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Exemplary Welshness: the role of the transnational Welsh heritage network and being Welsh in Patagonia

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EXEMPLARY WELSHNESS: THE ROLE OF THE TRANSNATIONAL WELSH HERITAGE NETWORK AND BEING WELSH IN PATAGONIA

by

Kimberly A. Berg

A Dissertation
Submitted to the University at Albany, State University of New York
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

College of Arts & Sciences
Department of Anthropology

2018
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1 All figures are the author’s photographs.
ABSTRACT

In recent years, the Welsh Diaspora community in Chubut has gained significant visibility in Welsh and other media in light of the 150th anniversary of the settlement’s establishment. In addition to the commemorative sesquicentenary celebrations taking place in July of 2015, the performance of Welshness has become increasingly congruent with homeland displays of the familiar aspects of Welsh national identity. In large parts, Welsh Patagonian language and heritage revitalization efforts have been facilitated by the transnational Welsh heritage network, composed of Welsh national institutions and Welsh Patagonian heritage associations collaborating with the expressed goal of maintaining a distinct Welsh identity in Patagonia. In addition to the organizational nodes that participate in the network, individual network actors represent the various institutions of the Welsh national and Welsh Patagonian communities. Through network actor participation in the performance and practice of Welshness, ideologies surrounding heritage maintenance efforts and ‘Welsh values’ are readily diffused throughout the network. These ideologies have had profound implications for Welsh Patagonian community members seeking to be community exemplars. Similarly, these ideologies have been reflected back to and adopted by the Welsh homeland as a means to legitimize Welsh language revitalization efforts in Wales. Through qualitative social network analysis, and traditional ethnographic field methods, this project explores the influence of the Welsh heritage network on the performance of Welshness in the public and private lives of Welsh Patagonians.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Before diving too deeply into the dissertation, I would like to take this space to acknowledge all those whom were involved, in one way or another, in my Ph. D. journey over the last 6 years. First and foremost, I would like to thank all those whom I met throughout my various trips to Argentinian Patagonia. There were many with whom I only interacted fleetingly, while there were countless others who I saw regularly and got to know. Still, there were others with whom I had the privilege of becoming very close and truly getting to know, at least at the point in time when I was in Chubut. Each of these individuals has greatly contributed to the project in a multitude of ways. Even more so, these individuals have contributed to my rewarding and endearing journey that was my field research experience for this project. I am truly indebted to the Welsh Patagonian community and all the warmth and kindness I was shown while in Argentina. Diolch i chi i gyd yn fawr iawn! Muchas gracias a todos! Thank you, so much, everyone!

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and Linguistic courses. Each of these people had a role in shaping my dissertation to become what it is today.

The third, but by no means the least significant, group is composed of my family and friends. The PhD really was a journey for me. These last 6 years have taken twists and turns, thrown curve balls I never could have anticipated, and yet, have been an amazing adventure all the same. I have been so fortunate to have shared this adventure, in various capacities, with the amazing (and extremely patient and forgiving) people in my life. You all know who you are. Thanks to my family (both biological and chosen) for their unconditional support for my infrequent visits home, and their tolerance for my nearly constant longer-term international travels. Also, thank you to my dearest friends. I have received nothing but unconditional love and support from the closest people in my life, and there are times throughout this journey that I did not make being supportive an easy task. It is with humble gratitude that I say my deepest and sincerest thanks to each and every one of you. A part of this dissertation, in some way, belongs to everyone mentioned here.
PROLOGUE

When I began studying Welsh heritage, not only did I have no idea where, at the time, this very broad research interest would ultimately lead me, I had no idea how enamored with the topic I would eventually become. In some ways, my research trajectory happened by accident, and yet has become a focal point in both my scholarly and personal life. I began my Welsh journey in my undergraduate studies, when I sought out an opportunity to participate in an ethnographic field school overseas. Having such an experience was at the recommendation of someone whom I can no longer remember, but that initial seed blossomed into my research program as it is today. I found two suitable field school opportunities being offered during the summer before I was to graduate with my Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology. Both field schools, offered by a private university in Iowa, were structured similarly, but one took place in the Basque country of Spain, while the other took place in the North of Wales. At the time, I did not fully realize the significance of mobilizing minority cultures and revitalizing minority languages, especially within a European context. Due to what was arguably a superficial interest in the Celtic nations, I chose to study in Wales. That trip allowed for my first proper foray into data collection and provided the substance of my undergraduate thesis. In addition, this experience laid the foundations for my Master’s research in the north of Wales. By the time I was drafting my Master’s research proposal, I was familiar with slate industrial heritage in North Wales, and had begun to orient my Master’s thesis project toward themes of nationalism and identity as presented through official heritage narratives, in the vein of Laurajane Smith’s Authorised Heritage Discourse (2006). Little did I realize, it would be through my Master’s research that I would discover the topic of my eventual Doctoral dissertation.
While living in the north of Wales, I infrequently heard, and even then only anecdotally, about the Welsh community established in Argentina during the nineteenth century. No one I knew in Wales had visited the community, or themselves knew much about it, but yet it was brought up with enough regularity that it became obvious to me that Welsh Patagonia remained a part of the Welsh national imaginary in some influential ways. At the time, while I thought the presence of such a Welsh diaspora community in Argentina was quite peculiar, I did not think much further on the topic, aside from wondering if the Welsh community there still existed and what the lived experiences of the community members might be like if it was indeed more than simply a remnant of a defining but long-since bygone era in Wales that was nothing more than contemporarily memorialized in lore.

It was not until I started my PhD program, and even then not immediately, that I began to consider Welsh Patagonia as a topic for my dissertation. I knew I wanted to study heritage and nationalism, and my gaze was toward South America, but it was not until after my first year of coursework that I selected the Chubut region in Patagonia as the field site for my research. Before I officially committed to this track, I decided to make an initial exploratory trip to the towns that were identified in the historiography by Glyn Williams (1991). I felt the need to make sure that Welsh Patagonia actually, and more pertinently for my research objectives, still existed! Williams’ works captured my scholarly imagination, and created an imagery that I anticipated experiencing when I arrived in Chubut. In addition, reading Williams’ assessments of life in the community provided a helpful context beyond my cursory inquiries. My apprehension, prior to arrival, was that the historically Welsh towns of Williams’ focus had been completely assimilated within Argentinian society and that, while the memory and symbolic significance of these communities remained alive in Welsh national culture, their continued
presence as distinguishable Welsh towns in Patagonia was a misconception, despite the Welsh cultural significance. Thus, I made a pilot trip down to Chubut province in June of 2013 to assess the continued presence of the Welsh community. What I came to discover, at the time, was that not only did the community still exist, it was thriving, by Patagonian, and more importantly, by Welsh standards. After a month in Chubut, I knew this direction of research was the one I needed to take. I soon became fascinated by the role that heritage had played in the resiliency of Welsh cultural traditions and language in Argentina, and so continued my Welsh journey.

I returned to my Patagonian field site the following year, to attend the locally-organized biennial conference dedicated to continuing research and social discourse about the Welsh community in Patagonia. This event, which can be considered none other than a labor of love, underscored the small but robust Welsh Patagonian and Welsh national community of support that is truly at the heart of maintaining Welsh heritage in Patagonia. I did not fully recognize the significance at that time, but the attendees I met at that event represented the varying degrees of aspiring and uncontested exemplars of the Welsh Patagonian community. That is to say, the conference organizers, presenters, and attendees all, on some level, sought to be exemplars of Welsh Patagonia. The motivations for such, I came to realize, fell along a much broader spectrum, but the behaviors each individual demonstrated were emblematic of those which could constitute being a figurehead of Welshness. It was not until analyzing and processing the data collected throughout my time in the field that I would uncover the role of what were considered exemplary Welsh values in the everyday public and private lives of Welsh Patagonian community members.
Following the 2014 Foro Sobre Los Galeses in Patagonia, I returned to the field in 2015 to collect the majority of the data that would become the substance of my dissertation. That year, not coincidentally, was also the 150th anniversary of the Welsh community’s settlement in Patagonia—known as Y Wladfa in Welsh, or ‘the colony’. My intent at the outset of my research was not only to experience the daily and mundane aspects of Welshness in Chubut, I had hoped to experience the commemoration of Y Wladfa by the ‘homeland’ in order to understand role that the nation of Wales played in cultural revitalization efforts in the diaspora. My project, as proposed, sought to discover the nature of what I have termed the transnational Welsh heritage network, which is composed of organizational and institutional nodes in both Wales and Argentina. Little did I know when I began that the project as I had conceptualized it would, in fact, offer much more robust insight into the role of heritage organizations in the defining of the social worlds that define the performance of Welsh Patagonian identity (Butler 1990).

I came to discover that the Welsh heritage industry has broadly defined a set of Welsh values, and that these values are diffused in various iterations through the Welsh heritage network. More importantly, though, these values are digested differentially among Welsh Patagonians and influence community members to aspire to achieve more archetypal ways of being Welsh, notably in contexts where Welsh nationals are present. In some cases, a few select Welsh Patagonians have become the unquestioned Welsh Patagonian exemplars. These individuals serve as the models around which other community members shape their own participation in the Welsh heritage network. In other cases, while some community members sought to be exemplars, they were unable to achieve such status. What I came to learn is that, while ‘preserving Welsh values’ was repeatedly cited as the motivating factor to participate in
Welshness in Patagonia, there is much more complexity in the avenues chosen to attempt to meet these ends than I ever imagined.

In further reflection and data analysis, post-data collection, I realized that, in fact, my initial suspicions that Welsh Patagonia existed in myth far more than it existed in reality were not as incorrect as I had considered after my first two visits to Chubut. In fact, as I write this culmination of my field research of the past several years, I am more inclined to say that, in fact, the Welsh Patagonian community is both—a thriving center of Welsh cultural and linguistic traditions while simultaneously resonating in the Welsh national imaginary more so than the Argentinian one. In one sense, Welsh Patagonia is representative of an idealized Welshness that lives on more strongly in a sentiment captured in the Welsh word hiraeth\(^2\) than in actuality, and yet, at the same time, the commitment of Patagonian community members to participate in Welsh lessons, heritage events, and other associated tasks that they feel preserve ‘los valores de galeses’ simultaneously ensures the community is preserved in actuality.

\(^2\) A Welsh term defined simply as longing, but with layered associations to include the desire or sense of bond felt with a place that may or may not exist, operates on both sides of the heritage equation for the Welsh homeland and its diaspora (Kielar 2016).
INTRODUCTION: WHY WELSH AND WHY PATAGONIA?

If I could sum up the entirety of this research, it is within this line: There is no Welsh Patagonia without Wales.

On the surface, this statement is seemingly straightforward. However, when I began this phase of what has become my larger research program, I could not have imagined just how important the homeland and the support that institutions in Wales provide to the Patagonian Welsh community are in sustaining Welshness in Argentina. Now, I must add the important disclaimer that my point is certainly not to diminish the role that individual Welsh Patagonian community members and associated institutions play in their own heritage maintenance. In fact, my argument is quite the opposite. Without the sheer dedication, commitment, and even an occasional overzealous devotion to maintaining Welsh heritage by the Patagonians involved in these processes, Welshness, if it were to persist at all in the absence of these driving forces, would look profoundly different and would likely not have achieved the same public standing. However, it is the fusion of these individual and institutional efforts on the ground, with the funding and resources that Wales funnels ‘toward the cause,’ that directly influence not only what Welsh heritage in Patagonia looks like, but also the fervor with which it is celebrated. With that said, the manner in which Welsh heritage is celebrated, and the prominent individuals with which Welsh Patagonian heritage is associated, may change slightly from year to year, but the pillars or values that motivate such actions have remained relatively constant over the decades and thus have provided a clear framework for the idealized form(s) Welsh Patagonian heritage should take, while leaving room for interpretation on just how to achieve these goals. This ethnography aims at teasing out the complexities for individual actors, guided by a
common Welsh-centric moral framework, in navigating the ideological influences of the institutionally-defined Welsh heritage network. This project explores the boundaries of exemplary Welshness in Patagonia, by highlighting individual agency through situational performances of Welshness, through the lens of Erwin Goffman’s work on identity as a performance (1959). I employ a series of reflections from the field, as well as other descriptive, observational, and participatory data to capture the ways in which Welsh heritage network actors perform and are Welsh in Patagonia.

The majority of my dissertation data collection took place beginning in May 2015 and continuing to January 2016, following two previous trips to the field in 2013 and 2014. The majority of the data for this dissertation comes from my personal ethnographic field experience, though I will recount select secondary and tertiary commentary from those I encountered in the field about the nature of Welshness in Patagonia in years prior to my visits, in addition to some conjecture about how Welshness might be sustained in the future. Additionally, in 2016 I returned to Wales, after not having been since 2010, for a short supplementary field trip related to my Patagonian research, to get a sense of the Welsh community’s continued support for Welsh Patagonia a year after the 150th anniversary. Though largely anecdotal, this supplementary data from Wales serves to substantiate many of my assessments made while in residence in Chubut.

Guiding Questions

The data for this dissertation comes from ethnographic field research carried out over 12 months, divided between three different trips to Chubut, over three years. I came to study Welsh heritage in Argentina after completing heritage research in Wales and learning about the intricacies and complicated positioning that Welsh heritage holds in the United Kingdom. The prospect of a thriving Welsh community in the middle of Patagonia struck my curiosity, as it did
for many, and I sought to understand how Welsh heritage was practiced in a distinctly different national context. After my first trip to the region, I realized the story of Welsh heritage in Patagonia was much more complex vis-a-vis broader Welsh nationalism. Likewise, Welsh Patagonian heritage narratives had become inextricably intertwined with Indigenous heritage in Patagonia. Similarly to some of my previous research in Wales, I conducted a cursory narrative analysis of museum displays and tourism literature to better understand the nuances of Welsh heritage presentations in Argentina. Though this was not the sole focus of my various trips to the field, I devoted significant time and energy toward visiting cultural and historical museums, regional and town-based tourism offices, and heritage festivals, as well as collecting and analyzing physical and web-based data from tourism literature to determine the stories being told both by and about the Welsh community. Due to the ethnographic nature of my project, I was additionally able to contextualize the above noted data based on lived experience in the region. This perspective has enabled me to holistically understand the imagery presented through the tourism industry, the narratives surrounding Welsh Patagonia coming from the nation of Wales, and the relationship of these narratives to the lived reality of Welsh Patagonian community members.

Following my first visit to the Chubut Province, I began to consider the questions I had, which remained unanswered, surrounding the continued presence of the Welsh community in Patagonia. I wanted to understand why the Welsh community seemingly remained so committed to its cultural heritage despite countless pressures to assimilate to broader Argentinidad. In addition, I wanted to uncover what broader Patagonian society felt about the celebration of Welshness (sometimes at the expense of other cultural traditions). I was curious about the Patagonian Welsh community’s relationship with the homeland, and what role the linkages
between people and organizations in Wales played regarding the ways in which Welsh heritage was commemorated. I also pondered, what does Welshness look like on a day-to-day basis, outside of the formalized and ritualized context of the ceremony or festival? What did it mean to identify as a Welsh Patagonian, and to what end? What began as a project rooted in understanding why Welsh heritage is still celebrated in Patagonia became an analysis of how, by whom, and through what motivating forces. That is, what initially drew me to the topic of understanding Welshness in a distinctly foreign context became a broader pursuit to explore the means by which heritage maintenance processes occur, who is involved in these processes, and how participants in these processes rationalize their behaviors toward their ultimate end goals.

Accordingly, this project has become a fusion of traditional ethnographic field methods, incorporating the standard in-depth interviewing and participant observation techniques stemming from extended residence at a field site, with qualitative social network analysis, which seeks to understand the value placed on the linkages between actor-nodes in various types of social networks. In addition to the valuing of connections within the Welsh heritage network, the notion of value(s), as I came to learn, is pervasive as a guiding principle for participation in Welshness and will be prevalent throughout the following chapters, as a concept that operates on multiple levels within the Welsh Patagonian community, and consequently throughout this research. That is, not only is there a perceived value assessment held by individuals to participate in Welshness and associated heritage activities in Argentina, there is perceived value by institutions in Argentina and Wales in order to facilitate heritage maintenance processes with the homeland. Further still, the Welsh government additionally perceives value in providing needed resources to sustain the projects in Argentina that help to achieve these ends. In addition to these tangible, rational reasons for participating in the maintenance of Welsh heritage in
Argentina, there is an accompanying theme vis-a-vis values that my participants frequently referenced with such frequency that it could not be overlooked.

This other reference to value(s) that was prevalent throughout my time in the field were more specifically cited as Welsh values. Welsh values were referenced as those akin to moral behaviors—those which a person practiced not only if they wanted to be a good Welsh Patagonian, but more generally a good Welsh person. The fact that this particular set of values resonated with so many, even those without Welsh descent, speaks to the congruence between the values that have been attributed to Welshness and those of contemporary life in Patagonia. The Welsh heritage network has served as the mechanism to enable individual actors to [attempt to] embody these values. While Welsh heritage network actors aspire to become the Welsh exemplars that characterize values like strong familial traditions, a respect for one’s ancestry, a commitment to one’s ethnicity and community, and a hardworking and independent spirit, very few actually achieve this status. As John Barker observes, individual actions must be understood not only in comparison to idealized archetypes (2007). Rather, the behaviors of aspiring exemplars are relative to the context in which they are being enacted, and relative to the actions of other actors who are similarly seeking exemplar status. As I will demonstrate, those who more selflessly (and thus more sincerely) act to maintain Welshness, as opposed to those acting in greater self-interest, are those most readily ascribed the status of the purveyors of heritage in the transnational Welsh heritage network.
The Welsh Legacy in Patagonia

Over 150 years ago, 153 settlers embarked on the long journey from Wales to Argentina in 1865 in pursuit of cultural, religious, and linguistic freedom. This migratory event mirrored a broader trend of Welsh outmigration, beginning decades before in the early nineteenth century to the United States and Canada, in pursuit of establishing a Welsh settlement free from the social and economic marginalization the Welsh experienced in Britain. The Welsh quickly assimilated in both Anglicized nations, due to the perceived similarity of Welsh and Anglo traditions. These failed migration attempts encouraged Welsh leaders to establish a community in the unpopulated regions of the Patagonian frontier, where it was thought a true Welsh community could be sustained, uninhibited by more powerful hegemons (Knowles 1999; Williams 1991).

Throughout the nineteenth century, Wales was at the height of industrialization processes that, by and large, were British/English enterprises seeking to extract valuable resources from Wales. Not only did the environment suffer the consequences of such extractive industries, Welsh society was negatively impacted as well. It is throughout this period that language loss, and heavy assimilative strategies from Westminster, as well as general negative associations with being Welsh, led to significant declines in traditions and customs considered Welsh in origin (Jenkins 2007). That is, during this period, being Welsh and identifying as Welsh provided little to no social capital in the larger British context.

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3 The contemporary rhetoric behind the initial formation of the Welsh Patagonian colony in 1865 centers on Welsh linguistic, cultural, and religious freedom. While Wales did gain some autonomy through political devolution in the form of a National Assembly in 1999, Wales remains under the federal control of Westminster and therefore is not a sovereign nation (Hechter 1999). Accordingly, scholars have termed Wales an internal colony of England due to British political, social, economic, and linguistic domination (Jones 1992). Coinciding with a period of heavy industrialization, British hegemonic processes resulted in little economic opportunity for the Welsh throughout the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. These conditions inspired many Welsh to seek refuge in other nations were it was thought that Welshness could be maintained more freely and easily.
The Patagonian settlement was not the first wave in the legacy of Welsh out-migration with the goal of establishing a Welsh community in another land where Welshness could flourish. The Welsh Patagonian community has, it could be argued, been the most successful in maintaining the global Welsh identity, or that which is most reminiscent of and maintains strongest ties with the nation of Wales. Earlier waves of more sizable Welsh migrant groups to the United States and Canada in the 1830s and 40s were motivated by a familiar rhetoric of nationalist values and linguistic preservation. However, the Welsh in North America experienced social mobility and often greater assimilation to Anglo-American heritage and language. These trends concerned many of the non-conformist ministers and inspired one in particular, Michael D. Jones, to propose a Welsh community in Argentina, with the assistance of the Welsh Emigration society in the 1850s (Baur 1954). The community was established in an attempt to resist British hegemonic influence over Welsh heritage and language that had existed, in many ways, since the acts of union in 1535.

The Welsh arrived in Argentina in 1865, in an attempt to escape British hegemonic control over language, tradition, religion, labor, and other ‘cultural givens’ in the nationalist sense (Smith 1998; Williams 1991). Despite disagreements with the Argentine government for the first several decades of the Welsh presence in Patagonia, including forced assimilation through Argentine schooling, and conscripted military service, among other strategies, Welsh identity has been revitalized throughout different periods of the past 150 years and provincial memory, as well as textbook history, is now strongly linked to Welsh contributions to the region (de Oleaga and Bohoslavsky 2011; Williams 1991). The Welsh community in Argentina was thought up as a way to establish and maintain a Welsh community outside of Wales, and therefore free of Anglo influence. The Patagonian community, following what were considered
other unsuccessful migratory events, would be sustained indefinitely and become a refuge where Welshness would flourish. While this dream was met for approximately the first 20 years of the settlement, changing social, political, and economic conditions in Argentina resulted in policies intended to assimilate the Welsh community (similar to those experienced in Britain). These policies had profound implications for the Welsh community in Chubut, and resulted in language loss (this time in favor of Spanish rather than English) and the decline in Welsh cultural traditions and practices (Williams 1991).

In addition to the first wave of Welsh immigrants to Argentina, several subsequent waves arrived in Chubut throughout the next 50 years. While the community was able to achieve its ambitions through its relative isolation throughout the first two decades of the settlement’s establishment, the Welsh Argentinian community eventually experienced heavy pressure to assimilate, notably after 1884, as chapels ceased to be the centers of the community, and Welsh descendant children were required to attend Argentine national schools (Williams 1991). Though the dream of an unassimilated Welsh colony did not persist, the Welsh legacy nonetheless remains firmly rooted in Chubut provincial memory. This spirit of resistance, and the simultaneous import placed on a common language and unique culture, has not only survived through broader social change in both the diaspora national context and the homeland, these values have been co-opted and contemporarily employed by the Welsh heritage network to further national as well as individual objectives.

After what can generally be considered a lull in Welsh heritage in Argentina in the early twentieth century, the 100th anniversary of the Welsh settlement in Chubut helped to revitalize an interest in Welsh Patagonian heritage, for both Welsh descendants in Patagonia and the nation of Wales. At the time, however, only those from Wales with significant economic means were able
to help organize and attend the Centenary celebrations in Chubut (Brooks 2005). For a few years thereafter, Welsh heritage in Chubut was slowly regaining recognition. The Eisteddfod, which had not been held in the prior 15 years, was reinstated and became a yearly institution in the province (Lublin 2009). Similar trends and processes signified a local renewed interest in the Welsh language and heritage.

In 1965, 100 years after the Welsh landing in Chubut, the community celebrated its 100th anniversary. While Welshness had been on the decline, the hard work and dedication of a few members of the community (not all Welsh) resulted in the roots of what have become targeted and organized Welsh Patagonian heritage revitalization efforts, for which the fruits of this labor are now visibly apparent and have provided the foundations for this research. That is, at the time, not only did the Welsh community in Argentina establish meaningful local support mechanisms through political and social institutions, the Welsh Patagonian community gained visibility provincially and the nation of Wales became more directly involved in activities of its diaspora. While contact had been maintained through individuals and families since its original establishment, the 100th anniversary celebration truly solidified the Patagonian community’s placement on the metaphorical identity map of Wales. It is at this time that the foundations of the Welsh heritage network were established. This research picks up several decades after the informal establishment of the network and explores the consequences/outcomes of these continued network efforts in 2015.

The Welsh Patagonian community began to visibly reassert its mark on Chubut in the 1990s and early 2000s. These efforts took the form of increased emphasis on Welsh learning, the restoration of Welsh chapels throughout the valley, the conversion of abandoned buildings (former train stations, and a mercantile, for example) into museums, the addition of monuments
to the community, and other similar processes. Due to increased communication and availability of information, and in recent years the internet, as well as the relative affordability and ease of overseas travel, the Welsh Patagonian heritage tourism circuit has gained substantial momentum for both organized tour groups, and backpackers and other individuals who are able to access sufficient information online in order to comfortably and confidently visit the region without the need of a guide (Personal Interview. 22 Aug. 2015). The general appeal behind the Welsh Patagonian settlement lies in the fact that non-Welsh visitors are shocked to learn of a Welsh settlement in such a seemingly remote part of a country in which they would not expect to find a Celtic diaspora. For Welsh tourists, the appeal centers upon the symbolic nationalist achievements the Welsh Patagonian community is said to have made in regard to maintaining the Welsh language and heritage.

The year 2015 marked the 150th anniversary of the Welsh settlement in Argentina, and again added momentum to the mobilization of Welsh heritage in the region. In addition to organized tour groups, prominent visitors such as the First Minister of Wales (the Presiding Officer of the National Assembly), the BBC Wales Orchestra, and dozens (including a handful of Welsh celebrities) of participants in the Velindre Cancer Centre charity’s organized trek made the journey to Chubut to partake in the festivities. The 150th Sesquicentenary celebrations provided an opportune venue for Welshness to be performed by a series of heritage network actors throughout the Chubut Province in Patagonia. In addition to the annual commemoration of the establishment of the Welsh community in Patagonia, Welsh heritage associations supported additional projects to ensure Chubut historical memory is linked to Welsh provincial contributions in perpetuity.
The following section will highlight the larger composition of the dissertation, and delineate the focus of each chapter. Broadly, this dissertation contributes a closer look at the nuances of individual actor-participants performing Welshness in Patagonia as mediated through the Welsh heritage network.

**Structure of the Book**

The following section provides a summary of the chapters that comprise this ethnography, and delineates how each will contribute to the larger findings within this project.

**Chapter 1:** This chapter provides the context for this research though a brief history on the establishment and trajectory of the Welsh community in Patagonia, in addition to an overview of the extant scholarly literature on Welsh nationalism and the Welsh diaspora. This chapter also provides a description of the research site(s) as it is contemporarily, in contrast to recent previous decades, to capture the changing nature of Welshness in Patagonia over the last 50 years, since the 100th anniversary. I conclude the chapter by introducing the concept of the Welsh Patagonian exemplar, in order to lay the groundwork for what is a central theme throughout this project.

**Chapter 2:** This chapter outlines the diasporic nature of the Welsh Patagonian community. In addition to engaging theories on heritage, tourism, diaspora, and identity, this chapter situates the Welsh Patagonian community into the broader framework of Welshness in the world. This chapter also begins to highlight the transnational nature of Welsh heritage by incorporating a discussion on hometown associations and thefacilitatory mechanism these types of organizations serve in diaspora identity and heritage maintenance. This chapter lays the foundations for Chapter 3, which delves more extensively into the structure and functioning of the transnational Welsh heritage network.
**Chapter 3:** This chapter frames the methodologies used throughout data collection for this project, by outlining the foundations of qualitative network analysis through the lens of heritage associations and their roles in Welsh Patagonian heritage maintenance. The frameworks established in Chapter 3 provide the scaffolding on which the argument of the Welsh Patagonian exemplar is made in subsequent chapters. Throughout Chapter 3, I delineate the network organizations and their representatives, to provide readers a sense of the entities that comprise the Welsh heritage network, and the role each entity fills within the network.

**Chapter 4:** This chapter exposes the public and private divisions in the practice of Welshness in Patagonia. By highlighting select institutions and their representatives, as well as transnational heritage network programming, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which ideological values are diffused throughout the Welsh heritage network. Chapter 4 paints an image of the vectors of ideological exchange to show the ways these exchanges have shaped the behavior and self-identification of network participants. In addition, through illustrative examples, this chapter begins to illuminate the ways in which ideas surrounding Welshness, as consumed and adapted by the Welsh Patagonian diaspora, are recirculated back to, and adapted within, the homeland.

**Chapter 5:** This chapter frames the structure of the Welsh heritage network through the concept of the knowledge-based city, as a locale where knowledge and, in the case of the Welsh heritage network, ideologies are exchanged transnationally. Building on this notion, Chapter 5 additionally delineates the structure of the network using Brian Graham’s internal and external city frames. This framing provides the lenses through which to view the individual actor-participants who practice Welshness in the private and public spheres. The chapter culminates in exposing the ways in which exemplars and aspiring exemplars move between the various
layers of the network, and how their participation is both guided and understood by the broader Welsh Patagonian community based on the Welsh national ideologies diffused throughout the network.
REFLECTION FROM THE FIELD

It was veintiocho de Julio—July 28th, 2015—and it was dawn on a crisp winter day in Puerto Madryn. I had to wake up exceptionally early by Argentinian standards, to attend the first of many commemorative ceremonies that would take place throughout the day. The 28th of July, after all, is the anniversary of the initial Welsh landing in 1865. Just before sunrise, I and a close friend and Welsh descendant began the short walk up to Punta Cuevas (see Figure 1). The ritual circle has already been formed, and the Tehuelche chief was standing at the center when we arrived. Everyone was bundled up on the just above 0 degrees Celsius morning, with some wearing traditional apparel items over their winter layers. The Chief had already begun the ceremony, which was set to begin just prior to the sun peeking above the shoreline, and which concluded after the sun had risen visibly on the horizon. This tradition was said, for at least the past decade (though no one seemed to know definitively) to symbolize a mutual respect between the Tehuelche and Welsh populations in eastern Chubut. The indigenous community had been invited several years ago to participate in what were historically the Welsh commemorative events on this day each year. As Chubut cultural heritage has been inextricably linked to Welsh contributions to the region, in recent years, the symbolically inclusive move to offer the Indigenous community participation in an event for which a counterpart does not exist seemed to offer a proverbial olive branch and some cursory recognition about Indigenous contributions to Chubut heritage.

