and, as Levack (1987, p.209) puts it “complying with the dictates of a British state and assisting that state when it is in need.”

The Welsh politician David Melding (2009) has suggested that Britishness does not subjugate Welsh, Scottish or English national identity but is, rather, an additional dimension of national identity. His analysis is that, while Britishness is changing, this is being driven by the rise in Welsh and Scottish nationalism.

A 2005 study by Richard Haesly attempted to define both Scottish and Welsh identities. He utilised the Q-sort methodology defined by Cohen (1996), categorising his findings in terms of *civic*, where respondents have internalised many of the components of a ‘prototypical civic nationalist’, *proud insular* where the civic national identity is rejected and *superficial Welsh*. Haesly’s findings (2005) revealed a resistance among many categories to immigration but as near a unanimous answer as was discovered when it came to Wales would not be the same if the Welsh language did not exist. There was also a yearning for national pride in historic figures barely recognised by the English, such as Rhodri Mawr, Hywel Dda, Owain Glyndŵr, amongst others. However, he noted anti-English feeling as being prominent, certainly in the

sporting world and a resistance to being lumped together with England as a single nation. There was also a deeply emotional feeling towards a Welsh national identity which few could define. “Wales stretches the imagination process implied in the notion of an imagined community almost to the point of breaking,” he suggested (2005, p.256).

Even within Wales, there appear to be regional differences, referred to above, where attitudes to Welshness differ significantly. The novelist and critic Raymond Williams, for instance, talks about community and how people bond together to form a national character. The poet R. S. Thomas, on the other hand, sees Welsh culture as rooted in the landscape and its associated history.

But time and again and almost without exception commentaries highlight the language as the prime descriptor of Welsh identity. But an article by Denise Rogers, herself an immigrant into Wales from North East England, highlights many more aspects of “Welshness”. She suggests that the Welsh are an ancient people connected to the land and that they are “brave strugglers, sufferers, martyrs and irrepressible underdogs who sometimes win”. She goes on to suggest that the people are ‘co-operative, mutual, socialist’ who value education highly. She also sees them as ‘artistic, poetic, musical’ for whom the Eisteddfod, with all its competitive tradition, is another route to achievement, especially for those whose educational background maybe that bit limited. The Welsh are also the binary opposite of the English, she concluded. “To be Welsh is not to be English. You can be Welsh Somali, Welsh Italian or Welsh American. But never Welsh English” (Wales Arts Review, 2012).

A paper called Dynamics of Diversity from the University of Manchester interpreted evidence from the 2011 Census. In summary, their findings showed that 1.8m of the Welsh population (58%) identified themselves as Welsh only, with 218,000 (7%) identifying themselves as Welsh and British. Ethnic minorities living in Wales are more likely to identify themselves as Welsh rather than British while young people aged up to 17 are far more likely to perceive themselves as Welsh only compared with those over the age of 18. Again, it is those who speak Welsh – some 77% - who would identify themselves as Welsh only, while 76% of those born in Wales would describe themselves as Welsh. Interestingly, those born in Oceania, North America or the Caribbean would say they are Welsh only, while only 8% of those born in England would say they had a Welsh national identity despite living in the country (Harries, Byrne, Lymperopoulou, 2014)

The theory of a tri-partite Wales was formulated in 1985 by the political analyst Denis Balsom, moving on from his earlier study with colleagues Madgwick and Van Mechelen (op cit). His three-Wales model, developing the ideas of regionalism within the country, suggests that there is a British Wales – rooted along the Welsh borders, along the southern seaboard around Newport, Cardiff and the Vale of Glamorgan and taking in Pembrokeshire, the most westerly part of Wales – where attitudes differ little from those neighbours across the border. Welsh Wales, which feels itself to be a distinct community, is based around Swansea and the valleys to its north as well as to the north of Cardiff, while *Y Fro Gymraeg* is the large swathe of the remainder of Wales where the primary language is Welsh.

While Balsom's model may not be as cut and dried as it might seem, Brian Roberts' research (1999) talked about the differences between Valleys residents and the "different" people who live in the West and the North. Roberts' views seem broadly in tune with those of other sociologists who undertook earlier surveys, notable Alwyn Rees's 1950 examination of attitudes at Llanfihangel-yng-Ngwynfa, Ronald Franksberg's 1957 study of Glynceiriog and Isabel Emmett's 1964 work which looked at Llanfrothen. The common conclusion seemed to be that Wales formed a closed social world, where family, local community and locality formed the backbone of their identity. Adjoining communities were regarded with suspicion, if not hostility.

"Nation and nationalism," wrote Betts and Williams (2010) "are important to an understanding of 'race'. Nations mark out a boundary between those who belong (insiders) and those who do not (outsiders). Ideas about the national character and national identity are communicated and sustained through the culture of a society" (p.93).

Even so, though, despite these local differences, the Welsh national character began to fragment as traditional industries – mining, steel – went into decline and with them traditional community activities such as cultural activities, religion and so on, something noted by Adamson (1996).

Although many authors have charted the rise of Welsh nationalism, Childs (1992) highlighted how "in Scotland and Wales, the mounting tide of nationalist resentment against an unsympathetic or remote Whitehall and Westminster showed no sign of abating" (p.287). His

examination charts the fears which gripped the Labour government of Harold Wilson in the 1960s when nationalists first took seats in Westminster – Gwynfor Evans first, in a ground-shifting by-election at Carmarthen in 1966 rapidly followed by Winifred Ewing’s victory in 1967 at Hamilton.

Welsh nationalism had a new credibility. More disturbing, in time, was the activity of the Welsh Language Society, *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*, which favoured direct action against symbols of English rule. Thus attacks were launched on government offices such as Post Offices and the Inland Revenue. Television masts were damaged in protest against the failure to have more Welsh-language broadcasting. To the fury of road travellers in Wales, road signs were regularly defaced in protest at English place names such as Newtown or Cardigan being displayed (ibid, p.288)

Welsh historian Kenneth Morgan (2001) charted how many South Wales communities were deeply suspicious of the English establishment, especially Churchill’s role in the 1910 Tonypany riots, and the intolerant handling by the police of the 1930s unemployment marches. Morgan also referred to a resurgent Scotland and how developments north of the border began to impact on Wales.

The very unity of the United Kingdom has to be measured against the renewed sense of Scottish identity released under Tom Johnson’s aegis at the Scottish Office, and some signs of similar forces at work in Wales with pressure for devolution from the Welsh Reconstruction Committee and major advocates of a Welsh Secretary of State (ibid, p.23)

In his analysis of the 1950 General Election, Morgan suggested that “two nations were clearly emerging in England” – the downtrodden working classes as opposed to the newly-aspiring middle classes – though “the distinct cultures of Wales and Scotland made the position more complicated there (2001, p.85).

The views of Gwynfor Evans, noted above, are brought up to date in a survey of contemporary Wales, edited by Hugh Mackay (2010) where many issues relating to the nation, especially identity, are discussed. Publications such as *Contemporary Wales* also examine this phenomenon. The August 2010 issue, for instance, looks at student perceptions

of Wales and Welshness. Day's 2002 survey of sociological issues in Wales also touches on the sensitivities of national identity.

A volume edited by Bridget Taylor and Katarina Thomson (1999) examine issues around national identity in the wake of the devolution referenda, suggesting, notably, that "any attempt to understand or to measure national identity is a task fraught with difficulties" (p.73). Their suggestion is that an individual's sense of national identity will be influenced by ancestry, place of birth, place of residence, language as well as a number of other considerations. They also refer to David McCrone's phrase "a stateless nation" in his book *Understanding Scotland* (1992). Taylor and Thomson (ibid) noted that Wales does not have a state apparatus to underpin a distinct identity but that its identity has been created and recreated by a 'contradictory relationship' with the dominant English/British neighbour to the east. Population movement into and out of the country throughout the 20th century also did much to disrupt and dilute Welsh identity. Perhaps not surprisingly, one of the main findings of their survey of national identity showed that fluent Welsh speakers considered themselves predominantly more Welsh than British.

Among Welsh identifiers the minority exhibiting strong Welsh 'cultural attachment', defined as knowledge of – or positive attitudes towards – the Welsh language, regular exposure towards Welsh-based media, and non-conformist religious affiliation, were more likely to be Plaid Cymru supporters than the majority with whom identification with the Labour Party predominated (p.83).

The same authors noted an increase in Welsh national identity between 1979 and 1997 (the two dates of the devolution referenda) which, notably, corresponded with a considerable increase in the availability of Welsh-language mass media, notably BBC Radio Cymru and S4C.

Others are less optimistic. Historian John Davies quoted John Rowlands' suggestion that the last generation of Welsh monoglots were "making haste to record a civilisation at death's door" (Davies, 1994). Rosser, meanwhile, suggests the decline of Welsh is inevitable with "the particularisms of the past, roots, tradition and identity . . . swallowed up by a tidal wave of progress."

Nationalism and the various commentaries on it mentioned above, is a considerable area upon which to draw. There are also the parallels between Scotland and Wales and the feelings of nationhood which differ between the two. But time and again, it is language which underlines the Welsh consciousness. From the writings of Saunders Lewis and Gwynfor Evans, through Dayan, Jones, Sapir, Aull Davies and many others, the Welsh language is what underlines the Welsh nation. This study will use these sources to prove that Welsh journalism is, indeed, one of the most powerful contributors to the notion of a Welsh nation and identity.

2.6 The Notion of Post-Colonial Wales

Wales is often thought of as the first colony of England, following the Act of Union in 1543. This thesis argues that the first stirrings of national feeling did not come from the formation of the Welsh Nationalist Party in the 1920s but from the work of early Welsh journalists in the 18th century. While that trend continued and grew, Wales became more assertive until that point at the end of the 20th century when the country voted for devolution and became a nation once again. But is Wales now in a post-colonial era? Chris Williams (2005) argues that it is not. He suggests that Welsh citizens vote on equal terms as their English compatriots. Welsh politicians – David Lloyd George, Aneurin Bevan, for example – have risen up the British political ranks, there is no bar to migration and violent nationalism has been very limited. “Futhermore, one has only to lift one’s eyes from the limited horizon and mainland Britain to begin to realise that the Welsh have been the active agents as well as the passive subjects of imperial expansion” (2005, p.7).

Williams (ibid) goes on to note, however, that the relationship between England and Wales is not one of equality. He quotes Evans (1991) who said that “Wales moved from being a colony to being a part of the Kingdom”. Williams further notes that industrial development in Wales was heavily slanted towards England’s needs but that the country missed out in the distribution of wealth. In addition, there is a long-standing perceived onslaught on the Welsh language and culture, which led Raymond Williams to comment that Welsh culture is a “post-colonial culture, conscious all the time of its own real strengths and potentials, longing only to become its own world but with much too much on its back to be able, consistently, to face its own future” (Williams, D, 2003, p.27). Williams’ final assertion that Wales is not in a post-colonial situation is to make what he describes as the “potentially offensive”

comparison between Wales and former colonies of the British Empire, or those in the French, Spanish, Dutch, German or Portuguese equivalents. “Where, in the modern history of Wales, is the equivalent of the Amritsar Massacre? (And, no, neither the Merthyr or Newport Risings qualify” (Williams, C, 2005, p10).

2.7 Media, the Nation and Welsh Journalism

There can be little doubt that the national media play an important part in the formation of national identity as this thesis sets out to prove. The national papers published in London take a distinctly British view of the world, even in these days of globalised media. The BBC and other national broadcasters maintain a British identity, though some authors – notably Scannell and Cardiff – have been critical of the BBC, suggesting that its Britishness equate with English values, with Scottish, Irish and Welsh elements excluded. In their 1991 work, the authors suggest that “British” music is synonymous with English music and that composers such as Elgar or Vaughan Williams are commonly heard while it is rare to hear a work by a Welsh or Scottish composer, certainly until comparatively recently and then, often, only by composers who are still alive and active.

Another problem for smaller nations such as Wales is the exposure to powerful media messages from outside the country, notably England and North America.

Identities are in confrontation not only in the blatant homogenisation which comes from transnational expansion, but with another more hidden process of homogenisation of national identity that deforms and deactivates the complex mixtures and cultural pluralism (Martin-Barbero, 1993, p.208).

A study by the Institute of Welsh Affairs in 2010 showed an alarming situation in Wales. Only a very small percentage of the population reads a newspaper produced in the country and most broadcast consumption is not from stations staffed by Welsh people and broadcasting from Wales. Is it reasonable to suggest, therefore, that the media are not effectively producing a Welsh identity if most of the nation fails to consume the products they produce? Or is Welsh journalism merely becoming a peripheral product? Perhaps more worrying for Welsh journalists and writers is the possibility that most people in Wales reject

a distinct Welsh identity, mainly on account of their consumption of media products which do not emanate from Wales. Johnes (2012) again suggests that the Welsh media are struggling to survive against intense competition from instant television and internet news. What, then, for journalism in Welsh? What, however, is rarely addressed is the notion that Welsh-language journalism – probably 99% of journalistic output in the language – does emanate from Wales (and historically the situation was mostly the same, give or take the newspapers and periodicals produced in Liverpool or London which, themselves, had significant Welsh-speaking populations) which means that people are likely consuming journalism which identifies much more closely with the people of Wales – certainly more so than, say, the *Daily Mail* or the *Daily Mirror*.

Ang's 1990 study did throw up a certain hope for Welsh journalism. People are not necessarily "trapped" in the intended meanings of media messages, as "they actively and creatively make their own meanings and create their own culture, rather than passively absorb pre-given meanings imposed on them." (p.242). Martin-Barbero (ibid) suggests that media texts are understood differently by people of different cultural backgrounds. How different, therefore, is the understanding of national identity by consumers of Welsh journalism and those reading about Wales and Welsh issues in English?

John Prys of Brecon had published the first book in Welsh in 1546. In just over a century, 108 books were published, a remarkable achievement considering Welsh was not a language of state and comparing massively favourably with just four books published in Scottish Gaelic. Early Welsh publications concerned themselves with arguments over religious doctrine, some dating from as early as 1585. Pamphlets and periodicals produced in subsequent decades and centuries were often the products of ministers and were referred to as pulpit publications. But yet, although many of these were short lived, they served to whet the Welsh appetite for more and, as Davies (1993) noted: "As far as the . . . cultural reawakening of the general populace is concerned – Wales was once more in the forefront" (p.416).

Referring to the *Archaeologica Cambrensis*, first produced in 1846, Davies also noted the popularity of the Welsh language press, with the readership of periodicals, cumulatively, reaching into the tens of thousands. Again, according to Davies (ibid, p.416): "In 1866, Henry Richard claimed that five quarterlies, 25 monthlies and eight weeklies were published in Welsh and that their circulation totalled 120,000." Welsh books proliferated,

encyclopaedias were produced and such was the volume of business being generated that Scottish publishers such as Blackie and Mackenzie began to take an interest.

The revival of religion and education in 18th century Wales coincided with a literary renaissance and an economic revolution. The historian Gwyn A. Williams talked of an “efflorescence of newspapers” (1985). But as Davies (1993) noted: “Before the 1780s, there was virtually no tradition of discussion of politics in the Welsh language.” A flurry of (academic) papers has appeared in recent years, mainly assessing the Welsh media and seeking answers as to why consumption has declined. These include papers by James Thomas (2006), a report on newspaper publishing by Newsplan Wales (1989), *The Future of Welsh Broadcasting* (2008) and a study of on-line consumption of Welsh journalism by Grahame Davies (2005). None of these reports look at journalism’s contribution to the formation of a Welsh identity. However, a book chapter by Tom O’Malley et al (1995) looks at the shaping of Welsh identity between 1870 and 1900, though this focuses mostly on English-language journalism and draws on writings of Gwyn Alf Williams (1985), Kenneth O. Morgan (1981), John Davies (1993) and Aled Jones (1993). Jones’s work is an extensive survey of Welsh journalism but stops short of the expansion of commercial radio and appeared a decade after S4C’s debut, therefore omitting the rise of web-based journalism and the extensive and rising use of social media. Again, there are notable gaps in the literature. While there are references to the numbers of publications and the extent of the readership, there is virtually nothing which refers to the effects of language and journalism on identity. Even those more recent writers who deal with matters relating to the Welsh press focus, largely, on the dominant English-language press.

Written journalism began to face new competition from the 1920s when the BBC began broadcasting from Wales. Indeed, Howell (in Riggins (ed), p.217) noted that “a language – any language – must be spoken by people in everyday situations if it is to remain alive”. Howell’s contention is that, more than any other mass medium, it is broadcasting which are the “most powerful vehicles for transmitting national as well as popular cultures from generation to generation’. The first Welsh broadcast was on 13 February 1923 from Cardiff. That evening, the folk-song *Dafydd y Garreg Wen* was sung, the first Welsh to be broadcast. While the *Western Mail* referred to the BBC as a “Ministry of Happiness” for Wales and Lloyd George talked in optimistic terms as to how the whole of the Principality could look forward to Welsh programming, this was not the way that BBC bosses in London thought.

The notion of Welshness within broadcasting is often debated. Price (1991) suggests that

The first half-century of broadcasting – the period from 1915 to the mid-1960s – was the era, generally, of the nation in control of its radio and then its television structures (p.5).

Price (ibid) further suggested that, as competition became ever more apparent,

The state first came into the picture to help in the structuring of the industry, to regulate entry, to limit competition. And, once in, the state stayed as a substantial factor in determining the role of the broadcast media in society.

That had a considerable influence on the development of broadcasting in Wales. Price went on to argue that state-based supremacy of broadcasting regulation would come under attack.

For, as the first half century of broadcasting came to a close, there were already strong signs that the state-based primacy of first radio and then television was under attack . . . Much later, the significant creativity of pirate radio – adventurous young broadcasters of the 1960s, using the protection of international waters for zany and triumphantly boisterous successes – also demonstrated the potential weaknesses of the broadcasting behemoth (ibid, p.12).

Where, really, was Welsh broadcasting in all of this? Perhaps not surprisingly, in its early days, it was fighting serious battles with London-based management.

Much Welsh-language journalism appeared in the face of duress and there were bitter arguments with London-based BBC management in the 1930s when the struggle to recognise the nation let alone the language was vastly protracted. There were also violent protests prior to setting up S4C. Much antipathy towards Welsh broadcasting is documented in works by Medhurst (2010) and Davies (1994). As Lewis suggested

Media produced as an alternative to a dominant culture by indigenous or minority ethnic communities are a response to a situation which is a small-scale version of the one Third World countries face in the global community (1995).

In his *History of the BBC in Wales*, Davies (1994) noted that it was far from uncommon to discover, in his writings and in his diaries, that John Reith, who was to become the first Director General of the BBC, had considerable disdain for Wales and the Welsh. In the 1920s, for instance, while there was coverage of Guides, Scouts and the Boys' Brigade, Urdd Gobaith Cymru (the Welsh League of Youth) was never mentioned, even in Wales. Even with the infamous restrictions on news broadcasting in its early days – the BBC could have no news-gathering staff of its own and no news could be broadcast until after seven o'clock in the evening – the organisation relied on statements from news agencies. When a five minute news bulletin was introduced on the Cardiff station, there was an opportunity to put some stamp of Welshness on the output, but since the activity of Reuters, the UK's international news agency, was only slight in Wales, then virtually nothing of Welsh significance was broadcast.

In early days, geographical difficulties already meant that much of Wales tuned in, for ease, to English stations, as noted by Davies (1994). This could well have been laying the foundations for what still happens, with most of the country – in the same way as people fail to subscribe to the domestic press - ignoring domestic broadcasting output. Furthermore, Reith's insistence that only "persons of distinction" should be allowed to broadcast implied that London would be dominant and that the regions would simply have to take what was offered. While much of this is referred to in histories of broadcasting in Wales, little relevance is given as to how this impacted on the identity of Wales. It is only in the latter part of the 20th century that thought seems to have been given to the Anglicising effects of broadcasting on the Welsh nation.

Reith had, at first, intended that the Scottish model should be applied to Wales, in that it would become a national region in its own right (Davies, 1994, p.31). That was soon abandoned, with South Wales being yoked with South West England and called the 'West Region', North East Wales being linked to the North Region and all the rest of Wales getting a feed from the Daventry transmitter. Scanell and Cardiff (1991) noted that the reason for the fragmentation of Wales was due to "economic and technical factors". Siting transmitters to enable a national service for Wales was supposedly impossible and it was also thought that South Wales maintained closer links to South West England than to North or Mid Wales. The BBC itself included a number of feeble attempts to justify the decision to include Wales as a

part of the West region. The *BBC Yearbook* (1934) said that the West Region “reunites the Kingdom of Arthur after centuries of separation by the Bristol Channel”. But, as Davies noted, much was made of the Welsh musical tradition, and some of the history was explored, but Wales, for the most part, was ignored. This led to much acrimony, with demands even in the late 1920s from the newly established Nationalist Party to withhold licence fees, something which became commonplace in the battle to secure the fourth television channel for Welsh language output in the late 1970s. That said, the West Region produced, from the late 1920s, programmes on the history, condition and traditions of Wales (Hajkowski, 2010).

According to Davies (1993) in the early years of the BBC

Listeners in the Cardiff area heard an occasional song in Welsh and sometimes a talk in the language, but the only Welsh-language material which was heard regularly was a programme broadcast, from 1927 onwards, by Radio Éireann (p.565).

News broadcasts had been aired on the Welsh frequencies since the late 1920s but, following Reith’s instructions, these were discontinued in 1927, to be replaced by five minutes of local announcements. In 1929, noted Davies (ibid), Welsh news content on the BBC

Consisted largely of happenings in Bristol, Cardiff and Swansea [and] was supplied by Reuters via Hills’ Press Agency . . . As the *Manchester Guardian* published a Welsh edition, efforts were made to obtain from Manchester occasional items relating to North Wales but the matter was not vigorously pursued.

Some broadcasts were initiated by the BBC in Wales from 1929, but Welsh-language broadcasting was formalised in 1932, mainly through the actions of the BBC’s Welsh Religious Advisory Council.

Davies (1993) noted that “Cylch Dewi”, a patriotic group based in Cardiff and led by the University of Wales and the Union of Welsh Societies, protested vigorously at the BBC’s decisions taken in London to censor and cancel Welsh broadcasts, because programmes were often felt to be too controversial for the sensitivities of the majority English listenership. “This was a battle which would become more intense in subsequent years; it was amongst the most important battles in the history of the language” (p.565). Of particular note, though,

once the BBC accepted the fact that the Welsh deserved to hear broadcasts in their own language, some early Welsh programming was provided by ‘Cylch Dewi’, rather flying in the face of the BBC’s London management, even paving the way for the advent of independent productions more than half a century later.

Cylch Dewi (a group of cultural nationalists with Saunders Lewis as one of its founders) arranged the first broadcast of a Welsh-language religious service and, by the mid 1920s, were producing programmes of their own, following consultations with E. R. Appleton, the Cardiff station director (Wheatley, in Medhurst, 2010, p.16).

Protests over the lack of Welsh programmes continued. Davies (1993) noted that

In 1931, ten of the 13 county councils of Wales passed resolutions calling for a full national service and, in 1933, the University of Wales established a consultative committee on broadcasting. A national service was created for Scotland in 1932, but no similar arrangements were made for Wales (p.589).

The first seeds of a distinct Welsh region had been sown in the mid 1930s but even these efforts were not necessarily accepted by the people. Davies (ibid) noted that most people in the North welcomed the offering, those in the south actively rejected what the Welsh region had to offer. But, for much of Wales, the Welsh Regional Service was staple listening. Yet, there were detractors who considered the services offered by the BBC to be alien to the Welsh national spirit.

In 1932, one correspondent writing in the Plaid Cymru newsletter *Y Ddraig Goch*, stated that: “The majority of the material broadcast is alien to our traditions, damaging to our culture, and is a grave danger to everything special in our civilisation” (Medhurst, 2010, p.18).

Other correspondents in the same journal took exception to the fact that the Welsh were considered “a minority” (while so many in Wales, even in this period, referred to themselves as a nation) and often referred to the BBC’s “lies”. Medhurst (ibid) refers to these comments as being raised at this time at the 1949 Beveridge Committee on Broadcasting, as well as the Pilkington Committee’s deliberations in 1960, and those of both the Crawford and the Annan

committees in the 1970s. Saunders Lewis went further, suggesting that the BBC treated Wales “as a conquered province, and the language of contemporary discourse highlighted the feeling that as the BBC increasingly centralised power in London, so the dissatisfaction amongst Welsh speakers in particular increased” (Jones, J. E., 1970, p.133).

Scannell and Cardiff say that broadcasting “allows the nation to become a knowable community” (in Davies, 1994, p.31). Yet virtually nothing was being provided by the BBC for the near one million Welsh speakers in the 1920s. Indeed, Davies notes that a file marked the “Welsh Controversy” exists in the BBC Archives at Caversham. Davies further noted a lack of consensus in Wales as to what broadcasting service they required. This was, as Davies noted,

Seized upon by the BBC Cardiff’s publicity officer, Margaret Mackenzie, a Scotswoman who was highly suspicious of any Welsh demands, [and who] issued a press release noting there was ‘not an unanimous demand for an entirely Welsh programme in Wales itself (ibid, p.47).

The Welsh region of the BBC was only established in 1937 though its impact was, almost at once, significant. (It disappeared during World War II, subsumed into the BBC’s national service, but it was re-established after the war in 1945). The regional service was set up in recognition of “the social and cultural aspects of regional broadcasting” (Briggs, 1965, p322). However, “it took several more decades and the arrival of television before broadcasters in the UK formulated Welsh-language policies. (Howell, in Riggins (ed), p221).

There was concern, too, that broadcasting would affect the education of children. Morgan (1981) noted a lack of commitment to providing educational programmes either in Welsh or relating to Welsh issues.

The Central Council for School Broadcasting, under the chairmanship of H. A. L. Fisher, had no organisation in Wales represented amongst its 20 members or its 15 nominated members save for one NUT representative who happened to be of Welsh origin. There was much anxiety that broadcasting was overwhelmingly in the English language, emanating from London (p.251).

News broadcasting had become increasingly more important during the war years, though Davies (ibid) notes a resistance among some BBC staff in Wales to the requirement of a British angle to all broadcasts and a “false London view on everything” (p.138). However, in something of a coup, it was the Welsh-language news series which first announced the surrender of Italy in 1943.

Post-war a fixed Welsh-language news bulletin was broadcast nightly on the wireless at 6.30 – the only fixed programme in the whole of BBC Wales’s schedule. Indeed, the Welsh-language service of the BBC, in a rather remarkable *volte-face*, was proving itself to be a unifying factor in Wales and extracting praise from many members of the Welsh establishment, so much so that Alun Oldfield-Davies, who headed up the Welsh region in the post-war years was quoted in the *News Chronicle* and in *Y Faner* as saying that ‘the basic job of the BBC in Wales is to nourish and encourage national unity and to add wealth, depth and value to all aspects of national life’. (Quoted in Davies, ibid, p.188). By the late 1940s, news programmes comprised 15 per cent of all output, and the larger part of those programmes was in Welsh. Interestingly, however, even in that era and into the 1950s, the BBC still employed no journalists in Wales and Welsh news was obtained from local newspaper reporters who were paid for their efforts.

Howell noted that the BBC’s first operative Welsh policy

Was first defined in Article 210 of the 1964 Charter, which vested the Welsh Broadcasting Council with full authority to provide programming in Wales that expressed ‘full regard to the distinctive culture, language, interests and tastes’ of the Welsh people (ibid, p.222).

It was not until the 1970s a national radio service for Wales was established. Until then, Welsh programmes had been slotted into the Home Service or, as it became, BBC Radio 4. This coincided, noted Davies (1993) with a rapid expansion of all things Welsh. The post of Secretary of State had been established in 1964. Councils for the Arts, Sports and Consumers were established in 1967, 1972 and 1975 respectively. The Welsh Liberal Party was established in 1966, the Conservatives began to hold a Welsh conference in 1972 and in 1975, the Welsh Regional Council of the Labour Party became the Labour Party – Wales. Davies (ibid) further noted that

There was a marked increase in the attention given to Welsh news on television and radio provision was strengthened, particularly with the establishment of Radio Wales and Radio Cymru in 1977 and the major expansion in 1979 (p.666).

Welsh-language radio received something of a boost when commercial radio came to Wales. One of the first six licences in the UK was awarded to Swansea Sound which broadcast an hourly Welsh news bulletin. That station was quickly followed by Red Dragon in Cardiff and Marcher Sound in Wrexham, all of which broadcast regular programmes and news bulletins in Welsh. “Broadcasts in Welsh increased in air time and quality via both radio and television during the 1970s,” noted Howell (*ibid*, p.222).

The arrival of television in Wales, though, was always seen as something of a threat and led, in the 1970s, to violent political protests. Largely as a result of the efforts of Alun Oldfield-Davies, then Controller of the BBC in Wales, and Hywel Davies, along with pressure added by the Broadcasting Council for Wales (which had been established in 1953), a small amount of Welsh had always been broadcast. But it was the Pilkington Report of 1962 which paved the way for the establishment of BBC Wales, which gained its own television wavelength in the same year. The newly distinct region was charged with producing 12 hours a week of original programming, half of which should be in Welsh. The report also suggested the establishment of a fourth television channel - a little ahead of the game, since BBC2 was only to come on air in 1964. The Pilkington Committee had, however, been critical of both the BBC and the IBA saying that ‘the language and culture of Wales would suffer irreparable harm’ if more programmes in Welsh were not made and broadcast.

The advent of commercial television in Wales led, in many ways, to similar arguments which dogged the launch of the BBC in Wales, namely that Wales was not a sufficiently wealthy region to be able to support commercial activity and would need to be lumped in with the west region of England. The BBC had only begun television broadcasting in Wales in 1952 when the Wenvoe transmitter opened, though some in mid-Wales could receive programmes from the Sutton Coldfield and those in the north were able to receive programmes from Winter Hill in Lancashire. But it was the newly-elected Conservative Government in 1951 which paved the way for commercial broadcasting which duly followed in 1955.

And yet, while much of England appeared excited by the prospect of a choice in television programming, all was not well in Wales. The Labour MP for Flint East, Eirene White, is quoted as saying that she had encountered considerable opposition to the new venture.

I have had from all over North Wales letters from educational bodies, from teachers, from associations such as the Workers' Educational Association, from religious bodies, from cultural bodies and from Women's Institutes. Every single one without exception has implored me to oppose commercial television (In Medhurst, 2010, p.26)

Just as politicians and other sectors of the Welsh community devoted time and effort attempting to scupper any commercial television venturing into Wales, most MPs had failed to realise that commercial television was already a reality in the country, with homes in the north receiving Granada programmes from Manchester, a service which started well in advance of what was to be offered in South Wales. Bernard Sendall (1982) noted that Granadaland was so named "in an effort to give it a basic sense of identity". The reality was that this highly varied region comprised Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, parts of Cumbria and much of North Wales. Granada bosses quickly accepted the Welsh identity of part of their region and began producing and transmitting *Dewch i Mewn* from Manchester. Medhurst (ibid) quotes Graeme McDonald, a trainee director at Granada in the 1960s who eventually became Controller of BBC2, as saying this was "some sort of sop to Welsh viewers on the Welsh borders of Granadaland". Medhurst, however, suggests that the Welsh broadcasts allowed Granada to increase its broadcasting time without infringing the government-prescribed allocation of 50 hours of programmes a week. It also meant that the company increased its income as advertising within "foreign language" programmes (and Welsh was regarded as a foreign language for a Manchester-based company) could be charged at peak rate. Indeed, the efforts of Granada in beating Welsh companies when it came to producing Welsh-language programmes paralleled the efforts of the embryo RTE when Radio Éireann broadcast Welsh programmes from Dublin aimed at the Welsh-speaking heartlands in West Wales while the BBC's bosses in London argued about whether Welsh should be heard at all.

Despite the efforts made by Granada, the Welsh press spent much time speculating about the Wales and West franchise – even though many pointed out that practically anywhere west of Carmarthen, along with all of Mid and North Wales were effectively outside the franchise

area as they would not be able to receive programmes – with *Y Cymro* (quoted in Medhurst, *ibid*) expressing concern over the American influence on the TWW application, notably the involvement of Roy Thomson, the Canadian owner of Scottish Television, and the advisor Herbert Agar of NBC. In slightly similar vein, both the ITA and the Authority’s Welsh Committee spent much time agonising over the fact that too much Welsh was being broadcast to the detriment of English programmes specifically created for the linguistic majority in Wales and reflecting Welsh life, issues and values. That particular issue has been a recurring theme over the decades and has become a point of particular debate in the early part of the 21st century (Medhurst, *op cit*, p.63). Outside Wales, commercial TV offerings from the Principality to the network were paltry. *Land of Song* was broadcast once a month, while *Discs-a-Gogo* made an occasional appearance and news items occasionally made it into UK national bulletins. Even so, the inclusion of a programme such as TWW’s *Land of Song* could even be regarded as a way of stereotyping the Welsh as far as TV output was concerned and social and political issues in Wales were largely ignored by the rest of the UK.

The arguments over who should be awarded the franchise for the west and north of Wales highlighted the conundrum which faced TV bosses. There was little merit in broadcasting in Welsh at peak times, since the audience was small and commercial returns would be tiny if not non-existent. Everett Jones, the advertising agent for the Welsh Television Association (which put together a bid for the licence) suggested (quoted in Medhurst, p.92) that the 6.20pm to 6.50pm was adequate for Welsh-language output, something which had been presaged by the *Western Mail* and *Y Faner*. That type of stance fuelled the anti-commercial attitude of many in Wales. Gwynfor Evans and J. E. Jones of Plaid Cymru had stated, in a 1958 pamphlet, that “no commercial concern is likely to entertain the idea of providing an adequate service for Wales on a commercial basis”. Radical Publications of Carmarthen had also produced, in January 1962, an inflammatory pamphlet entitled *Teledu Mammon* (Mammon’s Television) which argued that commercial television, as a whole, was in thrall to London-based advertisers. Further criticism of Welsh programming came later in the decade when TWW was accused, again, of presenting a stereotypical, nostalgic view of Wales.

Somewhat alarmingly for those expecting a choice of viewing in Welsh, there was no provision in the 1954 Television Act that there should be programming in Welsh. Medhurst (*ibid*) notes, however, that in Section 3 (1)(e) of the Act, “a provision that programme contractors should offer a suitable amount of programming designed to appeal specifically to

those people served by that station”. Pressure on TWW had resulted in the agreement that they would transmit just one hour of Welsh-language television a week. These did not need to be broadcast within the government-imposed limit of 50 hours a week but could be shown during the “closed” time between 6.15pm and 7.30pm on a Sunday (Medhurst, p.41) – a time when a goodly proportion of the Welsh-speaking population would be at a chapel service.

It is important to note that *Y Dydd* did report on contemporary issues in the Welsh language but this was within a news context. What Davies [Gwilym Prys Davies, a member of the ITA’s Welsh Committee] was calling for was a more in-depth awareness, treatment and representation of contemporary Wales within general programmes and documentaries on screen (Medhurst, op cit, p.149).

TWW lost its franchise to Harlech (later HTV) in 1968 but it did note, in its application for licence renewal, that “Welsh is regarded as the living language of living people and not an academic exercise”.

The ITA went on to advertise a new franchise for Wales, the cover the west and north of the country, coincidentally the area where the largest proportion of Welsh speakers lived. TWW had indicated that it wished to provide an all-Wales service, if engineering obstacles could be overcome, but this was somewhat hampered by the appearance and the award of a franchise to Wales (West and North) Television. The service began broadcasting in 1962 but its poor reach across a sparsely populated country and its programmes of questionable quality meant it ran out of broadcasting steam within ten months and was taken over by TWW which, almost, managed to gain itself a franchise for a pan-Wales operation. Bizarrely, though, while Wales still did not have a fully Wales-wide independent television company it was, at one point, in the strange situation of having four companies transmitting programmes to the country: TWW in south-east Wales, WNN in the west and north west, Granada in the north and Westward along the south west coast. Most, of course, had no necessity to transmit Welsh programmes.

But TWW’s own fortunes were sealed and, barely five years later, lost its franchise the Harlech, later HTV.

The coexistence of BBC Wales and HTV Wales in the 1970s produced a rather chaotic period for Welsh-language broadcasting. Davies (1993) noted that

Welsh language programmes tended to be broadcast at inconvenient times, for showing them at peak hours annoyed those unable to understand them (p.651).

This often led to those near enough English transmitters to turn their aerials to avoid Welsh broadcasts. Davies (ibid) again observed that

While the scarcity of programmes in their language was anglicising the Welsh speakers, the fact that such programmes existed at all was causing English speakers to turn their backs upon everything emanating from Wales (p.651).

That, of course, included Welsh journalism. Calls began to be made for a separate channel for Welsh programmes, something recommended by the Crawford Commission in 1974 and accepted by the Labour Government of the time. The same plans were accepted by the Conservatives and included in the manifesto for the 1979 General Election which, of course, they won.

Once S4C went on air in 1982 – for an initial trial period of three years – viewers of Welsh journalism were not forced to make a choice to watch either *Y Dydd* (HTV) or *Heddiw* (BBC) but were offered a news summary in the early evening and a half-hour programme of in-depth news at 8.30pm. There were current affairs programmes, investigative programmes, the Welsh equivalent of *Question Time* and a whole host of programmes specifically tailored to the Welsh audience. Its birth had been precluded by agitation, civil disobedience and vigorous campaigns to secure the new channel. The new Conservative Home Secretary – William Whitelaw - did announce that the Westminster Government would not honour its pledge to set up the channel, which led to widespread anger and a threat, by Gwynfor Evans, to fast to the death if the new channel was not forthcoming. Newspapers in Wales reacted with outrage and, with dire warnings from politicians and others that Wales could descend into even more civil disobedience, decisions were reversed. Once on air, audience figures, compared with UK-wide networks, were miniscule but, its reach was significant. It was an area, said Davies (ibid) where “the culture of the audience figures, compared with UK-wide networks, were miniscule but, if a programme attracted 200,000 viewers, it was reaching 30% of the potential

viewership, something just dreamed of by the London-based networks". It was also an area, said Davies (ibid) where "the culture of the *Cyppy* [a Welsh-speaking 'yuppie'] flourished mightily' (p.681).

The Pilkington Committee, which reported in June 1962, had been asked to consider the development of television. They succeeded in summing up the whole debate about television, namely that the growth of a mass television audience as well as the setting up of commercial broadcasting were seen as aiding the breakdown of the rigid class structure which had shaped British life for decades if not centuries. The report also suggested that television as a whole had been more destructive than it had been creative and that independent television had trivialised much of the output, caused by trying to provide a public service while, at the same time, responding to the requirements of advertisers. According to Curran and Seaton (1997), Pilkington had been "asked to review the development of television [but] did much more, producing a report which judged the nation's culture" (p.175). What Pilkington seemed to underline was the suspicion many attached to commercial television, in particular the power of commercials themselves. And yet, as Curran and Seaton noted, British commercial television did not end up chasing the largest audience with the cheapest and most popular shows but that, even from the earliest years, the IBA exerted considerable influence. "The authority was required to ensure 'balanced programming', 'due impartiality' in the treatment of controversial issues, and a high quality in programme production as a whole" (p.182). What Pilkington did do, though, was to fire a warning shot across the bows of both the BBC and the IBA, saying that 'the language and culture of Wales would suffer irreparable harm' if more programmes in Welsh were not forthcoming (Howell, 1982, p.43).

However, what is notable by its relative absence in many books, is comment or analysis of news or current affairs output in either English or Welsh on TV.

Comparatively sparse, too, is analysis of the effects of social media and the Internet on Welsh journalism and identity. Jeremy Colin Evans has issued a warning that

Unless an effort is made, technology could serve to further disenfranchise speakers of minority languages. David Cameron is already known to be keen on an iPad sentiment analysis app to monitor social networks and other live data, for examples. But if that app only gather information and opinions posted in English, how can he monitor the

sentiments of British citizens who write in Welsh, Gaelic or Irish? On the cultural side, we need automated subtitling for programmes and web content so that viewers can access content on the television and on sites like YouTube. With machine translation, this could bring content in those languages to those who don't speak them . . . We need to carry out a systematic analysis of the linguistic particularities of all European languages and then work out the current state of technology that supports them (<https://theconversation.com/>)

As recently as 1992, the BBC issued a report which recognised that

Broadcasting is at the heart of British society. The structure and composition of the broadcasting industry, the purpose and motivation of broadcasters, and the programmes and services they offer are vital factors in reflecting and shaping that society (In Price, 1999, p.154)

Alternative media are abundant in Wales and always have been. Lewis (1995) says they exist “because of some deficiency in mainstream media”, suggesting they “supplement or challenge the mainstream with alternative structures, styles, content or use”. His views are echoed by Johnes (2012) and Hannan (2003) who examine issues relating to the deficiency of Welsh media and the importance of alternative media, notably the *Papurau Bro*, researched by the author for an MA in 1996, and written about in an article in *British Journalism Review* and a chapter in a book published by Cambridge Scholars entitled *Nations and Peripheries*. Notable, too, are the “pulpit publications”, the various pamphlets and periodicals which were so much the catalyst for the early Welsh press.

McQuail has written of the necessity of holding the state back when it comes to independence of the media, suggesting independence “is a necessary condition for playing a critical and creative role in society” and that the media should be “critical and innovative and express challenges, conflicts and alternative values” (McQuail, 1995). Looking more generally at journalism literature and how it relates to national identity, it was McQuail who said: “The media are both a product and also a reflection of the history of their own society and have played a part in it” (McQuail, 1994). Similarly, Habermas (1989) put forward the view that the development of modern democratic politics, public opinion and the newspaper press are

all intimately connected. Quite how that is reflected in terms of Welsh-language journalism remains to be seen.

2.7 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has shown that there is a considerable body of literature which refers to Welsh-language journalism and which considers the effects it has had on its consumers. But there is no scholarly study that seeks to analyse Welsh-language journalism systematically and its contribution to the construction of Welsh national identity. The references to the effects of written journalism, whether early periodicals, newspapers and the magazines of today are referred to by historians, mainly in generalised volumes tracing the history of Wales. Where identity is discussed – certainly relating to the written press – most of the attention of authors is spent on English-language outlets.

The effects of broadcasting are much more widely discussed with a number of key volumes considering the effects of news and current affairs programmes and bulletins on the Welsh and the consideration of their identity.

However, the *Papurau Bro* are rarely mentioned, save for a few studies, most of which have been carried out by the author of this thesis. As far as on-line journalism and the effects of social media, there is virtually nothing, save for the odd comment here and there. It is an area ripe for further research.

Chapter 3

Methods and Methodology

Research is to see what everyone else has seen and to think what nobody else has thought.
(Albert Szent-Gyorgyi)

3.1 Introduction

The mass media are credited with informing, entertaining and, arguably, manipulating the minds of the population. The scope of this thesis is to ascertain how far that is true of Welsh-language media outlets and those who consume their products and to explore whether Welsh journalists helped define and reinforce the characteristics of the Welsh nation. This chapter looks at methods used to research the area and the related methodological issues.

3.2 Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Both quantitative and qualitative research methods are underpinned by the positivist and interpretivist approaches to social scientific research. Positivists are more attracted to quantitative methods, including surveys, structured questionnaires and official statistics, since these are considered reliable and more representative. They believe that society shapes the individual and that there is an objective world waiting to be discovered, with ‘social facts’ shaping the action of the individual. Positivists also consider that similar ‘scientific’ research techniques, such as those applied to natural sciences, in order to further knowledge (www.socialresearchmethods.net).

Interpretivist approaches differ in that there is a much more individual approach using qualitative approaches, such as unstructured interviews or participant observation, mainly because interpretivists believe that individuals react to far more than a single external social force. Individuals, according to interpretivists, are all different and will understand reality in

various ways. Their criticism of the positivist approach is that statistics upon which many conclusions are based are often themselves socially constructed. The interpretivist approach, therefore, attempts to interpret the world through the eyes of those who see it (ibid).

Qualitative research can involve a range of methods of data collection. These could include the likes of focus groups, field observation, in-depth interviews and case studies. There may be vastly different techniques involved within each method, but these are “getting close to the data” (Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984). The main advantages, according to Wimmer and Dominick (1997, p.43), is that a researcher can view behaviour in a natural setting without the artificiality which sometimes surrounds experimental or survey research.

The authors do note significant disadvantages. Sample sizes are often too small, sometimes forcing a researcher to over-generalise results. “For this reason, qualitative research is often the preliminary step to further investigation” (ibid., p.44). They also see that data reliability can be problematic, since single observers are describing unique events. Becoming close to interviewees can also prove problematic, thus causing loss of objectivity and lack of planning can lead to virtually no reliable data being collected. “Qualitative research appears to be easy to conduct but projects must be carefully planned to ensure that they focus on key issues” (ibid., p.44). Devereux’s approach (2014, p.225) talks about “interviews, focus group interviews and participant observation” as the main means of obtaining research data.” The main emphasis is on the consumers of media content.

Quantitative research requires that variables under consideration be measured. The use of numbers gives a more definable result, for example audience figures or column centimetres of text. Results can be rather more exact and can reveal immediate trends. As far back as 1954, measurement expert Guildford wrote (p.1):

The progress and maturity of a science are often judged by the extent to which it has succeeded in the use of mathematics . . . Mathematics is a universal language that any science or technology may use with great power and convenience. Its vocabulary of terms is unlimited . . . Its rules of operation . . . are unexcelled for logical precision.

This area can provide particularly useful information for those in the commercial sector (Devereux, 2014) as they may wish to target a particular sector in society.

The two terms come together with the word triangulation. This term is derived from geographical input, and assumes that, by observing two particular stances from afar (e.g. the newspaper product, the consumer and, from a third point of view an analysis of their consumption). From that stance, something approaching a conclusion can be drawn.

3.3 Division between Qualitative and Quantitative Research

Qualitative research could involve the following:

- Questionnaires
- Interviews (Structured, semi-structured on unstructured)
- Content analysis
- Focus groups
- Analysis of present literature
- Semiotics
- Writer influences and views.
- Observation
- Participant observation
- Journal/diary keeping

Quantitative research will look at the following:

- Numbers of stories published
- Amount of output
- Reach
- Surveys/Questionnaires
- Experiments (e.g. reaction to a news story).

3.4 Analysis of Primary and Secondary Data

Much of the research for this study will rely on the analysis of secondary data and sources. The definition of primary and secondary sources was succinctly put by Gene Glass in 1977, when he wrote:

Primary analysis is the original analysis of data in a research study. It is what one typically imagines as the application of statistical methods. Secondary analysis is the re-analysis of data for the purpose of answering the original research question with better statistical techniques, or answering new questions with old data.

(<http://www.dataschemata.com>).

There are numerous occasions in this study where reference will be made to tools such as history books charting the development of Welsh-language journalism. The secondary research and analysis will look at this information again in the light of what is being taken into consideration as far as Welsh identity and the re-emergence – or, perhaps more correctly, the establishment - of the Welsh nation.

Primary sources are not being rejected since there are numerous areas where hitherto uncovered information will be revealed and examined, especially concerning recent broadcast journalism as well as journalism on-line. According to Greetham (2009) these sources originate from the original researcher who collected the data whereas secondary data collects data about events and findings and summarises evidence. Smith et al (2009) point out, however, that data collection might not work effectively and it can be highly time consuming.

3.5 Consideration of Semiotics and the Influence of the Writer

Gerbner's 1967 study suggested mass communication is the "technologically and institutionally based mass production and distribution" (p.51) of symbols, images and messages to a heterogeneous and [largely] non-interactive audience. He suggested this can only become possible when the means of production are available and social organisations emerge which are capable of the production and distribution of messages (ibid, p.50).

Whether that is the case with early Welsh publications which were highly localised and distributed, because of the expense of printing and the difficulties of distribution, to miniscule readerships, remains to be argued, and an area which will be explored later in this study. That notion of a limited readership quickly changed when the ‘taxes on knowledge’ were finally consigned to history in the 1860s and the Welsh press blossomed, paralleling what happened across the border in England. Further potential for mass communication in Welsh followed, despite bitter arguments and considerable opposition when broadcasting began to make waves in Wales, and today’s potential for spreading Welsh-language journalism around the world through the internet and digital communication is unparalleled. The notion of miniscule readerships is something which remains in Welsh-language journalism today, however. Some of the titles in the *Papurau Bro* stable, for instance, have circulations in the hundreds. Some radio stations in rural areas broadcast to audiences which sometimes do not reach five figures. Circulation is a major area of debate at the time of writing, as newspaper sales continue to decline and former readers turn to other sources to gain their news coverage. But what the base figures for newspaper sales conceal are the other ways in which a person can access the news, most notably through an outlet’s website. The debate around circulation of Welsh publications and reach (for broadcasts) is something which of critical importance.

3.6 The Framework of Philosophies

Kumar (2011) suggests that effective research is the only way to find answers to questions, but he does qualify this, saying there is an almost implied notion that research “is being undertaken within a framework of a set of philosophies, that it uses procedures, methods and techniques that have been tested for their validity and reliability [and which are] designed to be unbiased and objective” (p.9) A goodly part of research undertaken in a social science context is applied research, since most findings will be used to understand or to explain a phenomenon or an issue or to bring about change in a particular programme or situation. The psychologist McBride (2013) defines applied research as relating to realistic problems.

"Applied researchers are often concerned with the external validity of their studies. This means that they attempt to observe behaviours that can be applied to real-life situations. This is important because these researchers want to be able to apply their

results to a problem that applies to individuals who are not participants in their study (as well as to those individuals who were observed in the study). External validity is also a consideration in basic research but in some cases can be less important than it is in applied research."

On the other hand, basic research often focuses on theoretical concerns. The present study will be a balance between the two.

Kumar (ibid) goes on to explain eight stages in the planning of a research proposal. There is the formulation of the research proposal, the conceptualisation of a research design, the construction of an instrument for data collection, selection of a sample, writing of a research proposal, conducting the actual research through the collection of data, processing and displaying that data and, eventually, writing a research report (pp.24-27).

3.7 Strategies of Inquiry

In selecting a research design, Creswell (2009) talks about 'strategies of inquiry', discussing "types of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods designs or models that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design" (p.11)

Personal experience is a major deciding factor in Creswell's consideration. The researcher's own training and experiences can influence a choice of approach, suggesting that someone trained in scientific writing, statistics and computer statistical programs would choose a quantitative design, adding that these might be a more traditional form of research (p.19) Qualitative research, he argues, offers approaches which are more innovative and work more within 'researcher designed frameworks'. This approach, he says, allows "more creative, literary-style writing, a form that individuals may like to use" (p.19)

3.8 Consideration of Research Activities

The main areas which will be used are as follow:

- Interviews – to ascertain editorial policy, historic aspects, policy issues, present-day issues and future considerations.

- Content analysis – to consider what is being covered today and from what angle, as well as an overview of what were the main issues for Welsh journalism in the past.
- Ethnographical considerations – a consideration of the opposing features of ‘otherness and ‘similarity’.
- Questionnaires – to ask those actively involved in today’s Welsh press what are the main editorial issues facing them, as well as any other considerations.
- Historical analysis – research into what has already been written around the subject.
- Case Studies – these will look at individual issues of a magazine, content of a broadcast, running order of a TV script and so on.
- Language Study – this is only a small area of consideration. The thesis looks at issues around the use of the language rather than the nuances around specific words.

3.8.1 Ethnographical considerations

Marcus and Fisher (1986) describe ethnography as a “research process in which the anthropologist closely observes, records and engages in the daily life of another culture – an experience labelled as the ‘fieldwork method’ – and then writes accounts of this culture, emphasising descriptive detail” (p.18). Criticism of the ethnographical approach would include suggestions that these concepts spring from colonialism and that any analysis is likely to be coloured by views which might be considered outdated. Clifford (1983, p.183), for instance, suggested that “colonial representations” as “discourses that portray the cultural reality of other peoples without placing their own reality into jeopardy”. The historical surveys within this thesis stress this particular factor. Early periodical journalists considered their contribution to be valuable because it was different – and certainly different from the English ‘overlords’ who were present in Wales. The early days of broadcasting were characterised by arguments between the London management of the BBC and its employees (along with many other people) in Wales who considered that those in the English capital could not understand the “otherness” of Wales. In many ways, arguments in this thesis around ethnography spend more effort looking for ‘otherness’ rather than similarity, considering what makes Welshness different. Conversely, psychologist Valerie Walkerdine (1990), in work which has been heavily influenced by the thoughts of both Lacan and Foucault, considered how that notion – or “fantasy” as she called it – of “other” plays a major role in social science research. “We are each Other’s Other,” she wrote. “But not on

equal terms. Our fantasy investment often seems to consist in believing that we can ‘make them see’ or that we can speak *for* them” (1990, pp.199-200).

Walkerdine’s theories bear a close affinity to the “halo effect” theory. According to Nisbett and De Camp Wilson (1977),

The halo effect is generally defined as the influence of a global evaluation on evaluations of individual attributes of a person, but this definition is imprecise with respect to the strength and character of the influence (<http://web.mit.edu>).

3.8.2 Case Studies

Case studies, another common qualitative research technique, will be of particular importance in this work and are linked closely to content analysis. Case studies can be found throughout this thesis, though mainly in Chapter 5 where the magazine *Golwg*, some of the *Papurau Bro* and the content of S4C’s major news broadcasts are scrutinised; Chapter 7, where the newspaper *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* is examined and Chapter 9 where a range of *Papurau Bro* are considered.. Wimmer and Dominick (1997) suggest that a case study “uses as many data sources as systematically possible to investigate individuals, groups, organisations or events” (p.102). They maintain a case study can provide a wealth of information, along with tremendous detail, citing the view of Simon (1985), that researchers can find clues and ideas for further research. But, while there are numerous advantages, the authors cite three distinct disadvantages. A lack of scientific rigour is the first problem. Wimmer and Dominick (ibid) cite Yin (1989) who says that “too many times, the case study researcher has been sloppy, and has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the . . . findings and conclusions” (p.21). Secondly, case studies are not amenable to generalisation and, finally, they can be highly time-consuming and may occasionally produce mountains of information which can be extremely hard to analyse and summarise. Denscombe (1998) suggests spotlighting on one instance, so implying that “a spotlight is focused on individual instances rather than a wide spectrum” (p30) with the case study approach being quite the opposite of any mass study. In addition, a case study, he argued, gives the opportunity for in-depth

analysis whereas a survey will only skim the surface and give a general flavour. Graziano and Raulin (2010) recommend that case studies “allow the researcher a good deal of flexibility to shift attention to whatever behaviours seem interesting and relevant” (p.44). They also advocate what they call ‘naturalistic observation’ where the requirement is for “the researcher to observe the behaviour of participants in their natural environment and to not change or limit the environment or the behaviour of the participants” (p.44).

3.8.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is another important aspect of this study. Both qualitative and quantitative methods will be used. Qualitative methods will look at the content of some early periodicals and newspapers, as well as broadcasts and the *Papurau Bro*. Quantitative methods will look at stances such as time allocations of broadcast matter, the number of stories used, numbers of pictures used and so on. Dawson (2009) suggests that content analysis is at one end of the qualitative data continuum and is directly opposed to comparative analysis. Comparative analysis, she suggests, is closely connected to thematic analysis, which simply organises data into broad themes – certainly something considered for this study. Content analysis involves coding journalistic output under tightly controlled thematic areas, allowing an easier approach to quantifying the output. That said, content analysis is as nothing if audiences are not taken into account. There may be examples of ground-breaking journalism, exclusive stories, excellent insights – but if nobody reads them, listens to them or watches them on television, then there is neither effect nor influence on the Welsh nation.

3.8.4 Language study

Language will be a major source of consideration for this study, since it will take into consideration content, in particular the way language is used to determine identity. Language will also include the use of dialect as well as journalistic techniques such as headlines, captions and so on. Zelizer (2008) suggests that the “study of journalists’ messages are neither transparent nor simplistic but the result of constructed activity on the part of speakers.” She talks about language encoding larger messages relating to life in general than is just apparent in the news being transmitted. She further argues that the “formal features of

language – such as grammar, syntax and word choice – with less formal ones – such as storytelling frames, textual patterns and narratives – has grown to address verbal language, sound, still and moving visuals, and patterns of interactivity” (ibid.) Zelizer remains slightly dismissive of early studies involving content analysis (notably in the works of Lasswell and Jones (1939) and Schramm (1959)) as well as semiology (Fiske and Hartley (1978) and Hartley (1982)) suggesting such research has become the territory of non-language scholars as to raise questions over this area’s potential use to journalism researchers.

Zelizer further suggests that the formal study of language, as found in sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and critical linguistics, and explored by van Dijk (1987), Bell (1991) and Fowler (1991) “focus on the formalistic attributes of news language, such as word choice or sentence structure” and have “helped set in place a comprehensive, complex and systematic portrait of journalists’ patterned reliance on language in crafting the news” (ibid, p.258).

Academic work on narratives and storytelling conventions are widely available, including works by Darnton (1975), Schudson (1982) and Bird and Dardenne (1982). Works on rhetoric by Harriman and Lucaites (2002) are complemented by Reese’s 2001 work on framing.

3.8.5 Interviews

The decision to undertake a range of interviews with major figures in Wales who have been involved in or close to journalism was taken because it seemed to be a highly valuable way forward. Full transcripts of the interviews undertaken, as well as the date and place of the meeting, are included in the appendix. Most people approached readily accepted the invitation. The most elusive proved to be editors of newspapers, mainly on account of their time commitments and those involved on the *Papurau Bro* who, for some reason, appeared to be highly reluctant to be involved in a face-to-face discussion. As a result, a previous conversation with The Rev Dr D. Ben Rees, from Liverpool, was used. He is the long-standing editor of *Yr Angor*. Others who agreed to be interviewed were Huw Jones, Chairman (and formerly chief executive) of S4C; Geraint Talfan Davies, former Controller of BBC Wales, chairman of the Institute of Welsh Affairs and Chairman of Welsh National Opera; Betsan Powys, editor of BBC Radio Cymru and former political editor of BBC Cymru-

Wales; Vaughan Roderick, freelance journalist, political commentator and former political correspondent for BBC Cymru-Wales; Dylan Iorwerth, founder and editor of *Golwg*, columnist and author; Meri Huws, the Welsh Government's Welsh Language Commissioner; Huw Meredydd Roberts, Manager of the Welsh on-line service for BBC Wales; Rhian Jones, Editor of BBC Cymru Fyw and Gareth Morlais, Welsh Government Advisor on Web and On-Line Development for Welsh Language. The selection gives a large overview of Welsh journalism. Questions were forwarded beforehand and the conversation grew around those questions. The title and research objectives of this thesis were made available and discussed, though people were invited to elaborate on their own areas of experience and expertise.

Two writers offered basic definitions of what constitutes an interview. Monette et al (1986, p.156) said "an interview involves an interviewer reading questions to respondents and recording their answers" while Burns (1997, p.329) said that "an interview is a verbal exchange, often face to face, though the telephone may be used, in which an interviewer tries to elicit information, beliefs or opinions from another person."

The types of interview conducted can fall into two categories. Unstructured interviews will allow for flexibility in terms of structure, contents and questions – a method often employed by journalists involved in feature writing – while structured interviews are rigid, particularly in terms of interview questions and their wordings. Fitting into busy peoples' diaries is often not easy and, if an interview does not go well, information is not gathered. There is also the danger the interviewee will give the interviewer the answer they think they want. The researcher, however, is a widely experienced journalist and feature writer whose interview skills have been honed over a period approaching almost 40 years in the industry.

There is also the issue of the use of open and closed questions. A journalist will, naturally, ask open-ended questions, in order to get an interviewee to speak. This very much encourages a full and meaningful answer to the question. For example, a closed question such as 'Do you enjoy warm weather?' is likely to result in a plain 'yes' or 'no' answer. The open question, such as 'Tell me why you enjoy warm weather' is likely to result in a whole range of feelings and opinions. Then there is the leading question, another technique favoured by journalists, especially broadcasters, where a controversial or provocative statement will be put to a person, in the hope of an animated response. For example, a broadcaster might ask the Secretary of State for Employment a question regarding a fall in unemployment figures. 'The

unemployment total has fallen by 10,000 but that's far from the figure you expected, isn't it?' might certainly presage and provoke a lively discussion.

3.8.6 Historical research

Historical research is vital in this study. Burns (ibid, p.481-5) talks about institutional histories and synthesising or comparing old data with new data to illuminate trends. He suggests doing this by way of consulting old documents, looking at artefacts or relics or by way of oral testimony. Examination of early Welsh publications will be undertaken by way of an historical survey, using books and journal sources as well as the extensive facilities of the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth and the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff. There it will be able to look at historic copies of early Welsh publications and undertake a content analysis, though one will be acutely aware of the possibility of being prevented from looking at these items, since many will be both rare and fragile.

3.8.7 Questionnaires

Questionnaires will also be used in this study. The advantage is that these can easily be compiled and mailed, though one has to be sure that databases are up to date and that these documents reach the intended recipients. The compilation of questions is important, leaving room for further comment and attempting to attract more than a monosyllabic answer. The advantage is that a questionnaire can offer anonymity but often attracts a low response rate and does not allow for spontaneous answers which can often reveal a great deal.

Denscombe is a little critical of sending postal questionnaires "cold". The decision was taken to use this method since, where it was used (to update data on the *Papurau Bro*), many participants had been contacted previously for another study by the same researcher and this led to a high response rate and a considerable number of useful and interesting comments which were uninvited but nevertheless welcome.

3.9 Research Areas Considered But Not Used

Focus groups were considered for this thesis but their use was rejected. This is mainly because putting together an influential focus group is a difficult exercise. How can one be certain that every stratum of society which engages with the Welsh media is adequately

represented? In addition, co-ordinating diaries of people who seem to become more busy and occupied would be a massive difficulty. There is also the difficulty – both in terms of time and expense – in gathering together people from all parts of Wales. Skype interviews were considered but, in rural communities, Internet connections are often patchy, if not non-existent. There is always the danger that a ‘group leader’ will emerge and export thoughts and influences to others. In addition, can the researcher be sure that the progress of questions will work to their advantage or will they lose control? Hansen et al (1998) suggest a range of advantages, however, maintaining that group discussions are social and not solitary and would reflect typical episodes of television viewing. They also suggest that any discussion will use everyday language and will avoid the complex language of research and educational elites. Finally, they maintain that group discussion will help members crystallise their perceptions. But critics, including Gunther (2000), confirm that more dominant members will cause more passive members to become silent and group discussion inevitably leads to consensus and peripheral or extrovert views are discarded.

Organising observation of journalists at work also proved difficult. The author of this thesis spent many years working in newspaper and broadcast newsrooms, so the actual “coal face” occupation of a journalist is well known to him. However, there was a noted reluctance, on the part of the staff of the *Papurau Bro*, to allow any interaction. Repeated requests met with a nil reaction with no explanations given. After 18 months or repeated requests, the idea was abandoned. The “Hawthorne Effect” did, however, come to mind when considering workplace observation. The phenomenon was first suggested following studies initiated in 1924 by the management of the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company on Chicago and suggest that, when a workforce or individual employee is knowingly observed, there is often a change in work patterns or behaviour, often akin to interviewees who give the interviewer the answer that they think they want to hear.