Interestingly, I had not learned about this ceremony from any of the Welsh community members. In actuality, I had learned of the festival from a non-Welsh descendant who worked with the city's tourism board. He was not of Welsh descent himself, though was relatively familiar with their community events through his professional connections. Despite this, what
should not have come as a surprise but turned out to be quite striking to me was that, aside from the friend with whom I had attended, there was only one other Welsh descendant in attendance at the Tehuelche portion of the day’s festivities. This seemed very peculiar to me, and flew in the face of the partnership and cooperative narrative that had been established regarding the Welsh settler-Indigenous relationship, most notably seen in museums, literature, and other heritage narratives surrounding the Welsh Patagonian community. Perhaps it was because some of the community members would have needed to leave their homes in the neighboring towns at 5:30 am due to the sheer distance between towns in Chubut, or perhaps this lack of attendance symbolized a more accurate depiction of the Welsh-Indigenous relationship. In any case, Ellen, the one other Welsh descendant attendee, was asked to say a few words on behalf of the Welsh community at the end of the ceremony (by which point, still no other Welsh community members had arrived).

In between the ceremony held by the Indigenous community, and the beginning of the first Welsh ceremony, my friend and I were invited to wait in Ellen’s car to momentarily step out of the cold. Over mate, we debriefed about the nature of the Indigenous ceremony, and the odd fact that no other Welsh community members were present. Ellen lamented the fact that she was the only Welsh community member to make an effort to be there for the Indigenous ceremony, and she felt that the burden to demonstrate some sort of solidarity fell entirely on her. She mentioned that it reflected poorly on the Welsh community for not reciprocating support for the Indigenous community who always participated in the Welsh landing festivities. Ellen also noted her annoyance with having to be the Welsh ‘spokesperson’ since no one else bothered to attend. I am still unsure whether her annoyance was solely in regard to the fact that no one else from the Welsh community participated in the event, and as such she was given no choice but to
speak on the community’s behalf, or because Ellen herself felt slightly removed from the Welsh community and the act of speaking on its behalf put her in a place of personal emotional conflict. In addition to her own complicated relationship with Welshness, she also expressed a feeling of obligation to attend since her husband was part Indigenous. Nonetheless, within the hour, the official Welsh Landing Festival began, and hundreds of people started making their way toward the point.

Shortly after our talk, Ellen, my friend, and I parted ways in order to connect with various attendees we each recognized. I went down to the beach where the initial act of the landing festival was to be held. I encountered several local community members, dozens of Welsh tourists, and some disconnected Welsh descendants who had been living in Chile, in addition to a BBC representative I had met at an event earlier in the week. The attendance for the Welsh portion of the morning’s festivities was staggering, most notably as compared to the Indigenous ceremony, but also as compared to years prior. 2015 marked the 150th anniversary of Welsh presence in Argentina, and people who did not typically attend the annual anniversary celebration made extra effort to be present for this year’s event (based on observations from various participants). Most attendees wore regular clothing, but several individuals, including parents and their children, dressed in ways reminiscent of nineteenth century Wales in order to reenact what the Welsh settlers would have arrived wearing. From the coast, spectators could see the ship out in the bay, and the smaller rowboats with the Welsh descendant community members fortunate enough to be part of the reenactment. Once these lucky few arrived on shore in the row boats, they were greeted by other costumed reenactors with horses, Welsh flags, and the invented tradition of the Welsh-Patagonian flag (see Figure 2). It was here, amidst the reenactors and spectators, looking out at the vast expanse of the Patagonian desert, that I began
to imagine what it might have been like for those original 153 Welsh settlers to arrive in the area that is now the town of Puerto Madryn. Upon arrival, the Welsh settlers would have seen nothing but the vastly expansive desert. Despite their having arrived during the winter, it is certain that the settlers must have been intimidated by the landscape. Not only was the landscape far different than what they knew in Wales, likewise it would have been profoundly different from what they had anticipated. While experiencing the landing festival, it became obvious to me how the Welsh story in Patagonia had become mythologized in the ways it had. The story was undoubtedly a miraculous one, and it is no stretch to see how such a story has made an impeccable heritage narrative and prime mechanism for shaping the community’s identity.

The landing festival was just the beginning of the events that would take place on the day of the Sesquicentenary. Following the landing ceremony, the Governor of Chubut, Martin Buzzi, gave a speech with all the expected content, highlighting the Welsh mark on the province, and the importance of the community for Chubutense history and contemporary cultural heritage. Buzzi also paid homage to the importance of multiculturalism, and the exemplary nature of the Welsh-Indigenous relationship. This particular speech was indicative of the way in which the Welsh narrative has been diffused throughout the province, and even more a statement on the recognition by politicians that this narrative still resonates with many in the province. It also confirmed what a few of my informants had echoed—that the political tides were favoring the Welsh community at the moment. Similarly, though, each person who mentioned this did so with the caveat that the tides could turn at any time.

Following the speech, several imagined community events took place as symbolic, exemplary demonstrations to pay tribute to often-referenced Welsh values. We hurried to the
gymanfa ganu, or Welsh choral hymn festival, at one of the local elementary schools in Puerto Madryn, before racing off to a ceremony at one of the Welsh chapels in Trelew, followed by a tea service at Capel Bethel in Gaiman. The sheer magnitude of and attendance at these events demonstrated the value that the community members placed on this now officially recognized provincial holiday.
CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WELSH IN CHUBUT

The moral foundations of Y Wladfa provide an important frame through which this research must be situated. This chapter will trace the trajectory of the Welsh in Patagonia and examine the historical motivators for initial migration, struggles the Welsh community faced as a result of their unique positioning in the Argentine national framework, and describe some of the ways in which Welsh Argentine identity has adapted to external influences over the last century and a half. I also include a brief section on the Welsh out-migration from Y Wladfa to Australia to communicate the sheer strength that ideals like Welsh cultural and linguistic sovereignty and associated values have carried for the Welsh people, and which have served to motivate Welsh individuals to create such precarious circumstances for themselves when previous efforts to achieve Welsh autonomy were deemed unsuccessful. This chapter then culminates in a context for the contemporary Welsh diaspora by highlighting contemporaneous factors about the nation of Wales and the changing nature of the Wales-Welsh Diaspora relationship and its unquestioned role in shaping global Welshness. To begin, I briefly describe the roots of the Welsh struggle for political sovereignty and cultural freedom to frame the preponderance of Welsh out-migration during the nineteenth century.

A Legacy of Domination

Threads of colonialism and conquest are woven throughout the tapestry that is Welsh history—early on as a Celtic people, conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, and more contemporarily under the control of the British Empire. These historical legacies have unquestionably had palpable effects on not only landed Welsh in the nation of Wales, but also the global Welsh nation, comprised of an active international diaspora. While the existence of a robust Welsh diaspora might come as a surprise, the motivating factors and accompanying rhetoric for these
primarily nineteenth century relocations were in direct response to the historical legacy of domination that the people of Wales had experienced, only to be further catalyzed by accompanying social unrest, political turmoil, and economic hardship throughout the same period. In an effort to improve the expressly Welsh quality of life, the new Welsh homelands were, most notably, the United States, Canada, Australia, and somewhat unexpectedly, Argentina. What the first three nations share is that they all are, or were at one point, part of the British commonwealth. Under these conditions, it is easy to imagine how these three Anglicized nations provided a familiar refuge for the Welsh migrants of the nineteenth century, and how the pretenses of each new national narrative promised the potential for new socio-economic opportunities for the Welsh who made the overseas relocations. In each of the above Anglicized adoptive homelands, the Welsh were one of the model minorities (Knowles 1995; Langfield 2002) and thus were frequently afforded more privilege than contemporaneous migrating groups. Argentina, in contrast, provided an entirely new and distinct national context into which the Welsh settlers were transplanted. Argentina, having been settled by Spanish colonial efforts, offered a distinctly new and different set of opportunities outside of a British context for the Welsh settlers seeking to maintain strictly Welsh values that had become inextricably tied to a narrative of protest against Englishness.

Initially, due to the sparsely populated nature of the Patagonian region where the Welsh settled, the group was able to maintain cultural, social, and most importantly linguistic distinction from other Argentine nationals as well as the Indigenous groups residing in the area at the time of initial landing. In fact, one of the primary factors for opting to settle in the area now known as Chubut Province was that, to the Argentine government, that area was unsettled frontier land that had yet to be tamed by Western development. Due to the unpopulated nature of
the area, this was a selling point for the Welsh scouts who ventured to the territory in the years prior to the establishment of the Welsh colony, called Y Wladfa, because they surmised that the Welsh language could be maintained with fervor and strength as there were no neighboring communities to force verbal exchange in another language. It was only a matter of generations, however, until the Welsh were actively pressured to assimilate to their adopted Argentine homeland (Baur 1954). As such, the last 150 years of the Welsh Patagonian experience in Argentina is crucial in order to understand the contemporary milieu of the Patagonian Welsh diaspora and its lasting legacy for the Welsh nation.

The Welsh Experience and Motivations for Migration

The Celtic peoples once spanned nearly all parts of what is modern day Western Europe. As the centuries passed and the Roman Empire expanded, the Celts were primarily relegated to the region contemporarily known as Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland (Jenkins 2007). From approximately the fifth century onward, the Welsh and the Anglo-Saxons were in constant territorial battles for the largely extractive resources the land provided (Jenkins 2007). The initial Acts of Union came in 1536 when Wales was acquired by England and officially administered by the English legal system. This moment is remembered in Welsh history as the point at which English cultural domination truly began to take hold of Wales (Williams 2009). This period has been referenced throughout nationalist literature and as rhetoric within revivalist movements as the beginning of the decline of Welshness. In fact, festivals like the Eisteddfod were said to have begun as early as 1176 during a period of Anglo-Saxon and later Norman hegemonic influence over the predecessors to the contemporary Welsh as a mechanism to secure an elevated status for the Welsh language and poetic tradition relative to the English language. Though the origins of the festival are now contested, and the practice
was unheard of for nearly two centuries between the late 1500s until the festival’s revival in the 1700s, the Eisteddfod has taken on mythological significance within Welsh cultural tradition (Morgan 1983), and is demonstrative of the types of events that have been transferred to the Welsh Patagonian community as inherently and undeniably Welsh. The Eisteddfod is just one example of a myriad of Welsh invented traditions, adopted [and adapted in diaspora locations like Patagonia] to draw distinction between the Welsh and the peoples throughout the other regions in Great Britain (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). These invented traditions are important symbolic markers, even if some are lacking in deeper cultural underpinnings that the Eisteddfod possesses, because they remain the visible and unifying markers of Welshness across the diasporas and, perhaps more importantly, are distinguishable from England. What this reliance on unique symbols also communicates is that, for several centuries, Welsh identity has been constructed both in reference to and in opposition of British/English identity (Gruffudd et al. 2000). As will be demonstrated later in the chapter, these themes underscore much of the way in which Welsh history is communicated through heritage sites and digested by members of the Welsh nation as well as Welsh diaspora communities. Immediately following is a recent history of Wales of the past two centuries.

English political, social, and economic domination of Wales was ever-present throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and life under the umbrella of British rule reflected itself in very little economic opportunity for the Welsh. The majority of industries in Wales during this time were English-owned, or at the very least owned and managed by Tory-leaning Welsh elites. This class of Welsh elites was very small in numbers and largely assimilated to English society—frequently sending their children to schools in England rather than Wales (Jones 1992). British political and social control over Wales was most blatantly seen through attempts
to *civilize* and control the Welsh population, according to a stance of British domination. This meant mandating English-medium schools, English-only legal administration, and a British attempt to dominate the Nonconformist religious sector—a sector that served as the hub of social organization for many Welsh communities. Within the Welsh social framework, chapels functioned as forums to discuss community concerns, venues for social events, and the primary means through which the Welsh language flourished (Williams 2009). Though the English attempts at what was communicated through the guise of ‘order’ were brought with limited success in the unspoken efforts to rid the Welsh people of their linguistic and cultural traditions, these same efforts had what could be argued was an inverse and unintended, but ultimately catalyzing, effect that resulted in a stronger Welsh nationalism and provided the necessary motivations to revive and maintain a uniquely Welsh identity.

Organized revitalization efforts took place both in the homeland and abroad, though in a somewhat unexpected order. At the local level, the Welsh language continued to be spoken throughout the ‘hinterland’ regions of Wales. Certain, very specifically Welsh, industries like the slate mines in northern Wales cultivated the usage of Welsh as the language of exchange due to the relatively insular nature of the workforce⁴ (Jenkins 2007). It was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that more formalized efforts to actively preserve the Welsh language and culture were taken. For example, the Welsh Language Society⁵, a group that has become one of Wales’ most progressive and aggressive Welsh language rights advocacy entities, was not established until 1962. In fact, as will be addressed later in this chapter, radical revitalization efforts did not become a widely recognized part of Welsh society until the latter

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⁴ This is in contrast to the industries of the South, which experienced heavy in-migration from other European countries that resulted in a more ethnically and linguistically diverse workforce. In contrast, the mining communities in the north maintained greater linguistic and social uniformity as migration to these regions was minimal (Jenkins 2007).

⁵ See [http://cymdeithas.cymru/news](http://cymdeithas.cymru/news) for more information.
half of the twentieth century (Jenkins 2007). Once formalized, however, these efforts were largely internally focused and would not foster the inclusion of the Welsh diaspora until the establishment of the Welsh Assembly. In contrast, the nineteenth century offered distinctly different opportunities for responding to the English oppression of Wales.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had become a time of European expansion, and the Welsh followed in the zeitgeist of this period, though with expressly revival-nationalistic aspirations. In consequence, the nineteenth century in Wales was marked by significant out-migration to primarily Anglo-oriented nations, in pursuit of cultural, religious, linguistic, and economic freedom. The United States, Canada, and Australia were all considered logical and viable locations where new Welsh settlements could be established as the ongoing British presence in these areas by that time had allowed for some familiarity and comfort in, for the Welsh, these new and unknown lands. The British traditions of these nations provided the settlers opportunities for social mobility.

Anne Kelly Knowles shows us that the Welsh have sustained a relatively long history of migration—both within country, as well as internationally (1995). Within Wales, changing social and economic conditions resulted in significant migration from the northwestern agrarian regions of Wales to the industrialized southern regions of the country, for Welsh nationals seeking increased access to wage labor opportunities (Knowles 1995). Similar influences also motivated some individuals, from both the north and south of Wales, to migrate from Wales to countries with greater perceived opportunities. The United States was one such location and the Welsh were welcomed as human resources to populate industrial towns and communities across the young nation. A long history of Welsh labor and industry, frequently in the form of extractive industries, meant that many of the Welsh immigrants were already skilled in mining
and quarrying techniques upon entering the United States and could contribute to the technology of existing iron, slate, and coal mines in places like Vermont, Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia, among others (Knowles 1995). As more Welsh came, the Welsh presence expanded westward. As a result of westward Welsh migration in the United States, what began with relatively close-knit Welsh communities based on kinship throughout the industrial regions of the eastern and mid-Atlantic states resulted in a greater fragmentation of Welshness in the United States (Knowles 1995). Despite the social distance between the Welsh and the North Americans of British descent, their Celtic language and nonconformist religious traditions were not often well-received.

The Welsh were often pressured to linguistically and culturally assimilate, especially in more urban areas already experiencing high immigrant populations from other countries (Baur 1954). Furthermore, the Welsh migrants were rarely of elite social or economic status and were frequently forced to buy less than favorable tracts of land because other European-Americans already owned the most productive and quality flat lands in the eastern United States at that time. The results of these influences meant the Welsh were infrequently able to establish and maintain relatively bounded ethnic communities in more rural areas in the United States, despite efforts to maintain such social ties. According to Knowles, some of these Welsh-settled communities are still present today, but maintain only minimal remnants of Welsh cultural heritage (1995). Several states do have Welsh Societies, but these are typically based in urban areas and support social events for Americans who claim Welsh ancestry.

Heavy assimilation witnessed by Welsh social and religious leaders who visited the Welsh communities in the United States and Canada spurred some zealots to call for a new colony, in a more remote location, where a purely Welsh community could live in seclusion—
very distant from other potential religious, political, or linguistic influences. The Patagonian region of Argentina fit the desired requirements of isolation and, after several years of talks between the Argentine government and Welsh representatives beginning in 1862, negotiations resulted in a Welsh settlement in the Chubut Province, established in 1865. This new Welsh community was envisioned as the final hope for the Welsh to achieve their goals of unfettered linguistic and cultural practice (Baur 1954). As might be concluded based on other, similar migratory events throughout history, the events of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia played out much different than initially idealized. Following, I delve into the specific hurdles the community faced throughout the last 150 years.

**The Welsh Move to the Far South**

The initial Welsh expedition to Chubut occurred in 1856, but this project failed less than two years after it commenced due to lack of food and other sundries. While this initial attempt should have given pause to the revitalization efforts in their initially conceived form, Michael D Jones, the charismatic leader who concocted the migration plan to Argentina, revived the original plan less than five years later. In 1862, Lewis Jones and Sir Love Jones-Perry restored the possibility of establishing a Welsh Patagonian colony and made significant progress toward establishing a permanent Welsh Patagonian community, in large part due to British-Argentinian business exchanges already underway during this period (Baur 1954). It was during this time that establishing a Welsh haven in a non-Anglicized nation was deemed the approach most likely to yield intended, Welsh-centric outcomes.

While the establishment of the Welsh community in Argentina is somewhat surprising, it is certainly not coincidental that, for several decades by this period, the British government, investors, and businesses had already had their hands in Argentine economic affairs. As part of
what some term an *informal empire*, the British had continually been looking for ways to access the profits and resources that Argentina and its citizens had to offer (Lewis 2009; Knight 2008). While on the surface this largely economic relationship would have seemed inconsequential to the Welsh, the Welsh colony in fact served the Argentine government as a convenient political tool to solidify territorial claims in the expanding nation. The Welsh colony provided a opportune way for the increasingly centralized government in Buenos Aires to settle Argentine land with a group whom both Argentina and Britain considered British citizens, regardless of the Welsh community’s own self-distinction. For Argentina, though, this meant the Welsh were looked at with some apprehension by the Argentine government due to prior conflict with Britain over the Falkland Islands (Penaloza 2008). Even so, the Argentine government provided the Welsh settlers with significant aid in the form of goods and land for their first several decades as the community strove, with limited success, to make the fledgling settlement viable (Owen 1977). In this way, the Welsh settlement was strategically positioned between two larger powers—both exerting their control and influence over the colony in somewhat divergent ways, and more importantly, ways that were in conflict with the ideals the Welsh colony had for itself.

One of the ways in which the Argentinian government exercised its power over the Welsh was through its forced assimilation strategies. The sought-after isolation of the Welsh settlement in Patagonia did not unfold as planned, as the Welsh were later pressured through various means, including state education, politics, and the changing economy, to assimilate into the Argentine nation. As decades passed, it became clear that the Welsh settlers migrated to Argentina with a misunderstanding about what their relationship with the nation would be. In the years prior to embarkation, Lewis Jones and Sir Love Jones-Parry, on behalf of the
Emigration Society in Wales, sought agreements with the Argentine government and the Minister of the Interior, beginning in 1862 (Williams 1979). The first Welsh settlers to arrive in Argentina, in July 1865, were under the impression they would be exempt from the participation in Argentine political and social life that was expected of the general Argentine populace. In fact, the first wave of Welsh settlers to Argentina was exempt from military service, state schools, mandatory Spanish-medium official communications, and other similar obligations (Owen 1977). However, it was the intention of the Argentine government that future generations of Welsh settlers would indeed adhere to these mandates, once the colony was more securely established. The initial agreements made between the Argentine Interior Minister at the time, Guillermo Rawson, and the Welsh community fell through due to increasing centralization of the Argentine state, which resulted in the gradual implementation of assimilative policies throughout Patagonia in the 1880s (Dumrauf 1996). Consequently, it became the intention of the Argentine government that future generations of Welsh settlers and the subsequent waves of the Welsh that followed, would indeed adhere to these mandates once the colony was more securely and permanently established.

In addition to the social struggles the Welsh community in Argentina faced, the community also struggled to successfully work the land in the first several years after their arrival. While the Welsh had intended to farm, the landscape was profoundly different from that of Wales, despite what the 153 initial settlers were told prior to departing Wales. This group of settlers came from various urban and rural regions of Wales, which was still very much agrarian even in this time period. The climate in Wales was much more temperate, and there was less

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6 The Law of Public Land, 1862, set stipulations for migrant groups settling in Argentina and were not only applied to the Welsh but other ethnic minority communities that were established during this period. The law was increasingly enforced as the Argentine state gained strength and expanded the implementation of national policies beyond Buenos Aires (Dumrauf 1996).
relative variability between the seasons. Infrequent rains throughout an already arid zone, however, characterized Chubut’s climate, and the Welsh were wholly underprepared to farm under such conditions (Williams 1969). Furthermore, when they arrived, they had no nearby access to the necessary supplies to facilitate the favorable manipulation of the environment. Decades later, the Welsh settlers built an irrigation system that was nearly complete by 1893. This development fundamentally altered the Welsh experience in Argentina and made it possible for the Welsh community to self-sustain through agriculture and pastoralism (Baur 1954; Williams 1969, 1975). Due, in large part, to this permanent manipulation of the landscape, provincial memory and textbook history are now strongly linked to Welsh contributions to the region.

1896 is frequently referenced as a turning point for the Welsh settlement, as it is when Argentina began requiring Welsh Patagonian children to attend state-sponsored schools in Spanish (Baur 1954; Williams 1991). By this period, as well, the territorial government had become much more powerful due to efforts by the Argentine state to solidify territorial claims. Since the language of territorial and national administration was Spanish, Spanish soon superseded the Welsh that had been used for all local administrative management, governance, and print in the Chubut Valley prior to the 1896 educational mandates (Owen 1977; Williams 1991). These Argentinian State values were in direct conflict with the emotional goals of the Welsh community and caused similar tensions to those felt by the Welsh in Britain in the past. That is, in the Welsh settlers’ attempt to escape British hegemonic control, they entered into a new hegemonic arrangement whereby the Welsh were now expected to act as full members of Argentine society—linguistically, socially, culturally, and politically.

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7 Chubut did not transition from territorial to provincial status until 1955 (Owen 1977).
The position of Argentina was not dissimilar to other South American nations at that time, and was by and large in line with more broad-based global nationalist movements. The push to create recognizable and distinct nation states—where all members of the supposed nation spoke a homogeneous language, celebrated the same cultural traditions, and adhered to the same values—was sweeping countries all over the globe. In South America, a particular brand of populist political movements began during this same period and continued through the mid-twentieth century (Brown 1986). Argentine populist politics attempted to rally the masses through the nationalization of different governmental services. The Welsh Patagonian community undoubtedly experienced these processes from multiple fronts, and it is clear community members felt a great deal pressure to assimilate to the national type and to no longer explicitly pronounce a distinct Welsh-European ancestry, an attitude expressed in letters to family in the homeland that many community members exchanged during this period (Rock 1994). It is through these historiographical resources that scholars have been able glean insights into the changing landscape of Welsh diaspora identity politics throughout the community’s short history.

It is conceivable that the pressures on the community were not only insurmountable given the small population of the community in relation to the whole of Argentina, but also the community’s own marginal status within national politics provided the perfect conditions to be subsumed into the increasingly nationalized Argentine identity. Welsh representation within the national political structure was meager, at very best. The Welsh benefitted from a direct relationship with the Argentine president upon arrival to Argentina in 1865 and for the first two decades of the colony’s establishment. This arrangement had allowed for the Welsh to elect their own council that served as the community’s governing body (Williams 1991). Unfortunately, in
later years, once Chubut gained territory status in 1884, though the Welsh were able to elect their local council members, they were also subject to leadership by a series of governors who were frequently absentee and often loyal to the central government in Buenos Aires. These changes meant the Welsh now needed to abide by territorial laws and, consequently, the community’s distinct voice and relative standing declined significantly (Williams 1991). While many Welsh descendants were able to achieve some level of political office throughout the region, the Welsh were largely excluded from national political office. It is unclear if this was because the Welsh were perceived as a threat to the Argentine national project, or if the exclusion of the Welsh served as another method of marginalizing an identity that had for so many decades existed outside the Spanish and Italian cultural traditions of the majority of the nation’s population. The result, in any case, was the same in that the once relatively powerful Welsh settlement, vis-a-vis the lack of other sedentary settlements in the immediate area, was becoming marginal on both the national and provincial scale as Chubut experienced an influx of Argentine internal migration from the capital and from the north.

Additional lines were drawn between the Welsh settlers and the Argentine government throughout the period often called the “conquest of the desert,” when the Argentine government actively attempted to remove the Indigenous groups from Patagonian land. This negative treatment toward the Indigenous groups, as the community narrative goes, troubled the Welsh as, over the decades, the Tehuelche had become trading partners with the Welsh. According to the Welsh, community members were irritated by the Argentine government’s insinuations that they, too, should be helping in the battle against the Indigenous groups in what was framed as a battle over rightful control of the land (Williams 1979). The degree of a mutually beneficial relationship between the Welsh and the Indigenous communities has likely been overstated, as it
is conceivable the Welsh would have been rooted in Western colonial rhetoric from the period, as well as influenced by stories of Indian relations from North America at that time. In this sense, the Welsh community would not have been likely to consider themselves allies with the Indigenous groups, contrary to what heritage sites might communicate, but would most likely also have been reluctant to participate in such violence against these groups. Williams claims that it is unlikely the Welsh would have supported the obliteration of the native groups as the presence of these groups had little impact on the Welsh settlement in anything but positive ways (1979). And yet, for the semi-nomadic Mapuche that lived in the region long before the Welsh arrived, and the Tehuelche who were contemporaneous to the Welsh, their story tends to be nothing more than a preface to the actual transformation of the Patagonian landscape from an uninhabited, undesirable region into what has become a largely ecotourism destination, characterized by tropes of the untouched wilderness, frontier region of the country (Mendez 2010). Consequently, contemporary provincial heritage narrative constructions of the landscape have framed Indigenous engagement with the land, semi-mobility or nomadism, in such a way that has made these groups’ contributions to Chubut provincial history inconsequential because these narratives suggest a lack of rootedness, or formal engagement with or use of the land.

In addition to the active interventions from the Argentine government, Williams cites a series of complex and inter-related issues that led to what appeared to be an absence of strictly Welsh cultural practices by the centenary celebration of the settlement in 1965. Many of these factors can largely be explained by the community’s limited ability to maintain its insular nature. While the settlement maintained formal ties with Wales, extensively through the 1930s and only somewhat into the 1950s for religious exchange, the lack of strong institutional ties or support during the 40 years that followed may have looked like a decline of Welshness in Argentina.
(Williams 1991). The changing nature of what were religiously based town networks meant that small, family based Welsh communities were no longer centrally organized around the chapels. When administration of the town was relinquished from the church to the provincial government, individuals and families became more fragmented. The Welsh networks in Patagonia were disintegrating and responsibilities to the Welsh community eroded (Williams 1991). In addition, many of the formerly small Welsh towns became larger, ethnically and culturally diversified cities as migrants from other regions of the country came to settle in these urbanized areas. The nature of production was also shifting away from agriculture-based exchange to wage labor in the newly developing towns. Internal Welsh Argentine migrations resulted in several individual Welsh Patagonians leaving to find opportunities in Buenos Aires and surrounding areas (Williams 1991).

One specific Welsh demographic Williams points to was the declining involvement of adolescents in the religious sector post 1940s in Welsh Patagonia. He notes that while, for the first 60 or so years of the settlement, the Welsh community was required to attend three prayer meetings on Sundays, expectations later decreased. Teens and children were no longer spending their Sundays within the church community but rather spent more time attending non-Welsh leisure and recreational activities, often supported by the local or the provincial government. Therefore, Welsh-descendant teens during the mid-twentieth century received more exposure to non-Welsh culture and, thus, had infrequent need to use the Welsh language or recall Welsh traditions. This, in addition to the out-marriage of younger people from the Welsh Patagonian community into the Argentinian community-at-large, meant the Welsh youth of the period generally had increasing access to non-Welsh traditions (Williams 1991). These trends led to a gradual decline in the prestige and usage of the Welsh language.
In line with the declining role of the church, regular usage of the Welsh language simultaneously declined with decreasing religious engagement. After state Spanish-medium schools were mandated in 1896, chapels served as the remaining vestiges of Welsh linguistic centers. Therefore, as the chapels—the institutions that were largely responsible for maintaining the language in the community—were losing power, the Welsh language also waned in status within the community (Williams 1991). The fact that simultaneously, for several generations, the youth were no longer being educated in the Welsh language only accelerated the assimilation of what was left of Welsh-dominant communities toward Argentinidad. These factors motivated some members of the Welsh Patagonian community to revive the dream of a fully Welsh community that, in turn, motivated another series of migratory events. Immediately following, I go into brief detail about these events next, before returning to a discussion on the nature of Welshness in Patagonia in the twentieth century.

**Welsh Out-Migration from Argentina**

For a period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several Welsh descendants became dissatisfied with the Patagonian settlement and its apparent failure to achieve the intended goals of the settlement. A combination of misunderstandings between the Welsh and the Argentine government as far as expectations for future involvement in the national community, in addition to changing global economics, meant the colony was not able to fully achieve the autonomy and independence for which the original settlers had anticipated. The first few decades, apart from some minor inconveniences, would likely have seemed promising in that the Welsh were able to maintain a positive, beneficial, but largely detached relationship with the central Argentine government. Though they relied heavily on the government for supplies in the first several years, due to their inability to successfully work the
land into a productive resource at the outset, the Welsh also maintained a level of separation and self-governance that kept the community removed from national politics and, more importantly, kept them speaking Welsh (Owen 1977). While these initial trends may have appeared as though the community was meeting its goals, as time passed, these visible markers of separation from the broader Argentine populace began to fade, resulting in a contingent of Welsh descendants who sought entirely Welsh livelihoods elsewhere.

The Welsh who left Argentina migrated primarily to Canada and Australia. The typical migratory patterns of the Welsh, somewhat expectedly however also paradoxically, were frequently to the nations under or formerly under the British crown. In many ways and in all these locations, the Welsh represented the model minority with the least social distance from the Anglo-European settlers of those nations. Though the Welsh language was markedly different than English, some of the earlier waves of Welsh migrants still spoke English as a remnant of their lives in Wales, in addition to Welsh, which enabled an easier transition to these predominantly English speaking countries. The Welsh Argentines who left for Australia and Canada, however, were now once-removed from Wales. Many of these individuals who left the colony toward the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries did not actually speak English and only spoke Welsh and Spanish, which made the transition to Canada and Australia much more difficult (Langfield 2002). Language, as it would turn out, was just one of several barriers this cohort would experience upon arrival.

Prior to settling on Australia and Canada as the next destinations for Welsh settlements, the Welsh in Chubut were exploring other potential destinations, and South Africa was a consideration. This was ruled out because it was feared that, because part of the reasoning behind immigration in the first place was to create an autonomous Welsh colony, such an
arrangement would not be able to be flourish in South Africa. That is, there was a fear the settlers would undoubtedly lose Welsh language proficiency if they went to South Africa, as had been demonstrated by migratory projects of earlier decades. Canada, instead, seemed like a viable option, despite previous failed migratory events to Canada. The rhetoric in both Britain and Canada claimed that the entirety of the Welsh community in Patagonia was miserably unhappy, destitute, and in need of rescuing. The reality was that only a small subset of the Welsh community actually considered and acted on out-migration as a reasonable option, and even fewer actually fit this categorization of the Welsh Patagonian community members (Owen 1977). While a small group of individuals did venture to previously established communities in Canada, an even smaller subset set off to develop a new community in Australia.

The Welsh Patagonians who left Argentina for Australia created another interesting chapter in the Welsh global identity story. Regarding the Welsh as the ideal type of immigrant, the Australian government participated in talks with the Welsh (among other Argentine immigrants) to ensure a successful journey and favorable conditions upon arrival (Langfield 2002). As was typical with other migration stories of the time, as well as the overwhelmingly disenfranchising aspects of the Welsh experience, the Welsh who landed in Australia were not completely satisfied with their new surroundings. The Welsh Patagonians who left for Australia suffered somewhat similar struggles as their Welsh Argentine predecessors had experienced. The Patagonians that left for the Commonwealth country were misguided in similar ways to the Welsh who sought refuge in Patagonia. Rather than mistaken understandings about how the Welsh immigrants would fit into the new social order and landscape, the Welsh Patagonians in Australia suffered economic misinformation, which ultimately affected the success of their
settlements, and their subsequent ability to maintain strictly Welsh heritage and linguistic communities (Langfield 2002).

The Welsh Patagonians who left for Australia were under the impression they would be granted land, much like the Welsh who went to Argentina. The land was not nearly as productive as the colonists were led to believe, in both cases, and the Welsh who landed in Australia filed a complaint with the government in order to rectify the situation. In addition to the legal issues the colony faced, the Welsh Patagonian immigrants to Australia also suffered similar stereotypes and biases as those experienced upon arrival in Argentina. Similar to Argentine motivations for Welsh settlers to *whiten* Argentina\(^8\), the Australian government sought to populate the rural areas with the *right* kind of settler/immigrant (Langfield 2007, 2002). The Welsh, from appearances, fit this unspoken description but when the group of Argentine settlers (including Italians, Spanish, etc.) landed to receive the supplies and land that was promised them, the group as a whole was not welcomed (Langfield 2002). The ideology of the Australian populace at the time was very much anti-immigrant given that World War I had just begun. In this way, it is obvious that the temporal context of the migration, in addition to the Welsh Patagonians’ motivations, affected the outcome of the Welsh culture in the new nation (Langfield 2002). It was hoped that the Welsh settlements in Australia would be something similar to that which was formed in Argentina. According to Langfield, those who left Argentina were seeking greater economic prospects, and linguistic or social intentions were only secondary. Therefore, no *pure* Welsh settlements were established in Australia (Langfield 2007).

Langfield additionally notes that both the Argentine and Australian settlements could be called ‘colonies’ in that they were both a part of colonial processes where the foundational goals

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\(^8\) See Berg 2017 for further detail on the dynamics of the Welsh community as European descendants in Patagonia.
were to settle land for agricultural production. Scouts were sent to both locations prior to actual embarkation in order to make arrangements with the national governments in each place. The ultimate goals of each project were to create productive communities—deeply rooted in values of Welsh heritage maintenance in the Patagonian case, and using these values as a supplementary agenda in the Australian one. Unfortunately, for the Welsh Patagonians who left for Australia, the primarily economic agenda meant much more rapid assimilation as many members of the group did not speak English with a high degree of competency, if at all. English was already the established language throughout Australia, in contrast to a largely unsettled Argentine territory at the time the Welsh settlers arrived, and the Welsh were not afforded the same opportunity to live in relative isolation as they had during the beginning of their time in Argentina (Langfield 2002).

In addition to the respective communities’ interactions with the unfamiliar social hierarchy in each new homeland, the Welsh migrants in both instances were forced to navigate new relationships with the Indigenous communities in each respective location.

Little has been written about the Welsh relationship with Indigenous groups in Argentina, but coverage of the parallel relationship between the Welsh Patagonians and the Indigenous communities in Australia is even more sparse. Despite this, given the timeframe, we can assume the majority of groups that may have once resided in the areas where the Welsh settled had already been relocated elsewhere (Langfield 1998). Had these groups been present, it is no stretch to assume that the Welsh relationship with the Indigenous would have mirrored that of their Argentinian predecessors, not to mention the majority of European colonizers. As such, while there are several parallels between the Wales-Argentina and Argentina-Australia migratory events, when considering the longer-term trajectory of the respective communities, the Welsh in Patagonia were far more successful at their expressed goals, using the values of cultural
autonomy and maintenance as the measure. Through a brief history of the contemporary community, the following section highlights some of the outcomes of Welshness in Patagonia to date.

**Welshness in Argentina in the 20th Century**

The twentieth century marked a time of significant social change for the Welsh Patagonian community. The centralization of the Argentine government meant that there was additional pressure to assimilate into Argentine cultural logics. Simply put, the Argentine nation, which was founded with European ideals, was attempting to create its own class structure and forge a new identity rooted in the generations of citizens who were descendants of large numbers of European immigrants that migrated during the nineteenth century but were no longer closely tied with their homeland heritages (Williams 1991). Therefore, it was no longer socially or politically productive from the perspective of those in power in Argentina for the Welsh to continue strict claims of European heritage. By these same processes, it became more beneficial for the Welsh to demonstrate Argentine patriotism and membership in the national community, in order to increase the community’s standing in the national class structure, especially in relation to the new waves of immigrants coming into Argentina at the time (Williams 1991). These pressures affected the Welsh in two primary ways. First, many new Argentine immigrants began inhabiting Patagonia and, therefore, the area was no longer ethnically dominated by the Welsh. Second, these new immigrants became ‘the other’ and the Welsh, by this point, were less distinguishable within the nationalist social order. Rather than maintain a high degree of social (and what would consequently be economic) isolation, especially considering that relative Welsh Argentine political autonomy had already been lost (Williams
(1991), the Welsh (whether consciously or unconsciously) made efforts to more fully participate in Argentine society.

Changing national and regional economic circumstances were also influential on the status of the Welsh community in Argentina. The shift away from agriculture as a primary and productive livelihood meant that many Welsh community members entered positions in manufacture. Agricultural productivity declined for a few meaningful reasons, not the least of which was the inheritance structure in Argentina. Legally, land ownership was to be split equally among all children in a family and thus, by the mid-1940s, increasing generations meant smaller and sometimes non-viable units of land that made it impossible for some Welsh descendant families to subsist (Williams 1991). These processes, as well as global economic changes and the Argentine government’s own policies to focus on internal manufacture and away from involvement in the free market system meant that factory and manufacture jobs were readily available throughout the country, including in Patagonia (Williams 1991). These changes carried through the 1960s and 70s. Coincidentally, these decades were also arguably the period in which the least Welsh affiliation was visible in Y Wladfa’s 150-year history.

Several decades following the assimilative strategies forced upon the Welsh by the Argentine government at the turn of the twentieth century, the Welsh would later be dissuaded from demonstrating any resistance to the government throughout both the Peron era and the years of the Dirty Wars (Williams 1991). Peronist populism, it was hoped, would mobilize the working classes in support of the government. Peron used socialist and economic strategies in an attempt to increase the standard of living for the lower Argentine classes (Elena 2011). Given the Welsh descendants’ own positioning within Argentine social life during this period, it is likely they would likewise have been subject to heavy persuasion by the government. Due to the
decrease in value of agriculture as a livelihood, the Welsh Patagonians no longer represented the elite classes during the mid and later twentieth century. Welshness became somewhat of a stigma, resulting from a self-imposed social distance early on in the century, as well as a relative inability to climb the social and economic ladder later. Glyn Williams insinuates that, during this period, speaking Welsh or affiliating with this identity would have been a negative social marker and one that many Welsh descendants opted not to openly display. In one of his papers, from 1971, he noted the correlation between Welshness and low socioeconomic status (Williams 1971). Likewise, it would be people in the lower levels of the class structure who would have been the focus of socialist strategies and, therefore, the promise of social mobility would have appeared tempting and served as a motivator to affiliate much less with Welshness.

These sentiments were echoed to me by a few of my middle-aged Welsh-descendant informants. These reflections were only expressed by those of specific generations who came of age during, or just following, the dictatorship. This timeline makes sense, as does the potential lag between the dismantling of the dictatorship and accompanying regime and the large-scale societal and ideological shifts relative to the ‘other’ that followed. In Chubut, anyway, it seems that being marked as different, either though language or surname (both of which were expressed to me as reasons why these particular informants felt they were targets of bullying and ridicule throughout their schooling), meant the strong potential for a degree of social isolation in the 1970s and 80s if one was a Welsh descendant.

Despite the social factors working against the Welsh community, a centenary event was hosted in 1965 and, for a few years thereafter, Welsh heritage was on a slow but steady increase in visibility and practice. The Provincial Eisteddfod, which had not been held in the prior 15 years, was reinstated and there was a brief local renewed interest in the Welsh language (Lublin
This brief resurgence in Welshness was highlighted to me by one of the community members who was among the first cohort (only two individuals, at the time) to attend university courses and learn Welsh in Wales with the scholarship exchange during the late 1990s. She emphasized the fact that three community members, on what was somewhat of a whim, organized the Eisteddfod and 100th anniversary festivities. Her point was to highlight the critical role of individuals in heritage revitalization processes.

This brief revitalization only lasted a few years, however, due to changing national politics. In addition to the dictatorship, the 1982 Falklands dispute situated the Welsh, again, in an uncomfortable liminal position between Argentina and Britain. The years leading up to and spanning the Dirty Wars in Argentina would also have motivated the Welsh to not call any attention to their own difference or distinct cultural heritage. Given the suspicious eye of the military government from 1976 to 83, any individual or group that was perceived as acting in a subversive manner toward the government was, at the very least, closely watched but, in extreme yet not infrequent cases, was disappeared (Kohut and Vilella 2010). Though the Welsh would likely not have been a target for such activities, it is easy enough to imagine that fear of differentiating oneself, especially given the counter-productive British-Argentine historical legacy, would have served as a powerful mechanism to mute Welsh heritage.

It was not until the 1990s that the foundations of the resurgence in Patagonian Welshness were laid. Conditions in both Argentina and Wales helped to facilitate the revitalization in a few key ways. After the dirty wars of the 1980s, and a repressive military dictatorship, completely aligning with broadly conceived Argentine heritage was no longer desirable. The government had lost considerable traction with the citizenry and the promotion of alternative heritages became a means to reorient national patrimony away from the populist identity that had been in
construction since the mid 1900s and consequently required extensive dismantling. Alternative lenses allowed for the orienting of identities toward heritages that were previously silenced and disregarded (Schluter 1999). Welsh heritage most certainly benefited from these social trends though, ironically, Indigenous heritage remained largely marginal. This heavy preferentialism toward Welshness, or Welsh history and heritage, is now readily seen throughout the tourism literature and brochures, as well as municipal websites, which boast the continued presence and influence of Welshness throughout the region. It is interesting to consider this because, in some ways, the Welsh have been complicit in maintaining the subordination of the Indigenous communities within tourism industry narratives, especially considering Wales’ own internal colony status as a member of the “Celtic fringe” (Hechter 1977). Heritage sites are venues where these identities can be represented, put on display for public consumption, and often given a voice not previously attained. In this way, heritage sites can be sources of legitimation and serve a public educational role (Graham et al. 2000). Lowenthal notes that heritage can be used as a productive resource for marginalized communities, but can also be highly exclusionary depending on which narrative(s) are favored or, conversely, which are ignored (1998).

Historical narratives such as these from the tourism industry have served to naturalize, in the twenty-first century, the purposeful and often violent removal of the Indigenous groups from Chubut that took place throughout the nineteenth century. Vannina Sztainbok discusses similar narrative processes in Uruguay, and notes that these “national realities” are problematic because in both countries, the indigenous groups are, in narrative, but subsequently in economic and political processes, essentially eliminated (2010, 180). The general rhetoric is that no Indigenous peoples exist in the contemporary period, within Uruguay’s borders. This has the implicit effect of whitening the population and precludes any possibility of Uruguayan identity that recognizes,
even in part, the contribution of Indigenous values to the national imaginary (Hoffmann and Peeren 2010). Similar outcomes for what was called the Conquest of the Desert in Argentine history have been witnessed in Argentina whereby the Argentine national narrative and identity recalls primarily European heritage (de Oleaga and Bohoslavsky 2011). The Indigenous communities do not have access to European heritage claims and thus are constructed through the heritage and tourism industry in a stark contrast to the Welshness, and therefore much lesser effort is put toward revitalizing and maintaining Indigenous heritage.

**Welsh Patagonia and Wales**

It was not until relatively recently, toward the end of the twentieth century, with global acceptance of multiculturalism rhetoric, that the Welsh descendants have been able to successfully reclaim and reassert their identity in Argentina. This revival is more than simply convenient timing, however, and corresponds with post-industrial nationalist movements in the Welsh nation, as well as the targeted allocation of human and capital resources toward Welsh heritage maintenance. According to Freidman, the latter part of the twentieth century was characterized by a decline of former hegemonic centers (those often coinciding with former colonial and imperial centers), and countless regions that formerly composed the *periphery* in many former empires gained new autonomy (2003). This transition enabled formerly powerless groups, like the Welsh, to access different forms of expression and self-direction that was not previously available (Freidman 2003). Such trends have been witnessed in Wales in relation to Westminster, with the nation of Wales gaining increasing autonomy throughout the 1980s and 90s, with the culmination of these efforts resulting in the acquisition of the Welsh Assembly in 1999. While for Wales a devolved United Kingdom resulted in what is comparable only to
provincial-level control\textsuperscript{9}, this development has been a huge morale boost for the Welsh nation (McAllister 2001). In effect, once the mining industries that had previously served as the lifeblood of the nation as well as means of British control declined, the British no longer had a vested interest in exercising the same level of control over Wales. Though Wales was, and yet remains, under British jurisdiction, cultural expression flourished in recent decades, and political strides in the form of an assembly government with a uniquely Welsh identity have been achieved (Loughlin 1997). The defining characteristics of such an identity have been in constant flux for the last several decades, but more recently have sought to be more uniformly designated for the heritage industry (Pritchard and Morgan 2001).

A similar process of Welsh linguistic and cultural revitalization has happened in Argentina, though with a slight lag relative to that of nationalism in Wales. Welsh nationalists truly began mobilizing in the 1960s and 70s, after mine, quarry, and other heavy industry closures (McAllister 2001). According to Clifford, the post-1960s era is characterized by increasingly fragmented identities, with identity politics beginning to escalate, and minority ethnic communities, at least in an openly visible sense, beginning to crop up in a number of global nations (1998). The nation of Wales, within the broader context of the United Kingdom, was no stranger to this resurgence. The increasingly prominent discussion of Welshness in the homeland subsequently spurred resurgence in Welsh Patagonia, though it was not until the 1990s that the movement really took hold there. As the Welsh nation became more pointed in its intentions to present a unified image, harnessing all those who might consider themselves members of the Welsh nation has served to add clout to the nationalist movement. The ability for the Welsh nation to claim survival of a Welsh colony in a distinctly non-Anglo nation has afforded new legitimacy for the Welsh national claim for recognition as a separate socio-cultural

\textsuperscript{9} As compared to their Scottish neighbors, who obtained the Scottish parliament (Loughlin 1997).
region within the United Kingdom, and Europe more broadly. The Argentine colony throughout this period became critical for the success of Welsh resurgence in Wales. The First Minister, Carwyn Jones, captured this sentiment in his speech to the Welsh Descendants when he noted that the Welsh colony in Patagonia was of national interest to Wales because it helped solidify Wales’ mark on the world.

The above processes are evidenced by the recent uptick in programming between the Welsh homeland and the Patagonian diaspora. While I was aware of many of the linkages that were in existence before going to the field, I learned about countless, less publicized connections while I was in Argentina. In addition to the more prestigious connections the Welsh Patagonian community had with the British Council through the Welsh Language Project, the BBC Wales orchestra established an instrument exchange, a youth choral group called Ty Cerdd worked with a local Welsh descendant to write and perform Argentinian style music in Welsh, and cities all over Wales were seeking to be twinned with cities in Chubut (some were in process, while some were already established), among other arrangements with varying degrees of formality and all in the name sesquicentenary. I asked my research participants for their thoughts about this programming, and some of the more reflexive respondents mentioned that the success of Welshness outside Wales added credibility to the language and heritage preservation efforts within Wales. They felt that the ongoing battle of Welsh language revitalization was being fought on different fronts, Patagonia being one of most prominent.

Donald and Rattansi contribute an important parallel point to the discussion of multiculturalism and the timeline for Welsh and Welsh Patagonian revitalization, noting that, with the advent of multicultural acceptance across the globe, in many nations, what this really means is acceptance of the culture of the ‘other’ (1992). Rather than including into the
discussion of multiculturalism the dominant culture in any given place, those of minority or diaspora groups are usually the center of attention, as though their heritage is something intrinsic in the people who identify with it (Donald and Rattansi 1992). This is reflected in the Welsh Patagonian case in that, as the nation became more accepting of cultural diversity and pluralism, Welsh culture was *allowed* to flourish more so than in any other period since the Welsh settlers’ arrival in Argentina in 1865. It is no surprise that Welsh ethnic museums and cultural performances have sprung up throughout the Chubut province within the more accepting social climate of the last 20 years (Gonzalez de Oleaga and Bohoslavsky 2011).

Social movements, including Indigenous movements, improve the visibility of disenfranchised groups and access to what are often much needed resources, through participation in globally recognizable discourses of a collective (van Baar 2010). Taking this idea one step further, identities can be used as political tools in similar ways, in an attempt to gain political recognition (Vargas 2010). Because the tourism and heritage industry is that of identity construction for tourist consumption, accessing and participating in the tourism industry is one means by which groups can gain political legitimacy, locally, nationally, and globally (Sztainbok 2010). The Welsh in Argentina have been successful at this endeavor and have, most notably in the last two decades, erected community museums, monuments, and even Welsh-themed attractions such as Casas de Te, in order to ensure the Welsh mark on Chubut is memorialized. Museums, generally, are remnants of a very European tradition to collect and display materials of community significance (Pearce 1999). The Welsh in Argentina have harnessed the ability to document their history, experience, and influence on the region, through the preservation and display of physical documents and artifacts throughout the above-mentioned Welsh community maintained museums (Hoskins 2003). Therefore, Chubut regional tourism
plainly favors Welsh cultural heritage. In light of the increasing prominence of the Welsh Patagonian settlement in the Welsh national imaginary, the following section highlights what has only been relatively recent scholarship and a more critical lens exploring the Welsh Patagonian community.

**Previous Scholarship on the Welsh Colony**

Scholarship surrounding the Welsh community in Patagonian has been maintained by a small group of both Welsh and Welsh Argentine researchers. This demonstrates that, though the Welsh colony has not maintained a large presence in academic literature at large, it has held at least a small but stable position in the literature for some time. Academic papers and journal articles about the Welsh colony began to show up in social sciences literature in the 1960s and 70s, again aligned with the Welsh nationalist movement in the homeland, as well as the 100th anniversary of the settlement. It follows that these efforts aligned with Welsh nationalist goals to reach out to Welsh enclaves in other parts of the world in order to gain the appearance of a united front. In the last decade, there has been increasing scholarly inquiry surrounding the Welsh community in Argentina. With increased visibility, the colony has become a topic of social scientific research in recent years, yet as will be evidenced below, the number of scholars focusing on this particular ethnic enclave is still quite small. Though there is some literature on the Welsh colony in Patagonia, there are few articles that elaborate on the nature of Welsh Patagonian heritage. Still fewer pieces mention the Welsh community museums or other sites of significance as playing a central role in Welsh heritage maintenance in Patagonia (Berg 2017; Gonzalez De Oleaga and Bohoslavsky 2011; Mendez 2010; Schluter 1994). One article does, to the benefit of Welsh identity research in Argentina, expound on the commodification of the tea
houses (Lublin 2009). However, any further work on heritage sites as the communicators of Welsh Patagonian identity remain absent from the literature.

A series of sociolinguistic studies have sought to gauge the linguistic ideology of the Welsh and surrounding communities (Coupland and Garrett 2010; Coupland and Aldridge 2009; Coupland, Aldridge, and Fishman 2009; Williams 2009). A handful of other articles and papers focus on historiographies of the settlement and the nature of the migration as an inherently nationalist movement (Baur 1954; Owen 1977; Williams 1991, 1979, 1978). Other scholars have analyzed Welsh Patagonian self-concept and the perceptions of Welshness from the perspective of those with Welsh ancestry in contrast to those from outside of the community (Johnson 2009; Trosset, Thornton, and Caulkins 2007), while still other works have provided interesting theories on Welsh colonial empire in Argentine and Welsh literature. For example, Whitfield has claimed that throughout the historical fiction surrounding the colony, there is an overwhelming sense of cultural imperialism (2011, 2005). These themes are nuanced throughout the community heritage museums and add an important lens through which to analyze the narratives that are presented within each, as well as a consideration when determining the self-identification of the community itself.

One of the most prolific Welsh researchers on the subject for the last 40 years, Glynn Williams, has been responsible for tracing what he claims are the Welsh national influences on the Welsh Patagonian colony. A Welsh national, himself, Williams has completed extensive anthropological fieldwork in the Patagonian community. His books and papers, however, tend to focus much more on the historical processes that have shaped current interactions, rather than a thick description of the current social context of the community. In this way, Williams has been an indispensable resource for any scholar interested in the community in both its present and
historical positioning, as the events of the colony a century ago have led to its current standing within the Argentine state. Williams set the foundation for other researchers to begin accessing the community and uncover more information about the Welsh diaspora in South America.

Without question, Glyn Williams has contributed the most comprehensive and holistic history of what he calls the “state and the ethnic community” (1991). That is, quite possibly, due in large part to his anthropological training, Williams has traced not only the history of the community, but the Welsh community’s experience in Argentina throughout different periods of significance. He makes claims for the community’s current (at the time, early 1990s) positioning relative to a multitude of different factors including religious and broader community organization, agricultural and general economic strategies, political structure and affiliations over time, and changing social patterns, as well as the ever-important linguistic factor. Therefore, while dense, his most recent book, The Welsh in Patagonia, provides a thorough picture of what, at the time the book was published, may have appeared to be a decline in the claiming of Welsh heritage in Chubut (1991). He may not have imagined the community’s recent (past two decades) success in reclaiming a particular globally recognizable heritage, though this could have been anticipated given the budding transnational networks that were being developed throughout the 1990s. Williams left off at a critical juncture in the Welsh Patagonian legacy, into which I will delve more deeply in the following chapters. In Chapters 2 and 3, I begin to provide a robust description of the contemporary context of the Welsh Patagonian community. For the remainder of this chapter, I provide a brief snapshot of the Welsh Patagonian community as it is in the early twenty-first century.
Welshness in Argentina in the 21st Century

Currently, there are anywhere from 5,000 to 10,000 Welsh first-language speakers in Argentina. However, Welsh language learners and second language speakers in the province, whose first-language is Spanish total somewhere around 25,000 (SIL International 2016). The Welsh language has not only been maintained in Patagonia; these numbers actually represent a fair amount of growth, which mirrors trends in Welsh language revitalization in the homeland (Loughlin 2007). Meanwhile, nearly 50,000 Argentines possess some sort of Welsh ancestry, though only a fraction of this number actively claim Welsh heritage. This is highly significant, given the total population of the Chubut province is 550,000 (Welsh Government 2016). While not all Welsh language speakers in Chubut, or even those involved in the Welsh heritage network, are of Welsh descent, this does provide some insight into what Vertovec calls the “diaspora as a type of consciousness” (Vertovec 1998, 8) For Argentinians both with and without Welsh heritage, the prevalence of performing Welshness demonstrates that there exists a perceived value to participating in Welsh heritage commemoration and, more importantly, in the practicing of what are considered moral Welsh behaviors. I will expound on the notion of Welsh moral values in Chapters 4 and 5, due to the frequency with which Welsh values were referenced as motivating factors for zealously celebrating Welsh heritage by nearly all of my informants. What became apparent throughout my time in the field, and identified in nearly every interview, was the striving to not only preserve Welsh values, but to achieve what Robbins would deem the status of the exemplar—he or she who captures and enacts the essence of moral behavior within a particular cultural framework (2007). In fact, as I came to realize, there were several community members vying for positions of power within the Welsh community. Some community members felt that a more respectable status could be achieved by closer adherence to
values deemed rooted in Welshness and Welsh ways of being. And yet, despite their efforts, those who actively aspired to be recognized by their fellow community members were those least likely to become exemplars. For Welsh Patagonians, overt attempts to be recognized as an exemplar were least effective in achieving such a status. More accurately, those individuals whose behavior was most closely representative of the values around which the community was meant to be established were spoken about highly by their fellow community members, as well as Welsh nationals who have visited and lived in the community, as emblematic of Welsh Patagonia. The few community members who have been able to achieve this status are represented throughout the series of Reflection from the Field s and qualitative data in the following chapters.