Confirming the resistance from the *Papurau Bro*, and the Hawthorne Effect noted above, Denscombe (ibid) suggests that “people are likely to alter their behaviour when they become aware that they are being observed” (p.65). The decision to avoid this stance is further confirmed by Giddens (1989, p.669) who wrote that: “A field researcher cannot just be present in a community, but must explain and justify her or his presence to its members. She or he must gain the confidence and co-operation of the community or group . . .”

3.10 Research Ethics

A number of the research methods chosen would involve contact with human sources.

University regulations require that Ethical Approval is sought prior to commencing any contact. This was twice sought: once for the sending out of questionnaires to the Papurau Bro in the early part of the research, and secondly to enable the researcher to carry out one-to-one interviews with major figures involved with Welsh-language journalism. Although the interviews were mainly conducted through open-ended questions, the main areas discussed included the following questions as a rough guideline. Permission was granted on both occasions.

- What is the state of journalism in Wales today?
- How do you see journalism developing in the next 20 years in Wales.
- How relevant to Welsh speakers is Welsh-language journalism?
- What impact does Welsh-language journalism have on the Welsh nation?
- How has this impact developed over the last 25 years?
- Would it be fair to say that Welsh-language journalism has its own agenda, especially in relation to the formation of Welsh identity?

3:11 Conclusion and Research Route-Map

Wimmer and Dominick (1997) also argue that most researchers would now argue that quantitative and qualitative methods can be effectively used in conjunction with each other. “If a ship picks up signals from only one navigational aid, it is impossible to know the vessel’s precise location. If, however, signals from more than one source are detected, elementary geometry can be used to pinpoint the ship’s location. The term *triangulation* refers to the use of both qualitative methods and quantitative methods to fully understand the nature of a research problem” (p.45). That is what this piece of research sets out to achieve.

The main areas which will be used are as follow:

- Interviews – to ascertain editorial policy, historic aspects, policy issues, present-day issues and future considerations.
- Content analysis – to consider what is being covered today and from what angle, as well as an overview of what constituted the main issues for Welsh journalism in the past.
- Questionnaires – to ask those actively involved in today’s Welsh press what are the main editorial issues facing them, as well as any other considerations.
- Historical analysis – research into what has already been written around the subject.

Other areas discussed above will be used to a lesser extent.

Chapter 4

The Place of Wales in the World

“The connection between language and identity is a fundamental element of our being human. Language not only reflects who we are but in some sense it is who we are, and its use defines us both directly and indirectly” (Llamas and Watt, 2010, p.1).

4.1 Introduction

The place of Wales in the world has almost always been treated as something which matters little to English journalists and politicians while, for the Welsh, finding an identity has been a centuries-long struggle which is only just beginning to be resolved. This chapter will consider issues related to identity, evaluating the views of a number of commentators on the matter. It will consider recent political upheavals and how these have affected the Welsh. Bradbury (2010), for instance, suggests that there are high levels of Welsh identity relative to its position within the UK, Europe and the world. Yet Jones (1992) argues almost the opposite, suggesting that Wales has many identities but its failure to become a cohesive single nation is because few of these traits are espoused by the whole of the population. Symbols relating to national identity could include flags, architecture, symbolic buildings and structures, national anthems, cuisine and, importantly, the media. While Wales can lay claim to most if not all of the above symbols, over-riding all these considerations, and referred to by many commentators, is the issue of language and how the Welsh language appears to have done more to identify the nation than almost anything else. Some – Thomas (1971) et al – even suggest that an inability to speak the language somehow makes a person “less Welsh”.

4.2 Wales in a Changing World

At the time of writing this thesis, voters in the United Kingdom had made an epic decision of national – and certainly European if not international – consequence. The perhaps unexpected decision to leave the European Union was of seismic proportions. Political leaders, business

leaders and many other leaders worldwide had something to say either in favour or against, not to mention the torrent of comment – much of which was not particularly complimentary – which appeared on social media. But, in the lead-up to that momentous vote, many words were written, spoken and broadcast. On television, in broadcast debates made available across the UK, major figures from both the Leave and Remain camps featured. While the First Minister of Scotland and the Leader of the Opposition in the Scottish Parliament were given prominent roles on programmes broadcast right across the UK, no Welsh politician featured in any nationally televised debate.

During the same period, the Euro 2016 football tournament was taking place. For the first time in half a century, Wales had qualified to field a team in a major football contest. This put the UK national press and broadcasters into something of a quandary. Most UK national tabloids talked about “us” as England. Once England was booted out of the European Championships, one BBC Radio 4 commentator suggested that supporting Scotsman Andy Murray at Wimbledon would be good, since “we” had been knocked out of Europe. Wales, at that point, was still in the championships. Scotland had failed to qualify and Northern Ireland had already exited the competition. Betsan Powys, editor of BBC Radio Cymru (Interview, June 2016), recalled how Chris Evans had been taken to task at the time of the rugby World Cup when he said on his BBC Radio 2 show (Radio 2 being the most listened-to radio outlet in Wales) he’d support Australia in one of its matches since, if the team from “Down Under” succeeded against their particular opponent at the time, that would offer the best chance for “us” (i.e. England) to progress, forgetting that Wales was in the contest and many of his listeners across the entire UK would be supporting Wales. Public relations professionals also put their corporate foot in it during Euro 2016 with Marks and Spencer and JD Sports, amongst others, prominently advertising clothing supporting the England football team, a move which garnered much on-line derision from the public as well as journalists when it was found that their stores in Cardiff, and the rest of Wales, presumably, were avidly promoting merchandise supporting a rival nation.

As a result of the remarkable success of the Welsh football team in getting to the semi-finals of the 2016 European football championships, ahead of England, the UK press succeeded, once again, in underlining the fiery topic of the democratic deficit facing Wales. The success of the Welsh team was barely recorded until England was knocked out of the competition: the

trauma of the English exit from the Euros was a national tragedy for the UK, according to the London papers who, amazingly, suddenly began to support Wales.

4.3 Interpretation of Identity

Llamas and Watt (2010, p.10) wrote that the

Signs by which we interpret each other's identity in modern society are not different in kind to those which our remote ancestors distinguished friend from foe. They are still what bind together communities, from the family to the nation, or fail to bind them.

They further cited a House of Lords ruling (relating to a Sikh boy's claim to having a right to wear a top knot and turban in violation of his school's uniform code) which stated that the criteria which make a race (rather than a nation, and ignoring the idea that our entire race is the human race) contain two vital elements:

A long-shared history, of which the group is conscious as distinguishing it from other groups, and the memory of which it keeps alive and a cultural tradition of its own, including family and social customs and manners, often but not necessarily associated with religious observance (ibid, p.11).

However, argued Jonathan Bradbury (2010), "national identities are not fixed properties; their origins and meanings are contested as to whether they are intrinsic from pre-modern times or welded to the modernist creation of nation states". Bradbury's argument is that "Wales is one of the principal cases across Europe where the stateless nation/region has long enjoyed relatively high levels of identification relative to the state." He also noted that a 1996 (pre-devolution) study of nationality in the British Social Attitudes survey, referred to in Heath, Martin and Elgenius (2007) showed that people would consider themselves British before considering themselves Welsh, English, Irish, Scottish and so on. By 2006, the figure considering itself British first had fallen to 44%. "In the case of Wales, both Welsh and British national identities have been present for centuries, meaning that even into the modern period there has been a greater co-existence than has been the case in Scotland," added

Bradbury. Some of this is put down to the fact that, following the 2001 census, it was shown there was greater immigration into Wales from England than there was into Scotland (General Registrar Office for Scotland, 2003). Figures from the Higher Education Statistics Agency showed that the proportion of students from England studying in Wales, at 45.2% is far higher than in Scotland, where only 14.3% of university students are from England. That, claimed Dafis (2004), makes the high proportion of those claiming Welsh identity “all the more remarkable”.

Nevertheless, Ceinwen Thomas (1971) wrote, in a statement which would probably be dismissed by today’s commentators, that “without the language, you are not Welsh. You may not be English, but you are not truly Welsh”. This suggested Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973) would suggest that “loyalty to the Welsh language would be particularly salient to Welsh people as a determinant of a definite Welsh self-image” (p.450).

That particular issue has not really gone away, except it has taken on rather a new dimension. At the time that the findings of the 2011 Census were about to be made public, the Welsh Government’s Welsh Language Commissioner Meri Huws noted (Interview, August 2012) that there had been a significant growth in Welsh language education.

“Why are people doing that?” she asked. “There are a number of reasons and I think it is partly down to Welsh identity. And it is about economic advantage . . . so we are talking about the Welsh worker. We are far more aware of our Welshness. Also, in a way because of the legislation [the Welsh Language Acts, for instance], we are forcing people towards the point where they see the value of the language. And this is all building on a whole series of demographic changes, educational changes, constitutional changes and legislative changes.”

4.4 Views of Welsh Identity

The idea of Welsh identity has been debated for, probably, centuries. Many authors, including Williams, G. (1985), Humphreys (1989), Williams, R. (1990), Smith (1984), Curtis (1986) and Hume and Price (1986) have all struggled, mostly arguing that “Welsh culture is

continually being redrawn and re-defined in accordance with pressures from inside as well as outside Wales” (Williams, K, 2000, p.39).

However, racism and xenophobia can so easily become part of the debate regarding identity.

“First, there is the nation, a political identity any consideration of which has been bedevilled by association with xenophobia,” wrote Carter (2010, p.21). “It is fashionable to condemn the assertion of nationality as something inherently evil. Secondly, within the diversity of peoples, it is cultural or ethnic identity which is somehow conventionally linked with racism, presumably a term derived from ‘race’, a concept in physical anthropology and related to physical characteristics but which has no relevance whatsoever to notions of culture, way of life or ‘ethnie’.

Jones, R. (1992, p.330) alludes to the issue of immigration when he examines why the Welsh are *yma o hyd* – still here.

Unlike the English and the French, the Scots and the Welsh have for centuries sustained an identity without the protection of a buttressing state of their own. The Welsh, in particular, have survived despite the lack of a separate legal and educational system and a recent history that has witnessed massive immigration and integrationist pressures.

In his paper, Jones ponders the often romanticised view of Wales which resulted from the increase in tourism after the advent of the railways, as well as the astonishing pace of change in industrial Wales after the mid-1880s. “Welsh identities, it would appear, are plentiful, but a Welsh identity to be embraced by all, or by a majoritarian current, is proving to be harder to come by” (ibid, p.332). Jones also discusses the identity fostered by Liberalism, where the party, from the last part of the 19th century, assembled a cross-class *gwerin*, or people/folk.

Thus the Liberal Wales was non-conformist, closely associated with the Welsh language, temperate and based on the community of interest between small farmers, industrial workers and small businessmen and professionals in the *gwerin*” (p.342).

This was a delineation picked up by Labour when it assumed the mantle of the party of majority support in Wales in the 20th century.

Carter's notion that simply to live in a particular place is not enough to create a national identity, but much more (2010, p.22). He refers to work undertaken by Kroeber and Kluckhohn in 1952. These two American anthropologists assembled 158 definitions of national identity under eight broad headings – descriptive or enumerative, historical, normative, psychological, structural, genetic and a last group referred to as incomplete. They also added their own further definition: “Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups” (1952, p.181).

The issue of the language also attaches itself to other Welsh traits.

There are certain people distinguished by their attachment to *y peth* (the things): these are the concerns considered to be central to a Welsh identity: the Eisteddfod, poetry, *cerdd dant*, harp music and non-conformist religion. During the 1980s, the communities that nurtured such people, guardians of a popular Welsh-language culture, came to be under siege both from the ceaseless bombardment of English-language television and, equally dramatically, by inward immigration (Jones, R., 1992, p.350).

Language, therefore, has defined the Welsh nation time and again, especially as English became the medium of the gentry:

Many of the earlier historical bases of the difference between Welsh and English had therefore been eroded to the point of extinction as far as gentry were concerned . . . [this] . . . weakened beyond repair the connection between the gentry and the native literary culture. By the latter half of the 17th century, the old bardic order, the group which more than any other had given shape, expression and continuity to the former sense of Welsh identity, had become defunct” (Williams, G., 1993, p.461).

4.5 The Age of Enlightenment – the Welsh ‘linguistic divide’

Carter (2010, p.61) noted that the 18th century Age of Enlightenment greatly developed the natural sciences and, in other professions, “issues were scrutinised free from the trammels of religious orthodoxy”. These were ideas which permeated the gentrified classes and which were transmitted through the English language. In addition, there is no Welsh equivalent to the Scottish Enlightenment, which “with the work of David Hume, Adam Smith or James Hutton, which though in the English language, affirmed Scottish identity” (ibid, p.62).

Isolation became the watchword for the Welsh:

Everything that defined identity had been eliminated. The contrast with Scotland where Scottish laws and institutions remained is illuminating. Above all, there was a Scottish monarchy and court and a Scottish education system, with St Andrews, the oldest university, founded in 1411 and Edinburgh in 1768. In consequence, Scottish identity did not have any necessary relationship with the old Scottish language, Gaelic (ibid, p.62).

In some ways, the two languages of Wales, even from the 16th century, had set out on a collision course. Indeed, the historian Dai Smith has referred to the “great linguistic divide” in several of his writings. In 1990, the New Labour minister Kim Howells talked about the “philistinism of the language zealots” while Williams, L. (1999, p.13) noted that “the place, within the nation, for those who do not speak the native language is certainly considered to be problematic by at least some of those who continue to speak it as their mother tongue”.

Others went further. Smith (1984, p.8) said that the tensions between the two linguistic “camps” in Wales “is not merely linguistic. It is also a fracture in the economy and society which led to a difference in collective psychology”. Williams, G. (1985, p.3) talked of the language as being something which defines the nation, since it is one of the oldest European languages which is still spoken. He also talked of the “first point to grasp about the history of this people [is that] a country called Wales only exists because the Welsh invented it. The Welsh only exist because they invented themselves” (ibid, p.2). Howell and Barber (1990) listed a range of attitudes, in addition to the language, which define the Welsh. These include

“their separate history, instinctive radicalism in religion and politics, contempt for social pretentiousness, personal warmth and exuberance, socialibility [and] love of music”.

Bradbury (2010) further commented that the importance of the Welsh language to Welsh identity has:

Long been a contentious issue, perceived to be simultaneously inclusive and exclusive in its effects”, referring to Balsom’s “three-Wales” approach (Y Fro Gymraeg, associated with the Welsh speaking areas of the West, Welsh Wales, where English is the primary language but where Welsh identity is still particularly noticeable, such as in the South Wales valleys, and British Wales, where Welshness is of little consequence (Balsom, in Osmond, 1985).

4.6 Religion and Industrialisation

Religion played an important part in the maintenance of Welsh. The translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588 “led in the following century to one of the greatest influences in the preservation and extension of the Welsh language, [which were] circulating schools initiated by Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llanddowror” (Carter, 2010, p.64). (Jones acquired a former gypsy caravan and toured extensively with his wife, teaching reading and writing skills, staying barely a fortnight in each location. The result was the Welsh became one of the most literate nations, even attracting the attention of Catherine the Great in far-off St Petersburg).

Some maintained that Welsh industrialisation did wonders for the language, with thousands migrating from the heartlands in the west to the industrial hotspots in the east. “The Welsh patriot should sing the praises of industrial development,” wrote Brinley Thomas (1959, pp. 169-192). “The unrighteous Mammon in opening up the coalfields at such a pace unwittingly gave the Welsh language a new lease of life and Welsh non-conformity a glorious high noon.” The acceptance of that concept is one which had largely died out, with immigration causing catastrophic erosion to the use of Welsh. A more recent survey, however, by “data firm Euromosaic records Welsh as scoring fairly well on a scale measure of minority languages and its noted as affording ‘some optimism concerning language use’” (Nelde, Strubell and Williams, 1996).

4.7 Absence of the Welsh dimension from UK national debate

That moves on to a more telling debate, which is the absence of a Welsh dimension from any national debate (whether Welsh national or UK national). This is frequent, if not normal, mainly because most consumers of media products in Wales read, watch or listen to material produced outside the country. The consumption of media products emanating from Wales is minimal and, as the 2015 Welsh Media Audit produced by the Institute of Welsh Affairs showed, sales of newspapers and consumption of TV programmes showed their steepest decline since 2007 (IWA, 2015). But, as the Welsh football team looked destined for glory, an outpouring of unusually pro-Welsh sentiment in UK national newspapers and on the broadcast media – which, naturally, contained many stereotypes of Welsh identity such as dragons, daffodils and leeks, not to mention sheep – suddenly projected Wales onto the world map. That said, however, for journalists working in Welsh and writing about matters of concern to the Welsh people, they know – largely – that their work will be consumed by a small number of people living in the country as well as those from the diaspora who are able to access these writings. Is it fair to assume, therefore, that people who access Welsh journalism are likely to be better informed about Welsh politics and current affairs, Welsh culture, Welsh sport and all other traits of Welsh national life which are ignored by the press based outside the country? Williams (2003) suggests this may be the case. “One central area [of Welsh identity] would be analysis of the cultural impulses towards democratic community. Now I do indeed believe that these impulses are stronger in Welsh than in majority English culture,” (p20). He also wrote that “lacking a state, the Welsh have been primarily identified by their culture” (p35).

That tale is taken up Thomas (1999) who suggested that the two literatures of modern Wales:

Seemed destined, by the very process and configurations which underwrote them, to be enemies and rivals, since the rise of the society which produced the one seemed predicated on – and even dedicated to – the destruction of the culture sustaining the other (p.46).

Thomas also refers to the way in which Welsh writers were alert to what he refers to as “cultural militancy” (ibid, p.47). He refers to the literature of writers Caradoc Evans and T. Gwynn Jones, both of whom were vociferously Welsh in their writings, constantly putting forward a Welsh point of view even when writing in English.

4.8 What is the Welsh nation?

For many academics, nation is something up for vociferous discussion. It is, apparently, an “inherently ambiguous word” according to Joseph (2004). People talk, said the author, of

Being linked by nativity, birth, as one speaks of the Hebrew nation and of the Cherokee nation. More often it is used in its extended sense of an expanse of territory, its inhabitants and the government which rules them from a single, unified centre – the British nation, for instance (Joseph, 2004, pp.92-93).

Williams (2003) talked about the extreme complexity of Welsh ethnicity. While most people associate the Welsh with fellow Celtic nationalities, Williams claims that the ‘Celts’ [his inverted commas] were “the first invading linguistic imperialists”. He also warned that

We have also to remember, near the roots of some modern loyalties, that the ‘old language’ which has been so central to the identity of Wales was the product of an ex-colonial situation in which the native language, British, had been profoundly modified by the imperial language, Latin (p.18).

Another area touched on by this author is the question of what he calls the “mongrel mark” of Anglo-Welsh culture. Williams notes that the majority of today’s Welsh residents have lost the native language and now speak and write in English. While it is not a particularly important or inflammatory area of debate in today’s Wales, the writings of people such as Dylan Thomas or R. S. Thomas, not to mention Richard Price, Arthur Horner, Aneurin Bevan, Gwyn Thomas and many others are seen as major examples of writers whose work completely underlines several significant traits of Welsh identity outside the country while writings in Welsh by some of the great names of European literature – Dafydd ap Gwilym, Aneurin, Taliesin, Gwenallt or Saunders Lewis for instance, or the folk-tales of the

Mabinogion and, of course, the work of all those journalists through the centuries – would probably be met by a blank stare from someone living across the border (ibid, p.19). Williams also refers to Emyr Humphreys’ assertion that the continuous Welsh poetic tradition has:

Contrived to be a major factor in the maintenance, stability and continuity of the Welsh identity and the fragile concept of Welsh nationhood” (ibid, p.28). But Williams balances this with the notion of the “long Welsh experience of a precarious and threatened identity has informed Welsh thought with problems now coming through to once dominant and assertive peoples: most evidently, in our own time, the English” (ibid, p.29).

Thomas suggests that the 1536 Act of Union was:

Conveniently interpreted by the Welsh as the climax of a 1,000-year struggle to recover their ‘lost’ British identity. The English were happy enough to play that particular game when it suited them – indeed, it helped them both to establish their own nation-state and to gain their first empire – but they effectively played the game on their own anglicising terms (1999, p.13).

Wales is often alluded to as the first colony of the English and much discussion has already been made of how there were steps to stamp out the language and culture of the nation. Thomas further cites the 17th century poet Henry Vaughan, who signed himself off as Silurist, who had been an ardent Royalist in the Civil War. He had studied at Jesus College, Oxford, and Thomas’s suggestion is that Wales seemed so far removed from the cultural centres of both Oxford and London, that people wondered why Vaughan maintained his Welsh connection, since the country was seemed “backward and remote” (ibid, p.24). Yet Thomas’s suggestion is that Vaughan did much to struggle with what he calls the “interfaces between two contrasting and competing cultural systems” (ibid, p.26). Welsh identity had been battered not only by the Act of Union, referred to above, but also by the previous whirlwinds whipped up by the Renaissance and the Reformation. Moving forward several centuries, Thomas relates Vaughan’s early struggles with Welsh identity to those of Anglo-Welsh poet Alun Llywelyn-Williams.

The young Llywelyn-Williams, in the late 1930s felt a much closer affinity to the English-language writers of the time than he did to the great Welsh-language tradition of *barddas* (poetry, or, perhaps more correctly, poetic tradition) . . . What is more, Llywelyn-Williams also knew from personal experience that by the 20th century, English has itself become a Welsh language (ibid, p.42).

An interesting view on the Welsh conundrum came from the writer Bhabha who wrote about the dynamics which exist between intra- and intercultural relationships.

We are confronted with the nation split within itself, articulating the heterogeneity of its population. The barred nation . . . becomes a luminal signifying space that is *internally* [his italics] marked by the discourses of minorities, the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonist authorities and tense locations of cultural difference (Bhabha, 1994).

A further study on Welsh ‘identification’ was undertaken in 2014 by Harries, Byrne and Lymperopoulou who found 1.8m people in Wales – 58% of the population - identified themselves as Welsh only, with just 7% (218,000) saying they were both Welsh and British. Mixed ethnic groups are more likely to identify with a Welsh national identity, the highest numbers (59%) coming from the White and Black Caribbean communities. Welsh speakers are more likely to identify with a Welsh national identity (59%) while only just under half of those questioned who could not speak the language perceived themselves as Welsh (ethnicity.co.uk).

Since devolution, the Welsh Government has sought to support a common Welsh national identity through the ‘One Wales’ strategy. This has included, for example, strengthening the place of ‘Wales in the World’ and continued support for the Welsh language (ibid, p1).

The authors go on to point out the figures relating to identifying as Welsh only or as Welsh-British. “These figures will represent a mix of different allegiances to Wales and a Welsh identity. National identity is more complex and nuanced than is often suggested in political debates over nationhood, citizenship and belonging” (wales.gov.uk). They also noted how

the Welsh Government promotes the language as “an essential part of the cultural identity and character of Wales” (ibid).

Griffiths (1995) wrote about some aspects of “Welshness”.

Undoubtedly certain institutions . . . have become synonymous with “Welshness”, including rugby, beer drinking, male-voice choirs, coal-mining, the Welsh *mam* (mother), and the Welsh chapel, while more mythic ‘Celtic’ images, particularly those associated with notions of stoicism and striving in the face of adversity, have characterised Welsh literature and other arts (p.83).

Griffiths further quotes Raymond Williams, noting that:

Discussions of Welsh cultural identity frequently neglect its complex and contradictory qualities. If there is one thing to insist on in analysing Welsh culture it is the complex of forced and acquired discontinuities: a broken series of radical shifts, within which we have to mark not only certain social and linguistic continuities but many acts of self-definition by negation, by alteration and by contrast. Indeed, it is the culture of Wales, profoundly and consciously problematic, which is the real as distinct from the ideological difference from a selective, dominant and hegemonic English culture (pp.83-84).

A couple of decades earlier, Raymond Williams had taken a much more depressing view of Wales. When the country was undergoing massive change, with heavy industries closing and new industries taking their place, he mocked the efforts of the UK government to make the place attractive to investors, describing the country (which had been marketed for its tourist and leisure potential) as “a resort and a festival, both meticulously and distinctively Welsh” (Williams, 2003, p.7). Williams also talked about the “very distinct classicist and romantic tendencies of Welsh literature” and of the energy with which the Welsh converse in their mother tongue (ibid, p.9).

But this is the problem: the real problem of cultural identity. I wish I could see it in one of its popular forms: in a kind of emphasis on Welshness against an alien and invading culture; in a consequent emphasis on culture as a tradition, and on tradition

as preservation . . . Here is a language spoken and written since the sixth century, still a native language for a significant minority, and to want to keep it, to insist on keeping it, is then as natural as breathing. With the language goes a literature, and with the literature a history, and with the history a culture (ibid, p.7).

Williams also bemoans the fact that the Welsh, usually in popular entertainment, play to their weaknesses.

If the Welsh, as the English sometimes say, are dark, deceitful, voluble and lustful Puritans, find a scene, find a character, play it on English television; admit and exaggerate your weaknesses before they have time to point them out. Or play the larger-than-life exile, your local colour deepening with every mile to Paddington or across the Seven Bridge and up the M4. Be what they expect you to be and be it more (2003, p.10).

Minogue (1967) examined the phenomenon of symbols and slogans to raise national consciousness, to create pride towards the national culture and inspire a loyalty towards a national political consensus or hegemony.

Flags and anthems can be used to create members of a nation by developing new habits or emotions; the star-spangled banner with its stars increasing as a new state joined the union was an important symbol of America for the millions of immigrants to the United States (p.11).

Symbols of nationhood – or, indeed, nationalism – can be seen in flags, works of art, national anthems, architecture, currency, postage stamps, passports, the media, even cuisine. The capital cities of many countries embody their national identities, with parliament buildings often seen as iconic symbols – the Elizabeth Tower (perhaps better known as Big Ben) of the Palace of Westminster equals London, for instance – with monuments and buildings which are the home to national institutions in those capital cities. The elegant buildings at Park Place in the city centre of Cardiff are well recognised, one of which is home to the National Museum of Wales. The iconic Wales Millennium Centre in Cardiff Bay was a frequent backdrop to episodes of *Torchwood*. Many news bulletins, for instance, use city names as

shorthand talking about, for example, Washington saying this or that when it actually means the United States Government.

Williams (2003) talked of the multitude of “national” symbols in an attempt to make sense of Welshness. He suggested that the Welsh are the last vestiges of the pre-Roman invasion British race. They are the remains of the Celtic warriors who charged against the Romans. They are “natural radicals, dissidents, non-conformists, rebels” (p.8). He then throws out a challenge. “Think of Catholic, royalist Wales, as late as the Civil War. Are these the same people as the radical non-conformists and later the socialists and militants of the 19th and 20th centuries?” (ibid, p.8).

How does that translate into Welshness? The flag is certainly distinctive though many Welsh people resent the fact that the flag of the United Kingdom includes England, Scotland and Northern Ireland but omits any Welsh symbol, thus harking back to the move by the government of Henry VIII to subjugate the Welsh, obliterate the name of Wales and incorporate the country into England. There’s certainly a stirring national anthem, heard more often in France in summer 2016 than was any anthem linked to the English team. There’s not a Welsh passport but, in the last decade Welsh has been included, alongside English and Scots Gaelic, on the UK passport. There have been efforts made by Royal Mail over the years to produce distinctly Welsh postage stamps. There is, however, no distinct paper currency, as there is in Scotland and Northern Ireland. However, there are pound coins which bear Welsh inscriptions and the designs on small designations of the UK coinage include Welsh symbols, such as leeks or daffodils. Just as Camembert and brioche might symbolise French cuisine, there’s certainly *caws Caerffili* (Caerphilly cheese), as well as *bara brith* (literally ‘speckled bread’, referring to the fruit included in the recipe) and the distinctly acquired taste of boiled seaweed, known as lavabread or *bara lawr*, a Swansea speciality. There are also uniquely Welsh examples of architecture: small cottages, rows of terraces in the south Wales valleys, castles (whether “English/Conqueror” or “Welsh/Aggressor”), scattered examples of the *cromlech* or other prehistoric burial sites and so on.

There are also Welsh institutions which contribute to a national identity. The Welsh Government is now a phrase which is in common parlance, certainly in Wales, though much less so in England, especially in the English press. The National Assembly has been established for going on two decades and is, albeit slowly, making a considerable impact on

everyday life in Wales. The English press, of course, still refer (at the time of writing) to Jeremy Hunt as the Health Secretary or Justine Greening as Education Secretary. For England, certainly. But not for Wales.

The National Assembly seemed to be the next step for a nation where the trappings of nationhood had been developing over the century or so before the decisive referendum. The University of Wales received its Royal Charter in 1893. Both the National Library and National Museum received their charters in 1907. The Anglican Church in Wales was formally disestablished in 1920, a year after the Welsh Board of Health was formed. A Welsh department at the Board of Education has been formed as early as 1907, followed by a similar department at the Ministry of Agriculture in 1919. The post of Secretary of State for Scotland had been recreated in 1885 but, despite hopes being raised many times, the first Secretary of State for Wales, James Griffiths, was appointed only in October 1964. By that time, Cardiff had been recognised as the capital (in 1955) and the Welsh Grand Committee has been formed (in 1960) (Môn Hughes, 2013, p54).

To these achievements could be added other national symbols such as the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, which performs all over Wales, at the BBC Proms in London and undertakes tours across Europe as well as to North America and the Far East. Welsh National Opera, which has an enviable international reputation, was established in 1948 and is now based at the internationally-recognised Wales Millennium Centre in Cardiff and a national theatre – performing in both languages – was established in the 1990s. However, Wales has come rather late to the idea of considering national symbols. Scotland has long has its own, distinct legal and banking system. When devolution was enacted in 1999, talk was not of a new Scottish Parliament but the *re-establishment* of the Scottish Parliament. Even national Scottish foods such as whisky and shortbread are recognised as Scottish in Wales. Who, in Scotland, would think of the very possibility of a Welsh banknote, see lavabread or *bara brith* as Welsh or stop stifling a laugh at Penderyn Welsh whiskey?

Webster (2006) included many of the above symbols but also talked about words used in the names of countries to convey a sense of cohesion. These included Democratic, Republic, People's, Commonwealth, Popular and United. While none of these apply to Wales, the country is a constituent of the United Kingdom, though the reservations linked with the flag

noted above are commonplace. The political geographer Hartshorne (1950) talked of centrifugal forces which pulled countries apart and centripetal forces which pull together. The former forces include bodies of water, mountain ranges and distances which limited any interaction with the nation's population – certainly something to consider when it comes to the isolation of many Welsh communities before the advent of easy transport and mass media. Perhaps more apposite to today's multicultural Wales are the centrifugal forces of religious belief, cultures and economic activity which can force communities apart. Hartshorne's argument is that, for a state to exist and not fall apart, there must be greater centripetal forces at work. He also suggested that, for a state to exist, it must have a *raison d'être*. This might be the creation of a homeland, a geographical area with a distinct border, religious or political freedoms and, crucially for the Welsh in the last 50 years, an acceptance of its distinctive culture and language (cgge.aag.org).

The literature relating to patriotism and nationalism, and more lately banal nationalism, is large and growing. Alter (1985) argues that patriotism is an older concept which is linked with “love of one's homeland” while nationalism is linked with the emergence of nation-states in the 19th century. Hutchinson and Smith (1994) trace patriotism to the Roman and Greek empires but link nationalism to the American and French revolutions of the late 18th century. Taylor's view (1999, pp. 228-9) argues that nationalism is linked to an “ethnic, linguistic, cultural or religious identity” while patriotism is “a strong sense of identity with the polity”. Kedourie (1994, pp49-50) is a little more specific in his definitions suggesting that patriotism is “affection for one's country” while nationalism adds possible xenophobia, creating an “us versus them” mentality. Billig (1995), however, moves the argument on even further. Those in developed countries commonly regard nationalism as something of a problem attached to the developing world. He argues that between intermittent outbreaks of nationalist fervour in the west, the ideological foundations of developed countries are maintained by what he calls “banal nationalism”. His definition of this phenomenon is as follows.

The ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced . . . these habits are not removed from everyday life . . . Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’ in the lives of its citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition.

Billig's view is that banal nationalism, as a somewhat passive political state, is not harmless, citing the United States' involvement in the Iraq conquest as being carried along by politicians who cited popular support for such a move, but without asking the people. In the same way, the Thatcher government in 1982 was able to respond to Argentinian aggression in the Falklands Islands with little debate or consultation of the British people, simply assuming that the 'banal nationalism' which fires up the British people meant that they would accept that the course of action she and her cabinet followed was 100% the wish of the British people (cgge.aag.org). Yet that "banal nationalism" becomes not banal but highly active when considering that the ease of movement of people can so easily destroy a culture.

There are plenty of historical cases of large populations largely or entirely losing their language in favour of another one in a relatively short span of time – one has only to think for example of a place like Wales, where this occurred when education, communications and opportunity for travel were only a fraction of what they are now (Joseph, 2004, p.159).

Billig further suggests that there is a

Purposeful deployment of national symbols, but mostly through daily habits of which we are dimly aware at best [adding that] an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life including language (Llamas and Watt, 2010, p.15).

The central, shared and continuous marker of Welshness, surely, is the language, which makes Wales distinct in a British, European and world context though Wales, along with Scotland, is often referred to as one of the "nations without states" (Joseph, 2004, p.92). Even so, the language used by the majority of the population in Wales is English. Despite being a world language, it has many variations. Consider, for instance, the differences between American English, Canadian English, South African English, Australian English, "Chinglish" which might be heard in somewhere such as Hong Kong, "Singlish" from Singapore or "pidgin" English heard in many parts of the world, the Caribbean in particular. Welsh, the diaspora and the "colony" in Patagonia apart, is very specifically contained in one small country.

A consistent theme within studies of national identity over the last four decades has been the central importance of language in its formation . . . a number of prominent historians, sociologists and political scientists have argued that the existence of a national language is the primary foundation upon which nationalist ideology is constructed (Joseph, 2004, p.94).

The author further wrote that “it has long been one of the first and highest obstacles that has to be overcome in establishing a national identity is the non-existence of a national language (ibid, p.98).

Fichte (1968) defined this further.

The first, original, and truly natural boundaries of states are beyond doubt their internal boundaries. Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself, long before any human art begins; they understand each other and have the power of continuing to make themselves understood more and more clearly; they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole (pp.190-1).

Anderson rather disputed this. Thinking about his definition of the nation as an “imagined political community” he suggested that

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 minds of each lives the image of their communion. Renan referred to this imagining in his suavely back-handed way when he wrote that ‘*Or l’essence d’une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun, et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses*’. With a certain ferocity Gellner makes a comparable point when he rules that ‘Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist (1991, p.6).

Jaspal (2009) suggested that language is an instrument of communication “but it can also constitute a means of asserting one’s identity or one’s distinctiveness from others” (p.17). The author cites the work of Tajfel (1978) who defined social identity as “that part of an

individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group". Several authors have suggested a strong bond between language and ethnic identity (Cho, 2000; Baker, 2001) while Fishman (1991) suggested that the mother tongue is an especially potent identifier of ethnic identity since it is immutable and inherited from birth. Indeed, Jaspal and Coyle (in press) suggested that while religion plays an important part in ethnic identity, many Muslims in present-day Britain feel that they are linked to their faith through the use of the Arabic language. In the same way, however, it can serve to alienate communities. Racial tensions notwithstanding in some parts of the UK, there remains that sizeable chunk of the population in Wales which feels an inability to speak Welsh makes them somehow less Welsh. The notion of 'language crossing' (Rampton, 1995; Harris, 2006; Jaspal, 2008) suggests that people who adopt a new language find themselves a part of a new group or sub-culture – something particularly relevant in Wales where English-speakers, particularly in south-east Wales send their children to Welsh-medium schools.

Indeed, it has been found that some British-born South Asians identify as members of this sub-cultural groups on the basis of language, although they do not identify as "Black" themselves (Jaspal, 2008).

The author's conclusion is that "language supersedes notions of 'race' and ethnicity as determining factors for (subcultural) group membership". Joseph (2004) talks about the primary purposes of language as being "communication with others, it being impossible for human beings to live in isolation [and] representation of the world to ourselves in our own minds – learning to categorise things using the words our language provides us with" (p.15). There are also worries that linguistic diversity can serve to divide communities, frequently threatening national unity (Windisch, 2004). Catalonia and Québec are often cited as places where linguistic diversity serves to promote nationalism and destabilise nations. Pujol (1996) cites the fact that minority languages can be stigmatised or banned, with Franco's Spain formally prohibiting the use of Catalan for four decades. Even as lately as 2008, controversy was still being stirred in Wales.

A family court . . . heard an English expert witness testify that Welsh-medium classes would cause retardation in some children and would not stimulate a child to the same level as English-medium education (Shipton, 2008).

While Welsh was, of course, hardly encouraged as a way of communication for centuries, it now has official status in the country, with public signs and documents issued by public bodies required to appear in both English and Welsh. Breakwell (1986) suggested that the symbolic use of the Welsh language safeguards the continuity of individuals as Welsh individuals, making them distinct from their English neighbours.

If their national identity is in any way threatened by the symbolic dominance of the English, perhaps the collective adoption of the Welsh language, even by individuals whose native language is English, allows them entry in a less threatening position (Jaspal, 2009).

There have been numerous examples of research into what makes Welsh people particularly Welsh. A survey by Beaufort Research (2013), commissioned by BBC Wales, S4C and the Welsh Government, looked at the use of the Welsh language in everyday life. The report showed that most Welsh speakers – and that presumes the consumers of Welsh media – would welcome opportunities to do more in Welsh in everyday life: 84% overall rising to 92% in the least fluent groups. Most people saw a link between language and identity, at a personal, family, community and national basis as well as that of heritage. The link between language and identity also spread not only from the personal but also to the national and, in addition, spanned historical links from the past, further encompassing the present and feelings about the future. The report also indicated that having children or moving to an area where the language was regularly used had a significant impact on usage and perceptions. Perhaps more alarming was the fact that many interviewees perceived that the content of Welsh-language radio and TV was of inferior quality and, therefore, they did not consume it. They also regarded the fact that there was a low awareness or visibility of the Welsh language, particularly online. More apposite was the fact that 70% had watched Welsh-language TV and 50% had listened to Welsh-language radio within the last week of being surveyed but, perhaps surprisingly, more Welsh speakers than English speakers accessed English-language broadcasts. However, consumption of Welsh-language websites was markedly lower than that of traditional media with survey results showing that Welsh speakers overwhelmingly preferred to communicate through the medium of English when online. Few reported using websites to access Welsh-language information and usage of Welsh-language news content on-line was fairly limited. The few examples of non-social on-line access included S4C's (at the time) website which included *Cyw* and *Clic*, the BBC Cymru website, the various English

to Welsh translation facilities and a few Welsh-language music websites. Access to Welsh through newspapers or other printed publications was very limited, with broadcasting being the most accessible way to encounter the language. However, almost all identified the language as a prime marker for Welsh identity, with language being part of a national heritage and a major building block of Welsh identity (pp.12-16).

4.9 The Welsh “irrelevance”

Perhaps somewhat surprising was the fact, most strongly supported by Welsh speakers, that many regarded Welsh-language culture as seeming a “bit irrelevant” at times (p.13).

However, the same report quotes research from Harrison, Bellin and Piette (1981), Lyon (1996), Gathercole (2005), Morris and Jones (2007a,) Morris and Jones (2007b), Morris (2010) and Thomas and Roberts (2011) all of whom show that the language used at home is often seen as the most important factor in influencing language use in the wider community. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the consumption of journalism in Welsh, whether in print, broadcast or on-line, influences the use of the language and reinforces the feeling of national identity.

That feeling of “irrelevance” is referred to by Charlotte Aull Davies in her examination of the role of the National Eisteddfod in Welsh life. The institution is the largest folk festival in Europe and travels around Wales for a ten-day summer extravaganza celebrating the Welsh language and culture. There’s a pop music stage which resembles a miniature Glastonbury, there’s a major art exhibition, there are lectures, book launches (indeed, more Welsh books are probably launched at the Eisteddfod than on the remaining 51 weeks of the year), concerts, pageants, meetings of organisations such as *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Welsh Language Society) and *Mudiad Ysgolion Methrin* (the Welsh (language) Nursery School Movement). The Welsh Government will be there, along with the Arts Council of Wales and the Welsh Office, all supporting exhibitions of their work, along with hundreds of charities, churches, businesses, political parties – all the fabric of Welsh society. The primary reason for the existence of the Eisteddfod, however, is competition and these take place relentlessly in music, literature, poetry, art, acting, dance, recitation - and all in Welsh (maybe not art, dance or non-sung music). There are also celebrations of some unique Welsh art

forms. The Eisteddfod chair is awarded for the best *awdl*, a testing and complex poetical form. There are performances of *cerdd dant*, a unique musical form where poetry is recited to a melody sung in counterpoint to the accompaniment of another totally different melody. Davies (1998), however, asks whether much of this activity is relevant and how much it contributes to Welshness, bearing in mind that 80% of the nation does not speak the language. She quotes Beeman (1993) and Baumann (1992) who both suggest that audience participation in an event such as the Eisteddfod serves “as a public display of a society’s central meaningful elements” (Beeman, p.380) or that such a spectacle “either unites a community or that its performance is primarily inward directed towards community members” (Baumann, pp.102-5). Davies also talked of the Eisteddfod largely being over-run by the English language from the middle of the 19th century until 1950 (p.143). The Eisteddfod also became an organ of English society, with the Welsh language and Welshness all but marginalised (p.151). Yet there is still the question as to whether the Welsh-only rule alienates the linguistic majority of the country. That said, many of the most successful Eisteddfodau of recent years have been in largely English-speaking areas: Ebbw Vale, Newport and, in 2016, Abergavenny. “I argue,” wrote Davies, “that Trosset’s (1993) view of Welshness as emanating from what is even a relatively small segment of Welsh-speaking society, let alone Welsh society as a whole, is ultimately unconvincing, although the question she raises regarding the relationship between Eisteddfod performance and Welsh identity is clearly an important one . . . The National Eisteddfod is used for performances not of a single homogenous and hegemonic Welshness but rather of alternative and often competing Welshnesses” (p.151).

Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley (2005) refer to Wales’s invisibility. Travelling overseas citing Wales as home rarely merits a flicker of recognition in Asia, the Americas, Oceania, Africa and even parts of Europe. Wales is often seen as synonymous with England and the culture and language of the country goes largely unrecognised (pp.11-12). Osmond (1992, p.5) comments that many people in Wales know little about their own country and that “residents of the Valleys in south Wales are more likely to have visited Marbella than Machynlleth”. Talfan Davies (1997, pp.7-8) also noted that Wales has a lower percentage of people born within its borders, compared with Scotland or Northern Ireland. Possibly more pressing is the much-debated (in recent years) phenomenon of the Welsh democratic deficit. Barlow et al (2005) refer to the bemusement of visitors to Wales who will see little Welsh news coverage on ITV1 Wales (formerly HTV) and few current affairs

programmes in English on either that channel or BBC Wales. If they live on the borders of Wales or along the North or South Wales coasts, it is likely they receive programmes from Bristol, Birmingham or Manchester. The contrast, even a decade ago, with the much more available and developed news and current affairs offering on S4C was striking.

The lack of coverage of political affairs from Wales and the detachment of the people from democratic processes is becoming a considerable worry for politicians. The Welsh voted by the narrowest of margins for the devolution of power from Westminster to Cardiff Bay in 1997 and, in a further referendum in 2011 voted for additional law-making powers to be granted to what is now known as the Welsh Government. However, no UK national paper has any staff member based in Wales, with papers relying on the Press Association for what little coverage they devote to Welsh affairs. Unlike in Scotland, there is not a tradition of national titles and the UK nationals do not produce Welsh editions of their newspapers. The last was the *Daily Mirror* which abandoned its efforts in 2003. Even more odd, worrying even, is the decision by Trinity Mirror, taken in summer 2016, not to have a member of staff based in the *Senedd* (Parliament). It remains the publisher of the biggest morning circulation paper in Wales, the *Daily Post*, and is the owner of the alleged “national newspaper of Wales”, the *Western Mail*. This is, doubtless, a decision taken by bean-counters in Canary Wharf who simply do not understand the politics of Wales.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at Welsh identity and considered the country and its journalism. The reality is that Welsh identity has been an historically fraught issue. “Social scientists often assume that it is natural that speakers of the same language should seek their own political identity,” wrote Billig (1995, p.13). He further quotes Snyder (1976, p.21) who suggested that speakers of the same language are “irresistibly drawn together”. Billig makes a strong point when he suggests that nationalism, as a pejorative term, refers solely to the beliefs of others. To people from the same community “when talking of ‘our’ beliefs, one might prefer other different words such as “patriotism”, “loyalty” or “societal identification”” (1995, p.16).

Here, then, is the dilemma for the journalists who write, or wrote, in Welsh. Were they inward-looking? Did they cut themselves off from the rest of the world? Or is their work shining a light on world affairs and national issues (particularly those who wrote in the early days of journalism) for those people who might have struggled to understand English? Have they formed a new, dynamic community with its own special identity or have they created a splinter group? An answer will be sought in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Welsh Identity in the Media

“Confusingly designated as both a region of England and a constitutionally distinct Principality within the British realm, Wales was neither a separate nor a fully integrated territory” (Jones, 2000a, p.313).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at issues around the presentation of Welsh identity in the media and will consider how journalists who wrote in Welsh created an essentially different view of the world for their readers and – later – their listeners and viewers.

In many ways, Jones’s quotation above sums up the Welsh situation in many walks of life, even today. This was certainly the way of thinking before the advent of the Welsh Government in 1999. Small changes here and there made for a distinct nation once power shifted, for some areas of government, from Westminster to Cardiff Bay: zero prescription charges for all, a smoking ban well before it was adopted in England, a different attitude towards fees for university students and so on. There is also the question, of course, relating to the democratic deficit and how the vast majority of people in Wales consume products produced in England and in which (or on which) Wales is rarely mentioned or the Welsh angle relating to various issues is hardly ever considered.

However, throughout this thesis, the discussion veers towards the conclusion that journalists trod a divergent path and they did so well before politicians accepted that Wales had different issues to confront compared with the more populous and richer neighbour across the eastern border. They reintroduced people to the cultural riches of Welsh literature, poetry in particular. They followed a radical line politically, supporting Liberalism (and then Labour) against the more English-oriented Tories. They opposed the authority of the (then) Established Church, took up campaigns against landlords, supported Chartism and, once

broadcasting came along, produced news bulletins which took an often opposing view of the world compared with their English neighbours.

5.2 Identity

The question of national identity was discussed in earlier chapters. But what is the specific concept of Welsh identity?

In the 19th century, the English interpretation of Wales was vastly different from the way the Welsh saw themselves. “There were various Victorian notions of Wales often centred around tourism and fanciful aspects of a history which was not always entirely accurate,” said Geraint Talfan Davies, Chairman of the Institute of Welsh Affairs and former Controller of BBC Cymru: Wales (Interview, May 2016).

Most of the periodicals and newspapers discussed in earlier chapters circulated in very small areas. Broadcasting, when it came to Wales, did much to change the identity of the nation. “The creation of the BBC in Wales is often linked with Wales being considered a single entity,” noted Geraint Talfan Davies (Interview, May 2016). “The whole of Wales was taken into consideration for the first time. Until the creation of the Welsh Region of the BBC, there was not much of a notion of Wales as an entity. And even up to these days, there is no national Welsh newspaper. That is a concern. The other thing to take into consideration is that once the BBC came along, this was the first time that there was standardisation of Welsh – north and south. The classic series was, of course, *Fo a Fe* [Him and Him, in, respectively, the North and South Welsh dialects], where there was a real attempt to bridge the language gap north to south.”

Meri Huws, the Welsh Government’s Welsh Language Commissioner, believes “it’s partly linguistic, partly historic, partly about a new, very modern Wales where apps in the Welsh language, on-going developments by Google, the availability of G-Mail in Welsh, the Welsh interface of Microsoft and so on play a significant part. Welshness is a whole combination of looking forward and back,” she said (Interview, August 2012). Huws also referred to the different viewpoints taken by Welsh and English media.

This morning we made an announcement that we are to begin looking at [the use of the language in] health and care sectors. It is interesting how the Welsh-language media and the English-language media have interpreted the story in two completely different ways. So you have to read something in Welsh and in English alongside to get the real story (Interview, August 2012).

Golwg editor Dylan Iorwerth links identity with making choices. “People have a choice and they make that choice,” he said (Interview, June 2016). “Certainly as far as Radio Cymru and S4C are concerned and the Welsh news services [people] access on there . . . what they do is quite specific. What the print media have done is appeal to a wide cross-section of people. What is really important for people who have an interest in current affairs . . . is that the media have strengthened the feeling that those people have of being part of a nation, of being part of a community.”

Yet, despite the uniquely Welsh feel of S4C and of both Radio Wales and Radio Cymru, the largest broadcaster in Wales is BBC Radio 2. “For that reason,” said Betsan Powys, Editor of BBC Radio Cymru (Interview, May 2016), “it doesn’t feel as though we are having a national conversation in Wales. And when that national conversation is not happening, when people are not talking to each other, then there is a problem. That is why the job for Radio Wales and Radio Cymru is that much harder. So what we have is, really, an audience which is less loyal, though we do have a very high loyalty “rating” for Radio Cymru.”

There is also the feeling that journalists writing in Welsh assume a degree of knowledge as a given. “You do assume a degree of knowledge of the audience and that is a starting point,” said freelance journalist and political commentator Vaughan Roderick (Interview, May 2016).

That said, you could not explain everything anew each time you go on air. However, Welsh speakers are often more politically informed about Wales and matters about Wales. I’d say that most Welsh speakers gain a somewhat superior view of the Welsh political situation through watching something like *Wales Today* and then adding to that with *Newyddion*. There is interaction. People do interact, certainly, often directly with the journalist. But that is less today than it has ever been. On the whole the take-up of political commentary in Welsh is that of the Welsh middle classes or educated

others. But what is probably true is that it is rather more expensive to provide a news service in Welsh, since the journalistic input will cost the same but the reach that the journalist will have is that much more limited.

There is an argument that language, national identity and the media are not necessarily intimately connected. Huw Jones is chairman of S4C and he believes that any language and the people who speak that language need to have a presence in the most powerful medium, which he argues is television, not the Internet. People spend around four hours a day watching TV, or at least hearing the output in their homes while they are doing something else. Jones said (Interview, May 2016):

I would argue that [Welsh identity] would be weaker if Welsh was not present in the media. There is an equally interesting idea borne out in Scotland and Ireland that national identity, language and media do not necessarily have to go together. But language has been an important part of Welsh identity from way back and even if you don't speak the language, you recognise the historic connection. In particular you see the pride with which English speakers choose to send their children to Welsh-medium schools.

There is also the question of present-day perception outside the country. Jones (Interview, May 2016) suggests many people outside Wales are aware of the existence of the language but fail to recognise its vibrancy. "Few English people realise that Welsh is a living, spoken language. There is a tendency to think that it is a ceremonial language and we are only using it to be awkward," he suggested.

The Methodist Revival at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries did much to damage Welsh journalistic identity, according to Jones. If it has not happened, "would the language and the media have been in a better position to face up to the attractions of popular culture?" (Interview, May 2016). Certain aspects of popular culture were frowned upon by Methodist leaders, so many aspects were not approached by Welsh-language writers, meaning that many people turned to English outlets for their popular reading matter. Move forward a century and things have changed considerably with journalists approaching any story they consider newsworthy. Jones continued:

It's all part of self-confidence, legitimisation and normalisation of the language as a modern medium which, in turn, creates a context for the development of an identity. And it is interesting that the Assembly and Welsh Government are both quite edgy towards Welsh journalists because they are the only people who are holding them to account. Welshness is one of those identities which is firmly grounded now. If there was a time of crisis, it was after the war. It was a traumatic experience which created cultural change. It made Britishness more of a reality for people from rural communities than ever before. After the war, you were aware of rural areas where many people made the decision not to pass the language on to their kids. The language is still under threat, but it is for different reasons. There's another aspect of the normalisation of Welshness and that is an obvious Welshman – Huw Edwards – reading the main news on the BBC. This was probably not possible 20 years ago, certainly 30 years ago.

5.3.1 Newspapers and Periodicals

One of the major differences between English and Welsh-language journalism is the question of professionalism. Davies (1897) wrote that “it is impossible not to feel proud of the spectacle – nowhere else visible in the whole wide world – of a national press, the literary contents of which are produced by the people for the people”. David Davies, the editor of the *South Wales Daily Post*, spoke of how Welsh-language newspapers were democratic and accessible, publishing vigorous debates over matters of import to an increasingly self-confident Wales. (This was the time, of course, that many of the major national institutions were being established). Davies's century-old views regarding democracy of the press and accessibility are certainly borne out by the *Papurau Bro*.

Aled Jones (2000a) also noted that it was “during the second half of the 19th century that a weak but recognisably modern, post-Enlightenment idea of nation emerged in Wales, along with a renewed drive for the establishment of self-consciously national Welsh institutions” (p.310). Jones further suggested that the shift in perspective in Wales came about for three reasons. The first was the underpinning of an emerging public sphere. The second was by way of underlining Wales's relative cultural autonomy and, thirdly, there was the issue of mapping Wales's territory in new ways. “Together, these functions articulated and shaped the

desires of an important minority who, eager for self-expression, bequeathed to Wales its modern but fractured array of self-images” (ibid, p.311). Newspapers were closely associated with political and religious movements. These, according to Jones

Nourished communities of belief across a wide area, enabled networks to communicate with each other, and provided a pool of activists from which a social leadership could emerge . . . while it lacked a politically cohesive resident commercial bourgeoisie, Wales did however produce a significant middle-class stratum of ‘social leaders (ibid, p314).

In the Edwardian period, issues of specific interest to the Welsh alone began to fill newspaper columns: disestablishment, education matters, and theological, political and social issues. The First World War put paid too much of that premature aplomb and, post-war, attention turned to saving the Welsh language which had begun a serious decline in usage. In addition, much of what had been of interest to the Welsh had been diluted by the overarching interest of the English state, cemented by the importation of English opinions and attitudes through the now easily-distributed and plentiful newspapers.

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, newspapers had proliferated, though there was never a daily, national Welsh-language newspaper. For that matter, there was never a national English-language paper either, despite the claims of the *Western Mail* and in complete contrast with Scotland. After the First World War, things changed and, according to Jones (2000a),

Journalism in Wales thus adapted the news values of London, with its concern for the activities of governments and political leaders, by ordering its priorities around the actions and utterances of its own leading figures and . . . institutions, notably the religious denominations and political groupings. Members and supporters of the numerous religious and political organisations of 19th century Wales developed a language which, while being predominantly centred on their particular theological or political identities, also took on the semblance of a national identity (p.315).

Even so, Jones still identified major gaps in Welsh journalistic coverage, with the genre placing much of “its emphasis not so much on politics as on culture” (p315).

Welsh-language titles thrived, however.

A vibrant vernacular press, centred mainly in North Wales, had a considerable higher ratio of titles per head than the more populous south. As a result, the evidence gained from those papers inevitably favoured the preoccupations and outlook of Welsh-speaking communities (Jenkins and Williams, 2000, p.279).

Anglicisation in the south killed off several papers, however. *Y Darian* in Glamorgan folded in the early 1930s and *Llais Llafur* became *Labour Voice* in 1915.

The heavy hand of remote ownership also began to change the face of Welsh-language journalism. “This was in many respects linked to the editor-proprietor form of ownership which had characterised much of the Welsh press in the 19th century” (ibid, p.279).

Vaughan Thomas (1980, pp.93-5) noted that many titles were bought by large [remote] conglomerates who proceeded to close down multiple titles in one area to create a monopoly for a single paper. By the 1920s, the process had accelerated, with many English-language papers carrying syndicated stories, reducing local news to a few columns and carrying increasing column inches of advertising. The process has showed no signs of slowing. Some 80 years later and a tiny handful of companies control virtually all the newspapers in Wales. Jones (1993, p.209) noted that, in the 20th century, the number of Welsh-language publications fell from 17% in 1914 to merely 8% in 1960 and Wales’s ‘information deficit’ is largely a consequence of the frequently lamented lack of a fully-fledged national press (in contrast to Scotland, for example) (Wyn Jones et al, 2000; Audience Council Wales, 2011).

Anderson (1983, pp.42-45) suggested that print was a catalyst in the spread of nationalism. His idea is that print is a technological process which requires a linguistic hierarchy where “privileged” forms of language emerge simply because they are used by the press and that these forms become a dominant language, a form of “communication of power”. That was certainly the case for the various ministers who had controlled the Welsh press in the 19th century. “The language was regarded as a *cordon sanitaire* which prevented the transmission of alien ‘English’ political and cultural values. The use of Welsh was without doubt a defining centre, a badge of difference” (Jones, 2000a, p.318).

That was not to last, however. Jones (2000a, p.323) wrote that people in Wales were seduced by the speed of distribution and advertising power of Fleet Street titles. The shift towards being able to read English was also significant, so Welsh speakers increasingly looked towards the London papers for general news and to their local titles merely for immediate information. Perhaps most importantly, “the indigenous press came to define not one but several notions of Welsh identity, which remained divided, often bitterly so, by religion, region and language” (ibid, p.323).

The future is not looking healthy for the few remaining Welsh-language newspapers. According to Dylan Iorwerth (Interview, June 2016)

Whatever happens to the press in Wales depends on the strength of the language. It doesn't matter about anything else. If the language is weak, then the press will be weak. We really have to think about what will happen to the language in the near to medium future.

In addition, there is political correspondent Vaughan Roderick's comment that the “take up of political commentary in Welsh is that of the Welsh middle classes or the educated others” (Interview, May 2016).

But it was not always like this. *Tarian y Gweithwyr* was a publication, obviously, for workers. It covered radical, religious areas and contained literary reviews and it talked about erudite subjects – interspersed with things such as disputes between the NUM and employers. And then there was Thomas Gee's publication *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* which sold as many as 40,000 copies a week. That was a huge publication in its time and it could almost have been seen as over-egging the pudding. That said, people were not getting news from any other media, so that was their sole way of catching up with the news and they were reading that news in Welsh.

There are still developments in the press which are worth noting, however. A recent story (July 2016) relating to the death of an avid fundraiser for cancer research at his home in North Wales was covered by the *Daily Post*. The video, on the newspaper's website, which accompanied the story included interviews with both the deceased and his relatives which were carried out in Welsh. There is also the Herald group of newspapers in south west Wales.

“This is rather odd,” said Dylan Iorwerth (Interview, June 2016). “Here they are starting off a traditional print product at a time when others are giving up.” So, just as other newspapers are either closing down or merging and centralising content, the Herald Group starts off a new venture. Most notably, they include five or six pages written in Welsh in each edition.

5.3.2 *Golwg* Case Study

One of the longest-lasting and most successful Welsh periodicals has been *Golwg*.

Dylan Iorwerth has been editor since its inception in 1988. He said:

Around two years before we started, the Welsh Arts Council brought out a report on *Y Faner*. Their decision was they were not prepared to renew the grant to *Y Faner* unless there were radical changes. The boy who did the report was Rhodri Williams, who is now at Ofcom. The real reason was the Welsh Arts Council was not happy that the same company undertook the printing of the magazine and its publication.

There was a long period of protest over the decision to end funding to *Y Faner*. (It was a magazine which concentrated on arts, politics, current affairs and book and cultural reviews.

I do remember that there was a public meeting at the Eisteddfod in 1987. That’s when the Friends of *Y Faner* had a meeting and the owner then said that he was not prepared to share details about the company’s activities. He did not comment on the fact that the editorial people were part of *Gwasg y Sir* in Bala. And some really did not see that as a problem. But the owner of *Gwasg y Sir* said he saw no reason to divide the two and after he said “that’s it” the magazine closed (Interview, June 2016).

Compare that stance with that of the Victorian editors and publishers who produced publications come what may. Public money was not an issue and the strict laws which govern the press today – contempt of court, defamation, privacy to name just a few – were not such big issues. Founding and funding a magazine is a much more difficult process in the 21st

century, certainly a Welsh magazine where the circulation might be miniscule and the potential returns negligible, if not impossible.

Iorwerth recalled how the magazine came into being.

That is when the Arts Council advertised (Interview June 2016). There was a grant of £10,000 made available. And at that point I – along with two others – had been chatting and had come to the conclusion that if *Y Faner* was to go to the wall, we'd do something about it and establish a new magazine.

So why do it, when the Welsh-language newspaper press was hanging on by a fingernail and the broadcasters were being bombarded by rival stations from across the border? At that point – 1988 – the digital revolution was talked about but nothing concrete was particularly obvious. Iorwerth explained (Interview, June 2016)

We really thought there was a need for a new magazine. *Y Faner* was only really a collection of stuff which has been sent in. There was practically no commissioning and there was not really any journalism. Nobody went after stories . . . they just had to appear. Finding stories was not their style. Current affairs were not really their style. So we wanted to create a new magazine which was more newsy, which was more varied, which was more journalistic. And, in many ways, going after everything as though it was a story and pursuing that line, rather than waiting for something to appear. That's how it started. Had it not been for the grant, we'd have had difficulties as it was a very long time before we were able to pay our way”

The grant issue brings into perspective so much that is an issue with Welsh publishing today. Many of the *Papurau Bro* rely on grants to keep respective heads above water. (Add to that a volunteer workforce, volunteer distribution network and, in many cases, charitable status, then it's rather hard to reconcile these publications with being in the real, hard-nosed, cut-throat world of journalism.) It's also probably fair to say that *Y Faner* represented a throw-back to a long-gone world, where would-be journalists were drawn from the ranks of farm labourers, iron workers, coal miners and the like. It was a world where the writer got his hands seriously dirty and sometimes disfigured before attempting to pick up the pen.

The new magazine gained support from various other external sources – Cardiganshire County Council, for example, and S4C. Again, the fact that public money can be used to support a current affairs magazine is particularly of interest, since local councils in England are often pilloried for using public funds to support a publication while the BBC’s takeover of the Lonely Planet enterprise in 2007 provoked a number of protests. But, as Iorwerth said (Interview, June 2016) the support from S4C “was crucial as it put us on a whole new platform in terms of people’s perception of us as a publication”.

Why, though? Is it that readers of Welsh-language journalism have been conditioned to perceive that the whole enterprise is amateur? That its content is provided by enthusiastic contributors whose real *raison d’être* is not journalism? That it is not really on a par with journalism produced in English?