Trosset et al. posit an important point that Welsh identity in Patagonia, and the associated community values, are very different from Welsh identity in Wales (2007). Their research sought to distinguish characteristics of Welsh versus Welsh Patagonian identities. Though some characteristics were said to be desirable by both groups, and present within one or both, the more important point here is that all diaspora populations are influenced by the ideologies of their new nation (Trosset et al. 2007). This is logically valid, and to a degree true, the Welsh in Patagonia, who after 150 years have reenergized Welsh identity, have also experienced periods of significant self-distancing from Welsh heritage. Consequently, the situation in Welsh Patagonia is much more complex. In fact, while Trosset et al. found that many Argentines who claimed Welsh heritage claimed Argentine identity first, and Welsh second (Trosset et al. 2007), my research demonstrates a much more reciprocal exchange of salient Welsh national community values toward the diaspora, co-opted, and reflected back to the homeland.
Ian Johnson completed a linguistic study, published in 2009, to explore Welsh Patagonian perceptions of the Welsh language. His results demonstrated that members of the Welsh Patagonian community with closer affiliations to the language, whether this be through participation in the Eisteddfodau, actively speaking the language with family and friends, or taking language courses, were more optimistic about the state of the language and, ultimately, Welsh culture in Argentina. Those with less affiliation were much more pessimistic about the state of the language (Johnson 2009). These findings align with the community value that prioritizes Welsh speaking as exemplary behavior. I expand on the central role that exemplary values play in the community in subsequent chapters, but what Johnson’s paper additionally contributes to the Welsh Patagonian scholarly research at-large is a cultural geography of the extant Welsh towns in Argentina.

The research showed that contemporarily, Gaiman was perceived as the center of Welshness in Chubut, followed by Trevelin. In both these locations, according to Johnson, Welshness was part of the daily lives of residents and much more easily achieved, due to the small size of the towns. I take slight issue with this claim, given the infrequent usage of the language on a daily basis. However, I can appreciate that Welsh language usage appears more prominent in these locations due to the nature of institutional support and publicity for Welsh language events hosted in these towns. In addition to the provincial Welsh centers, Trelew, near to Gaiman, and Esquel, on the westernmost end of the province near Trevelin, were perceived as secondary Welsh centers where, since they are much larger cities, possessed greater institutional support for the Welsh language (museums, bilingual education), though the concentration of the Welsh community was less so (Johnson 2009). Again, Johnson’s findings generally align with my experiences, though I will expose the deeper nuances that must be understood to fully
conceptualize the heritage processes taking place in Chubut. I will elaborate on this further in the following chapters, with reference to my own fieldwork, which demonstrates that the strongholds of the language create the conditions for individual community members to participate in activities that move them, at least as perceived, closer to the status of the Welsh exemplar.

To illustrate the relative ebb and flow of the Welsh Patagonian community toward and away from a form of exemplary Welshness since the establishment of the community, I will contribute some observations by previous scholars that highlight a distancing of Welshness, as well as personal observations of recent developments that, I claim, demonstrate changing tides toward a more prescribed form of Welshness. Glyn Williams concluded his final book with some important thoughts. He noted that though the Welsh in Patagonia are Welsh in heritage and in name, they can and should not necessarily be measured against Welshness in Wales (1991). That is, though the Welsh Patagonians originated from Wales, what Welsh identity appears to be in Wales is no longer directly relevant to the Welsh in Argentina given the time elapsed between the formation of the settlement and contemporary actions. In this same vein, however, the Welsh in Patagonia are no less Welsh than their homeland counterparts. Rather, Welshness appears different in different contexts and this is necessitated by the needs of each group (Williams 1991). After my fieldwork, however, I would contend that, in fact, due to revitalized interest and publicity of the Welsh Patagonian community, Welshness in Patagonia actually appears more similar to Welshness in the homeland than one might expect based on Williams’ claim over two decades ago. Although the Welsh identity of Welsh Patagonians should certainly not be seen as inferior to that of Welsh nationals, it is curious that,
contemporarily, the symbolic elements of both identities are more closely aligned now than they were during Williams’ study or at any other point in the last several decades.

**Welsh Exemplars and the Homeland**

The Welsh Patagonian community has, notably in the last two decades, been heavily influenced by Welsh ideologies surrounding the language and what it means to be Welsh. Throughout the following chapters, I will explore the mechanisms that have facilitated meaningful and influential bonds between the homeland and the Patagonian diaspora, as well as delineate the implications of these ties for Patagonians, and Welsh nationals alike, in their day to day lives. The following analyses will take place on two different levels. In one, I explore the macro level, composition of the Welsh heritage network, and define how and why the Welsh Patagonian diaspora has become exemplary of the Welsh diaspora. Secondly, on the micro scale, I will expand on the individual exemplars in the Welsh Patagonian communities and illustrate these individuals’ relationships with the broader Welsh Patagonian community through a series of vignettes and ethnographic data. The following chapter outlines current scholarship on diaspora heritage, and frames the role of hometown associations in heritage maintenance between homelands and their diasporas. The following chapter also lays the foundations for Chapter 3 which will describe the function of the transnational Welsh heritage network as the mechanism to communicate and affirm the values embodied by the select few Welsh Patagonian exemplars.
REFLECTION FROM THE FIELD

I first met Ffion in choir practice. For the first several weeks, I had no idea that this was one of the women that my friend, one of the Welsh teachers, had been suggesting I get to know better, and a person whom I should interview. Before the formal introduction, Ffion was indistinguishable from anyone else in choir. I assumed she was Patagonian, until she was pointed out to me. After our initial introduction, Ffion did not seem keen to speak with me, and was polite but unengaged. The only venue in which I would see her was at choir, and the occasional gymanfa ganu or Welsh service. While Ffion would often provide assistance helping me find the right place on the sheet music, or with the pronunciation of a Welsh word in the lyrics with which I was unfamiliar, she did what in my opinion was the bare minimum.

After a few months, I eventually asked Ffion if she would be willing to interview with me. She said yes, but that she was busy and that it would be difficult to find time. I took this, initially, as a soft rejection. In the months after, she would occasionally mention, “We still need to set up that interview...” in passing at choir. My response was always the same; that I was waiting to hear when would be a good time, after mentioning on several prior occasions that my schedule was highly flexible, and I could meet her anywhere at basically any time. Eventually, within my final two months in the field, Ffion suggested a time for her interview. I immediately accepted and was so pleased that she was finally willing. A couple hours before the time of our proposed interview, she had to cancel, and I felt as though she was, again, trying to avoid the whole process. She proposed a new time, and on the day, I walked over to Coleg Camwy (see Figure 3) where she was working and met her on her lunch break to interview her. Ffion’s interview was one of the most rewarding I had while I was in the field.
Ffion’s story was one that interested me greatly, and very obviously affected her perspective on the Welsh community. Ffion was originally from North Wales, and a Welsh first language speaker, though she, like everyone else in Wales, spoke fluent English. She self-identified as nationalist, and felt that speaking Welsh and passing the Welsh language on to the next generations was one of the most important things a Welsh person could do. This sentiment guided her so strongly, that she actually first came to Patagonia in the early 2000s, over 10 years prior to when I was meeting her, to teach Welsh with the Welsh Language Project. While in Patagonia, Ffion became close with a member of, at the time, the younger generation of the Welsh Patagonian community, her peer, and eventually they started a relationship. He had helped her, on a few occasions, when she would be out in the community and needed to interact with a non-Welsh speaking person. Ffion, you see, was of the perspective (further explained in Chapter 4) that Spanish was not necessary, and that one’s Welsh would be entirely sufficient. In fact, not only did Ffion not know any Spanish when she came to Patagonia to teach all those years back, over a decade later she had not put much effort into learning and actively refused to use the few words she did know, unless she was in a bind at the supermarket or some other comparable situation. Because of the life she had constructed for herself, Ffion was able to get by speaking only Welsh in Patagonia. She is the only person I knew that was actually able to live a majority-Welsh lifestyle in Chubut.

Ffion’s husband was a Welsh speaker, and this was how he was able to help her all those years prior. I suspect, as well, that this was one of the things that brought them together. Because of the centrality of the Welsh language in Ffion’s life, the people with whom she most closely surrounded herself would need to be Welsh speakers too. As mentioned previously, passing Welsh on to the future generations was of high importance to Ffion, and she wanted to
raise her future children in the Welsh language. Originally, Ffion and her, by that time, husband tried to move back to Wales. Her husband was a medical professional in Argentina, and despite the best efforts, he was unable to get certified to practice in Wales. Thus, they decided to move back to Patagonia and make their lives there. Now they had two kids, both of whom spoke Welsh and attended the Welsh schools in Gaiman. Ffion’s husband was still practicing medicine, and Ffion, herself, was a teacher at the secondary school. Though Ffion was staying true to her values that Welsh needed to be utilized on a daily basis in order to be preserved, and she was doing just that, this belief also limited Ffion’s own social circle given the few Patagonians who were truly fluent in Welsh, and even fewer of those who were remotely close to Ffion’s age demographic.

Outside of her family, Ffion was able to interact with a few people at work who either spoke Welsh or had some working knowledge of the language and with whom she could cobble together a conversation. The same went for choir. Ffion could interact with several choir members because of the age demographic being represented at choir. There was a higher concentration of Welsh first language speakers in choir than in nearly any other venue, given the average age of participants\textsuperscript{10}, and rivaled only by the occasional Welsh services and gynanfa ganu. Thus, these events served as Ffion’s primary sources of social opportunity. Ffion seemed pleased that she was able to create this nearly all-Welsh life for herself (her sons, with their classmates, and her husband, with his patients, interacted in Spanish outside the home) in a location that, while there was obviously the practice of Welsh heritage, Argentinian Spanish culture was the default. Chubut is the most Welsh outside Wales, perhaps, but still very much Argentinian. Thus, her feat was quite remarkable. Yet, Ffion did seem to carry a slight sadness

\textsuperscript{10} Before I began attending choir, Ffion was one of the youngest members, by more than a few years. Occasionally some of the members’ children would attend, when they were visiting home from university, for example.
that their life in Wales did not work out in the way she had hoped. Ffion expressed her heartache around that fact that she was unable to easily or regularly see her family. They only saw one another every few years. Luckily for Ffion, her mother was coming to visit in a few weeks after our meeting, and since she was retired, was going to stay for a few months.

Throughout the interview, I was curious to hear about Ffion’s perspectives on the Welsh community. Our interview was done in English, as that was the only common language between us. My Welsh, I felt, was not sufficient enough for the interview. Ffion did not have a working knowledge of Spanish, so that was also out of the question. Ffion, more generally, had associated her strong Welsh values with being anti-English and largely anti-English language. She did not like using it, and did not feel comfortable. In fact, since she did not use English in Patagonia, Ffion several times expressed shame for no longer being a ‘good’ English speaker. She was obviously fluent in English, but her self-assessments seemed to be more reflective of some other perceived deficit than her actual language capabilities.

Ffion spoke about how “fashionable” the Welsh community in Patagonia was for the people in Wales. She mentioned that this was helpful, because, in her opinion, the Patagonian community needed help from Wales in order to maintain the language. From her understanding, unique cultural identities were now favored in Argentina, as opposed to 50 years prior when a community would not have wanted to be seen as different. In her view, now was the right time to put efforts toward Welsh language and cultural revitalization. She also mentioned that the widely accepted positive benefits of bilingualism had helped language revitalization efforts. Despite this, though, Ffion did feel that not everyone in the Patagonian community understood the point of working so diligently to maintain the language, and she was frustrated that people with the language skills did not often use the language in all the venues that they
Ffion’s perspective was one of the most interesting, because she was from a nationalist region of Wales, and had ideas about Welsh Patagonia before she ever moved to the community. While these characteristics are not dissimilar to the other teachers who came from Wales, Ffion’s plan was not to stay in Patagonia forever. She had intended to return home. Yet, having been a longer term resident of the area than any of the other Welsh teachers, she had a much more extensive, in-community experience than did any of the other Welsh nationals who came to live in Patagonia.

Ffion noted how difficult, not to mention expensive, it was to live in Patagonia. I had experienced some of these same sentiments, though on a much more limited time scale. Ffion and I were able to connect on these points, and then she opened up to me about her initial resistance to be interviewed. Ffion mentioned that she had been putting off doing the interview, because she was tired of all the students that had come to visit Patagonia for a week or two, only to return to Wales not having truly understood what life was like in Patagonia, and not having made any significant or meaningful ties to the community. She admitted to me that she thought I was just like one of these students, and perhaps even had a further degree of separation because I was American. She admitted during the interview, though, that based on all the questions I was asking, and after having shared some of my own personal assessments of the community and living in Patagonia, that she had made an unfair judgment and now felt very badly about having put me in a category. She had also seen my extensive engagement to the community throughout my time in Patagonia, through choir and language lessons and by attending nearly all the events I could, and she commended me on my dedication to Welshness. Naturally, I reassured her that it was no difficulty for me, and that I was simply glad to be able to hear her perspective, since it
was so unique compared to anyone else in the community. After the interview concluded, Ffion gave me a hug and again apologized for her initial resistance.

Ffion’s interview was informative in a few ways. First, as I mentioned, her experience was truly one of a kind, and not generalizable due to the specific aspects of her situation—being a truly long term resident of Patagonia from Wales, creating an as close to ideal as possible all-Welsh lifestyle, and working within the Welsh heritage network to maintain the language in Patagonia. No one else had this particular configuration of perspectives and experiences, so I was fortunate to be able to hear from Ffion. Second, Ffion’s own preconceived notions about who I was, and what my intentions were, but yet my ability to (without intention, per se) break down those barriers truly speaks, again, to the value of long-term community engagement through ethnography. It was refreshing to know that Ffion eventually became willing to share her perspectives, once she understood the purpose was not fleeting. Her willingness to not only eventually be interviewed, but also to completely change her perspectives on my presence in the community was a confirmation to me that I had been reading her behavior correctly (I had long since felt that she was avoiding the interview), and that it was possible for those initial perceptions she held to change. Lastly, I felt a sense of pride in the fact that, in my own right, I was able to demonstrate my commitment to Welshness, less expressly through my words, but more so through my actions and the things I did with the community. This was another degree of confirmation that my assessments on the things that are valued in the Welsh community were correct and consistent with the other data I had been receiving.

One final note about Ffion was that, the day following our interview, Ffion actually came to where I was staying (a quincho at the back of the lot of a family in Gaiman, and a residence to which Ffion had not yet been) and gave me a gift bag with a few of the consumer items I had
referenced in our conversation after the previous day’s interview. We had discussed how expensive various types of foods, that were relatively common and cheap in our respective homelands, were, and how there were a few products that we wished were more readily available. I had specifically cited raisins and various dried fruit and nuts as some of the things I missed most. In the gift bag, Ffion had found some dried fruit, nuts, and what was effectively trail mix, and purchased these items for me as a gesture of, I think, part guilt and part reconciliation. These gifts must have cost her a fair bit of money, considering the price of such goods in Patagonian. I found this to be one of the nicest gestures because, not only was this completely unexpected and unnecessary (I held no resentment whatsoever toward Ffion for her initial resistance to be interviewed), this gesture really demonstrated the change in her own perspective toward me, as the researcher, and now in her eyes, as a defender of Welshness.
CHAPTER 2: THE WELSH DESCENDANTS IN PATAGONIA AS DIASPORA

While not necessarily renowned throughout other regions of Argentina, or the globe for that matter, Chubut Province is known regionally as Welsh Patagonia—a hub of Welsh heritage and language in the heart of Argentina. Considering the global status of Wales, or perhaps lack thereof, the fact that a minority nation, notably one of Celtic descent and a former internal colony (Jones 1992) of England, has its own colony-like settlement in a nation that recalls such a vastly different historical legacy and cultural traditions outside the Anglicized expansionist narratives of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is quite impressive. Even within the United Kingdom, and the Welsh geopolitical borders, the perception of the nation of Wales varies greatly. Countless hours have been spent ruminating on the need for Wales to establish stronger nationalistic symbols, policies, and ideologies in order to better define itself. Consequently, countless individuals in the Welsh heritage community (of both direct Welsh descent and non) have invested tirelessly into preserving that which, by Welsh nationalist standards, are considered indispensable Welsh values, often practiced through the language.

The identity of the Welsh Patagonian community has been heavily influenced by Welsh ideologies regarding the state of the colony and language usage within its social and ethnic borders. While this makes sense on the surface, the historical connection between the diaspora and the national community, the time elapsed since the first establishment of the community over 150 years ago, and the complex and defining history of the Welsh in Argentina have allowed for the conflation of what had previously been theorized as distinctly Welsh versus distinctly Welsh Argentinian identities. During the height of Welsh nationalism in the 1960s and 70s, members of the movement sought to establish bonds to the Welsh diaspora across the globe in order that localized efforts could converge to establish stronger united transnational efforts. Below, I
situate this research in that of broader Anthropological research on heritage and diaspora, and begin to frame how and why the Welsh Patagonian community has become the exemplar diaspora.

**Anthropology of Tourism, Heritage, and Diaspora**

Anthropological research on heritage and tourism has been well developed in the areas of host-guest interactions, typologies of different types of tourists and tourism destinations, the politics of heritage and museum management, as well as an extensive literature on agency and power within tourism performances (Babb 2011; Bruner 2005; Chambers 2000; Handler and Gable 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Smith 1989; Urry and Larsen 2011). Additional research has investigated the ways that tourism narratives are employed as powerful tools to make statements about cultural patrimony, sequester problematic histories, and give voice to historically marginalized groups (Desmond 1999; Holsey 2008; Merrill 2009). The majority of these studies place heavy emphasis on the tourist profile, or role of the tourist within host-guest exchanges (Chang 2005). While several studies describe and analyze the local community to some degree, few use the local community as the center of analysis. Rather, the transitory ‘guest’ group is often the primary focus, with the local community being secondary. This project, in contrast, emphasizes the interactions of the ‘host’ community to determine how actors within the Welsh Patagonian heritage network espouse Welshness.

The extensive literature on diaspora theorization ties in nicely with concepts of tourism and transnationalism, and is highly relevant to this project. Paul Gilroy’s “diasporic outlooks,” for example, emphasize the negotiated, transcultural, and imaginative nature of diaspora identity-building (1997). Similarly, this research engages foundational theories regarding globalization, cultural hybridity and space; transnationalism and identity construction; nationalism and
invented traditions; and structures of power as they influence actors within complex systems (Anderson 1983; Appadurai 1993, 1996; Bhabha 1994; Bourdieu 1986; Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997; Gellner 2006, 1997, 1994; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Hall 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1993). Delanty notes that diasporic communities must learn to mobilize their own identities in ways that are contemporarily relevant (2001). Arguably, one of the most successful venues for community heritage mobilization and broader dissemination has been within international tourism (Hollinshead 2008; Lanfant 1995). One specific example comes from Liz Grunner’s work, which demonstrated that Zuma cultural performance is closely linked to political activism (2008). Such work encourages scholars to consider the political implications of tourism performance and heritage production.

In recent years, there has been an expanding literature on diaspora tourism that explores the complexities of diaspora tourists in the pursuit of emotional links to the homeland. Much of this research encompasses themes of tourist identity construction and motivations for travel to the homeland (Basu 2004; Coles and Timothy 2004). Roots and genealogy tourism has included studies on African American tourism to both Ghana and Brazil (Holsey 2008; Pinho 2008; Timothy and Teye 2009); Jewish diaspora tourism to Israel and Germany (Coles 2004; Collins-Kreiner and Olsen 2004; Ioannides and Ioannides 2004); Celtic diaspora tourism, typically from the United States, to Wales and Scotland (Morgan and Pritchard 2004; Basu 2006); in addition to several others. This project, in contrast, places less emphasis on the tourist and more on the ‘rooted’ diaspora host community. The Welsh Patagonian diaspora community hosts both domestic and international tourists within its community museums and Casas de Te. Interestingly, Chubut Valley serves as a sort of pilgrimage site for Welsh nationals who hope to discover and witness how Welshness has
survived and thrived in South America. On countless occasions, Welsh tourists expressed to me their deep admiration of Y Wladfa. In fact, despite the size and population of Wales, it was a source of pride to many of the Welsh nationals with whom I spoke that their homeland could boast direct ties to a thriving Welsh diaspora community halfway around the globe.

Bhandari expounds on the nature of genealogical tourists and diaspora tourism in his book, and recounts Scotland’s homecoming promotional marketing as a means to inspire ethnic Scots, and those who claim Scottish ancestry, living outside the country in order to encourage their participation in Scottish cultural nationalism (2010). Bhandari uses terms like camaraderie and emotional allegiance to conceptualize the nature of the Scottish tourism industry’s marketing campaign (2010). Though conceived of as a term to describe diaspora tourists who have returned ‘home,’ the idea of “imaginative reconstruction” resonates here (Bhandari 2014, 121). In fact, the term captures a common thread throughout this research that asks, how are Welsh nationals who visit the Welsh towns of Patagonia imagining the Welsh Patagonian community and what impact does this have for Welsh Patagonian heritage network actors? Though the nation of Wales does evoke an albeit complicated notion of territoriality, due to an uneasy membership within the United Kingdom, the global Welsh heritage movement fits more sensibly into the idea of the “transnational nation” whereby political and social mobilization must take on new forms (Dieckhoff 2011, 39). In this sense, the mobilization of a globally resonating Welsh heritage is more meaningful within what Herzfeld calls the “global hierarchy of value” through which different communities are able to obtain resources based on the global valuation of the group (2004, 2). In the Welsh case, the homeland is actively reaching out to its diaspora communities, in order to solidify partnerships with the intent of developing more productive alliances that “collectively articulate and assert” Welshness (Hoffmann and Peeren 2010, 19).
The consolidation of Welsh heritage, within not only the socio-political boundary of the Welsh nation, but also between the various Welsh diaspora communities, adds to the authority of nationhood claims, notably following the recent Brexit vote and other referendums on European national sovereignty.

**The Welsh Diaspora?**

Common usage of the term *diaspora* has been at the center of a scholarly debate, enduring within the literature for the past several decades (Baumann 2000). While the term was once used solely to refer to Jewish and Christian groups that had been displaced for a myriad of reasons, and thus linked to a religious association, the term has since been broadened to include various groups who have experienced removal and resettlement for any number of reasons such as militant nationalism, cultural conflict, slavery, refuge seeking, geo-political movements, religious conflict, and so forth (Butler 2001). According to Baumann and others, the term has since been applied too broadly to expatriates, migrant laborers, and other transient groups, which has resulted in a loss of relevancy or meaningfulness for the term to capture the feelings of forced removal as a result of insurmountable conditions in a homeland. These same scholars have argued that the term, if it is expanded too far, is at risk of becoming all-inclusive (Baumann 2000).

Nonetheless, there exists a broader definition that defines diasporas by two important characteristics, which help to set diaspora groups apart from other immigrant communities. First, diasporas are understood to be ‘scattered’ from their homelands, and therefore consisting of larger, definable groups from a single homeland that have settled in at least two distinct nations. Second, diasporas are said to possess a general or group desire to return to the homeland (Safran 1991). While the Welsh diaspora easily fits into this two-tiered...
expanded definition, as the Welsh diaspora has, regardless of host country, subscribed to the Welsh imagined community, the second component does not resonate with the Welsh diaspora as clearly. Now, certainly, there have been more than a few diaspora members who have moved to Wales for various reasons. Likewise, however, there have also been contemporary Welsh nationals who have moved to the diaspora. This has been most strikingly apparent in Argentina, especially due to the scale of such a relocation. In addition to these ongoing two way exchanges, rather than a collective desire to return to the homeland, in all the Welsh diaspora communities where I have done fieldwork the feeling more strongly cited is that of hiraeth. Hiraeth does not have a direct translation in the English language, but is characterized by a sense of longing. This longing, however, does not need to be for a place, thing, or past that has even existed (Davies 2015; Kielar 2016). The most interesting element of the concept of hiraeth, and most relevant to the Welsh example, is that it can characterize a nostalgia for an idealized history or circumstances that do not currently exist nor ever have.

**Hiraeth**

In a single word, hiraeth captures the sentiments of members of the Welsh diaspora in the Americas. On various occasions when I have spoken with Welsh descendants in the United States and Canadian communities, the plight of the Welsh is a routinely referenced theme. People will often regard the state of the Welsh language and Welsh politics as profound, unnecessary, and unfortunate travesties. The Welsh descendants in Patagonia similarly reference these sentiments. Those on the periphery of the community, or those just beginning to participate in Welshness, had often already heard, and begun to reference, these tropes of the Welsh story. While not internalizing these views necessarily, the common reference by nearly all of my informants demonstrates that this idea of the Welsh as a historically marginalized
people has been adopted by the Welsh diaspora and wholly infused throughout the ways Welshness and Welsh identity are understood and practiced in diaspora localities. Even individual community members that do not, on a personal level, feel or experience hiraeth are able to verbally assert their membership in the community by referencing the sense of nostalgia for an idealized Welsh nation.

In fact, in some senses, it seems that the ability to reference the plight of the Welsh was the first level of asserting one’s intent to participate in Welshness. There are, however, more deeply invested members of the Welsh Patagonian community for whom hiraeth truly resonates. While time within the community, nor any other particular set of experiences or circumstances, precipitates one’s ability to experience the sentiments of hiraeth, it does seem that those with more direct familial connections reference their family lineage and ancestry as a sort of justification to participate in Welsh activities and do their part, as it were, to ensure Welshness remains a priority as something worth maintaining. A few of my key informants would regularly express their desires to see the status of the language in Patagonia improved, if not made official in some capacity. From their assessments, Wales is the only nation where the Welsh language is truly respected. While this sentiment is contested, even in Wales, it is clear that those with the strongest forms of hiraeth truly long for a Welsh Patagonia that is more visibly, linguistically, and culturally Welsh.

Hiraeth, in many ways, characterizes the social world of Welshness, recalling Goffman’s work on the performance of identities as discursive acts. In Goffman’s theorizations, social worlds create identities, and power is implicit in the various forms that identities may take vis-à-vis the social worlds by which these identities are mediated (1959). For Welshness in Patagonia, the social world that is hiraeth is mediated through the Welsh heritage network. Judith Butler
contributes the idea of performativity, and claims that identity is a performance done in a particular context (1990). The performance of a given identity is relational and situational, and individual actors exercise agency within the boundaries of the broader context (Butler 1988, 1993). In later chapters, I will describe the ways in which network actors negotiate the social world of hiraeth and the Welsh heritage network, through their performances of Welshness.

McLoughlin and Kalra discuss the idea of imaginary homelands and, though their research focuses on the Pakistani diaspora in Britain, the concept is relevant here and it directly relates to hiraeth (1999). Descendants of diaspora groups, often first generations of immigrant parents to new countries, construct the homeland in particular and meaningful ways. This is especially true in that the types of outlets said immigrant groups typically consult in order to express their heritage in their new home-nation are often limited to particular socially accepted times, locations, and events (Urciuoli 1996). Sometimes idealized sentiments about the homeland are passed down through generations, but both push factors from the homeland and pull factors from the destination, which have frequently influenced the transnational move in the first place, add to the fluidity of group identity and influence the range of venues in which these identities can and should be employed (McLoughlin and Kalra 1999). Both the host country and the homeland are often acknowledged for their respective benefits to the group, as well as their shortcomings. For some Argentines, both Welsh and non-Welsh descendants, Wales is associated with Europeanness and, therefore, is generally afforded a higher status within Argentine heritage. However, in more recent times, this increased status has also resulted in fairly clear in- versus out-group Welsh-Argentine boundaries, marked by the language, and similar to the exclusionary reputation the original Welsh settlers acquired upon arriving nearly 150 years ago (Williams 2009). The nature and strength of the sense of hiraeth in these
respective groups provides an all too simplified, yet straightforward, frame through which to understand the actions of Welsh Patagonian community members. The following section begins to tease apart some of these intricacies by discussing diaspora consciousness.

**Welsh Patagonia as the Site of the Welsh Diaspora**

Regardless of the above potential disruptions to easily situating the Welsh diaspora into said framework, Baumann also notes that, rather than determine a singular definition of diaspora that can be applied in all cases without issue, it is perhaps more pertinent to identify a general standard to be applied as a frame for comparative purposes (2000). Ultimately, a more important lens through which to view displaced/transnational groups that are, perhaps uneasily, bounded in some ways would be to determine the “diaspora consciousness” (Vertovec 1998, 8). That is, how does the diaspora group in question self-identify? How does it envision its roots? To whom/where/how does it link its heritage? By which nation(s)/peoples/location(s) is the diaspora influenced? Exploring the answers to these questions, as applied to the Welsh Patagonian community, enables us to better understanding of the utility of the diaspora term for the context of this project. Hiraeth, for the scope of this project, begins to capture the sentiment of the Welsh diaspora consciousness. The Welsh diaspora consciousness, however, and as this project will demonstrate, is much deeper than can be characterized by a singular term. The Welsh diaspora consciousness is constantly in flux due in large part to the changes in the political and social climate in Wales that influence the priorities of the institutions that support Welshness and Welsh heritage maintenance. I will go into more detail on these institutional priorities in the following chapter. Immediately following, I briefly engage the literature on transnational heritage as it has been applied to other diaspora localities.
Diaspora, Identity, and Belonging

Literature from both diaspora studies and tourism studies discusses the idea of belonging as being particularly salient to roots tourists. Roots tourism, where tourists travel to what they consider their ancestral homelands in search of a missing piece of themselves, is frequently seen with respect to globally recognizable diaspora groups that left their homelands due to large-scale push and pull factors, i.e., the Jewish, Armenian, African, and even Irish diasporas (Coles and Timothy 2004). Following this already identified model, it would seem to stand that the Welsh community members in Argentina would be all too excited to make the journey to Wales to experience this homeland. While this is certainly a goal of some Welsh Patagonians, a large portion of the community does not necessarily share these same desires.

Interestingly, due to what has become the mythologized nature of the Welsh Patagonian settlement, there are members of the Welsh national community who, in a motivation reflective of a type of reverse roots tourism, desire to travel to Argentina to reunite with those who have been constructed through heritage events and literature as ‘long lost’ Welsh brothers and sisters (Morgan and Pritchard 2004). This motivator was overwhelmingly apparent throughout the time I was in the field. In fact, while I was living in Chubut, I witnessed several Welsh nationals who came to see and experience Patagonia on anywhere from week-long/10 day trips to several-week study-abroad opportunities to semi-long-term stays of several months, all with the intent to see and experience Welshness in Patagonia during the 150th anniversary year. The frequency of these types of visitors would vary from year to year, but the community experienced a notable influx in 2015, according to the reflections of various Welsh Patagonian community members. These visitors were in addition to the three to four Welsh teachers who relocate to Chubut each year to teach Welsh in the province. In this way, we see the diasporic processes between Welsh
Patagonia and Wales both conform to and simultaneously diverge from previously theorized diasporic-homeland relational processes. That is, in line with typical roots tourism, several Patagonians have made the journey to the homeland in order to experience Welshness in situ. It is through these experiences that the Welsh Patagonians have the opportunity to compare the way they embody Welshness in their home community to the way it is done in the Welsh national community. Conversely, however, the flows of people operate much more readily in the reverse. That is, more Welsh nationals come to experience Welshness in the diaspora than the other way around. This occurrence speaks to the central nature of the Welsh Patagonian community in Welsh nationalist discourse. Yet, the reality of the colony’s daily experience is much different than that of an idealized bastion of Welshness in the heart of Patagonia in that is frequently the image painted through various media and other sources of exposure (Johnson 2009).

Keith Basu has done extensive work on exploring the ways in which identity and heritage is sold to diaspora groups as a means to increase tourism. In line with Basu’s Scottish “highlandism,” or the romanticized notions of the Scottish highland that tourists seek out during their roots tours, the Welsh diaspora constructs Wales similarly, recalling themes of the Welsh imagined community. The Welsh diaspora, at least on the surface, recalls the Welsh Heartland, which is linked to notions of Welshness through language, tradition, religion, culture, and practice. The methods used to reclaim this rural, traditional heritage are similar to those elements which Basu identifies including through music and art festivals, newsletters and publications, internet listservs and websites, and international travel back to the homeland (Basu 2006). Though the Welsh Patagonian diaspora’s museums and tourism packages have become much more reflective of the global Welsh imagined community in recent years, Trosset et al.’s
research clearly shows that Welsh Patagonian self-identify was much more Argentine than Welsh in daily practice (2007). Nevertheless, the Welsh Patagonian community has harnessed the ability to attract Welsh tourists desiring to witness first hand the fortitude of Welsh heritage in Patagonia, and more importantly has garnered the support of Welsh institutions to ensure the continued presence of the Welsh Patagonian community as distinctly Welsh. In the following, I expound on recent theories from nationalism studies as they are linked to heritage networks, highlighting trends seen in minority nationalism mobilization, specifically as they relate to Welsh heritage in the diaspora.

An apt characterization of the relationship between Wales and its diaspora(s) can be captured in Benedict Anderson’s and Gail Kligman’s “long-distance nationalism” (1992). Anderson and Kligman contribute the term, which characterizes the complexity of the homeland-diaspora relationship. That is, more than simply a flat hybridization of cultures, long distance nationalism accounts for the vast array of experiences mediated within localities and between nations as a consequence of contemporary postcolonialism and capitalism, international relations, media exchange, and the other of Appadurai’s “scapes” (1996). In this sense, the diaspora experience is one of layered, top-down influences on what it means to be a long-distance member of another nation, with the simultaneous on-the-ground negotiation of a new national context. Accordingly, the diaspora experience cannot simply be characterized by assimilation of immigrants, but rather, operates both on the terms of top-down control and bottom-up agency. In essence, diaspora community identity is co-constructed, and often serves to “re-mak[e] national multi-cultures and render them less fixed” (Clifford 1998, 346). Welsh Patagonian identity has been in flux in the latter half of the twentieth century, as it has responded to an increasingly intense focus from Wales in the form of the British Council, Welsh Assembly,
and other social and cultural institutional support. These forms of institutional support from Wales have facilitated the creation of hometown associations, which will be discussed later in this chapter, and serve as the community mechanisms to diffuse what have become the core standardized tenets of Welshness.

Borrowing from Lowenthal (1985, 1996), I suggest that Welsh heritage can be situated in a broader discussion of the benefits of participating in this particular form of heritage. He notes that heritage is required in the contemporary period in order to connect to the past. While recognizing that events of the past ended, remembering heritage enables people to orient themselves relative to the past, within the present, and look toward future selves or a future society. Such is undoubtedly the case with Welsh heritage, both in Wales but also in Patagonia. Given the tumultuous nature of Welsh-British relations throughout the past several centuries, it is not difficult to see how participation in the revitalization of Welsh heritage serve as a mechanism to validate a separate history, and justify the need for revival and maintenance. Programs in Wales that help these processes include Welsh language instruction, Welsh medium education and governmental proceedings, the Museum of Wales network, the National Library of Wales, and other similar institutions and entities tasked with preserving and furthering Welsh language and culture.

Welsh Patagonian heritage follows suit with respect to Lowenthal’s posits, because the creation story, so to speak, of the Welsh Patagonian community marks a critical moment in Welsh history, when one (now defined as highly nationalist) group of settlers altered the trajectory of Welshness in both Wales and Argentina (and the world). In this way, the Welsh Patagonian community has a multifaceted heritage that is entangled in the history and ideology of two national origins. What I intend to convey is that Welsh Patagonian identity does not exist
in isolation from Welsh national identity. Welsh nationalism, and institutions in Wales, still strongly influence how Welshness is performed in Patagonia, but more importantly, how Welshness is valued relative to other heritage communities in the area. On the individual actor level, too, ideas of Welshness influence heritage network actor behavior, and this has created a type of feedback loop whereby Welsh national heritage informs but is also informed by Welsh Patagonian heritage. In both locations, this has resulted in relatively strong inclusionary/exclusionary lines being drawn between the insiders—those who are allowed to claim, celebrate, and participate in Welshness—and those who are not (sometimes regardless of ancestry). Even within these communities, however, there are those who do not subscribe to the exclusionary identity that Welshness seems to project at times. The exclusionary aspect of Welsh identity, in part, appears to be rooted in a fiercely protective ideology due to historical marginalization. Nonetheless, in both locales, the ability to speak Welsh is seen as the epitome of embodying a truly Welsh identity. Immediately following, I include a discussion on heritage revitalization and diaspora communities.

**Migration Movements, Diaspora, and Revitalization**

Cultural survival and adherence to homeland traditions and values—both of which are difficult to quantify—are two measures frequently used to qualify diaspora populations and ethnic enclaves. Diaspora populations often maintain some aspects of home-country heritage while adapting to the new local context in ways that both reaffirm homeland identity and transform cultural practices to meet the contemporary needs of the community. In this way, diasporas that may look highly different from their home nation or display what some could refer to as assimilative characteristics of the new nation, are simply experiencing transformative pressures that all cultures face (Basu 1999). Therefore, changes in diaspora cultures are no more or less
impactful than those pressures that influence the culture of the homeland (Williams 1978). Rather, they often occur in response to different *types* of stressors—those stemming from the dominant culture of the host nation.

It is interesting to consider how fundamentally different the outcomes were between the Welsh in Argentina and the Welsh in Commonwealth and former Commonwealth nations. The country of landing is certainly not the only important and determining factor here, as initial motivations to migrate have played a significant role in diaspora identity construction over time. Langfield claims that the motivation to maintain the Welsh language was a determining factor in the success of the Argentine colony. Language and cultural maintenance were not part of the explicit goals of the Welsh Patagonians who left for Australia, as identified in the previous chapter. Rather, improving their livelihoods was the primary basis for their concern and subsequent migration. In addition, the group who landed in Australia was substantially smaller than the initial group who landed in Argentina. This group was also comprised of other non-Welsh Argentine citizens, in contrast to the all-Welsh settler group who first went to Argentina. Subsequent waves of Welsh colonists continued to venture to Argentina in search of cultural freedom and economic success, meaning that the Argentine settlement continued to receive reinforcements, as it were, for several decades after the initial landing, which helped to create a more dense Welsh presence in Argentina throughout the first 50 years of the settlement (Langfield 2007). In an interesting reframing of these processes, perhaps this increased presence was what led to political and social aggression toward the Welsh. As the colony became more visible, with increased numbers, the Argentine government had more reason to fear the group. As outlined in the previous chapter, the Welsh Patagonian identity has been shaped both *in*
response to the Argentine national community as well as for and by the Welsh national community.

Placing the Welsh diaspora within the diaspora taxonomy is an interesting exercise, in and of itself. While the first several waves of Welsh immigrants, to the United States and later Argentina, were fleeing from the English hegemon for cultural and social motivations, there were undoubtedly economic and political motives as well. Baur argues that the Welsh migration to Patagonia was an undeniable example of nationalist migration (1954). He claims that the Welsh were seeking to escape British control and sought to create a location where they could speak the Welsh language freely, educate their children as they felt most appropriate, self-govern without outside influence or control, and gain the ability to practice their own, nonconformist religious doctrine (Baur 1954). Knowles approaches this question from a slightly different perspective, however, and adds a new lens through which to view the series of Welsh migrations. Not only does she more critically investigate internal migrations within Wales throughout the nineteenth century, uncovering both economic and other reasons for movement, Knowles more thoroughly examines who exactly went to the United States versus who went to Patagonia. That is, she explores the regional locations within Wales where certain individuals originated and attempts to expose the social/economic/political push and pull factors, by location, throughout the period in an effort to provide additional insight into the outcomes of the different Welsh settlements in the Americas (Knowles 1995). Works such as these contribute to understanding the ‘whos,’ ‘hows,’ and ‘whys’ that shaped the historical trajectory of the various Welsh migrant groups.
Welsh Revitalization Through Diaspora

Identity scholars argue that there are several factors that act to influence community identity production. These factors can include political movements, economic changes and restructuring, social change, and even things like modern media and technology. In this way, identity, as we know, is quite adaptive to the circumstances that surrounding society presents. I argue here that heritage operates in a similar way. After all, heritage work is identity work, at its core. At the root of heritage tourism is the desire to market and sell a distinct identity to an outside group, in the hopes of receiving some sort of monetary or material return. Now, Graham and Howard (2008) argue that heritage is not inherently valuable; rather, we attribute value and therefore heritage is often viewed relative to various frames and thus has contextual meaning and value. Similarly, Graham and Howard go on to state that these meanings then are used in identity work, to distinguish from the other (2008). This distinction can be marketed and consumed for both resources and power. Intangible heritage tourism provides a perfect example of identity being linked to a value. That is, if an intangible heritage is being marketed and consumed, without the traditional tactile or hands-on experience, this indicates that the identity in question is highly relevant and perceived as valuable for preservation. Similarly to identity being defined by outside forces, so too is heritage. Things like changes to political regimes, economic policies, and immigration patterns all affect identity. Heritage, as well, adapts to these stimuli.

The series of Welsh migrations fit squarely into Wallace’s theory of revitalization movements (1956). The Welsh-Patagonian, Welsh-Patagonian-Australian, and Welsh-American migrations took place during periods of significant cultural pressure to assimilate, whether this was to predominantly British, North American, or Argentine society. These social pressures, in
addition to a marginal status, served as the seeds of resentment that would eventually grow into the expressed motivating factor for relocation and to secure what were constructed as better and more fulfilling, truly Welsh lifestyles. A non-Welsh livelihood was no longer meeting the social and emotional needs of those settlers who decided to venture to unfamiliar corners of the globe in search of the autonomy to practice Welshness unhindered. Whether the members of the group were industrial laborers in Wales, or farmers attempting to secure access to the Argentine agricultural market, the Welsh were frequently at a position of disadvantage. Often, a charismatic figurehead, in the form of a religious or church official, organized and rallied those who would later become the settlers of these movements, through heavy marketing and propaganda about the potential to create a “Celtic Eden” overseas (Baur 1954, 470). Charismatic leaders, like Michael D. Jones\(^{11}\) for the Welsh settlement in Patagonia, provided the necessary persuasive rhetoric through the promise of a better Welsh life for those whom were so committed to preserving their heritage that they would relocate to an entirely new continent.

Despite prospectors making initial trips to secure land and procure supplies for the impending settlements, disadvantageous Welsh positioning in specifically the Argentine and Australian moves frequently resulted from political, economic, and social dominance exercised by an outside power. The Welsh, however, did not do themselves any favors in their new homelands. In fact, the same values that influenced community social interactions, while understandable, were those that simultaneously caused the Welsh diaspora communities difficulties with their new homeland social and political hierarchies. As noted previously, the Welsh experience had been one characterized by a long history of forced assimilation where speaking Welsh in public was a negative marker on the individual, and maintaining Welsh

\(^{11}\) Jones is regarded as WalesOnline’s 10th most influential Welsh person in history, substantiating the claim that the Welsh Patagonian community serves as a important reinforcing aspect of Welsh identity (Rhys 2014).
cultural heritage was seen as backward (Williams 2009). The motivations to keep Welsh culture alive influenced strong tendencies of self-segregation, specifically in Patagonia, and resulted in a culture of relative isolationism. These tendencies were not well received by the broader national communities in the new host nations, notably the broader Argentine community. The remnants of these exclusionary tendencies, however, can still be witnessed through the ways in which some community participants are more easily able to achieve higher standing and positions of reverence within the Welsh Patagonian community, as compared to some of their counterparts.

The Welsh Patagonian diaspora community’s self-imposed segregation for the first few decades of their establishment caused problems later, however, when changing economic and political climates in Argentina required the Welsh to integrate into the larger national community (Williams 1991). These processes resulted in many Welsh Patagonians subsequently experiencing similar marginal status to that which they had experienced in Britain, in addition to bleak economic prospects due to linguistic barriers. As Spanish became the language of exchange for the Welsh descendants, and the boundaries of the community less defined relative to their non-Welsh Argentine compatriots, Welshness, at least publicly, was in decline. Despite, however, the likely low Welsh Argentine morale throughout the mid-twentieth century as a result of this decline, these factors may have been precisely what was required to inspire the resurgence of Welshness in the late twentieth century. In the following, I begin to explore the establishment of what I have termed the transnational Welsh heritage network, which has been responsible for disseminating a relatively uniform image of Welshness, and has positioned Welsh Patagonia, and community members who have become Welsh practitioners, as exemplary of Welsh values.
Global Welshness and the Resurgence of Heritage

The Welsh diaspora community in Argentina has, especially in recent years, been highly active in contributing to global Welshness. While the Canadian, United States, and Australian Welsh still commemorate their heritage through museums and heritage societies, as well as Welsh language classes and annual festivals, the Welsh in Patagonia have benefited from formalized ties with the Welsh Assembly and other institutions intent on preserving Welsh cultural heritage (Williams 2009). For the Welsh in the home country, the Welsh in Patagonia are archetypes for the industriousness and fortitude that Welsh heritage symbolizes. The success of the Patagonian colony, Y Wladfa, holds an important emotional as well as political standing for the Welsh nation. Separatist sentiment, regardless of the actual desire to become independent, maintains a relatively prominent standing in the rhetoric of the nation. In fact, it was the Welsh nationalists who were largely responsible for securing the Welsh Assembly at the end of the twentieth century and, as a result, securing a bit more autonomy from Britain (McAllister 2001). This relationship between Wales and the Welsh Argentine community is undoubtedly a curious one because, while the Welsh in Argentina do not actively publicize goals of gaining autonomy within Argentina, significant effort is put into maintaining appearances (especially for tourists) of separation and resiliency, in the face of dominant Argentine cultural heritage. This is a point to which I will return later, but for some Welsh Patagonians, feelings ranged from pride to inconvenience when certain members of the community were requested to act Welsh for groups of tourists on organized tours who would visit the area. These very constructed images were those that ultimately shaped the viewpoint of many in Wales about the nature of life in Welsh Patagonia as an isolated settlement where Welshness remains a strong, central theme of daily life. Despite the distance of this imagery from reality, the image of Welsh
cultural persistence in Argentina does act as a tool for Welsh separatists in Wales to justify the continued investment in Welshness in Wales and abroad (Trosset et al. 2007). The continued distinguishable presence of the descendants of the colony, against all odds and other forms of cultural imperial domination, is used as justification for claims about the strength and resiliency of Welsh culture and language on the whole.

A brief look at the recent history of the Welsh settlement in Argentina shows an increased involvement in transnational relationships with the nation of Wales, in some ways through politics and education, and in other ways through tourism. Though those of Welsh ancestry had begun residing in Patagonia in 1865, it was not until the 1990s that the Welsh began to rekindle what have become sustained ties to the Chubut community (Williams 2009). Correspondence between the Welsh Argentine colony and the Welsh nation was fairly regular up through the 1920s. However, there is a relative void of archived correspondence between the two groups for the next nearly 50 years during the mid-twentieth century. While the absence of documentation does not explicitly point to a lull in contact, it is conceivable that changing political conditions in Argentina were indirectly responsible for decreased contact and subsequent change in the appearance of Welsh Patagonian identity.

For a brief period during the mid-twentieth century, the diaspora did reach out to the homeland in hopes of receiving support for the centenary celebrations. As I learned from one of my participants, this revitalization was not based on some strong desire or well-planned strategy. Rather, much of this outreach had begun by individual efforts to revitalize ties with the homeland during the mid 1960s. These small but influential efforts were cited to me as the types of behaviors that the model Welsh Patagonian community members should demonstrate if they hope to truly stand apart from their counterparts and embody Welshness. I will expand on these
themes in subsequent chapters, but this foreshadowing demonstrates the significance that these unspoken and yet commonly understood values hold in motivating revitalization efforts in Patagonia. The results of these seemingly small but highly impactful actions led to the establishment of the various heritage associations, such as Asociacion San David in Trelew, which has become one of the most central organizations in the heritage network, on the Patagonian side, and that serves a fundamental role in Welsh heritage preservation. Likewise, in Wales during this same period, the Welsh Argentina Society was established, and which would later hold a similar central role in the heritage network, though its role has wavered over time. I will more fully describe the composition of the network in Chapter 3.

Another interesting point about the Welsh Patagonian-Wales transnational relationship is that while some Welsh Patagonians have made occasional trips to Wales, Welsh nationals have also visited the Welsh in Argentina. In fact, the homeland myth surrounding the Welsh Argentine diaspora is much more meaningful in Wales than in Argentina. The presence of the colony is cited throughout Welsh literature and articles, and in recent years within Welsh media, and serves as a point of pride for Welsh nationals. It is as though the colony’s legacy has taken on a mythological status in that it represents the most positive qualities of Welsh self-identification (Williams 2009). This positive valuing of the Welsh Patagonian community has made it prime material for the Patagonian diaspora to become the exemplar of Welshness, most notably in comparison to the other Welsh diaspora communities. Increasing the visibility of the Welsh colony in Argentina has resonated with the nation of Wales, as a tool for political and social gain.

Recently, various government agencies and historical societies have begun to formalize efforts to compile and create online archives and repositories of correspondence, artifacts,
literature, and photos from the first days of the Welsh Argentine colony. One of the most extensive resources to date has been the Glaniad site, created by the National Library of Wales. The site was developed in 2005 as an educational and trilingual project that offers sources and content to better understand the history and foundations of the Welshness outside Wales. The website itself claims that since the 1960s, the nation of Wales has acted to create meaningful links with the colony in order to “revive interest in the language and culture among many of the descendants of the first Welsh settlers” (www.glaniad.com). In addition, the site notes that the twentieth century was a critical period for the colony in that it was more closely affiliated with Argentina than Wales, most notably through language. This particular paragraph seems to imply that the nation of Wales is responsible for reviving Welshness in Patagonia. This again suggests a socio-political motive for the resurgence in investment. In recent years, the Welsh National Library has bolstered its efforts to crowd-populate an online archive site with materials in the personal possession of Welsh diaspora community members throughout the world. I witnessed presentations by library representatives while I was in Argentina and in attendance at Welsh heritage events in the United States. Interestingly, this was the only entity that I witnessed engaging in concerted revitalization strategies with a focus on both the Argentine and North American diaspora communities. The following section outlines some of the recent scholarship on the mechanisms of diaspora-homeland relationships, notably through the establishment of hometown associations.

**Diaspora and Homeland Relations**

The foundational questions that have guided this research include: What are the contributing factors to diaspora identity maintenance? How do host country-homeland ties shape

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12 See https://www.peoplescollection.wales/ for more information.
the heritage that results from this relationship? What role do institutions play in these processes? How do actors from homeland organizations shape or inform these ties, and subsequently the expression of identity? What values are deemed exemplary in the diaspora, and what values are reflected back to the homeland? How do individual actors embody these exemplary ways of being and who is considered a community exemplar? It is obvious from these questions that the nature of transnational connections are significant beyond simply the site(s) of the diaspora. Rather, the institutional and individual relationships between the homeland and diaspora shape what it means to be a member of the Welsh community in both locations. For the diaspora community in situ, the heritage network functions as an important sphere of interaction between residents of the homeland and of the diaspora. The most relevant examples of transnational [heritage] networks covered in the literature have come from Manuel Orozco, who has looked primarily at diasporas from Latin American nations, but has also done comparative analyses with the Ghanaian diaspora. Orozco’s focus has been on diaspora communities in the United States that have originated from Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Guyana, as well as Ghana (Orozco 2009). The majority of Orozco’s research notes the changing nature of transnational ties over time, and the role that hometown associations play in shaping these ties, as well as the resulting impacts on diaspora community identity (Orozco 2006). The important distinction for Orozco’s research is that the diasporas that he studies are those typically originating from what are considered globally as developing nations and settling in more developed ones. This important contrast shapes the flow of capital in various forms, between the homeland and the diaspora, and is an important divergent aspect from my research in Patagonia.
Orozco defines hometown associations (HTAs) as philanthropic, minority community-based organizations that are established in the diaspora location and contribute to the homeland in a series of aid roles—through charity, investment, donations, development, resource exchange, and so forth. These organizations not only serve as locations of belonging for those in the diaspora, they are generally conceived of as making positive contributions to the homeland. These entities often participate in fundraising in a number of ways, and sponsor local sports and other community events that may help to fundraise for or sponsor specific causes in the homeland. These associations have the complementary impact of promoting and maintaining homeland identities (Orozco 2006). HTAs serve as a mechanism to maintain correspondence.

Much of the work exploring HTAs comes from the realm of development studies, and explores the ways that diaspora communities can contribute to the development of a poorer, ‘less developed’ homeland. Remittances tend to be a significant component of these relationships with the idea that they will grow over time, rather than decline. Orozco’s research uncovered that many diaspora community members maintain economic relations with their homelands in the form of real estate and other ventures, as well as family and community ties, making the ties a series of layered personal and business arrangements.

Pan-ethnic identities, Orozco notes, are an important outcome of the HTA ties with the homeland, which bridge the gaps between the homeland and the new country of residence. As Orozco states,

“A diaspora defines itself through relationships with the homeland, international entities, and host-country governments and societies, they are thus influencing various dynamics such as development. Their practices are formed in part as a response to changes in the composition of the international system, be it the global economy or the international political landscape, as well as development or underdevelopment” (Orozco 2006, 26).
Due to the framing of migration embedded within Orozco’s sentiment, with people leaving to find better opportunities, this quote only partially applies to the Wales-Argentina relationship. However, this example does demonstrate the complexity and diversity of diasporas, and the diverse nature of transnational network composition and experience.

Orozco claims that transnationalism is both symbolic and material, and I would agree with that sentiment. Members of well connected diaspora communities are living truly transnational lifestyles—living and performing the values of at least two broadly defined communities. They lead their lives in their new homeland, while maintaining a somewhat distinct and separate life with their ancestral homeland, even if it is solely a nostalgic relationship. Under this premise, Orozco notes that HTAs are “a conduit of identity and purpose” and, like heritage organizations, act as “vessels of memory, belonging, and community to many migrants who seek a way to shelter their national nostalgia” (Orozco 2005, 30). Following, I highlight the parallels between HTAs that Orozco has identified and heritage associations that have held a key role in Welsh diaspora heritage preservation in Argentina.

**From Hometown to Heritage Associations**

Rather than the hometown associations as studied by Orozco, this research uses local and town based heritage associations in the Chubut province as the entities that communicate the message of Welshness and enable individual actors to perform Welsh Patagonian values. In some cases, these heritage organizations serve similar functions, and yet there remain some marked differences between these entities, which have implications for individual actor affiliation and the level of exemplary behavior that some Welsh Patagonians are able to achieve. This intersection of cause-supporting and heritage-maintenance of the hometown associations is similar to what we see from the heritage associations in Welsh Argentina. Both hometown
associations and heritage associations can serve as liaisons taking the form of partnerships with homeland institutions. These partnerships are often used to communicate, in the case of Orozco’s research, need-based aid narratives, or in the case of the Welsh, preservationist narratives. HTAs can help to raise resources for the homeland, though the trends that Orozco uncovered do not directly apply to Welsh Patagonia. In fact, the relationship that heritage associations have with the homeland are distinctly different, and seemingly opposing to those Orozco has identified (Orozco 2006). While much of Orozco’s work demonstrates the push and pull factors of labor and economic markets, the same influences do not apply to the Welsh case. Economic climates are certainly influential, but the factors inspiring the heritage network between Wales and Argentina tend to be much more ideological, social, and political.

Exploring further the nature of homeland-diaspora partnerships, Gutierrez has contributed to the diaspora literature in meaningful ways and explores the relationship between the Mexican diaspora in the United States, and its homeland. Unique to this example, as compared to the Welsh in Argentina, the Mexican Consulate and Secretariat of Foreign Affairs developed programming to support those of Mexican descent living in the US. Often times, this programming would be in the form of sending teachers to the US to help teach the children of migrants where bilingual education might have been lacking. A component of this programming included donations made to support the schools in the United States, as well as literacy and health programs (Gutierrez 1999). This exchange is more reflective of the relationship between Wales and the diaspora--the homeland sharing and sending resources to the diaspora to assist in diaspora community development. And yet, there remain important power-laden and national distinctions between these two examples. Again, the global hierarchy of power is present here in that Wales, a Western nation, is contributing goods and resources to what is deemed an
underdeveloped nation. There exists an irony in Gutierrez’s example of Mexico providing resources to its diaspora in the US (though this speaks more to marginalization of various ethnic communities in the US, than to global power dynamics, in this particular instance).

In addition, an important secondary distinction from the above frameworks is that the nation of Wales is not, in fact, a sovereign one. Wales operates its local affairs through the Welsh Assembly, but is fully governed as part of the UK, which means that there is no consular or other official mechanism through which ties can be established and programming can be maintained, on such an international relations level. The closest related programing is that done through the British Council, which operates in Argentina, and globally, to promote the English language (another important irony to note). While the work of the British Council is not inherently a consular supported initiative, it does work closely with the British Consulate in Buenos Aires, and the 2015 Sesquicentenary programming was carried out in Buenos Aires, and only remotely in Chubut.

In another contrast worth noting here, Gutierrez claims that there is no self-identification in the Mexican diaspora as a ‘scattered people,’ and therefore a diasporic ideology is not necessarily present within the community with whom he worked (1999). For Mexico, the lack of such a ‘scattered people’ mentality has meant lacking the cohesion, strength, and effectiveness of diaspora-homeland relations (Gutierrez 1999). The Mexican government has increased programming to its diaspora in recent years, in the form of teachers, in an attempt to solidify a more Pan-Mexican diaspora identity. This outreach is being directed toward Mexico’s largest diaspora, in the United States (Gutierrez 1999). The Welsh model, in contrast, has capitalized on the ‘scattered people’ sentiment, and Welsh social-emotional nation building has in no way lacked similar tropes. For the Welsh, these trends have taken place on the part of both the
diaspora and the homeland. Similarly, it can be argued that it is not only the Welsh diaspora that is struggling to truly define and differentiate itself--the Welsh nation is simultaneously undertaking such efforts. These simultaneous processes have created the prime circumstances out of which a more consolidated definition of Welshness that is reflective of complicated identity politics resulting from recent language, educational, and social policies has arisen.