The magazine itself is varied and tackles most mainstream areas: news, politics, current affairs, arts, reviews, sport. There is a paid team of journalists who produce the bulk of the magazine’s content as well as a team of regular freelancers who produce copy.

The main thing is that they have to chase stories in a journalistic type of way. At the outset, we didn’t really want to be popular in a tabloid kind of sense. But I do think we have a good relationship with the people who read us. And I do not think that there is any magazine of a similar nature which has ever sold more than we have, even in the past. At its highest, it (*Golwg*) would see sales in the Eisteddfod week of just over 4,000. In an ordinary week, it is a little under 3,000. It is holding its own well. (Iorwerth, Interview, May 2016)

Analysis of a typical *Golwg* issue: 8 September 2016

- Front page: Splash on Kizzy, a schoolgirl pop-star wonder in Wales.
Trails:
The future of Aeron Valley.
Memorable novels since the 1950s.
A look at Wales 4-Moldova 0 football match.
80 years since the arson attack of the Llŷn “bombing school”.
- Page 2: Advertisement.
- Page 3: Contents including comment on “Wales on Sky” (football related).
- Pages 4/5: Llŷn “bombing” réminiscences plus Wales v Moldova.
- Pages 6/7: “Brexit” fallout.
- Page 8/9: News digest including stories gleaned from *Golwg 360*. Editorial comment.
Plus blogs round-up
- Pages 10/11: Editorial on Saint Theresa of Calcutta, Aeron Valley and letters.
- Page 12: Question and answer with Lisa Jên Brown.
- Pages 13-16: Eisteddfod round-up.
- Page 17: Classified advertisements.
- Page 18: Question and answer with author of newly-published book.
- Page 19: Memories of ground-breaking authoress Kate Bosse-Griffiths.
- Pages 20/21: Round-up of Welsh dance. Art round-up.
- Pages 22/23: Kizzy feature.
- Page 24: What’s on.
- Page 25: Opinion column.
- Page 26/27: Sport.
- Page 28: Advertisements.

5.4 Broadcasting

“Wales is finding itself these days, and in this cultural renaissance we want the radio to play its part. The BBC should not have to be conscripted for this crusade; it should be in the joyous forefront of the battle, of its own free will” (*Western Mail*, 1931).

There can be little doubt that broadcasting, and the BBC in particular, has contributed extensively to the national identity of Wales. Since the nation had been unified only briefly in the 11th century and, effectively, after 1536 had been erased completely from the map, the BBC continued – albeit in perhaps a more powerful way – the work which had been commenced by the journalists on the early periodicals and newspapers. Indeed, the lack of a national press places “a particular onus on broadcasting, including radio, to construct and disseminate national and local identity” (Williams, 2008, p.94).

Radio is the most popular medium in Wales. Ofcom (2011, in Kissick and Traynor, 2012) showed that 93% of people in Wales listen on a weekly basis. Both authors surveyed three radio stations – Swansea Sound, the Voice (based in Rhymney and which has since stopped broadcasting) and BBC Radio Wales. They noted that both of the commercial ventures broadcast in Welsh. Indeed, when Swansea Sound first came on air in 1974 the inclusion of some Welsh-language broadcasting was a requirement of holding the licence. Notably, Kissick and Traynor looked at the three models of radio broadcasting which exist in Wales: public service providers (the BBC), commercial operators and community stations. Listeners to BBC Radio Cymru prove highly loyal to the station, possibly because there is little competition when it comes to Welsh broadcasting. However, as Betsan Powys, Editor of BBC Radio Cymru noted, in the 1970s, you listened to Welsh radio because it was in Welsh, in the same way as people watched S4C, not because they were interested in the content, in particular, but because it is in Welsh (Interview, May 2016).

People tune in because they want to do so. Many radio stations would give their right arms to get the figures we get. People listen for an average 12 hours a week. That is incredibly high but it does tend to be an older audience.

The early days of radio in Wales proved disappointing. The number of Welsh programmes was few and there were calls by both *Y Cymro* and *Yr Herald Cymraeg* in 1926 and 1927 respectively to relocate the BBC from Cardiff to the Welsh-speaking areas of the North West, mainly to imbue the staff with a greater sense of Welsh identity (Jenkins and Williams, 2000, p.312). The journal of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party), *Y Ddraig Goch*, regularly denounced the BBC for neglecting Wales and the Welsh language in particular. The establishment of the first Welsh Advisory Council in 1946 revealed that, even in the 1930s, debates raged over the balance between English and Welsh broadcasting (ibid, p.315). Not far off a century later, that debate continues, with the Cardiff Media Summit in November 2015 discussing the proposals of the Institute of Welsh Affairs' media group for a broadcasting authority for Wales and increased funding for programming in English relating to Wales (IWA, 2015).

It was also increasingly clear that television would become the most powerful medium, despite the resistance, by London-based management, that no regional station should be allowed to produce programmes, with Aneirin Talfan Davies suggesting that there is “a metropolitan belief . . . that these [Welsh television programmes] are deviationist exercises by a few romantic Celts on the Cardiff staff (BBC Wales Archive).

Davies (1994), in one of the most overused phrases, had said that Wales became “an artefact created by broadcasting” but the BBC spoke to all the people of Wales about matters which were important to them, whether politics and current affairs, culture, history, religion and all the subjects which were shunned by the English national newspapers and the London-based broadcasters. Only a very few newspapers and periodicals had ever managed the potential to speak to all the Welsh speakers in the country.

Davies (1965, pp.6-7) observed that the English regions devised by the BBC were “partly neutral, partly expedient” but Wales (as a region) has “common bonds of interest, whose characteristics coincide”. This meant that “information broadcasting” – which included news, current affairs and topical programmes – was viable in Wales whereas, in the English regions, it was not. For this reason, English regions “had no territorial consciousness or

patriotism” (Beech, 1970, p.5). Hume (1986, p.331) also suggested that “the broadcast media in the Welsh language appear to have a relatively clear identity, linked to a perception of Wales as a spatially defined political, social and cultural entity”.

Cultural identity had quickly been cemented by broadcasting. The majority of broadcasts in the 1930s were short talks or lectures, usually of about 15 minutes’ length. Many of these short talks were combined into volumes produced by publishing houses across Wales. In 1951, under the editorship of Aneurin Talfan Davies, *Llafar* (Speech) was launched, a literary and critical magazine reflecting on matters of Welsh interest and growing out of the increasing interest in the radio talk. Yet, just 20 years earlier, the BBC in both Wales and Scotland had been accused of being bland. “The BBC was reluctant to recognise the claims of a specific national identity and, as Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff (1991, p.333) have argued, there was a failure to appreciate that a distinctive identity generated a need for different types of programmes” (Jenkins and Williams, 2000, p.325). Until the years after the war, those programmes largely reflected the Welsh Sabbath, religious (non-conformist) life, literary matters and other weighty issues. Light entertainment took a long time to permeate the Welsh airwaves.

The whole notion of a distinct news and current affairs service which had begun almost as soon as the BBC came on air continued into the 1970s and 1980s with the setting up of BBC Radio Cymru in 1977 and S4C in 1982 – both broadcasting principally in Welsh, and crucially, at peak viewing and listening times and over a much longer time-scale than the previously haphazard system of placing Welsh broadcasts into random opt-out slots.

One innovation had been the arrival of the topical programme *Heddiw* (Today) in 1963. This was a magazine programme which successfully combined news with more general items, cleverly reflecting salient social trends in Welsh life (Jenkins and Williams, 2000, p.332). “In the 1960s, it was evident that Welsh news *per se* had specific characteristics: it was more ‘political’ than in the UK as a whole” (Bromley, 2001, p.131). In the same way, TWW’s *Y Dydd* (The Day), also launched in 1963, was admired for “its imaginative presentation of news, especially its use of captions and films. Likewise *Yr Wythnos* (The Week) . . . became noted for its quality of presentation and also for its mature and candid examination of events” (Jenkins and Williams, 2000, p.333). This innovative and uniquely Welsh approach to news continued through the turbulent political times of the 1970s and 1980s and through the devolution debate in the 1990s. “In 1990, 30% of BBC Wales’ news output was

‘Welsh’/national news – what a former Secretary of State for Wales Ron Davies called ‘the reporting on those elements of our national life that do not exist in England or the English regions’”(ibid, p.131). Bromley (2001) further noted that, following devolution, demand for news on both BBC Wales (in both languages) and HTV increased, with 40% of viewers expressing an interest in politics, with that figure rising to 53% of listeners to radio.

Immediately after devolution, consumption of journalism (noted by Bromley, 2001) in Welsh increased, with 67% of people viewing or listening to the BBC and, significantly, one third consuming the output of S4C, independent local radio and the small Welsh language press. At the turn of the millennium, there were nine commercial radio stations in Wales, seven of which broadcast in Welsh, though the only genuinely bilingual station remains Radio Ceredigion. The development of commercial radio had been slow, though. Nearly a decade passed after the opening of Swansea Sound before another station came along: CBC in Cardiff, rapidly followed by Gwent Broadcasting. They both collapsed within a few years and were replaced by other operators. Deregulation has not helped Welsh identity, either. In Wales “the majority of ILR (Independent Local Radio) services have been owned and operated beyond its borders (thus questioning their true ‘localness’) and by companies with other media and corporate interests (questioning their genuine ‘independence’)” (Johnson, S. and Mitchell, P. 2012, p.13).

By 2011, ownership of commercial radio in Wales was concentrated into five major players:

Global Radio (headquarters London)	Capital FM (Cardiff and Newport)
	Heart (Caernarfon, Colwyn Bay, Wrexham)
Town and Country Broadcasting (headquarters Cardiff)	Bay Radio (Swansea Area)
	Bridge FM (Bridgend and Vale of Glamorgan)
	Radio Carmarthenshire
	Radio Ceredigion
	Radio Pembrokeshire
	Scarlet FM (Llanelli Area)
UTV plc (headquarters Belfast)	Swansea Sound
	The Wave (Swansea Area)
Wrights Radio Relay (headquarters Newtown)	Radio Hafren (Newtown Area)
GMG Radio Holdings (Guardian Media Group) (headquarters Manchester)	Real Radio (Wales-wide)

Notably, only one station is owned exclusively within its own catchment area, namely Radio Hafren. As a result, bland, formatted programming delivers little of local interest, certainly nothing of Welsh interest. Johnson and Mitchell (2012, p.16) noted that few journalists are employed at these stations with some stations employing none. “Local news tends to focus on traffic accidents, crime and so on, rather than political debate . . . the fact that a lower proportion of listeners in Wales than elsewhere in the UK identify the radio as a priority for obtaining local news”. Welsh-language programming has dropped dramatically along with related community interaction, such as phone-ins, debates and studio discussions. Identity is clearly not a matter of interest to accountants based in distant office blocks in disconnected cities.

The community stations, largely concentrated in the North East and South East of Wales seem more likely to broadcast in Welsh. Calon FM in Wrexham, for instance, based in the media facilities of Glyndŵr University in Wrexham, has regular Welsh-language output.

As recently as 2000, Kevin Williams wrote that “HTV, the independent television contractor in Wales, and BBC Wales increasingly stress that their role is not only to provide information and entertainment but also to play a significant part in the development of Welsh national identity. BBC Wales made the firm commitment that their programme agenda ‘should be dominated by that which is significant to the lives of the people of Wales’ while HTV has spoken of its mission ‘to unify Wales’. The Welsh language channel S4C treats Wales as a distinct nation. However, the ability of the Welsh media to develop national consciousness has been limited by the fragmentary nature of Welsh identity and the structural underdevelopment of media institutions in Wales” (2000, p.38).

The importance of the Welsh language in underlining a crucially different identity is confirmed by Williams.

By broadcasting in the Welsh language, the channel [S4C] also provides the affirmation of a separate Welsh identity . . . S4C provides Welsh speakers with a Welsh perspective on international affairs through current affairs programmes and features and dramas which represent popular culture and life in Wales (ibid, p47).

The channel’s news coverage was feted from the outset, especially as this was the first time that a full half hour was devoted to news in Welsh covering Wales, the UK and the world had been available. Programmes such as *Y Byd ar Bedwar* (The World on Four) attracted large audiences and praise for its coverage of current affairs and series such as *Almanac* and *Hel Straeon* (Seeking Stories) harked back to the vitality of programmes such as *Heddiw*.

Geraint Talfan Davies recalled the early discussions about the provision of news services on S4C.

HTV’s response to the tendering process had two major effects on news organisations. The BBC might originally have considered providing all the news and

current affairs but the decision was taken for the BBC to provide the news and HTV to provide the current affairs output. The result has been interesting, since it has given something of a different feel to the two different strands. At present, there are three current affairs strands a week. On a Monday, it's all film. On a Wednesday, it is a mix of film and studio discussion and on Friday it is *Y Byd yn ei Le* (The World in its Place). That's something akin to a Welsh *Question Time*.

Davies believes the effect of S4C has been to elevate Welsh journalism.

It made it fresh and new and relevant," he said (Interview, May 2016). "In many ways, I feel sorry for the English language staff they didn't have. What news coverage would we have had the same support for English language news and current affairs been available? It's still a huge problem for us in Wales.

In Scotland, for instance, there is a distinct Scottish *Six O'Clock News* and *Newsnight*. In English, Wales is dealt the same news as London. But in Welsh, the news is distinctive and different.

Looking at the main S4C news at 9pm over three nights, it is not difficult to discern the emphasis on Welsh news.

Tuesday 20 September 2016:

0.00-1.00	Headlines:	Welsh Government's new five-year economic plan M4 by-pass put on possible hold Inquiry into collapse of North Wales bus company Plans for experimental Cardiff Bay National Eisteddfod Problems of heavy lorries passing through Beddgelert
1.00-12.30		Report on Welsh Government's new five-year plan: Reports from Assembly plus comments from public (includes English-language comments) Discussion between representatives of Labour and Plaid Cymru (no other parties involved)
12.30-15.30		GHA Coach collapsed in North Wales.
15.30-20.30		News in brief.
20.30-21.30		News from outside Wales: Corbyn, Syria, comments from UN.
21.30-24.00		Invitation to National Eisteddfod to be held in Cardiff Bay.
24.00-29.30		Beddgelert lorry problems.

Wednesday 21 September 2016:

00.00-1.00 Headlines Teaching of Welsh as second language ends in schools.

Labour gives more say to Welsh on NEC.

Cycling in the woods in Caerphilly on illegal paths.

Road safety.

Welsh commemoration of 90th anniversary of 1926 General Strike.

1.00-5.50 Welsh as second language ends in school.

5.50-9.40 Child abuse case in Mold.

10-15-1040 Child abducted in South Wales.

10.40-11.00 Pollution.

11.00-13.00 Ron Davies (former Secretary of State) seen cycling illegally in Caerphilly Woods.

13.00-17.00 Council tax problems in North Wales: people unable to pay.

17.00-21.00 Ambulance service to increase safety checks.

21.00-22.00 Aleppo attacks; easyJet strike; Digital expertise.

22.00-29.00 Commemoration of 1926 General Strike.

Thursday 22 September 2016

0.00-1.00	Headlines	Anti-terror fears in Cardiff. NHS crisis in Wales in Winter: operation delays. Cancer care for children: protests over need to cross border into England for treatment. Wrexham fire service cuts. Cattle in Dynevor Park rarer than Giant Pandas.
1.00-3.30		Cardiff terror alert.
3.30-8.30		80,000 operations cancelled in Welsh NHS this winter.
8.30-9.30		Cardiff man given life for murder. Female mountain runner world champion convicted of murder. More on Ron Davies riding bike illegally.
9.30-15.00		Child tumours: lack of treatment in Wales.
15.00-15.50		News from outside Wales: Syria/UN aid convoys getting through. Charlotte riots. Mary Berry decision over move of Bake Off to Channel 4.
15.50-19.30		Building of affordable new homes in Wales.
19.30-22.20		Wrexham fire protests.
22.20-23.00		Rally GB in Wales.
23.00-24.30		Swansea v Manchester City.
24.30-29.00		Rare cows in Dynevor.

The channel still faces difficulties, however. Deregulation of broadcasting in the 1990s made the production of something specific for a Welsh audience that much more difficult. Why produce something which has a tiny audience potential when, for the same investment, the potential audience could be numbered in millions. S4C has become a commercial player in its own right, though funding from the BBC licence fee is a significant part of its income. That

replaced direct funding from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport and no longer can it rely on a proportion of the advertising revenue from Channel 4.

It is vital for the survival of the language that people are able to use the language in modern terms. There also needs to be a constant process of creativity. We can point to a huge range of content over the last 34 years, and this will continue for the future. Look at children's programmes. Here we are seeing the transfer of the language to the next generation. Regular soap operas are important. Drama – high quality drama that travels the world, such as *Hinterland* is important and News in Welsh is important. (Huw Jones, Interview, May 2016).

Jones pointed out the diversity of service offered by S4C and the creativity which the channel brings to Welsh programme makers. But journalism does produce some serious challenges for Welsh viewers. “Those people doing the news from the BBC have to be on their toes,” said Jones (Interview, May 2016).

The default option is to translate the English news. That's why the news on S4C, which is produced by the BBC, was a UK and international news programme right from the outset of S4C. We have come to the conclusion that you could use the Nine O'Clock News on S4C as your sole news source for the day. The main thing people expect from it is a Welsh slant on Welsh news and on things that are happening in Wales but not elsewhere.

Yet Vaughan Roderick believes the close relationship between *Wales Today* on the BBC and *Newyddion Naw* on S4C needs to be broken. “That would see a rise in the audience for S4C's news programme,” he believes (Interview, May 2016).

Welsh-language purists also provide something of a stumbling block to the channel. The current affairs magazine programme *Heno*, broadcast from Swansea, used elements of colloquial Welsh as well as some English, a move which attracted major criticism from the Welsh elite.

Traditionalists see the ‘Welsh way of life’ as focussed on the chapel, the language, the ‘oldest literary tradition in Europe’ [and] Wales is represented as an ‘essentially rural

society' whose cohesion and stability and completeness has been undermined by the forces of urbanisation and "Anglicisation" (Bevan, 1984).

Things have certainly moved away from the listeners who felt the need to listen to anything because it happened to be in Welsh. What BBC Radio Cymru has turned into is an amalgamation of a speech station such as Radio 4, light entertainment from Radio 2 and popular and classical music, an amalgam of Radios 1 and 3. There are also uniquely Welsh programmes which could only appeal to a Welsh audience. The long-running *Talwrn y Beirdd* is a competitive poetry programme. There's even *Bardd y Mis* (Poet of the Month), the poet-in-residence. BBC Scotland planned a similar exercise and asked advice from Radio Cymru, which is now approaching the 40th poet to take up residence.

News has to be from a Welsh perspective, too. When we report on the European Referendum or the European Football, we have to do it from a Welsh perspective. This has to happen all the time and it can prove difficult at times. You have to be creative and that is absolutely vital. We're also producing another series at present, about Young Farmers clubs. Would other stations do it? Probably not. Would Radio Wales do it? Probably not. But it feels absolutely natural for Welsh speakers. Many of our competitor stations are multi-nationals. What do they do? Music . . . bang . . . bang . . . bang. And the news is centralised. It's all familiar English-language music. We just cannot do it. If we did, what would happen to our unique Welsh selling point?" (Betsan Powys, Interview, May 2016)

The Welsh speaker is no longer simply offered a smattering of the language at unsocial hours or in inconvenient slots on the Home Service, later Radio 4. More to the point, they are listening when they choose.

"Radio is distributed via FM and AM, through digital multiplexes and internet via PC and mobile devices (Kissick and Traynor, 2012, p160). "Another distinctive feature of online radio is that it can subvert radio's time-based, linear nature, allowing listeners to consume radio when and where they choose" (Kissick and Traynor, 2012, p.160). These include 'listen again' facilities or podcasts.

In little over half a decade, the BBC will celebrate a century of radio broadcasting. It's probably fair to argue that they, more than anyone, have helped contribute to Welsh national identity. "It's because of broadcasting that kids are speaking Welsh much more these days," said Geraint Talfan Davies (Interview, May 2016). "It was dying out but that has been reversed once children could hear the language spoken on air. That is vitally important. Its development has been rapid since the beginnings of broadcasting."

"Welsh broadcasting organisations have perhaps been more successful than the print media in promoting national consciousness and reporting a national agenda but they are hampered by a number of technical, linguistic, political and economic problems" (Williams, K, 2000, p.49). This is something the Welsh still have to overcome.

5.5 The *Papurau Bro*

The notion of the hyper-local paper is something which has been debated for many years.

A 2014 report compiled by Andy Williams of Cardiff University along with colleagues from Birmingham City and Westminster universities celebrated the fact that hyperlocal news websites revealed that they are responsible for serious investigative and campaigning journalism, something which has all but been abandoned by the English local press. The main findings of the report suggested that 42% of the 183 sites examined had instigated their own campaigns relating to issues such as planning disputes, cuts to public services and local council accountability. News covered includes a wide variety of civic and cultural events, particularly looking for improvements in local services and resistance to funding cuts. The downside to this heartening news is that most hyperlocal sites suffer from a lack of visibility in their own communities (Williams, et al, 2014).

How different, then, from the *Papurau Bro*.

These are titles which show little or no interest in politics or current affairs. There is virtually no reporting from the National Assembly in Cardiff, neither from Westminster nor Brussels. Local councils are not covered, though there is some scant attention given to parish council matters. There is certainly no mention of international affairs, nor UK nor Welsh national

matters and if a major event happens somewhere outside the immediate circulation area of the publication, no attention is paid to it. Cultural matters are rarely covered, save for a little interest in the occasional book review and a note that a concert might have taken place, or that several people competed in a local eisteddfod. Local organisations get some news coverage, but those need to be Welsh oriented: Merched y Wawr (the Welsh women’s ‘institute’) gets a regular mention but scout and guide groups, for example, would not be mentioned. Schools and, to a much lesser extent, churches and chapels provide much fodder for the papers but even their scope is limited.

In many ways, these publications are introspective, even defensive. They seem to want to promote a Welsh lifestyle and interest but that is to the exclusion of what might be going on in other parts of their community. Were anybody to come to these publications with no prior knowledge of their scope and purpose, they’d probably define Welsh identity as inward-looking, insular, concerned only with organisations which use Welsh as their primary language, have no interest in politics (a complete *volte face* from the writers in early Welsh periodicals and newspapers) and have lives which revolve around school, the Young Farmers’ Club, Merched y Wawr and, perhaps, the chapel. “They have not done very much to create a national feeling,” said Dylan Iorwerth, editor of *Golwg*. “There’s not really a feeling of Welshness. Their whole purpose is to be regional or local and that is their strength. In many ways, you can’t really develop that” (Interview, June 2016).

Editorially, they are staunchly independent but there does not appear to be any specific editorial line which the papers take. Editors change from issue to issue with many publications noting that Person X was the editor “for this edition”. Or there will be two or three editors – and the whole publication is run by an editorial committee, something which simply does not happen on a mainstream newspaper. Emphasis, therefore, can change from issue to issue with editorial policies, possibly, being different from month to month.

It’s entirely possible that the ‘prototype’ *Papurau Bro* were first produced in Liverpool, a hotbed of Welsh publishing for more than a century. Gwilym Hiraethog’s trailblazing *Yr Amserau* (The Times, and noted in earlier chapters) came out of Castle Street in the city. Between 1906 and 1939, the influential newspaper *Y Brython* (The Briton) was produced in the city. Post World War II, *Y Glannau* (The Banks (of a river)) was produced and edited by The Rev R. Emrys Evans, thus continuing the noble tradition of churchmen editing publications. After it closed in the early 1950s, it was replaced by *Y Bont* (The Bridge), edited

by The Rev Maurice Williams. *Y Bont* ceased publication in 1979 and was replaced by *Yr Angor* (The Anchor), the title reflecting Liverpool's maritime heritage. The father of the author of this thesis, The Rev Dr R. J. Môn Hughes also edited *Y Gadwyn* (The Chain) from 1949 until his death in 2007. That publication linked people connected with churches in Liverpool as well as places as far afield as Birmingham, Doncaster, Oldham and Manchester.

But is this citizen journalism at its most basic? The concept of citizen journalism stems from a belief that anyone can be a journalist and that training is not necessary. So, on the *Papurau Bro*, there are hundreds of people all over Wales who write copy and take photographs with no training whatsoever, other than having an interest in keeping the language alive and getting people to read Welsh journalism. There's an independence of spirit which keeps these ventures alive.

And, they are successful, maintaining circulations for the most part, holding on to their readerships and, in some cases, publishing continuously for more than 40 years. That is something which can only be dreamt about by the publishers of many UK national newspapers and certainly of Welsh language newspapers.

For those working in 'traditional' media, there is a degree of frustration surrounding the *Papurau Bro*.

We have been trying for years to get some sort of agreement to work with the *Papurau Bro*. We're trying to create a network of local websites where news will be at the forefront and that will be news about all sorts – national as well as local. That's in order to try to create elements of a national feelings – a national identity (Dylan Iorwerth, Interview, June 2016).

The difficulty is breaking that independent spirit which has pervaded the *Papurau Bro* ever since their inception in the 1970s.

5.6 Web and On-line Journalism

While internet journalism has not proceeded in Wales at the breakneck pace seen in English media, it cannot be denied that things have moved quickly. Political commentator Vaughan

Roderick noted (Interview, May 2016) that the *Western Mail* barely sells 20,000 copies a day at present.

And yet there will be 150,000 sources, or followers, on Facebook for each Assembly member. That's a phenomenal following and it is a phenomenal shift in the public consumption of news. So what is the journalist now? Is he or she a gatekeeper? Or is their role now that of a curator? There is also the question of the degree of honesty in journalism. If people can get their news from other sources, which are not journalistic sources, then the idea that a journalist can say what he or she really wants has really gone.

Meri Huws, Welsh language commissioner explained (Interview, August 2012) that the digital revolution is all part of the way that the Welsh understand themselves.

What role does journalism play? It's a central role. If you look at Radio Wales and Radio Cymru. If you look at BBC Wales in its provision and, increasingly, if you look at organisations like *Golwg 360*, it's part of the way in which we identify ourselves and understand ourselves. It's critical. The written word. The spoken word. They are critical. But I think the challenge for us . . . [is] . . . the whole digital explosion that's happening.

Ms Huws was speaking at the Vale of Glamorgan National Eisteddfod in 2012. At the same event, Rhodri Talfan Davies, then as now Director of BBC Cymru: Wales had given a lecture where his message was clearly that Welsh journalism cannot stand still, relying on print and broadcast as its mainstays. It needs to embrace digital communication if the genre is to survive.

Others are disappointed by the progress of Welsh journalism on the web. Gareth Morlais is advisor to the Welsh Government on Web and Online development in the Welsh Language. He had been teaching HTML in Sri Lanka and could see parallels between what was happening there and what was happening in Wales. "I could see that the web would have a massive impact on the use of Welsh," he said. (Interview, May 2016). He was involved in the early setting up of the BBC's website, where BBC Wales simply offered two services, one in English, the other in Welsh. Each was a mirror-image translation of the other.

Morlais noted how the BBC has put considerable resources into developing its on-line presence.

But there is a dire need for digital news. There's a need for more news on-line. There are not really the chat sites, the news sites, the sites offering different view from the ones that there are in English. People need to get their hands on the very basics of the news. So from that point of view, I am disappointed. I am disappointed, too, at the conception of Wales as it presently is on-line. (Interview, May 2016).

There are some new developments coming along, for example *Pobol Caerdydd* (The People of Cardiff). There is also the MENA project to put all Welsh newspapers on-line so there will be a digital archive. There is a great deal of talk in English about Wales. There's not that much talk in Welsh. So a lot more asking and hearing needs to be done (Interview, May 2016).

Central to much of the development of a Welsh news presence on the web has been the BBC. Huw Meredydd Roberts, the editor of the BBC's on-line services in Wales, said (Interview, April 2016):

I suppose the BBC has always been instrumental in terms of developing a presence for Welsh-language content on-line. They've always been keen to promote the language. The first thing they did was to experiment with the coverage of elections in the 1990s. That was before setting up the first news website, BBC Cymru'r Byd.

Roberts considers that there has been a lot of variation with regard to the on-line offer of Welsh-language journalism.

With on-line you can change the offer quite easily. You can adapt to the needs and requirements of uses. This happens as and when it needs to happen. Ten years ago, social media was not the force it is today. Two years ago, we launched BBC Cymru Fyw (BBC Wales Live). It is the main on-line Welsh language service from the BBC. It has all the news stories, it has feature content, it has pictures, it has a daily live blog and we also link through to other content providers. It has content about Wales and it is in Welsh. But what is important about Cymru Fyw is that it is unique. (Interview, April 2016)

BBC Cymru'r Byd (the predecessor to Cymru Fyw) was, to a large extent, a basic translation of stories which were running on the parallel English site.

It is, probably, obvious to say that all Welsh speakers are bilingual. There aren't really any monoglot Welsh speakers," said Roberts (Interview, April 2016). "To attract users you have to offer something which is unique. Simply creating a service which is a rehash of something which is English is not going to work. Cymru Fyw . . . is a service which is setting its own agenda.

The sea change for the BBC has been the rapid development of social media. "We have bbc.co.uk as a platform where people can interact and Radio Cymru on-line," said Roberts (Interview, April 2016).

Then we have the social element of our services, so each service has its own platform for debate. Social media has allowed us to contact readers, to engage more with our audience and our users and, obviously, we receive messages, texts, tweets, Facebook messages, comments on content, suggestions for content, contributing ideas. The sea change has been social media.

Rhian Jones is the editor of Cymru Fyw and explained that anything up to 13 news stories a day will be published (Interview, April 2016). On the day of the interview, results from primary elections in Wisconsin had been declared. Staff at Cymru Fyw would not be looking for a peculiarly Welsh angle to the story. "That really is the natural territory of Radio Cymru," said Jones.

The divergence is that people do not see Cymru Fyw as a news service. They get that from Radio Cymru or from English websites. Cymru Fyw provides a unique service providing news about Wales which does not appear elsewhere. "People do not turn to something because it is in Welsh. They turn to something because it appeals to them. Content is king and if you can get content which appeals to someone, they will come to it," said Roberts (Interview, April 2016).

The site has proven a considerable success story. In the space of two years, the number of unique weekly browsers has trebled, from 10,000 to 30,000. But it is only a part of the Welsh-language offer from the BBC. Radio Cymru is available on-line, and there is Welsh-language content on the iPlayer. There is Welsh content on C-Beebies, the BBC's home page

is available in Welsh and there are on-line weather and traffic reports in Welsh. All that makes for a spectacular increase in uptake. In 2014 the overall reach for all Welsh products was 40,000 unique weekly browsers. The following year, the figure was 89,000.

The sites are also used by Welsh speakers resident outside the UK – something not represented in the statistics above.

Identity is a considerable issue for BBC Cymru Fyw.

I think those pieces which are the most popular are those which reflect the Welsh way of life, those which equate with people. On a news agenda, you follow the issues but with one eye on what is different about Wales. And why are we different? (Huw Jones, Interview, April 2016).

Golwg 360 is a considerable success story as far as a Welsh journalistic web presence is concerned. As Vaughan Roderick commented (Interview, May 2016), “this is a site which produces stories which are simply not covered elsewhere”. It is a totally separate service from its sister magazine, a decision taken at the outset of the service.

If you put everything that is in the magazine onto the web, what is the point of buying the magazine? A lot of outlets did do this. The *Western Mail* for instance. So what was the point of buying the newspaper? (Dylan Iorwerth, Interview, June 2016).

The same staff work on both *Golwg* and *Golwg 360*. “We find that some things work better on the web than in a magazine,” said Iorwerth.

Video is an obvious example. Impossible in the magazine but fine on the web or on our app. We can also add more to the story, even when it is running, so the web is a flexible service.

The app was originally offered free of charge but the Welsh Government said in 2016 that grants would be available for other outlets to create their own apps. That would lay the foundation for a daily newspaper in Welsh, albeit on-line. “I have never thought it is possible to produce a national newspaper in Welsh,” said Iorwerth (Interview, June 2016).

It would have to be subsidised, but the government is offering a grant of £200,000 so we will see what will happen. I do happen to think that there is a huge need right now

for a Welsh newspaper. People have long said it is needed but it has never materialised. There have always been difficulties. What has happened, in reality, is that there have been reductions all over the place and there's almost nobody left in the BBC producing Welsh news. And this is important, not just at the BBC but also for other journalism outlets in Wales. If we want a news service and the demands are there, then we have to find a way to make it happen.

Golwg receives a public grant of £160,000 annually from the Welsh Government by way of the Welsh Books Council.

Tony Bianchi wrote a major study for the Welsh Books Council around a decade ago and his conclusion was that the Welsh language marketplace can only exist because it is a sponsored marketplace. “Even today,” added Geraint Talfan Davies (Interview, May 2016), “there is little reportage in Welsh. That is basically left to the BBC and to *Golwg*. But there is plenty [of examples] of journalism of opinion. And that is basically down to four people who represent four different organisations – probably BBC Radio Cymru, S4C, *Golwg* and *Barn*. There are some who are paid a lot – Boris Johnson, when he wrote for the *Daily Telegraph*, made £250,000 a year for his column. There is nobody anywhere in Wales who is paid anything remotely approaching that amount. And there is one of the major problems we have in Welsh journalism.”

5:7 Theoretical Discussion

Some space was given earlier to Prutz's early discussion – emanating from 1845 – and detailing German journalism. By that time, much Welsh journalism was available and was reasonably widely read. A number of periodicals and newspapers had already appeared (see later chapters). Curran and Park (2000, p.3) argued that there should be a move to “de-westernise” media analysis. Yet many of the theories discussed would not really apply to Welsh journalism, except in a somewhat negative way. Other than periodical production in cities such as Liverpool, London, Philadelphia and New York, Welsh journalism has never been global in its reach (until, it could be argued, the advent of the Internet). But Beate Josephi's comments on Curran and Park's study is surely valid for Welsh journalistic analysis, where she quotes that analysts are “embarrassed about viewing the rest of the world

as a forgotten understudy”. That is almost certainly the case for Welsh journalism, as this thesis attempts to prove, since study of effects in this area and, in particular, its influence on national identity, has been minimal.

National identity in international news was also discussed by Curran and Park, who suggested that the nation-state remains centrally important (ibid, p.11). Yet, as argued in the previous chapter, Wales was part of a bigger nation-state and only regained much of its own political identity after devolution in 1999. The link – rightly or wrongly – with nationalism is also important. Analysis of early publications and, indeed, newspapers and many broadcasts up to the present day tend to fall into the “us” and “them” categories. Fiske (1994) rather disputes what might be found in this thesis, in that he argues that race and ethnicity, language and culture are not necessarily markers of nationhood. Yet Welsh journalists used the language to bring about political and religious change, to promote the forgotten culture of Wales and to underline the fact that the Welsh had a national identity. They were, indeed, setting the agenda, discussing matters which were important to the Welsh but had passed them by, for political reasons. Indeed, the use of Welsh as a journalistic language is significant. The theory of analytical empiricism implies that journalism is a “private language”. That might be the case in the early 21st century for some publications where specific words are, possibly, over-used: ‘vow’ for promise, ‘axed’ for ended or terminated for instance. But could this be the case in the 18th and 19th centuries as far as Welsh journalism was concerned. This was, after all, a community which was unused to seeing its own language in print and probably had some difficulty in reading the text. Even up to the present day, there are language purists who object to the use of slang, though many broadcasts and items in more feature-led publications might include words such as ‘bois’ – a transliteration of boys – for a group of men, for example.

Underlying meanings in texts are important when assessing messages such as the creation of national identity. Barthes (1967) referred to language as the “first line of signification”, adding to Lasswell’s earlier assumption that what is omitted is as important as what is included. Studies into connotation and denotation are, again, significant. Asp’s 1981 study into density of news coverage and the number of relevant points made within a piece of writing is significant. Early periodicals were especially dense in their coverage. Features were particularly dense. Periodicals and newspapers were more textbooks or novels than examples

of journalism. Yet they dealt, predominantly, with aspects of life in Wales which were untouched by publications coming from across the border.

The various theories relating to media effects are particularly significant. The ‘hypodermic model’ suggests that the media plant a particular idea in the minds of the public and there is a direct reaction. The ‘two-step flow’ model suggests that the media influence one set of people who then go on to influence others while the ‘uses and gratifications’ model suggests that consumers look to derive a particular satisfaction from their consumption. These are all relevant to Welsh journalism. Prior to the early journalists, the Welsh knew little about their culture and heritage, they knew little about politics and the issues which were of particular significance to them. So planting new and often radical ideas in the minds of the public, exposing them to their history, suggesting adventurous political solutions to the various problems confronting the nation and exploring new political ideas surely influenced the Welsh public. As for uses and gratifications, the fact that people consumed the products says a great deal about the influence of journalism.

Do journalists set agendas? Probably so, since this thesis shows that those writing in Welsh overwhelmingly bring a Welsh dimension to each story they write, otherwise why would it be of interest to their consumers? Agenda setting assumes that the journalists who report on particular issues help to stimulate public awareness and debate. Franklin’s idea (2005) that the media “may tell us what to think about” is certainly the case with most Welsh-language journalists who raised issues of interest and concern to the Welsh people, areas of interest which may not have surfaced in the English-language press.

Similarly, gatekeeping is another major issue in Welsh journalism. While disputed in recent years, its validity is surely true for Welsh journalists. Why publish something which was not of interest to the community an editor sought to serve? White’s comments (1950, p.386) from the 1950s talked about how a “gatekeeper” relied on their own experiences to “allow” publication of news. But, surely, that is what has consistently happened to Welsh journalists who had, for centuries, been fed English-oriented stories and information. It could also be said that those early journalists (referred to in later chapters as part of the “Welsh Renaissance”) were early gatekeepers, allowing through items about ancient Welsh writing and poetry, for instance.

Systems theories are especially relevant to Welsh journalism. Xiaoge (2009) said that journalism responds to social, economic, cultural and political environments. The earliest Welsh journalists relied on culture to interest their readers and sell their products. That rapidly developed into reflections on the political environment developing in the mid-19th century into social and economic articles and news stories, often resulting in radical campaigns against issues such as landlordism and Chartism.

Were Welsh journalists spreading propaganda? Herman and Chomsky (1988/2002) suggest they could not be, since they believe the news media serve political and economic elites. Their agendas are pushed forward, to the exclusion of others. That is probably true for the newspapers read by the linguistic majority. But Welsh journalists, as discussed above, ventured into subject areas which were never covered by the English media (indeed, are still not). They looked to ancient culture, they talked about radical politics, they reported on the big political issues of the day – the French Revolution, the Crimean War and so on – from a Welsh perspective. Their religious reporting was about the non-conformist chapels, not the (as it was then) Established Church.

The notion of genre, according to McQuail, helps analyse news content. He suggests (1994) that study of genre aids construction of a system of media analysis, thus aiding researchers to understand the influences extended to consumers of journalism. Leitch's views (1983) are important for Welsh readers, since his view is that texts are not produced or consumed in isolation. Consumers will have some background knowledge of a subject area or a point of view in order to be able to interpret the text. Again, early Welsh writers appealed to the innate consciousness of the Welsh by writing about ancient texts, poetry, music and so on and then exposing the readership to new, radical ideas appealing to their "difference" from the English "overlords".

Closely linked with genre are discourse theories, Fiske's suggestion that a particular use of language has developed in order to make and circulate coherent interpretations of situations (1994). Importantly for discussions of national identity is Fiske's view that discourse theories define an "us" which uses its implied knowledge to interpret "them". Goffman (1986) further suggested that the understanding of the world from the point of view of a consumer of journalism precedes their consumption of any story. That led Fowler (1991) to conclude that there is a "preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself". Can that be the case for Welsh journalists? Possibly not, since there is an argument

that Welsh culture is unique. Many early periodicals also examined stories from disparate countries around the globe – an international outlook which was not necessarily shared by the English newspapers. Later periodicals and newspapers – and certainly broadcasters – did close the international window becoming very inward looking: every story needed a Welsh angle and had to appeal to Welsh interests, to the exclusion of much else. Anscombe’s ideas relating to theories of action underline this later trend. Journalists set out to write a piece, with the aim of having it read. People then seek it out because it appeals to them, it has relevance, it “strikes a chord”. Goffman (1986), in his perception of cultural studies, also bears this out. Journalists, he suggested, seek out stories based on understanding and perception, often relating the stories to their own backgrounds. Again, periodical editors certainly did this, ministers writing about religion, academics writing about literature and so on. But certain lines were crossed, as will be explored in later chapters. Non-skilled workers were often gifted writers and their work appeared in periodicals and newspapers. Present-day workers on the *Papurau Bro* are not trained journalists but their work reflects considerable journalistic skill. Cultural studies also interpret the mediation of meaning: journalism through reportable events (although, in the case of many Welsh periodicals, it was not events which were reported, rather concepts, traditions and historical treatises), cultural studies through the interpretation of ordinary lived experiences (Hartley, 2009).

Citizen journalism has had a considerable impact on Welsh journalism. It’s probably fair to say that all those who are involved on the *Papurau Bro* are citizen journalists. They are not trained in journalism, they have honed their skills ‘on the job’ and they are in touch with the issues which interest and excite people. Hamilton (2000) spoke of “deprofessionalisation, decapitalisation and deinstitutionalisation”. That is certainly the case for those working on the *Papurau Bro*. But what of others who provide stories for newspapers and radio stations? What of the non-trained, non-professional “journalists” who provide columns for newspapers and magazines such as *Golwg* and *Barn*? These are people carrying on an honourable tradition in Welsh journalism: the farmers who wrote verse, the miners who wrote short stories and so on. Hargreaves also wrote that “in a democracy, everyone is a journalist” (1999, p.4), arguing the case that journalism could be regarded as a human right. Again, that was certainly the case with early Welsh columnists, who were untrained and, often, apparently unskilled (they were farm labourers, shepherds and so on) yet their writing skills were often exemplary.

Globalisation and convergence are two words which might install fear into Welsh journalists. Both are examined in later chapters, but both assume an overbearing influence “from afar”. Globalisation has had its effects on commercial radio in Wales: few, if any, have a local base of ownership and most are controlled by far-off conglomerates whose empathy with the Welsh listenership is extremely limited. ITV in Wales has become part of a large empire and that particular Welshness which HTV (or Harlech, or TWW) once had seems to have disappeared into a few figures on the FTSE 100 share index. With that goes convergence where every journalist is expected to do everything, though there are some benefits here. The *Daily Post*, for example, often posts videos on its website which are wholly in Welsh. For the Welsh, Robertson’s idea (1992, p.9) that globalisation sees “both the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole” is particularly apposite. What chance the Welsh voice in a world shouting out for attention? Are Welsh outlets simply in danger of being swamped? While they stood up to the deluge of English output in the 18th and 19th centuries, it has become increasingly clear in the 20th and 21st centuries that competition is not necessarily a wholly good thing for Welsh journalism.

Issues around globalisation are closely linked with ownership. Franklin noted how ownership impacts on partiality, bias, censorship, agenda setting and deregulation (2001, pp146-60). Certainly many of those issues are relevant to broadcasting, where consolidation in recent years has seen almost every radio station in Wales taken over by a multi-national conglomerate and the “Welshness” of the independent television provider in Wales diluted into the amorphous ITV plc. The broadcasting chapter of this thesis looks in some detail at the tensions between the London management of the BBC and the Corporation’s operations in Wales – an issue which first surfaced in the 1920s and is still a matter of contention. Although Harcup suggested that the ownership of a media business can provide the opportunity to dictate the style of journalism and influence company policy (2004, p.13), that was hardly the case for the early journalists in Wales, who set up their own magazines and ran their own affairs. In the case of Welsh-language newspapers, it has only been in the last decades of the 20th century that *Y Cymro* became part of Johnson Press. The *Papurau Bro*, of course, are famously independent. Ownership issues, therefore, are only marginal as far as Welsh-language journalism is concerned.

Bias has concerned media analysts for a considerable time. Objective writing has long been an aspiration of most journalists, but this is hardly the case with early writers for periodicals

and newspapers who openly sided with revolutionary forces in France, for instance. McQuail spoke (1994, p.253) of the “ruling norms of most Western media call for a certain practice of neutral, information reporting of events”. However, having been fed an overwhelmingly English diet of news and interpretation of events, Welsh journalists found a new route to help interpret their views of the world. It was rarely the same as might have been encountered over the border.

Finally, in news selection, there are the theories of Galtung and Ruge. Their theories, from the 1960s, are tabulated below with an approximation of the various ‘compartments’ of Welsh journalism as to whether the particular part of the theory applies.

These are:

- 1: Frequency – Short term events preferred over long term developments.
- 2: Threshold – The size of the event defines its importance.
- 3: Unambiguity – News items are of interest to the public and will not confuse them.
- 4: Meaningfulness – Coverage has cultural proximity to the readership.
- 5: Consonance – The familiar is preferred over the unfamiliar.
- 6: Unexpectedness – The element of surprise.
- 7: Continuity – The story can continue for some time.
- 8: Composition – The balance between good news and bad news.
- 9: Elite Nations – Preferred over stories from less well recognised nations.
- 10: Elite Persons – The culture of celebrity.
- 11: Personalisation – News is the result of the action of a person.
- 12: Negativity – Bad news always sells.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Early Periodicals</i>	<i>Later Periodicals/Early Newspapers</i>	<i>Newspapers</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Online sources</i>
1	No	Mostly	Yes	Mostly	Yes	Yes
2	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4	Yes	Yes	Mostly	Yes	Yes	Yes
5	No	No	Mostly	Mostly	Yes	Mostly
6	No	Possibly	Yes	Possibly	Possibly	Yes
7	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	No	No	No	No	No	No
10	No	No	Possibly	Possibly	Possibly	Possibly
11	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
12	No	No	Possibly	Possibly	Possibly	Possibly

5:8 Conclusion

This chapter has taken into account the various branches of journalism which are being examined in this thesis and considered how they have promoted, or continue to promote, a Welsh identity. As previously discussed, the issue of Welsh identity is something which is still a matter for debate in the country. The Welsh Government has gone a considerable way towards making Wales a defined nation but the struggle over nearly three centuries has been epic. Indeed, just as Wales was gaining new-found confidence, along came easily accessible news from all corners of the globe by way of the Internet and digital television and radio, this making Wales a tiny whisper in a roar of news and comment from around the world.

Various theories have also been applied to the concepts of journalism and identity and have been discussed above.

Chapter 6

The Early Periodicals of Wales – the beginning of the “Welsh Renaissance”

Cenedl heb iaith – cenedl heb dafod : A nation without a language is a nation without a tongue (Old Welsh saying).

6.1 Introduction

The term “golden age” is a well-worn, over-used cliché. Yet, for the Welsh, the 18th and early 19th centuries did constitute a “golden age” for Welsh-language journalism. This was the period which could, surely, be called the “Welsh Renaissance” – the time when Welsh speakers could read about events in their own language, after nearly five centuries of repression, the last two of which included an active will, sanctioned by the Crown, to wipe out the Welsh language. It was a period when early journalists looked to their roots and wrote about Welsh poetry and literature, thought about indigenous Welsh music, looked to happenings on their own respective doorsteps, regarded the non-conformist chapels as the national religion of Wales rather than that of the Anglican (and then Established) Church and began to foster a radical political stance. This chapter will look at those early publications and will consider their contribution to the establishment of a Welsh identity.

The consideration of that Welsh identity is particularly important. After the Act of Union in 1543, Wales effectively did not exist, as draconian laws relating to the language were passed by the English parliament. The year 1282 had, of course, been significant but, as referred to earlier, the idea that Wales became subservient to England did not include measures (as enacted by the Tudor throne) which would, nowadays, be almost akin to “ethnic cleansing”. The ensuing chapter, therefore, looks at how these publications developed, the subject areas they covered and how they contributed to a newly-awakened Welsh identity.

6.2 Early Welsh Books Pave the Way for Periodicals

Bishop William Morgan's epic task of single-handedly translating the entire Bible into Welsh by 1588 signified two things for the people. It meant not only that the nation could hear the scriptures in its own tongue but it also served as something of a catalyst, turning what was a slow trickle of Welsh publications into a significantly increased stream of books and periodicals in the coming centuries. While it was by no means the first Welsh publication the accomplishment of such a massive feat served to draw yet more attention to the vast power of the printed word, which was beginning to change societies across the world for ever. It also encouraged more books to appear to satisfy the needs of an increasingly literate people and, almost in tandem, it opened the way for what was to become a thriving periodical press, spurred on in large part by a renewed interest in texts of ancient Welsh poets, literary and philosophical discussion, the awakening of a political awareness in the common people and an interest in news both from home and overseas.

There can be little doubt, however, that the long list of periodicals which appeared in the 18th and 19th century, responding to the catalyst of the Welsh Bible and the books which followed in its wakes, did as much, if not more, than broadcasting did a century later to establish a distinct identity for Wales and for the Welsh people.

The first book published in Welsh appeared in 1546, the handiwork of John Prys of Brecon. The invention of the printing press by Gutenberg in Mainz in 1445 had been an almost revolutionary moment in the annals of Western civilisation. But, as Davies (1993, p.239) pointed out, printing was very much the protectorate of widely spoken and widely read languages.

It might reasonably have been expected that Welsh would not become a published language. The resources of its speakers were slight, hopes of an efficient system of distribution were slighter and the numbers literate in the language were small.

Yet, within little more than a century, 108 books were published in Welsh – nothing compared to numbers that appeared in English or French, but Welsh was not a language of state and the number of speakers was seriously limited compared to that of either England or

France. Even at this stage, though, Welsh literature already found itself in a superior position compared to others: a mere four books were published in Scottish Gaelic and just 11 in Irish (ibid).

Prys's 1546 book contained the Credo, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, though the efforts of anyone outside the priesthood to bring about a greater understanding of divine worship attracted the critical attention of the Vatican (ibid). Even so, 22 manuscripts exist from the much earlier *Y Bibyl Ynghymraec* [sic] – a Welsh biblical synopsis from the Later Middle Ages and long predating the efforts of Protestant reformers to allow the mother tongue a role in worship. William Salesbury had published a Welsh translation of the main texts of the (English) Prayer Book in 1551, four years after its initial publication and had even published a volume arguing that, under the laws of the Welsh Prince Hywel Dda, priests should be allowed to marry.

The first book to be printed in Wales (Prys's book was, supposedly, produced in Hereford) was *Y Drych Gristianogawl* (The Christian Mirror) – and traditionally thought to have appeared from a press hidden in a cave on the seaward side of the Great Orme in Llandudno (Davies, 1993, p.237). It complemented a 63-page booklet entitled *Athrawaeth Gristionogawl* (Christian Teaching) which has been published in Rome, no less, and was a catechism expounding the Roman Catholic faith and underlining the Welsh contribution to the Counter-Reformation.

6.3 Religious Tensions Presage Political Radicalism

Religious tensions persisted in Wales through the 17th century and, just as Louis XIV pursued Protestants out of France and the chill effects of the Spanish Inquisition began to be felt, so dissenting Anglicans in Wales who refused to use the Book of Common Prayer or who questioned the Royalist Anglican purity demanded from on high were purged from the church. The publication of *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant* (The Sincere Faith) by Charles Edwards variously in 1667, 1671 and 1677 and the popular almanacs of Thomas Jones, published annually from 1680, did much to keep the flames of Roman Catholicism alight in Wales. But with adherents to the Roman Church, by this stage, being relatively few in Wales and anyone seeking a role in the public life of Wales needing to be seen to be supportive of the Anglican

Church, Welsh society looked destined to split between those who saw their spiritual home as being in the Anglican church with the others heading off to the chapels of the dissenters or the non-conformists.

In reality, the Anglican Church in Wales did become the church of aristocrats, the landed gentry and those who wanted to get on with the English establishment possibly to further their own careers. The non-conformist churches in Wales (the Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Independents) “came to depend upon the middle ranks of society – the craftsmen and the yeomen. As they, in the main, had little knowledge of English, non-conformity in most parts of Wales became thoroughly Welsh in language” (Davies, 1993, p.288). That, probably more than anything else, laid the way for the emergence of a radical Welsh-language press since, as adherence to non-conformity grew, so many of its ministers became radicalised and their sometimes extreme views found their way into what was preached from the pulpit and what appeared in print. Indeed, as will be explained later in this chapter, the non-conformist churches could be said to have been as powerful as the BBC was in the mid- to late-20th century, in aiding the creation of a Welsh national identity through their extensive publishing activities.

Between 1546 and 1670, around one Welsh book a year had been published. Between 1670 and 1700, four books a year appeared. But between 1700 and 1730, an average 14 books a year appeared, testament in many ways to the advance of education in Wales. But even education split along linguistic lines. The emerging gentry of Wales sent their children, when they could afford it, to be educated in the many private schools which were springing up. Others had to fare as well as they could. The SPCK (the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge) had been founded in 1699 and provided some aspects of education in Wales though it took considerable pressure on the organisation even to consider providing education in Welsh.

6.4 Wales Riven by Social and Linguistic Divisions

At the beginning of the 18th century, therefore, Wales was riven with social and linguistic divisions, religious differences and educational inequality. But it was also a place where certain members of society were beginning to appreciate its literary heritage. Theophilus

Evans, the vicar of Llangammarch in Breconshire, produced *Drych y Prif Oesoedd* (The Mirror of Past Ages) in 1716. According to Davies (2014, p.46), druidism had come into vogue in Wales in the early part of the 18th century and Welsh poets believed themselves to be the heirs of the early druids, whom the poets considered to have been the vanguards of early Welsh culture. “Belief in the ancient and lofty origins of the Welsh and their language served to swell a national pride” (ibid).

6.5 Appearance of the First Periodicals

It was during the first half of the 18th century that the foundations of the 19th century explosion in Welsh periodical publication came about. In particular, the three brothers of the Morris family of Anglesey set out to prove to the Anglicised Welsh that there was, as Lewis Morris put it, “something of which they had never heard – that there was formerly scholarship and knowledge in Wales” (Davies, 2003, p.304). As a result, Lewis Morris is credited with the appearance of the first Welsh periodical. *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd* (The Treasures of the Ancient Ages) appeared in 1735. Periodical might not, however, have been the correct description: it only ran to one edition. But its frontispiece described its honourable intentions, stating that it was a “Collection of our British Antiquities, on the best Subjects handled by the Antients [sic]”. However, his rationale was that the gentry were, by turning their collective back on Welsh culture, becoming anglicised and cultural matters were being diluted, with the bardic traditions threatened with extinction.

While the goals of *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd* were noble, all early efforts at publishing Welsh periodicals were, of course, far from easy. “All . . . Welsh periodicals dating from the . . . 18th century and the first decade of the 19th were comparatively short-lived. Difficulties of distribution and sale, together with the prohibitive price of paper, made publications a considerable risk for editor and publisher alike” (www.llgc.org.uk).

6.6 Importance of London as a Welsh Publishing Centre

Lewis Morris was not to be deflected and his efforts were spurred on not only by a desire to show that scholarship was alive – and always had been in Wales – but also that the nation had a specific culture and that was something to be celebrated. While the thoughts of the Morris brothers focused on creating a Welsh equivalent of the Royal Society, a notion supported by

the growing importance of many Welsh towns as cultural centres in their own respective rights – Carmarthen was a particularly lively cultural centre – it was only in London that such a society could really exist, mainly because of the difficulties of communication and travel in Wales. Then, as now, London was home to thousands of migrant Welsh workers, seasonal employees and whole families who had decamped to the English capital. *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd* had proved popular among a small section of the London Welsh and the efforts of Richard Morris (a clerk in the Admiralty) and his brother Lewis, as well as Owen Jones (Owen Myfyr) and William Owen Pughe, the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion was formed in 1751 (and still exists) followed by the Gwyneddigion in 1770 (see below) (Davies, 1993). The aims of the Cymmrodorion had been to stimulate interest in the language, literature and history of Wales and to promote economic ventures beneficial to Wales. In reality, it was often regarded as an Anglicising influence, especially as it was London based. But the organisation did attempt to publish a number of periodicals and booklets, though these were solely in English (Davies, 1993).

6.7 Industrialisation Changes the Face of Wales

Remarkably, the period 1770 to 1850 saw something of a Welsh revolution. The population in 1770 was 500,000 and they mainly worked the land. By 1850, the population was approaching 1.2 million with just one third working in agriculture. In 1770, there were no lasting periodicals. By 1850, there was a wealth of publications and Welsh had become a language of extensive cultural communication.

Come the middle of the 19th century, Welsh publications embraced not only religious denominations, with the various non-conformist sects producing their own newspapers, but also political publications, many of which sided with Nationalist sentiment on continental Europe or promoted the perceived benefits of Liberalism or Socialism.

It is particularly interesting to note how enterprises outside Wales also jumped on the bandwagon of journalistic interest, with papers like *Y Drych* being published across the Atlantic and *Y Faner* coming out of Liverpool. Almost as if following an established and noble tradition, the Liverpool paper was edited by a non-conformist minister: Gwilym Hiraethog ministered to a Welsh congregation in the city. He was just part of a grand

tradition of clergymen who ventured into print as an additional alternative to their respective pulpits. As Williams (1985, p150) wrote:

“There were plenty of dedicated clergymen, dedicated in particular to popular religious instruction, which gave the Welsh press a significant boost and which was perhaps the major contribution to Welsh-language literature.”

6.8 Pamphleteers and Radicalism

In 1770, Edward Williams, now known almost exclusively by his bardic name Iolo Morgannwg – an eccentric figure who founded the Gorsedd of Bards, to this day closely linked to the National Eisteddfod of Wales – founded the Gwyneddigion, another London group. Indeed, the first Gorsedd ceremony had been held at Primrose Hill in north London. The Gwyneddigion was a populist movement, intended to both complement and compete with the Cymmrodorion. The Gwyneddigion were much more rooted into the Welsh cause and saw “freedom in Church and State” along with the “liberty” of all people as a source of inspiration and, being particularly active at the end of the 18th century, saw the French Revolution as an inspiration. “The Gwyneddigion were the fulcrum of . . . enthusiasm for Welsh culture. The disciples of Edward Lhuyd and the Morris circle has aspired to prove the richness of Welsh tradition by publishing the contents of the ancient manuscripts. Owain Myfyr, the president of the Gwyneddigion, shared that aspiration. As he was a wealthy businessman, he had the means to fulfil it” (Davies, 1993, p.344). A number of pamphlets backed by the society confirmed the view of the French revolution as an inspiration and a catalyst for change. Jac Glan-y-Gors had written *Seren Tan Gwmmwl* (Star Under a Cloud) in 1795, followed by *Toriad y Dydd* (The Break of Day) in 1797. Both were inspired by the works of Tom Paine, the Anglo-American radical propagandist. Thomas Roberts of Llwynrhudol near Pwllheli joined the duo, writing *Cwyn yn Erbyn Gorthrymder* (Complaint Against Oppression) in 1798, attacking tithes, the Church establishment and the justice system. Indeed, it was with the backing of the Gwyneddigion as well as another society, the Cymreigyddion, that nine issues of *Y Greal: Sev Cynulliad o Orchestion ein Hynaviaid a Llofion o Vân Govion yr Oesoedd* (The Grail: That is a Collection of Masterpieces from our Ancestors and Gleanings from Memories of the Ages) appeared between 1805 and 1807,

underlining the importance and influence exerted by the London Welsh. (Note, however, the Anglicised use of the letter V in the above title: there is no V in the present Welsh alphabet).

However, just as London might have been buzzing with Welsh cultural activity the periodical press in Wales continued with its stuttering start. There were very few, if any, coffee shops, as there were in London and many other English cities, where men (probably exclusively) could come together to discuss business, commerce and cultural matters. Indeed, there were few places, save for chapels or market places, where people could meet to discuss anything. Distribution of printed matter was fraught with difficulties and dangers. So, many early periodicals, including Lewis Morris's *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd*, only saw two or three editions, sometimes just one as was the case with Morris's magazine.

Morris's efforts, however, cannot be underestimated and proved something of an aperitif for what was to come. The century between 1750 and 1850 produced major change in Wales. The population more than doubled and industry began to take the place of agriculture as the mainstay of the Welsh economy, as noted above. As the railways began to push their way into the country, journeys which took days began to take hours. Politics, once the fiefdom of the gentry, began to inspire the less well-heeled and there were calls for greater representation. The Anglican Church was a shadow of its former self, with four fifths of the Welsh who attended services doing so at non-conformist chapels, according to the 1851 Census. "In the 18th century church attendance in Wales proved more difficult to measure than religious belief . . . but as non-conformists tended to go to more than one service and Anglicans only to one, this probably overemphasised the strength of non-conformity" (bbc.co.uk). Tourism also became a major part of the Welsh economy.

Tourists affected the lives of the people of Wales in a number of ways. They created a demand for accommodation which led to the construction of new and larger inns and hotels; a demand for services (transport, entertainment, guides and souvenirs) which provided new sources of income for the Welsh; a need for more English speakers to serve them and a changing perception of Wales and the Welsh by the English (Freeman, 2012).

6.9 Appearance of the Second Major Welsh Periodical

Coupled with all this was a desire to “read all about it”. While, in 1770, there were no Welsh periodicals, by 1850 there were dozens and Welsh had become the medium of literary, cultural and political discussion. The year 1770, though, was significant, since it saw the appearance of the second major milestone in Welsh periodical publishing when *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth, neu Eurgrawn Cymraeg* (The Treasury of Knowledge or Welsh Magazine) appeared. It was a fortnightly, and 15 editions appeared, edited by Josiah Rees, a Unitarian minister in the Swansea Valley and reflecting his interest in Welsh history and literature. Rees suggested that its purpose was “to divert and edify the Welsh language, hoping to revive the splendid old language [. . .] by reforming our morals and increasing knowledge amongst us” (Watkins, 1998). Each edition reflected Rees’s noble ambitions. There were eight pages of Welsh history taken from the texts of *Brut y Tywysogion*, eight pages of miscellaneous essays, a similar number of pages of verse and, notably, eight pages of news from home and overseas.

Rees’ publication is important for two reasons. It marked a start in the shift in emphasis for Welsh publications, away from London and back to Wales.

At the beginning of the 19th century . . . these expatriate societies led the way in the publishing of Welsh periodicals. But shortly thereafter the centre of Welsh literary life shifted back to Wales, and the place of the expatriate societies was taken by a number of literary clerics . . . heirs of a tradition begun in London, and it was they who were responsible for some of the principal Welsh periodicals of the 19th century, such as *Y Gwleidydd*, *Y Gwladgarwr*, *Cylchgrawn y Gymdeithas er Taeunu Gwybodaeth Fuddiol*, *The Cambrian Journal* and *Y Brython* (Walters, in Jenkins, 2000, p.350).

The other important consideration to be given to Rees’ publication – and something noted by Walters above – is the power of the pulpit. Just as the Gwyneddigion in London embraced a radical zeal so, too, did non-conformist ministers, among them John Blackwell (Alun), Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain), John Roberts from Tremeirchion, Evan Evans (Ieuan Glan Geirionydd), John Jenkins (Ifor Ceri), Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc), John Williams (Ab Ithel) and Daniel Silvan Evans (Walters, 2000, p.350). Part of the zeal can be attributed

to a number of powerful religious revivals which ripped through Wales in the 18th and 19th centuries (and, indeed, in the 20th).