Many with whom I spoke in Argentina expressed their feelings about Wales as a second homeland. A few individuals with whom I spoke articulated a strikingly similar analogy that captured their personal feelings about their relationship to the homeland. They stated that they felt their hearts were in two places--Wales and Argentina. I personally have related to this sentiment on several occasions. Now, I suppose it makes sense that one would develop feelings for a place where they have lived for an extended period, and where they have developed relationships with others in the community. No longer living in this place would unsurprisingly lead to feelings of missing the location, the people, and the life (even if temporary) that one had established while there. Certainly, this has been my experience having lived in Wales and Argentina. Interestingly, though, a few of those in the Patagonian community who held this nostalgic sentiment had not spent extensive time in Wales. The specific individuals I am referencing only spent minimal time in the country, for a few weeks at a time. In some cases, these individuals had only traveled to Wales once. In other cases, they had been able to visit on two or three occasions. It would be curious to hear how or if this sentiment would change after an extended stay. I did wonder if these verbal expressions of longing for the homeland, especially after only brief stays in Wales, stemmed from similar motivations to those referenced earlier, where newer Welsh Patagonian community members knew to raise the marginalization of Wales as a marker of membership. I posit that expressing a desire to be in the homeland is
one of these symbolic community membership elements, and was considered a mechanism by which one might more closely reach exemplar status. While these feelings were likely legitimate in one sense, I will contend that the actual community exemplars, who I will introduce in a later chapter, did not express the same sentiments about Wales and being torn between places. In a sense, their identities were much more secure in being Welsh Patagonian, living in Patagonian but having spent extensive time in Wales. These facts of their lives did not seem to produce the same feelings of being torn between the two nations in the way others seemed to indicate. There did not seem to be the same type of guilt or shame that some of these newer or more peripheral community members expressed about the lack of ability to be in two places.

One informant with whom I spoke frequently in the beginning of my stay actually lived in Wales for nearly 30 years. One might imagine that her sense of nostalgia would be exceptionally strong, and that she would have longed for Wales after having spent three decades there in residence throughout her professional life. More surprising, in fact, might be that she did not decide to remain in Wales after so long, though she could have, and unlike others who did. Her feelings toward Wales were wholly negative, and it is difficult to say how her experience so profoundly differed from the few other Patagonians who moved to Wales long term, or her if her experience was primarily shaped by her personal life. In any case, the point here is that one’s emotional predispositions influence the desire to maintain connections with one’s ancestry and heritage in similar ways that broader community pressures apply. This again reaffirms the importance of both community and inherent or individual characteristics in the ascribing of exemplar status.

As important as this emotional side is, there is also a pragmatic component to promoting ongoing diaspora-homeland contact, exchange of resources, and economic benefits. I noticed a
similar phenomenon to what Orozco’s research uncovered—that the majority of HTA presidents and leaders in the diaspora were men, though women were still involved in the more daily aspects of the heritage work. In this way, gender is consequential for those who are the purveyors of heritage, and who are, at least visibly, responsible for the actual maintenance of the heritage in discussion. While gender is not the central theme throughout this research, it is worth noting that many of the ascribed community exemplars in Welsh Patagonia are women. This point will be raised again in the later chapters, and will provide an important frame. Perhaps this is because many of the Welsh values referenced to me throughout my time in the field, like music, religion, education, and language, tend to be elements historically associated with the private sphere. Silvia, one of the first Welsh descendants to attend university in Wales, specifically added that the contribution females brought to the work came in the form of demonstrating more broadly important societal values like solidarity, community, and self-sacrifice. She was critical, too, that simply because machismo was not a value seen in Wales, it would be detrimental to underestimate how much patriarchal values still operate there. As such, for Silvia, the Welsh story resonated not only to the Welsh Patagonian community directly, but to broader social issues.

In addition to gendered participation, Orozco found that the longer time a diaspora member spent outside of the homeland, the more likely he or she was to become a member of an HTA. Given the more historical nature of the Welsh Patagonian diaspora, such trends do not straightforwardly apply, as many of the Welsh descendant families had been in the area for generations. The variables that were more impactful, however, included the fact that many heritage society governing boards were composed of community members who held other employment and, therefore, Welsh heritage activities were not necessarily their foremost
responsibilities despite how it could and would often appear. This has resulted in rotating heritage association leadership and has meant, for the Argentinian community, that the sanctioned heritage and associated activities, while ultimately dictated by the transnational heritage network, have some minor variability from year to year depending on who is directing the events. Chapter 3 will provide greater detail on the dynamics within and between Welsh Patagonian heritage associations in order to capture the composition of and interactions within the transnational heritage network. Nonetheless, the role of the Welsh nation in influencing Welsh Patagonian heritage is indisputable.

In this sense, heritage associations in Chubut demonstrate a reverse effect of what Orozco uncovered in that, rather than HTAs in the host country supporting the homeland through various (though primarily fiscal) means, the heritage association and affiliations with the homeland in Wales actually serve to support the diaspora community in Argentina. The pertinent detail here is the direction of flow of resources. Unlike what Orozco suggests, that resources moved from the presumably upwardly mobile diaspora population back to the homeland, entities in Wales like universities, churches, cultural organizations, and so forth have all partnered for the ‘cause’ and regularly distribute resources to the diaspora. In the case of the Welsh, financial and other resources are often sent to and circulated throughout the Welsh diaspora community to help the children, teach the Welsh language, and create jobs for Welsh teachers.

Another outcome of the transnational ties that Orozco notes in his research is the consumption of and demand for products from the homeland. To a degree, this is the case for Argentinians traveling to Wales (though not markedly more so than any other tourist consuming local products in the destination). However, a related outcome has been witnessed in that a few Argentinians have found a market to create Welsh-like products--hence the tea houses, bara brith
(see Figure 4) sellers, the ability to obtain English tea at select stores, and even a shop called Siop Bara on Gaiman’s main street. The transnational heritage network has garnered the demand for these Welsh themed goods, for both descendant community members and domestic, and perhaps more importantly Welsh, tourists to the region. Senses of belonging and attachment are facilitated by HTAs or in this case, heritage associations, and this is clearly demonstrated by the ways in which emotional and identity interests are weaved together with tangible and oftentimes material items. Unlike the Latin American diasporas, the Ghanaians with whom Orozco worked demonstrated both familial and financial commitment to the homeland (2005). For the Welsh Argentinians, I would claim that connections are primarily linguistic, and secondarily familial, and that the transnational heritage network has been central to fostering this commitment. Chapter 3 will delineate the Welsh heritage network composition, highlighting specific entities and their key roles in Welsh heritage preservation.
REFLECTION FROM THE FIELD

One of the most striking outcomes of the Welsh Heritage Network, for those living in the community in Argentina, as well as Welsh nationals, is the physical exchange of people that takes place and is facilitated by partnerships and opportunities established within the network. One such exchange takes place through the Welsh Language Project, funded and sponsored by the British Council. This program is responsible for interviewing and selecting three Welsh teachers to come to Patagonia each year, beginning in February and concluding in November or December, to ensure free Welsh language classes are offered throughout the academic year and open to any community members with interest. The majority of these classes take place outside of daytime work or school hours and are not a formalized part of provincial curriculum. In fact, the only other formalized Welsh classes that are taught in Chubut are held within the three private elementary schools in Trelew, Gaiman, and now Trevelin, as well as in the secondary school in Gaiman, Coleg Camwy. These Welsh classes take place during the second half of the day, outside the students’ compulsory, provincial curriculum hours. Despite the formalized nature of these elementary classes, for these students who are already in school throughout the morning, attending another class or remaining at school for a longer day than their counterparts who attend public schools does not capture the same commitment to the language that the adult community members have demonstrated regarding Welsh learning. In contrast to the youth attending the Welsh private schools, the attendance and participation in the adult level courses, often taking place in the evenings after work, at the end of the work week on Friday nights, or even on the weekends, demonstrates a concerted effort by the adult pupils to take the time and put ample effort into Welsh language learning. Furthermore, none of the adults learning Welsh require the Welsh language for their employment in Patagonia, meaning
that there is no real practical or utilitarian reason to learn Welsh while living in Chubut. The adult learners participating in Welsh Language Project courses learn Welsh out of personal interest, ancestry, and in some cases simply to be a part of the community.

Norma, a young woman in her early twenties, was a beneficiary of the Welsh Language Project. Norma was currently attending college courses, but was unsure what she wanted to do as her future career. She was going to university to be an English teacher, but she was aware that her Welsh was much better than her English. In fact, nearly fluent in Welsh, Norma often had the fortune of being asked to help give tours or facilitate other activities, notably for the younger Welsh national visitors and groups that other Welsh Patagonian community members did not care to do themselves. Due to her service to the community, participation in local Welsh themed events, her ability to speak fluent Welsh, and her contributions to the Welsh heritage project as a whole, it would seem to make sense that Norma would be an exemplar for the Welsh Patagonian community. And yet, Norma, despite being a learner of the year nominee at the 2015 Chubut Eisteddfod, was not able to achieve this status. Norma, as it turned out, did not have some of the inherent characteristics deemed required to be considered a Welsh Patagonian exemplar. Namely, Norma had no Welsh ancestry whatsoever, and her family was part Chileno and part Indigenous. In addition, her family was much lower income than the vast majority of the Welsh Patagonian community. In fact, Norma lived in what was often described as the bad part of Trelew. Though unspoken, it is these factors that prohibited Norma from being a Welsh Patagonian exemplar, despite her dedication to Welsh community service and her commitment to fluency in the language.

I first met Norma by attending some of the Welsh community events in Trelew where she lived. She was shy, and it was initially unclear to me what her connection to the community was.
As I got to know Norma, it became apparent to me that her Welsh skills were notable relative to any other learner within her age range. Most of the other fluent Welsh speakers either learned as children, or were able to learn in college on study abroad opportunities. Norma, on the other hand, was able to learn through dedicated study within and outside the free classes offered in Trelew, run by the Welsh Language Project. When Norma began learning, just a few years after the Welsh Language Project began in 1997, she was young enough to learn with ease and obtain a longevity over years that had enabled her to refine her Welsh. In addition, with a relatively constant supply of Welsh visitors, Norma had ample regular opportunities to practice with native speakers. Norma additionally benefited from the Welsh Language Project program because she was able to visit Wales on three separate occasions for intensive language courses, through the scholarship component of the project that offers opportunities for Patagonians to learn Welsh in situ in Wales. It is unlikely Norma would have had the opportunity or financial resources to travel to or live in Wales otherwise. Due to her Welsh fluency, Norma was minimally able to elevate her own status in the network by becoming good friends with the Welsh teachers that came to teach in Patagonia, and to work with youth groups like the Urdd when they would take their annual service trip to Patagonia. The ability to speak Welsh was a unique characteristic that set Norma apart from anyone else in her family, though they often attended the community events in which Norma was participating, and therefore had a general familiarity with Welsh heritage. The credentials Norma obtained through her participation in Welsh community events will likely be helpful for Norma’s personal achievements in University and in her future career because of the service and volunteer experiences, which have enabled her to cultivate new skills. Despite the benefit of these experiences for Norma and the Welsh Patagonian community at large, they have in no way increased Norma’s ability to gain status in the Welsh heritage
network. Norma’s story provides some insight into the unspoken rules of what it means to be a Welsh Patagonian exemplar. That is, a practitioner could participate in all the right activities and do all the right actions, but there remains an unspoken set of personal characteristics that one needs to possess in order to achieve such status. Unfortunately for those not already possessing these characteristics, there is no way these individual traits can be cultivated and therefore the status that some individuals can obtain vis-a-vis the Welsh heritage network is automatically limited. As will be demonstrated, these limitations largely come from the Welsh Patagonian community itself, as the majority of programming originating in Wales but for Welsh Patagonian beneficiaries is open to all Argentinians, regardless of ancestry, as was evidenced by Norma’s experience and others like her (meaning not of Welsh descent but who have been able to benefit from Welsh programming in Chubut). Despite being open community events, however, consistent participation does not inherently equal the ability to achieve exemplar status.

Another beneficiary of the Welsh Language Project was Eva. I never actually met Eva while I was living in Argentina. It was not until the summer of 2016, while spending a month in Wales and taking an intensive Welsh language course that I got to know Eva. Eva lived in Comodoro Rivadavia, one of the non-Welsh settled towns, but a location that had become a defacto Welsh town due to the presence of families that moved to the oil town during a latter chapter in the Welsh Patagonian story. Prior to attending the course, I was unaware of who had received scholarships that year, but was surprised to see Eva, in addition to Sofia, the wife of one of the relatively prominent Welsh descendants in Trelew. I had not associated with Sofia to any extent while I was in Argentina, so the course became the venue where I was able to learn more about both Eva’s and Sofia’s experiences in the Welsh Patagonian community. While witnessing parts of their experiences negotiating their feelings of Welshness while in the
homeland, I gained the complementary experience of witnessing the reception of these Welsh Patagonians by members of the Welsh national community.

While most other attendees in the course had some familiarity with the Welsh Patagonian community on some level, none really knew anything extensive about the current state of affairs in Chubut. The attendees, as well as the instructors, were curious about Welshness in Patagonia, and pleased to see that members of the community were still learning and speaking Welsh. Unsurprisingly, however, after a few days, the novelty of Eva’s and Sofia’s national origin wore off, and they participated in the course and interacted with the other students just the same as any other attendees. It is difficult to say whether this was due to the typical normalizing that happens in such situations, or if, in part, the other course attendees tended to be more nationalist in their stances, and by consequence were obviously Welsh language supporters. Therefore, for most, having two Welsh speaking Patagonians in the classroom simply affirmed the importance of the language, but the attendees all held this sentiment already, to one degree or another.

Despite my knowledge of the exchange between the diaspora and the homeland, I was curious to know who had been selected for scholarship in any given year, and who of the community members that I had met and knew had had prior opportunities to go to Wales. More importantly than this, though, I was curious about the motivations for different Patagonians to attend the Welsh courses each year. What were their perceived benefits and what intentions, aside from simply language learning, did they have regarding their experience(s) in Wales? During one of the course exercises, the term hiraeth came up. Eva specifically commented about this term, and noted its resonance with her. She noted how much she missed Wales, and how much joy it brought her to be in the country of her forefathers. Interestingly, at
no point in her narrative were the people of Wales mentioned--every nostalgic sentiment she conveyed was about the place that was Wales and her sense of it, rather than any meaningful familial or personal connections to the people of Wales.

After her three months of coursework concluded, Eva had planned to stay in Wales for an additional three months in order to maximize her visa and stay in her ‘homeland’. Eve had been to Wales before, but not for any extended period of time, and she hoped to capitalize on experiencing the homeland while she was here and could get away from her children and grandchildren for such a length of time. For Eva, an extended time in Wales actually became a bit cumbersome. Eva did not speak much English at all. Given that the percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales hovers somewhere around 20%, and English remains the primary language of exchange in most contexts, this proved to be a bit taxing as time went on. In addition, after the course concluded, Eva no longer had access to the student housing in the university dormitories, so she was required to find accommodations elsewhere. Despite these day to day struggles, for Eva the memory of the nation that is Wales as the homeland of her ancestors was of utmost importance. In fact, I suspect that regardless of what happened to her throughout her time in Wales, Eva’s sense of hiraeth and nostalgia for what the nation of Wales means for her sense of self and for her participation in Welsh community activities in Patagonia would have overpowered any experiences contrary to the notions of Welshness Eva possessed, which had largely been mediated through the Welsh heritage network.
CHAPTER 3: WELSH IDENTITY AS MEDIATED THROUGH HERITAGE

Heritage narratives can be used to re-signify landscapes and identities (Hoffman 2010). Graham et al. note that landscapes can become places of resistance, or localities to question the dominant narrative (2000). Some groups have effectively rejected former colonial constructions by reworking their heritage in a way that enables these groups to reassert relevance to and representation in national discourses. Landscapes are implicated into these processes because collective activity on, and remembering of, physical space and place create emblematic and symbolic landscapes, with which we associate certain cultural meanings, and ideas of ownership, as well as symbolic locations with which we associate group identities (Graham et al. 2000; Hoffmann 2010). As Cosgrove notes, landscapes are “signifiers of the culture of those who have made them” (1998, 8). Linear narratives of place are often used to recount the history of the landscape. However, the unintended consequence of such tactics is that groups and identities are sometimes presented as traditional, historical remnants. This is an unfortunate remnant of colonial history that mistakenly ordered social groups based on the cultural evolutionary model (Taylor 2013). Consequently, contemporary popular memory is in many ways still linked to elite historical memory and, therefore, heritage is often still valued hierarchically in many tourism destinations. Thus, so are landscapes and the people and values associated with them.

Intangible heritage tourism is exemplary of the processes that link identity and value. Often, if there is a market for intangible heritage, this indicates that the identity in question is highly relevant and perceived as valuable to preserve. In some cases, the pressure to preserve or maintain those elements deemed central to the identity comes from outside the community itself. Welsh heritage has undergone transformative processes on the national level.
in Wales, notably since the early 1990s, when Welsh heritage tourism began to distinguish itself from what had been more general British heritage (Pritchard and Morgan 2001). The Welsh brand has since been coming into its own, and similar trends have been taking place in Chubut since the late 1990s, which has resulted in a new heritage tourism market in Chubut Province.

The most significant way in which a uniform Welsh heritage has been diffused to Welsh Patagonia is through the Welsh heritage network, which has been solidified in recent decades in order to substantiate claims of Welsh sovereignty and legitimacy. Before going into extensive detail about the composition of the network, I provide the framework for Chapter 3 with a section discussing qualitative social network analysis as an approach to understanding the complex interactions of institutions and individuals toward a common goal--in the case of this research, as an effort to substantiate nationalist claims through heritage consolidation.

**Qualitative Social Network Analysis**

The field of Anthropology has an extensive history of utilizing social network analysis and similar data analysis methods. Foundational anthropologists like Levi-Strauss (1969) and Malinowski (1922) collected and analyzed data in ways that were precursors to social network analysis as the endorsed methodology it has become. Each of these scholars placed a high importance on understanding the depth of relationships between individuals, and the structural factors that dictated the nature of these relationships. These scholars also studied how social relationships evolved over time and between different members of society. Consequently, Social Network Analysis has become an invaluable tool for studying increasingly complex societies in a variety of topic areas.

Qualitatively driven social network analysis began appearing in anthropology as a methodology as early as the 1950s (Barnes 1954; Bott 1957; Mitchell 1969; Heath et al. 2009),
though not explicitly in name, by incorporating many of the familiar ethnographic methods utilized by traditional anthropologists including participant observation, narrative analysis, visual data collection and analysis, interviewing, and participatory mapping. Historical and archival data could and was often used to add another dimension to the analysis vis-a-vis the ways in which historical relationships had affected contemporary ones (Edwards 2010). What these Anthropologists understood is that one could grasp the importance of a social network in form, but that form could not be fully understood without a deeper understanding of its content. In fact, quantitative network analysis can be likened to the etic or outsider, structural perspective that captures the actual form, while qualitative network analysis is more closely associated with the emic, insider perspective which seeks to uncover the interactions and processes that construct the form.

With its formal beginnings in the 1980s, the quantitative analytic approach to social network analysis (SNA) has been continually refined through the development of software and other computing tools used to create sociograms. Researchers are able to input binomial data and construct a visual representation of a social network. Quantitative SNA has been acclaimed as a highly relevant tool to understand the nature of any number of connections between human subjects. Consequently, quantitative SNA studies abound. Yet, what these studies have often lacked is a more thorough description of the nature of the relationships between nodes. That is, it is one thing to understand the structure of a network, but there comes an entirely more robust understanding from exploring how networks function.

In a key methodological turn, recent analytic trends have proposed mixed method SNA, whereby the researcher constructs a traditional social network map that illustrates the nature of connections within a particular network, but with an accompanying qualitative component that
expounds on the more nuanced nature of interaction between the network ties. That is, qualitative analysis adds additional clarification a level of necessary refinement to more adequately understand the mechanisms and influences on actor behavior that operate within social networks (Crossley 2010). As Nick Crossley claims, the visual representation of the network does not fully communicate the story behind the network (2010). Rather, qualitative network analysis facilitates not only drilling down to minute details between particular linkages, but also explains more general observations about the circumstances of the network at any given time (Crossley 2010). According to Crossley, qualitative analysis of a social network adds the more in-depth, contextually-based rich data that enable the fuller understanding of the quantitative analysis.

Martinez et al. additionally state that mixed methods approaches, that is qualitative and quantitative SNA, allow for a complementary understanding of the quantitative information required to construct a sociogram, and the varying sources of data and information that illuminate subject-actors that compose and exist within the network (2006). Tichy et al. state the importance of using mixed methods as an optimal approach to explore “organizational processes at different levels of analysis” (1979, 507). Social environments cannot be fully comprehended by simply looking at individual ties or connections between nodes. Rather, the richness of these ties and the relationships that characterize them, Keim contributes, add the necessary color to illuminate the nature of a social network (2009). Understanding a social network on both the individual and group level provides a more holistic understanding of how cultural elements specific to the network relate to the structure of the network itself. Qualitative data adds to the critical narrative opinions and perspectives of the nodes that compose the network.
Crossley additionally suggests that a network and its actors have a reciprocal relationship with one another (2010). That is, the network structure mediates the actions of its actors, and dictates how network nodes respond to that which passes through the network, whether this is the flow of capital, values, ideology, language, or so forth. Network actors respectively attribute meaning to the network from their individual perspectives, which, in combination with the perspectives of other nodes, shed light on the identity and function of the broader network and its participants. One mixed method study, by Keim et al., demonstrated how the strength of ties between network partners determined not only the type of information, feedback, and influences these ties had on family formation; the ‘nodes’ positioning relative to other nodes in the network also dictated the decision-making processes about whether or not a couple decided to have children (2009). Similar to this example, though different in topical focus, the Welsh heritage network and the accompanying interactions between nodes within the network act to control access to Welsh heritage in Patagonia, and serve to define the individuals who are able to become community exemplars. This point is crucial with respect to this particular research. The fact that network construction both influences and is simultaneously influenced by network actors is critical to understanding the composition and operation of the Welsh heritage network in Patagonia. Understanding the functionality of the Welsh heritage network makes it easier to analyze the behaviors of given actors as a response to network stimuli. Understanding the qualitative and subjective perspectives of actor-participants provides the deeper analysis needed to understand how, then, individual actors influence the values that reverberate within the network. Such analyses could not be conducted without the qualitative, individual participant focus. This is especially true for certain actors within their cluster(s) in the network, and relative to the other network clusters. As I will demonstrate later in the chapter, those in broker positions
tended to be the most visible network actors, and could employ subtle means to shape how heritage was performed in Patagonia. While the more Welsh-national clusters of the network were responsible for dictating the more general Welsh values, Patagonian brokers, due to their positions of power within their clusters, exercised agency over smaller, more local decisions. These efforts, it was thought, could help these individuals achieve their exemplar status.

**Social Networks and Ideology**

Social networks, as functional bodies, and networking as a productive act, are commonplace in the everyday vocabulary of the twenty-first century. The preponderance of these terms in modern society alludes to the importance of these concepts, and the resulting influence of such bodies as critical to the functioning of complex societies. Social networks are seen in countless venues including within business and professional circles; social and recreational forums; governmental, educational, and ancestral venues; and the like. I will specifically be exploring the notion of the social network as it relates to the maintenance of minority heritage. The notion of a tourism network is the closest entity described in the literature, and the utility of this concept is limited as a comparative example. The idea of a heritage network is relatively new, and I hope to flesh out the term and underscore the inner workings as well as implications of such a network. After, I discuss in more detail the pivotal role that such networks can play in minority heritage maintenance.

Heritage institutions, in the form of museums, local and provincial governments, and cultural societies, play an important role in maintaining cultural customs, traditions, language, and salient aspects of identities of minority communities all around the world. In the last several decades, social network theory and analysis have produced an extensive literature on the ways in which both individuals as well as organizations come together to achieve a particular goal or
function. Combining these two concepts—the idea of institutions as the stakeholders and investors in heritage preservation, and the network analysis of organizations for a particular purpose—this section proposes to contribute to the literature on social networks through the lens of heritage preservation. While there is a small literature on social networks and tourism, these studies are typically written from a hospitality and tourism studies perspective where the purpose of the research is to determine the components of the most effective tourism networks for increasing profitability, number of visitors, customer satisfaction, and other, similar goals (Scott et al. 2008). This project, in contrast, uses qualitative social network analysis to demonstrate the ways that social networks, on the organizational level while highlighting individuals who participate in the network and act as organizational representatives, are used ideologically to further nationalist or regionalist political, social, and even educational goals under the guise of heritage preservation. Below, I will define the nature of social networks broadly.

According to Scott (2000) a social network is a set of interconnected nodes that may have one or more linkages between different nodes. However, not all nodes necessarily link to one another. In some cases, there may be outlier nodes or cliques/clusters of nodes that interconnect strongly to one another, but only minimally interconnect with the larger group. Similarly, outlier nodes may be considered part of the network, but may not have direct linkages with the majority of nodes. Once a network is established, central nodes will become visually prominent through their interconnectedness (Borgatti et al. 2013). Often, these central nodes are going to be the most powerful, influential nodes in the network—the nodes that have the majority of linkages to the remaining nodes in the network—and those that control the flow of information throughout the network. As far as information flow is concerned, central nodes have the ability to disseminate mandates to which other member nodes must adhere, depending
on the nature of the network. It is important to determine how impactful these central nodes are in diffusing key information, policies, or even knowledge, to better understand the actual functioning of the network. As Mitchell reminds us, “individuals also learn, transmit, negotiate, and challenge social norms in social interactions” as mediated through a network (Mitchell 1973, 73). Portes adds, “network structure and composition thereby strongly shape the availability of access to information and other resources, as well as the intensity of social control exerted to enforce social norms” (Portes 1998, 2). In this way, network studies are broadly applicable to a variety of scenarios and situations (Freeman 1979, Granovetter 1973). The study of the diaspora heritage network is just one understudied avenue in the realm of social network analysis.

For the scope of my research, I have explored the ways in which ideology is diffused throughout the Welsh heritage network. My qualitative SNA methods demonstrate the ways in which the perception of Welsh nationalist values changes throughout various network nodes and acts as motivating sources for network actors who choose to replicate exemplary standards of Welshness and seek more centralized network roles. The consequences of ideological diffusion in regard to a heritage network impact on the local community where the network is located can be considered several ways. Firstly, who is allowed or typically able to participate in the network in the first place? Secondly, because the network is responsible for heritage preservation and we must remember that heritage is often valued hierarchically, if one heritage network is successful at marketing and maintaining a heritage in a specific region, which other heritage communities are overshadowed by the success of Welsh heritage? Thirdly, what do member nodes gain from participation in such a network? In what ways is their work rewarded? Lastly, how does the network operate as a feedback loop to the homeland? How does it impact the perception of Welsh Patagonianness, and subsequently Welshness, in Wales? These
questions have guided this qualitative heritage network analysis and, upon further description of the network, I expose the ways in which the Welsh heritage network diffuses Welsh nationalist sentiment and outlines the parameters for the Welsh diaspora actors to participate as aspiring exemplars.

Before moving forward, I also want to define ideology. What is ideology, exactly, and how does it function in regard to social networks? Ideology, as theorized by Terry Eagleton, is multifaceted and serves different, contextually dependent functions. One such definition that guides this work is ideology as “symbolic self-expression” used for the “promotion and legitimation of sectoral interests” (1991, 5). So, what does this mean for its role in the social network, and as that which the network is attempting to diffuse? Not only is the ideology diffused through the network itself, it is also spread into the community where the organizations and partner institutions are housed and, typically, have a public face involved in community activities and social development. Therefore, the ideology, in this case of a very particular minority community nationalist ideology, is not only diffused through network participants inspiring individuals to act in response to this ideology, but is also spread more broadly, at least in part, to the local community, meaning that even if not directly participating, others in the area where the network operates are often still affected by the actions and ideological stance of the network. This is especially true when we are talking about a heritage network whose function, in part, is to ensure community identity remains visible, vibrant, and attractive to tourists (both domestic and foreign) who visit the area. It is my aim through this and the remaining chapters to show how ideology not only is diffused throughout one such network, the transnational Welsh heritage network, but what implications these processes have for local people whom either
directly or indirectly involve themselves in network processes. The next section will briefly describe my data collection strategy while in the field.

**Methodology**

The data for this project were collected using primarily ethnographic methodology—extended exposure to/engagement with the community where I worked. Accordingly, I spent over 12 months in the field for this project, on three different trips, attending various heritage events, community activities, Welsh festivals and celebrations, and other related community and heritage activities. In fact, throughout my time in the field, I attended every event that I possibly could, often making the logistics and transportation onerous for myself when I needed to travel from town to town to get to separate events occurring in rapid succession. I felt compelled to attend all the Welsh heritage events I possibly could, even if only cursorily related. I did not want to miss anything for fear that the key to my research would be in the event I did not attend. I came to realize that this sentiment was not very accurate and, in fact, comprehensively analyzing the events was much more telling than viewing each event in isolation. The reality was that there were countless other events in Argentina, as well as in Wales (especially during the height of the 150th anniversary celebrations), that I was simply not able to attend, despite my strong desires to do so. Despite not being able to be at every single event for the Sesquicentenary, I was able to attend the vast majority of 150th anniversary events in Chubut while I was there. The vast array of Welsh and non-Welsh events that I attended, and the ability to mingle with participants at these events, truly helped me to contextualize and frame the data that I was collecting within the provincial, national, and relevant transnational contexts.

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, ethnography is a great asset to qualitative data collection. The goal of this type of methodology is to understand participant perspectives from a
lived, experiential approach. Obviously, complete understanding and empathy for someone else’s lived experience is relative and not entirely possible. Yet, the idea of the researcher, as much as is possible, becoming a member of the community is foundational for understanding the cultural nuances that may only be apparent to one who spends extensive time embedded within the community. Under these circumstances, it is the Anthropological researcher who is best equipped to view the culture from both the emic and etic perspectives.

For this research, I began early on to identify those who seemed to be central to the Welsh Patagonian community—those who were present at many of the events, those who organized and hosted events, those with connections to the town and city governments, and those who had contacts with the Welsh national community. Due to the extensive amount of ready information available online, I was able to identify the organizations and entities that were prominent throughout Welsh Patagonia before I ever arrived for my extended field season. Prior to arrival, I already identified a series of events I knew I needed to attend in order to connect with those whom would become my informants. The identification of the relevant organizations and entities, as well as the individual actors that would represent and act on behalf of these entities, comprised the network analytic portion of this project whereby I identified the nodes of the Welsh heritage network. It was not until I spent extended time around these individuals and attending their associated events that I more fully could appreciate the observations I was making.

Using participant observation and interview data, as well as the reflections I had based on attending countless events, I have found myself able to provide a richer image of the heritage network actors. I completed over 25 interviews on topics related to Welsh heritage maintenance and preservation, in addition to all of the participant observation data I collected throughout my
time in the field. This institutional perspective, through the eyes of those who participate in the network on behalf of various entities, helped to illustrate how individuals interact within the network, and what constraints the network places on individuals seeking exemplar status. I continued one aspect of this project in Wales, to gain insight from institutional representatives in the homeland, regarding their ideologies surrounding and approaches to Welsh Patagonian heritage maintenance. Despite my time in the field, however, it was not until more extensive reflection after my return to the United States that I fully appreciated the influential forces network actors heeded in their pursuit of exemplar status, and the subsequent community divisions their actions created. In the following section, I define the network composition through the lens of its organizational structure.

**The Transnational Welsh Heritage Network**

Schmidtke cautions that traditional notions of the nation-state are no longer sufficient to describe the complex nature of individual actors positioned as members of more than one homeland (Schmidtke 2001). Diaspora groups, like public popular culture, have benefitted from social media, technology, and communications in ways that have enabled the development of intricate diaspora social networks, where individuals cultivate transnational identities rooted in multiple localities (Sheffer 1986; Schiller et al. 2001). Diaspora communities are especially distinctive in this respect, because members claiming the same transnational heritage might not share territoriality (Papastergiadis 2000), as is demonstrated by the persistence of Welsh heritage traditions in Patagonia. Castineira states that collective identities, and in essence nationalism on the political scale, are ultimately acts of the “mobilization of memory” (2011). This mobilization of *Welsh* memory is witnessed at the provincial level in Chubut, the national level in Wales, and international level within the transnational heritage network. Mobilization of such heritage,
while economically productive within the tourism sector, is not devoid of additional and complementary social capital and other related gains, as will be demonstrated through the accompanying discussion on exemplars in the following chapters.

Chubut Province now supports a network of Welsh heritage organizations, educational institutions, and cultural communities that receive both private and governmental (Chubut and Welsh national) support to ensure Welsh heritage is maintained throughout the province. The majority of towns and cities in Chubut that were founded by and now generally considered Welsh in origin have their own Welsh cultural association(s), which support local Welsh heritage activities. These include the Asociación San David (1892) and Cylch Cymraeg in Trelew; Asociación Camwy, La Escuela de Musica in Gaiman, and Dirección de Cultura Gaiman; Asociación Galesa Pto Madryn in Puerto Madryn (preceded by La Asociación de Descendientes de Gales in the 1970s and 80s); Amigos de la Cultura Galesa in Rawson; AsocGalesa Esquel in Esquel (2010); Patagonia Céltica in Trevelín; Asociación Vesta Sarmiento in Sarmiento; and Asociación San David de Comodoro Rivadavia (1956) in Comodoro Rivadavia. The vast majority of these entities were established in the latter half of the twentieth century. Additionally, there are four Welsh schools actively involved in the maintenance of Welsh traditions and language: Ysgol Gymraeg (formerly Ysgol Feithrin) and Coleg Camwy in Gaiman, Ysgol y Hendre Escuela in Trelew, and Ysgol y Cwm in Trevelín. Apart from Coleg Camwy, which is a secondary school, all of the schools are primary or kindergarten in nature. Trelew is home to the only officially designated Welsh-Spanish bilingual school, though

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13 For a centralized site of the extant heritage associations, see https://www.galesesenpatagonia.com.ar/index.php.
14 http://www.gaiman.gob.ar/.
15 Esquel and Trevelin each have their own respective Welsh association, though they used to share one cultural association. Internal conflict between the towns led to the separation of these entities.
Trevelin is in the midst of creating and receiving certification for a Welsh-Spanish bilingual school, following Trelew’s model.

The aforementioned heritage associations are typically led by a board, and often have a president that serves as the organization’s figurehead. The schools’ curriculum is dictated in a similar way—by a board that is composed of Welsh community members and parents. Each of these entities, in one way or another, is responsible for the activities that support the daily or regularized practice of Welshness. Most obviously, the schools serve a language maintenance role on a daily basis, and often host the MenterPatagonia extracurricular Welsh classes as well.

The various Welsh associations support Welsh themed events in their respective locations. They also participate in some of the broader strategic planning around larger, provincial scale events like the 28th of July ceremony, or the Eisteddfod. In addition, a few key organizations—those most central on their side of the province—fulfill the important role of facilitating connections between the diaspora and the homeland. In the eastern side of the province, the Saint David Association in Trelew serves this function. In fact, more than its role as an event host, San David is an important intermediary for Welsh nationals to coordinate efforts and organize trips to Chubut. In the Andes, AsocGalesa fills this role, though to a lesser degree. That is to say, San David in Trelew is one of the most central organizational nodes in the network due to the sheer connectedness of this node. AsocGales is also well connected, though more central in the Andes cluster than the network as a whole.

The Eisteddfod del Chubut\(^{16}\) has also become an important institution in maintaining Welsh musical and linguistic traditions by hosting the annual Eisteddfod of Chubut in Trelew and the Youth Eisteddfod in Gaiman, as well as supporting smaller local and regional Eisteddfodau. While not serving an inherently daily role in the maintenance of Welshness in

Patagonia, the Eisteddfod Association facilitates the ritualized preservation of the language through the series of language capacity competitions, such as signing, poetry, recitation, and literature. In each of several categories, an overall winner is selected and it is considered a great honor to win the overall competition. The Gorsedd is also maintained through the Eisteddfod association, and while the role of this group is singular in nature—to serve as the ceremonial leaders—the composition of this group is significant. The members of the Bardic circle in Patagonia have either been offered a position based on their service to the community, are the Welsh teachers living and teaching in Patagonia in any given year, or have won the chair in a prior competition. Thus, the Gorsedd is populated with Argentinians as well as Welsh nationals. Consequently, the Eisteddfod Association as a whole serves as a critical point of interfacing for Welsh Patagonians and Welsh nationals, and is situated within the network as such. In addition to a point of connection between Wales and Chubut, the Chubut Eisteddfod Association is the only organization that spans the province. While it is located in Trelew, the Eisteddfod Association works with community members on both the eastern side of the province as well as in the Andes Welsh communities to publicize the event and register participants. Despite this truly central role in the network, my participants less frequently explicitly recognized the role of the Eisteddfod Association in language and heritage management activities. The Eisteddfod Association had, in many senses, a behind the scenes role outside of the dates that the actual Eisteddfodau festivities were taking place. In recent years, Puerto Madryn has hosted the Mimosa Eisteddfod, though this is nearly entirely attended by Argentines, unless there happen to be some Welsh nationals visiting the area at the time. This event is peripheral in the network as a whole, though significant for Puerto Madryn in that far fewer Welsh events take place there, relative to Trelew and Gaiman.
Additionally, the Welsh chapels throughout the Chubut Valley have a union (see Figure 5), referred to as undeb in Welsh, or the Unión de Iglesias Libres del Valle del Chubut, which raises money for the preservation of the chapels and the events the chapels support. Due to their age and historic nature, the chapels require funding for architectural maintenance. Most are in good condition, and are only used for sanctioned events, which supports their longevity. The events hosted within the chapels include the annual Gwyl y Glaniad (anniversary of the landing) tea service, in addition to the rotating gymanfa ganu choral services, weekly chapel services, and occasional holiday services. These locations, and the members who work on behalf of the undeb, ensure the maintenance of the physical locations and venues where the Welsh community comes together on a regular basis to utilize the language, outside the schools. This is important because the schools primarily serve as language supporting mechanisms for very precise age groups. The chapels, on the other hand, are more inclusive in that sense, and offer community members of all ages a regular opportunity to utilize their Welsh. Consequently, those who typically attended the events at the chapels tended to be of the older generations and, often, these individuals likewise tended to be Welsh first-language speakers. From the perspectives they shared with me, these practitioners appreciated the traditional nature of these events.

The above-mentioned organizations represent the Chubut-based nodes of the heritage network. Following, I provide detail on the Welsh (and English) organizations that comprise the transnational Welsh heritage network. Arguably, the most important institution in regards to language maintenance is actually based in England--the British Council. The British Council has

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17 Chapel and gymanfa ganu services are the same events through which the language was maintained in Wales for centuries, notably throughout the period of heavy industrialization in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the infrequency of these events in Welsh Patagonia does not bode well for strict language revitalization using these means. While the schools offer a new demographic for Welsh speaking opportunities, given the demographic of those who attend the gymanfa ganu and religious services, it is conceivable that these events may be fledgling in the coming years, and will have minimal impact on language and heritage revitalization efforts.
branches in Wales, though, in addition to one in Argentina. While the general goal of the British Council is to spread the use of the *English* language internationally, it is actually the British Council that funds the Welsh Language Project\(^\text{18}\), which is responsible for sending three Welsh teachers to Argentina each year to maintain the language throughout both the eastern and Andes communities. The budget of the project is a meager £54,000. Compared to other budget items the British Council has, and generally speaking, reflective of the funding, the project does not seem to be of a high priority according to the teachers and coordinator with whom I spoke. The project coordinator in Patagonia has been asking for increased funding for years, but has yet to obtain an increase. Nonetheless, the project supports enough funding to bring three Welsh teachers (2 for the eastern side of Chubut, and one in the Andes) to the province each year to ensure native Welsh speakers are there to teach and practice Welsh with the Welsh Patagonian community. In addition to these teachers, Ysgol y Hendre also hires a Welsh teacher from Wales each year. Hendre is the only one of the primary schools that is able to fund a ‘proper’ Welsh teacher, through the fees they charge parents for the school’s tuition.

The British Council is one of the most centrally located nodes on the Welsh side of the network. From an organizational perspective, the British Council has a prominent, and very pragmatic, role in sustaining Welsh language instruction and usage in the province. Due to the structure of the program, with a director in Wales, and then a coordinator and teachers in Argentina, the node is highly connected to other organizations in both Wales and Argentina. Despite the turnover of teachers from any given year, which can lead to some inconsistency on the ground vis-a-vis the actual Welsh teaching, the node itself, and the structure of the programming, remains consistent year after year. Without this node, Welsh language

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instruction and practice would likely be on the decline for adult learners and speakers as the Welsh teachers at the primary schools tend to have been learners themselves, and most only have limited competency.

Other organizations in the Welsh homeland include the Welsh Assembly Government, the National Library of Wales, and Cardiff University’s Centre for Welsh American Studies. While the Welsh Assembly does contribute some funding toward the Welsh Language Project, the actual role of the Assembly is more symbolic than practical. There is little day to day connection between anyone at the Assembly and the Welsh Patagonian community. In fact, I only heard of and witnessed one occasion when the Assembly participated in an activity that supported the Welsh community. That is, the first minister visited Patagonia just prior to the 150th anniversary celebration, and held a reception at San David Asociacion in Trelew. He gave a speech in Welsh, and mentioned his pride to know that there are Welsh speakers in Patagonia. He also mentioned the important work of the community members in maintaining their ancestral roots.

In 2015, the National Library sponsored an exhibition on its premises in Wales, surrounding the 150th anniversary of the Welsh Patagonian community, in addition to supporting a conference of [primarily Welsh] academics who have worked with the community in some form throughout their scholarship. A handful of Welsh Patagonians were able to attend this conference, either through scholarship or as a result of having lived in Wales for several years. A similar conference was held at Aberystwyth University around the same time. The intent of both events was to ensure the conversation surrounding Welshness in Patagonia maintained a prominent position in scholarly discourse, and the Welsh national community at large. Neither
of these entities is highly embedded within the network, as, similar to the Assembly, participation has to this point been limited to specific and infrequent events.

Cardiff University, and its Centre for Welsh American Studies, held a similar conference meant to create a public forum where the Welsh national community could hear about different contemporary aspects of the Welsh Patagonian community. The Centre for Welsh American Studies is an interesting node in that it has established connections with Welsh representatives in Canada, the United States, and Patagonia. Due to these current connections, this node tends to be a bit more embedded than the previous two mentioned because the current Patagonian representatives are relatively well connected and work as researchers at an Institute in Puerto Madryn. Time will tell how and if the centre will be sustained moving forward. On the Welsh side, the faculty who were responsible for its functioning have since retired and it is unclear whether anyone new has taken the lead.

One additional, highly important, though again behind-the-scenes, organization is the Wales-Argentina Society, or Cymdeithas Cymru-Ariannin19. This organization was started in 1939 and, like San David in Trelew, helps to coordinate and facilitate many of the activities and exchange between community members in Wales and those in Patagonia. Both San David and Cymdeithas Ariannin began to gain notoriety for their work around the 100th anniversary of the community and have gained significant strength over the last 50 years, notably in the last 20 with the start of the Welsh Language Project. Both entities are central nodes within the network, due less to the events they sponsor and more to the connections they facilitate. Cymdeithas helps facilitate the application process for the Welsh Language Project participants, and works with San David to organize housing and transport for when the teachers arrive in Chubut. Cymdeithas also organizes other trips to Chubut, and San David supports these efforts by linking Welsh

visitors with Patagonians, and organizing events for visitors to attend. As has been alluded to earlier, the provincial division between the eastern valley towns and the Andes communities does have an impact on the connectedness of respective organizations. Given Cymdeithas’ longstanding relationship with San David in Trelew, the majority of the relationships and accompanying events that Cymdeithas supports are located in eastern Chubut. Despite the spatial division between the Andes and Valley communities in Chubut, the above description begins to capture the interrelatedness of the various organizations involved in Welsh Patagonian heritage maintenance as just one level of the network. Following, I delve further into the people that represent the above nodes, and how these individual actors further shape Welsh heritage efforts in Patagonia.

The People of the Welsh Heritage Network

As noted above, while the general composition of the Welsh heritage network remains the same year after year, the individuals participating on behalf of organizational-nodes change with some regularity. Nick Crossley (2010) points out that we do not need to qualify the nature of all relationships within a network, to understand some of the deeper nuances. Often times, there are simply too many connections to thoroughly detail each linkage. Rather, understanding internal issues to subgroups within larger networks may be sufficient to provide adequate insight into network operations on the whole. Given these preconditions, it is no stretch to understand how and why individuals in the network are so important. That is, the network is nothing without the individuals who act on its behalf. Accordingly, individuals serve a direct role in maintaining transnational heritage as much as, if not more so, institutions that support these activities. Unsurprisingly, as well, participant motivation is equally meaningful for the success and functioning of the network.
As impactful as the organizations that comprise the transnational Welsh heritage network are, these entities are only as relevant as the individuals who represent them. In this way, the relationships between individual actors are, at times, more consequential for Welsh heritage than the individual’s intention.

“Strong ties and weak ties: determined by the duration of the relationship, emotional intensity, intimacy, reciprocal services. Strong ties are both kin and non-kin, but characterized by frequent contact, and emotionally close. Help one another on a regular basis. Networks are cohesive, and information is transmitted quickly. Dense network. Weak ties are not intimate, and emotionally distant. Mutual reciprocity is not presumed, and there is no direct sanctioning power. These weak ties can be new sources of information, however” (Keim 2009, 2).

The Welsh heritage network in Argentina, while not characterized by the same degree of personally emotive connections, does demonstrate some common themes that Keim et al. identified in their research on fertility networks. Reciprocity was a central theme between individual nodes, and was often expected, but more so by those with weak ties than strong. That is to say, there tended to be two layers of interaction in the network--a larger cohort composed of weaker ties, and a smaller, more embedded cohort characterized by stronger connections and more stable positioning. This is not to say that individual actors were not connected to others within both layers, but the embedded layer tended to be less fluid in its composition and, not coincidentally, it is the well-connected cohort that is home to the community exemplars. Within the community exemplar layer, reciprocity did not operate in the same way. In fact these individuals participated in service acts to the community in much more self-sacrificing ways. They did not hold an expectation of reciprocation or accolades for their work, and thus unwittingly modeled the often referenced Welsh values that enabled these individuals to reach their exemplar status.
For the less embedded cohort, the expectation of reciprocity was premised on the idea that those offering favors and volunteering for various roles within network activities had the potential for improved positioning in the network and would be compensated by returned favors and increased standing due to their supposed dedication to the network. Qualitative understanding of the nuances of these relationships helps to understand the impact of the network structure on individual actors. Therefore, the Welsh heritage network, rather than a network composed of frequent and deep ties, was, day-to-day, more accurately composed of frequent but weak ties, which could change in relatively short order due to social constrictions and changing organizational roles. What I mean by this is, if a person were to suddenly change their role within an organization, or for whatever reason opted to no longer be involved in a particular network activity, it was likely their ties would not be sustained to the same degree outside of their previously held role. However, due to the flexibility and fluidity of this layer of the network, sometimes nodes whose personal decisions interfered with their positioning in one role were able to reposition themselves in a new cluster in order to gain newly minted social capital.

On several occasions, I witnessed actors who participated in events and took on various organizational roles for what seemed like personal gain, as opposed to a genuine enjoyment or sense of commitment to the cause. One participant, Angelica, struck me as indicative of such processes. Angelica was not of Welsh descent, but had taken Welsh courses and was the recipient of a scholarship to the study the language in Wales years back. She often attended and was involved in organizing Welsh community events, though it seemed she was only interested in events where there was a potential for either local persons of import to be present (the mayor, for example) or where Welsh nationals would be present. Due to her own qualifications, Angelica was able to obtain a position running one of the Welsh primary schools. In this way,
she did achieve some level of status increase, though was still not favored as one of the community exemplars. Sarah had a similar story, except that she was a Welsh descendant, and had moved back to Chubut after having lived in Buenos Aires, in order to manage the family’s teahouse. Sarah volunteered to teach Welsh classes alongside the Welsh teachers through the Welsh Language Project, and yet, was also not able to reach the exemplar status. The common trend with both these women was that their efforts often seemed less than genuine. Others felt that, while they did contribute to the Welsh cause, and their efforts in isolation might be exemplary, their perceived motivations were deemed to fall short of the true Welsh exemplars. Consequently, the organizations that Angelica and Sarah represented were embedded only to a degree reflective of their respective positioning.

Another example of the way in which organizational node representatives impacted the network in any given year was through the teachers that were selected for the Welsh Language Project. As mentioned previously, the teachers who come to Patagonia each year through the Welsh Language Project are by and large those most directly influential on the day-to-day celebrations of Welshness throughout the towns in which they work. In fact, the range of different personality types, as well as political and social ideologies, creates a range of consequences for the Welsh Patagonian community. I had seen and heard of extremes on either end of the inclusion spectrum, as well as everything in between.

That is, in some cases, the teachers were well liked and devoted themselves to the community, to meet the needs of both fluent speakers and learners alike. Teachers like this became very embedded in the community, and fostered increased individual linkages between network actors and, subsequently, organizational linkages through their supportive roles. Much of this was based on personality traits, and language ideology, so characteristics like enthusiasm
and inclusiveness help to garner more interest and encourage increased community participation in Welsh language events. In fact, a few of the teachers even achieve exemplar status themselves. Consequently, it was individuals like these that really helped to further the mission of the Welsh Language Project as it was intended. In other cases, however, due to personality clashes and a different set of character traits, some of the Welsh teachers had alienated Patagonian community members and dissuaded people from attending MenterPatagonia events. Instances where these trends were witnessed often coincided with Welsh teachers who refused to ‘meet learners where they were at’ so to speak, and were seen as intimidating to non-fluent Welsh learners and speakers. In this sense, these teachers, while intending to further the language revitalization efforts, actually created the opposite effect by dissuading people who were not fluent from participating in Welsh classes and community events.

In addition to personality characteristics, tenure in the teaching roles also had an impact on the community. The teachers, if their performance was deemed favorable, were given the opportunity to recertify their contract if they so chose. In many cases, teachers chose to stay an additional year or two, thereby increasing their embeddedness in the network, and influencing positive language reception in the community. In a couple cases, the teachers met a partner during their stay. Two of these women stayed in the community, and one was now acting as the in-country project coordinator. Two other teachers had married Argentinians and returned to Wales, and one had recently been chosen to take over the Welsh Language Project as the Director in Wales. The mix of these personal and professional ties led to, in most cases, an increased embeddedness for these individual actors.

Similarly to the institutional representatives from Wales, those who head the organizations in Argentina also impact Welsh heritage in Patagonia. The majority of cultural
organizations have presidencies that last 1-2 years. Given the turnover of these positions, few consequences of the decisions made by individual actors in these positions are long-term. Typically, those who held association leadership positions were highly regarded in the Welsh community in their city or town, but tended to be figureheads more than anything else. Most organizations had a committee of people contributing to the work of the association who are responsible for the day-to-day management. At times, depending on who was in office, there may have been reluctance, or outright refusal, to work with a particular organization depending on the nature of the personal relationship between the heads of the organizations.

A related occurrence would often result when certain individuals, especially those who were not considered community exemplars but who were in the proverbial right place at the right time, were chosen by the Welsh national institutions to represent Welsh Patagonia at events in Wales. Or, similarly, these individuals were selected as the points of contact or intermediaries between people in Wales and Welsh Patagonia, or to liaise between organizations in each nation. Within the community, these positions had a relative prestige attached to them, and given the value that the community placed on having the ability to travel to and be in contact with actual Welsh people from Wales, tensions arose when the person selected did not meet the community standards for such a position. In this way, there are occasional personality differences and personnel disagreements that bled into the work of the Welsh heritage network, though in my experience, the reverberations of these rows were infrequently far reaching or devastating in any way. In this way, the network structure, likely due to the macro and micro operations of the organizations and their respective representatives, somewhat protects against complete network dysfunction. The transnational nature of the network assists in mitigating any breakdowns between individual nodes, as well, due to the mission of the network being dictated by the
homeland. As such, all efforts of the network generally support the mission as a whole, rather than any one individual. For the most part, the network structure facilitates these goals and safeguards against any singular entity or individual monopolizing the network.

**The Events of the Welsh Heritage Network**

In addition to the organizations and the people of the Welsh heritage network, the events sponsored by network nodes also serve important functions including supplying venues where the Welsh language is utilized, enabling the establishing and redefining of network connections, and offering public events where the symbols of the Welsh community are visible. Once such event is the annual *Gwyl y Glaniad* (landing festival) anniversary event at the end of July to commemorate the founding of the Welsh colony in 1865. These celebrations are sponsored by local Welsh heritage organizations, and, in addition to the Eisteddfod, represent one of the few occasions where the various Welsh entities come together as a collective to host such a large-scale event. The landing festival and associated events throughout that day are often attended by other community members at-large, and thus the festivities are mechanisms to ensure Welshness holds a prominent position within provincial commemorative events.

Another biennial event is the Foro Sobre Los Galeses en Argentina—a conference held every other year in Puerto Madryn—organized by the scholars at CENPAT, who are affiliated with the Centre for Welsh American Studies in Cardiff. This event encourages community members who have done research or written literature on the community to present their work to other interested parties. In general, the same community members attend the forum, and has a familiar set of presenters each time. While the forum does not get any extensive publicity within the broader Chubut community, it serves as another mechanism for continued dialogue between
Welsh Patagonian community members and, similar to other formalized events, is a venue where Welsh is one of the primary languages of exchange.

The above events all take place in the eastern side of the province, though Andes community members typically travel to attend these events. In addition to these events, however, the Andes community also hosts a series of commemorative events and reenactments, somewhat comparable to the 28th of July. In fact, for the Andes, the 25th of November, 1885, is an important date: when the Welsh first reached the area and named the first Welsh settlement of the Andes. Each year, the local community has a parade and reenactment where a group climbs the mountain that the Welsh first summited to view the valley, and what would become the town of Trevelin, below. While the Andes community heads east for many of the larger, provincial wide events, I did not see anyone from the valley community at the 25 de Noviembre events (see Figure 6) when I attended. That is, reciprocal support for the Andes events is not as strong as the support the Andean Welsh community in Chubut shows the valley.

For the 150th anniversary celebrations, a few special events were held in the Andes. As mentioned previously, the First Minister of Wales held a reception with prominent Welsh community members. Due to my connections at that time, I was fortunate to be able to attend the event held in Trelew, which involved dinner and a speech by the first minister. He, in good diplomatic form, hosted a comparable reception in the Andes community so as not to require those community members to travel across the province for his visit. In addition to the first minister, the BBC Orchestra Wales also came to the province to do a series of concerts, as did the famous Welsh harpist, Catrin Finch. This level of visitors was not typical, and was directly related to the desire of these entities to ‘make an appearance’ for the 150th anniversary celebrations.
In addition, for the 150th anniversary celebrations, both the Valley and the Andes communities created commissions, Comisión Cordillera and the Sesquicentenario de los Galeses en Chubut, respectively, for their community organizations to come together and support the increased number of events and activities hosted throughout the year in the name of the anniversary. These organizations provided the oversight, and some consistency between events through branding and published event materials and marketing. In addition, the commissions brought in members of local government offices, and secretaries of tourism, education, and culture, who were not previously involved in Welsh community events planning.

The People’s Archive, through the National Library of Wales, also spearheaded a special initiative for the 150th celebrations, in order that the Welsh community in Patagonia begin to digitally commemorate and preserve various artifacts. Two representatives from the library toured the Welsh towns of Patagonia to demonstrate how to use the online platform so that community members could assist, from their homes, in the building of the online archive. The result has been an ever-expanding online repository of items that descendants of the original waves of settlers had/brought/collection throughout the years. These events are actually the seeds of an important and ongoing project that, in time, will be an invaluable resource for community memory.

**The Network Landscape**

In recent years, Welsh symbolic markers have sprung up throughout the province. Graham contributes to the literature on heritage that elements like street names and linguistically relevant signage serve to stage landscapes for cultural performances and memorials that visibly mark community history and identity. Various cities in Chubut now have all of these elements, with a marked increase in symbolic markers in the last two decades. The provincial
capital of Chubut is Rawson, and though this city does not have a preponderance of indications that it was a former Welsh town, there are a handful of murals (see Figures 7 and 8), placards, and a chapel that serve as reminders of the city’s Welsh roots. In contrast, Gaiman and Trelew, also in the east, are full of symbolic Welsh markers. Gaiman, as was determined by Johnson (2009), is the Welsh ‘capital’ in Chubut. I would agree with this sentiment on the surface, but add that this designation is superficial, based on the sheer number of visible Welsh markers. Currently, Gaiman is the home to 6 teahouses that offer traditional tea service consisting of black tea, cakes, scones, and tostadas with butter and jam. While the tradition of tea is not inherently a Welsh tradition but rather more broadly British, Welsh tea in Argentina has become a popular tourist attraction and coincides well with the Argentinian tradition of merienda (Lublin 2009). The earliest, Plas y Coed, was established in 1944; the second, Ty Gwyn, was not established until substantially later in 1974, followed by Ty Nain and Casa De Te Gaiman, established in the 1980s; and, lastly, Ty Te Caerdydd and Ty Cymraeg were established in the 1990s (Harneggett 2015). Trevelin, in the Andes, is also home to two teahouses, La Mutisia and Casa de Te Nain Maggie, both of which were established in the 1980s. In 2015, a teahouse, Calon Lan, was also established in Puerto Madryn.

In addition to the tea houses, Gaiman is home to two of the Welsh chapels, which are located near the center of town and therefore receive a lot of visibility. The Tourism Board in Gaiman also underwent a rebranding in recent years, which now utilizes a Celtic knot to denote all the tourist sites of interest, monuments, and historic buildings (see Figures 9 and 10). As such, not only is Gaiman replete with Welsh historical sites, these sites are made more prominent through targeted marketing and signage that calls attention to these points of interest. A tourist in Gaiman would easily identify the town as the epicenter of Welshness in the province given the
6 tea houses, three Welsh choirs, and three Welsh-themed guest houses, as well as restaurants and other amenities that infuse the Welsh theme throughout the main areas of town. In this way, the tourism industry has helped to solidify the reputation of Gaiman as the Welsh Patagonian center, and has contributed to the Welsh Patagonian brand. I argue, however, that this central designation is only superficial relative to the actual heritage network functionality.