Many of the Gwyneddigion had supported radical political unrest – often against things English, even if they were based in London – and promoted calls for Welsh periodicals, with many supporting the Baptist minister Morgan John Rhys of Llanbradach in Glamorgan in his efforts to produce a radical publication. His *Cylchgrawn Cymraeg* [sic] (the Welsh magazine) produced five issues between 1793 and 1794, “proof of his zeal for education, freedom of conscience, social reform and the Welsh language” (Davies, 1993, p.339). It was the first Welsh magazine to deal with controversial political matters such as peace (particularly as far as the war with revolutionary France was concerned), the slave trade, the abolition of the class system and the squandering of money on arms and warfare. Rhys saw the French Revolution as assisting in the overthrow of the Papacy, but it was his staunch opposition to Calvinism which offended most people in Wales rather than his radical, even revolutionary, views. Printing of the magazine took place at Trefeca, Machynlleth and Carmarthen, the constant movement probably on account of printers’ fears of persecution because of the radical political ideas being expressed in its pages. Rhys had hoped that the profits from his periodical venture would allow him to travel to “Madogwys” and, in 1794, emigrated to the USA, setting up what he hoped would become a Welsh “colony” in Beulah, Pennsylvania.

6.10 The Catalyst for New Ventures

Rhys’s efforts served as another catalyst for more ventures. The Unitarian reformer Tomos Glyn Cothi – or Thomas Evans – edited three issues of *Y Drysorfa Cymysgedig* (The Mixed Treasury) in 1795, while an Independent minister, David Davies of Holywell, edited nine issues of *Y Geirgrawn* (The Magazine) from February to October 1796. Davies’s magazine was a boldly radical audacious publication, which extolled the writings of Tom Paine, just as had the pamphlets *Seren Tan Gwmmwl* the previous year and *Toriad y Dydd* a year later, with Davies even going as far as to print a Welsh translation of La Marseillaise preceded by a somewhat inflammatory celebration of the “invincible” forces of France. Both Evans and Davies attracted the attention of the English establishment, however. *Y Drysorfa* was suppressed by the state and Evans was prosecuted. Both radicals were seen as a threat to the

peace and perceived as being highly dangerous. Evans, for instance, had included translations of the writing of Joseph Priestley and other English reformers. He was eventually imprisoned for sedition between 1801-2. While Davies escaped imprisonment, *Y Geirgrawn* suddenly ceased publication without explanation.

6.11 The Importance of the Denominational Magazines

Perhaps rather "safer" in the eyes of the state were the denominational magazines published by the non-conformist churches, magazines which were the product of the early 18th century religious revival and serving the needs of itinerant preachers as well as pupils and teachers involved in the booming Sunday schools. They had the backing of the churches and were not free-standing publications which just happened to be edited by radical ministers. Indeed, the free churches grew to become some of the most influential Welsh-language publishers Wales has ever seen with many extending that influence into the late 20th century. The Methodist Church published six issues of *Y Drysorfa Ysprydol* (The Spiritual Treasury) between 1799 and 1801 (edited by Thomas Charles of Bala and Thomas Jones of Denbigh). It was the first religious and denominational magazine to be published in Welsh while *Yr Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd* (The Wesleyan Magazine) began publishing in 1809 and survived until 1983, easily gaining for itself the title of one of the longest-lived Welsh-language publications. *Y Drysorfa* failed at an early hurdle due to the ill health of both editors but it was revived in 1809 under the title *Trysorfa* (Treasury) and continued until 1827. "Though not particularly successful," wrote Walters (1998, p.199), "it set a standard which many subsequent denominational periodicals aspired to attain by all too often failed to achieve."

The Independents in North Wales began publishing *Y Dysgedydd Crefyddol* (The Religious Instructor) in 1822, mainly to hit back against what they perceived to be unfair and critical aspersions made by the Calvinistic Methodists. The publication lasted 30 years and was described by Walters (ibid) as expressing "with increasing confidence the liberal values of Old Dissent by supporting the peace movement, the abolition of the slave trade and parliamentary reform."

These denominational periodicals . . . were legion,” wrote Walters (2000, p.351). “The enormity of what was produced was remarkable, particularly in view of the dearth of educational opportunities and the prevailing economic circumstances.

6.12 Appearance of the First Newspapers

By the early 19th century, the Welsh press was entering a period of rapid expansion, with *The Cambrian*, the *North Wales Chronicle* and *The Carmarthen Journal* all appearing within the first decade of the century. Not to be left out, *Seren Gomer* (the Star of Gomer) was launched in 1814 in Swansea by the Baptist minister Joseph Harris, popularly known as Gomer.

Although this venture failed in little over a year, it was the first attempt at a weekly Welsh newspaper. Saddled with the extensive “taxes on knowledge” (the taxes, in the early 19th century, included an advertisement tax, an excise duty on paper, a pamphlet duty, and the most contentious of all, a newspaper tax: all taxes were eventually repealed in 1861) the launch of any publication would require a significant investment with almost no guarantee of a return, since Welsh speakers were unlikely to be in the higher income brackets of the Welsh population, therefore advertising revenue was hard to come by. Although *Seren Gomer* lasted just over a year as a weekly, it was relaunched as a fortnightly publication in 1818, becoming a monthly in 1820. Each edition regularly sold around 2,000 copies and Gomer managed to build a solid financial foundation for the publication. “*Seren Gomer* became the model for its many rivals and successors and ensured a place for Harris as one of the most important figures in the history of the Welsh periodical press” (Williams, 1984). Widely recognised in its early days as a Baptist publication, it had no official connection with the denomination until 1880 and became one of the main publications for leading Welsh writers and scholars of the day. (The Baptists of the period produced *Cyfrinach y Bedyddwyr* (The Baptist Fellowship), edited by John Jenkins of Hengoed and *Greal y Bedyddwyr* (The Baptist Grail), edited by John Herring of Cardigan). But by the end of the 1820s, *Seren Gomer* had been joined by *Y Gwyleidydd* (The Sentinel), regarded as a notable publication since it appeared between 1822 and 1837, and was the work of a group of erudite clerics from the Established Church and “set different standards from other contemporary publications, since it contained articles on Welsh literature and antiquities” (<https://www.llgc.org.uk>). The success of *Seren Gomer* also spawned *Goleuad Cymru* (The Light of Wales), in this case edited by a Calvinistic Methodist minister – John Parry – but it was forced to close after it

committed the cardinal sin of publishing content which had been written by non-Methodists. Parry, however, launched a new periodical by the name – again – of *Y Drysorfa* (The Treasury) which was directly controlled by the Calvinistic Methodist denomination. It first appeared as a monthly in 1831 and continued until 1968. Perhaps most startling from all the denominational magazines to appear, from the point of view of longevity, was *Yr Ymofynydd* (The Inquirer) which started life in 1847 as a monthly periodical and, although its appearance during the 20th century was somewhat erratic, this Unitarian publication is still published today.

Y Dysgedydd (The Learned Person) appeared in 1832, the literary organ of the Independents and edited by the colourful character David Owen (Brutus) (see also below). However, the radical zeal of *Seren Gomer* was overtaken by the powerfully political sentiments of *Diwigiwr* (The Reformer) which was edited by David Rees, an Independent minister from Llanelli, from the mid-1830s. According to Williams (1985, p.203), this was a “middle-class Reform journal which offered Dissent’s support to Chartism . . . and locked into a famous feud with the Anglican paper *Yr Haul* (The Sun), edited by a non-conformist defector. Around them, a denominational press of some liberal temper began to circulate.” *Yr Haul*, first published in 1857, was produced by David Owen (Brutus), a gifted journalist and satirist with considerable bite, but whose ministries with both the Baptists and the Independents had failed. Turning to the press to make a living, he edited two non-conformist magazines before being appointed editor of his new publication in 1835. “Brutus” had, in 1828, been appointed editor of *Lleud yr Oes* (Light of the Time), a journal published at Aberystwyth. The copyright of the magazine was bought in 1829 by Jeffrey Jones, who died just a year later. A committee of Independent ministers established *Yr Efenglydd* (The Evangelist) as successor to *Lleud yr Oes*. “Brutus” charged the magazine with more political punch than its owners wished and he was threatened with expulsion from office. The solution was to launch *Yr Haul* to serve the Established Church while the Independents launched *Y Diwigiwr*. And so began the feud between Rees and “Brutus”, carried out in the columns of their respective publications. “Brutus” stood for Toryism and the Established Church while Rees took on Daniel O’Connell’s famous phrase: “Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!” and stood solidly for radicalism and non-conformity. “It has been claimed, with some justification, that the ferocious debates between *Yr Haul* and *Y Diwigiwr* provided the main political education of the monoglot Welshman between 1835 and 1860 (Jenkins, in Walters, 2998, p.201). The baiting continued through the columns of *Y Seren Ogleddol* (The Northern Star), published in

Caernarfon and expressing, in strident terms, anti-Tory and anti-Church views. *Tarian Rhyddid a Dymchwelydd Gormes* (The Shield of Freedom and the Overthrower of Oppression), edited by Gwilym Hiraethog and Hugh Pugh, attacked the Established church over church rate and tithes while *Cylchgrawn Rhyddid* (The Magazine of Freedom) was published for two years between 1840 and 1842 and – though technically a stamped newspaper, and not a periodical – supported the growing band of Anti-Corn Law League supporters in North Wales. Other church publications included *Cronicl y Cymdeithasau Crefyddol* (The Chronicle of the Religious Societies) in 1838, *Yr Eglwysydd* (The Churchman), *Baner y Groes* (The Banner of the Cross) and *Amddiffynydd yr Eglwys* (The Church Protector), all emanating from the Established Church. Other denominational periodicals – mostly short-lived efforts – included *Blaguryn y Diwygiad* (The Bud of the Revival), a Wesleyan reformer periodical published in 1842, and *Gedeon* (Gideon), which appeared in the same year, both magazines which followed arguments and schisms. Campbellite Baptists produced *Yr Hyfforddwr* (The Guide), *Yr Hyfforddiadur* (The Directory) and *Y Llusern* (The Lamp) between 1852 and 1858. *Trysorfa Grefyddol Gwent a Morgannwg* (The Religious Treasury of Gwent and Glamorgan) was published between 1838 and 1839, while *Cyfrinach y Bedyddwyr* (The Baptists' Association) appeared in 1827 alone, *Y Golygydd* (The Editor) between 1846 and 1847 and *Y Tyst Apostolaidd* (The Apostolic Witness) lasted five years from 1846.

The substantial commitment to overseas missionary work by the non-conformist churches produced another handful of periodicals: *Cronicl Cenhadol* (Missionary Chronicle) was a non-denominational magazine printed by John Evans of Carmarthen and using extracts from *The Missionary Chronicle*. *Brud Cenadawl* and *Brud Cenhadol* (The Missionary Digest) were two short-lived efforts edited by Joshua Morgan Thomas of Cardigan and covering news about the activities of the Baptist Missionary Society.

The religious zeal of the Welsh also managed to export itself. Wrexham man Dan Jones, captain of a paddle steamer ferrying passengers between New Orleans and St Louis, met Joseph and Hyrum Smith on one trip. The Smith brothers had founded the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints – the Mormons – and Jones became an enthusiastic adherent, visiting his native country as a missionary and publishing two periodicals: *Prophwyd y Jubili* (The Prophet of the Jubilee) which appeared between 1846 and 1848 as well as *Udgorn Seion* (The Trumpet of Zion).

Many of the Free Churches supported the temperance movement which reached its zenith in Wales in the 1830s and 1840s. The movement had begun in the United States but spread across the Atlantic and such was the zeal of those who abhorred drink that several publications sprang up to serve the movement. These included *Y Dirwestydd* (The Abstainer) in 1836, *Y Seren Ddirwestol* (The Temperance Star) in 1837 and *Y Dirwestwr Deheuol* (The Southern Abstainer) in 1838. To counter the movement, William Williams established *Yr Adolygydd* (The Reviewer) in 1838 where he opposed teetotalism and defended moderation. The problem with the temperance periodicals was that interest could not be sustained for long, readerships disappeared and periodicals perished. One which did last longer was *Yr Athraw* (The Teacher) which was published for eight years from 1836. The magazine “offered its readers more variety than its competitors by adding material of general interest to its accounts of temperance meetings, pledge-signings and the horrible deaths of drunkards” (Walters, 1998, p200).

6.13 Over-reliance on Church Backing?

One of the principal criticisms from the period was that few magazines survived, if they were not backed by a church denomination. Thomas Stephens, a scholar from Merthyr Tydfil, had said as early as 1851 that “it is of little credit to the nation that it seems unable or unwilling to support its publications unless they are associated with the religious denominations” (<https://www.llgc.org.uk>). There were attempts at non-religious publications. *Y Gwyllyddydd* (The Sentinel) was an early attempt at such a publication, though edited by Rowland Williams, rector of Ysceifiog. It lasted from 1822 to 1837 and contained a range of articles, mainly written by learned Welsh clergymen, on Welsh literature and antiquities but its erudite and rather exclusive quality could not prevent it from being somewhat unpopular. A similar monthly, *Y Gwladgarwr* (The Patriot) saw light of day in 1830 and was edited by Evan Evans (Ieuan Glan Geirionydd), who was curate of Christleton, near Chester, and had written to the Welsh bishops requesting support for a Welsh periodical based on *The Saturday Magazine* “with the intention of bringing general information to the Welsh people . . . [*Y Gwladgarwr*] was a magazine of wide interest containing serious articles on astronomy, agriculture, geography and theory of music” (<https://www.llgc.org.uk>). The fact is, though, even a secular publication needed the backing of certain elements of the church.

That criticism could emanate from the fact that secular publications such as *Y Traethodydd*, *Yr Adolygydd*, *Golud yr Oes*, *Y Gwerinwr* and a host of other publications were all edited by churchmen. William Williams (Caledfryn) edited 11 periodicals in all while Owen Jones (Meudwy Môn) looked after at least six. Ministers who were editors even set up their own printing companies: David Rees in Llanelli (mentioned above) was just one among many.

With the exception of *Seren Gomer*'s attempt to be more a newspaper than a periodical it was the church publications which filled the gap left by the absence of Welsh newspapers.

Welsh denominational magazines usually included several pages of domestic and foreign news culled from English papers. Most of them engaged in forceful political comment, non-conformity had acquired a political identity in its struggles for equal rights and the rising generation of Dissenting preachers, particularly William Rees, 'Gwilym Hiraethog', William Williams, 'Caledfryn', David Rees, Samuel Roberts, 'S.R.' and Hugh Pugh of Mostyn, expressed a far more radical line in their journalism than did *Y Dysgedydd* (Walters, 1998, p.201).

The radical stance of denominationally-backed Welsh periodicals in the mid-19th century began to attract the attention of critics over the English border. *The Times*, reporting on the Rebecca rioting in South Wales, talked about the "pernicious agitation of dissenting preachers". Even so, despite often acrimonious debates over politics and theological matters, readers liked what was on offer and periodicals offering more general news coverage found it even more difficult to survive.

While what could well be regarded as the 'golden age' for periodicals began to tarnish a little in the latter half of the century, religious publications maintained their significant grip on the nation's readers. *Y Bugail* (The Shepherd), which appeared between 1859 and 1860 and *Y Symbylydd* (The Encourager), another two-year wonder which began publication in 1864, provided preachers and Sunday school teachers with material for sermons and lessons. Sermons, mainly lengthy and delivered by firebrands, were a central part of non-conformist worship and the early, short-lived publication *Y Pregethwr* (The Preacher) produced the sermons of Calvinistic Methodist ministers. Far more successful was *Pulpud Cymru* (Pulpit of Wales) which produced 247 monthly editions between 1887 and 1908.

6.14 Difficulty of Press Support without Church Backing

There were a number of valiant attempts to establish a range of magazines which had no church or religious affiliations, but finding an editor without religious connections proved challenging. In the early 1830s, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge – SDUK – attempted to publish a Welsh magazine similar to *The Penny Magazine*. An Anglican clergyman – again – was appointed editor. John Blackwell (Alun) produced *Cylchgrawn y Gymdeithas er Taenu Gwybodaeth Fuddiol* (The Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) and it first appeared at Llandovery in 1834, published by D. R. and William Rees. The knowledge might have been useful, there was no religious debate and the bickering was banished . . . and it lasted a mere 18 editions.

Giving evidence to the Education Commissioners in 1847, William Rees said:

In 1834 I started a Welsh monthly magazine called *Cylchgrawn* [. . .] on the same plan as the *Penny Magazine*, but published monthly at 6d. I continued it for 12 months at a loss of £200. When I gave it up, it was continued by Mr Evans of Carmarthen for another six months; who also lost by it, and then it was abandoned. It ranted religious information, and consequently excited but little interest [. . .] The people have not been accustomed to think much upon any but religious topics (Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales, 1847).

There were, however, some non-religious success stories. While many of these publications carried articles relating to literary together with some theological matters, many of them ventured into the world of politics and, by so doing, provided Welsh speakers with their political education. The trade union leader Robert Owen of Newtown, who attempted to create a single working class movement called the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, published the bilingual *Y Gweithiwr/The Worker* in the 1830s, though government opposition to workers' organisations meant that was another short-lived publication. Morgan Williams of Merthyr supported the Welsh Chartist cause through his publication *Udgoron Cymru* (The Trumpet of Wales) between 1840 and 1842. It was, said Williams (1985, p.190), a periodical which produced “high-quality political argument in good-quality Welsh”. Unusually for the time, it was run by a workers' co-operative *Argraff-Wasg y Gweithwyr*. So

successful was this publication that it grew to become a fully-fledged stamped newspaper. However, its success was brutally cut down in the general strike of 1842.

There is little doubt that these publications were politically and culturally of massive importance to the Welsh nation. “The Welsh periodical press was highly influential in expressing and moulding public opinion, and its existence proved that the language was capable of being a medium of mass communication” (Davies, 2014, p.64).

6.15 Appearance of Welsh-language Newspapers

Following the lead from England, from the middle of the century a number of Welsh newspapers began to see the light of day, including the influential *Cronicl* (Chronicle) and *Yr Amserau* (The Times). Around the same time, a number of erudite periodicals began to appear, among them the quarterly *Y Traethodydd* (The Essayist), published from 1845 by Thomas Gee and edited by Dr Lewis Edwards, principal of the Methodist College at Bala and described by the historian Gwyn A. Williams as “a quarterly of genuine intellectual distinction” (Williams, 1985, p.203). Edwards had been impressed by *Blackwood’s Magazine* which introduced him to the literature of England and Germany and, venturing to Edinburgh, was taught by John Wilson, one of the most famous writers on *Blackwood’s*. It is of little surprise, therefore that *Y Traethodydd*, with its major emphasis on theology, philosophy and education, was heavily influenced by both *Blackwood’s Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Literary Review*. *Y Traethodydd* is still published today. *Yr Adolygydd* (The Reviewer) and *Y Beirniad* (The Critic) were similar literary, though short-lived, publications.

Many periodicals were niche publications. A number of music magazines appeared in the mid-19th century, for instance. Prolific hymn writers had provided congregations with new words of worship and a number of periodicals promoted the associated interest in music. John Roberts (also known as Ieuan Gwyllt) was a Liverpool-based Calvinistic Methodist minister and had established the newspaper *Yr Amserau* (The Times) in the city as well as *Y Gwladgarwr* (The Patriot) in Aberdare and went on to produce seven issues *Blodau Cerdd* (Musical Flowers) between July 1852 and January 1853. He also founded *Y Cerddor Cymreig* (The Welsh Musician) along with *Cerddor y Tonic Sol-ffa* (The Tonic Sol-fa Musician) published between 1861 and 1873. Other musical magazines included *Gerddorfa* (The Orchestra) between 1872 and 1881 and *Greal y Corau* (The Choirs’ Magazine) from 1861-

63. Liverpool lawyer Joseph Davies began publishing *Y Brud a'r Sylwydd* (The Chronicle and Observer) in 1828, a bilingual magazine which promoted science, even adding new words to the Welsh vocabulary relating to philosophy, science and economics. It barely lasted a year. *Y Cymmro* [sic] [The Welshman) was published in London between 1830 and 1832 but died for want of Welsh speaking compositors in the city. *Yr Amethydd* (The Farmer) appeared between 1845 and 1846 while another one-year wonder was *Y Cynghorydd Meddygawl Dwyiethawg* [sic] (The Duoglot Medical Adviser).

Later in the century, the periodical press was decidedly lighter in tone and a number of more popular publications appeared. *Y Brython* (The Briton) was edited by the cleric and lexicographer Daniel Silvan Evans. Though largely carrying literary and antiquarian texts, it also published much folk literature, something generally ignored by the denominational publications, though even they began to bend to popular pressure and adaptations of novels and serials began to appear on their pages – even translations of English and American books which were of a “moral and improving nature” (<https://www.llgc.org.uk>). This new-found interest led to the monthly publication from 1861 of *Y Nofelydd a Chydymaeth y Teulu* (The Novelist and Family Companion) by William Aubrey of Llanerchymedd in Anglesey. *Golud yr Oes* (Riches of the Age) was a populist Caernarfon publication famed for its high-quality printing techniques while *Y Punch Cymraeg* (The Welsh Punch), which included similar high-quality engravings and cartoons, was very much modelled on the English equivalent, with the exception (for a Welsh magazine) that it appealed to a popular market, with editors attracting the common reader with mockery and satire, setting their sights on anyone deserving, in their view, attention. That was something from which most Welsh-language publications shied away. *Y Geninen* (The Leek) appeared between 1883 and 1928 and was a serious publication edited by John Thomas and dealing with literary, social and political subjects while Beriah Gwynfe Evans’s *Cyfaiill yr Aelwyd* (Friend of the Hearth) appeared between 1881 and 1894 and contained articles about not only poetry and literature but also science and current affairs. One particular publisher worthy of mention was Owen M. Edwards who launched *Cymru* (Wales) in 1891, a magazine which existed until 1927. His idea was reminiscent of that of Lewis Morris and his *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd* as Edwards sought to remind and immerse the Welsh in their own history and culture, focussing especially on national heroes and authors. Other periodicals established by him include *Cymru'r Plant* (Children's Wales), established in 1892, *Seren y Mynydd* (The Mountain Star),

established in 1895), *Y Llenor* (The Littérateur) which only survived between 1895 and 1898) and *Heddyw* [sic] (Today), which first saw light of day in 1897.

6.16 Children's Publications

A large number of children's magazines appeared after the first publication of *Yr Addysgydd* (The Instructor) appeared in 1823. It survived until the end of the century, while a further half dozen other magazines aimed at children, lasted for longer than 100 years. Religious denominations had a virtual stranglehold on the production of children's magazines, mainly because distribution was easy on account of the large network of Sunday schools across Wales. Perhaps rather oddly, though in line with the culture of the period, their contents were broadly similar to those found in adult publications. Rather more sinister was the content of magazines such as *Yr Athraw i Blentyn* (The Child's Teacher), published from 1827 until 1918, *Tywysydd yr Ieuaninc* (Guide for Young People) which appeared between 1837 and 1851 and *Y Winllan* (The Vineyard), published from 1848 until 1965. These were magazines "full of religious stories and tales of the deaths of virtuous children; their editors has little idea of what appealed to young readers" (<https://www.llgc.org.uk>).

All was not doom and death in the world of Welsh children's magazines, however.

Trysorfa'r Plant (The Children's Treasury) first appeared in 1862 and, under the editorship of Thomas Levi, published what appealed to children. While appearing under the auspices of the Calvinistic Methodists, it was highly successful and was written in clear, simple language, often selling 40,000 copies a month. By the time of its demise in 1911, it claimed to have sold 1.5 million copies. *Cymru'r Plant* (see above) was the first children's magazine not to be linked to a religious denomination. Skilful editing and planning meant that each edition contained varied, attractive content, including stories and articles on science, plants, animals as well as the history and literature of Wales along with abundant pictures and illustrations.

6.17 Women's Magazines

While children and the male population of Wales were well served in the 18th century, women had to wait until 1850 for a magazine of their own, when *Y Gymraes* (The Welshwoman) appeared. Edited, perhaps naturally for the time by a man - Evan Jones - the magazine considered that women needed to be educated as to how to make their proper social contribution as wives and mothers. He even felt able to give detailed instruction on

housekeeping and cookery. It lasted two years and folded. *Y Frythones* (The British Woman) was published between 1879 and 1891 and was edited by a woman – Sarah Jane Rees. A new version of *Y Gymraes* was published between 1896 and 1934. Also edited by a woman, it was forthright in its belief in the rights and status of women and was perhaps ahead of its time compared to comparative literature aimed at women and published in English.

It was precisely at this period, and in the preceding centuries, that Welsh cemented its real credentials as a literary language. The 1567 translation of the Prayer Book and the New Testament followed by the entire Bible in 1588, along with the various books and pamphlets which predated the above translations led Glanmor Williams to argue that

Welsh had become the language of religion. This had profound consequences for the future. It may well have done more than anything else to safeguard the continued existence of the language . . . Quite definitely it safeguarded the continued existence of the language as a literary language (Williams, G, 1979, pp.133-4).

6.18 Identity and the Welsh Press

The number of periodicals which appeared in the first half of the 19th century, as well as the newspapers which perhaps took their place in the latter half of the same century (and which will be discussed later in this thesis) proved the existence of Welsh as a literary and spoken language. They also served to underline the fact that a positive Welsh identity was, once again, beginning to emerge, something which proved almost unstoppable as new newspapers began to appear and to prosper, followed by the BBC and other broadcasting channels right up until the present day and the rapid development of the Welsh language on the web.

Yet, as Aled Jones (2000b, in Edwards, H.) has pointed out, the English-language press in Wales did not exist in total isolation from its Welsh counterpart, with many English newspapers and periodicals carrying Welsh columns and Welsh periodicals depending on English outlets for their respective news feeds. Jones wrote that Welsh periodicals and newspapers in the 19th century were “started . . . often with the explicit intention of saying something in the public arena about Wales, about what was going on in Wales, and about what it meant to be Welsh.”

He went further, saying of 19th century Welsh periodicals: “During the second half of the 19th century . . . the expansion of print helped to generate, and, in turn, to be further stimulated by, a cultural mobilization which enabled new forms of national identity to gain currency . . . [it] articulated and shaped the desires of an important minority who, eager for self-expression, bequeathed to Wales its modern but fractured array of self-images” (Jones, 2000a).

But the appearance of more newspapers began to erode the political radicalism of the periodical press. New periodicals did appear, however, among them *Cymru Fydd* (Future Wales), published between 1888 and 1891. This bilingual publication was run by the Welsh Liberal Party and was possibly the first publication to advocate Welsh separatism. It also campaigned for the disestablishment of the church, as well as for temperance, land reform and educational matters. *Cwrs y Byd* (The Course of the World) lasted for 12 years from 1891 and was founded by Ebenezer Rees at Ystalyfera. Under the editorship of Evan Pan Jones, it campaigned for land reform, supported the trade unions and published articles on socialism by R. J. Derfel and T. E. Nicholas.

How successful was this deluge of periodical publication in the formation of a Welsh identity and consciousness? Probably extensive, in a piecemeal kind of way. When O. M. Edwards established *Cymru* in 1891, he had intended to immerse the nation in a realisation of the importance and value of its own history and culture.

In the introduction to the first edition of the magazine, Edwards wrote (in translation):

I believe nothing will invigorate the Welshman’s character as much as the knowledge of his own country’s history: I believe that there is nothing equal to the Welshman’s education as the knowledge of his own literature [. . .] What my colleagues and I intend to accomplish with *Cymru* is to trace the history of Wales, relate her traditions, give voice once again to her poets and men of letters, give her heroes their rightful place. And we will accomplish these things because the present age is the age of Wales’s education [. . .] by restoring Wales to her rightful place we will strengthen the Welshman’s character, purify his soul, nourish his genius, and enrich his life (Edwards in Watkins, 1998, p207).

By the end of the 19th century, the Welsh must have felt that they had made their mark on those who mattered. More books than ever were being published, mainly because literacy rates had improved and a large proportion of the population were monoglot Welsh speakers, so far immune from the erosion of the language which was to come as a result of broadcasting and the free movement of people around the country, whether for work reasons (both inward and outward migration) or for retirement reasons.

Lewis Edwards, writing a review of *Gwaith Dafydd Ionawr* in *Y Traethodydd* in 1852, said (in translation):

In these days of literary awakening, when the Welsh press is more productive than ever before . . . everyone must admit that there is not the slightest likelihood that the Welsh language is in immediate danger of dying, nor that the genius of the Welsh people has been weakened . . . and our impartial opinion is that this period excels in comparison with every previous one in the history of the nation, and heralds a golden age in Welsh literature (Edwards, 1852).

He might have been extremely disappointed, had he been writing that a century later.

6.19 Theoretical discussion

The publishers of the early periodicals took a bold step. Few people had read news and features in their own language making these early journalists original agenda setters. They were the people who reawakened the Welsh to their culture and heritage; they found new areas of politics to discuss; they helped bring the country alive. They confirm Van Leeuwen's 1966 claims that "access to news is empowering in itself".

These men (virtually exclusively) were early citizen journalists, too. They were not trained as journalists but they just got on with the job. They were often educated people – mainly ministers of religion – but their editorial skills were secondary. Yet they produced a massive contribution to Welsh literature over two centuries. Were they biased in their writings? Probably, since – as noted above – this was the first time many people had read news and information in their own language. Gitlin (cited in Schudson, 2003, p.35) suggested that

frames, as relating to journalism, are “principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters.” Again, the content of the early publications was framed by early editors and packaged according to what they felt mattered to a public which had been starved of literature in their own language.

6.20 Conclusion

This chapter has considered how early Welsh journalists rejected the over-riding imperialism of the English state looking at how they took into account issues which would have been of interest to a Welsh readership and pointing those readers towards their own roots, certainly as far as literature and poetry are concerned. What is revealing is the sheer number of publications – most of which are but titles in a volume of Welsh history and almost totally forgotten and difficult to trace. It’s almost sobering to consider how many other titles might have existed but are neither available nor chronicled. How much of a loss is that to the nation, not to mention a study such as this which is looking at the development of a Welsh identity. What is certain, from what is available, is the way in which early Welsh journalists caused that “Welsh Renaissance” – the real awakening of the Welsh spirit after it had been subdued, even crushed, for centuries,

Chapter 7

Welsh Newspapers and Later Periodicals – A Period of Consolidation

Dyfal donc a dyr y garreg – Soft tapping will break the stone (Old Welsh Proverb)

7.1 Introduction

Early journalists and publishers did much to catalyse what could surely be referred to as the “Welsh Renaissance”. However, as noted in the previous chapter, many publications survived only a matter of months, some failing to produce more than one edition. However, once the railways were built and roads were improved thus making transport generally easier, London-produced newspapers began to flood into Wales. (Papers from Liverpool and Manchester had long circulated in Wales, though Liverpool papers produced in the “honorary capital” of North Wales, seemed to pose less of a threat than English-language papers from London). The Welsh press needed to react and this chapter takes into consideration how the Welsh reacted and how the newspaper press flourished, often in times of considerable adversity.

The second half of the 19th century was, with little doubt, the heyday of the Welsh press. Many towns could boast multiple publications, with the small slate-mining community of Blaenau Ffestiniog supporting 17 Welsh-language publications in the 1880s and 1890s. But the Welsh language press suffered catastrophic decline in the 20th century. Fast forward to the 1981 census which showed the alarming statistic that only around half of the people who said they could speak Welsh ever bought anything to read in the language.

Subsidies, which reached £600,000 in the mid-1990s, ensured a wide range of publications in Welsh but any novel that sold 2,500 was regarded as a ‘sweeping success’. *Papurau bro* – short, locally produced community news-sheets – did have a combined readership of about 70,000 but the more conventional newspapers were struggling. In the early 1980s, *Y Cymro* had a circulation of 8,000 and *Y Faner* just 1,800. *Y Faner* had been founded in 1843 but it folded in 1992 after losing its subsidy.

In 1982 *Sulyn*, the first Welsh-language Sunday newspaper was launched: it lasted 14 issues. In contrast, a survey in 1989 suggested that the *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* had a combined readership of 1,199,000 in Wales (Johnes, 2012, p329).

7.2 The Identity Crisis in 19th Century Wales

Nineteenth-century Wales was suffering something of an identity crisis. Just as Victorian Britain was becoming a world power with the Union flag flying right across the globe and British identity – for which probably read English, not British - was recognised by almost all peoples. But as empire expanded, the Welsh were beginning to find a new identity and wanted to be recognised for who they were. Periodical publishers had rediscovered the ancient Welsh writers and poets and celebrated their works in various publications, some of which were more successful than others. Davies (2014, pp64-65) noted that Lewis Morris had attempted to bring out a periodical in 1735 but that it only succeeded in producing one issue. Others, she noted, were more successful.

In 1845 Thomas Gee launched *Y Traethodydd* (The Essayist), a quarterly modelled on the great English quarterlies of the period. The Welsh periodical press was highly influential in expressing and moulding public opinion, and its existence proved that the language was capable of being a medium of mass communication.

Improvements in printing and distribution from the middle of the 19th century meant newspapers could be more easily established in Wales but it also meant that publications from large cities in England could just as easily flood into Wales, bringing with them English values and opinions. While English-language newspapers were established in Wales, they were not that different and often were politically and socially closely aligned to newspapers emanating from England. This is shown following the general election of November 1868 where the mine-owning Bute family had worked hard to return Conservative representation for the Cardiff Boroughs.

The Bute estate's costly attempt to regain the seat was unavailing: the failure was attributed to the lack of a local Conservative paper, and as a result the *Western Mail* was launched on 1 May 1869" (Davies, 1994, p432).

But the Welsh-language press was different and many editors did their best to emphasise that difference, with support for Conservatism a rarity and stories about Welsh entrepreneurship falling much further down the news agenda than articles about literary matters. Even so, Welsh editors were still dogged with the feeling that Wales needed to be 'brought into line'. Aled Jones noted that

Not only was the condition of being Welsh, and in particular of being Welsh-speaking, seen by some Victorians as a problem, an obstacle to the smooth cultural integration of the United Kingdom as a nation state, but also the leaders of Welsh society – its politicians and its religious and community spokespersons – keenly felt their exclusion from the world that was routinely represented in the London-based 'national' press" (in Edwards, 2000, p22).

Welsh newspaper editors had a distinct and difficult job to do. Yet newspapers are a valuable part of national life.

Newspapers have a cultural significance and a symbolism that transcends readership statistics. For Anderson, it was the widespread readership of newspapers that created the 'imagined communities' who were subsequently able to inform a nascent national consciousness (Roberts, 2011, p.56).

The middle of the 19th century had also seen one of the biggest scandals in Welsh political history when what is known as the Blue Books Controversy – *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* or 'Treachery' as it translates from Welsh - broke. It can have done little to bolster the fledgling Welsh newspaper industry. In 1846, a commission had investigated the state of education in Wales, prompted by a speech in the House of Commons by William Williams, MP for Coventry who hailed from Llanpumpsaint in Carmarthenshire. The commission was not formed of anyone Welsh, rather comprised three English and Anglican barristers who produced a report of 1,252 pages and published it (perhaps auspiciously) on 1 April 1847. Davies (2014, p66) notes that "the language of the commissioners' report has been described

as colonial prejudice at its most blatant”. Welsh society was described as something dark and bleak, while the English-speaking wealthy classes were clearly educationally superior (ibid). Education in Welsh was seen as the stumbling block and the commissioners quoted large numbers of people who had written in evidence – in reality, almost all Anglican clergymen whose knowledge of Welsh – both people and language - was seriously limited. They claimed that the moral, social and material position of the Welsh could not be improved without the introduction of the English language, even suggesting that Welsh women were almost all unchaste and that meetings of non-conformist religious denominations were occasions for illicit sex (ibid). The furore that followed divided the nation between the non-conformists and the Established Church, caused dissent between English and Welsh speakers and acted as a catalyst for many of the social and political movements of the next 50 years. Newspaper editors might well have been worried.

7.3 Foundations Laid by the Early Welsh Periodical Press

The flourishing Welsh periodical press of the 18th and 19th centuries laid the foundation for a much bigger industry which developed rapidly in the 19th and 20th centuries. While many publications only lasted merely one or two editions, others survived for longer and helped to cement the foundations for the Welsh press. Indeed, these publications, quite possibly, laid the foundations for the vociferous demands for a distinct Welsh broadcasting service from the BBC after its foundation in the 1920s.

While periodicals appeared (and, it should be said, disappeared) regularly, the newspaper industry, certainly those newspapers published in Welsh, was perhaps a little more reticent in its development. That said, newspapers managed to attract some of the best and most influential writers in Wales, often to the detriment of the periodical press. According to Jones (in Edwards, 2000, p1), in the 19th century:

Writers . . . working in both the English and Welsh languages, contributed substantially to the cheap weekly and later daily press. Welsh newspapers, for example, carried not only news items from Wales and beyond, but also letters, poems, reviews, features, short stories, serialised novels, articles on music, art, the human and

natural sciences, acres of religious exegesis and, of course, square miles of political comment.

Yet newspaper analysis has been scant, despite 500 titles appearing in the 19th century alone. The lack of scrutiny is a phenomenon which Jones (1998) suggests is the assumption that newspapers are the ‘poor relations’ of books and periodicals. But, while books and periodicals appeared sporadically, newspapers – once they began publication and proved themselves to be on a firm financial footing - were regular and brought much reading material (though some of it did require a considerably well-developed level of literacy) within easy and affordable reach of their respective readerships.

7.4 The ‘Torrents’ of Newsprint

The newspaper was not only torrential in its periodicity, cheap and popularly accessible, but it also encapsulated a dazzling range of content. Within the one format, it combined text and illustration, prose and poetry, editorial and advertisement, ‘fact’ and fiction, criticism and counsel, news and opinion, topicality and matters of more general interest. In addition, it was believed to exert a powerful though largely unspecified influence over its readers, and, through them, over the moral and political behaviour of society at large (Jones, 1998, p209).

That, of course, is true and, for the populations of the large and growing cities in England, the vast acres of newsprint which appeared each day satisfied their demands for news, comment, scandal and gossip. Wales, as already noted, was different. Before the advent of the railways, distribution in Wales was difficult. Even when the railways arrived, distributing a daily, or even weekly, newspaper was not always easy as the railways followed the difficult geography of the country meaning that not everywhere was easily accessible and Welsh-speaking areas were often at a disadvantage due to poor connections. The periodicals which flourished in the world of non-conformity and which could be distributed from one village to the next by the visiting preacher or Sunday school teacher had a long lead time, the period between inception and eventual production. The trek to distribute a daily newspaper was not always an option which found favour in rural Wales: distances were long, the terrain difficult, the weather

unpredictable and people had to work hard simply to survive. In addition, the notion of a devout, God-fearing population in 19th-century Wales was largely a myth.

“The census of religion in 1851 had . . . shown that nearly half the population of Wales did not attend a place of worship at all. The growth of an industrial, urban population since 1851 suggested that the hold of all religious bodies over working-class society was increasingly tenuous (Morgan, 1981, p15).

So, distribution of periodicals was patchy since most of the population were not chapel-goers, somewhat contradicting the image of the Welsh as devout, dour, highly religious consumers of lengthy sermons. Editors of Welsh-language newspapers therefore faced additional challenges compared to their compatriots across the border, since the lifetime of a newspaper is not long. The old adage that ‘today’s news is tomorrow’s fish and chip wrapping’ was never more meaningful for those editing Welsh papers – somehow doubtfully assuming there were fish and chip shops in Victorian Wales.

7.5 Industrialisation Continues to Change the Face of Wales

From the beginning of the 19th century, the Welsh population grew rapidly. Lambert noted that “the population of Wales grew despite emigration. In 1801 the population of Wales was less than 600,000. By 1851 it was nearly 1.2 million. By 1911 it was over 2 million” (www.localhistories.org/wales). The economy was being transformed by industrialisation on a scale almost inconceivable today, non-conformity had become the dominant religion (despite observations noted above) and radicalism pervaded politics. While many periodicals espoused non-conformity and radicalism and carried new items from home and overseas, people turned to newspapers for up-to-date news and comment. Influences on newspapers were considerable. Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley (2005) note that:

Newspapers in the 21st century no less than in the 19th century have to be viewed historically and in relation to the range of political, industrial, economic, technological and cultural forces which shaped them and with which they interacted (p35).

But it was the religious organisations and political parties which did much to subsidise the fledgling Welsh press, often continuing well into the 20th century. Moreover, they did much to support small publishing outfits and to sustain the daily use of the Welsh language. Their zealous support for their own periodicals did a massive amount to keep Welsh-language publishing both viable and alive.

Most of the early newspapers which appeared in Wales were English-language publications and as Jones (in Edwards, 2000, p3) noted, the English newspapers had a considerable advantage over the Welsh papers, as they had a century or more of experience from England upon which to draw. Of those English papers, *The Cambrian* first appeared in Swansea in 1804 but, its area of circulation was far from wide, geographically. “Its circulation was restricted to the minority in the principal southern towns who were able to read English,” according to the Encyclopaedia of Wales (2008, p615). (It is not entirely clear here whether readers could not read English but could manage Welsh, or that they could not read at all.) *The North Wales Gazette* appeared at Bangor in 1805 and the *Carmarthen Journal* first saw light of day in 1810. Newspaper production grew rapidly and, in the years following the Reform crisis in 1829, there was what Williams (1985) describes as an “efflorescence of newspapers”.

7.6 The Importance of Seren Gomer

Seren Gomer (also discussed in the Early Periodicals chapter) was the first Welsh-language weekly to appear, in Swansea in 1814. While it might have been regarded as a periodical, its dedication to news coverage means it should also be considered a newspaper. It only lasted a year, wound up because few people would risk placing advertisements in a Welsh-language newspaper, even though it sold 2,000 copies each week. The failure of *Seren Gomer*, however, could have stymied the appearance of other Welsh-language publications as the perception that they could not attract advertising revenue prevented the appearance of another Welsh newspaper for two decades. Advertisers, presumably, perceived the Welsh readership as being poor. The expensive failure of *Seren Gomer* (it caused a loss of £1,000, a massive amount at the time, for the owners) added to other woes suffered by the embryo Welsh press, namely the hugely expensive ‘taxes on knowledge’ as well as the dangers associated with

legal actions against editors. In the 1830s, a newspaper which cost threepence (1.25p) to produce was forced to pass on a tax of fourpence (1.5p) to readers, thus pricing most papers out of the reach of most of the nation's readership. By 1836, however, the newspaper stamp was reduced to one penny and most of the 'taxes on knowledge' were withdrawn in 1855 with the duty on paper coming to an end by 1861.

The repeal of the taxes saw the dawning of what Williams (1985, p215) called the 'golden age' of the Welsh press.

There was an explosion into print. Its strongholds were on the borders of industrial and rural Wales – Llanidloes, Brecon, Trefecca, Abergavenny, Carmarthen, Llandysul, Caernarfon, Denbigh – supported by strong bases within the heartlands of commerce and their Welsh extensions into England and America – Merthyr, Aberdare even more, Swansea, Wrexham, Liverpool and, no less, London, Philadelphia and New York.

As a result, the numbers of newspapers appearing in Wales rocketed: the NEWSPLAN project in Wales reported in 1994 (and noted in Edwards, 2000, p5) the following:

Decade	English titles	Welsh titles
1800s	3	0
1810s	1	1
1820s	8	0
1830s	15	12
1840s	17	9
1850s	51	18
1860s	57	16
1870s	63	19
1880s	80	21
1890s	68	16
1900s	78	18

However, even if the fiscal burden had disappeared, there was one other deterrent to the foundation of more Welsh newspapers. It was that continuing dearth of advertising which saw off *Seren Gomer* (in its guise as a newspaper: it did reappear as a successful periodical) meant no Welsh newspaper could expect to land a similar number of sales to advertisers as their English counterparts. Indeed, Hugh Hughes, publisher of *Y Papur Newydd Cymreig* (The Welsh Newspaper) lamented that an increase in price for his newspaper in 1836 was on account of not being able to compete with English papers which, while they might pay the same duties, could expect to sell ten times the number of editions in Wales (Edwards, 2000, p5). Naturally, therefore, they were much more attractive to advertisers. Another casualty was the short-lived bilingual publication *Cambrian Gazette: Y Freinlen Gymroaidd*. It was produced from Aberystwyth for just one year in 1836, seen off, no doubt, by that heavy taxation and lack of advertising.

Some did try to play the system by taking the production of new weekly newspapers offshore. *Cronicl Cymru* (The Chronicle of Wales), was produced in Jersey from 1847 with *Yr Amserau* becoming a weekly newspaper the following year and moving its production base from Liverpool to Douglas in the Isle of Man. The passing of the Postage on Newspapers (Channel Isles) Act in 1848 compelled these fugitives to return to their home bases.

7.7 *Baner ac Amserau Cymru: the First ‘National’*

As noted above, when the taxes were reduced, so new publications began to appear: the monthly *Cronicl yr Oes* (The Chronicle of the Age) was first published in 1835 in Mold followed by *Yr Amserau* (The Times) in 1843 and published by the colourful Gwilym Hiraethog (William Rees), who was a minister in Liverpool. It became, over time, from its Liverpool and, later, Denbigh bases the most successful Welsh-language newspaper and survived, in some form, for very nearly a century and a half. It was this paper which led the way by promoting a Welsh political standpoint.

Cronicl yr Oes had broken the religious monopoly on news copy by introducing political discussion into the publication. Hugh Hughes, editor of Caernarfon-based *Y Papur Newydd Cymraeg* (The Welsh Newspaper) followed Roger Edwards’ lead by also including political

and social material into his columns while Josiah Thomas Jones in Merthyr followed their examples in turn with the publication of *Y Gwron Cymreig* (The Welsh Hero).

But it was Gwilym Hiraethog's *Amserau* which became one of the few commercially successful newspapers (over a long period), forming a solid business base from its launch in 1843 and becoming a considerable literary success. Its success spurred Thomas Gee to launch *Y Faner* in Denbigh in 1857 though it might not have had the commercial acumen which accrued to the Liverpool paper. They merged in 1859 and, as *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, came as near as any Welsh newspaper – prior to the launch of *Y Cymro*, certainly - to being considered a national publication. Jones (2000, p16) suggested this success came from

Gee's own public persona and political ambitions. But, quite apart from the clearly and loudly espoused editorial positions on matters such as land reform, the Liberal Party and Church disestablishment, the paper's success owed as much to the impressive range of content, the broad spectrum and nature of its news items, and the freshness and vibrancy of so much of its writing.

It was also famed for its features, literary reviews and copious illustrations.

Baner ac Amserau Cymru became a powerful influence on Welsh life, mainly through the journalistic work of John Griffith (Y Gohebydd) [see below], the paper's London correspondent: it gave constant support to radical causes, including the defence of the concerns of non-conformists (Encyclopaedia of Wales, 2008, p616).

While Gee's publication was highly influential – “through this intensely political journal he poured out a weekly stream of highly prejudiced but trenchant comment on the issues of the day. Always to the left in politics, he flirted for a while with republicanism” (Morgan, 1981, p50) - papers in the south had something of an edge: *Seren Cymru* (Star of Wales), *Y Gwron* (The Hero) and *Y Gwladgarwr* (The Patriot) circulated in the most populous parts. It was certainly the view of Davies (1993) that this particular trio of papers “probably had a greater influence in the more populous areas of Wales” (p430). Yet, argued Morgan (1981), the strength of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* lay in the quality of news coverage. “It contained the cream of political intelligence, for overseas as well as for Welsh affairs (p50).

A typical 16-page issue would contain the following elements as noted by Jones (2000, p16):

Page	Content
1	Title page plus property and commercial advertising.
2	Local advertising.
3	Main news stories.
4	'Gohebydd's 'London Letter' plus news of Welsh communities in Liverpool and Manchester.
5	Serialised fiction.
6	Parliamentary and political news. Crime reports.
7	Main news stories (continued).
8	British and foreign news. Births, marriages and deaths.
9	Editor's comment. Welsh news in brief.
10	Full Welsh news, by region and district.
11	Ditto.
12	Farming and the markets.
13	Reader's letters. Local news.
14	Religious news. 'Latest intelligence'. Poetry.
15	Advertisements.
16	Ditto.

For its time, this was an incredibly varied newspaper, containing all the elements one might expect today, though with the inevitable religious news and a section given over to poetry.

At the time, most Victorian regional newspapers, in England as well as Wales, printed a syndicated London Letter but Gee went one stage further and looked to the talents of John Griffith - known as Gohebydd or Reporter – who was based in the UK capital and produced a weekly column for the paper. He sent regular reports of what was happening in London, focussing on Welsh matters, largely. He also reported from the Houses of Parliament and is probably the first recognised newspaper reporter in the Welsh language. According to Jones (2000, p17), he brought “a sense of immediacy and excitement rarely found in the pages of its more dour Welsh-language competitors.” So here was a national newspaper, with a London correspondent, reporters – probably more colloquially known as ‘stringers’ – around Wales

and UK national and international news quarried from the London papers and translated into Welsh.

Baner ac Amserau Cymru survived until 1992, though it changed its name latterly to *Y Faner*. (Not to be confused with *Y Faner Newydd*, which commenced publication in 1997 and still appears sporadically). Under the editorship of E. Prosser Rhys in the early part of the 20th century, its fortunes were revived, possibly because Saunders Lewis was one of its prime columnists. It was bought by the novelist Kate Roberts and Morris T. Williams in 1935, passing into the ownership of Gwasg y Sir in Bala in 1958. It was edited by Gwilym R. Jones from 1945 until 1977, when it changed into a weekly magazine, edited successively by Geraint Bowen, Jennie Eirian Davies, Emyr Price and Hafina Clwyd, all recognised and highly successful authors. It folded in 1992 when its funding was withdrawn by the then Welsh Arts Council.

7.8 Editors' Expertise Helps Solidify the Newspaper Press

While the newspaper might, at this stage, have been something of an experimental form of mass medium – certainly as far as the Welsh were concerned - it did require substantial expertise on the part of its editors. Hugh Hughes, of *Y Papur Newydd Cymreig*, suggested that editors needed to be the writers of columns and leading articles, news gatherers, news journalists, proof readers, sub-editors and, at the end of it all, accountants, looking after not only advertising revenue, but also sales revenues. And none of that would have happened if the distribution had not taken place . . . which the editor undertook.

Maybe this is why the early newspapers undertook:

The shameless quarrying of the London daily newspapers, both by the English-language weeklies and the by the Welsh-language denominational periodicals which, in the absence of vernacular newspapers, provided their readers with pages of general news (Jones, 1998, p211).

So it was that *Yr Haul* (The Sun), the monthly periodical of the Established Church, contained, in 1836, not only religious treatises, but also literary reviews and more than six

pages of Parliamentary and general British political news, as well as all the gory details of murders, suicides, accidental deaths, robberies, poisonings, attacks of rabies, shipwrecks, religious news and items of commercial interest such as a digest of fairs and markets and lists of wool prices. There was also extensive coverage of events in Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Greece, Tunisia, the East and West Indies, Egypt, South America and Mexico (ibid). That rather scattergun approach to news gathering was rapidly refined with embryo news agencies beginning to appear and, by the time that Hugh Jones (Erfyl) was asked, in November 1841 by the editor of *Yr Athraw* (The Teacher), for a two page digest of news, the idea of news gathering had become that bit more refined. Nevertheless, the cut-and-paste option was still there, and Jones was still expected to produce items of Parliamentary news, a digest of actions in the Corn Laws debates and any ‘spectacular accidents’ which might have befallen unfortunate individuals (ibid).

7.9 A New Interest in National and International News

The ‘new technology’ of newspapers awakened a sustained interest in news – a potent mix in Welsh journalism, considering the number of periodicals which were also circulating. War certainly helped, and the reports from the Crimean War, graphically recorded in *The Times* and, indeed, bringing the horrors of the battlefield into people’s homes for the first time, were replicated in Welsh-language newspapers. But the Welsh had some other political interests. Editor Gwilym Hiraethog in Liverpool believed his *Amserau*, was “eager to make the Welsh aware of what was happening among Hungarian and Italian nationalists” in their struggles in the mid-19th century (Davies, John, 1993, p417). In addition, the abandonment of the ‘taxes on knowledge’ altogether in the 1860s meant that publishing became more viable, even if editors still struggled to attract advertisers and more Welsh-language papers began to appear. *Yr Herald Cymraeg* (The Welsh Herald) has first appeared in Caernarfon in 1855 (and still exists today: see below). Thomas Gee of Denbigh, the prolific writer and publisher, had launched his *Baner Cymru* (Banner of Wales) in 1857 followed, a year later, by the penny weekly, *Udgorn y Bobl* (The People’s Trumpet). Gee agreed to the merger of his *Baner* with the Liverpool-based *Amserau* in 1859 and, launching itself with gusto into the Welsh political debates of the time, became the scourge of landlords, following an acrimonious and increasingly bitter debate over landlordism in Wales which exercised the minds of many between 1850 and 1875.

The idea of influencing their respective readerships led almost to a competition between provincial Welsh towns to show which one was the most important.

Places like Merthyr, Swansea, Caernarfon, and Denbigh at last became provincial capitals with influential papers. ‘What we think today, Wales will think tomorrow,’ they shouted from a bustling, militant and cultivated Aberdare and they were not joking. Because, with the press, came the Liberation Society, with its skilful management, and after it, the Reform League, striking once more for a vote for the workers” (Williams, 1985, p215).

Indeed, Aberdare became a major publishing centre for some years. *Y Gwron* (The Hero) was established there, though it only lasted six years from 1854. *Y Gwladgarwr* (The Patriot) – published in the same town – lasted from 1858 to 1882. Most influential, however, was *Tarian y Gweithwyr* (The Workers’ Shield), a Liberal-Labour publication which appealed to the large number of tinsplate workers in the Merthyr and Aberdare vicinity. It began publishing in 1875 and continued in business until 1934. Another influential and bilingual paper also began publishing in nearby Merthyr: *The Workman’s Advocate: Amddiffynydd y Gweithiwr*. It was established in 1873 and continued the tradition of bilingual papers aimed at workers. *Y Gweithiwr/The Workman* and *Udgorn Cymru/The Trumpet of Wales* were both ardent advocates of Chartism and promoted often radical views rarely seen in English papers (see below).

7.10 Non-conformist Publications Make Significant Impact

Gee’s brave foray into an uncertain market encouraged others to follow suit and a welter of Liberal non-conformist newspapers began to appear. Many of these publications, despite their political connections, became closely associated with various denominations: *Y Goleuad* (The Illuminator) was an independent publication established by John Davies in 1869 and was widely regarded as the mouthpiece of the Calvinistic Methodists, a relationship which was formalised in 1914 when the denomination bought the title. The Independents (Congregationalists) formed a close relationship with the editors of *Y Tyst Cymreig* (The Welsh Witness), established in 1867, and *Y Celt* (The Celt) which first appeared in 1881. The

Baptists forged a close relationship with *Seren Cymru* (The Star of Wales), which has been established in 1851. The Wesleyans launched *Y Gwylidydd* (The Sentinel) in 1877 while the Established Church was fairly late to this particular party: its *Y Llan a'r Dywysogaeth* (The Church and the Kingdom) did not appear until 1881. The pattern of distribution was relatively simple, as discussed above: there were the railways and there were the well-attended chapels (even if half the nation never darkened their doors) which turned into shops, Sabbatarianism notwithstanding. (The 1851 census noted above, which suggested half of Wales attended no place of worship, was often proved out of step with reality as regular religious revivals in the 19th century and into the 20th meant chapels became, once again for a few years or so, centres of their respective communities.)

There can be no doubt that non-conformity and an important section of the Welsh press powerfully reinforced each other in this manner, but it also rendered the press vulnerable to changes in the social pattern of devotion,” wrote Jones (1998, p212). “When Liberal non-conformity began to weaken in the early 20th century, the commercial fragility of those newspapers which, in better times has committed themselves to sectarian groups, was to be cruelly exposed.

Furthermore, the relaxation of the tax on advertising presented those publications with religious affiliations with something of a dilemma: a more secure financial future coupled with revenue from organisations which might not necessarily have shared the lofty moral stances often occupied by non-conformist ministers and their respective flocks. Indeed, *Ye* [sic] *Brython Cymreig* (The Welsh Briton), launched in 1892, stated that it would stand or fall over its decision not to accept advertising from the likes of money lenders or those involved with the occult and so on. (*Ye Brython* is not to be confused with *Y Brython*, an influential paper which flourished in Liverpool between 1906 and 1939.)

Despite any difficulties encountered in distribution, these denominational papers were, essentially, national publications. They were distributed right across Wales and published news from home and abroad and they commented on issues relating to social and moral issues, as well as religious matters – and they did all this from a Welsh stance and in the Welsh language.

The notable link between the free churches and political activity can be seen in Wales’ first working-class newspaper as early as 1834 – the bilingual publication called *Y Gweithiwr/The*

Worker (as noted above). It was edited by two Unitarians, “straight out of the Jacobin tradition and immersed in the new popular culture” (Williams, 1985, p190). (That new popular culture embraced the Sunday School movement and encouraged a rapid chapel-building programme. Out of the Sunday schools came verse and music festivals, which encouraged new writing and highly competitive choirs and conductors, something still seen to this day.) The two editors were John Thomas (Ieuan Ddu), a sharp satirist of the eisteddfod movement, a collector of folksongs and a fine music teacher, and Morgan Williams, a genius mathematician from a family of harpists and a master weaver who just happened to own a printing press. Williams went on to launch *Udgorn Cymru* (Trumpet of Wales) in 1840, a paper run by a workers’ collective and producing searching political arguments in good-quality Welsh. It became a fully-fledged stamped newspaper which closed as a result of the 1842 general strike.

So with Welsh newspapers often being intensely political and supportive of radical Welsh Liberalism, which reached its peak of popularity in the early decades of the 20th century, close links with journalism were established. Morgan (1981) suggested the period from the 1880s was “a golden age for the radical journalist” due to the vast array of newspapers and periodicals available. Indeed, David Lloyd-George and Llewelyn Williams were both newspaper columnists in the early days of their political activism.

Women, certainly as far as Welsh-language journalism was concerned, were relatively poorly served. While women’s pages appeared in papers such as the *South Wales Echo* and the *South Wales Radical and Non-Conformist*, Welsh speaking women had to make do with *Y Gymraes* (The Welshwoman), edited by Ieuan Gwynedd (Evan Jones) in Cardiff between 1850 and 1851 and then *Y Frythones* (The British/Welsh Woman) which survived longer – 1879-1891- and was at least edited by a woman: Cranogwen (Sarah Jane Rees). The weekly *Seren Cymru* (Star of Wales) lamented, in its first issue which appeared in 1851, the fact that women were short-changed and invited interested female readers, with some success, to contribute to the publication.

7.11 Small Centres Continue to Dominate Production

As newspapers appeared all over Wales from the middle of the century, what is remarkable is the number of papers supported by often small towns as well as the variety of their content.

Bangor and Caernarfon produced a welter of titles in the latter part of the 19th century.

Bangor supported five newspapers: *Y Cymro* (The Welshman) (1848-51), *Cronicl Cymru* (Chronicle of Wales) (1866-72), *Llais y Wlad* (The Voice of the Country) (1874-84), *Gwalia* (1886-1921) and *Y Chwarelwr Cymreig* (The Welsh Quarryman) (1893-1902) all came out of the city. In Caernarfon, the short-lived *Papur Newydd Cymreig* (The Welsh Newspaper) survived a couple of years in the 1830s but the real success story was *Yr Herald Cymraeg* which is still published today as a supplement to the *Daily Post*, having published its last free-standing edition in 2004. *Y Genedl Gymreig* (The Welsh Nation) was launched in 1877 and bought by Caernarfon MP David Lloyd-George in 1892. It, suggested Morgan (1981), had a “cosmic outlook: North Wales was its parish, if not the whole of the Principality.” (p50). It merged with the *Herald* in 1937. Other Caernarfon papers included *Yr Amseroedd* (The Times) (1882-5), *Briwsion i Bawb* (Gossip for All) (1885-6), *Y Werin* (The Folk) (1893-1916) and *Yr Eco Cymraeg* (The Welsh Echo) (1889-1914).

Even smaller towns such as Pwllheli and Ystalyfera produced their own newspapers: *Llais Llafur* (The Voice of Labour) was aimed at increasing adherence to the Labour Party in the coalmining heartlands of South Wales. Blaenau Ffestiniog could also boast, at one point in its life, 17 publications being produced in the town. The list of towns producing newspapers is long.

7.12 Lack of Popular Journalism in Welsh Newspapers

The one thing that most Welsh-language papers of the 19th century had in common was a lack of popular daily journalism. There was no Welsh equivalent of the *Western Mail* or the *Liverpool Daily Post*. The scandals reported by the likes of the *News of the World* had no place in Welsh-language journalism and sport was not considered of interest to Welsh readers.

There are two reasons for the relative absence of ‘popular’ items in the Welsh-language press,” noted Jones (in Edwards, 2000, p14). “One, without doubt, is cultural, a reflection of the extent to which the social values of Welsh non-conformity had infiltrated the editorial mind-set, and shaped the expectations of the readers, let alone controlled the publishers’ purse-strings. ‘Myfenydd’, writing in *Y Diwigiwr* in 1874, excoriated the English-language newspaper press for ‘sowing the seeds of atheism and free-thought’, while praising the Welsh-language press for protecting his ‘beloved nation’ from the siren songs of dangerously alien ideas. In the same vein, John Herbert Jones described his work for *Yr Herald Cymraeg* as a means of defending the ‘civilisation and culture of Wales in the face of the large cities’.

The reasons for the failure to cover cricket and football could also be that there was little evidence that a scattered rural population would have any spark of interest in the sports. Lifting copy from London papers and translating it also failed to produce robust and attractive journalism. And yet, court proceedings were reported and police reports revealed an alien world of drunkenness, sex crimes and scandals and violence. The London press, even in translation, reported an alien world to the Welsh. The non-conformist papers avidly covered these goings-on, tempering any comment with the notion that there is a world of sin somewhere beyond the columns of Welsh-language newspapers. The frustration, for many researchers, however, is that few by-lines survive from 19th century publications. People wrote under a *nom-de-plume* or anonymously, perhaps –predating today’s web-based ‘citizen journalism’, so it is hard to know who was writing for which publication and how extensive their work was. Even readers’ letters (then, as now) were signed off with a pseudonym.

7.13 New Welsh Intelligentsia’s Impact on Welsh Newspapers

Yet, it was the embryo stratum of the Welsh intelligentsia who contributed most the distinctiveness of the Welsh-language press. Ministers, teachers and skilled workers complemented the regular and skilled journalists. All sorts of people contributed critiques, features, articles, letters, short stories, poems and so on. One W. Williams of Liverpool produced 300 letters and articles to Welsh-language newspapers each year in the 1870s. More surprising was the incredible flow of writing from Richard Griffith (1861-1947), a hill

farmer, who wrote as Carn for *Y Genedl Gymreig*, as Syr Rhisiart for *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* and as Carneddog for *Yr Herald Cymraeg*.

“Writers such as these,” wrote Jones (1998, p218), “amateur but erudite, brought a flavour of the unschooled and predominantly oral intellectual life of Wales to the pages of the newspaper press and by so doing stamped it with their own versions of cultural authenticity.”

Indeed, all these contributors must have been doing something right: Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley (2005, p47) note a report that, in 1866, Welsh-language newspapers were selling some 120,000 or so copies a week. A century and a half later later, such a figure is a mere dream: *Y Cymro* has a circulation of around 2,000 while *Yr Herald* ceased publication as a standalone paper in 2004 (as noted above).

Popular fiction was often serialised in newspapers and periodicals. Roger Edwards, working from Mold, serialised *Y Tri Brawd a’u Teuluoedd* (The Three Brothers and their Families) in the magazine *Y Drysorfa*. He also serialised Daniel Owen’s *Y Dreflan* (The Township) and also his *Rhys Lewis*. The Aberdare publication *Y Gweithiwr Cymreig* published the first instalment of works by nationalist Beriah Gwynfe Evans. Evans’ work also appeared in Caernarfon publications *Y Werin* and *Y Genedl Gymreig*. He also arranged for the first Welsh translation of Charles Reade’s novel *Too Late to Mend*. Serious attention was also given, in most publications, to poetry columns. The English *North Wales Gazette* even published a Welsh translation of Pope’s *Vital Spark of Heavenly Flame*. The incredibly literary force devoted to the writing of obituaries also revealed much about the Welsh attitude to family, celebrity, social conventions and attitudes to death.

Welsh newspapers, therefore, were revered objects. Jones (in Edwards, 2000, p20) notes the following:

The overall effects of newspapers on social behaviour was a matter that exercised a number of observers in 19th-century Wales . . . Many were fascinated by this new phenomenon, and argued amongst themselves in debating societies, reading rooms and taverns about its [the Welsh press’s] possible influence. William Davies and Evan Lloyd Jones jointly won the essay prize at the Cardiff National Eisteddfod of 1883 for

their account of ‘The periodical literature of Wales during the present century’ whilst others, such as John Davies . . . inquired into the condition of ‘Llenyddiaeth newyddiadurol Cymru’ (Welsh newspaper literature) in *Y Traethodydd* in 1884 as did T. M. Jones . . . in *Llenyddiaeth fy ngwlad* (My country’s literature), published in 1893. Welsh newspapers, then, were appreciated critically by their contemporaries as a form of literature, and were the subjects of active discussion as well as object to be read.

7.14 Decline in the 20th century

Life, for the Welsh-language newspaper press, took something of a downturn in the 20th century and, in many ways, it has never recovered. The peak for Welsh newspaper publishing was reached in the late 19th century and the early 20th, arriving at their zenith in 1920. Since then, there has been a slow and steady decline. Jones (1993, p209) noted the following:

Year	English-language titles	Welsh-language titles	Total
1914	119	20	139
1920	131	21	152
1930	116	18	134
1940	112	14	126
1950	105	9	114
1960	101	8	109

The First World War did much to change the face of the press in Wales. The demand for instant news and increased coverage of foreign news put pressure on editors and government censorship was the order of the day. What might appear a little surprising is the pro-war stance taken by almost all Welsh-language publications which appeared, almost

unquestioningly, to follow the lead set by the Westminster parliament and the London newspapers.

Almost all Welsh-language newspapers, the *Cymro*, *Herald Cymraeg*, *Genedl* and so forth, were strongly pro-war. Many peddled a crude anti-Teutonic racism. The few who dissented at first did so privately and in the safety and privacy of their own homes (Morgan, 1981, p163).

Even the denominational publications were fiercely pro-war. Only the pacifist newspaper, *Y Wawr* (The Dawn), published at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and edited by Ambrose Bebb, a founder member of Plaid Cymru in the 1920s. The magazine spoke “sometimes in cautious and indirect fashion . . . of [a] sense of moral outrage at the brutality of war . . . [adhering] all the more firmly to the imperatives of civilisation and peace” (Morgan, 1981, p163). By 1916, *Y Wawr* had been joined by *Y Deyrnas* (The Kingdom), edited by the formidable Principal Thomas Rees and taking a rigorous anti-war Christian-pacifist stance. Indeed, many editors of these Welsh anti-war publications found themselves behind bars for taking what could be seen as an anti-establishment, almost treasonable, stance.

Any thoughts, however, that once the war was over, the old ways would be resumed would be quickly quashed. Various national institutions had already appeared in Wales: a national university, for instance, and the beginnings of a fracture with England began almost immediately after the ‘coupon (general) election’ of 1918. The patriotism exhibited by newspapers during the First World War soon evaporated. “Welsh scholars and writers now increasingly viewed the war with disgust as a symbol of uncivilised mass brutality” (Morgan, 1981, p182). Perhaps even more symbolic was the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales. “One vital component in the old society was the old hierarchy, the social ascendancy of the Established Church and the landed gentry, whose downfall had been clearly foreshadowed during the war (Morgan, 1981, p183).

7.15 Consolidation Does Not Help the Welsh Press

Another phenomenon which began to take effect post-war was the beginning of the concentration of ownership into ever fewer hands. One of the first Welsh press barons, for instance, was coal-mine owner D. A. Thomas, Viscount Rhondda, who owned, in 1918, the *Western Mail*, *South Wales Journal of Commerce*, *Y Faner*, *North Wales Times*, *Y Tyst*, *Y Darian* (The Shield), *Cambrian News*, *Merthyr Express* and *Pontypridd Observer*. Welsh- and English-language titles obviously lived under the same roof, and it therefore became easy to see the strengths and weaknesses in each titles respective circulations. In many ways, this was the first step towards the stranglehold Trinity Mirror currently has in Wales in the second decade of the 21st century.

Yet, the church-linked publications apart, there was still not a national Welsh-language newspaper. (Indeed, even today, there is still not a national daily in either language, even if the *Western Mail* claims to cover the entire country. There were plans to launch *Y Byd* (The World) in 2008 and staff were even hired but plans were abruptly shelved, possibly because of the worldwide financial crisis which hit about that time or perhaps because this was a print newspaper which was appearing just as others were considering an on-line only presence). *Y Cymro* (The Welshman) was founded in 1932 by Rowland Thomas of Woodall, Minshall, Thomas and Company, based in Wrexham. It subsequently moved to the headquarters of North Wales Newspapers, then based, perhaps slightly bizarrely, across the border in Oswestry in Shropshire. Another *Cymro* had appeared in Liverpool between 1890 and 1909 and circulated widely in Wales as did *Y Brython* (The Briton), also published in Liverpool, and extant between 1906 and 1939. The Oswestry publication was sold to Sir Ray Tindle in 1982 and was subsequently sold to Johnson Press, and still hits the streets of Wales weekly. The appearance of *Y Cymro* in 1932 brought a glimmer of hope within this morass of despondent news as far as newspaper publishing of the period was concerned. The revered Welsh journalist John Roberts Williams occupied the editor's chair from 1945 and, during his 17 years as editor, he increased circulation dramatically, selling more than 20,000 papers weekly in the 1950s (Davies, 2014). Just as *Y Cymro* celebrated success in the 1950s *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* had become a "shadow of its former self" (Davies, 2014). And yet, according to Davies (ibid, p135), the Welsh press – by now facing competition from the BBC – was "capable of versatility and innovation. The difficult years of the 1930s saw the

launching of . . . the highly professional *Ford Gron* (Round Table) and the more radical journals *Tir Newydd* (New Land) and *Heddiw* (Today).”

It might have been the success of *Y Cymro* in the 1950s which encouraged a slight flurry of press activity in this decade. The monthly magazine *Barn* (Opinion) was launched, along with *Taliesyn*, a literary journal and the scientific publication *Y Gwyddonydd* (The Scientist).

Yet, with the potential readership limited and the costs of publishing rising, most periodicals faced financial problems, to which *Y Faner* (as *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* had become) succumbed in 1992. The case for public subsidy was widely argued. The arts council, through its Welsh committee, has assisted Welsh ventures since its inception in 1945. Such patronage increased greatly following the establishment of the largely autonomous Welsh Arts Council in 1967 and, by the 1990s most Welsh-language periodicals came to rely at least in part on public money. They include the general-interest weekly *Golwg* and magazines for, among others, women, naturalists, bibliophiles, anglers and members of religious organisations (Davies, 2014, p136).

Sulyn, the only Welsh Sunday newspaper appeared in 1982 under the editorship of Dylan Iorwerth and Eifion Glyn. Aimed at a Gwynedd market it achieved sales of 9,000 at its peak, but foundered after a few months. *Pais* (Petticoat) was one of the women’s magazines referred to above. It was little more than an annual magazine which coincided with the National Eisteddfod, held in August. The same could be said of *Lol* (Nonsense), a mix of cartoons, silly stories and pictures which verged on soft pornography. *Private Eye* it was not but its sale on the Eisteddfod field often prompted the rage of the Archdruid and members of the Welsh establishment.

What promoted the decline? The concentration of ownership, then as now, led to a reduction in the number and diversity of individual titles. Numbers had increased steadily since 1855 but began to see a steep decline from the 1920s. The number of domestically-produced newspapers circulating in Wales fell from 152 in 1920 to 126 in 1940. Even worse was the damage inflicted on the Welsh-language press. In 1914, 17% of the titles produced were in Welsh. By 1960, it was mere 8%. The process of integration and rationalisation was well under way: *Y Genedl Gymreig* (The Welsh Nation) failed to become a national Welsh newspaper and became part of the *Herald* group in 1932. Oddly, after such a traditional of

radicalism, the political press also foundered, with the Labour Party's *Y Dinesydd Cymreig* (The Welsh Citizen) folding in 1924, a year after the first Westminster Labour Government had been elected.

7.16 Identity in the Welsh-language press

While matters regarding Welsh identity in the press became increasingly difficult post-First World War, things became critical after 1945, even despite the flurry of activity in the 1950s. This could have been regarded as a false dawn: a few were founded, but hundreds had disappeared.

The new society . . . was not only an increasingly secular one but increasingly anglicised as well. The trend was for anglicised or even for bilingual Welsh men and women to merge into a wider English 'admass' culture, with foreign overtones. They read London-based newspapers, even though the *Western Mail* retained its Welsh coverage under its new owners, the Thomson Organisation, and kept up a circulation of about 100,000. The radio, television, theatre, cinema, mass entertainment that shaped the cultural world of the new generation was overwhelmingly English in its provenance, with influences from the United States and to some degree Europe (Morgan, 1981, p368).

What was noticeable, in the first half of the 20th century, was the way in which major figures in Welsh politics, social movements and the early Nationalist movement, became major figures in Welsh-language journalism: names such as Saunders Lewis, born in Wallasey, in Wirral, and across the water from Liverpool, the city which did so much to help the formation of a solidly commercial Welsh-language press, was one of the best-known columnists for a range of papers.

So what were the characteristics of the Welsh-language press? For many, it was the feeling that these publications were, possibly, more in touch with the people than London papers could ever be. While the London papers began to circulate widely in Wales with the coming of the railways, they never contained a word of Welsh so were incomprehensible to a wide sector of Welsh society. But, rapid improvements in education quality and availability after

the 1870 Education Act meant people could read more widely and the gradual expansion in the franchise meant people were becoming more engaged with politics. Yet Welsh, as a daily language, began to decline. While two-thirds of the population spoke the language in 1850 (with many of those monoglots), that figure sank to under one fifth by the end of the 20th century, though there has been some recovery. The market, for Welsh newspapers, was already becoming a challenge.

According to Jones (1998, p217):

So elusive is the paradigmatic Welsh newspaper that it is easier to search for a definition by contrasting it to other print forms than to describe its characteristics as a discrete medium.

There was a definite feeling that papers were more interactive and more accessible than books or periodicals. Anyone could submit a snippet of news, a letter, a poem for consideration. Many people quickly found themselves in print, never mind the provenance of the text, or even its accuracy. “The newspaper was regarded as being more socially permeable than the book, providing a more democratic, or at least a more diversified, social distribution of the status that accomplished authorship” (Jones, 1992, p218)

While politics formed much of the backbone of debate in many Welsh newspapers with most 19th century siding with one or other of the British parties. Wales then – probably as now – was barely mentioned on the pages of British national papers. The editor of *The Welsh Outlook* had declared, following the 1924 general election, that “he could not remember an election in which so little attention was paid to specifically Welsh questions” (Davies, John, 1993, p547). Events moved rapidly and H. R. Jones founded, in Caernarfon in 1924, *Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru* (the Army of Welsh Home Rulers). Saunders Lewis was another activist: a lecturer in Welsh, fascinated by the Irish literary revival and by the writers of the French ‘reaction’. He was a leading light in *Y Mudiad Cymreig* (The Welsh Movement) founded in Penarth, also in 1924. By August 1925, the groups had come together at the National Eisteddfod, held that year in Pwllheli, to form *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru* (The National Party of Wales). The aim of the party was to recreate a wholly Welsh-speaking Wales, and Welsh was to be the only language of its business. While support for the party was minimal amongst

Welsh voters, it did produce a monthly newspaper – *Y Ddraig Goch* (The Red Dragon) – another in the long line of Welsh political and radical publications.

The Liberals had claimed that they were the guardians of Welsh religion and politics, certainly something borne out by many Welsh-language newspapers in the 19th century, possibly reacting against the Conservative bias of most English-language papers. But many socialists rejected the Liberal view.

Feeling they were required to choose between ‘Socialism and Christ’ or ‘Socialism and Wales’, they chose socialism and turned their backs on the chapel and the Welsh language, a turn of events which left a long shadow over the history of Wales. (Davies, John, p.484).

Yet there were Labour-supporting Welsh papers. *Llais Llafur* (Labour Voice) is possibly proof that not all socialists abandoned Welsh and that notion is borne out by the fact that another Socialist newspaper, *Y Dinesydd Cymreig* (The Welsh Citizen) circulated in Gwynedd, where the vast majority of the population spoke the language.

How much love is lost, then, between the publishers of English-language newspapers in Wales and their Welsh-language counterparts? Now much, according to Jones.

Welsh-language journalism . . . operated within the context of its English-language counterpart. The two journalisms, though distinct in style and vocabulary, and often in purpose, interrelated at a number of points: the same writers would be found writing for both Welsh- and English-language titles, they drew on similar sources of information, they depended on the same advertisers and distributors, were in some instances owned by the same proprietors, and sometimes even competed for readers. Furthermore, virtually all English-language titles carried some articles or poems in Welsh and printed English reviews and summaries of the contents of Welsh-language newspapers and journals (2000b)

If anything, though, by the end of the 19th century, Welsh journalism had been professionalised. Newspapers were founded – or foundered – because of good (or bad) management. This meant the reliance on amateur journalism could not be continued. While

the cut-throat world of Fleet Street affected papers such as the *Western Mail* and the *Liverpool Daily Post*, Welsh-language newspapers were not immune. They were up against a difficult tsunami of competition as the railways brought in London (and Liverpool or Manchester) based publications which vied for their attention. And there was the tittle-tattle of papers such as the *News of the World*. The Welsh press had to adapt.

7.17 The Success of *Golwg*

Golwg (View) is a major Welsh publishing success story. It was established in 1988 and produces a monthly magazine of current affairs, news and reviews and its readership has remained steady during most of that period. Indeed, there are two sister magazines: a children's publication called *Wcw a'I Ffrindiau* which is also published in English and *Lingo Newydd*, a learner's magazine directed at all ages. However, Miller (2011) has issued something of a stark declaration as to complacency when it comes to strong circulations.

Internet-based journalism may be the most significant contributor to the business collapse. But the cultural impact on what the audience wants from journalism is as big a factor as the economics. The consequence of this change in users' consumption has only dimly been understood by the majority of journalists (bbc.co.uk).

As if in defiance of that statement, *Golwg 360* was launched in 2009 with support from the Welsh Government. *Golwg's* circulation is virtually untouched at around 12,000 a month. The Welsh Government provides support to *Golwg*, as well as to *Y Cymro* and *Barn*. There is little doubt *Golwg 360* – like the BBC's Welsh-language website – provides a much more liberal scattering of hard-news and breaking-news stories, compared with *Y Cymro*, which presumably is competing heavily with the *Papurau Bro* for sales . . . and they rarely venture into anything controversial or political. As a result, *Y Cymro* often leads on soft-news stories and human interest stories. Crime, politics, health and education are much more likely to be covered on-line than in the newspaper. There is still no *Cymro* website but it does have a digital offering where the current newspaper can be downloaded for a small subscription.

Adapt or die is an old cliché. But it might fit what is happening in the Welsh-language press today. There are precious few newspapers left. *Golwg* may be doing well but it is virtually the

only successful periodical left after two centuries which saw Wales produce a phenomenal number of publications. Maybe the broadcasters really have stolen the show . . .

7.18 Theoretical discussion

Agenda setting became a much more important aspect of the Welsh press, along with issues of gatekeeping and framing, as influential newspapers such as *Seren Gomer* and *Baner Ac Amserau Cymru* began to circulate widely. These, along with many other newspapers and periodicals, took an often radical stance to politics, campaigned on issues such as Chartism and Landlordism and took a majorly Welsh view on issues.

The notion of convergence also began to surface as periodicals became newspapers or merged with similar titles in order either to expand, or just to survive. The effects of such titles can be seen on the population where debate was often seen as rigorous and contributions to the various publications were many. A glance over the columns of *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* will show a huge variety of by-lines attached to stories. If there was an effect to be felt on the nation, it is probably in its politics. Many Welsh newspapers espoused Liberal values and much of rural Wales returned Liberals as their local representatives.

7.18 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the newspaper and periodical press in Wales. From its heyday in the mid-19th century, there has been a slow decline so, today, there is but one national newspaper published in Welsh. Occasional columns are produced in the daily newspapers circulating in Wales – the *Western Mail* and the *Daily Post* – and there is some Welsh journalism occasionally produced for *Wales on Sunday*. (Indeed, the author of this thesis was a long-time Welsh-language columnist for that newspaper).

The newspapers of the 19th century cemented Welsh identity by building on that which the editors of early periodicals had achieved. They sought to enlighten the Welsh by introducing them to radical politics, by campaigning on issues relevant to the inhabitants of the country and by reporting on issues of interest to the country, issues which would not be covered by newspapers coming from across the border. But that is where print journalism virtually stops.

There are some new ventures, notably the *Herald* group in West Wales which has, against the UK national trend, launched a new series of newspapers, many of which carry around five or six pages of Welsh journalism each week. In addition, as previously mentioned, it is not uncommon to find a video in Welsh on the website of established papers, in particular the *Daily Post*. Overall, though, Welsh-language newspapers are not in the best of health. The huge success of 19th century journalists has long since passed to broadcasters.

Chapter 8

Broadcasting – Struggles to get Welsh voices heard

“Wales, though small, cannot be tidily parcelled. Just as you think you have the picture right, somebody gives the kaleidoscope a nudge and moves the bits” (Trevor Fishlock: Review of a Most Peculiar People: Quotations About Wales and the Welsh: 1986)

8.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have taken into consideration print journalism and its effects on the Welsh way of life. While these might have been profound, in many cases in quite a small and localised way, the whirlwind which was to grip Wales once broadcasting began is hard to imagine. This chapter looks at the massive arguments which took place between London-based managers of the BBC and those in Wales who regarded the broadcasting of the Welsh language as vital to the survival of the language and the identification of Wales as a nation. Wales. London saw Wales as more or less a province of England and few, if any, understood the significance of the language and the culture of Wales, least of all Sir John Reith whose contempt for the Welsh is rarely disguised. That said, Alun Oldfield-Davies had, in 1949, said that the BBC should participate in the process of forming a national identity for Wales (Hojowski, 2010). Once established, however, the BBC and, later, commercial television and radio, did much to bring the Welsh language and the associated culture of the nation into the homes of the people. In later years, with digital channels, on-demand players, social media and so on, broadcasting in Welsh is available worldwide and Welsh-language products are able to reach a market which could only be dreamt of by early journalists.

8.2 Broadcasting: Wales to the World, the World to Wales

There can be little doubt, then, that broadcasting did more to put Wales on the worldwide cultural map than any other medium, to date. Jones (1993, p234) said that

The press had self-consciously sought to generate a sense of nationhood in 19th and early 20th-century Wales, and the potential for radio, far more than the cinema, to do the same, was abundantly clear.

Once television came onto the scene from the 1950s, the national identity of Wales became more of a talking point not only across the UK, but also across the world. Films commissioned by S4C – *Hedd Wyn*, for instance – have several times been nominated for the Best Foreign Language Oscar. Radio and television series which have been set in Wales and which have brought the Welsh dimension to the fore means that Wales is being seen and talked about across the world. Indeed, it could well be more talked about around the world than it is discussed within its own borders. Many recognise the fact that the likes of worldwide TV hit *Dr Who*, as well as *Torchwood* and *Casualty* are made in Roath Lock in the newly resurgent Cardiff docklands. Recognisable landmark buildings in the Welsh capital regularly appear and, if nothing else, the words BBC Cymru:Wales on the closing credits convey just how far Wales is less a regional offshoot of London, rather an increasingly independent broadcasting hub. But, if the London bosses in the early days of the BBC had won the pernicious and often acrimonious arguments about whether the Welsh – and in particular the Welsh language – should have any access whatsoever to the airwaves, then things today could be substantially different.

Indeed John Davies, historian of the BBC in Wales, said that:

to a greater extent than perhaps any country in Europe, broadcasting has played a central role, both positive and negative, in the development of the concept of a national community [. . .] the entire national debate in Wales for 50 years and more after 1927 revolved around broadcasting [. . .] the other concessions to Welsh nationality won in those years were consequent upon the victories in the field of broadcasting (Davies, 1994, p. ix).

While, as will be explored later, there was strong opposition in London to anything Welsh being heard on the BBC, economic factors also took their toll on Wales, something which might have been taken into account in London when demands for more Welsh were made against a background of a dilution of the nation's cultural heritage. Medhurst (1998, p.329)

took the view that “economic, social and political trends in Wales during the inter-war years and post-war decades were largely inimical to the survival of the Welsh language and an allegedly ‘Welsh’ way of life”.

That is a little different from the way the Welsh were perceived in London. A memorandum, written by a head office emissary of the BBC in 1935 suggested that

The average Englishman, who is perfectly prepared to regard the Scotch [sic] and the Irish as being essentially different . . . from the English . . . is seldom prepared to believe that the Welsh are a different nation – in fact, if there is any general attitude towards the Welsh, it is that they are a nuisance (in Davies, 2014, p.97).

8.3 Industrial Change Presents Challenges for Broadcasters

Unemployment in the 1930s had touched 40% and there was a mass exodus, especially from rural areas to the English cities: Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and London in particular. As another war gripped the nation, full employment rapidly returned to Wales, with demands for coal, steel and munitions leading to a mass influx *into* Welsh factories to satisfy the call for workers, though often from rural areas of Wales or from outside the country. Indeed, George Orwell was amongst those who suggested that the BBC was “an avid propagandist” for the “British nation” and tried to use the wireless to maintain national unity and to help people cope with the anxiety the conflict generated (Johnes, 2012, p.20). Large-scale nationalisation by the post-war Labour Government deprived Wales of localism, barely a decade after the BBC had accepted that Wales should be a distinct region. Decision-making by hitherto local industries was centralised to London but, fuelled by optimism, Welsh heavy industry expanded: steelworks in Llanwern, Shotton and Port Talbot are examples of that. But all those ingredients did little to help the Welsh-language, now struggling in its very heartlands, where rural industries were in decline, where chapels continued to lose congregations and where Beeching’s butchering of the railways in the 1960s did little to encourage inward investment or local movement. Add to that the proliferation of cinemas, often the only form of entertainment for many rural and semi-rural communities, where American culture, with the odd few Home-Counties-centred British

offerings, and that shows how Welsh culture was really struggling to make itself known. Mechanisation of farming cut jobs and, from the 1970s, European quotas meant dairy farming, even fishing, long a Welsh staple, came under increasing threat. Tourism helped, but seasonal work does not keep a well-qualified young person employed all year-long. To fill the gaps left by out-migration, second-home owners moved in. They brought their shopping, their clothing and bedclothes as well as their entertainment with them. They had no need for the shop, the chapel, the church, the post office, the bank, the petrol station . . . or the language. It was a toxic combination which led to the uprise of militant groups, an upswing in nationalism and demands for better representation for Wales.

8.4 Arrival of the BBC Coincides with Major Changes in Wales

However, the arrival of the BBC in the 1920s might have predated all of that, but it certainly coincided with a considerable change in the Welsh way of life. Socialism had taken over from Liberalism as the major political point of view of the Welsh – for the time being, certainly. Morgan (1981, p.198) spoke of how the chapels had lost their collective grip on the Welsh way of life, mainly in the south of the country but, to some extent, right across Wales.

In part this was the result of factors common to religion in other parts of Britain. The secular appeal of socialism or trade-union activity tended to erode the impact of chapels among working men. Labour Party meetings, unlike Liberal, were frequently held on a Sunday. Younger workers . . . found in the miners' lodge or library, the WEA, the working-man's club or the pub as a centre of social activity, fellowship and consolation which the chapels, usually dominated by middle-class deacons and ministers unfamiliar with the working class world, failed any longer to supply.

8.5 Radio: Early Days

The feeling of euphoria described by historians when the wireless came to Wales in 1923 is palpable, though not everyone necessarily would agree with that view. Morgan (2005, p.292) might disagree that broadcasting was to have a major impact on Wales. In his *Illustrated History of Wales* (2005), he devotes just seven lines to broadcasting. Half of those talk about

developments in the 1920s, with only one line referring to the advent of S4C, possibly the biggest development in protecting and fostering the language which has ever been made. There was also something of a sense of disappointment in the early years of the BBC, mainly because Wales and the Welsh language barely registered on the radio schedules, something which was to develop – and is described below – into a considerable battle of wills. J. C. Griffith-Jones, the wireless correspondent of the *Western Mail* wrote in 1931:

Wales is finding itself these days, and in this cultural renaissance we want the radio to play its part. The BBC should not have to be conscripted for this crusade; it should be in the joyous forefront of the battle, of its own free will (1 December 1931).

The argument put forward by the BBC's London management was that frequencies were not available to facilitate a separate Welsh service and it took until the late 1970s for the BBC to establish distinct Welsh radio stations. (Welsh, itself, had only been afforded some sort of official status in Wales following the Welsh Language Act of 1967). Indeed, so seemingly anti-Welsh was the BBC, and Reith in particular, that, even in the 1930s, all their Welsh staff had been recruited from outside the country and there were certainly no Welsh speakers amongst them. So feeble were the early attempts by the BBC to broadcast any Welsh that the former Welsh Board of Education reported, in 1927 that:

We regard the present policy of the British Broadcasting Corporation as one of the most serious menaces to the life of the Welsh language . . . It is a rather pathetic comment on the position of Welsh in its own country that the only regular Welsh programme is that given once a week from the Dublin station by the Irish government (Jones, 1982, p.26).

People had talked, when the BBC first went on air, of presenting Wales to the world, of sharing a rich culture, of making the Welsh nation known beyond her own borders though there were others – notably the commentator R. J. Rowlands who wrote in *Yr Herald Cymraeg* - who believed that broadcasting was a major threat to the survival of the Welsh language. He was partly right, of course. Wales was, and is, swamped by English-language broadcasts, but equally nearly a century on from the foundation of the BBC, it's possible to listen and watch Welsh broadcasts 24 hours a day.

Many people made prophesies, but few can have foreseen the battles which lay ahead. Scannell and Cardiff (1991, p.304) argued that, taking the UK as a whole into consideration, “radio was more genuinely local in the early 20s than it was some 60 years later in the 1980s.” Crissell disagreed: he suggested that the BBC’s early decisions to divide the (UK) nation up into Scotland, Northern Ireland, ‘The North’, ‘The Midlands’ and, notably for Wales, ‘The West’ managed to “destroy the local basis of early broadcasting” (1997, p.25). Lucas (1981, pp.53-54) noted that the ardent nationalist Saunders Lewis (who was the catalyst for much change in Welsh broadcasting) suggested that the “BBC administers Wales as a conquered province”.

As early as 1926 there were calls in papers such as *Y Cymro* for a Welsh broadcasting authority, a call still being made today since, at present, media issues are not matters devolved from Westminster to Cardiff Bay. By 1927, *Yr Herald Cymraeg* was calling for the BBC’s Welsh studios to be relocated from Cardiff to “the strongly Welsh speaking areas of the north west, not least in order to imbue the corporation’s staff with a stronger sense of Welsh identity” (Smith, 2000, p.312).

The BBC would soon learn that it provoked controversy in almost everything it did in Wales, even labelled in the 1960s by the Welsh Language Society as *Bwrdd Bradychu Cymru* – the Welsh Betrayal Board. Its advent into Wales – more especially into Welsh-language broadcasting – had been difficult, marred with serious disagreements and an unwillingness to allow the Welsh, initially, to listen to broadcasts in their own language. When Director General, Sir John Reith, often held up as the person who “made” the BBC, was forthright in his scathing disapproval of anything Welsh and his blunt hatred for the Welsh people, especially, it would appear, those who spoke the language, is well documented.

And yet, according to Johnes (1998, p. 194),

Wales did have its own popular Home Service radio station, where home-made programmes in both languages dominated the evening schedules in the 1940 and 1950s. However, it did little to present a more modern view of the Welsh language.

Johnes’ own analysis was that, in the era in question, some 70% of religious programmes were broadcast in Welsh while a similar percentage of light entertainment was broadcast in

English. He also noted the oddity that the public in Wales objected to the use of Welsh pronunciations of place names on radio – Aber-ust-with rather than Aber-ist-with for example. But, again as Johnes noted, the BBC was managing to unify Wales by producing programmes which presented a ‘received’ pronunciation, thus showing that north and south Walian dialects were not overly dissimilar (ibid). That said, Briggs (1965, p.322) did mark out the BBC’s Welsh programmes as being “genuinely innovatory”.

The first broadcasts from Wales were made on 13 February 1923, just three months after the British Broadcasting Company had been set up. The Cardiff station 5WA was complemented by a broadcasting centre in Swansea the following year and by another station in Bangor in 1934. Maybe strangely, however, little Welsh was heard. Gwynfor Evans (1995, p.157), later to become leader of Plaid Cymru and the first Scottish or Welsh nationalist MP to be elected to Westminster, had noted that hardly any Welsh was heard in the early days of the BBC, but Welsh listeners were forced to tune to Welsh broadcasts from Radio Eireann in Dublin. (This virtually parallels the later experience for North and Mid Wales viewers who, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, were unable to receive Welsh-language television broadcasts made in Wales but had to rely on offerings made, perhaps rather amazingly, by Granada Television in Manchester, for whom, surely, little commercial return was even perceivable.)

But who heard them? Davies (1994, p.32) wrote that a BBC service broadcast almost wholly in the English language represented “a dire threat to the survival of Welsh-speaking communities”. It was this which prompted a wide range of cultural societies, under the umbrella of Undeb Cenedlaethol y Cymdeithasau Cymraeg (the National Union of Welsh Societies), to make robust demands of the BBC, with the University of Wales establishing a committee to look into the development of broadcasting in Wales. The committee reported that the BBC had:

failed to nurture Welsh culture, notably its music and drama . . . [and] demanded the appointment of a representative for Wales, conversant with the Welsh language and culture to the governing body of the BBC and that greater efforts should be made to provide a service for the substantial numbers of Welsh speakers who desired a service in their own language (*Western Mail*, 1928 and 1931, in Jenkins and Williams, 2000, p.312)

The efforts of the Welsh Parliamentary Party should not be underestimated: this was a cross party group which was established to pressurise the Westminster government on Welsh matters, in particular demanding parity of treatment between Wales and Scotland as far as the BBC was concerned.

There had, of course, been serious political controversy in the 19th century, relating to the “Treachery of the Blue Books” (see chapter on newspapers and periodicals) but by 1907 the stance which said that being taught in Welsh was damaging to children’s education had softened considerably, with the Welsh Department of the Board of Education taking positive steps to promote the use of the language with a further report in 1927 positively encouraging the use of Welsh in schools – coincidentally, the year that the British Broadcasting Corporation appeared.

Referring to the early commitments of the BBC, Davies (1972, pp.6-8) wrote:

The company’s programmes followed the pattern set by its London headquarters as there was no commitment to ‘regional’ or ‘national’ provision; indeed, a feeling prevailed that since the ‘best’ programmes were broadcast from London, every effort should be made to imitate their style and content.

However, according to Morgan (1998, p.198),

Efforts were to be made to harness the new broadcasting medium for the promotion of the Welsh language and Sabbatarian values, but the appearance of the ‘wireless’ in people’s homes meant also that the first heady intimation of wider forms of entertainment, including the attractions of the ‘continental Sunday’, could penetrate the privacy of Welsh households.

Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley (2005, p.95) also noted the “strong sense that Wales’s media development was hampered by the Anglocentric perspective of the overall controllers and policy-makers” and also “a very marked ambivalence about the media’s projection of a regional or local identity”. There is also the question, noted by Talfan Davies (1999, p.17) that media borders in Wales are ‘porous’ with people able to receive English broadcasts often

more easily than they could Welsh, a situation which does not exist (or, if it does, to a much lesser extent) in Scotland or Northern Ireland.

The Sykes Committee, set up in 1923 to examine the future of broadcasting – odd, given that it had not even been a viable medium for one whole year, had not been exactly helpful to the Welsh cause. “Monopoly”, in relation to broadcasting, had been something of a contentious word, yet a lot of newspapers supported this view. Asa Briggs (1995) noted that the *Daily Telegraph* was wholly in support of a single broadcasting authority, along with *The Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Sunday Times*. What hope for Wales, then, and how could Welsh identity be kindled when the roaring fire of a monopoly broadcaster based in the capital of a highly powerful next-door neighbour raged unabated.

Yet there was, despite those newspapers’ views, considerable opposition in Wales to the new-found medium. The idea that London knew best did not satisfy the Welsh and the first genuine efforts at producing programmes fell to Cylch Dewi, “a group of cultural nationalists” (Medhurst, 1998, p.334). They arranged for the first broadcast of a Welsh-language religious service. From 1925, with the approval of E. R. Appleton, the Director of the Cardiff Station, they produced a number of programmes.

The emergence of the new Corporation in 1927, rather against the recommendations of the Crawford Committee which had suggested a Commission, again raised suspicions in Wales. There were fears over the centralisation of power in London (something which persists to this day). Again, Aneurin Talfan Davies (1972) suggested that “a radio system was forced upon the nation, without taking into consideration the differences between two nations”. Those Welsh suspicions had surfaced very publically in Bruce’s 1927 publication where a scathing attack on the BBC appeared, concluding that “nothing short of the full utilisation of the Welsh language in broadcasting will meet the case” (in Medhurst, 1998, p.334).

The response of the BBC showed a total lack of understanding of Wales and the Welsh. Appleton responded, with scant regard for history and acceptance of colonisation:

Wales, of her own choice, is part of the commonwealth of nations in which the official language is English [. . .] If the extremists who desire to force the language upon listeners in the area [. . .] were to have their way, the official language would lose its grip (ibid, p.334).

By the mid-1930s, the pressure on the BBC had intensified, with the University of Wales and the nation's local authorities piling on the pressure to recognise Wales as a nation with different cultural and linguistic needs. The BBC's response was to say that geographical difficulties and a scattered population prevented the creation of a separate region – a problem, curiously, not encountered in Scotland, to the serious indignation of the Welsh. Further, BBC management chose to ignore a potential plan to create a distinct Welsh region, rather choosing to link it with South West England to create a West Region – something almost exactly reflected by ITV when it came on air in the 1950s. The widespread anger felt in Wales was reflected in the columns of contemporary journals, where much comment was made about the BBC's ignorance of all things Welsh. “Their comments revealed a deep mistrust of the medium and a fear of the damage that broadcasting was inflicting upon the Welsh language and culture” (Medhurst, 1998, p.335). Plaid Cymru's newspaper, *Y Ddraig Goch*, went further. In 1932 they suggested that “most of the material broadcast is alien to our traditions, damaging to our culture, and constitutes a grave danger to everything special in our civilisation” (ibid, p.335).

One of the Corporation's pamphlets, issued in 1932, attempted to slap down any Welsh demands for their own broadcast, something seized upon by the *Western Mail*.

There are some who would even say that nothing but Welsh should be broadcast over Wales, but whilst the BBC broadcasts a great deal of Welsh material from its studios each week, it believes that it can best serve Wales by giving also the best of British and international art. In following this policy it believes that it has the support of the vast majority of Welsh people (*Western Mail*, 9 December 1932).

The *Western Mail* practically declared war on the BBC, questioning whether the corporation “actually believed in the existence of Wales as a national entity or even a unified region” (Smith, 2000, p.313).

8.6 Establishment of the BBC Welsh ‘Region’

It was only in 1935 when R. A. Rendell became the BBC’s programme director in the West that the notion Wales should be afforded its own wavelength began to surface, much to Reith’s annoyance. That along with the flames of discontent which had been fanned by Saunders Lewis’s claims that that BBC was “intent upon killing the Welsh language” began to move the unstoppable bandwagon which called for a distinct Welsh service from the BBC. Despite much acrimonious debate, Reith eventually accepted that a Welsh region should be established and made this public at a joint meeting of MPs and University of Wales staff in May 1935. Even so, the Scotsman was recorded as saying that he thought this committee was “the most unpleasant and unreliable people with whom it has ever been my misfortune to deal” (Davies, 1994, p.69).

Although the idea of a Welsh region was eventually accepted by Reith, most programmes broadcast in Wales in the 1930s (including Welsh programmes) were made in London, with the wireless on air from around 10.15am until midnight. Again, as Davies (1993, p.565) noted, the National Service reflected the attitudes and values of the upper middle classes of the English “Home” Counties and, even in the late 1930s, London management even demanded that any Welsh programme be translated so they could read the content and avoid any potential “embarrassment”. Occasional programmes were broadcast in Welsh in the National Service but, in general, offerings in the language on the National Service were rare. A Welsh-language programme on the Regional Service was even more unusual. Even so, London management of the BBC censored and cancelled broadcasts which looked at Welsh history and politics suggesting that they were overly controversial for the (English) nation’s listenership.

Something of a victory was won in 1935 with an acceptance that Wales should be recognised as a national region and Welsh-speakers such as T. Rowland Hughes, Tom Pickering and Arwel Hughes were appointed to key positions in the Corporation. Less than a decade later, Sam Jones was appointed oversee the new operation in Bangor but doubts remained, and are highlighted by Smith (2000, p.314), as to the commitment of the BBC to programmes in Welsh. Religious services in Welsh had been relayed through the Daventry transmitter in the

1935 and a new transmitter in Plymouth meant that Washford Cross in western England would be free to transmit Welsh-language broadcasts. By 1936, a former Liberal politician, Rhys Hopkin Morris, had become the director of the new Welsh Region, with director general Sir John Reith performing the opening ceremony for the new region on 4 July 1937. That particular victory came as a result of constant pressure from Wales – perhaps especially angered by the fact that Scotland and Northern Ireland had been granted ‘national region’ status. As noted above, the University of Wales advisory committee on broadcasting (which included the hardy nationalist Saunders Lewis amongst its members) had been but one body which pressed hard for a new Welsh region.

However, once the Welsh region was established, many English newspapers, including *The Observer* and the *Sunday Times* regularly reviewed the region’s programmes and the major morning newspapers of Wales, the *Liverpool Daily Post* and the *Western Mail*, were broadly supportive of the work of the BBC in Wales, while the Welsh-language press often printed verbatim transcriptions of any Welsh-language programmes. In 1937, the region was producing 18 hours of its own output per week yet, an analysis of the region’s output in 1939 revealed that just over half the programming was in Welsh with the bulk of the output devoted to music. News broadcasts, and journalism in general, was conspicuous by its very near absence. In one week in 1937, for instance, the Welsh news (which was categorised as a ‘talk’) was broadcast over four evenings and was not transmitted at a fixed time. That said, in something of a forward-thinking move, a children’s news programme – *Cwrs y Byd* – was broadcast from the mid-1930s.

8.7 Criticism of the BBC’s Welsh Coverage

The Welsh national identity which the BBC was beginning to promote didn’t entirely suit everyone.

The Welsh programmes of the BBC were sometimes criticised for their undue emphasis on the more sombre and traditional aspects of Welsh culture – with chapel services at length and seemingly interminable hymn singing. But there were also talks, documentaries and plays about Wales in both languages, and specially commissioned works by Welsh authors. There were lively light entertainment

programmes . . . and excellent programmes on sport. There was also the important development of a BBC Welsh Orchestra, originally founded in 1928 and re-founded in 1935 (Morgan, 1998, p.251).

However, the realisation of a Welsh region of the BBC by London was a highly significant moment. “In the history of BBC broadcasting in Wales, the importance of the victory in sound radio in the mid-1930s can scarcely be exaggerated. All the subsequent recognition of Wales in the field of broadcasting (and, it could be argued in other fields also) stemmed from that victory”, suggested Davies (1994, p.205).

Allen and O’Malley (In Dunkerley and Thompson, 1999, p.136) go further, suggesting that

It is thus possible to see in this victory the basis for a public-service ethos which continues to inform the institutions with which we are familiar today, such as BBC Radio Cymru, BBC Radio Wales, BBC Wales TV, Harlech TV (HTV) [*now ITV Wales*] and . . . S4C.

However, just as Welsh broadcasting appeared to be finding its own feet, World War II presented the fledgling service with a peculiar challenge. Welsh-language broadcasting was severely restricted to just under three hours a week (Johnes, 1998, p.21) because BBC management in London believed German propaganda could be broadcast in Welsh.

This was half the pre-war output and the content was mainly news, talks, children’s programmes and religious services but Welsh’s vocabulary was extended as words were developed for concepts like ‘air raid’ and ‘ration’” (Johnes, 1998, p.21).

Even so, the pressure was still mounting for more commitment to the language, though the three newspapers which had been most critical of the BBC at its outset – *Y Cymro*, *Yr Herald Cymraeg* and the *Western Mail* were curiously quiet over the lack of Welsh programming in wartime, though the pressure was still there from other sources.

The influence of sound broadcasting as a medium for injecting new life into the Welsh-language world was being more widely recognised. Pressure continued to mount for a growing output of Welsh programmes, more appointments of Welsh-

speaking drama producers and production assistants, and for improved transmitting facilities to the mountainous areas where Welsh was most widely spoken (Morgan, 1998, p.252).

Nevertheless, throughout the war period, the nation being referred to by the BBC was Britain, not Wales, something contested by Undeb Cymru Fydd (the New Wales Union) and, as noted by Briggs (1979, p.91, pp.97-98) and Jones (1993, p.234) from other organisations.

8.8 The BBC post-War

By the end of the war, Gwynfor Evans called for an independent Broadcasting Corporation for Wales – an idea still being debated - and by 1949, a cross-party committee agreed an independent body should be formed when the BBC's charter was next due for renewal. The Beveridge Committee, set up in 1949, said in 1951 there should be National Broadcasting Councils for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and, in 1953, the Broadcasting Council for Wales met for the first time. In less than two decades, much had changed.

The introduction of the national English-language service Radio Wales on medium wave and Radio Cymru on VHF in 1978 was a major step forward into accepting Wales as a nation.

It was another step towards a Welsh civil society and a popular culture that, while not always distinctively Welsh in its content, at least spoke with a Welsh accent (Johnes, 1998, p.287).

8.9 Commercial Radio in Wales

Commercial radio, however, is another matter. It has made comparatively scant impact on Welsh-language broadcasting and its contribution to national identity is relatively minimal. It began, in 1973, with great promise but is now little more than a series of nationally-branded generic stations. Swansea Sound was Wales's first commercial station, one of the first tranche of half-a-dozen UK independent stations opened in 1974. It was followed, by the beginning of the next decade, by Red Dragon Radio in Cardiff, Marcher Sound in Wrexham,

and Gwent Broadcasting in Newport. Part of the licence agreement insisted that Welsh was broadcast, with Swansea Sound instituting 20-20 news: three bulletins an hour, one of which was in Welsh. Other programmes were included in the schedules usually at times rather less inconvenient than those produced by the BBC.

Things are now very different. While many new stations opened over the years throughout Wales, Webber (2014) has argued that Welsh radio is in decline, with jobs lost and “locally-made programmes replaced by a computer playout system run from a room in London’s Leicester Square.” (www.clickonwales.com)

Since the decision to turn Marcher Sound into Heart in 2009, Wales has lost hundreds of hours of local news and entertainment programming, as the likes of Red Dragon turned into Capital and Real Radio into Heart. Even those stations that remain in Wales have cut back local programming or even closed stations. We have seen Swansea Sound’s sister station Valleys Radio fall by the wayside and a merging of operations for Town and Country Broadcasting, which owns Nation Radio and Radio Ceredigion (ibid)

Webber talks of a 40% fall in jobs in the Welsh radio sector since 2009.

And, whilst many Assembly members are keen to talk about the ‘democratic deficit’ regarding Welsh issues because of a dominant London press, hardly any of them have stood up to OFCOM or the DCMS against the decrease of local programming in Wales (ibid.)

There is also Tunstall’s rather damning indictment that the “Welsh media are much less Welsh than the Scottish media are Scottish” (1993, p.228).

Few commercial stations broadcast programmes solely in Welsh. Swansea Sound still has a commitment to 12 hours a week of Welsh programming which is mainly music, with news relegated to a very minor part of the mix. Heart North West and Wales does provide a daily hour-long programme with two bilingual news bulletins each evening. Radio Pembrokeshire also produces one hour-long programme on a daily basis. Capital Cymru in North West Wales and Radio Ceredigion both produce bilingual news bulletins while a handful of

community stations, notably Calon in Wrexham, GTFM in Pontypridd, Tudno in Llandudno provide elements of Welsh-language programming. Brynmawr-based BRfm produces a two-hour programme which is bizzarely broadcast on a Monday afternoon.

8.10 Television changes Wales Further

But new challenges lay ahead as life had changed dramatically in Wales and “it was already clear that television would eventually become the more powerful broadcasting medium” (Talfan Davies, n.d.) Cledwyn Hughes, MP for Anglesey and destined to become the Secretary of State for Wales, was told by a “a sparsely attended meeting during the 1959 General Election: ‘The village now supports you, but everyone now has television’ ” (Johnes, 1998, p.80). TV, therefore, was the voice of the people and it began its rapid expansion. People on the English borders had been able to tune in to programmes from 1949 but the opening of the Wenvoe transmitter in Cardiff in 1952 meant that Wales – for which read a small area of South-East Wales - could transmit its own programmes. The first TV programme to be transmitted entirely in Welsh went out on 1 March 1953. It was, perhaps, predictably, a chapel service.

Like radio, Welsh-language television was initially dominated by religious and literary matters and it did little to draw the young and disillusioned in to the language (Johnes, 1998, p.194).

More to the point, though, people were not visiting the cinema, they were not going to dances, they were not attending chapel, they were not attending social events. They were, notably, not doing things through the medium of Welsh. By 1954, more than 30 hours of TV were being broadcast weekly from Wales and, five years later, half the country paid for a TV licence. But, as Johnes (1998, p.194), noted, under two hours of that was broadcast in Welsh and much of that was directed towards the young. Even so, the start of a Welsh television service was not without its problems. The *Western Mail* reported in 1955 that the BBC had been reluctant to allow stations outside London to produce their own television programmes and, once the commercial competitor went on-air, there was a feeling, discussed by Undeb Cymru Fydd that neither the BBC nor the commercial companies were providing adequate services for Welsh viewers.

Lessons, however, had not been learnt and the Wenvoe transmitter served South Wales and South West England, so Welsh-language programmes were instantly put at a disadvantage, just as they had been when radio programmes for Wales were broadcast from transmitters in England. The eastern part of South Wales is largely English-speaking and people in South West England resented being presented with Welsh programmes – in either language.

In order to minimise such complaints, programmes in Welsh were broadcast at off-peak (and often extremely unsocial) hours. Welsh speakers were consequently outraged by the lack of understanding (as they saw it) amongst BBC management of the needs of the Welsh people” (Medhurst, 1998, p.336).

Indeed, a Welsh feature broadcast across the entire BBC network on 6 March 1954 “produced protests from England though all that broadcast replaced was the test card” (Davies, 1994, p.203).

Things were certainly no better when independent television eventually came to Wales and the unpopularity of the BBC’s opt-out system was virtually repeated by ITV.

The early 1950s saw the advent of the opt-out system whereby a ‘national region’ such as Wales would, at certain times, opt-out of the national (British) network to broadcast programmes of a ‘regional’ interest. The system proved to be extremely unpopular. English-speaking viewers complained that by broadcasting Welsh-language programmes the BBC was depriving the English-language majority of programmes they wished to receive (ibid, p.336.)

8.11 Arrival of Commercial TV

Yet, when ITV was being set up, the franchise was to be based on an area similar to the old West Region of the BBC. The new ITV franchise for Wales should be based on ‘Wales and the West’, following the acceptance by the Westminster Government of the Television Act in 1954, which reached the statute book on 30 July 1954. Wales, it seems, was not seen as a commercial entity, as underlined by Sendall (1983). The first franchise for Wales was

awarded to – and note the name – Television West and Wales (TWW), though its board did include such eminent Welshmen as Huw T. Edwards and Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards. TWW went on air in 1958 but there was still a major gap in the network, something which ITV was keen to address. In 1961, a new contract was awarded to Television Wales (West and North)/Teledu Cymru (TWWN). This was seen as a measure to plug the gap in North and Mid Wales where independent television remained something of a mystery and the gap in broadcasting was plugged, as noted above, by Granada Television broadcasting from Manchester. It launched in September 1962 and, within a year had accrued losses in excess of £150,000, though its Welsh-language programming was often seen as exemplary. It did, however, employ the talents of individuals who had made a considerable contribution to the literary and cultural life of Wales.

WWN aimed to produce which were as good if not better than those of the BBC and its ethos was not characterised by the avarice which was associated with other commercial companies in this period (Smith, 2000, p.318).

But the losses proved too much and it was taken over by TWW in September 1963 and, by January 1964, all programming had been amalgamated. The commercial fall-out was significant, though, and it proved at the time that commercial broadcasting in Welsh was not viable and led to increased calls for co-operation between commercial companies and the BBC (Smith, 2000).

Maybe as a result of the advent of ITV and to secure its position in the Welsh media scrum which was slowly developing, the BBC announced that it was giving semi-autonomous powers to Cardiff, at the same time rejecting calls for the Corporation and its commercial rival to work together to produce what were perceived as economically unviable Welsh programmes.

8.12 Concerns over Welsh Identity in TV

Still, Welsh identity was not something which excited broadcasting bosses. The television committee of the Court of the University of Wales noted:

The few years that have elapsed since the introduction of television have made it abundantly clear that the grievously inadequate space and time given to programmes of a Welsh character, whether in Welsh or English, under the existing unsatisfactory arrangements must have disastrous consequences for the future survival of the national culture and for the distinctive contributions that Wales can make to the common stock . . . The undue absence of things Welsh from the programmes of the television services in Wales must unconsciously affect the attitude of the Welsh people, and especially the young, towards their traditional culture and the language which is its principal organ (Public Records Office).

By 1967, BBC Wales was ensconced in its new Llandaf headquarters (recently sold, in favour of a new city-centre presence in the square outside Cardiff Central Station) and, one year later, TWW had lost its franchise in favour of Harlech Television (HTV). Television tightened its grip on Wales and the number of TV licences held in the country rocketed from 60% at the start of the 1960s to 92% by the time the decade came to a close.

Language, however, became a prime point of discussion in the 1970s. Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Society) had been founded in 1962 and protests, often violent, began to erupt all over the country. Demands were made for court and council services to be made more available through the medium of Welsh, there were calls on public bodies – the Inland Revenue, for instance – to provide bilingual forms and a long-running campaign demanded bilingual road signs. Broadcasting also came under heavy criticism.

Opinion was sharply polarised between those who complained of being deprived of national network programmes because of Welsh-language broadcasts and those (such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg) who argued that scant regard was paid to the need for Welsh-language broadcasting (Medhurst, 1998, p.337).

Emyr Humphreys, who subscribed to the latter view, believed that Welsh broadcasters had, once again, managed to ignore the cultural and linguistic properties of Wales. (1970). Welsh language programmes were usually broadcast at highly unsocial hours and “in 1971, with 20 per cent of Welsh people speaking Welsh, only one hour in 18 hours of programmes broadcast from Welsh transmitters to Wales was in Welsh” (Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley, 2005, p.143). The BBC even, according to Johnes, managed to broadcast more hours in

Arabic than in Welsh (1998, p.226). The bulk of Welsh programming, however, comprised news and current affairs with, in the 1970s, a smattering of light entertainment and some drama.

Action to secure more Welsh broadcasting rapidly escalated. There had been calls in the 1960s, notably by the Broadcasting Council for Wales and the Controller of BBC Wales, John Rowley, that a Welsh TV channel was “desirable” and that it should be established by the early 1970s, something endorsed by the Crawford Committee in 1974 (see below). Some protestors in the early 1970s refused to pay the TV licence fee – many of them members of the Welsh “establishment” including politicians and prominent ministers of religion, whose decision to defy the law must have gone seriously against the grain. Others went onto the streets in violent protests, a few even risked life and limb by climbing TV transmitters. In a milestone statement, the Crawford Committee report of 1974 gave the most significant indication that Welsh broadcasting was to make its biggest step forward by advocating not only the use of the fourth channel for Welsh broadcasts, but also the separation of radio services, with BBC Radio Cymru using VHF and BBC Radio Wales using the medium wave – an arrangement which saw light of day in 1978.

The committee’s report stated:

Our conclusion is that the only way of providing a separate Welsh language service quickly enough to meet the urgency of the Welsh need would be to use the fourth channel [. . .] whatever decision may be reached in the rest of the United Kingdom, it should in Wales be allotted as soon as possible to a separate service in which Welsh language programmes should be given priority [. . .] and it should be introduced on the Fourth Channel in Wales as soon as possible, without waiting for a decision on the use of the Fourth Channel in the rest of the United Kingdom (1974, pp.41-2).

At that point, in the 1970s, Welsh programmes were slotted in at random slots in the schedules, usually not to affect English programmes.

Although there were popular Welsh programmes, notably the daily magazine programme *Heddiw* introduced for some years by Owen Edwards, they formed only a

small proportion of the total output of programmes received in Welsh households. Pressure built up for a separate television service (Morgan, 1998, p.382).

The political problem in Wales, as noted above, was that English speakers did not want to receive Welsh programmes and found them an intrusive inconvenience while Welsh speakers felt hard done by, while the broadcasters blamed – still – technical difficulties for the lack of provision. The added problem was that BBC Wales and HTV competed head-on. *Heddiw* (Today) on the BBC was transmitted at the same as *Y Dydd* (The Day) in HTV. Similarly, current affairs programmes as well as early soap operas (including the BBC's *Pobol y Cwm* (People of the Valley) went head-to-head with opposition offerings. (*Pobol y Cwm* is still in production and has the accolade of being the BBC's longest running TV soap opera, way outlasting *EastEnders*, *Compact* or *El Dorado*.)

There were those who wanted to see a Welsh channel using both languages. Aneirin Talfan Davies talked of a “Patagonian wilderness” of poor-quality Welsh programmes on a single channel while Jac L. Williams, Professor of Education at Aberystwyth, supported a channel which mixed Welsh programmes with programmes in English relating to Wales (Smith, 2000, p.321).

The establishment of BBC Radio Wales and BBC Radio Cymru (both Welsh national stations) in 1978 meant that people were able to tune in to a Welsh service which ran for 18 hours each day. By the end of the 1970s, at least 25% of the population listened to the stations at least once a week and, according to BBC audience research (1982), both BBC Wales and HTV were seen as more popular with people who identified themselves as Welsh before British. Soap operas such as *Pobol y Cwm* gained huge popularity (and, indeed, were even seen subtitled on BBC2 across the UK for a three-month experimental season). Welsh language programmes had been seen on the network before. In the 1960s, the BBC transmitted the previous evening's edition of *Heddiw* on the Winter Hill, Sutton Coldfield and Crystal Palace transmitters.

8.13 The Birth of S4C

The general election of 1979 was won by the Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher and their manifesto support for a Welsh TV channel was quickly forgotten. Pressure again built, with a deputation of “three wise men” to Home Secretary William Whitelaw. These were three highly influential members of the Welsh Establishment: the Archbishop of Wales Gwilym Williams, the Labour leader of the House of Lords, Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos and Sir Goronwy Daniel, retired principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Their intervention together with political protests played their part as did the early successes of both BBC Radio Wales and BBC Radio Cymru and, in a rare *volte face*, the Iron Lady cracked – largely not only due to the facts already mentioned but also due to the international media pressure which might have built up after Gwynfor Evans suggested fasting to death if the promised Welsh channel did not materialise. S4C went on air on 1 November 1982, a day ahead of the English “colleague”.

It was a hybrid channel where the BBC and HTV worked together. Some 24 hours of Welsh television was to be provided every week, ten from the BBC, nine from HTV and five from independent producers. But this was the first time the BBC had worked directly with a commercial rival. Inevitably, there were complex arrangements in place regarding advertising and revenue. More complex for journalists was the fact that the BBC was responsible for providing news for the channel while current affairs were the responsibility of HTV.

S4C has been at the forefront of Welsh-language developments since its inception and now transmits over 30 hours of Welsh-language programmes each week. Over the years its efforts to preserve and promote the language and culture of Wales have been widely praised (Medhurst, 1998, p.337).

Major triumphs include *SuperTed*, eventually bought by Disney’s Movie Channel, the award-winning current-affairs series (produced by HTV) *Taro Naw* and the Oscar-nominated film *Hedd Wyn*.

That certain programmes have been viewed by a high proportion (as much as 30%) of the possible audience would appear to substantiate the claim that S4C has reached

many Welsh speakers who would be reluctant to read (let alone purchase) material in the Welsh language (Medhurst, 1998, p.336).

According to Davies (2014, p.149)

The campaign that led to its launching is one of the most remarkable episodes in the recent history of lesser-used languages in Europe. . . . On the English-language side, voices were heard doubting the need for any Welsh programmes at all, particularly in view of the fact that the number of Welsh monoglots was so small. On the Welsh-language side, there were those who pointed out that a large number of people, who were not Welsh enthusiasts, watched programmes in Welsh when such programmes happened to be shown on their favourite channels.

Once launched, Davies (ibid) noted, “Welsh became a television language”.

Of the languages of Western Europe that are not the chief languages of sovereign states, the distinction of having their own channel is enjoyed only by Welsh, Catalan, Basque and Galician (p.151).

(Irish television does not count in the above statement, since Irish broadcasting is seen as providing the people of a sovereign state with a service in what is constitutionally the chief language of their country.)

Potter (1989, p.185) wrote about what was put to the Crawford Committee.

It was put to us forcibly that if the young watch mainly English-language programmes the decline of the Welsh language will continue . . . The need for more programmes in Welsh is seen as urgent if the present decline is not to go beyond the point of no return.

S4C’s impact has been colossal, especially in the way it has reinvigorated the language..

There is no doubt that the establishment of S4C invigorated the Welsh language. The media industry provided opportunities for Welsh speakers to conduct their daily work

largely through the medium of Welsh. The service also enabled a generation of broadcasters and producers to develop a professional expertise and led to considerable investment in Welsh broadcasting which itself betokened a new confidence in the future of the language (Smith, 2000, p323).

It was well-established with viewers very quickly.

By the time of the review of Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C) in 1985, the channel had established itself to such a degree that abandonment was no longer a serious proposition, a view later reaffirmed in the Broadcasting White Paper of December 1988 (Smith, 2000, p.322).

But 1982 was a very different age from the present. While people longed for more channels and greater choice what has happened in Wales is that hundreds of digital TV channels have become available not one of which reflects Welsh culture or language.

The advent of digital satellite television, a purely commercial enterprise offering hundreds of channels and run by international companies which are not amenable to national attempts at regulation, may well threaten the position of Welsh-language broadcasting (Medhurst, 1998, p.338).

S4C embraced the digital revolution by launching S4C Digidol in November 1998 and making it available across Europe on satellite from the following year. International sales have been impressive. *SuperTed* is now part of the Disney Corporation, for example. *Sali Mali*, a children's programme, was seen on Al Jazeera. *Y Gwyll* (which has an English-language equivalent – *Hinterland*) was sold to DK Television in Denmark.

While some programmes do attract large audiences – in its heyday, noted Davies (2014, p.152), *Pobol y Cwm* could attract 250,000 viewers which, in UK terms would equate to nearly 30m watching one programme. But audiences are now struggling and there is huge concern over cuts to budgets. Traditionally funded directly by the UK Government through a DCMS grant (though the BBC was expected to contribute around 18 hours of TV a week, including all news broadcasts), funding for the channel now comes from the BBC licence fee, a measure introduced by the 2010 Coalition Government.

According to Iestyn George, writing in *The Guardian* in 2007, since 1982, S4C

has divided political and cultural opinion in Wales. Its detractors describe it as an expensive minority indulgence, serving around half a million Welsh speakers in a country of 2.9 million. Supporters, meanwhile, say that Welsh speaking is on the rise and the bilingualism is increasingly accepted. ‘S4C was a broadcasting solution to a political problem,’ says the channel’s first director of programmes, Euryn Ogwen Williams, ‘bringing about social harmony between linguistic communities, while at the same time making space for creative aspirations in both languages’” (www.theguardian.com)

George noted how the channel rather lost its way in the mid-1990s, losing audience with whispers that the unthinkable might happen come the 2003 Communications Act. S4C survived, though an independent review commissioned by Tessa Jowell and conducted by Roger Laughton and Ofcom’s Review of Public Service Broadcasting did offer several visions of the future for S4C, including a take-over by the BBC.

Since then, S4C’s analogue signal has been shut down and Channel 4 is broadcast digitally across Wales, giving S4C more freedom in programming. According to the S4C chief executive at the time, Iona Jones (who has since departed the company), the 2009 digital switchover was the point that a true Welsh language TV channel arrived, since the compromise of the past meant that Channel 4 programmes were slotted into the schedules, often, once again, at anti-social times. Now, though, with guaranteed capacity on digital multiplexes to broadcast two channels, S4C can be seen all over the UK and saw audience figures rise . . . only to stall again around five years later (www.theguardian.com).

Cinema was not entirely encouraging in its cultural contribution to Wales. Neither was the BBC in its early days. But the Internet and associated media could do more damage. As writer Kevin Williams suggested, the so-called information revolution could “kick away the chair of national identity” (1996).

Today, S4C is on air for around 18 hours a day, with children’s and educational programmes occupying much of the day. There are two brief news summaries and a regular half-hour news slot each day at 9pm. There are also three major current affairs strands broadcast

weekly. Two of these are investigative and there is *Pawb a'i Farn*, a Welsh equivalent of *Question Time*.

As noted above, much of S4C's content is provided by the BBC, further underlining the importance of the Corporation's contribution to cementing Welsh identity. That contribution is more than could ever have envisioned under Reith's early leadership.

Aided by modern techniques of mass communication – which made the Welsh BBC, for instance, crucially important in the transmission of ideas of national consciousness, in many ways replacing the force of the written word – a sense of that separate identity and of the unity of the nation was as deep-rooted as ever in the past” (Morgan, 1998, p.419).

More than any other medium, possibly, S4C has done more to cement the idea of Welsh identity. Barlow, Mitchell and O'Malley (2005, p.146) cite two major factors in the creation of Welsh identity in the broadcasting era, namely the dominance and subsequent decline of the South Wales industrial belt as well as the rise of the Welsh nationalist and language movements who stressed the role that television, in particular, has had in creating and underlining Welsh identity.

While there were complaints that the BBC was overly sympathetic to the nationalist cause, Briggs (1995, p.652) noted that, from the late 1950s, the BBC in London was broadly sympathetic to calls from Wales for a greater range of programmes which would preserve and underline Welsh identity. That idea of a distinct culture pervaded the setting up of TV stations such as TWWN and, of course, S4C. Indeed, television was long associated with the decline in the use of Welsh as a daily language of communication, as noted by Butt-Phillip (1975, pp. 255-6):

It is probably not too much to say that the coming of television to the Principality could mean the early disappearance of Welsh as a spoken language – the oldest in these islands. On the other hand, television could help to give it a new lease of life and, efficiently and sensibly organised, Welsh-language programmes could help to promote and sustain a lively and progressively bilingual society. It is, however, imperative that the necessary steps are taken before it is too late . . . If a Welsh

independent television service is to be of a real value to society and to the nation it should reflect that society, not only as it is but ideally has been and could be.

In their campaign to establish the Fourth Channel in Wales, Cymdeithas yr Iaith, in its 1969 pamphlet *Broadcasting in Wales* talked about broadcasters reflecting “the spirit, civilisation and life of a nation” which “should enrich that civilisation and enable the people to develop their own particular genius”. The argued that television should use the national language of the country to “put forward a Welsh viewpoint”. Trevor Fishlock, the Welsh commentator and former *Times* Welsh correspondent argued, in 1973, that “the stronghold of spoken Welsh is now the radio and television set rather than the chapel. It has also contributed much to a greater sense of national identity” (Fishlock, 1973, in Barlow, Mitchell and O’Malley, 2005, p.148).

Even before S4C came on air, then Meirionydd MP Dafydd Elis-Thomas suggested that:

The media in Wales have made a fantastic cultural contribution to both consciousness and to the development of Welsh language culture. Through the medium of television national communication has been established in Wales. The history of the BBC and ITV in Wales shows that they have been able to establish a national culture and a national Welsh language culture which prevented such culture from becoming purely localised (House of Commons, 1977).

8.14 Conclusion: Welsh Achievements in Broadcasting

For the Welsh, achievements in broadcasting have only really been achieved by the collective digging in of heels. The problem for Welsh broadcasters, as much in the present day as it ever has been, is that Welsh broadcasting is controlled from London. Major expenditure or any decision to start any new innovation has to be approved in the English capital. The BBC’s Royal Charter is decided upon, periodically, by Westminster. Commercial TV is governed through a series of Acts, passed by Westminster. Following the Communications Act of 2003, some of the BBC’s activities are governed by Ofcom, the body which regulates commercial TV and radio. The BBC is ultimately governed by the BBC Trust, which is

based in London. ITA, the IBC, the ITC and now Ofcom – the regulators of independent broadcasters are also based in London. The various bodies which govern broadcasters have, since World War II, had a Welsh representative drawn from the great and good of the nation, but how representative is this of all the people of Wales? The Westminster government has also controlled the flow of resources into Welsh broadcasting, as it sets the BBC's licence fee and, in recent years, has said that funding for S4C should not come from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (itself a non-devolved area) but from the BBC licence fee. The freedom for ITV companies to merge (allowed following the Broadcasting Acts of 1990 and 1996) meant that the distinctive Welsh voice of HTV became part of a much larger national, if not multi-national, organisation.

Whether the Welsh Government will get regulatory powers over Welsh broadcasters remains to be seen. In the meantime, though, how representative of Wales are broadcasters and what role do Welsh journalists play in creating that identity?

Radio went a long way to creating a Welsh national identity, but television, in particular S4C created a sense of togetherness for Wales. But it remains at the centre of debate as to how effective its contribution is and how far reaching its effects really are.

Broadcasting, possibly more than any other medium, has contributed substantially to Welsh identity. The impact of radio and of S4C is almost immeasurable in terms of bringing the language and the culture into the homes of the people and, outside Wales, making the Welsh identity known.

Chapter 9

The *Papurau Bro* – A Uniquely Welsh Phenomenon

“We want people to see that Welsh is a modern and living language. In order to do this we must make sure the language is available to all and in every form of communication”

(Speech by Leighton Andrews, Minister with responsibility for the Welsh Language,
August 2012 .

9.1 Introduction

By the middle of the 20th century, the Welsh-language newspaper press was struggling. Circulations had collapsed and many newspapers which had flourished just a few decades earlier were consigned to oblivion. There’s little doubt that broadcasting supplanted the press as the major outlet for Welsh journalism but there remained a demand for localism. No (Welsh) national broadcaster could report on every happening in every part of the country, which might explain the rise of the *Papurau Bro*, small, amateur publications which appeared monthly (and sometimes less often) and circulated in very limited areas. They are unique, furiously independent publications which have survived recessions, political upheavals, the arrival of new BBC and commercial radio stations, S4C and on-line media. This chapter will chart the arrival and development of these publications and will examine their influence on Welsh-language journalism.

9.2 A New Renaissance in Welsh-language Media

The late 1970s and early 1980s will, probably, be remembered as a period of renaissance for the Welsh-language media.

BBC Radio Cymru had come on air in 1977 and had expanded into an 18-hour-a-day, seven-days-a-week station just two years later. The commercial stations in Wales, notably Swansea Sound, Red Dragon Radio in Cardiff and Wrexham’s Marcher Sound were broadcasting regular Welsh news bulletins and occasional other programmes. After much debate and protest, S4C came on air in November 1982, a dedicated TV channel broadcasting in Welsh

right through the peak viewing hours. Cardiff became the largest TV production centre after London, Wales spawned dozens of new independent production companies and at least one S4C commission even found itself nominated for an Oscar.

All the hype around broadcasting rather served to mask a serious problem for the written press. Welsh-language newspapers and magazines, from the 1960s, were struggling with meagre circulation figures, with many folding with practically no viable hope of resurrection. O'Malley's assessment of the Welsh-language press is blunt. "By 2002, the circulation of Welsh-language paid-for papers was minimal: *Y Cymro*'s was 4,126 and *Yr Herald*'s was 1,832. (Newspaper Society, 2003)." Although a formal circulation figure for *Y Cymro* is difficult to determine, a list of the paper's localised circulation in centres throughout Wales implied, in 2015, a circulation of just under 2,400 (Local Media Works, 2015). *Yr Herald*, the last paid-for weekly local newspaper, ceased publication in 2007 but became a four-page freesheet delivered once a week with the *Daily Post*. At the time of its transformation, it was claimed that the paper, which sold only around 1,500 copies weekly would reach a readership of 110,000. It has since ceased publication altogether.

9.3 The First 'Papur Bro'

However, in 1973, a cultural phenomenon took place in Wales, with the appearance of the first *Papur Bro*. From that date, the network of newspapers covers almost all of Wales, as well as two English cities – Liverpool and London – and the papers show a remarkable robustness, generally maintaining circulation with few ceasing publication. Oddly enough, though, while most historians and other commentators analyse the effects of the traditional media on Wales, the *Papurau Bro* are largely ignored.

As noted earlier (see p.102), the prototype for the network of *Papurau Bro* might well have come from Liverpool, a city which was a hotbed of Welsh publishing for more than a century (and, as something of an aside, the only city which has supported a Welsh middle-class, certainly until the increased use of Welsh in places such as Cardiff in the late 20th century: Liverpool supported Welsh-speaking lawyers, lecturers, teachers, retailers and so on all of whom came together in the myriad of chapels in the city which supported artistic, literary, cultural and social societies).

Yr Angor (the *Papur Bro* for Liverpool) is, today, edited by The Rev Dr D. Ben Rees and has a steady and regular circulation of around 600, though the circulation area is much wider than most other *Papurau Bro*. In an interview in 1999, Dr Rees revealed that the readership is drawn from the Welsh chapel and church communities in North West England. “We are unique in that way,” he said. “Other *Papurau Bro* sell to a much wider readership.” He acts as editor each month, thus getting away from the rotating editorship and, perhaps, giving the publication rather more stability. Advertising revenue is difficult to come by and the journalistic content is limited, relying on contributions from half a dozen or so regular contributors from around the region. The paper also takes features, runs regular columns for Welsh learners and runs features on cookery and gardening. But there is no devoted space for news, with Dr Rees suggesting that people buy the magazine for its gossip content. “The purpose,” he suggested, “is to keep people together and to maintain their interest in things such as the Eisteddfod, cultural and heritage matters.”

9.4 ‘Papurau Bro’ Reflect New-found Welsh Identity

The development of these papers came at a point when Welsh-language radio and television were beginning to expand, possibly linked to a continued expansion of Welsh identity which was beginning to instil a new confidence in the country. All the media development came after a couple of decades of considerable struggle, which culminated in the passing of the first Welsh Language Act in 1967 as well as a wave of new Welsh schools and so on. As noted above, much had been done to try to improve the situation of the language in Wales and, with it, a Welsh identity. Much of the brave new media developments came at a time when Wales was really beginning to find its feet.

Y Dinesydd (The Citizen) had appeared in 1973, barely seven years after the first Plaid Cymru MP had been elected to Westminster. A year later, in the first election of 1974, two members went to Westminster. And yet, despite all the developments in the media which included people climbing television transmitters in order to draw attention to the desire for a Welsh-language channel, the Welsh had roundly rejected any form of devolution despite the Nationalist votes which had secured seats in Westminster. In addition, only months after the 1979 referendum, Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister, aided by a substantial Conservative vote in Wales.

Yet the language continued to contribute strongly to the growing sense of Welsh nationhood and identity. Indeed, almost two decades after the first referendum, a poll for the now defunct Welsh Language Board underlined how the language is seen as the most potent symbol of Wales. Even if it is only spoken by a minority, it is supported by an overwhelming majority: 88% of the population felt the Welsh language as being something of which to be proud (NOP Poll for the Welsh Language Board, 1995). Since that poll, the Welsh Government has come into being and there are now numerous schemes to promote the use of Welsh as an everyday language.

9.5 The Papers' Role in Language Preservation

Those schemes, many of them noble and ambitious, are working in partnership with the media. In his essay 'Particularistic Media and Diasporic Communications', Daniel Dayan states: "There is a long tradition of communications studies that is concerned with the role of media in creating new, usually wider and ultimately political communities. [But there is] another role which can be imparted to the mass media: that of reconstructing of maintaining in existence already established but somehow fragile or imperilled communities – minority groups, immigrants, exiles, diasporas" (Dayan, eds Liebes and Curran, 1998, p.103).

Dayan's focus has been on questions similar to those exercised Welsh minds in the latter part of the 20th century, namely the preservation of the language and – perhaps of even more concern to those people who devote so much time to producing and ensuring the success of the *Papurau Bro* – the continuance of the communities of rural Wales which are so threatened by immigration (mostly from England) and by the increasingly globalised and packaged media offerings on satellite, cable and broadband which are replacing an ancient culture and way of life with Anglicised and Americanised programming and content.

"The local," suggested Dayan, "is no longer the end of the road, the final and lowly destination of messages emanating from a lofty centre. The local has become cosmopolitan in its own way (ibid, p.104).

It is Dayan's view – and this is probably a majority view held by those working in the Welsh-language media – that the seemingly unstoppable processes which were afoot through the second half of the 20th century and into the present century were powerfully and inherently bound to the powerful return of nationalist themes coupled with the added view that the maintenance of diversity is something to be valued. “Should we automatically stigmatise the maintenance of diversity in the face of homogenisation?” asked Dayan (ibid, p.105).

9.6 Diversity, Individualism and Localism

For publications like the *Papurau Bro*, diversity, individualism and localism make up a powerful cocktail. That is all the more powerful in today's Wales where far-off multi-nationals provide the majority of the media consumption of the nation. There is that alarming notion, underlined in a report from the Institute of Welsh Affairs which showed that more than 90% of the Welsh population consume news produced by organisations outside the country. In Wales itself, the two major morning newspapers produced in the country – the *Western Mail* and the *Daily Post* – are both owned by Trinity-Mirror, controlled from a boardroom in Canary Wharf, London. The same organisation owns Wales's only Sunday newspaper. So individual publications, answerable only to themselves and their readership, appear to be buoyant, flourishing because they celebrate individualism and help shape the conscience of the nation.

Rosser (1985, p.183) did suggest that the decline of the Welsh language had been part of an inevitable historical process “in which the old isolationism, the particularisms of the past, roots, tradition and identity were swallowed up by a tidal wave of progress and change.” And yet, the *Papurau Bro* remain powerful sources of identity, creating what Peter Dahlgren has labelled “a micro public sphere,” co-existing within the macro public spheres of the Welsh community (both English and Welsh speaking) within the British nation. Again, Dayan argues the point. “Sooner or later one can expect the smaller sphere to become infiltrated by the values and procedural models that prevail in the larger one. Sooner or later one can expect traditional groups to be exposed to practices that include free argumentation and open debate. Sooner or later a process of homogenisation might take place, affecting the internal organisation of the community leading to new sites of power, new modes of legitimation, to new internal strategies” (ibid, p109-110).

Dayan's arguments were taken up by Dylan Iorwerth, a long-established Welsh journalist and managing editor of *Golwg* magazine. In a 2011 essay for Click on Wales, on-line discussion site of the Institute of Welsh Affairs, he argued that the Welsh-language media have not traditionally stood apart from their audience but have always been a part of social and cultural interaction. He argued that people read the *Papurau Bro* and knew who was at a meeting of Merched y Wawr, for instance, who made the tea and who won the raffle – despite the fact that they were at the meeting anyway. “The papers are more mirror than window,” he suggested. (www.clickonwales.org). Iorwerth's argument is that the *Papurau Bro* represent something of a reaction against the blandness of global communication. “I remember reading . . . two prescient comments in the early days of the Internet,” he wrote. “One was that the medium and the message were becoming closer and closer together until they would be one and the same. The other was that the information highway was accompanied by many information by-ways, too” (ibid).

But, just as the Internet offers all sorts of opportunities for communication, what is being offered crosses continents, making massive statements. The villages of West Wales are being left behind by the multi-national comments from Los Angeles, New York, London, Paris, Moscow, Beijing and Tokyo. And yet, while many newspaper publishers pay lip-service to the ultra-local route, the profit motive is never far away. But the potential to publish what communities want and make it easily available is there. The question for Iorwerth is whether that appeal is strong enough.

“I remember one other early, optimistic comment,” wrote Iorwerth. “The new technologies, they said, would make everyone a journalist and publisher. They said as much about desktop computers and printers, too. However, the new media are subject to the same gravitational pulls as all the others. The big boys dominate the means of production and eventually commercial power will win. We can all publish material but, despite some viral successes, we can't all publicise it. Unless, of course, we sidestep the mainstream structures . . . One of the structural weaknesses of the Welsh-language press, even in its golden age in the second half of the 19th century, was its desire for national exposure at the expense of local success. Although we must compete with their slickness and acumen, we cannot beat the big boys at their own game. (ibid)

9.7 Little Changes

Beating the big boys at their own game is not something contemplated by the *Papurau Bro*. An initial study of the papers was undertaken by the author while studying for an MA degree in mass communications at the University of Leicester. That study, entitled *Keeping It In the Community: the Papurau Bro in Wales* found that the papers were furiously independent, barely speaking one with the other, never mind with organisations such as the BBC. They were produced (and still are) by groups of volunteers who are barely trained in the skills of journalism and who, in the 1990s certainly, often resisted any attempt to professionalise production. A follow-up questionnaire around 15 years later showed that little has changed but that, in stark contrast to what has been happening in the traditional print media, circulations are robust and holding steady.

9.8 The Loss of Welsh Consciousness

The First World War marked something of a turning point for Welsh-language newspapers. While the Welsh press had proliferated in the 19th century, only two newspapers were established post-war: *Y Cymro* (which is still published and is now owned by Tindle Press as part of the *Cambrian News* operation) and *Y Cyfnod* (The Era), a title long consigned to history. More alarmingly, by 1935, half the titles which had flourished pre-1914 had disappeared. Some merged with others in a last-gasp hope of staying alive. Others simply gave up the ghost. Perhaps rather oddly, some of the papers which did survive were those published by religious denominations – *Y Tyst* and *Y Goleuad*, for example – taking the Welsh press almost back to the pulpits where much of it had all started.

Lloyd (1979) believes that the reason for this near catastrophe is simple. He cites a loss of the Welsh consciousness after the Boer War, the unstoppable incursion of English newspapers where coverage of Wales was scant but where the quality of the product was unquestionably better, the advent of cinema and broadcasting all coupled with the migration of thousands of Welsh speakers to cities like Liverpool, London and Birmingham in search of work. In a further cruel twist of the dagger for Welsh-language journalism, while Welsh papers closed,

newer English papers opened up: of the 70 papers circulating in Wales by 1970, 28 had been established since 1900.

Lloyd had been echoing the thoughts of Morgan Humphreys in his 1945 review of the Welsh press. Morgan wrote (in translation): “I am perfectly sure that the response today is weaker, that the national interest is less than it was, say, in 1906 . . . that the response from the people of Wales is weaker and that, if this change goes on along the same lines for another 30 years at the same pace, it’s not unfair to suppose that there will be no Welsh press worth talking about left” (Humphreys, 1945).

Humphreys might well have been surprised, had he been around in 1975 to see whether his stark warnings had come true.

9.9 *Papurau Bro* and their Contribution to Welsh Identity

The first *Papur Bro* to appear was *Y Dinesydd*, established in Cardiff in 1973. For a brief period during the 1978 National Eisteddfod held in city, it had the distinction of being the first Welsh daily newspaper to appear. (It was published on each of the eight days of the festival). Other papers have since attempted the feat, usually when the National Eisteddfod visits their area.

The chain of nearly 60 papers which covers Wales has a simple remit: local news, in Welsh, with the aim of getting people to read the language. “Even though local news is their main reason, it can be seen in more than one of them that they are going back to things started by *Seren Gomer* – poetry, portraits of people, letters” (Lloyd, 1980, p.26).

Just as *Y Dinesydd* had appeared as a harbinger of a rapid expansion in Welsh-language media, other activities, often illegal, were making the Welsh presence felt. Travellers in Wales, for instance, had become used to seeing road signs daubed with green paint as campaigners sought to reinforce the Welshness of Wales by obliterating the English on non-bilingual signs. But, while that was happening across the country, the publishing revolution was happening, too. From the seed of *Y Dinesydd* grew a network of nearly 60 papers. Relatively few have ceased publishing and, where that has happened, another publication has

come on the scene. Examples include *Bro Ystwyth* (Aberystwyth Area), which published just three issues in 1975-6. It was replaced by *Y Ddolen* (The Link). *Eco Bach* (Little Echo) lasted a couple of years to be replaced by *Broc Môr* (Sea Tales). *Llais Dinefwr* (Voice of Dynevor) published just one edition and was replaced by *Y Lloffwr* (The Gleaner). Others which folded included *Yr Ancr* (The Anchor), *Y Gaer* (The Castle), *Papur Bro Ifor* (Paper for Bro Ifor), *Pentigili*, *Y Post* (The Post), *Y San* and *Y Sosban* (The Saucepan). In some cases this might have been expected. *Y Post* in the Vale of Glamorgan and *Papur Bro Ifor* in Bargoed circulated in highly Anglicised areas. An analysis of the 1991 census (which followed the disappearance of these papers by a few years), Llandow ward in the Vale of Glamorgan was the most Welsh-speaking in the Vale, at just 11.3% but figures drop as low as 3.6% in parts of Barry town. Bargoed, in the valleys, registered a figure of just 7% Welsh-speaking (Aitchison and Carter, 1994). Yet, until relatively recently, places such as Llanelli and Llanddewi Brefi, both significant centres for their concentration of Welsh-speakers, did not produce any newspapers. Yet, the *Papurau Bro* are far from Wales-wide publications. Much of Flintshire in the north east and towns such as Llandudno, Colwyn Bay, Abergele and Rhyl on the North Wales coast do not support publications. There was, in the 1980s, a move to produce a colour supplement which might have attracted some heavyweight national advertising and which would have been given out as a supplement to each publication. Plans foundered, not least because of a lack of national coverage but also because of a hostility, in the early days, for any one newspaper to have any remote relationship with another.

The *Papurau Bro* may not turn out to be the saviours of the Welsh press – though they do continue a noble tradition. But they do fill a gap which the regionals in Wales attempt to bridge and, for the most part, fail. But it's a gap which the English nationals do not even recognise, in the same way as they barely recognise Wales. In the words of two editors of the *Papurau Bro*, the papers give a chance to be positive about Wales and give readers a chance of seeing things from a Welsh perspective.

Early research into these newspapers showed that both the Welsh Language Board and the Arts Council of Wales regarded the papers as useful tools to get people to use Welsh and, as such, chose to fund them from the public purse – something virtually unthinkable for English publications published in a quasi-commercial manner either in Wales or elsewhere. Rhodri Glyn Thomas, at the time the Welsh Minister for Heritage said, in 2008, that the Welsh

Government had supported the *Papurau Bro* to the tune of £76,352 in 2007, through the Welsh Language Board (www.cynulliadcymru).

Clifford Jones, of the Arts Council of Wales, said in an interview in 1999 that the council recognised the importance of the papers. “It’s an opportunity to read Welsh by people who would not necessarily read books. They can also write Welsh and a good deal of it is creative writing, which explains the Arts Council’s involvement. Some people argue that what is printed is not standard Welsh, but at least people are using the language. That is what is important in the view of the Council” (Interview, February 1999).

That’s a view echoed by David Skilton (1990) who suggested that “the *Papurau Bro* have provided an alternative to the language of the literati and the clergy and returned it to the people” (p.189).

Staff at the papers themselves talk about “nurturing new writers” and “creating a good standard of writing” (though experts might well disagree) while others are concerned that youngsters fail to get involved and that the minimum age of the workforce is at least 40. Until the mid-2000s, most newspapers refused to accept any connection with other media – not only with each other, but also with paid-for offerings in their own area, radio, TV and on-line papers. Only in recent years has the BBC managed to reach agreement with some of the *Papurau Bro* to publish some of their stories on-line. This stance is all the more peculiar given the amount of space occupied, especially by English tabloid newspapers, to TV gossip produced, of course, by those outlets’ rivals. Indeed, the attitude to many rivals is scathing, verging on being hateful. However, while very few accept a relationship with local rivals, they simply cannot compete with the professionals’ ability when it comes to news and feature coverage.

An umbrella organisation did exist briefly, though it collapsed mainly due to a feeling that there was some motive to take over the work of the newspapers. “Not many joined, because they were all too independent,” said Clifford Jones. “It stems, really, from a reflection of the community they are in and the fact that they don’t like being invaded by people from elsewhere” (Interview, February 1999).

That said, an appeal on the Cymdeithas Eisteddfodau Cymru (Welsh Eisteddfodau Society) website talked of the close relationship between the eisteddfod movement and the *Papurau Bro* – mainly reflecting what was going on in the local community – looked at involving more youngsters and getting more people to write for the various publications. (smala.net/steddfota).

This rigid independence, therefore, sees the papers working in isolation, virtually ignoring the existence of their neighbourhood community papers and keeping the local “paid-fors” at arms’ length. Regional papers certainly do not figure in the lives of the *Papurau Bro* and radio and TV are often simply suffered, if only because researchers working on Welsh-language output value the circulations of the papers and see them as a way of contacting potential programme leads and contributors.

Yet, if the papers work in such isolation, there could be every reason to believe that, in some ways, they are in danger of working in a vacuum, seeing themselves as immune from the threat of globalisation. While every other branch of Welsh-language media is under threat of McDonaldisation, why would the *Papurau Bro* believe they are not?

The threat of Welsh culture is well recognised. Huw Jones, former chief executive of S4C, said, in a speech at the National Library of Wales in October 1988: “The concept of an entire country’s population sitting down to watch the same television programmes each night of the week is a phenomenon which belongs to some 50 years in human history and not something which will last forever. Wherever you do in the world, the banners of global culture are to be seen flying on every high street. Our identities are defined for us by what we buy. We are what we consume (Speech, 15 October 1998).

Even then, as the reach of satellite and cable TV was growing, children in homes in Wales which could receive the service, were spending more than half of the TV viewing time looking at what was on offer on channels other than terrestrial channels. But, while TV might feel under threat from encroaching multi-nationals, might the *Papurau Bro* be swallowed up by some rival with a boardroom in Canary Wharf or Madison Avenue. The answer must be emphatically negative, mainly because most *Papurau Bro* workers believe their role is to publish what the regional and national newspapers will not. Maybe that accounts for their relatively large circulation. A 1992 report by Emyr W. Williams noted the strengths of weaknesses of the *Papurau Bro*. “The *Papurau Bro* have a very high penetration

rate, indeed, especially when compared with the English press . . . the papers reach around 90,000 homes either habitually or occasionally. They are read by around 175,000 adults on a monthly basis and by between 225,000 and 260,000 over a period of four months” (Report, June 1992). The report further noted that the *Papurau Bro* sell one paper for every seven people within respective market areas.

Williams’ report emerged at a time when the decline in sales of national papers had already started but had yet to reach the avalanche which has occurred since the turn of the millennium. At the same time (1998), regional newspapers were beginning to pick up sales. Media analyst Roy Greenslade put this down to localism. “First and most crucially, it’s down to owners and editors thinking more deeply about what their papers are for. The most successful among them have translated theory into practice, putting an accent on providing their local communities with news” (*The Guardian*, March 1999).

It is precisely this concentration on local news and gossip which has empowered the *Papurau Bro*, with most circulations either stable or rising. (See analysis below). Sales are often falling in areas where the use of Welsh is strong – *Nene* in Rhosllanerchrugog, near Wrexham, for instance. Various reasons are offered for this phenomenon. There could be a feeling of complacency where Welsh is used regularly as a social or commercial language, aligned with a feeling that it’s no longer necessary to read Welsh to help prop up the language. Elsewhere, the publication of a *Papur Bro* could be a symbol of pride. In cities like Cardiff and Swansea, the use of Welsh has seen an increase. Welsh schools in the cities are over-subscribed and Welsh institutions are buoyant. In her book on the Welsh language, Janet Davies noted: “The number of Welsh speakers in the capital rose from 9,623 in 1951 to 17,236 in 1991. [The latest census results showed that around 36,000 people in Cardiff now speak the language.] In a wide belt around the city, the percentages speaking Welsh doubled and tripled . . . most of the Welsh-speaking migrants to Cardiff are employed in administration, education and the media: having middle-class occupations they have settled in middle-class areas . . . ever since the Anglicisation of the gentry, the speaking of Welsh had been associated with low social status; its association with high status is a new development” (Davies, 1993, p.73).

Localism is also a powerful motive for publishing the *Papurau Bro*. While Bob Franklin and David Murphy talk of the “presumed insignificance” of the local press “underscored by the scant attention which academics have paid to the local media in general. That was until the

1970s, when they suggest that “a flurry of academic activity . . . focussed on the way the local press reported, or more accurately failed to report, local politics” (Franklin and Murphy, 1991, p.3). While the papers look, in many cases, remarkably like English equivalents of the 1940s or 1950s, which contained columns, compiled by long-suffering reporters who stood outside churches to record the mourners at a funeral, or who compiled reports on WI activities, there remains a resistance to change. “We’ve not changed in 20 years,” said one editor. “Why should we?” Why, indeed, since circulations are stable and people obviously like what they are getting and keep buying the product.

Controversial and partisan subjects are shunned and not one of the newspapers surveyed would acknowledge a political or religious bias – they see themselves as “an island of comfort in a troubled world”, according to one editor. Around half of the papers would get involved in a local campaign, but it would usually be something non-controversial. One talked of a campaign to keep a local creamery open. Several relate to the various controversies surrounding wind turbines in rural areas. Most make regular demands for an increase in Welsh-language education. On the question of bias, one editor rejected it outright, saying that reading a *Papur Bro* “was something to obtain pleasure in Welsh”. *Y Cardi Bach* (The Little Cardy) did admit to “backing everything Welsh and everything that is of value to us as a nation, looking at things from the point of view of the Welsh nation”. *Clonc* talks about backing the Welsh language and undertaking a campaign to get more local shops to use the language. *Y Gadlas* (The Enclosure) came close to political partisanship saying that it did not support any particular political party, “but most of the workers are ardent Nationalists” while *Wilia* (Tales) suggested, somewhat vaguely, that it “takes a national stance”. Most editors of the *Papurau Bro* argue that their relationships with local organisations reflect the social structure of the area they seek to serve. Schools, churches, chapels and local organisations are the prime furrows ploughed for news. At the time of the devolution referendum in 1997, complaints were made to the Welsh Language Board that the papers were politically biased and that they were not a fit recipient for public money. Yet most would probably have done little more than report the fact that the referendum had taken place and would not have got involved, interviewed anyone, analysed the result or made any particular comment on the outcome.

The rigid adherence to a local agenda and the opting out of political debate raised considerable criticism from Lord Elis Thomas when he was MP for Meirionydd Nant Conwy. Writing in *Y Faner* in August 1983, he savaged the *Papurau Bro*. He wrote (in translation):

Reading the *Papurau Bro* raises a certain melancholy in one looking for signs of Welsh modernisation and the new political consciousness which is so necessary today.” Thomas went on to criticise the conservatism of the *Papurau Bro* saying that most editors wanted things to stay as they are, “or, to be totally honest, keeping them as they were. The ideal of a conservative Welsh ‘*Bro*’ is what governs the *Papurau Bro* (*Y Faner*, 5 August 1983).

The views of Elis Thomas are not far removed from those of some 1970s theorists. Graham Murdock and Peter Golding suggested that “modes of communication and cultural expression are determined by the structure of social relations” (Murdock and Golding, 1977, p.13) while James Halloran also talks of “analysing media by placing them in their ‘total social context’ thus tracing connections at every level” (Halloran, 1974). Other media analysts have asked who has access to the media. Most conclude that it is those with power who make the inroads. “The evolutionary process [of media] is not random, but systematically excludes those voices lacking economic power or resources,” wrote Murdock (Murdock and Golding, 1977, p.13). McQuail suggests “it must be asked . . . not whether the media have power and how it works, but who has access to the use of this power. Generally, this means asking questions about ownership and other forms of control, whether political, legal or economic.” McQuail also suggested that “the mass media have probably affected not only individual political opinions but also the way politics is conducted and its main activities are organised” (McQuail, 1977, pp. 90-91).

Those theories appear to be turned on their respective heads by the *Papurau Bro*. National and international stories are ignored, politics is a non-starter and all power is given to the local correspondent, operating in isolation in a village community. The papers are not owned by multi-nationals but are akin to charities or co-operatives and the readership gets all the gossip it wants. Cue, then, Lord Reith who suggested that “he who prides himself on giving what he thinks the public wants is often creating a fictitious demand for lower standards which he himself will then satisfy” (cited in Scannell and Cardiff, 1991, p.7). But while Reith appeared to be oblivious to the market forces which rule newspaper sales, Bob Franklin noted, as far back as 1997, that traditional newspapers were abandoning their original role of

informing the public. “The shifting balance in favour of entertainment in news media content has rarely, if ever, been so apparent [and] this shift has been accompanied by a related decline in media attention to news and especially certain kinds of news: foreign and investigative journalism have virtually disappeared from some news media [while] the ascendancy of entertainment is evident across all media” (Franklin, 1997, p.6).

For the *Papurau Bro* entertainment is certainly evident in their products. Again, this was something criticised by Elis Thomas. His scorn, almost, for pictures from Sunday Schools from nineteen-hundred-and-dot – and generally reliving old memories of times gone by – are, he suggested, holding back the development of the nation. He thought of the *Papurau Bro* as reflecting an introverted society not bothered with events outside the immediate vicinity, concerned with gossip, producing papers for as many people as possible, offending no-one and posing no intellectual challenge.

The *Papurau Bro* tell of local goings-on but the neutrality which flies in the face of understanding comes to the fore. Nothing creates news in the areas served by these papers. News just happens and there’s no effort to interpret the news. Things which happen to people form the mainstay of the local news, things which happen to individuals, never things which happen to a society as a whole. Even when the *Papurau Bro* acknowledge the existence of multi-national companies or a peace movement, it’s only when an individual is involved that they become a news article

. . . International and national politics are ignored as, indeed, is local politics . . . Planning matters are never discussed as this would become political” (*Y Faner*, 5 August 1983).

Elis Thomas warned, all those years ago, that the *Papurau Bro* would have to wake up to the realities of the struggles between those who wield power and influence, between unions and management, between those bent on conservation and those seeking development and getting away from the network of independent politics, often endemic in rural Wales.

As the national English press becomes more centralised, often rarely venturing out of London to cover events, in Wales at least part of the press appears to travelling in the opposite direction. Writing in the 1970s, Jeremy Tunstall talked of the English press as being “more centralised than that of any other nation except, possibly, Japan’s” (Tunstall, 1971, p.12). In his book, echoed by many writers since, Tunstall explores many of the roles undertaken in a

newspaper – all of which are exploded by the *Papurau Bro*. The workforce is untrained (save for one or two specialists here and there) and unpaid (save, again, for inputters or other rare specialists). The average workforce appears to be about 25 with one highly revealing comment coming from a worker on *Y Ddolen* (The Link) who rejoiced in the fact that “we don’t work for personal gain. Volunteering is the basis of pure democracy.” Papers are usually edited by committee with various people taking it in turns to occupy the editor’s chair, many admitting to following a totally different policy from their immediate predecessor. Indeed, an amusing article in *Y Casglwr* (The Collector) by Dyfed Rees drew attention to the production systems of the *Papurau Bro*. “The general committee usually meets on the first Monday of the month whether there’s something to discuss or not. It’s an excuse for a cup of tea and a chat and a good way to avoid getting your hands dirty!” (*Y Casglwr*, August 1984).

In the March 1999 interview, John Walter Jones talked of the success of the *Papurau Bro* in getting people to read and use Welsh. “*Papurau Bro* form the largest single readership of anything in Welsh,” he said. “They may even be the largest single readership of any publication in Wales. But people are involved in social activity through the medium of Welsh and that’s what we regard as important.”

Their strengths include a massive market penetration, low production costs, strong community presence and little or no local competition. Yet these publications rarely have a constitution, have high printing costs, attract scant advertising which is sold too cheaply and they depend on a voluntary, untrained workforce. Yet figures show that there is a bigger readership for the *Papurau Bro* than for books published by the Welsh Books Council.

9.10 Updated Survey Results

A survey of the *Papurau Bro* was undertaken in the late 1990s. A further questionnaire was sent out to all papers 15 years later. While the results showed that there have been some changes in attitude, in many ways little has changed.

In all, 56 questionnaires were sent out and 46 were returned, a rate of 82%.

Slightly alarmingly, 28 (60%) respondents said circulation has fallen over the last decade, 13 (28%) are showing no decline and five (12%) have seen a sales increase. With most papers coming out monthly, circulation of all 56 papers would total around 65,000, although this is

slightly misleading, since *Y Fan a'r Lle*, (Place to Place) which circulates around south Powys (the old Breconshire county) produces 10,000 copies quarterly and these are distributed free with the paid-for *Brecon and Radnor Express*. This is the only professionally-produced publication in the entire stable.

The comments over who forms the readerships for these publications are highly illuminating. While some papers have no idea who forms their readership, most have a reasonably clear idea of who is reading their work. Retired people and over-50s form the bulk of the readership. Welsh learners are also keen readers and several newspapers have noted that younger people are beginning to show an interest in working on the newspapers, which several publications offering youngsters a chance to write their own column. Members of chapels (rarely churches), school staff and parents and members of Welsh societies are keen readers while one paper says, bizarrely, that its readership includes “all sorts of backgrounds – teachers, lawyers, retired (very supportive!), farmers and lorry drivers”. Several refer, vaguely, to the readership being primarily “working class” while several bemoan the loss of young readers as they are being forced out of rural areas in order to find work.

With one exception, all the papers are paid-for and, with the exception of the one quarterly publication noted above, all papers are monthly, with just two issuing publications on a bi-monthly basis. Staff on the papers continue to be volunteers and there are no professional journalists (and certainly no formally trained journalists) on the workforce.

While many papers stated that a major milestone in their history was something such as the “advent of the digital camera” or the ability to publish in colour, few have chosen to embrace electronic publishing and only 14 respondents (30% of the total) revealed that they have a website linked to the newspaper. One or two mentioned Facebook in passing, but the likes of Twitter, or any other social network, is alien to the *Papurau Bro*. There are closer connections with other media – at least 14 papers (again, 30%) suggested this to be a fact – and the relatively new connection with *BBC Cymru'r Byd* (the Welsh-language version of the BBC website) seems to elicit a welcome from most of the publications, though one paper did admit to the BBC “stealing stories” from its pages.

Campaigning of any sort remains something which is frowned upon by the papers. Of the 46 respondents, 16 (35%) said they would avoid getting involved with any campaign or protest. Yet others are prepared to stand up for what they believe is right. Campaigns mentioned

include campaigning on rural matters, keeping rural schools and Post Offices open and garnering support for local shops as well as encouraging readers to support the companies which have taken advertising space in the papers. Others have become more overtly involved with local politics, campaigning to save A&E facilities at Bronglais Hospital in Aberystwyth, drawing attention to the toxic waste being dumped by factory owners near Wrexham, attempting to stop large-scale tourism developments in Snowdonia, supporting workers at the doomed Burberry factory in the Rhondda and trying to stop the proliferation of wind farms in rural communities. Most papers are keen to get people to read Welsh and to use the language in everyday business. Others are more vaguely supportive of “anything Welsh”.

While politics and current affairs are, according to the latest survey, largely no-go areas for these publications, local news and gossip is, overwhelmingly, the staple of these publications. Births, marriages and deaths form the largest part of the local news. News from chapels is prominent, with minsters’ columns quite commonplace and ‘mini sermons’ published within the pages of the papers. Nursery schools and primary schools also figure largely with pupils in secondary schools and colleges often invited to contribute their own columns and opinions. Book reviews are carried in most publications while poetry columns are fairly commonplace. Folk singing and reports from local concerts and lectures are also afforded space. ‘Memory’ pages are also staple fodder with old pictures filling much space in each publication.

When challenged to list the major milestones in their respective histories, most *Papurau Bro* are reticent. “Keeping going” is a common response. “Being able to bring the publication out at all” is another common response. Others list the use of computers, email, digital cameras and the like as major milestones. Others are somewhat critical: “We’re all too nice-nice. We never talk about social problems – vandalism, crime and the like.” Another respondent suggested that “the papers need to call individuals and organisations to account”. A common response was also summed up by another respondent: “We’re all about encouraging Welshness in the region. Getting people to read Welsh. Often, it’s the only Welsh they will ever read.”

9.11 Content Analysis of Selected *Papurau Bro*

A random selection of *Papurau Bro* were analysed, with a view to determining exactly how they contribute to a Welsh identity. Six papers were selected in all: *Lleu*, *Y Cardi Bach*, *Y*

Ddolen, *Yr Angor*, *Yr Wylan* and *Papur Pawb*. A single issue of each paper was examined in detail.

Weber (1990) suggested that “inferences about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message” can be reasonably determined through content analysis. In his writings, he cites Berelson’s compilation of headlines expressing the purposes of newspaper content analysis which he undertook in 1952 but still seem particularly relevant to the work undertaken on the *Papurau Bro*. Berelson suggested that it would be possible to compare media or ‘levels’ of communication and an ability to audit communications content against objectives. HE spoke about being able to code open-ended questions in surveys and to identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator. Perhaps somewhat controversially, Berelson stated that it might be possible to determine the psychological state of a person or group and to detect the existence of propaganda. Certainly, his analysis is without question when he talked about analysing attitudes towards communication and reflecting the cultural status of groups and institutions together with a revelation of the focus of individuals, groups, institutions or societal attitudes.

A coding system was drawn up to analyse the newspapers’ content and it is shown as an appendix to this chapter.

The papers analysed were as follows:

Lleu, which circulates in the Dyffryn Nantlle area of Snowdonia.

Papur Pawb, one of the oldest *Papurau Bro* still circulating, serves the southern part of Ceredigion.

Yr Angor, which shares its title with the *Papur Bro* published in Liverpool, circulates in Aberystwyth.

Y Cardi Bach circulates in southern Ceredigion and northern Pembrokeshire.

Y Ddolen serves the Ystwyth Valley while *Yr Wylan* circulates around the Porthmadog, Beddgelert, Penrhyndeudraeth areas.

The coding system developed aimed to examine the categories of news which each paper covered and in which format they were displayed, e.g. editorial, column, news in brief and so

on. From this analysis, news themes could be discerned and it is reasonably easy to define from where the news emanated, e.g. official sources, press releases, societies and so on. Pictures and headlines were also analysed.

The total number of stories per issue is shown below:

Paper	<i>Lleu</i>	<i>Papur Pawb</i>	<i>Yr Angor</i>	<i>Y Cardi Bach</i>	<i>Y Ddolen</i>	<i>Yr Wylan</i>
Stories	155	50	45	178	175	46

Results tabulated below show the sources of news used by each newspaper:

Descriptor*	Percentage number of stories						
	<i>Lleu</i>	<i>Papur Pawb</i>	<i>Yr Angor</i>	<i>Cardi Bach</i>	<i>Y Ddolen</i>	<i>Yr Wylan</i>	AVERAGE
1	47%	44%	54%	5%	30%	16%	33%
2	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0.15%
3	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
4	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	0.4%
5	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0.3%
6	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
7	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%	13%	3%
8	2%	2%	6%	0%	0%	0%	1.6%
9	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
10	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	2%	0.5%
11	11%	28%	2%	38%	46%	34%	27%
12	5%	10%	20%	15%	7%	20%	13%
13	14%	4%	9%	15%	7%	0%	8%
14	13%	0%	0%	0.5%	2%	0%	2.5%
15	1.5%	4%	0%	1%	0%	4%	1.75%
16	0.5%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	1%
17	4%	2%	7%	6.5%	2%	0%	3.3%
18	0%	4%	2%	16%	3%	4%	4.5%

*Explanation of descriptors: 1 – Local news; 2 – Home (Wales/UK) news; 3 – European/International news; 4 – Analysis; 5 – Comment; 6 – Finance/economics; 7 – Sport; 8 – Politics, including input from the Welsh Government; 9 – Editorial; 10 – TV/Media; 11 – Schools news; 12 – Society/organisations news; 13 – Births, marriages, deaths and birthdays treated as news; 14 – Local council news, including parish councils; 15 – Obituaries; 16 – Opinion columns; 17 – Arts and culture; 18 – Church and chapel news.

Some of the conclusions to draw from the above table are easy. The *Papurau Bro* are not interested in UK news or news from other parts of Wales, save for a slight tremor in one publication. News from the rest of the world is a non-starter, unless it involves someone from the circulation area visiting somewhere far across Offa's Dyke. Analysis of events is something else which does not interest the papers and business news simply does not even register. Opinion columns – indeed, opinions in general – are simply not part of the *Papurau Bro* remit and, perhaps rather oddly, sport barely gets a look in, save for school sport and children's teams. How different, in many ways, from English newspapers which, while they will have their different emphases – some carrying more celebrity news and gossip than others, for instance – anyone can pick up a newspaper and expect to read home, European and international news, some aspects of business and finance, sport and so on.

But, while there is some divergence over coverage of some areas – church and chapel news, for instance, provides 16% of *Y Cardi Bach*'s editorial – others are less convinced, with *Lleu* referring not at all to any church activity. Cultural matters, too, provide around 5%, on average, of all coverage, though referring not at all to any church activity. Cultural matters, too, provide around 5%, on average, of all coverage, though *Yr Wylan* ignores this aspect of Welsh life. Only one paper gives serious coverage to the local parish councils (and there is something very much in common with English local newspapers which have all but abandoned the council as a rich vein of local stories). Welsh national politics also make very little impact and, where they do, they are generally highly partisan, full of support for the local Plaid Cymru representatives at all levels.

There are, however, three areas which are covered massively by the *Papurau Bro* examined here. These are local organisations – *Merched y Wawr* (broadly a Welsh-language Women's Institute), the Women's Institute itself, and many other local institutions whose activities are

reported in some detail. Schools receive massive coverage with almost no educational stone unturned and local gossip abounds: births, marriages, deaths, birthdays and columns and columns of “thank you” messages for sympathy shown after a death, the general well-being of someone who is not well, who’s had a baby, who’s got married and so on. Everything that the parish pump can offer and more.

The next table shows the formats in which stories are printed:

Format	Percentage of stories						
	<i>Lleu</i>	<i>Papur Pawb</i>	<i>Yr Angor</i>	<i>Cardi Bach</i>	<i>Y Ddolen</i>	<i>Yr Wylan</i>	AVERAGE
1	12%	0%	6%	13%	0%	0%	5%
2	0%	0%	0%	0.5%	0%	0%	0.1%
3	2%	7%	4.5%	2%	3%	0%	3%
4	2%	7%	19%	2.5%	4%	14%	8%
5	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0.1%
6	0%	4%	4.5%	0%	0%	2%	1.5%
7	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.1%
8	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
9	0.5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0.5%
10	82%	81%	66%	79%	93%	80%	80%
11	0.5%	4%	0%	1%	0%	2%	1.7%

Explanation of formats: 1 – News report; 2 – Editorial; 3 – Column; 4 – Feature; 5 – Cartoon/illustration; 6 – Diary story; 7 – Letter; 8 – News summary; 9 – Review; 10 – News in brief; 11 – Obituary.

The conclusion for this part of the analysis is straightforward. The papers rely on very short stories, which are no more than a few lines long. More than 50 words would be a long story for most of the papers. There are some longer news stories and most papers carry a specialist column. Some papers, notably *Yr Angor* and *Yr Wylan*, use some extensive features. But off-diary stories, cartoons and letters to the editor are a rarity.

Picture usage in the papers is extensive but quality and content is highly variable.

Picture						
	<i>Lleu</i>	<i>Papur Pawb</i>	<i>Yr Angor</i>	<i>Cardi Bach</i>	<i>Y Ddolen</i>	<i>Yr Wylan</i>
Colour photograph	0	23	34	7	0	0
B/W photograph	38	9	0	66	78	25
Colour illustration	0	0	0	0	0	0
B/W illustration	2	0	2	11	0	0

Looking at how pictures are used, little journalistic expertise is evident. There were several examples in the papers of pictures taken from the back of a room, showing backs of heads. People are seen eating, talking to each other and so on and, while this may seem ‘lifelike’, it also feels amateurish. Pictures are frequently printed without captions and large groups are not printed across half a page of A4: instead, there are tiny dots which represent faces.

School pictures are also legion in these papers, with lots of classroom pictures and photographs from sports events. Most pictures are between 30 and 50 square centimetres with some as small as perhaps five square centimetres in all. Apart from posed pictures of people and groups, another favourite subject is the use of the historic photograph, with two main areas: ‘the way we were’ and war memories.

The final analysis of this section relates to news sources. These are often quite hard to distinguish. It is obvious that very few official agencies are used – the likes of Press Association or the like – and it seems quite rare to come across a story generated from a press release, whether from a private source or from sources such as the Welsh Government. Occasionally there are ‘semi-official’ outlets quoted: two of the newspapers surveyed carried a story about the New Welsh Dictionary being available on-line. Other media sources are almost never mentioned: S4C, for instance, only appears once or two in the entire survey, with one of those relating to a visit by the Welsh celebrity TV chef Dudley to an event in the patch of one of the papers.

Refreshingly, perhaps, all the news copy appears to be locally sourced and written. That is something which seems to have been totally abandoned by local English newspapers.

It’s rare for any of these newspapers to have a front-page “splash” – the headline which sells the paper, whether the biggest national story of the day, the biggest local event, some sort of “scoop” or a piece of juicy gossip. Instead, they are relatively weak:

Papur Pawb – Dathlu’r 40: Celebrating 40.

Y Cardi Bach – Ysgol Dyffryn Taf: Dyffryn Taf School, though it did win the annual School Team of the Year award for their efforts in physical education, in a ceremony held in London.

Y Ddolen – Codi Stêm, Bingo!, Cynnal y Fflam: three stories share the same space: Raising Steam talks about opening a new station on a narrow-gauge line, Bingo pictures two people who called the numbers at a local pub bingo night and Holding up the Flame pictures a large congregation in a local chapel.

Lleu – Dim pres, dim hoelion ond digon o gwrw! No money, no goods but plenty of beer. This is the only remotely political/social story from among the six papers examined. IT talks

about the last bank and the last general store in the village of Penygroes closing down. But, still pubs and bars persist. If anything, it is a comment on rural life today.

Yr Angor – Hefin yn 80! Hefin is 80. A birthday report.

Yr Wylan – ‘Ystyfnigrwydd’ yn rhwystr ym maes y Parc: ‘Obstinacy’ is bedevilling Maes Y Parc – another socio-political story which talks about much needed improvements to changing rooms for a local team being held up by red tape.

Headlines inside are rare. Instead, there’s usually a bold ‘kicker’ – a single word or phrase to whet the appetite of the reader. Layouts often look old-fashioned, too, with long columns of copy barely broken by headlines, pictures or cross-heads and features which can contain as much as a whole page of close type with no headline.

9.12 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there is little doubt that the *Papurau Bro* are successful and robust and remain a mainstay of many communities in both rural and urban Wales. Purists might argue that the standard of Welsh used may not meet the highest academic standards and the use of dialect and slang is often frowned upon. Yet these are relatively vibrant publications. They reflect the communities they serve (give or take the absence of political debate and very little coverage of current affairs) and they get people reading and writing Welsh. Indeed, they reflect the very identity of the areas they serve (they are curiously combative when it comes to having their individual territories “invaded”). Collectively, these papers reflect the characteristics and mannerisms of Wales: a love of education (shown by the extensive coverage given to schools and colleges), culture (every eisteddfod, concert, performance or arts event is covered) and literature (most of the papers carry book reviews). Celebrity culture does not count in the world of the *Papurau Bro* and sport is not particularly prominent, thus reflecting the periodicals of two centuries ago. Oddly, perhaps, there is a reluctance to cover politics, current affairs and religious matters. Notably, the story count in each publication is high, with local news as well as items from schools and societies topping the news agenda. Perhaps rather surprisingly, the amount of space given to news from chapels and churches is comparatively low. However, unlike mainstream news outlets, politics very rarely features in these newspapers. The local council, the actions of the local

councillor, Assembly Member, Member of Parliament or Member of the European Parliament are very rarely covered. The actions of the Welsh Government, Westminster and Brussels are never scrutinised and crime stories do not see light of day. Very few publications have opinion columns and serious, heavyweight campaigns, for example against wind farms, fracking or other controversial issues are not areas touched by the *Papurau Bro*.

Yet they are popular, they have maintained their respective circulations and very few have foundered. They are reporting on matters of interest to Welsh communities and they are encouraging people to read and write the language. But most are experiencing difficulties attracting a sufficient volunteer workforce to ensure that stories are written, newspapers produced and the end product distributed. Quite whether the next decade will see these publications continuing to prosper remains to be seen.

Chapter 10

On line and Web Journalism – New challenges for the Welsh language

"The future is incredibly exciting and massively daunting, there are opportunities to do things in new and interesting and exciting ways" (Damian Radcliffe, Cardiff University School of Journalism, September 2015).

10.1 Introduction

When the Welsh embraced the early periodical press, their response was, at best, fairly tepid. Many magazines appeared for just two or three editions before being consigned to a rapidly fading memory. While that might have been because of the hefty cost of producing such magazines or the near impossibility of their distribution in anything approaching a commercial reality, journalists and editors were, nevertheless, embarking on a monumental task in order to create a Welsh press. It took a century or more before the periodical press became a relatively vibrant reality, just as many of the early newspapers written in Welsh took several decades to get established, though they did gain acceptance by the public more quickly. Once the wireless came to Wales, it was well established within a decade, though hearing Welsh on the airwaves turned into a mighty battle between the Welsh and the BBC overlords in London.

What is obvious, however, is that in Wales, just as in the rest of the UK if not the world, every new development in the media is accepted and embraced more quickly than its predecessor. So, television, once it came to Wales in the 1950s, became the mainstay of the news journalist within less than a decade.

This chapter will examine the role and state of on-line journalism in Welsh and will also look at how the social media are impacting on the use of Welsh, in particular Welsh journalism.

10.2 Impact of the Super-Highway

In the mid-1990s with many referring to the ‘information super-highway’ , the notion of having millions of pages of information available at the touch of a button or the swipe of a smartphone was the stuff of *Tomorrow’s World* with an element of fantasy akin to *Dr Who* attached. Few can have predicted that the information revolution would take root and spread, knot-weed like, until it takes over and appears to be threatening the very existence of, for instance, print journalism: *The Independent* and *The Independent on Sunday* joined a list of American publications, such as the US edition of *Newsweek*, by becoming on on-line only offerings in March 2016. Robert Pickard (2008) suggested that one of the most significant features of the impact of the Internet on newspapers was – and is – the threat posed to their vital sources of advertising income, something particularly threatening to some Welsh publications where low circulations make attracting viable advertising matter a considerable challenge. However, Löffelholz and Weaver (2008) suggested that the development of journalism has always been affected by developments in technology.

The latest new communications technology, digital network applications, has had important effects on the media. Since the journalistic media embraced and actually rather aimlessly rushed onto the Internet from the mid-1990s, new publication platforms have emerged. Various new journalistic formats, even genres, have been introduced, and the relationship between producers and consumers of journalism have shown signs of changing (p.233).

This is a view echoed by Brock (2013) who suggested that, to societies in the future, it may seem odd that we had large groups of professionals selecting the news and providing the words and images they saw fit for the rest of the public to consume

“In the 20th century, journalism extended its provision of information and understanding thanks to several decades of cross-subsidy from advertising (and from taxation in some cases of broadcasting). Now the mechanism for carrying journalism is changing again . . . [and] the most immediate effect of the latest disruptive technology is on the business model that has sustained journalism recently” (p.84).

Natalie Fenton (2009, p.557) gave an even more detailed analysis of the impact of the internet. “The particular characteristics of the internet marked out as creating the most impact can be summarised as speed and space; multiplicity and polycentrality; interconnection and participation.” She further referred to an Ofcom report of 2007 which suggested that “within the last decade, web-based operations have come to be viewed as essential for newspapers – national, regional and local – and for all major broadcasters and news agencies” (Ofcom, 2007, p.34).

Another, though slightly contradictory, study by Fenton (2009) referred to a recent study by Goldsmiths Leverhulme Media Research Centre. The study

“Provided empirical evidence to challenge utopian visions of the internet as a brave new world with everyone connected to everyone else, a non-hierarchical network of voices with equal, open and global access. This latest ‘new’ world of ‘new’ media has not greatly expanded the news that we read or hear or changed mainstream news values and traditional news formats; neither has it connected a legion of bloggers to a mass audience. Rather, as the economic model for traditional news production stumbles and falls in the digital age, professional journalism has become the first casualty, the second, if we’re not careful, and pretty close behind will be the health of our democracy” (www.opendemocracy.net)

Whitlock (1997), quoted in Fenton (2009, p.559), suggested that the advent of on-line journalism would do much to democratise the public sphere, while Gillmor (2004) spoke about by-passing news intermediaries to get information would mean that people could communicate directly with people rather than have their views and comments filtered out by the mainstream media.

One of the main advantages promised by web-based journalism was the increased interactivity which would come about between readers and journalists (Franklin, 2009).

“The prospect of readers to contribute to news stories by posting comment and writing blogs, along with journalists’ eager courtship of citizen journalists and user generated content. Online editions of newspapers also have the potential to create new

formats for writing and telling stories, along with radical changes in page design and layout.”

Franklin quotes Quandt (2008) whose study of ten online news media outlets in the USA, France, the UK, Germany and Russia suggested that national characteristics of journalism were applied to news sites and that the promised interactivity had not, at that point, materialised. Quandt’s research showed that 70% of news stories were not enhanced by multi-media content and that a direct link with journalists by way of email or a chat link were not made available. By-lines were often missing, authors were not referenced and news agencies were not credited for the material they had supplied. Furthermore, Quandt found that content was quite traditional, focussing mainly on national political and economic events, human interest stories, crime, sport and culture. Applying that to the Welsh scene, things have moved on significantly for online news organisations such as the BBC, *Y Cymro* and *Golwg*. But there is still a distinct resistance by publications such as the *Papurau Bro* to grasp the online nettle. However, the absence of a daily Welsh newspaper does mean that news sites do not cannibalise the lead story of a newspaper in order to scoop the rivals and get the news out online first meaning the print edition of a publication is left with a weak or non-existent front-page splash.

10.3 Changes in the Consumption of News

What is without doubt, therefore, is that much has changed, especially the way in which news is consumed and the very model of journalism as it has been known in the near century since broadcasting came along to challenge print’s supremacy is being radically altered. There’s more space to be filled – an infinite amount of space – but is there an infinite amount of news? Possibly, as the way people consume their news has changed, especially as the ability to archive means that background information is more readily available to consumers and thus understanding of news is enhanced. That consumption is put into context by Hargreaves (2003):

News, which was once difficult and expensive to obtain, today surrounds us like the air we breathe. Much of it is literally ambient: displayed on computers, public billboards, trains, aircraft and mobile phones. Where news once had to be sought out

in expensive and scarce news sheets, today it is ubiquitous and very largely free at the point of consumption.

A study by Clyde Bentley of the University of Missouri quoted Reinking (1988) who suggested that users of the internet will devote more time to reading texts on computer screen than on paper, mostly because background information can be accessed at the same time. A further study by Althaus and Tewksbury (2000) found that those who read the online version of a newspaper organise their perceptions differently. Readers can set their own agenda when reading the online version, and this is partly due to how the two forms of media are organised (www.citizenjournalism.missouri.edu). Bentley drew on more research by Tewksbury (2003) who suggested that, though the lack of agenda setting is a perceived strength of the Internet, it is the absence of editorial cues which means a reader is less likely to read about public affairs than they would in a newspaper. Readers overwhelmingly chose sports, business and entertainment news over national news or politics when reading the web. Tewksbury believes this has significant implications for citizen journalism, which often stresses lower editorial control than other types of news sites. Users spend proportionally more time getting used to navigating a news website when they visit, and this is at the expense of consuming the information offered therein (Eveland Jr and Dunwoody, 2000). This, naturally, has a considerable impact on the consumption of Welsh-language journalism.

Brock (2013) noted that, for many reasons, news organisations “failed to grasp the threat and the opportunity of the internet” (p.85). He further noted that, two decades after the internet became widely used, many news organisations are still making changes, catching up or, indeed, catching on. That is never more obvious than in Wales where organisations like the BBC have an extensive on-line presence, while some of the *Papurau Bro* have neither web presence, nor even e-mail addresses. Brock also includes some eye-watering, almost bewildering, statistics relating to the sheer size of the web. In 2008, Google trawled one billion web pages in each search. Five years later, that had grown to 30 trillion. “Eric Schmidt of Google says that his company’s researchers reckon that between the birth of the world and 2003, five exabytes of information were created (an exabyte is one billion gigabytes and written with 18 zeroes). The human race is now, according to Google, creating five exabytes every two days” (p86). The certainty is, surely, that Welsh – and Welsh-language journalism in particular - is the tiniest drop in a massive ocean of information.

In the early days of on-line news Hall (2001) noted the way in which people constructed their own understanding of events.

The NATO war in Kosovo in 1999 led to an estimated 30-40 per cent gain in traffic for Western news sites, especially the brand name websites such as BBC News Online, but many readers, millions, were constructing their own story of the war, at least in part, from sites in Serbia and the Balkans as well as the UK Ministry of Defence, NATO and the refugee aid organisations (p.17).

10.4 Impact of Change on Wales

That change is confirmed by Grahame Davies, formerly executive producer of BBC Wales's Welsh-language New Media Services. "The digital communications revolution and the explosion in the use of what is known as 'new media' have created a sense of fundamental and unprecedented change in the way in which human beings communicate," he suggested (2005). News consumption is now spread throughout the day, not only through the web but also through rolling news services on TV and radio. This is not necessarily a good thing, Brock (2013) argues.

The ability to pick and choose what information to consume, when and how, must over time weaken the socially unifying effects of mainstream media, particularly of television. People in the second half of the 20th century made appointments with new media . . . newspapers were read in the morning and television news seen in the evening (p87).

The notion of the amount of space available creates a plurality of news providers meaning that the massive multinationals which had grown rich on the provision of news services were faced with thousands of new competitors – and citizens were dubbed 'netizens'. Fenton (2009) noted these changes.

[Journalism is] diversifying in an unprecedented manner. This diversity reaches out to the range of publics in terms of economic structures, gender, class, ethnicity, age, geography, etc. In the past, the sheer economics and scale of publishing news

prevented all but a small number of companies from being the privileged gatekeepers of information dissemination” (p.559).

For consumers reading Welsh, this is a welcome change. Not only can they consume the products produced by journalists, but they can add to their understanding by reading what is put out by other organisations, for example the Welsh Government, the National Assembly and various other organisations around Wales. In addition, the practice of including hyperlinks often led Welsh-speaking news consumers to sites they may not have considered in an initial search, thus broadening contact and, possibly, time spent reading the language. For journalists writing in Welsh, working on-line produces major opportunities as well as some dire threats. Negroponte, quoted in Hall (2001, p.18), suggested that “intelligent multimedia computers able to ‘read’ effectively on our behalf, will filter, sort, prioritise and manage our daily intake of information. Part of that intake will come, along with the advertising that pays for it, from local and global news providers.” Fenton (2009, p.561) added that journalism “now works in a world of email, text-messaging, multi-media storytelling, blogging, etc.” Since she wrote that, along have come Instagram, Snapchat and others and, even in her book, there is only passing mention of Twitter.

That is as much a threat as it is a promise as Welsh readers could just as well be diverted away from Welsh websites if they do not provide the services or coverage they want. Just as digital television has allowed hundreds of channels into homes in Wales perhaps swamping the one channel which broadcasts in Welsh, the same is happening on-line. There are Welsh sites, blogs, opportunities for citizen journalists to make their feelings known in Welsh – but for every one Welsh site, there billions of sites in other languages, predominantly English, with the result that the Welsh language could well be crushed under the weight of choice, in the same way as S4C has an incredibly difficult job to compete in an effective way with the hundreds of digital channels available to consumers. However, it is far from unusual to see comments on Facebook in Welsh and there is Wicipedia – the Welsh-language version of the online people’s encyclopaedia – and people tweet and blog in Welsh, though perhaps not as much as they might. WordPress provides a drop-down translation service into Welsh and there’s a Welsh suffix for e-mails and websites – cy - as well as multiple initiatives backed by the Welsh Government, its agencies and other organisations in the private sector who aim to get Welsh speakers to embrace technology. The language, therefore, is being used daily and it is being used in social, commercial, political and education sectors amongst many others but

there is still some way to go. There are options to select 46 different languages to perform a Google search and 20 Apple Siri language options but Welsh is not one of them, as yet. Is a Welsh search engine a viable business project for the future? In addition, Wikimedia statistics from September 2015 showed a total of 68,000 Wikipedia entries in Welsh (Morlais, 2016).

There are, however, significant benefits to be gained in Wales as Internet journalism continues to make great strides. One of the major issues to concern many people, particularly those involved in government and politics, is that the vast majority of Welsh consumers of journalism turn to products which are not produced in Wales and barely reflect anything of the life of the Welsh nation. As a result,

Some have argued that the Internet as a means of reinvigorating the public sphere has a particular resonance for Wales, as it has the potential to transcend the limitations of physical infrastructure that have traditionally been at least partially blamed for the fragmented and regionalised nature of the mainstream press and therefore public debate in the country (Roberts, 2011, p.58).

But nobody owns the Internet and anyone can be a journalist and that's where potential conflicts begin. Fenton's view is that "this particular technological wave of change is deeply embedded in and part of a complex convergence of economic, regulatory and cultural forces that are contingent on local circumstance at any one time" (2009, p.557). Perhaps more to the point is Davies' view that "in Wales, the fate of the language was never far from the minds of those pioneers who sought to claim the new technologies for *Cymraeg*. The Welsh have proved eager to take advantage of new media as a means of saving their language from the ghetto of folk culture" (2005). He further wrote of the determination of supporters of the language to adapt to every new situation, thus showing that the language and its 'community of adherents' has remarkable vitality (ibid). That said, Hall (2001) rather presciently warned that "the tendency to discount global news is increased as web-based news delivery systems give consumers the choice to limit their news to the *Daily Me*: lifestyle material, sports scores, listings and weather" (p.226).

10.5 Gaining a Rightful Place for Welsh On-Line

According to the Welsh Government's digital advisor Gareth Morlais, there are a number of steps which need to be taken to ensure that Welsh gains its rightful place on the web. These include marketing and awareness raising of Welsh content, motivating major technology companies, encouraging the development of new Welsh-language software applications and digital services, stimulating the creation, sharing and consumption of Welsh-language digital content and supporting good practice in the public, private and third sectors

(www.slideshare.net/GarethMorlais)

There are also those who are critical of 'citizen journalism' (an expression which may well have come about following the establishment of OhMyNews in South Korea in 1999 with the tagline 'every citizen is a journalist') and blogging. Allan (2006, p.73), quoted in Roberts (2011, p.59) suggested that

For every assertion that blogs were deserving of recognition as a 'milestone', someone else would counter that they constituted little more than a 'passing fad' that mattered little to the world of journalism.

Critics would say that blogs often resemble a diary containing personal views.

This remains a common criticism of the blogging form, which tends to undermine the alternative, positive image of a media interlinked and responsive to external events and hence of great political significance . . . Cynicism about web-based journalism remains, and much of it is well founded in the Welsh context, however, it could be argued that such criticisms are less pertinent, partly because many Welsh blogs directly address concerns about the mainstream media and therefore position themselves differently at the outset (Roberts, 2011, p.59).

Across both Europe and North America, the printed press is in crisis. Circulations are falling despite the fact that populations are rising. The same is not true in Latin America, Africa, India and China where the respective newspaper industries are booming. Siren voices have

predicted the end of newspapers with alarming regularity, with the fate of *The Independent* referred to above.

A 2009 paper by academic Bob Franklin included the following: “American academic Philip Meyer, for example, in *The Vanishing Newspaper*, extrapolated current trends in daily newspaper reading habits since 1970 to conclude, with enviable if dubious precision, that the last reader will disappear “late in the first quarter of 2043” (Meyer 2004, p.16). For his part, Bill Gates recently claimed that, “the number of people who buy or subscribe to a newspaper and read it, has started an inexorable decline”. Gates identifies 2012 as newsprint’s final deadline (*Seattle Times* 9 May 2007); Financial Times journalist John Lloyd, concurs - at least so far as paid for dailies are concerned (Barkham 2006, p.14). Climbing aboard this gloomy forecast bandwagon, a special issue of the Economist devoted to the “Future of Newspapers” described them as an “endangered species”. Sounding the death knell for contemporary newspapers, the Economist claimed, “the business of selling words to readers and selling readers to advertisers, which has sustained their role in society, is falling apart” (Economist August 24th 2006). Much of the diagnosis here is uncontested, but the prognosis is too bleak (<http://orca.cf.ac/>).

Franklin went on to examine the ways in which newspapers are moving their content online, responding to the fact that a rapidly growing stratum of society only reads news on an iPad, an iPhone or while seated in front of a computer. While advertising revenues seem to be the most threatened area for newspapers, Franklin suggested that the “second impact of the Internet on newspapers has been the explosion in the availability of news online which has been accompanied by the promise of increased interactivity between readers and journalists (beyond that provided by the letters’ page), the prospect for readers to contribute to news stories by posting comment and writing blogs, along with journalists’ eager courtship of citizen journalists and user generated content. Online editions of newspapers also have the potential to create new formats for writing and telling stories, along with radical changes in page design and layout as those pages are increasingly scrolled at the click of a mouse rather than turned between a moistened thumb and finger” (<http://orca.cf.ac.uk/>).

The internet has shaped and changed journalism radically in less than a quarter of a century, though some – including Fenton (2009) argue that on-line news “merges traditional ways of producing the news with the web’s new potentials in an on-going process in which different local conditions have led to different outcomes” (p.558). In late 1993, the University of

Florida's journalism school launched what is supposedly the first journalism site on the internet. A year later, the *Daily Telegraph* launched the *Electronic Telegraph*. The feeling of exploring a perhaps not so brave new world is portrayed by the first editor of the site, Derek Biston, as cited by Meek (2006).

Our brief was simple", he wrote. "Explore this new medium; evaluate the usefulness of establishing the *Telegraph* as an online brand; learn about the technology and the commercial possibilities. The last point, although the most alien for journalists, was clearly uppermost in the thoughts of the proprietor at the time (www.journalism.co.uk/).

The BBC's extensive website – which included Welsh-language pages – first appeared in 1996 and included corporate pages, PIs, general programme information, information about the National Orchestra of Wales, general references to resources and a link to Ceefax pages. It was quickly closed and replaced as BBC Wales' holding site in December 1997. A 12-page bilingual corporate site was updated quarterly and there were static pages, including sites for *Pobol y Cwm* and Radio Cymru. Within a year, the BBC's corporate site, which included BBC Wales, offered 140,000 pages of content, including 61,000 news pages (www.journalism.co.uk/). Both the BBC and ITV had been pioneers of early online journalism when they launched Ceefax and Oracle, respectively, in the 1970s. These offered loops of constantly updating news and features, though access was slow and space was highly limited, but they, too, published in Welsh. The main step ahead for journalism was that *Newyddion* began to be streamed on-demand in May 1998. It was also the first time that Welsh-language TV news had been delivered anywhere other than on S4C since 1982 but it took things a step further: news in Welsh was available world-wide.

The European Summit was held in Cardiff in June 1998 and an enhanced web presence saw live and pre-recorded Radio Cymru programmes as well as pre-recorded TV news in Welsh streamed. Over the two-and-a-half week experiment, 70,000 page requests for Welsh content were received, so the service continued. BBC Wales Online and BBC Cymru Arlein began to see content diverge with, significantly, the Welsh content not being a mere translation of corporate content.

Guardian Unlimited launched in autumn 1999 and within two years had 2.4m unique users, making it the largest newspaper website. Perhaps surprisingly, the *Daily Mail* came late to the party, and only went online in 2004 (www.journalism.co.uk/).

While the online revolution was gaining pace at the end of the last century, some editors appear to have been in denial. Amazingly from today's standpoint, only 11% of regional newspapers had internet access in 2000 (www.journalism.co.uk/). In addition, as the dot.com slump gathered pace early in the new millennium many traditionalists appeared to breathe a sigh of relief, expecting digital journalism to be something of a ten-year wonder. Indeed, a survey of 1,000 people in the UK in August 2000 showed that only one per cent regarded the internet as their main source of news (www.journalism.co.uk/). A decade and a half later, an Ofcom report in 2014 showed that 95% of people in the UK are consumers of news, with television being the most-used platform, with 75% consuming news in this way. Most notably, 41% of people use the internet or apps for news, a figure which had risen from 32% just a year earlier. Consumption of news through the internet is three times higher for the 16-24 age group (at 60%) compared to just 21% for the over-55 age group, though while 60% of people surveyed said they read news stories online, the number reading blogs dropped. Around 60% also said their preferred news provider was BBC On-Line (www.stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk).

The most recent Media, Journalism and Technology Predictions from the Reuters Institute at the University of Oxford, suggested that in 2016 the battle between Facebook, Google and Apple would intensify over the future of mobile and the discovery of content and that messaging apps would “continue to drive the next phase of the social revolution”. Scheduled TV viewing would continue to fall as people opted to view programmes when they chose but audio offerings would be reborn as they are driven by internet delivery to mobile devices (www.digitalnewsreport.org).

10.6 A Dynamic and Dangerous Crossroads

Welsh-language journalism, therefore, is possibly at the most dynamic and, perhaps, dangerous crossroads. And, while the language is perceived as being under threat, there are many other languages in a much more perilous state. There are around 7,000 languages

spoken around the globe. Mandarin is the most prolific, with 960m speakers while English is the second most widely spoken tongue with 700m speakers. Welsh finds itself placed 166th out of 7,000. As noted above, most of the journalistic consumption in Wales is of products produced outside the country, so any websites or blogs, could have a major impact on the country's democratic process, even sidestepping the traditional media altogether. As Roberts (2011) noted:

The 'cultural terrain of cyberspace' has several distinct technology-derived advantages over the mainstream press. Not least of these is the potential to capture the features of dialogue more robustly than print and the potential to collapse spatial boundaries (p.60).

A new, comprehensive Welsh on-line service, BBC Cymru'r Byd, was launched on St David's Day in 2000, virtually simultaneously as the dedicated English-language service for Wales.

It evolved naturally as part of the corporation's public service – perhaps a measure of the degree to which the practice of providing Welsh media has developed and normalised, helped by the new political climate following the devolution referendum in 1997, which released additional resources to BBC Wales to respond to the new conditions of a devolved nation, wrote Davies (2005, p.13).

From its outset the service offered a wide range of coverage and brought together sites such as that of the popular soap opera *Pobol Y Cwm* along with the substantial output of BBC Wales's education department. It offered an enhanced on-demand stream of the *Newyddion* programme as well as a streamed broadcast of BBC Radio Cymru. It also made use of the content production system (CPS) which had been developed for BBC Online and which had to be adapted to the needs of the Welsh language. Despite this being a considerable task, it did mean that stories could be posted instantly with audio and video embedded.

"There were many challenges," wrote Davies (2005, p14). "In terms of recruitment, the posts required a unique combination of the duties of a reporter, sub-editor, picture editor and audio and video technician. Intensive training was required to create a new type of Welsh journalism."

Journalists produced a virtual news magazine: the top Welsh stories as well as the chief stories from the rest of the UK and the world. The concern of BBC management at the time was how many hits the site would achieve, since only around a quarter of Welsh homes had Internet access. There was also concern over reading Welsh since the linguistic skills of some members of a minority language might find reading more of a challenge than listening to the language through other broadcast outlets. The target of 5,000 page impressions a week was easily exceeded, though, with numbers reaching ten times that figure and continuing to rise, according to statistics from the BBC's own audience research. Perhaps more startling was the number of people from outside Wales and from outside the UK who used the service. The BBC's own publicity material in March 2000 suggested *Cymru'r Byd* was the first daily Welsh newspaper (BBC, 2000). That may be true as it provided text and pictures. But the stories which appeared changed frequently as they updated.

By mid-2004, at least 15,000 news stories had appeared, not counting news-in-brief items – all available in a searchable archive, and generating millions of page requests. That represents a great deal of reading taking place in Welsh, which must be considered a positive contribution to the language's future prospects.” (Davies, 2005, p.16)

Morlais (Interview, 2016) considers that, despite the expansion of Welsh services, the site is hidden deep within the BBC's whole online presence and, after an initial increase, usage has levelled off. “The main challenge for this site is to develop an attractive set of core services and find an effective promotion mechanism.”

Perhaps even more important than the launch of the Welsh site itself was the way that new external relationships started to help consolidate the Welsh press. The 58 *Papurau Bro* in Wales received their own website. The payback was that one story per month from each paper should appear on the BBC's site – a considerable step forward considering the furiously independent stance which each publication took. *Cymru'r Byd* also paid for ten stories and two pictures each week from the *Herald*, the weekly which, at the time, was published in Caernarfon and circulated in Gwynedd. *Lleol i Mi* (Local to Me) produced weather and traffic reports as well as hyperlocal news from five locations across Wales. *Llais Llên* (The Voice of Literature) was an on-line magazine providing book reviews and author

interviews. Tweenies, the children's website was translated into Welsh, and the public was invited to contribute original digital stories. *Cymru ar yr Awyr* (Wales on Air) provided a library of clips of significant moments from news broadcasts and historic moments caught on air. The highly innovative Gwern and Gwennan were virtual reality newsreaders, who brought Radio Cymru's news alive through animation and lip-synch technology (Davies, 2005, p.17).

Initial impressions of the service were extremely favourable. The first-ever survey of consumers of a Welsh-language on-line journalism service used the more conservative estimate of site usage, namely 'page impressions' rather than the figure-inflating 'hits'. Figures also only relate of Cymru'r Byd website, www.bbc.co.uk/cymru. In August 2001, the site received 100,000 page impressions. By August 2002, that had risen to 175,000 and by August 2003 to 555,000. In June 2004, it received its highest ever figure, at 889,000. When figures for the *Newyddion* service were added in (and they were stored on a separate server), more than a million pages were requested from the BBC's Welsh-language services in one month alone. In terms of actual numbers of people consuming the service, June 2004 showed 44,000 unique users. A further survey carried out in April and May 2003 showed that 76% of Cymru'r Byd users came from Wales, 16% from other parts of the UK and 8% from overseas, predominantly North America. Some 24% of the entire audience, therefore, came from the diaspora. In addition, as is common with so many other on-line news services, the profile of users is considerable younger than the profile for newspaper readers or television viewers: 43% came from the 15-34 age group. In all, the on-line index showed that 40% of stories were devoted to British and overseas stories while the remainder was devoted to stories about Wales. The stories which invariably headed the list of the top 20 news stories week after week were *Welsh* ones, specifically about the Welsh *language*. This remained the case even if these were in a considerable minority compared to news stories from other sources (Davies, 2005, p.18-21).

However, in 2014, BBC Cymru'r Byd closed and was replaced by BBC Cymru Fyw. Its editor, Huw Meredydd Roberts (Interview, 2016) said of BBC Cymru Fyw:

[It] is the main online Welsh language service from them BBC. It is part of what we call the news product, so it sits in the family of what we call the BBC news product. It obviously has all the news stories, it has feature content, it has pictures, it has a

daily live blog and also we link through to other content providers. It has content about Wales and it is in Welsh.

Could this mean that Welsh readers had a somewhat parochial view of the world? Not according to Davies. Writing more than a decade ago, he suggested:

Given the social class to which they largely belong, and the often committed and politically conscious nature of active Welsh speakers such as these, it is fair to assume that they have a lively interest in news and current affairs beyond Wales. However, the assumption has to be made that they satisfy this need by using English-language media, which are able to provide greatly deeper and faster coverage of those matters than is possible for the Welsh-language service . . . the audience uses the Welsh-language services for what they can offer uniquely: news about the specific linguistic and geographic community with which the users identify (Davies, 2005, p.21).

That particular finding led to the reduction of British and foreign provision to 10% of output, replacing it with Welsh stories.

Fast forward 10 years or so and journalistic life has changed again. Newspapers such as *The Independent* are only published online, as noted above. Newspaper sales continue to slide with those under 35 being the least likely to purchase, though they consume news on mobile devices. News bloggers write millions of words each day. Social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter are linked to news organisations while the work of citizen journalists is easily accessible.

There are problems in Wales, though. Tom O'Malley (2015) suggests that there has been

A haemorrhaging of talent, as downsizing, cost cutting and mergers [in newspapers] has led to loss of jobs for journalists. This, inevitably, means that publications rely increasingly on trawling the internet for stories, or on re-writing press releases. Although the focus on local stories is arguably stronger in many of Wales's really local, small town or rural publications, there is still a lack of journalistic resources being put into researching and writing up stories that matter about the cultural, political and social life of the country (www.clickonwales.org/).

Ian Hargreaves (2003, p.12) suggested (even at that stage) that

Journalism stands accused of sacrificing accuracy for speed, purposeful investigation for cheap intrusion and reliability for entertainment. ‘Dumbed down’ news media are charged with privileging sensation over significance and celebrity over achievement.

O’Malley cites the fact there has never been a daily Welsh newspaper and it was only the BBC which provided the first all-Wales form of regular communication from the 1930s onwards. Many of the local titles which helped the Welsh to engage with local, regional and national matters have disappeared to be replaced with a reliance on London-based titles which rarely, if ever, mention Wales.

Welsh-language web content could also be threatened by the ‘clickbait’ phenomenon where companies lure readers in by way of misleading or even fictitious headlines which are sometimes linked to advertising. The more clicks a website has, the higher the advertising rates for that site. So what happens to Welsh sites which are far less likely to find hits numbered in the millions?

Despite all the siren voices, could it be that more people than ever are reading Welsh, simply because it is accessible? That is entirely possible. The BBC noted, in 2004, that its Welsh-language on-line service had enjoyed a surge in traffic after they introduced VOCAB – a new, open-source language tool which could offer instantaneous translations of Welsh words as viewers viewed the site. The implication here, of course, is that learners or those who might be less conversant with the language were accessing Welsh-language news.

The other fear is that on-line sources will weaken the Welsh voice in journalism. Not necessarily, according to Davies.

The concept of community remains particularly strong among Welsh speakers and that they bring to cyberspace the same interests and community priorities they expressed in the world of radio, television and *Papurau Bro*. From this it might be suggested that the process of globalisation, inherent in the development of communication technology, does not necessarily mean a weakening of a sense of

belonging. It appears, rather, that many users utilise these technologies for humankind's perennial purposes. Although the difficulties facing the language continue to be very considerable, these early signs provide an encouraging suggestion that the Welsh language will still find its media pioneers, as well as its new audiences, in this latest technological revolution (Davies, 2005, p.22).

Davies was probably right in his ideas that the technological revolution would come to the assistance of the language, even if in only a small way so far. In 2012, the *Press Gazette* noted that the current affairs magazine *Golwg* had launched what it claimed to be the first ever app for a Welsh-language title. Named *Ap Golwg* (a clever title which translates as 'Son of *Golwg*'), the app could be downloaded onto iPad, iPhone and iPod, allowing users to buy a digital version of the weekly title and to download additional video and sound content. The digital magazine was developed with the support of Wales Books Council and could be bought on a subscription lasting 12, six or three months.

At the time, the managing editor Dylan Iorwerth suggested that it was vital for the Welsh-language press to gain a foothold in new media. The other benefit was that the digital version would be "available to everyone everywhere from the minute it is published" (www.pressgazette.co.uk).

The particular benefit of this approach, of course, is that it appeals to the Welsh diaspora and makes Welsh journalism available worldwide.

Others, of course, challenge this view. Andy Williams, writing in *Cyfrwng* in 2009, highlighted the serious decline in circulation of the *Western Mail*. At the time of writing, he spoke of a decline from 55,273 in 2000 to 26,931 in 2009. A further calamitous decline has followed, with the paper now selling fractionally above 15,000. And yet, Williams noted the increase in turnover seen by on-line sales of advertising. Local Welsh websites made £3.8m in 2003, a figure which rose to £32.4m in 2009. He remains, however, sceptical as to whether citizen journalists will step up to the mark and replace the coverage lost as journalists' posts are lost. (Williams noted that Media Wales journalists' payroll stood at 700 in 2000 but, a decade later, had dropped to 136.)

Unpaid citizen journalists will fill the void left by the redundant professionals, either in the form of independent blogs, or in collaboration with scaled-down commercial media players. I am a great supporter of the democratic and democratising potential of alternative media and collaborative journalism. But despite the well-chronicled limitations of the mainstream news media I am also extremely sceptical about citizens' ability to replace professional public interest journalism. Accurate, sceptical, watchdog reporting costs in both money and time, and media workers need to be supported by strong, independent journalistic institutions which can stand up to political and corporate flak. I know from experience that citizen journalists usually lack both the resources and institutional support to seriously challenge power and vested interests. It also seems that some news companies are currently hoping to exploit citizens as unpaid digital serfs. Hiding behind the rhetoric of community reporting, I fear they are actually hoping to use volunteers as cover for further cutting into the professional workforce (orca.cf.ac.uk).

10.7 Encouragement for More Welsh On-Line

Nevertheless, there is still a great effort to encourage Welsh communities to engage in digital journalism and Cardiff University's Centre for Community Journalism and *Golwg*, with the support of the Welsh Government, sought to travel around Wales in 2015 to encourage people to learn publishing skills in Welsh. *Digidol ar Daith* (Digital on Tour) held free training sessions in 12 communities with the aim of stimulating an interest in creating and sharing news and information in Welsh. That initiative is more important that it might appear. A 2009 study by Daniel Cunliffe for the University of South Wales found that Welsh-language blogs are hard to come by. A report to the Oxford Internet Institute revealed that, in 2009, a little under a quarter of the British population aged 14-plus wrote a blog. Cunliffe extrapolated the Welsh Language Board's *Welsh Language Use Surveys of 2004-6* to arrive at a figure of around 275,000 people who can write Welsh 'very well' or 'well'.

Now, these numbers are somewhat rough around the edges and the time periods don't match – but if we assumed that 22% of these Welsh speakers were blogging, that would suggest they would create somewhere in the region of 60,200 blogs. If we use

the 2005 figures for blogging in Britain (17%) that would suggest somewhere in the region of 46,500 blogs (datblogu.blogs.southwales.ac.uk)

At the time, Cunliffe suggested that there was a hugely optimistic top figure of around 200 Welsh-language blogs, produced by learners, people from overseas, blogs which are pretty much inactive. The real figure produced by those who write Welsh ‘very well’ or ‘well’ was unlikely to top 100. His conclusion was that it is likely that Welsh people are writing blogs, but doing so in English. “It certainly raises some interesting questions about the vitality of the Welsh language on-line” (ibid).

More dire warnings come from European language technology experts. A 2016 press release showed that the level of support through language technology for 30 out of the 280 languages which exist in Europe showed that support to be ‘non-existent’ or ‘minimal’ for 21 languages. The study, entitled *Europe’s Languages in the Digital Age* was carried out by META-NET, a European network consisting of 60 research centres in 34 countries, working on the technological foundations of multi-lingual Europe. The assessments took into account support in four areas: automatic translation, speech interaction, text analysis and the availability of language resources. Several languages, including Icelandic, Irish, Latvian, Lithuanian and Maltese – and Welsh – received the lowest score in all areas. Surprisingly, no language had excellent support, though English was assessed as having ‘good support’, followed by moderate support for languages such as Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Languages such as Basque, Bulgarian, Catalan, Greek, Hungarian and Polish – as well as the Celtic languages – had ‘fragmentary support, placing them in the set of high-risk languages (www.meta-net.eu).

At this point, it is worth noting the contribution made by the National Library of Wales and its gargantuan project to make every Welsh newspaper available on-line, not only a valuable study resource but also a repository of Welsh-language journalism which can be seen worldwide. In a 2013 review, Professor Paul O’Leary noted that the project, which the Library describes as the ‘memory of a nation’ is “one example of how a national institution has set out its stall in the digital age in an unmistakably ambitious way, is the impressive digital mission (and here, for once, that managerially-tainted word seems appropriate) of the National Library of Wales to ensure that its content are made available to a public which

might never darken the doors of its imposing building at Aberystwyth” (www.history.ac.uk). As of 2013, 37 Welsh-language titles had been digitised, a figure which is rising year on year. There is little doubt that the Welsh language faces an even more gargantuan task to get its voice heard over the trillions of pages which can be found on the web. But to do nothing is not an option. Slowly, the nation is embracing online journalism with an increasing enthusiasm. It’s very much an ongoing project.

10.8 Conclusion

Web journalism is, it is probably fair to say, still in its infancy. But it is an infant which is growing at an alarmingly fast rate. Welsh identity is clearly there on the web, with several social media sites and search engines offering Welsh-language options. That is clearly a major step forward. The BBC, S4C, *Golwg* and *Y Cymro* have all embraced on-line journalism but the *Papurau Bro*, with a few exceptions, remain rooted in the past.

What has happened is that people’s consumption of news has certainly changed, and it is not yet clear whether Welsh consumers are reading the news in Welsh (and so receiving a Welsh view of the world) on their respective devices. The ability to pick and choose which news to consume does mean that a small nation like Wales is competing with hefty news giants. The number of pages of Welsh news (of Welsh ‘anything’, come to that) is infinitesimally small compared to the total content of the Internet.

In the same way, while there are Welsh blog sites and chat sites, it remains unclear how these are being used, compared to their English-language competitors. However, the evidence from the BBC is heartening, as the consumption of Welsh-language pages does appear to be rising rapidly.

As stated above, this may be a dangerous crossroads for the Welsh language. But there are massive opportunities, too, as the language has the potential to play a bit-part on the world stage. That’s where Welsh national identity could be carried off to all four corners of the world.

Chapter 11

Conclusions

11.1 Overview

This aim of this thesis was to look, in depth, at the significant role played by Welsh-language journalism in the construction of Welsh identity. Welsh publications were few until the end of the 18th century. Many aspects of Welsh life were influenced by Welsh writers, starting with the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1588. However, the number of books published in Welsh was small, until the publishers of early periodicals began their work. Within barely half a century, an almost immeasurable number of column inches was being devoted to newspaper journalism. Unlike in England, though, newspapers in Welsh suffered a rapid, even catastrophic, decline once broadcasting began and on-line communication presents an even greater challenge for Welsh journalists. As a result, the project evolved from a historical survey (which has proved to be an important part of the research, nevertheless) into an exploration of the relationship between journalists who wrote in Welsh and their part in the creation of a national Welsh identity and a viable and recognised Welsh nation.

As expected, the analysis proved to be necessarily broad. This thesis underlines the fact that there is no doubt that the catalyst for the expansion of Welsh-language journalism in the 19th century, and into the 20th, came from the invaluable work of early writers and publishers of periodicals. These were precisely the people – the early journalists - who reignited the Welsh love for music and literature, introducing them to politics and promoting discussion of religious and spiritual matters, thus allowing readers to discover – or rediscover - something which had been subjugated by the English establishment. While this journalism was largely consumed by a rural population (though there were the “outposts” of Liverpool and London, amongst others) there were a number of towns which became hotbeds of Welsh publication, among them Carmarthen, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Caernarfon, Aberdare and so on. As today, as is the case in the *Papurau Bro*, many publications were written and edited by amateurs – early citizen journalists. However, the greater part of the research has concentrated on the last quarter of the 20th century and into the present century – a period when major broadcasters

such as S4C and BBC Radio Cymru came on air, new on-line ventures were launched and the *Papurau Bro* appeared. Most newspapers faded in significance in the late 20th century, most simply folding, or merging, though there are glimmers of light as a series of new papers launched in west Wales in 2013 (the Herald Group, which publishes papers with about 25% of their content in Welsh) and a number of influential periodicals continue to thrive.

Overall, the thesis has achieved what it set out to do. It sought to answer three major research questions:

- 1: It sought to explore what creates Welsh national identity. Using historical sources, it looked at how that identity developed, after years of suppression, through the medium of journalism. That development moved on particularly quickly during the last quarter of the 20th century, with the establishment of BBC Radio Cymru, S4C and, possibly most momentous, the devolved Welsh Government.
- 2: The historical analysis undertaken in the thesis underlines the critical roles played by early Welsh-language journalists in laying foundations for the relatively vibrant journalism today.
- 3: As mentioned above, Welsh identity became a particularly potent talking point once broadcasting found a niche in Wales, after long-running arguments with BBC management, reaching important turning points in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the establishment of national broadcasters. While print outlets – save for the *Papurau Bro* and for magazines such as *Golwg* and its associated website – have decline in importance, radio, television and on-line journalism are contributing considerably to the formulation and strengthening of the distinct Welsh identity. That identity is much more tangible in the coverage given to Welsh affairs by Welsh-language journalists. News is much more likely to be reported from a Welsh angle and issues of importance, previously ignored or glossed over, such as the state of education or the NHS in Wales, are examined in depth. Since most monoglot English speakers in Wales consume media products produced outside Wales, the Welsh dimension barely merits a single word of comment.

A range of approaches was used to complete the research for this thesis. Historical analysis was the main area of consideration. Most information could be found in historical volumes

and journals, as well as in some book chapters and articles. What did prove difficult to track down was a definitive list of Welsh publications and although the National Library of Wales list is reasonably comprehensive it is not complete. It would be surprising if some early journals have not been lost, since many published just one edition in a town which was far from the major centres of Welsh publishing. More research could easily be carried out in this area, mainly to ascertain that a complete record is available. The historical analysis also served to put the whole research project into perspective. Without understanding the importance of the pioneers of Welsh journalism, it is difficult to put the project into context.

In order to put national identity into context, it was important to consider ethnographical issues, especially the questions around ‘otherness’ and ‘similarity’. What is it that makes a nation special? What makes it what it is? How can the Welsh be defined? This area was linked, in small part, with language study and the use of words, pictures, headlines, captions and so on. This proved only to be a small part of the consideration since it is only marginally.

Interviews were used extensively to ask open-ended research questions. Very few people declined to be interviewed and it was especially gratifying to find so many people who lead such busy lives prepared to spend some time talking to the researcher. These were mainly people who had been in (or still are in) senior editorial positions in main-line Welsh-language media. The few who proved difficult to track down and who eventually did not provide interviews were newspaper editors and staff of the *Papurau Bro*. Much valuable research was gained from these interviews, especially regarding Welsh Government policy towards the Welsh language and its relationship with the media. Especially useful, too, were the comments from the former Controller of BBC Wales, the organisation which provides TV news facilities for S4C and the only organisation running a national Welsh-language radio service. The readiness and openness of the Editor of BBC Radio Cymru and the Chairman of S4C also helped gain a valuable insight into Welsh-language journalism policy over the last quarter century, or so. Present-day issues and future considerations were also considered by some of Wales’s most prominent freelance journalists and senior editorial staff of on-line publications.

Along with interviews, a number of questionnaires were sent out, mainly to those involved on the *Papurau Bro*. An especially high level of these was returned, completed. The decision to send out questionnaires was two-fold. It built on earlier research carried out for a MA

dissertation at the University of Leicester by the researcher and it avoided the rather difficult situation which arose when several editorial members of staff at these papers bluntly denied an interview or a period of observation. As a result, a random selection of papers was gathered for case studies and an analysis of story content, subjects covered, numbers of stories used, type of language used in copy and in headlines, photographs and drawings.

Case studies were also used to analyse the content of magazines such as *Golwg*, as well as a number of editions of S4C news. Again, this partly included subjects covered, the amount of time or space given to a feature, how these related to Welsh matters and so on. Case studies were also used to examine the content of selected titles from the *Papurau Bro*, looking at the types of stories covered, the ways in which they were treated, the areas which they covered, the use of headlines, pictures and so on.

11.2 Main Findings from the Thesis

11.2.1 Why Welsh-language Journalism Matters

Once the Act of Union was passed, there was very little writing in English about Wales, though there had been precious little before that momentous political move. Henry VIII wanted to country to be totally subsumed into England and one of the easiest ways to do that was to pretend it did not exist. This was certainly the case in the 16th and 17th century, with more content appearing in the 18th century and into the 19th, though arts and culture, literature, politics and current affairs were largely side-lined. Local and regional papers in English mainly concerned themselves with local news issues, something which became even more of an issue once the railways were built and the newspapers produced in London and other English cities could easily and quickly be transported into communities which had rarely had a regular news service in the past.

The contrast with Welsh-language journalism was particularly marked, however. They covered the non-conformist denominations (the “national church” of Wales). They took Welsh culture into consideration and looked at international politics and current affairs from a Welsh angle (which was often at odds with the Westminster Government, much to the fear and panic of some printers). They also campaigned on issues such as Chartism and Anti-

Landlordism as well, in the early part of the 20th century, the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales.

There is, possibly, something of a parallel with today's Wales here. It has been noted in this thesis that the Institute of Welsh Affairs has twice commissioned a report which looked at media consumption in Wales, and each report revealed that over 90% of consumers of news in Wales read, view or hear productions from outside Wales where coverage of Welsh affairs is minimal if not non-existent. Those who read, hear and view Welsh-language journalism will be consuming something produced in Wales (in the vast majority of cases) where a Welsh angle is paramount and a Welsh identity will shine through. That, this thesis concludes, is something which started in the 18th century and has continued, as far as Welsh-language journalism is concerned, to the present day.

11.2.2 Cross Fertilisation between Two Cultures does not Necessarily Work

As noted above English-language outlets and those working in Welsh tended to cover completely different areas of interest. They largely still do. Reports from, for example, a major Welsh cultural event – the National Eisteddfod – will be very different in papers such as the *Western Mail* or the *Daily Post* compared to, say, S4C or BBC Radio Cymru. Long gone are the days when correspondents from (English/British) national papers would attend such an event. Reports in the *Western Mail* and *Daily Post* may refer to results of major competitions or significant political or social announcements made on the Eisteddfod field, but little else. Welsh journalists will be the ones to convey the real identity of Wales – that which makes it different. Content which was evident in many historical Welsh periodicals and newspapers rarely crossed into the English press. This was especially the case in the early days of the Welsh press where some views, e.g. support for the French Revolution, were verging on being treasonable. Later views on the disestablishment of the Church filled columns and columns in the Welsh press but hardly filled an in-brief story in the English papers.

So it is that two Waleses may have emerged, even three as Denis Balsom (1985) suggested. The Welsh Wales, where literature and culture, a link with the past, an acceptance of the present and a fear for the future may be the case; a British Wales where rugby and male-voice

choirs define the nation and an English Wales where the nation is seen as a region of the UK, being little different from the regions of England. The definition of Welsh Wales, this thesis has argued, has come from the work of early Welsh-language journalists.

11.2.3 The Importance of Early Journalists

Continuing the assertion made above, Welsh Wales would not have come about had the early journalists not opened up new avenues of interest for the Welsh people by revisiting the old bards, the ancient writers such as Dafydd ap Gwilym and Taliesin, for example, figures now seen as important in European literature as, probably, Shakespeare or Goethe. This revived interest in literature, music and culture underlined the important Welsh identity which was fostered by early journalists.

One of the problems which faced early publishers and editors was, potentially, this lack of a professionally experienced corps of journalists. Part of that could be related to the notion expressed by Jones (2000a, p.313) and prefacing Chapter Five where he says “Wales was neither a separate nor a fully-integrated territory [within the UK].” Chapter Five also explores the idea that it was journalists – or, at least, those involved in journalism – accepted that Wales was different well before politicians, churchmen and the general English ‘establishment’ accepted the fact. Geraint Talfan Davies (Interview, Nay 2016) recalled the Victorian view of Wales which was “centred around tourism and fanciful aspects of a history which was not always factually correct”. Those fanciful notions, it is suggested, came from English writers and not from those writing in Welsh who, as has been noted several times, looked to ancient writers, bards and musicians for their inspiration. Betsan Powys (Interview June 2016) said that, since only a minority of the nation presently consumes the output of S4C, BBC Radio Wales and Radio Cymru and the morning newspapers produced in Wales (the circulation of the *Western Mail* was 15,697 and that of the *Daily Post* 22,251 according to ABC Figures released in February 2017), it “doesn’t feel as though we are having a national conversation in Wales”. Again, looking back to the journalists writing in 18th and 19th centuries, when a large majority of the country spoke the language, with many of those monoglot speakers, they surely would have encouraged a national conversation.

Aled Jones (2000a) had noted that a “modern, post-Enlightenment idea of nation emerged in Wales” in the second half of the 19th century, along with a “renewed drive for the establishment of self-consciously national Welsh institutions”. This thesis has argued that Welsh-language journalism was one of the very earliest examples of a national institution which, until now, has been scarcely recognised as such. Jones (ibid) also noted that newspapers were closely associated with political and religious movements which has enabled communities and networks to interact and communicate with each other, providing “a pool of activists from which a social leadership could emerge”. Thus the importance of early journalists is further underlined, since they were the catalysts for social change and the strengthening of identity throughout the country,.

11.2.4 National Identity and Confidence

Much of what is contained in this thesis shows that national identity tends to hang on confidence. If a nation is confident in itself, its identity shines through. Confidence was knocked out of Wales by Edward I in 1282 and Henry VIII in 1543. Wales was told it no longer existed and its culture was banished. But, slowly, journalists rekindled the flame of passion for the country, its history and its culture.

Their passion for all things Welsh, and their use of the language, proves the claims of Professor Gwyn Alf Williams, noted in Chapter One, that the Welsh language is always seen as one of the most defining of all national identities relating to Wales. Identity was also extensively discussed in Chapter Two, noting how language, time and again, becomes the defining issue for Welshness.

Conflict was always there, too. Thomas (1992, p.6) suggested that the Welsh were defined by conflict from the very earliest days of their history. That conflict was particularly onerous under the Tudor throne and remained so for centuries. Pitchford’s claim (1994, p.37) that the Act of Union “marked the beginning of a sustained campaign of cultural homogenisation by the central state” was true. There is much comment in Chapter One of the continuing process of undermining the Welsh, continuing right up until the present, by journalists writing in English and based in England. This thesis demonstrates how that determination to wipe out the Welsh was challenged by the early periodicals and continued by editors who espoused

controversial topics, often finding themselves at odds with English politicians – though they would not have known. The considerable conflict with the London management of the BBC to allow the language to be broadcast at all is detailed in Chapter Eight.

Chapter One also looks at the political state of Wales today. Most important is the reference to the findings of two surveys by the Institute of Welsh Affairs which showed that the vast majority of people in Wales consume media products from outside the country, unlike the Scots who have a defined national press. Yet, almost without exception, those who have at any point in history consumed Welsh journalism will have read, heard or watched something produced in the country. It is probably that, linked with the new-found confidence post-devolution, that makes that 2014 finding by Harries, Byrne and Lymperopoulou especially interesting, when they reported that 58% of the population of Wales now consider themselves Welsh only, with only 7% saying they are Welsh and British – a highly significant change from just half a century ago and something utterly impossible when pioneers started their work in the early periodicals.

Chapter Two considered issues of national identity, in particular Wales's place in the world. National symbols include things such as flags, national anthems, institutions such as a parliament, museums, universities, national institutions such as arts bodies and so on. Language, while often seen as a secondary defining issue, is vitally important to Wales, setting it apart as somewhere different. English, after all, is the dominant language in the USA, Canada, Australia and many other places. Welsh is, very largely, confined to Wales and its use in the country helps define the country. By extension, therefore, those pioneering Welsh journalists who defied the English 'overlords' to write in their own language began the process of creating a national identity for the country. They passed the baton on to later newspaper editors and broadcasters who argued, consistently, for Wales to be given a voice in the world.

11.2.5 Non-professional Journalists

Much Welsh journalism – certainly until the 20th century – was not “professionalised” (and much is still not). More often than not, early journalists often doubled as ministers of religion, mainly from the free churches. Other journalists emerged from the ranks of local businessmen who had the wealth to sink some cash into publishing. When journalists did become “professionalised”, many editors continued to rely on the often erudite writings of local farmhands and labourers, church members, teachers and political activists. These were the people who wrote about poetry and literature, music and most other aspects of Welsh culture, often writing their own contributions to the Welsh literary heritage. This meant that journalism was open to all and people did not feel threatened or excluded by what was being written by people with whom they were in touch and might well know in person.

Indeed, this reliance on amateur writers continued during the early days of the BBC when (as noted in Chapter Eight) university based organisations such as Cylch Dewi were commissioned to produce Welsh programmes for broadcast. Even today, there remains a heavy reliance on amateur contributions to BBC Radio Cymru in much the same way as local radio in England welcomes similar contributions. The major consideration, however, is that BBC Radio Cymru is the national radio station for Welsh-language output. Relying on a goodly proportion of amateur contributors is not something which might be expected from, say, BBC Radio 4.

To carry the non-professional argument on, the *Papurau Bro* are prime examples of amateur involvement. These were the publications which used citizen journalists before the phrase had even been coined. They are also hyperlocal publications and always have been – again, existing in a hyperlocal world before the word had been coined. Very few people indeed on these newspapers are trained journalists. There is scant understanding of media law, journalistic writing, news values, page design and layout and objectivity in writing. They are universally popular with few critics and an enthusiastic and loyal readership.

11.2.6 The “Welsh Renaissance”

This thesis has called the early 19th century, a time when many new periodicals published in Welsh began to appear, the “Welsh Renaissance”. For reasons outlined above, it marked a period when Welsh identity and ‘feeling’ re-established itself. People began to read about themselves and found out about things happening elsewhere around the world through eyes which came from the same culture and tradition as they did.

This had never happened before. What publications were available in the early 19th century were generally written in English, often showing through English values, for fear of upsetting the Establishment. As noted in Chapters Six and Seven, Welsh writers often wrote fearlessly about things that mattered to them. Mention has been made of reference to the past. But they were often ferociously critical of the Establishment and often espoused radical and dangerous political stances and supported anything but the status quo.

It was this search for a voice which led to the label, for the purposes of this thesis, of the ‘Welsh Renaissance’. People had not heard similar views in the past. They were politically excluded and, if they were part one of the included few, the issues brought to their attention paid little heed to the needs of the people within their locality. Suddenly, however, they became aware of another path, one which would bring their own nation alive. By the time newspapers were being printed and distributed in their thousands each week, there was a defined Welsh awareness which developed, by the end of the 19th century, into a feeling of considerable national pride. That pride might have taken a knock when the indifference of Sir John Reith and his London managers to the needs of the Welsh met with furious opposition in Wales, eventually leading Reith to cave in. The same happened over the Welsh Fourth TV channel, leading to an infamous u-turn by the Thatcher Government in 1982 and, thus, to the foundation of S4C.

11.2.7 The Unifying Force of Journalism

Until the advent of the railways, travel around Wales was massively difficult. In many ways, it still is, even today. Prior to the laying of the iron roads around the country, parts of the UK

had different time zones, with Bristol time being around six minutes behind London time. Once railways began to run to timetable, so a single time zone was created.

So it was with language. In the case of both English and Welsh, dialects existed across the respective countries with, quite possibly, one villager finding communication with someone from a village a matter of miles away well nigh impossible. Once publications started to become available over large parts of the country, language was gradually unified. Indeed, according to Geraint Talfan Davies (Interview May 2016), the lack of a national publication in Wales – even to this day – is something of concern, though he conceded that a newspaper such as *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* which sold across the country, began the process of unification. Davies further recalled the quotation by John Davies (1994) who suggested that the advent of the BBC created Wales itself, describing the country as an “artefact created by broadcasting”.

It was journalism which began the process of unification, therefore. Early periodicals might have circulated around small areas, but they began to link communities, even if they were written in dialect. Later papers circulated around larger areas and continued the process of unification. Papers and periodicals emanating from metropolitan centres such as Liverpool or London added to the positioning and unification of Wales. Those papers with near ‘national’ status – *Seren Gomer*, *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, *Y Cymro* spoke with a uniquely Welsh voice on behalf of all the people. They also used what could be described as standard Welsh, where dialect became something of a rarity.

The same could be said of the BBC when it started broadcasting right across Wales, with standard Welsh becoming the norm even though, to this day, the major variations of some expressions between North Wales and the South are still heard. So, once broadcasting became the main engine of journalism, the process of unification of the language continued and accelerated. What was different was that the language would be heard rather than just read. The BBC began the process of standardising Welsh and thus making a national identity more of a reality.

This thesis therefore argues that, with journalism serving to standardise the language, it further reinforced the identity of Wales. It has already been discussed previously how the language is perceived as possibly the major identifier of Wales. The fact that journalists

largely brought the language to the people underlines the important of Welsh-language journalism to the creation of Welsh identity.

11.2.8 Avoiding the Welsh “Ghetto”

There was always a danger that the language could have been “ghettoised” – used by a small, exclusive community which turned in on itself and ignored the outside world. Welsh could have become the language of the elite, of the educated. Dialects could have developed into their own languages, divorced from the linguistic root and, perhaps, later dying out because people moved away or failed to pass on the language to their children.

Indeed, passing on the language to children did present something of a problem after the Act of Union when many Welsh regarded English as the language to use if they wanted to get on and prosper in life.

The language, therefore, has something of a debt to journalism. Welsh was not ghettoised. The language was preserved, as a result of the “Welsh Renaissance” referred to above. Readers of the products of journalism could rekindle their interest (and even discover an interest) in ancient culture and literature, find a voice, understand their situation and become politically knowledgeable, even active. On account of the very presence of Welsh as a medium of print communication, a broader acceptance of its very existence built up and, once broadcasting began the world was not only introduced to people in Wales, but Wales was very much introduced to the world. Perhaps more to the point, journalists introduced the very identity of Wales and the Welsh-language to a much wider – and generally appreciative – audience.

11.3 Thesis Findings

At the beginning of this chapter, it was noted that this project set out to analyse the role of Welsh-language journalism in the formation of Welsh national identity, something which could only be done by taking into account the historical context and development of Welsh-language journalism. That has been achieved. It looked further at present-day journalism and asked some significant players in the industry of journalism in Wales their views on the

current status of journalism in Welsh and the threats and opportunities for the future. This was also achieved.

The hypothesis presented in Chapter One said the following:

This thesis proposes that Welsh identity has been created, sustained and developed in considerable part by journalism in the Welsh language. Welsh journalism – in both English and Welsh – has underlined the importance of the nation and it has done much to create a national identity, something which is consistently ignored by the English media. It will argue that the expansion of journalism in the 1970s and 1980s helped create a more independent Wales.

Previous chapters have examined, in depth, the fact that Welsh journalism, therefore:

CREATED the notion that Welsh history and culture existed before the Act of Union in 1543. The English state had subjugated Wales and suppressed education, even attempting to outlaw the use of Welsh as a language of learning. There was a risk that ancient literature, poetry, music and even the history of the nation would be lost, even reinterpreted by the English government which sought to annihilate the existence of Wales, integrating it wholly with England (something which can be seen as an historic remnant in present-day government statistics which always refer to England and Wales). The editors of early periodicals and journals, therefore, highlighted Welshness, looked at culture and redefined history. As noted above, journalists continued to create a Welsh identity by expanding their journalistic empires into areas untouched by the English press (or even the press in Wales which wrote in English). They awoke the Welsh to politics, often of a radical nature. They discussed religious matters mostly from the nonconformist stance, despite the fact that the Anglican church was still established in Wales at that point, though the vast majority of the church-going Welsh attended the chapel, not the church.

SUSTAINED the creation of a national identity through their journalism. The notion of creation, suggested above, snowballed. Early periodicals such as *Tlysau yr Hen Oesoedd* or the groundbreaking periodical-cum-newspaper *Seren Gomer* reawakened Welsh awareness but their circulations were highly limited. What they did, though, was to provide a catalyst for the flowering of an extensive Welsh press. Denominational magazines proliferated, local

newspapers flourished, Y Faner and Yr Amserau combined forces to become an almost national publication. The Welsh could read about goings on from around the world, by way of a network of stringers and press agencies, through these newspapers. More to the point, there was news about what was happening at the Westminster Parliament, but reported from a Welsh angle. There was news about what was happening in Wales and in the regions of Wales. There were also, at the end of the 19th century, women's magazines, music magazines, special-interest magazines and so on. The press, therefore, was established and, this thesis has argued, became as much a part of Welsh life as the church or the court. As noted in Chapter Seven, much changed after the First World War and, in Wales, the BBC went on air. The struggles to hear Welsh are extensively documented in Chapter Eight but a regular Welsh-language presence was established a decade after the establishment of the BBC.

DEVELOPED Welsh identity through Welsh-language journalism. It has been argued, in this thesis, that identity has continued to evolve and grow, most particularly in the last quarter of the 20th century. It is also argued that this could not have happened without the foundations laid by the early journalists. But the rapid development of radio post World War II and the advent of television has cemented the identity of Wales. The language, as has been noted, is the prime identifier of Wales and the fact that there is a national TV channel – S4C – and a national radio channel – BBC Radio Cymru – broadcasting in Welsh (and available internationally through digital platforms) mean that Wales has a very clear identity. These channels also relate the news from a Welsh standpoint, something which surely helped contribute to the decision by the Welsh people to accept devolution of government. (BBC Radio Cymru had only just come on air and S4C was a figment of the imagination when the first devolution referendum was roundly rejected in 1978.) Journalism, it is suggested, is as important as the Welsh Government, the universities, the National Museum of Wales, Welsh National Opera, the BBC National Orchestra of Wales, the Welsh Rugby Team and many other traits of national identity. But, it is argued, without the journalism to support and preserve the language, the most identifiable trait of Wales would no longer be there to play its part in the re-emergence of the Welsh nation.

This study has looked at Welsh journalism through new eyes, arguing that the contribution of early journalists spurred on later efforts. It has also argued that journalists writing in Welsh take a different stance and are, perhaps, more in tune with the Welsh than their English counterparts. Welsh journalists were often early citizen journalists, they certainly set the

Welsh agenda in terms of areas such as political and religious discussion and they created an identifiable Welsh nation in the face of often vitriolic opposition in Victorian times and, even, until the present day.

The thesis has argued, primarily, that journalists were those who gave Wales its identity after centuries of repression. That is why the phrase “Welsh Renaissance” was used in this thesis. Journalists reintroduced the Welsh to their culture, awoke their sense of nation (if not nationalism), encouraged political discourse and stimulated debate. It has argued that journalists created a body of work which could be seen as the first majorly identifiable Welsh institution. There was the church but, as identified above, it was the Church of England, even if some of its services were in Welsh, for example. There was no university, national museum, national library or any other institution which proclaims a territory as a nation. Journalists awakened a new realisation and appreciation for Welsh history and culture and they paved the way for a radical approach to politics. This thesis, finally, has shown the extent to which Welsh journalists showed that Wales was different and that it was, after many centuries, a nation once again.

11.4 Future research

There are several possibilities for future research:

- 1: It is noted that there is no definitive volume charting the history of Welsh-language journalism. There is therefore the possibility of offering a part of this thesis to a publisher. (Indeed, some interest was shown by the University of Wales Press when they were approached at the outset of this project). The completion of a complete list of Welsh-language publications would also be a considerable achievement, if it could be done.
- 2: Liverpool has been mentioned on several occasions as being an important centre of Welsh publishing, in particular newspapers and magazines. Further research could be undertaken into this area. Similarly, London, New York and Philadelphia were also centres of Welsh publishing, though there appears to be comparatively little information on the involvement of the American cities.

3: The thesis could contribute to the work of the Institute of Welsh Affairs and the universities of Cardiff and South Wales as they undertake the annual survey of the Welsh media scene. The author has already been approached to contribute more on the issues facing North Wales, in particular the question of the democratic deficit.

4: The rapidly developing world of on-line journalism and the consumption of social media in Welsh is an area ripe for research. What are the impacts of social media on the Welsh language? How are Welsh speakers embracing social media? Are social media outlets bringing more young people to use the language?

5: The author has researched the Papurau Bro for almost 20 years. The development of the papers and their impact merits further research.

6: The continuing impact of journalism on the political development of Wales is another area to consider for further research. Wales is considerably more confident and its identity is developing rapidly as the Assembly in Cardiff Bay takes on more powers from Westminster. What part are journalists playing, in particular journalists working in Welsh?

7: The relationship between religion and journalism in the Welsh-language press.

8: The effects of national media institutions – BBC Radio Cymru and S4C – on the consideration of “Welshness”, consolidation of national identity and the use of Welsh generally, but especially in areas such as business, education and professional services.

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APPENDIX ONE

Transcriptions of Interviews

INTERVIEW WITH BETSAN POWYS, EDITOR, BBC RADIO CYMRU.

BBC Broadcasting House, Llandaff, Cardiff.

13 June 2016.

GMH: I noticed it yesterday when I was listening to Radio Cymru in the car . . . Yr Iaith ar Waith. I'd really not noticed that too much, which is an omission on my part.

BP: It's an old Hywel Gwynfryn phrase. And it has been there for quite some years. Some of the younger gang are now saying that we should be changing it.

But Radio Cymru is 40 years old next year. And what has happened in that time? I guess you'd say that, when I was 12 years old in 1977, I was typical of the sort of family where you listened to Radio Cymru. Of course you did. You listened because it was in Welsh. You listened to it. You would not listen to anything else. I actually remember arriving at university in Aberystwyth and meeting a girl from Llanelli called Jane and going in to her room and she was listening to Radio 1. And this is going to sound quite prissy, I know, but being quite taken aback that there were other radio stations, and because she spoke Welsh . . . well, you know, come on. There was huge loyalty to radio then. People would choose to watch S4C – well, it wasn't around quite then - and they would choose to listen to Radio Cymru. They would certainly choose to watch S4C and listen to Radio Cymru simply because they were in Welsh.

But, now people are listening to other stations. Over the years this has dissipated, and you could argue that this is a very good thing. They don't necessarily have to tune in to something because it is in Welsh but now they tune in to something that they enjoy. That is good.

Then you reach 40 years later and you find that Radio 2's huge popularity is as much a problem for Radio Wales as it for Radio Cymru. I think there is still a feeling out there that things still won't be as bad for Radio Cymru, but that is not necessarily the case.

GMH: That is quite a change.

BP: Well, yes. No longer is it Welsh speakers choosing to tune in to Radio 2. They will still tune in to Radio Cymru. They still tune in to it when they want. But they do not feel that they have to listen to it from early morning right through the day.

But we do still have an incredibly loyal audience. When you look at some of the facts, there are other radio stations which would give their right arms to get the figures we get. People listen for an average of 12 hours a week. That is incredibly high and it does tend to be an older audience. But that older audience remains remarkably loyal to Radio Cymru. As you get younger, that loyalty is not there so much. Younger people do not tend to tune in to Radio Cymru. But they will only listen to it for a much shorter time.

Now, there was a time a few years ago when the key indicators was bad news for us. The core Welsh speaking audience, our key audience, were listening more to Radio 2 than they were to Radio Cymru. So the station of choice, even for your most loyal Welsh speakers, was Radio 2. Now that has flipped again, I am very glad to say, so Radio Cymru is once again the station of choice for your core Welsh speakers.

GMH: I have to say that Radio 2 does not help Wales. I do get very irritated with Steve Wright and the way he asks what people are doing for the weekend, and one will say they are going to Oxford, or another will say they are going off to Bournemouth and another will say that they are going to Wales. Nobody stands on a station such as Wrexham when they are going shopping to Chester and say that they are off to England for the afternoon.

BP: We had an example of that in the last week with Chris Evans, the biggest show on Radio 2. He said he was supporting Australia in the rugby as that was the better team to support against England. Now, that doesn't seem to mar the popularity of Radio 2 in Wales. So, Rhys Ifans went along with a Welsh flag and said 'how dare you support them against us?' and for our listeners, it became a bit of a fun thing. It doesn't seem to us that we are having a

national conversation in Wales. That is particularly important when you think that the key presenter on Radio 2 chooses to support Australia. It does seem that bit odd. Because that is better for England, where does that leave listeners in Wales?

GMH: I did see a similar thing on BBC Online this morning, where the front page of the Daily Star talks about the attacks in Marseilles, where England fans were involved. They said Russians attacked 'us'. Who is us? I presume they changed the page for Scotland.

BP: Well, that is the point. When you land in Scotland, you see a bank of newspapers, and your eyes take a moment to readjust. You're not just seeing the Herald. But you are seeing The Sun and The Times and The Guardian and so on.

I remember going there the day after Tommy Sheridan's appeal. Either he had been successful or he was still stuck in jail. I can't remember what happened. But Tommy Sheridan's face was on every single paper. And then you remember . . . of course . . . of course. It is a national conversation up there and everyone going to work would have seen those papers. When I passed through Cardiff, there was just the Western Mail and that was nothing special. Now, I know that The Times and The Sunday Times are making a nod towards Wales but that's key. When that national conversation is not happening, when people are not talking to each other, then there is a problem. That is why the job for Radio Wales and Radio Cymru is that much harder. When you come to doing a story of national importance, or something which needs to be discussed in depth, we want to try to be first, because people will not have heard about it anywhere else, so that is still a point for us.

So, what we have is an audience which is less loyal. But they still tune in to Radio Cymru. Now we have to persuade people that you do not need to be like my grandmother and listen to it all day. But we need to attract people in to listen just for part of the day.

And it could be that the quality of Welsh, the natural Welsh. What about dialects? And then there is the job of our editors. What are you doing allowing some English language music to be played? And allowing someone to broadcast in the afternoon whose mutations are not perfect. What do we do?

GMH: So you do play some English language music?

BP: Not in the morning. But we do in the afternoon. There will be two tracks played every hour.

GMH: It is like a French radio station we heard in a car when we hired it some years backed. It was called Nostalgie, and it played alternate English and French music. It's rather like Smooth there.

BP: Well, we can say, there's Abba, but here's Tsunami. Here's Elton John, but now this is Tsunami. But, the very loyal audience will say that we are opening the floodgates. Not necessarily, but . . .

GMH: John Peel certainly used to play Welsh tracks on Radio 1 from time to time.

BP: He did, indeed. But it is a very difficult balance. This is Radio Cymru's USP. And if we lost that, then we have lost the whole thing. We have to have an USP and, yes, we are the national station which broadcasts in Welsh. It needs to speak to its audience as closely as possible. And, you know, we go from semi-local to Welsh speakers in South Africa and on the slopes of Everest.

GMH: I really have no idea how you find all these people.

BP: There is a quote I like, and I think it is very appropriate, and it was quoted in Hansard and Hywel Williams, the MP for Arfon said it recently. It was talking about broadcasting in Wales. And he said, they are like the Mafia. They all know exactly where you live. And it is like that. People who work here know where people are and they know through their own contacts. And I will find that quotation and send it to you.

But on Radio Cymru, we need to give a unique Welsh perspective. Now, we have things like Bardd y Mis. It's the monthly poet. It's the poet in residence. Now, where else could you imagine that?

GMH: Well, it is something as you might hear on Radio 4 . . .

BP: Yes. Exactly. Some of the things we have are very Radio 4. But there are other things which are not. The poet reflects on goings on each week. We got a message from Radio Scotland and they said that they were going to have a poet in residence, and they discovered that we had it already . . .

They are doing it over a year, so they are doing a 12 month residence on BBC Scotland. But we know a lot of people, from programmes like *Talwrn y Beirdd*. And we make sure that there are enough men and enough women to keep us going. So far, we are to month 34. So far, so good. People have reacted well, and they are always welcome to complain.

Again, we must push that as the USP.

News has to be from a Welsh perspective, too. Of course, we are doing the Euros and we are doing the Referendum. But you need to do that from a Welsh perspective and that has to happen all the time and that can be difficult at times. You have to be creative and that is vital.

We are doing a new series right now on the Young Farmers. Would other stations do it? Probably not. Would Radio Wales do it? Probably not. But for us and for natural Welsh speakers, this is important.

GMH: There is a national perspective, isn't there.

BP: That is absolutely the point. And we are intrinsically part of that. Welsh language music scene. There have been legal arguments around the EOS agreement but once you realise that Radio Cymru has to reflect the life of the Welsh language music scene, OK, reflect it. Can you argue that that this is not part of it? After all, who else plays this music? We play all and we are going to try to play – and I don't know whether you have come across this – for the 40th anniversary we are going to play or rather introduce a new level of Radio Cymru. So, using the digital availability, we will provide Radio Cymru 2, so those who don't want to wake up and listen to news can wake up and hear music. It will be available online throughout Wales. It is accepting that there is one station but there is more than one audience. That's where we are trying to get away from the single national station. We realise that there are other Welsh speakers to listen to Radio 2 or to commercial stations. Whether

technology will help Radio Cymru over the next 40 years remains to be seen. FM is full. But, digitally, in the future there are other things we can do. And online, we can do all sorts of other things. There is plenty of space online.

GMH: The Welsh content of commercial radio really seems to have disappeared.

BP: Digital radio really took off in Wales when DAB arrived and a great deal was going on. There was a big growth, a quick growth in Wales. Since they have arrived and the home-grown broadcasters broadcasting from Wales have largely disappeared.

Many of the stations are multi-nationals. But what will they do? It's music . . . bang . . . bang . . . bang . . . bang . . . and the news is centralised. It's familiar music, it's English language music. We just cannot do it. Well, we could do it, but what is our USP?

So, it's that balance.

GMH: When Swansea Sound first went on air, it had to produce an hourly Welsh bulletin. That's gone.

BP: So that is where we are. Technology is changing. And that is a real challenge for Radio Cymru. And that is a challenge for us. But, we can hopefully, carve out a path. We can offer a choice. And that is something we've not been able to do ever before.

GMH: The issues about democratic deficit. What you read in Welsh, and what you hear from here, is only going to be produced from here.

BP: The deficit is substantial. Ask most people who the First Minister is, and they do not know. And here, in the last Assembly Election, there was a great deal done to talk about how Wales works. How the government of Wales works.

INTERVIEW WITH DYLAN IORWERTH, MANAGING EDITOR, *GOLWG*.

Bangor.

6 June 2016

Undertaken in Welsh. The following is a translation.

GMH: I am sure that you know what it is I am doing in this project. It is a PhD and it started off as a history of Welsh-language journalism. There is not a great deal of information about. There was just one book written back in 1945, way before the days of radio, television and, certainly, the web.

And then, I went a little further, thinking whether it was Welsh-language journalism which helped created a feeling of nation, a feeling of Wales being what it was, and maybe, what it is. Has it created a feeling of nationality? Had that happened?

DI: That has certainly happened in part. The thing to remember that there are several different media in Wales and it's often hard to pinpoint one particular outlet which has done what you are suggesting. People have quite a choice and they make that choice. And I am talking here about Welsh speakers. Certainly as far as Radio Cymru and S4C and the Welsh news services they have accessed on there . . . I think what they have done is quite specific. What the print media has done is appeal to a wide cross-section of people. That was certainly the case when a newspaper like *Y Cymro* was selling a large number of copies. People relied heavily on that newspaper and that was particularly the case in places like the North. And what is really important for these people, who have interest in things such as current affairs, is that it is unquestionable that the media have strengthened the feeling that those people have of being part of a nation, of being part of a community.

And then, one of the big difficulties in English is that there is no national Welsh newspaper. I'd say that readers of the *Daily Post* and the *Western Mail* are distinct and they do not mix.

GMH: And those readership figures have dropped dramatically. The *Western Mail* is selling half of what it did just a decade ago.

DI: Well, that is true, but don't forget that both of those papers are on the web and many more people are reading their output there. What is definite is that a lot of traditional readers have gone. That is certain. But most people will tell you that that *Western Mail* is a South Wales newspaper and that all its effort is put into covering South Wales. What North Wales coverage that is in there is little better than just a column from a correspondent! And the same would go for the *Daily Post*.

Of course, the other thing is the *Papurau Bro*, of course. But they have not done very much to create a national feeling. A feeling of Welshness. Their whole purpose is to be regional or local. And that is their strength. And, in many ways, you can't really develop that.

GMH: What about *Golwg*? It is, after all, a national magazine. What is its history?

DI: From the beginning? It was set up in 1988. The history is that, around two years before we started, the Welsh Arts Council brought out a report on *Y Faner*. Their decision was that they were not prepared to renew the grant to *Y Faner* unless there were radical changes. The boy who did the report for them was Rhodri Williams, who is now at Ofcom. The real reason – and I cannot be wholly sure here – was that the Arts Council was not happy that the same company undertook both the printing of the magazine and its publication. What I think did happen – and this is off the record – was that the company made a great deal of cash out of printing the magazine but they did not reinvest that back into the company. I am pretty certain that the report said something along those lines.

There was a really long process of protest over this decision. But that was what the Arts Council wanted to do. I remember that there was a public meeting at the Eisteddfod in 1987. That's when the Friends of *Y Faner* had a meeting and the owner then said that he was not prepared to share the details about the company's activities. He did not comment on the fact that the editorial people were part of *Gwasg y Sir* in Bala. And some did not really see that as

a problem. But the owner of Gwasg y Sir said he saw no reason to divide the two and after that he said ‘that’s it’ and the magazine closed.

And that is when the Arts Council advertised. There was a grant of £10,000 made available. And at that point, I – along with two others – had been chatting and had come to the conclusion that if Gwasg y Sir said he saw no reason to divide the two and after that he said ‘that’s it’ and the magazine closed.

And that is when the Arts Council advertised. There was a grant of £10,000 made available. And at that point, I – along with two others – had been chatting and had come to the conclusion that if *Y Faner* was to go to the wall, we’d do something about it and establish a new magazine.

We really thought that there was a need for a new magazine. If you remember, *Y Faner* was really only a collection of stuff which had been sent in. There was practically no commissioning, and there was not really any journalism. Nobody went after stories. They just had to appear. Finding stories was not their style. Current affairs was not really their style. So we wanted to create a new magazine which was more newsy, which was more varied, which was more journalistic. And, in many ways, going after everything as though it was a story and pursuing that line, rather than waiting for something to appear.

That’s how it started. But, had it not been for the grant, we’d have had difficulties as it was a very long time before we were able to pay our way.

And we had a bundle of grants to help us, which began to appear. There was Cardiganshire County Council as it was at the time. They helped us out.

And the final piece of the jigsaw was having support from S4C. That was crucial as it put us on a whole new platform in terms of people’s perception of us as a publication.

GMH: So it is a very varied magazine.

DI: The contents are certainly varied but their character changes with the different sections which the magazine tackles: news, politics, current affairs, arts, reviews, sport. And we do

try to vary what we produce. What is the point of producing the same sort of column each week about a particular subject?

GMH: Do you commission out?

DI: We do pay our team of journalists and they produce the vast majority of our stuff. But we do commission other people to write for us. And we do have a team of regular freelancers who produce copy for us.

The main thing is that they have to chase stories in a journalistic type of way. That's what is important to us as a magazine. And, really, at the outset, we didn't really want to be popular in a tabloid kind of sense – like *The Sun*. I do think we have a good relationship with the people who read us. We produce what they expect of us. And I don't think that there is any magazine of a similar nature which has ever sold more than we have, even in the past. At its highest, it would see sales in the Eisteddfod week of just over 4,000. In an ordinary week, it is probably a little below 3,000. Over the years, it has been about 3,000 and it is just a little below that now. So it is holding its own well.

GMH: And what about *Golwg* on the web?

DI: 360? Ah, this is a totally separate company. And it is a totally different service. We made that decision early on. Because why would you? If you put everything that is in the magazine on the web, then what's the point of buying the magazine? A lot of outlets did do this. The *Western Mail* for instance. So, what was the point of buying the paper, if everything was on the web?

We do keep the two operations separate at *Golwg*, but we have the same staff working on the two operations. Because there are some things which work better on the web. Videos, for instance. Impossible in a magazine. But fine on the web. Or on our app. And, then if we do run a story which is similar, it is possible to put a lot more on the app and add to the story. So, you could have the same staff as work on the magazine, produce a video for the app. I don't see a clash there.

We did issue the app free. But the Government has now said that there are grants available for other outlets to create their own apps. And, personally, I have never thought that it is

possible to produce a national newspaper in Welsh. It would need to be subsidised, but the government is now offering a grant of £200,000, so we will see what will happen. And I do think that there is a huge need right now for a Welsh newspaper. What has always happened is that people have said that it is needed, but it has never materialised. There have always been difficulties. What has also happened is that there have been reductions all over the place and that there's almost nobody left in the BBC producing Welsh news. And that sort of thing is important, not just at the BBC but for other journalism outlets in Wales. If we want a news service and the demands are there, then we have to find a way of making sure that it can happen. That we can allow it to happen.

GMH: And what about hits? Do you know who is reading? And where they are?

DI: Where they are you mean? That is very difficult, since we do not always know the hosts. But, we send a report every quarter to the Welsh Books Council saying how many visitors we get, what pages they are looking at and for how long. That sort of thing. It is all fairly stable but 360 gets about 8,000 visitors each day.

GMH: And what about the future for the press in Wales?

DI: Impossible. Whatever happens to the press in Wales depends on the strength of the language. It doesn't matter about anything else. If the language is weak, then the press will be weak. We really have to think about what will happen to the language in the near to medium future.

We have been trying for years to get to some sort of agreement to work with the Papurau Bro. As well as other community initiatives and putting this on the web. We're trying to create a network of local websites where news will be at the forefront and news about all sorts – national as well as local. That's in order to try to create elements of a national feeling – a national identity. But, income is the problem. It's a problem for us as it is a problem for most people. How do you make it pay? And, in the Welsh area, it is all the more difficult, compounded with cuts in public spending. Golwg has always been a way of making money, but that does not necessarily extend into other areas. What we are also trying to do is to attract other people to get involved. There may be some private money, public money is being squeezed, but there is some cash in the third sector, and we are trying to involve them.

And there are people out there who want to create news, and there are people out there who want to get involved in social and community issues. They may not do it as “fully” as we’d like. But it is a start.

That’s one thing. The other is that advertising has certainly taken a knock. There is not so much money around as the economy has taken a knock. Could we be sure that advertising will come in in the future to support these projects?

There are possibilities and there are opportunities. Look at how Welsh TV has taken off. And you know about Radio Beca? They started off looking for a community licence but now they are looking much more at being a presence on the web. I am not sure how successful they are at the present. But there’s not much else going on for them.

In English, you’ve heard of the Herald group newspapers in South West Wales. This is rather odd. Here they are starting off a traditional print product at a time when others are giving up. And yet they are being successful. They’re traditional, local newspapers doing the old job. How successful they are commercially, I do not know. They are in Pembrokeshire and they extend into Carmarthenshire and there is a Ceredigion version now, too. As you know, a lot of local papers have closed, or centralised, and they have shared content. So this is a great idea.

GMH: And then there was New Day. Here and gone.

DI: Well, you could see from the first edition.

INTERVIEW WITH GARETH MORLAIS, WELSH GOVERNMENT ADVISOR ON WEB AND ON-LINE DEVELOPMENT FOR WELSH LANGUAGE.

The Old Library, Cardiff.

23 May 2016

GMH: There has been considerable development in Welsh on the web in recent years. What has been your involvement?

GM: I had been working in Sri Lanka and I could see, between there and what I was seeing in Wales, was that the next big development in terms of communication and in terms of journalism was the web and I could see that it could have a huge impact on the language. I'd been teaching HTML in Sri Lanka but was approached by someone at BBC Worldwide who told me about the new developments at BBC Wales.

So, I became part of a small team which was involved in setting up the new website for BBC Cymru-Wales. The two teams – working in Welsh and English – very much mirrored each other in what they did. There were, really, two versions of the one website: one in Welsh. The other in English.

The other significant step, both for me and for the development of web coverage in Welsh, was the European Summit which was held in Wales in 1997 and I was seconded to the team covering that event.

I worked closely with the BBC's executive editor/Cymru.

And that's where it all took off.

Clecs Cymru was one of the first chances people had to have a view, on-line, in Welsh. It was a great success, even if it was rather a slow start.

GMH: And now?

GM: The BBC has put considerable resource into the whole on-line effort. IT was felt that, in the digital age which was dawning, more and more people would participate and that is exactly what has happened. As far as *Newyddion Naw* is concerned, there really is a dire need for digital news. There's a need for more news on-line. There are not really the chat sites, the news sites, the sites offering different views that there are in English. People need to get their hands on the very basics of the news.

So, from that point of view, I am disappointed. I am disappointed at the conception of Wales as it is on-line.

But there are major efforts being undertaken. The College of Community Journalism in Cardiff is certainly undertaking sterling research into what is happening. And Digidol ar Daith is taking the product to the people.

And there are Facebook sites in Welsh as well as Twitter feeds. There's a *Lol* site. And *Golwg 360* is, without doubt, one of the best sites.

But that does come at a price. *Golwg* receives a public grant of £160,000 annually from the Welsh Government by way of the Welsh Books Council.

There are also some small networks which are developing, for example *Pobol Caerdydd*.

There is also the MENA project to put all Welsh newspapers on-line so as there will be a digital archive.

There is a great deal of talk in English about Wales and in Wales and concerning Wales.

There's not that much talk in Welsh. So a lot more asking and hearing needs to be done.

**INTERVIEW WITH GERAIN TALFAN
DAVIES, FORMER CONTROLLER OF BBC
WALES, CHAIRMAN OF THE INSTITUTE OF
WELSH AFFAIRS AND CHAIRMAN OF WELSH
NATIONAL OPERA.**

Wales Millennium Centre, Cardiff.

24 May 2016

Geraint Talfan Davies is a former Controller of BBC Wales, Chairman of the Institute of Welsh Affairs and Chairman of Welsh National Opera.

GMH: The significance of Welsh-language journalism and the way it has impacted on a national identity is the basis of my study. What are your thoughts in this area?

GTD: In the 19th century journalism was obviously confined to print and there was not really any obvious national – this is Wales-wide – identity, since there were no national publications. There was only *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* from the middle of the 19th century which sold all over the country but it was not really considered a national newspaper. And even up to these days, there is no national Welsh newspaper. And that is a concern. John Davies's history of the BBC in the 20th century gives a great deal more detail about news and journalism. He even suggested that Wales was an artefact created by broadcast. True, there were various Victorian notions of Wales often centred around tourism and fanciful aspects of a history which was not always entirely accurate.

But the creation of the BBC in Wales is often linked with Wales being considered as a single entity. The whole of Wales was taken into consideration for the first time and, until the creation of the Welsh Region of the BBC there was not much of a notion of Wales as an

entity. The BBC very much created a concept of a real Wales and many politicians related with that. Other may not have done, but it really is true that the political establishment saw the creation of a Welsh BBC as a way to get their voices heard in a way they'd perhaps never been able to do previously. This was a major step forward. And related to that was a framework for a real Welsh public sphere, for the first time. The BBC, really, created a Welsh polity.

The other major thing to consider was that, once the BBC came along, this was the first time that there was a standardisation of Welsh – north and south. The classic series, of course, was *Fo a Fe*, where there was an attempt to bridge the language north to south.

GMH: So, would you say that this really was the first time this had happened? What about print journalism?

GTD: The problem here is that the publications, other than what we talked about with *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, were not Wales wide. They were often very local. So it was left to broadcasting to create that bridge.

So the BBC created a unified Welsh – although there are numerous examples of the use of local dialects still around the programmes which are broadcast and which appear on the website. The other thing to remember is that, because of broadcasting, kids are speaking Welsh much more these days. It was something which was dying out but that began to be reversed once children could hear the language spoken on air.

And that is vitally important for the Welsh language. Its development has been rapid ever since the beginnings of broadcasting.

GMH: But Reith was not exactly a figure who particularly liked Wales.

GTD: Well, no. And you can read a lot about this in John Davies's book as well as others. He knew – and the Scots knew – that they had the power and influence to row their own boat in the early days of the BBC. At that point, Wales is almost invisible.

GMH: So, what was your role, precisely.

GTD: Between 1992 and 2002 I was Controller. Over that time, an extra £6bn went into news coverage in both languages and most of that money was devolved to Wales for us to use in the way which best suited our needs.

There had, of course, been the arrangement for the coverage of news and current affairs prior to the launch of S4C in 1982. HTV's response to the tendering process had two major effects on news organisations. The BBC might originally have considered providing all the news and current affairs but the decision was eventually taken for the BBC to provide the news and HTV to provide the current affairs output. The result has been interesting, since it has given something of a different feel to the two distinct strands. At present, there are three current affairs strands a week. On a Monday, it is all film. On a Wednesday it is a mix of film and studio discussion and on Friday it is *Y Byd a'i Le*. That's something akin to a Welsh *Question Time*.

The main thing to take into consideration was that this was the very first time, in a Welsh context – and a Welsh language context – that international world affairs had been discussed in any significant context. All sorts of areas were covered which might not have been covered in the past. For instance, they'd have looked at Cuba, they considered nuclear power, genetically modified farming, the Falklands War . . . all these things.

And the effect that this had? It elevated our journalism. It made it into something else. It made it fresh and new and relevant. Because the danger has always been for the BBC that, outside London, journalism is unambitious. It retreats into its own safety and it does not tackle areas that are vital and of interest to the population. That's where Wales and Welsh-language journalism really came into its own.

So there is little doubt that S4C made a major difference to Welsh journalism. And, in many ways, I felt sorry for the English language staff that they didn't have. What news coverage would we have had if the same support for English language news and current affairs had been available? It is still a huge problem for us in Wales, as we all know.

And, again, there is quite a political problem here. The remit of S4C is extremely wide. English-language coverage sees a split between Cardiff and London. Now, that is a little different in Scotland, of course, where there is a Scottish Six O'Clock News and there is a

Scottish strand to Newsnight. But that simply does not happen in Wales. In English, Wales is dealt out the same as what is dealt to London.

During the Scottish referendum, it became apparent just how different the two countries have become. There is a huge gap between Wales and Scotland now. Closing the economic gap between the two countries would be enormous. This is simply a reality we have to face. And if that gap did close, how would that affect the media? Would the strategy be any different?

GMH: What specific influences do you think there are on Welsh journalism, particularly from a broadcasting point of view?

GTD: Aneirin Talfan Davies was a prominent writer and broadcaster in the early days of the BBC and explored extensively issues such as the Spanish Civil War, and produced studies on the likes of T. S. Eliot, Pushkin or Poe. He also championed Dylan Thomas and Dylan Jones. There is a PhD on this subject written by Rhian Reynolds at Swansea. It is accessible. Tony Bianchi also wrote a major study for the Welsh Books Council and his conclusion was that the Welsh language marketplace can only exist because it is a sponsored marketplace. But if it is in English, then it can connect with an entirely commercial marketplace. Welsh does not have to do this.

The thing we must remember, too, is that for a very great deal of history, Welsh language journalism was an amateur profession. There were very few paid journalists. Columnists were often employed in other areas.

Even today, there is little reportage in Welsh – that is basically left to the BBC and to *Golwg*. But there is plenty of the journalism of opinion. And that is basically down to four people who represent four different organisations, probably BBC Radio Cymru, S4C, *Golwg* and *Barn*.

There are some who are paid a lot. There are some researchers who can make a lot of money. But Boris Johnson makes £250,000 a year from his column in the *Daily Telegraph*. There is nobody anywhere in Wales who is paid anything remotely approaching that amount. And there we have the problem for Wales.

INTERVIEW WITH HUW JONES, CHAIRMAN OF S4C and FORMER CHIEF EXECUTIVE.

**S4C Headquarters, Parc Tŷ Glas, Llanishen,
Cardiff.**

24 May 2016.

GMH: S4C has been on air for 34 years. What is the fundamental impact which S4C has had on Wales, generally, and on journalism specifically? In Wales, UK-wide and internationally.

HJ: The fundamental thing I would say is that any language and the people that speak that language need to have a presence in the most powerful media of the day. And I do think that television is still, despite, the internet, the most powerful, most pervasive medium of the day. That's borne out by the different assessments of the amount of time people spend watching television – or at least the amount of time that television is on in people's homes. That's, of course, not necessarily the same thing.

This is very substantial. You're talking on average four hours on average a day which is a vast amount of time. And I think it's unquestionable that if Welsh wasn't available on television, the language itself would be in a far weaker state than it is in today. And probably, Welsh identity . . .

Well, I think that there are some interesting questions about Welsh identity and the relationship to the language. I would argue that it would be weaker if Welsh was not present on the media. But there is an equally interesting idea borne out in Scotland and Ireland that national identity, language and media do not necessarily have to go together. So, clearly, you can make that argument. But I think the language has been an important part of the Welsh identity from way back, and even if you don't speak the language, you recognise the historic connection, you recognise the validity of the presence of the language around you to different degrees. In particular, you see the pride with which English speakers choose to send

their children to Welsh-medium schools. That's especially the fact in the South East, here. It's a real phenomenon.

So, the presence of the language in the media therefore is the challenge which S4C seeks to respond to. It's not just journalism – and you may want to refine the argument – but my main contribution is in relation to the media, of which news and current affairs is part.

Looking at it in the historic context, the points you have made about the vibrancy of the periodicals in the Victorian age is very true. And, of course, it wouldn't have just been news and current affairs in those periodicals, there would have been literature, poetry and entertainment as described in those days. . .

GMH: And all the Penny Dreadfuls . . . all the horror stories.

HJ: And then, of course, you have the Methodist Revival at the turn of the century, which tended to narrow it all down. And I think that is an interesting question. Would the language and the media been in a better position to face up to the attractions of popular culture? When they came along after the Methodist Revival on an international basis through the medium of English as the medium of communication. It was not that helpful to Welsh as a language of popular communication. It was not helpful to the Welsh language to think that its spheres had been closed down by Methodism. You were only meant to do certain things. . .

It is vital for the survival of the language and for people to be able to use the language in modern terms that there are opportunities to use the language and that there is a constant process of creativity. And going on . . . in that language you have to have platforms. And we have novelists who write not really knowing whether they will get published. But, on the whole, people need a day job. And that is in order to create you need to be paid. And that is what television does. As a result of that, we can point to a huge range of output over these last 34 years, and this will continue for the future. I am pretty confident. Look at children's programmes. That is the transfer of the language from one generation to the next. Most Welsh speaking parents would tell you how important Cyw is. That is particularly good when you consider that CBeebies is there and available. So you have got that in Welsh, so if you start particularly young, you can make the Welsh version the norm: the default.

So, regular soap operas are important. Drama, high quality drama that travels the world such as *Hinterland*, is important. News in Welsh is important. And programmes such *Hinterland* do so much for us.

GMH: I had forgotten about *Hinterland*.

HJ: The first series was our own commission. The second series was a co-commission with BBC Wales. They commissioned two language versions: one in Welsh and one in English.

GMH: I might have seen a trail for that last night or so.

HJ: I am not sure where they are at present. I know they are shooting a third series shortly. It tends to get broadcast on different channels at different times. So I am not sure where they are.

GMH: Late mother talked about what was on the “other one”. That was always the way we thought in terms of television.

HJ: We now have such diversity of service. It is interesting. Creativity. You say. I remember in the early days of S4C there such a range of creativity. A real spurt of energy. At the beginning there was a releasing of pent-up energies because the avenues were few and far between. There were people out there who had been digesting – gestating – ideas which they had and suddenly there was an avenue for them and that was great.

And then the challenge is to sustain that. You get into a period of keeping the thing going. I think now we are in quite a creative period. Again, there’s what’s happening. And now, acting in Welsh for S4C and directing for S4C, people are getting many more opportunities to pursue their careers on the network. And this is, in part, the success of Cardiff as a drama centre for the BBC. It does draw on a long-term investment on the part of S4C in talent in Wales. Hopefully, that feeds back into the fact that people will not stop working in Welsh and that they will bring their new ideas that, in its turn, becomes an addition reason to celebrate Welshness and the language.

GMH: That passes through the journalistic aspects in terms of news and current affairs. It has a Welsh slant. It is seen now as a Welsh service. I just talked to the guys from Cymru Fyw and they said that they put things up not because it is just a translation of the news but because it has some Welsh reason.

HJ: Yes. Absolutely.

GMH: Looking at John Davies' History of the BBC in Wales, the news was simply a translation of the English service from London.

HJ: People doing the news from the BBC, they absolutely have to be on their toes. Because that is a default option: just translating the news. But they do and they work hard at that. I think it is interesting. Looking back at the establishment of Welsh language broadcasting, you could say that at the time that the core argument at the time was that there was part of the population which was Welsh speaking and almost monoglot in terms of, they weren't in practice monoglot, but they were . . . English was very much a second language, and they were genuinely at a disadvantage in not having broadcasting in their own language. I think today, of course, the situation is not exactly the same. I think that those who say that they are practically monoglot are few and far between. You do have small children and then you have older people who tend to lose their faculties. They do become monoglot.

GMH: My father was chaplain at Clatterbridge and he regularly came across people who were either monoglot or who found a difficulty in speaking English.

HJ: And I would not want to make too much of that. But there is the more normal situation that people are bilingual to different degrees but whereas in the past, broadcasting was there to provide the same thing in Welsh as you had in English, this is a human rights issue. Now the challenge is not to provide the same thing but to provide something which is distinctive. So, what does this amount to? What does this consist of? And, in journalism it does raise some important challenges. So, the S4C news, the BBC's news on S4C, from the beginning was established to be not just a Welsh news programme, but a UK and international news programme. At the end of the way, we have come to the conclusion that it should be possible for you to use the Nine O'Clock News on S4C. That would be your sole news source for the day, so it should refer to the news in the UK and internationally. The mainly thing people

expect from it is a slant on Welsh news and on things that are happening in Wales and are not covered elsewhere. That is the premium people expect to get from Newyddion Naw. And that is the shift in emphasis which happened about two years ago which reflected the perceptions which came through audience research from a different kind. As well as giving it a better slot, the 9 o'clock slot is definitely the main slot.

GMH: This was traditional. The BBC always ran news at this time. The radio service – the Home Service – broadcast news at this time.

HJ: It creates scheduling difficulties for S4C. That does mean that you cannot have hour long programmes scheduled for 9.30. It really does not fit comfortably. This is why the English channels cleared the path for drama at that point. But, that is a different issue.

So, you have got . . . the question then of what does original journalism consists of, and there you . . . the existence of the Assembly in an interesting phenomenon in terms of news and current affairs. It gives you something to talk about. It gives you something which need to be talked about. It needs scrutiny. And it is quite interesting that the Assemble and the Welsh Government is quite edgy towards Welsh journalists because they are the only people who are holding it to account. And for Labour to have a built-in permanent majority, as things have been, in Wales, it is quite difficult for the Assembly to hold the government fully to account. So journalists and television journalists in particular are in a position to make to make things difficult from time to time as Welsh journalists. And this is a very important role. It can create problems at times.

GMH: That is interesting, because of the old arguments which you will have seen from the Institute of Welsh Affairs, that the likes of The Guardian and the Telegraph do not cover Welsh affairs. I heard on the *Today* programme this morning, I hear Jim Naughtie talking about Scottish elections.

HJ: Yes, the BBC because they are publically funded, have made more of an effort because of pressure over the past two or three years to get that righter than it was.

GMH: It is interesting and, how on earth, are you going to vote for.

HJ: The other thing I was going to say was that, because of the existence of S4C, has, I think, made the career and the phenomenon of Huw Edwards, I think, possible. I use that term with care. But I think the presence of an obvious Welshman reading the main news on the BBC is a part of the normalisation of the Welsh identity which wouldn't have been thought possible 20 years ago, 30 years, certainly. But there he is. He is there. Many people like him. Everybody has their own taste. But in terms of being credible and doing the job, he does it. His career was started on S4C doing Welsh bulletins for S4C. Guto Harri is another one. He is a similar character who went through the same process and has done on to great things. And he is, incidentally, a member of our authority.

This is part of having a platform which requires you to work in Welsh and give you the opportunity to work in Welsh so talented people can develop expertise which can then be put to practice in other spheres so they take their Welsh identity with them, and I think that when you compare with . . . but it also, and I think neither Huw nor Guto are examples of this . . . but Bryn Terfel is an example of someone who doesn't leave Wales. He still lives in Wales, despite being an international superstar and he would not dream of changing his accent and he would certainly not dream of turning his back on the language. So this was not always the case in the dim and distant past.

It's all part of self-confidence, legitimisation, normalisation of the language as a modern medium which, in turn, creates a context for the development of an identity which is not the same for everyone. It's not the same for everyone, as individuals are complex in their identity. People do not have just one identity. We have several; national, or whether it has to do with an interest or a social group or whatever.

Welshness is one of those identities which is pretty firmly grounded now. And I think if there was a time of crisis, it was probably after the War. It was a traumatic experience which created cultural change. It made Britishness more of a reality for people from rural communities than ever before. People going in to the army and so forth. Then, the questions are how that will effect what happens next took a while to work out and, certainly, after the war, you were aware of rural areas where many people made the decision not to pass the language on to their kids. The language is still under threat in rural areas but it is for different reasons. I think, these days, where there are two parents who speak Welsh to each other, they are very unlikely not to speak Welsh with their kids so there is a reason and a confidence to speak the language.

GMH: I see that S4C is available digitally.

HJ: Yes, and outside Wales. Which is important.

GMH: We could always get it on the old analogue system. Most people in Wirral could.

HJ: Certainly, one of the interesting phenomena of our viewing figures in recent years has been the growth of viewing outside of Wales. That reflects the increasing availability of S4C. It has been available on Sky for some years. Now it is available on Virgin.

GMH: That's where I spotted it . . .

HJ: And, of course, on line. It is also on iPlayer and on our own click service. So the availability is there and people are increasingly finding it and using it. It is an interesting phenomenon.

GMH: Can you subtitle?

HJ: At the moment, the only way you can do that is by watching a programme which already has subtitles. With open subtitles. That is something we would like to crack but, technically, it is not possible at the moment.

GMH: So, if you are Leeds or somewhere, you can use the subtitles.

HJ: That is possible but you do have to choose: you need to press the button. So, broadly speaking, inevitably, you have to say that Welsh media and Welsh journalism have contributed very substantially, to the development of a Welsh national identity. Of a complex Welsh identity.

GMH: And S4C, how is it perceived UK wide and internationally?

HJ: That is a big question. It depends where you come from. In the UK, we are recognised as an interesting, slightly quirky part of UK public service broadcasting. You also have to

address the question of how aware people are outside Wales of the existence of the language. And the truth of the matter is that they really have no idea. Few English people actually realise that Welsh is a living, spoken language. There is a tendency to think of it as a ceremonial language. We are doing this and using the language to be awkward. So you have to get over that hump.

Internationally, it is a lot easier, provided you get into the right places. They will take the language at face value. Well, they think that here is another foreign language. It is not spoken by a huge number of people but it is from a quite interesting part of the world and if the content is any good we are happy to watch it. Hinterland has been sold to 30 different countries. We are coproducing a range of programmes with other countries at the moment such as South Korea and, as we speak, Ian the chief executive is out at the programme market at MIPIM in Cannes where he is hopefully doing deals. That will bring Welsh programmes to another audience.

GMH: I was looking the other day at the success of SuperTed and how that really took off.

HJ: Yes, and Fireman Sam was another one which is still going. And there were the four S Oscar nominations we have had over the years. And then there was a nomination at the RTS awards last week. We didn't win, but it was one of three nominations. We didn't win. But we are competing on the same field and on the same basis of quality. And actually, that is where we have to be. Coming back to this point, the viewer is quite a promiscuous creature choosing his or her viewing wherever it is to be found. The challenges are quality, relevance, uniqueness, and marketing. And that is a continuing challenge. One of the big issues is how to get people who know that programmes are one, to get them to go and look at them. That is one of the big issues of the digital age. Again, Ian the chief executive is really pushing hard on that front.

INTERVIEW WITH HUW MEREDYDD

ROBERTS AND RHIAN JONES.

BBC Broadcasting House, Llandaff, Cardiff.

6 April 2016

GMH: How has the BBC developed its Welsh online services?

HR: Broad question. I have only run the service for four years, so I manage the Welsh language online service for BBC Wales. It is probably worth speaking to other people, Gareth Morlais, for instance. He was here, I think, probably when the Welsh online service was first set up.

I suppose the BBC has always been quite instrumental in terms of developing a presence for Welsh language content online. They've always been keen to promote the language. The first thing they did, I think, was to experiment with coverage of elections back in the 1990s. That was before setting up the first news website, Cymru'r Byd.

I guess that over the past 20 years, and this is talking about on line only, of course, but there has been quite a lot of variation in what the BBC offered on line. With online you can change the offer quite easily. You can adapt to the needs and the requirements of the users. That happens as and when it needs to happen. Ten years ago, social media was not the force that it is today. And I think that has been key in terms of the BBC. To be able to adapt easily what we offer. And having a presence for Welsh language content – always having a presence for Welsh language content on BBC platforms.

So, in recent years – two years ago – we launched BBC Cymru Fyw. And BBC Cymru Fyw is the main online Welsh language service from them BBC. It is part of what we call the news product, so it sits in the family of what we call the BBC news product. It obviously has all the

news stories, it has feature content, it has pictures, it has a daily live blog and also we link through to other content providers. It has content about Wales and it is in Welsh. That's another aspect of what Cymru Fyw offers.

What is important about Cymru Fyw is that it is unique.

RJ: It is not a rehash of the English site or any other site. It is different.

GMH: Ah, that is good.

HR: It is, probably, obvious to say that, but all Welsh language speakers are bilingual. There aren't really any monoglot Welsh speakers. So, obviously, to attract users who are Welsh speaking, you have to offer something which is unique. Simply creating a service which is a rehash of something which is English is just not going to work. IT is all about creating a service which is uniquely Welsh. That is what Cymru Fyw has allowed us to do. It is a service which is setting its own agenda.

GMH: On the issue of blogs and so on, how much public engagement is there?

HR: Do you mean in terms of use or do you mean in terms of people interacting with the site?

GMH: Both really. Are there many people who will be offering a view at the end of a story? Will they comment? Does a conversation or argument ensue?

HR: One of the keys areas is social media. Obviously we have bbc.co.uk as a platform where people can interact. And Radio Cymru online and so on. But then we have the social element of our services, so each service has its own platform for debate. And there are others. But social media has allowed us to contact readers, to engage more with our audience and our users and, obviously we receive messages, texts, tweets, Facebook messages, comments on content, suggestions for content, contributing ideas. All of this. So, I really think that the sea change has been social media.

GMH: How much is devoted to news coverage. What is the balance? How much is news? How much is features? How much would be devoted to things such as backgrounders?

RJ: IT is quite difficult to quantify. Both have their own distinct areas. We would publish, though it depends of the day, anything between 10, 12, 13 news stories a day. Some of them are short, four paragraphs. Others are longer. But it difficult in terms of work volume to quantify them.

GMH: Well, thinking about that. Today, say, the American election. Winsconsin has voted today. Would you look for a specifically Welsh angle to that story? Would you be looking for a Welsh speaker to comment on that story?

RJ: No, we wouldn't. There might be a place to do something about the American elections further down the line. We might do a story, of course, but that really is the natural territory of Radio Cymru. And I heard somebody from Wisconsin on this morning, funnily enough. You know, there might be something we could do about the American elections but I do not think that people would come to Cymru Fyw to get that story.

HR: That is why the online service we provide is that bit different from Radio Cymru in particular. With other services, I did say before that all Welsh speakers can speak English and we would not expect them to come to Cymru Fyw to get news about the American elections. They look to Cymru Fyw to get news about Wales. In the past BBC Cymru'r Byd did cover international news stories in Welsh. The main reason for the change was that we found that Welsh speakers were not turning to our services to get news online: they were going to English sites to get their news. That's why we decided to focus our editorial content onto Wales-based issues. And that has been part of the success of Cymru Fyw. What we offer is as good as you would get anywhere else, if not better.

But it would be very difficult for Cymru Fyw to compete with other BBC news services on something like the American elections. And Welsh speakers would not turn to us for something like that.

GMH: So, have you got away from that old idea that people read something, listen to something, watch something not particularly because they want to but because it is Welsh?

HR: I think, online, people do not turn to something because it is Welsh. They turn to something because it appeals to them. Content is kind, as in if you can get content which appeals to someone, they will come to it. It has little to do with language.

GMH: That is good, really. You have massive, huge competition. I've been reading about online content, and there are millions if not billions of pages out there. How can you compete, really?

RJ: You can't. You just have to make the content as good as possible.

GMH: Do you know what the reach is, both inside Wales and outside Wales?

HR: In terms of Cymru Fyw. When it started, there were 10,000 unique weekly browsers. Let me explain what is meant by unique weekly browser. That is quite important. That is the number of users who come to the service in the space of a week. So if they came to Cymru Fyw on Thursday, that is one unique browser. If they looked up 20 stories, they are still one unique browser. That's how we measure the number of unique weekly browsers to our services. So, 10,000 unique weekly browsers when we launched BBC Cymru Fyw and, within year, we'd trebled that to 30,000 unique weekly views. So if you want to look at success, there it is. We've trebled our user base in 12 months. So that is Cymru Fyw.

Cymru Fyw is the main Welsh language online site of the BBC in terms of the news product. We also have online services such as Radio Cymru on line, there is the Welsh language content on the iPlayer. There is Welsh language content in cBeebies, there is the Welsh language home page, we have weather and traffic in Welsh, so there is a whole suite of products available in Welsh from the BBC. But Cymru Fyw is the flagship service for the BBC in Welsh.

So, Cymru Fyw trebled its readership. If you look at the whole suite of products, this is 2014, the overall reach was 40,000, and in 2015, it was up to 89,000. That will include things such as S4C content on the iPlayer or cBeebies content in Welsh. That is all of our services, including Cymru Fyw, but not exclusively Cymru Fyw.

That is on the increase, and the next set of figures will be out in May. I think it goes to the financial year, so it will be 2015-16 up to April.

GMH: Do you know how far the reach goes? Are people looking overseas?

HR: We only report on figures in the UK. But we do know that people are looking at the site outside the UK. Last year was the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Patagonia community. We do know that there was a large number of people looking at the content from outside Wales. But we do not get reports of users outside the UK. We do get reports now and again of people looking at the site from all sorts of strange places.

We have certainly seen a rise in the AI – the audience Appreciation Index. So, when you use BBC On Line, you occasionally get asked to take a survey. It's a pop-up and you can give various services a score. So we have seen an increase in our AI score. So that has been encouraging. That is just as important as our reach, really. It shows that people are using our service, they are enjoying our service and they are coming back to our service.

GMH: You mentioned the uniqueness of the service. Would you say that the Welsh online services reflect a particular Welsh identity?

RJ: I think those pieces which are the most popular are those which reflect the Welsh way of life, as Huw said earlier, those which equate with people and we actively work on those pieces of work. We know that those pieces are popular. Although, on a news agenda, you would tend to follow the news, but with one eye on what you were mentioning before. What is different about Wales? Why are we different?

HR: Unique is the essence of what we are about. Users come to us because we are different.

GMH: How many people work on the site?

HR: Difficult to quantify. People work across the newsroom on different platform. It is very difficult to put a figure.

GMH: Anything else to add.

HR: We should say that Welsh language content is available internationally on the iPlayer. It means we are getting Welsh content out around the world. In many ways, the linear services are live and they're there and gone. With online, people can come back and look or listen again. But with social media, or the like, you can reach a huge number of people with one piece of content. That is difficult to do with linear audiences. They're either listening or they are not listening. One of the great things you can do with social media, is that if you have a great news story or great interview, if it is live on radio, it's heard and then gone.

INTERVIEW WITH MERI HUWS, WELSH LANGUAGE COMMISSIONER: WELSH GOVERNMENT.

**Vale of Glamorgan National Eisteddfod, Llandow.
August 2012.**

GMH: The first question is: How important is the use of the language in developing a Welsh identity?

MH: That's an interesting question and you do have a backdrop. We're now talking about a position in Wales where approximately 20% of the population speak the language. That number increased in the last census. I think it is important to note that. And as we await the conclusions of the last census, the 2011 census . . .

GMH: Which is soon, really . . . ?

MH: Yes, that's expected in six weeks' time, the first cut. It's going to be interesting to see whether we see a similar increase. I think we are going to see an increase in the number of people speaking Welsh. Why are people making that decision, then? It's not so much that they want to learn Welsh themselves but, more importantly, it's to ensure that their children speak Welsh. Because that's what we have seen. A huge and significant growth in Welsh education. Why are people doing that? Well, there are a number of reasons and I think it is partly down to Welsh identity. And that is a complex concept in itself. It is about Welsh identity. But it is also about economic advantage, there's no question. So we are talking about the Welsh worker. The bilingual worker. And we have seen – and I think this is a process of devolution and changes in legislative structures in Wales – and we are far more aware of our Welshness. And that then feeds into the wish to learn the language, or as part of that expression. So it's an expression of identity. And also a way, because of the legislation, of forcing people towards the point where they actually see the value of the language. I'm not sure that makes that much sense . . . but it is part of a jigsaw. But it is all part of an identity. And it is building on a whole series of demographic changes, educational changes,

constitutional changes and legislative changes. And they are all going at different paces in the same direction.

GMH: So, onto the second question. Do people who do not speak Welsh feel less ‘Welsh’ than their compatriots who can speak the language?

MH: I don’t think I am in a position to answer that. I simply do not know. You would need to talk to others. I really cannot tell you . . .

GMH: It is a question I’ve asked myself a lot. It’s a lot to ask. I suppose I must keep going and I will ask others. So, the third question is this. Should all organisations in Wales – public as well as private – have a Welsh language policy in place? And how might this change the notion of a Welsh identity?

MH: As we move forward – and I suggest you take some of our literature – legislative change in Wales, especially the Welsh Language Measure of 2011, will require all organisations in the public sector not only to have a Welsh language policy in place but also to comply with Welsh language standards and those standards will be put in place and defined by the government and the whole process will be overseen by the Commissioner. That’s our role as a regulatory role. Increasingly, those standards – either through legislation or through choice – will apply to private sector organisations. Why have standards? Well, because I think people are increasingly looking for guidelines for what they should be delivering through the medium of Welsh and these standards give people a consistency of delivery. We are seeing a sea-change in Wales in the way the language is perceived and the fact that we are now seeing legislative requirements to comply with Welsh language standards. This will push . . . will enhance the situation further.

GMH: Certainly you now see on buses and railway stations and in supermarkets – and I suppose, under current legislation, supermarkets do not have to comply - but they do . . .

MH: They choose to . . . Many supermarkets, for instance, not only have the signage but they also have the self service tills that can speak to you in Welsh. But they have done that through choice but it is reflecting what is happening on the statutory side. So you have a push

me-pull you situation here, where legislation is pushing but it is also pulling other organisations towards providing bilingual services.

GMH: That certainly happens in my part of the world where some services are provided on a cross-border basis. That means that, in Birkenhead, we get bilingual road signs from time to time. And so, it's onto the next question. How much support is given to Welsh language publishing, both in terms of monetary sums and 'in kind', i.e. assisting organisations in preparing a Welsh language policy, etc. And what are the areas of involvement of the Welsh Language Commissioner compared with other bodies such as Arts Council Wales?

MH: In actual financial support, I think you need to talk to the Government about this. In actual financial terms, you could find out how much actual cash is going into the sector. The Welsh Books Council, who are next door, here. I think you should have a conversation with them. And there is a fair amount of money going in to enhance Welsh language publishing. The Arts Council of Wales have a very proactive policy in relation to their expectations in terms of, not necessarily performance through the medium of Welsh but their literature and the literature of the organisations they fund and things such as signage – they should all be bilingual. But that is interesting as well. They do play a proactive role. In actual financial terms I think you are in a brilliant position today to talk to some of these organisations. The Arts Council is on the field and I have seen the Chief Executive this morning. So I would encourage you to go to talk to them.

GMH: I suspected they are the ones I needed to speak to. I will throw the question at them and see where we get. The next one is what would you say is the identity of Wales and how is it tied up with the language?

MH: It is similar to question two . . . the identity of Wales? Well, it's complex. It's partly linguistic. It's partly historic. It's partly about a new very modern Wales. It's characterised by aps in the Welsh language, by new developments in relation to Google, G-mail is available in Welsh, Microsoft interface is in Welsh, so Welshness is a whole combination of looking back and looking forward. And this week, it's very much about who is representing Wales in the Olympics.

GMH: That's a good point. If you did look at the coverage of some of the newspapers from round the world they were bamboozled by the opening ceremony. It's difficult to understand that the UK is Wales and Scotland and England and bits of England at that. It's not easy.

MH: Indeed. It is very, very complex. If you just stand here in the Eisteddfod and look around you, it's about crafts, it's about Welsh language publishing – and that's interesting: Golwg 360 – so it's a whole host of issues.

GMH: So what role do you see journalism playing in the development of Welsh?

MH: (In Welsh) Before I answer that, can I make a suggestion? Do you see the person standing over there with his back towards us? He's the owner of Golwg 360. That's Dylan Iorwerth. OK. So what role does journalism play? It's a central role. If you look at Radio Wales and Radio Cymru, if you look at BBC Wales in its provision and, increasingly, if you look at organisations such as Golwg 360, it's part of the way in which we identify ourselves and understand ourselves. It's critical. The written word, the spoken word. They are critical. I think the challenge for us is not only the written word and the spoken word in traditional broadcasting spheres, but it's the Twitters, the whole digital explosion that's happening. And it is interesting that one of the main lectures yesterday given on the field was from Rhodri Talfan Davies who runs the BBC – BBC Wales - and his message was that we need to get our heads around digital Welsh. And the new ways of communication because we cannot rely on the old ways of communication.

GMH: Yes, that will be true. But with newspaper sales going down and more people reading on line. And what about the Papurau Bro?

MH: Yes, and again the Minister spoke to the Papurau Bro on Saturday, the Minister for Education and the Language, and stressed again that they need to look at the ways in which they are communicating. To what extent they can go online which, of course, is a big challenge for them.

GMH: And then finally. Is there a feeling that some Welsh speakers consume Welsh journalism not out of a sense of wanting to find out about current affairs, news etc, but because there is a feeling that they ought to be reading the language?

MH: That's a really difficult question again. I am sure there is a proportion of people who read Welsh newspapers because they are in Welsh. But, at the same time, you are consuming and being provided with ideas in the language. There is a really interesting tension in receiving information in the two languages. Because when you use two languages, the content and the way you express facts are different. One of the big challenges in Wales at the moment is nothing to do with journalism but it's when we draft legislation bilingually and when we implement legislation bilingually, and the Welsh Language Measure which established the role of commissioner was drafted bilingually and it was drafted side by side and we have to read it side by side and it must be implemented side by side and that is an interesting concept.

GMH: That is interesting because of reading the history of certain things such as the advent of commercial television in the 1950s, you could only have Welsh on before 5 in the afternoon and that's when you had your little dollop of Welsh. And people have not got used to having as much Welsh around them as they do.

MH: I think that is certainly changing. I've got my phone down there and I can get Golwg 360 any time I want, so that requirement to respond to timescales has gone. I can get information through the medium of Welsh at any time. And one of the reasons we access information alongside the English language is to understand the nuances of interpretation. We've announced this morning, the Commissioner that is, that we are going to start looking at the whole field of health and care. And it is interesting how the Welsh language media and the English language media have interpreted the story in two completely different ways. So you have to read something in Welsh and in English alongside to get the real story.

GMH: So maybe it would be an idea to look at a story from September 10th or May the 30th and compare them side by side.

MH: Well, have a look at how our announcement today will be covered. And when you read the two languages you will get a different story.

INTERVIEW WITH VAUGHAN RODERICK, FREELANCE POLITICAL JOURNALIST.

Y Senedd, Cardiff.

24 May 2016.

GMH: What is the situation regarding Welsh language journalism and did it have a role in the creation of a Welsh identity? I'm thinking here from a political background.

VR: You do assume a degree of knowledge of the audience and that is a starting point. That said, you could not really explain everything anew each time you go on air. However, Welsh speakers are often more politically informed about Wales and matters about Wales. I'd say that most Welsh speakers gain a somewhat superior view of the Welsh political situation through watching something like *Wales Today* and then adding to that with *Newyddion*. What is probably true is that it is rather more expensive to provide a news service in Welsh, since the journalistic input will cost the same but the reach that journalist will have it that much more limited.

GMH: How do people react to Welsh journalism?

VR: The take-up is really quite small and rather limited. People do interact, certainly, often directly with the journalist but that is less today than it has ever been. There is, still, of course, that divide between literary Welsh and spoken Welsh, and that is certainly more pronounced than it is in English. On the whole, the take up of political commentary in Welsh is that of the Welsh middle classes or the educated others.

But it was not always like this. *Tarian Gweithwyr* was a publication, obviously, for workers. It covered radical, religious areas, and contained literary reviews and it talked about erudite subjects – interspersed with things such as disputes between the NUM and employers. Then there was Thomas Gee's publication, *Baner ac Amserau Cymru* which sold as many as 40,000 copies a week. That was a huge publication in its time and it could almost have been

seen as over-egging the pudding. That said, people were not getting news from any other media, so that was their sole way of catching up with news and reading that news in Welsh.

GMH: So where are we now?

VR: We are in a most interesting situation. The *Western Mail* barely sells 20,000 copies a day now. And yet there will be 150,000 sources, or followers, on Facebook for each Assembly Member. That's a phenomenal following and it is a phenomenal shift in public consumption of news.

So what is the journalist now? Is he or she a gatekeeper? Or is that role now that of a curator? There is also the question of a degree of honesty in journalism. If people can get their news from other sources, which are not journalistic sources, then the idea that a journalist can say what he or she wants, has really gone.

GMH: And what about the Papurau Bro?

VR: Well, they are a success. Very few have closed. And the great thing is that that are written in the language of the communities which they serve.

They are, of course, the precursors of hyperlocal news-sites.

And that is a particular area of interest to Wales today. Tindle Newspapers are going this way. They are becoming more than regional newspapers.

Then there is *Golwg 360*. This is a site which produces stories which are simply not covered elsewhere. And people read it.

We really are in a situation where content really is king.

GMH: And TV?

VR: There is – and there really needs to be – a big effort to decouple *Wales Today* and *Newyddion Naw*. There is a need to make them look different and to appeal to different people. That could well trigger a substantial uplift in the audience for S4C news.

APPENDIX TWO

CODING FORMS

CODING FORM FOR THE *PAPURAU BRO*

- Case Number:** 1 – *Lleu*
2 – *Yr Angor*
3 – *Yr Wylan*
4 – *Y Ddolen*
5 – *Y Cardi Bach*
6 – *Papur Pawb*
- Date:** Given in full
- Page label:** 1 – Local news; 2 – Home News; 3 – European/International News;
4: Analysis; 5 – Comment; 6 – Finance/economics; 7 – Sport;
8 – Politics, including Welsh Government News; 9 – Editorial;
10 – TV/Media; 11 – Schools News; 12 – Society/Organisation News;
13 – Birth/Marriage/Death as a story; 14 – Local Council News,
Including Parish Councils; 15 – Obituaries; 16 – Opinion Columns; 17
– Culture; 18 – Church/Chapel News.
- Format:** 1 – News Report; 2 – Editorial; 3 – Column; 4 – Feature;
5 – Cartoon/Illustration; 6 – Diary Story; 7 – Letter; 8 – News
Summary; 9 – Review; 10 – News in Brief; 11 – Obituary.
- Column size:** Given in square centimetres.
- Accompanying pictures:** Given as total
- Size of picture:** Given in square centimetres.
- Pallet of picture:** 1 – Colour; 2 – Monochrome; 3 – Colour cartoon or illustration;
4 – Monochrome cartoon or illustration.
- Human subjects:** 1 – Individual; 2 – Group 2-5; 3 – Group 6-10; 4 – Group 11+;
5 – Celebrity/Leader picture.

Non-human subjects: 1 – Single building; 2 – Multiple buildings; 3 – Vehicle;
4 – Books/Documents; 5 – Landscape; 6 – Map; 7 – Newspaper text;
8 – Historical photograph; 9 – Animals; 10 – Other.

Sources cited: 1 – No source mentioned; 2 – Newspaper; 3 – Welsh National
Organisation; 4 – Individual; 5 – Press Agency; 6 – Other.

Themes in the news: 1 – Education; 2 – Housing; 3 – Social; 4 – Political; 5 – Health;
6 – Culture; 7 – Sport; 8 – Business; 9 – Women; 10 – Youth;
11 – Individual/Human Interest.

Secondary themes: As above

Tertiary themes: As above

Quaternary themes: As above.

Framing of news: Source mentioned in stories.

LLEU/PAPUR PAWB/YR ANGOR/ Y CARDI BACH/ Y DDOLEN/YR WYLAN

Date:

Page label

Denominator	Number of stories
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	

Story format

Story format	Number
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	

Column sizes of stories

By Square Centimetre	Number of stories
Less than 5	
6-10	
11-20	
21-30	
31-50	
More than 50	

Number of accompanying pictures

Sizes of pictures

By square centimetre	Number of pictures
Less than 5	
6-10	
11-20	
21-30	
31-50	
More than 50	

Pallet of pictures

Pallet	Number of pictures
1	
2	
3	
4	

Human subjects

Subjects	Number of pictures
1	
2	
3	
4	

5	
---	--

Non-Human Subjects

Subjects	Number of pictures
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

Sources cited

Source	Number of stories
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

Themes in the news

Themes	Number of stories
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	

Secondary Themes in the news

Themes	Number of stories
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	

9	
10	
11	

Tertiary Themes in the news

Themes	Number of stories
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	

Quaternary Themes in the news

Themes	Number of stories
1	
2	
3	
4	

5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	

APPENDIX THREE

LIST OF WELSH LANGUAGE MEDIA (as at September 2016)

Television

S4C

The station broadcasts around 15 hours per day. It is available as a digital channel (S4C Digidol) and is also available for download from the BBC iPlayer.

It is a commissioning channel with a large proportion of its programmes produced by BBC Cymru: Wales and ITV Wales. A large number of independent production companies also produce programmes for the channel.

It has an average audience reach of about 3% in Wales although it must be stressed that that percentage figure is an average. It is often possible to record a majority of Welsh speakers in Wales tuning in to the main news broadcasts each day.

After the “digital revolution” a number of youth and teenage programmes are available on S4C2.

BBC

It is sometimes possible to tune in to Welsh-language commentary on BBC One Wales and BBC Two Wales through the red button feature, available to digital TV viewers. Sky TV has also offered this option from time to time.

Radio

National Broadcasters

BBC Radio Cymru broadcasts almost entirely in Welsh for around 18 hours each day. The station offers a wide range of programmes, in particular news and current affairs, cultural programmes (especially reflecting the traditions of the early journalists, focussing on poetry, literature, heavyweight talks and reflections, music (including contemporary popular music) and sport.

Bilingual Radio Stations

Heart Cymru, despite being a UK national ‘conglomerate’, broadcasts bilingually across Anglesey and Gwynedd as well as in coastal areas in the North. This facility is concentrated into breakfast, weekday drivetime and weekend afternoons.

Radio Ceredigion serves Ceredigion (mainly Cardiganshire as it was known until the 1970s) with some daytime output and some automated Welsh content overnight and at the weekends.

Stations which include some Welsh content

Swansea Sound offers around 12 hours a week of Welsh programmes with some bilingual news programmes.

Tudno FM, a community station based in Llandudno, provides a nightly two-hour programme of Welsh-medium output, with a bilingual service during automated hours.

Heart North Wales Coast produces an hour-long programme in Welsh six days a week as well as two bilingual news bulletins each day during the breakfast show.

Radio Carmarthenshire has an evening Welsh-medium programme four nights a week. GTFM in Pontypridd, a community station, produces Welsh-medium programmes twice a week as well as a daily bulletin in Welsh.

Radio Pembrokeshire has a weekly programme in Welsh on a Sunday.

Calon FM, a community station in Wrexham, produces a music programme once a week as well as a bilingual magazine programme on a Friday.

Storm FM, run by Bangor University, provides regular Welsh programming.

Newspapers

Y Cymro is a weekly Welsh-language newspaper which began publishing in the 1930s.

Golwg is a weekly magazine which has a much younger profile.

Barn is a monthly, high-quality current affairs magazine.

Y Faner Newydd aims to provide an alternative view of Wales and the world.

Both the *Western Mail* and the *Daily Post* produce regular Welsh-medium columns. It is increasingly common to find Welsh comments and broadcasts on their respective websites.

Tivy side in Ceredigion, the *Cambrian News* (west coast), the *Carmarthen Journal*, the *Herald Group* (West Wales – Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion) and the *South Wales Guardian* (Aman, Gwendraeth and Tywi valleys) all provide up to 20% Welsh content in their publications.

Y Cyfnod and *Y Dydd* are local weekly newspapers covering, respectively, the Bala and Dolgellau areas.

Magazines

Allwedd y Tannau – *Cerdd Dant* magazine

Barn – Current affairs, including news, politics, current affairs, arts, sport.

Barddas – Quarterly covering poetry and reviews.

Bob Dydd Gyda Iesu – Daily Bible readings.

Bore Da – Urdd Gobaith Cymru magazine for primary schools.

Breizh Llydaw – The Wales-Brittany magazine.

Cadwyn – Learners' magazine.

Cip – Life and colour magazine aimed at Welsh-speaking children.

Clinic-R – Promotion of new bands in Blaenau Ffestiniog area.

Cristion – Quarterly produced by the Evangelical Movement of Wales.

Y Casglwr – Magazine devoted to all aspects of Welsh life.

Cyfrwng – Annual media magazine.

Cymru a'r Môr – Maritime history magazine.

Diwinyddiaeth – Annual publication from the Theological Department of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales.

Efrydiau Athonyddol – Annual publication from the Philosophy Department of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales.

Ein Gwlad – Journal of Welsh nationalistic writing.

Yr Enfys - Wales International publication.

Y Faner Newydd – Independent magazine looking at politics, current affairs, world news, arts, broadcasting, science . . . all aspects of Welsh life.

Fferm y Thyddyn – Welsh Agricultural History magazine.

Gair y Dydd – Devotional reading list, published quarterly.

Y Glec – For aficionados of Welsh strict-metre poetry.

Y Goleuad – Magazine of the Presbyterian Church of Wales

Y Gwyleidydd – Bimonthly published by Wesleyan Methodists.

Iaw! – Quarterly published by Urdd Gobaith Cymru for Welsh learners.

Lingo Newydd - Bi-monthly for learners.

Lol – Annual satirical magazine.

Llafar Gwlad – Monthly looking at country life in Wales.

Llên Cymru – Substantial volume published by the Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales. Academic volume looking at aspects of Welsh literature.

Y Naturiaethwr – Naturalists' society magazine.

Y Paper Gwyrdd – Looking at green issues.

Y Tafod – Bimonthly from Cymdeithas yr Iaith.

Taliesin – Welsh Academy literary magazine.

Traethodydd – Oldest magazine in Wales, founded in 1845. Looks at religion, philosophy, theology and literature.

Tu Chwith – Looking at arts and associated media in Wales.

Y Tyst – Magazine of the Congregational Church in Wales

Wa-w! – Stories from Wales's countryside.

Y Wawr – Merched y Wawr magazine (equivalent to the WI in England).

Wcw a'r Ffrindiau – Stories, news, quizzes.

The Papurau Bro

Yr Angor – Aberystwyth, Comins Coch, Llanbadarn Fawr, Penparcau and Waunfawr (Ceredigion)

Yr Angor – Liverpool

Yr Arwydd – Mynydd Bodafon, Anglesey

Y Barcud – Tregaron, Ceredigion

Y Bedol – Ruthin

Y Bigwn – Denbigh

Y Blewyn Glas – Bro Ddyfi, Machynlleth

Y Cardi Bach – Whitland and St Clears, Carmarthenshire

Y Clawdd – Wrexham

Clebran – Crymych, Pembrokeshire

Clecs y Cwm a'r Dref – Neath

Clochdar – Cynon Valley, Aberdare, Rhondda Cynon Taf

Clonc – Lampeter

Cwlwm – Carmarthenshire

Dail Dysynnu – Dysynni Valley, Tywyn, Gwynedd.

Dan y Landsker – South Pembrokeshire

Y Dinesydd – Cardiff

Y Ddolen – Ystwyth to Wyre Valleys, Aberyswyth area

Eco'r Wyddfa – Llanrug, Llanberis, Deiniolen areas in Gwynedd.

Y Fan a'r Lle – Brecon and Radnorshire.

Y Ffynon – Eifionydd, Garndolbenmaen, Gwynedd.

Y Gadlas – Area between Conwy and Clwyd rivers.

Y Gambo – South west Ceredigion.

Y Garthen – Teifi Valley, Ceredigion.

Y Glannau – Clwyd Coast, St Asaph.

Glo Man – Aman Valley, Carmarthenshire.

Y Gloran – Heads of the valleys of Rhondda, Ton Pentre.

Y Glorian – Llangefni.

Y Goriad – Bangor and Felinheli.

Yr Hogar – Bridgend.

Llafar Bro – Blaenau Ffestiniog.

Llais – Swansea and Swansea Valley.

Llais Aeron – Aeron Valley, Ceredigion

Llais Ardudwy – Ardudwy, Gwynedd.

Llais Ogwan – Ogwen Valley, Gwynedd.

Llanw Llŷn – Pwllheli.

Lleu – Nantlle, Gwynedd.

Y Llien Gwyn – Fishguard,

Y Lloffwr – Dinefwr, Carmarthenshire.

Nene – Ponciau, Penycae, Johnstown, Rhosllanerchrugog, Wrexham.

Yr Odyn – Llanrwst.

Papur Dre – Caernarfon.

Papur Fama – Mold.

Papur Menai – Penmon to Dwyran, Anglesey.

Papur Pawb – Tal-y-Bont, Taliesin, Tre'r Ddol, Cardiganshire.

Papur y Cwm – Gwendraeth Valley, Llanelli.

Y Pentan – Conwy Valley.

Pethe Penllyn – Bala.

Plu'r Gweuyndd – Villages around Welshpool, Powys.

Y Rhwyd – North West Anglesey.

Seren Hafren – Newtown.

Sosbanelli – Llanelli

Tafod Elai – Taff-Ely, Pontypridd.

Tafod Tafwys – London.

Y Tincer – Villages around Aberystwyth.

Tua'r Goleuini – Rhymni Valley.

Wilia – Swansea.

Yr Wylan – Penrhyndeudraeth, Porthmadog, Beddgelert.

Yr Ysgub – Ceiriog, Tanad, Chain valleys, Powys.

Specialist publications

Barddas – bimonthly poetry publication.

Bore Da – Urdd Gobaith Cymru magazine for Welsh schools learners.

Cadwyn – for Welsh learners.

Y Casglwr – for bibliophiles.

Cip – for Welsh speakers of primary age.

Cristion – publication on Christian faith.

Cyfrwng – Publication about Welsh media (Bilingual).

Y Cylchgrawn Efengylaidd – Evangelical magazine.

Dim Lol – Satirical magazine.

Yr Enfys – Journal of Undeb Cymru a'r Byd (Wales International Union).

Fferm a Thyddyn – Agricultural history magazine.

Gair y Dydd – Daily devotional reading published quarterly.

Y Gwyleidydd – published by the Welsh Wesleyan Methodists.

Iaw! – Published for learners by Urdd Gobaith Cymru.

Lingo Newydd – Bimonthly for Welsh learners.

Llafar Gwlad – Magazine about country life and customs.

Y Llan – Church in Wales journal.

Llên Cymru – Academic journal from the University of Wales Press.

Y Naturiaethwr – Magazine on the natural world.

Y Papur Gwyrdd – Ecological magazine.

Y Selar – Quarterly magazine on the Welsh language music scene.

Y Tafod – Bimonthly Cymdeithas yr Iaith magazine.

Taliesin – Literary magazine.

Y Traethodydd – The oldest magazine in Wales: established 1845.

Tu Chwith – aimed at a younger readership.

Y Wawr – Publication of Merched y Wawr.

Wew a'r Ffrindiau – Children's magazine.

Internet

Golwg 360 – <http://golwg360.com/Hafan/default.aspx>

Cymru ar y We – <http://www.cymruarywe.org/>

BBC Cymru Fyw – <http://bbb.co.uk/cymrufyw>

Daily Post – <http://www.dailypostcymraeg.co.uk>

Maes-E – <http://maes-e.com/index.php>

Annedd y Cynganeddwyr – cynganedd.com – <http://cynganedd.com> (Site for discussion of poetry: closed site).

Google, Facebook and Wikipedia (note spelling) have Welsh input.

Mobile Phones

Samsung led the way from 2009 in providing software which would include predictive texting in Welsh.

Software

Microsoft software such as Windows 7, Windows XP, Windows Vista and Microsoft Office are all available with Welsh-language interfaces.

Publishers

Those publishing mainly through the medium of Welsh include:

Gomer Press – Llandysul

Y Lolfa Talybont

Gwasg Carreg Gwalch – Llanrwst

Gwasg Gwynedd – Caernarfon

Gwasg y Dref Wen – Cardiff

Record labels

Those producing in Welsh include:

Anrefin Records – Llanfair Caereinion

Ankst – Underground label

Copa – Subsidiary of Sain

Docrad – Cardiff

Fflach – Cardigan

Gwynfryn Cymunedol – Caernarfon

Placid Casual – Owned by Super Furry Animals

Rasp – Subsidiary of Fflach

Sain – Llandwrog . . . the largest Welsh-medium record company

Slacyr – Garndolbenmaen