I mention the superficial aspect to this claim because, in my own research, I discovered that from a Welsh heritage network perspective, Trelew is actually more central as far as activities and administrative/organizational aspects of Welsh heritage maintenance are concerned. According to the network of organizations, and the linkages of the individuals who act on their behalf, Trelew is actually the center of Welsh heritage activities and the coordination and planning of such events, most notably through the Asociacion San David. In this way, we see how this organizational node in the Welsh heritage network works in a behind-the-scenes manner and focuses more energy on doing Welsh heritage than branding said heritage. This is not to say, of course, that the city of Trelew does not possess its own markers of Welshness. One of the squares, just outside the terminal, has a statue of Lewis Jones, one of the original founders of the settlement, which was erected for the 100th anniversary. In 2015, the city created a new set of Welsh statues to commemorate the 150th anniversary. The city also undertook an initiative to mark all the Welsh points of interest, including the chapels and the museums, using signs in both Welsh and Spanish (see Figures 11, 12, 13, and 14). The tourism board also created maps with a Welsh circuit of points of interest for tourists to experience, including marking the building where Asociacion San David is located. However, upon talking to tourists who visited both Gaiman and Trelew, I found that the majority of people felt Gaiman was more obviously Welsh.
In addition to the Gaiman-Trelew distinction, further provincial breakdowns can be made between the eastern and western sides of the province, each with its own ‘regional capital’, as it were. Both communities have sought to solidify Welshness in comparable ways, however. Both Trelew and Trevelin have, in the last two years, commenced a naming campaign in order to designate touristic landmarks in Welsh, in addition to Spanish (see Figure 15). In Trevelin, this process has also included the Indigenous names of some sites, which is a notable inclusionary move as far as the Welsh Patagonian community at large is concerned. As is demonstrated by the Welsh points of interest naming strategies, in addition to the primary school model sharing, though there is some unspoken tension between the eastern valley towns and the western Andean towns, effective practice sharing takes place between the two clusters and, on the whole, has bolstered Welshness in the province. Other physical, symbolic markers of the Welsh Patagonian community include several Welsh community museums and restored buildings with small exhibitions (in Trelew, Gaiman, Dolavon, Trevelin, and 28 de Mayo), and signs denoting points of interest on the road that connects the eastern side of the province to the west, route 25 (see Figures 16 and 17).

In an effort to build upon the community history and context covered in Chapters 1 and 2, this chapter described the transnational heritage network to provide readers a sense of the network structure. The following chapter, Chapter 4, will expose the means of feedback at the network structure supports, and uncover the implications of various node-ideologies on the individuals and social landscape within Welsh Patagonia.
REFLECTION FROM THE FIELD

This next point will seem painfully obvious to any cultural anthropologist, and yet I could not have predicted how much it would resonate with me throughout my time in the field. You see, ethnography is not just about the data collection, it also about the research experience itself, and the anthropologist’s experience in the field as a researcher. When students are taking anthropological methods courses, they are continually reminded that not only are they at their field site to learn about the culture with which they have decided to work, they will undoubtedly learn more about themselves and how others perceive them while they are in the field. Now, self-reflexivity is not typically one’s intention when going into the field (at least not consciously), but it will happen. And it did.

On nearly every occasion, especially when I would attend an event with new people or members of the community I had not yet met, I would be asked one simple question, “Why are you here?” I would answer, in what had become my canned elevator speech response, to the fact that I was studying patrimonio galesa and that I was there to understand how and why Welsh heritage is celebrated in Chubut. Then, without fail, the follow-up, but perhaps more important question would always be, Are you Welsh?” Now, this is where my response became trickier because I knew what most wanted to hear—at least most that subscribed to the official network’s ideas of Welsh heritage. The answer they were looking for was a straightforward, “Yes.” Then we could discuss where in Wales my family was from, how many times I had visited, the degree to which I maintained contact with people in Wales, and so on. However, I had to respond with a more qualified, “Yes I am, but...,” response. This did seem to suffice for most in that, while I was from the US, my ancestors, like the Welsh in Patagonia, came from Wales. For many, this was sufficient and I had proven my rationale for being there and studying
such a topic. Others, typically those with less direct (and sometimes none whatsoever) ancestry, had little time for me, especially if they felt like I had nothing to offer relative to gaining prominence in the network. I came to realize, through my analysis, that it was the exemplars, generally speaking, who recognized my ancestry as sufficiently connected to Welshness. Likewise, it was this subset of actors in the network who ensured I was integrated to all activities they deemed important, with no questions asked. It was those who were aspiring exemplars, but who were missing the right combination of ancestry and personal motivation, who assessed my presence in the community and did not deem me to have enough direct lineage connections to contemporary Wales (a contradiction in and of itself, as these individuals often did not have these connections either) to make expending extra energy with me worth their while because it would not assist them in meeting their personal aspirations.

All of the above conversations took place in Spanish because, at the time, my Spanish was much stronger than my Welsh. Typically, as [if] the conversation unfolded, I would be asked if I spoke Welsh. I would always say, “Yes, a little,” but that I was much more confident in Spanish than Welsh. The fact that I was from the United States was my scapegoat in this scenario. I was not expected, necessarily, to speak Welsh, because really, as far as my immediate ancestry was concerned, I was not from Wales. I was one step removed in the eyes of the Welsh Patagonians. In fact, the fact that I spoke any Welsh at all was favorable, and the older generations who were Welsh first-language speakers would often slip into Welsh when speaking with me, forgetting that my competency was not at a fluent level.

On the positive side for my experience in Chubut, the same community members who could not be bothered expending significant extra time or energy with me did tend to hold distinctly lower expectations for my Welsh abilities (and many of them, despite most not having
Welsh ancestry themselves, did speak Welsh with a high degree of competency and often even fluency) as compared to Welsh visitors to the province. Even Welsh visitors who came on 10 day or fortnight tours were expected to speak Welsh at the smaller events and meet and greets the community would organize with the tour operators (both with ties to the Welsh community). In several instances, these tourists did not speak Welsh themselves, and were forced to question their own Welsh identity vis-a-vis the linguistic identity the Welsh Patagonian community ascribed to anyone from Wales.

One of the most striking examples of this consequential dynamic came from Lilly, a short-term study abroad/exchange student who had won money to ‘study Welsh Patagonia’ for three weeks surrounding the 150th anniversary celebrations. She had an overwhelmingly negative and isolating experience, because she found herself subject to the complexities of ideologies surrounding the Welsh language in Wales, but while she was in the middle of Patagonia. This came unexpectedly to Lilly. She was born and raised in Wales, as were her forefathers as far back as anyone knew. Yet, she was one of the nearly 80% of people in Wales who does not speak Welsh. Now, given the percentage, it is obvious that many more people do not speak Welsh, especially not fluently, than do. Yet, despite this composition of Welsh citizens, the pro-Welsh language ideologies are not only strong in Wales, they are loud, and at times can be highly exclusive toward non-Welsh speakers. Due to the organizational composition of the Welsh heritage network, with more progressive institutions at the fore, these ideologies have made their way to Patagonia, but have gone unexamined and, in some cases, generally adopted without further consideration. While with any minority nationalist and language revitalization movements it becomes pertinent to expand the number of speakers, there is also an equally strong and clearly visible exclusion and somewhat protective ideology that simultaneously
operates within these movements. At the extreme end of ideologies surrounding language preservation, if you do not speak the language [Welsh], you are representative of the problem. I witnessed the impacts of these extremes for learners and would-be learners alike, in Patagonia, as well as for the Welsh visitors who did not have the privilege of or access to learning Welsh. For those looking to be part of the ‘in’ crowd, strong language revitalization efforts are good motivators for some individuals to study the language with dedication in order to become proficient. On the other hand, staunch language advocates may also turn potential learners who feel alienated due to their low language competency away from their efforts.

I have seen and felt the consequences of both perspectives, both personally and as the researcher. As a result of my engagement in Wales, over the past decade, in addition to my more recent (in the last 5 years) engagement in Argentina, I could empathize with Lilly. I am not a fluent Welsh speaker, though I have now taken several intensive courses to build my capacity and would say I have intermediate capabilities. I have made great strides but, must admit, originally I never intended to become fluent in Welsh. I wanted to learn some Welsh as a sign of goodwill toward many of my more nationalist research participants in the north of Wales while I was doing research there. As intended, learning some Welsh did help me gain some social currency with my participants, mostly Welsh first-language speakers, who did not expect me to be able to speak any Welsh at all. I certainly underestimated the role that the language played in Patagonia, as did Lilly. We both entered the community with the false perception that a good handle on Spanish was sufficient. Now, for me as I alluded to above, it was. However, I had a different set of expectations weighing on me than did she. Also, I had the luxury of the long-term engagement with the community that meant I could prove myself, as it were, and recover my own positioning by demonstrating my commitment and knowledge of Welsh heritage more generally,
but through the medium of Spanish. Lilly, however, was not so easily able to overcome the initial feelings of exclusion, and as a result did not appreciate her time in Patagonia in the same way that others from Wales, who were Welsh speakers, did for similar trips. Lilly mentioned her frustration with the fact that, while she was confident in her Spanish abilities, the focus of nearly everyone with whom she spoke was her Welsh language abilities, or more accurately lack thereof.

This, it must be added, is not to say that Welsh speaking Welsh visitors were all completely satisfied with the level of Welshness in Patagonia, either. In fact, in the same way that I oversold to myself that a good handle on the Spanish language would be all that I needed, many Welsh people expressed to me that the profundity of Welsh usage was oversold to them before arriving in Chubut. For many, they had envisioned a Welsh-speaking oasis where daily communications took place in Welsh, and all the shop owners spoke Welsh to their customers. Upon arrival, however, these individuals learned that Spanish was much more the daily reality, and Welsh was a language reserved for specific contexts. I spent time with two other undergraduate students on similar scholarships to the one Lilly had. These two students were traveling together, to visit the schools and work with the children in their Welsh classes, throughout the province. They had both taken a university course dedicated to the topic of the Welsh in Patagonia, and the image these Welsh nationals had in their mind, prior to arriving in Chubut, was that Welshness and the Welsh language was everywhere, and that there was really no need for Spanish. What they came to realize is that, while Welsh was spoken widely and in more ritualized and ceremonial settings, the day to day conversations by and large took place in Spanish. Even the children with whom they worked in the schools, and their respective Welsh teachers, only had limited Welsh capacity, they came to find. In fact, one of the pair actually
expressed his disappointment in what he deemed to be a profound lack of Welsh language usage. He had mentioned that, before coming, he was very optimistic about the state of the language, especially in Patagonia. After having spent nearly three weeks in and around the Welsh towns, he became discouraged that maybe the future of the Welsh language in Patagonia was bleak.

Now, I must add that ideas surrounding the future of the Welsh language are particularly complicated. On the most extreme end of the spectrum, there are Welsh nationalists who would seem to have everyone in Wales speak Welsh, and those who do not speak the language would just as soon not be Welsh. Understandably, this is a very simplified and rudimentary characterization, but captures the extreme commitment to the language that some Welsh nationalists possess. In addition, there are those more centrally located on the same spectrum that wholly support the Welsh language, speak the language, and would likely also say that everyone in Wales should do so. These same moderates likely, at the same time, understand the structural conditions and historical factors that led to a decline in the language, and may approach the situation more realistically, but when inquired to explain their views, might not express the qualifying factors. Thus, what is communicated to inquiring Welsh Patagonians, and more importantly what is not said, are the contextual factors surrounding the nature and current status of the Welsh language in Wales. As such, an unquestioning Welsh Patagonian would largely embrace the approach that all Welsh people should speak Welsh, and might even project this ideology to Welsh nationals who visit the province. This approach is highly problematic for those who do not speak Welsh, were not raised in a Welsh speaking household, and did not have the opportunity to learn Welsh in school. While there are countless opportunities to learn Welsh and to become embedded in the Welsh speaking community in Wales, it is not always so easy to do so. As illustrated above, not only has the Welsh nationalist language ideology influenced
Welsh Patagonians in Argentina, these ideologies have been adopted, adapted, and then reflected back to the homeland in some very telling ways, namely through interactions with the Welsh national community who venture to Patagonia, but more importantly through the stories they tell when they return home.

One common sentiment that I heard from Welsh people that visited Patagonia, as well as those that had never been but had familiarity with the community, was that, “Wow—they speak Welsh in Patagonia, so it is only right that we speak Welsh here” (Personal Interview. 27 June 2016). Now, on a basic level, this sentiment makes complete sense as a logical reason why more people in Wales should also speak Welsh. This sentiment, however, like those in Welsh Patagonia who uncritically felt that all Welsh nationals should speak Welsh, problematically simplifies the feat that language revivalists have undertaken, and sells short the increases in Welsh language speakers (through very concerted efforts) in recent years. Meanwhile, yes, it is true that Welsh is spoken in Patagonia. However, in terms of sheer numbers, the percentages of speakers are not high, especially considering Welsh first-language speakers. The strongest representations of speakers can be drawn on generational lines, with these numbers shrinking each year. While several community members have embraced Welsh learning, the nature of these courses is indeed something in need of elaboration. Learning is one thing; fluency and the actual preservation of the Welsh language is entirely another.

In both Britain and Patagonia, historical events and social conditions contributed to Welsh language decline. In Britain, these effects were not only a decline in practical usage. The effects were felt personally, and many Welsh were demoralized as a result of political attacks on Welsh language usage. The Welsh language in Britain was disparaged, and became associated with all that was bad, impoverished, stupid, and backward in Wales, largely as a result of the
Blue Books\textsuperscript{20} in the mid-nineteenth century. The same degree of defacing of the language did not happen in Argentina, and in fact the Welsh and their language were still considered culturally superior for several decades after their arrival. Thus, the preservation of the language meant and continues to mean an entirely different thing in Patagonia, and has been shaped by entirely different processes. Additionally, the scale is entirely different. While there are some fanatics that would like to see everyone in Chubut speaking Welsh, regardless of Welsh ancestry, even this by sheer numbers would be a much easier lift than encouraging the entire nation of Wales to learn and speak Welsh. In a humorous turn, one of my informants noted (somewhat flippantly) that there might even less ideological resistance to teaching everyone in Chubut Welsh!

While in Wales, I heard over and over instances of middle and secondary school aged youth in Wales who attended Welsh medium schools that speaking Welsh was not ‘cool,’ and outside of the classroom they had no desire to speak the language. It was most certainly not used in social contexts. The adults in their lives, as they often do, would try to reason and note that these young people would regret not using their Welsh while they could, and if they lost the skill in the future due to lack of usage, they would, of course, be sorry later on in life. Meanwhile, comparably aged youth in the Welsh Patagonian community have truly embraced such opportunities to practice their Welsh and build their speaking skills. These youths, while far fewer in numbers, have not taken their access to Welsh learning for granted in the same way. Most frequently, the Welsh classes I attended in both Wales and Argentina were often attended by younger and middle aged adults who learned Welsh, or even attended Welsh

\textsuperscript{20} The Treachery of the Blue Books took place in 1847. English commissioners were sent to Wales to assess the education system, and they concluded that the education system was in dire conditions. Teachers were untrained, there were too few schools, and too few resources. These negative conditions were associated with the Welsh language, and the people who spoke it, as opposed to a needed restructuring of the education system. It is widely considered that the results of this turning point in Welsh history have been English language superiority, and a lack of national confidence in being Welshness (Jenkins 2007). Since the nationalist movement of the 1960s and 70s, however, these characteristics are slowly being reversed.
medium schools, but who, for whatever reasons, had not utilized the language regularly and lost their working ability. These, in all cases of those with whom I spoke, were decisions they regretted. Therefore, we can see through this simple, yet all too common example, that the battle of language is much more nuanced than simply a battle of desire or commitment to speaking the language. It is at least as much, if not more, a battle to reclaim an identity that, for some, no longer exists. For some, this identity has never existed. And for some, they feel this identity has existed but has been unfairly stripped away over the centuries. And yet, remnants of this staunch Welsh-speaking identity still can be found in Argentina and are reflected back to the homeland where they then become additionally distorted and used in the same somewhat contradictory and exclusivist ways.
CHAPTER 4: WELSHNESS ON THE DAILY

What became apparent as I spent more time in the field was that there were many layers to Welsh heritage in Patagonia. Not only is the performance of Welsh heritage divided into the public and private spheres, the heritage network, and the ideologies diffused throughout the network, are as much related to the institutions that participate within the network as they are by the individuals representing and working on behalf of these institutions. To build on this, then, Welsh Patagonian heritage, in many ways, is exemplary of Welsh heritage for the nation of Wales itself. That is, through ongoing network ties, and the diffusion of Welsh Patagonian imagery and constructions through the Welsh media\textsuperscript{21}, the nation of Wales looks to heritage preservation and language maintenance in Patagonia to better understand itself. As Graham suggests, intangible heritage is not simply bounded to a place or location; it is also an internal state of identity and group self-concept (2002). Therefore, the layering of public facing heritage in conjunction with the internal self-concept must be acknowledged if one is to understand the heritage destination. Clearly within this example, and no doubt applicable to other diasporas, the situation becomes even more complex due to the influence of both the internal and external national homeland. Each of the above-listed themes deserves more extensive elaboration, and I begin by describing some of the more mundane, and yet quintessentially Welsh, activities before illuminating additional nuances surrounding some of the activities mentioned in previous chapters. Following that section, I expand on the idea of two Welsh communities, and underscore how these divisions relate to the network structure. I then incorporate additional detail about how individual actors in the Welsh Patagonian community fit into this framework.

\textsuperscript{21} Throughout 2015, Welsh Television and Radio aired several programs documenting specific aspects of the Welsh Patagonian community. See S4C Cymru and BBC Radio Wales for examples. In addition to these contemporary features, there have been a handful of documentaries and special programs created and aired in Wales, as well as Argentina, throughout the years.
**Being Welsh in Private**

As mentioned in earlier chapters, upon arrival in Chubut, I already planned to attend a handful of events that were being hosted leading up to the 150th anniversary celebrations, and for which I was able to glean logistical details from social media. These events included a sizeable book and tourism fair with speeches given by the Secretary of Culture and a few of the Welsh Patagonian community members, the erecting of a new monument on Punta Cuevas, and the recording of a local TV program where one of the local Welsh descendants was going to demonstrate how to make Welsh cakes like the ones she served at her family’s teahouse. In my first several weeks in the field, I thought that these events, though I recognized that there were more than usual due to the hype around the anniversary year, were quintessentially being Welsh in Patagonia. Prior to that time, I had only been to the more highly publicized Welsh community events, and I had no way of knowing that there was an entirely more subdued Welsh experience that was actually more decidedly Welsh than the imagery presented publically.

As I became more familiar among community members, and established relationships with various individuals, I began to be invited to the more private events that, on their surface, were seemingly much less Welsh. That is, the activities themselves, while part of the Welsh tradition, were not inherently Welsh and could certainly be found in other communities throughout the world. Rather, the more important aspects of these activities, I came to discover, was that they were a means to celebrate what, in Patagonia, are associated with strictly Welsh values, and often through the Welsh language.

The first of these more mundane and yet truly telling activities I began to attend was choir practice. In addition to the primary and secondary school in Gaiman, the town also supported an Escuela de Musica. The music school was as straightforward as the name would
Students of all ages could attend various types of music classes at the school, learning all sorts of orchestral instruments, which (naturally) included the harp. Whenever I would go to the music school for ladies choir practice (3 times per week, during the daytime), the school was always abuzz with children. Adults at the school typically fit into one of a handful of categories: teachers, parents, or choir participants. In addition to the coro de mujeres, I also attended the coro mixto (twice per week, in the evenings). Both choirs were composed of adults from the Welsh Patagonian community, and came from Gaiman, Trelew, Rawson, and a few other of the smaller towns throughout the valley. I did not realize when I began, but several of the choir members were direct descendants of the original wave of Welsh immigrants to Chubut. This was quite striking to me in that, in many of their families’ cases, they had been in the area for a century and a half of generations. For these choir members, singing the what felt like endless repertoire of Welsh hymns, which seemingly everyone knew from memory except me, was being Welsh in their daily lives. In fact, because everyone seemed to know their parts, and had the pitches so precise, I often found myself wondering why anyone bothered to attend practice at all, since no one actually seemed to require the practice. Though I was not able to ascertain how long the choirs had been in existence, it seems they had been, in some form or another, meeting for as long as anyone could remember, and likely throughout the preceding generations as well.

I had only been attending choir practice for a few weeks when I was invited to attend my first choral event. Routinely, the choirs would put on concerts at the local gymnasium, and would host a tea service afterward, in order to do fundraising for the music school. The women of the choirs were asked to bake something at home and bring the products to share as part of the spread offered in the traditional style tea service. Community members from Gaiman and the surrounding towns, both Welsh and non-, would partake and seemed to enjoy this uniquely
Welsh Patagonian tradition. Though I did not recognize the significance of these events initially, it is these types of community events, where individuals would come together to support a community resource, in this case the music school, and work together to host such an event that characterized what members of the more private Welsh community deemed to be Welsh values—music, culture, tradition, sense of community, and of course, the utilization of the Welsh language. In addition to these community-based events, the choir would hold a holiday concert out in the plaza each December as a way to celebrate with the community. Following the concert, the choir would have a members-only asado as a final celebration before going on hiatus for the summer break, to resume in the fall and the start of the academic year.

Similar to choir practice, the Welsh language courses I attended seemed to serve similar social and community building functions, though with a different cohort of attendees, and less service-based. Because I relocated to circulate throughout the Welsh towns while I was in the field, I was able to attend Welsh classes taught by local community members as well as the Welsh Language Project teachers. While living in Puerto Madryn, my first temporary home, I would attend classes on Friday evenings, on the literal opposite and furthest possible side of town. The class was composed of students with all skill levels, most of whom had Welsh ancestry. Biscuits and mate were often offered at these classes, and they seemed to be as much social as they were educational. Despite the weekly class schedule, several of the students seemed highly committed and had a fairly decent working knowledge of the language (though I cannot speak to their abilities prior to starting the lessons). These courses contrasted with those that I attended in Trelew, once I moved slightly more westward.

The courses in Trelew took place two evenings per week, and over all, the participants in my course had lower competency than the Madryn cohort. There was a more advanced class
offered concurrently, by one of the local Welsh Patagonian community members, which made it somewhat easier to teach to the respective students’ levels. These classes often felt a little more formal, and yet it seemed that less progress was made on behalf of individual learning. Perhaps this was because many of the attendees had no Welsh ancestry and either attended simply because they were interested, or because a few of the young women had recently gotten teaching jobs in the primary school and were required to learn some Welsh. The courses offered by the Welsh teachers were more routine in nature but, like choir, were forums where community members could come together, be social, and support one another to use the Welsh language.

As I became closer to Alice and her son, I was invited to even less-formal gatherings that, in essence, captured what it means to be a Welsh descendant in Patagonia. Every Friday, after she concluded her Welsh radio hour at RadioChubut, Alice would go to the cafe near the plaza in Trelew, and meet with other Welsh descendants like herself, simply to chat and catch up on the week’s events. Before I had attended for the first time, aside from Alice, I had no idea who or what to expect. As I learned throughout my time, this activity might have been the one that involved the least fanfare but, in actuality, was probably the most Welsh. There were no pretenses established for these gatherings, and the few attendees were there not with the express purpose of speaking or maintaining Welsh, but rather, much more simply, to spend time with old and dear friends. This is key because these types of gatherings, though taking place in public venues at times, were more private in nature and provided the most natural means of sustaining the language usage in the community. Those who attended did not need to be anyone but who they were. They did not need to adopt or enact a Welsh persona. Alice would often organize similar gatherings at the coffee shop in Gaiman after the gymanfa ganu or Welsh service, with the same absence of an objective other than to simply be together.
One of the other most simplistic, and yet meaningful, ways in which Welsh community members embodied Welshness was through the chapel services, and the gymanfa ganu services. Most of the chapels throughout the valley, and in the Andes, held religious services every Sunday. While these services were in Spanish, many of the attendees were actually Welsh speakers, because their families had been attending services at their respective chapels for generations. As the Welsh spread throughout the valley, they erected chapels as they went, so that no families had to travel too far to attend chapel, as these served as community centers for many generations. In fact, one of the primary reasons why services at the Welsh chapels were no longer regularly held in Welsh is that there were no remaining Welsh speaking religious leaders in the area to perform the services. In addition, some non-Welsh descendant families had begun to attend services at these chapels. And yet, the hymnals that some chapels used still contained both Welsh and Spanish versions, and sometimes Welsh verses were those schedule to be sung. Outside of the weekly services, a Welsh church service was held monthly and rotated throughout the chapels in the valley. Typically, the service involved various community members taking turns reading the selected bible verses in Welsh, for that service. Accompanying hymns were also sung, and typically someone had been selected to share the evening’s message with attendees. Similarly, monthly gymanfa ganu services were also held, and rotated in a similar way throughout the chapels in the valley. The chapel rotation served two functions--to make sure that all the chapels were still being used, and to ensure that those who were not able to travel far from their homes due to mobility issues would at least be able to attend the services with semi-regularity.

These services tended to be less formal, and were simply services where attendees would sing a number of predetermined hymns in Welsh. Various community members who also played
musical instruments would show up to these services and provide the accompaniment, on a rotating basis. From what I could determine, whoever was available would attend and bring their instrument to play. Similar to the participants who were just there to partake in the singing, it seemed as though everyone knew the music and had no need for the sheet music or hymnals. These events, again, truly capture the Welsh spirit in Patagonia. Participants would attended these events, not with the expressed intent to utilize Welsh, but because these particular events were artifacts of the Welsh experience in Patagonia since it was established. Most of the attendees had been going to these events since they were children, and with their parents who had been doing the same. In fact, my favorite activity throughout my time in the field was the gymanfa ganu services. I have never experienced anything quite like these. Nor have I ever experienced such a profound, emotive response as I had to these groups of anywhere from 15 to 40 individuals showing up for the same activity, stepping into a community relic, and singing without any tuning or prior rehearsal, but yet possessing the ability to create perfect four-part harmonies every single song and every single time, and most importantly, as a community. I recall being brought to tears over one such service and thinking, “Well, now this is what it means to be Welsh in Argentina.”

**Performing Welsh in Public**

While there are countless public events I could describe, and have already alluded to a few in previous sections of this dissertation, I will highlight some public versions of the above events I referenced in the preceding section in order to juxtapose the two for comparative purposes. That is, in the instances when events like the choir performances or religious services became endorsed or publicized by the heritage network, the feel of even these very familiar
events changed. When these events were explicitly marked as Welsh, they went from private venues where people were Welsh, to public events where people performed Welshness.

In addition to the dedicated choir concerts for the community, there were a handful of other occasions when the choir was asked to perform as part of a heritage network sponsored event. These events, aside from the Eisteddfod, were being offered specifically for the sesquicentenary events and were not regularly occurring or annual events. Due to the larger crowds attending these events because of the increased marketing and branding as Patagonia150 events (see Figure 22), there was increased pressure, and the feel of performing at these events was much less communal and much more competitive. On these occasions, it seemed that most people wanted to look their best, sing the loudest in order to be heard, and stand as front and center as possible. After the performances, choir members scattered back to their seats, and there was no celebration or collective acknowledgement of a good performance, as there was for the smaller, community events. More simply, there was more fanfare and less camaraderie.

Similar changes in ambiance and interpersonal interactions took place when a monthly Welsh service or gymanfa ganu was endorsed by the network and, again, branded as a Patagonia150 event. These endorsements would happen when it became known that there would be people, either tourists or one of the many organized groups, from Wales who would be in town at that time and who planned to attend. All of a sudden, the events not only grew in size, but the entire feel of the event became what can only be described as scripted. The services went from a communal act where all participants were included and acknowledged, even if not having a direct role, to a performance where only a few individuals were starring and gained recognition for their contributions to the event. These public versions of the services typically drew larger crowds, but the increase in attendees represented the community members who were already
vying for more central positions in the network, and who did not regularly bother to attend the
non-endorsed services. These events transformed from an act of the community to a venue
where certain community members wanted to be seen being Welsh, especially in front of Welsh
visitors. These contrasts begin to illustrate the ways in which the Welsh heritage network
facilitates layered forms of performing Welshness and being Welsh. Florencia, one of the
younger generation of Welsh descendants in the community, captured her own assessment of
these observations in her statement that, “There are two [Welsh] communities in Gaiman”
(Personal Interview. 6 Sept. 2015). While problematically simplistic in its binary nature, Flor
was touching upon the implications that the operations of the Welsh heritage network have on
the Welsh Patagonian community as a whole—that is, not just in Gaiman. I tease this analysis
apart further in the following section.

**Being Welsh versus Doing Welshness**

What became clear after I attended countless events and activities throughout my time in
Chubut, in addition to interviewing those involved in both the public and private performance of
Welshness, is that the Welsh community in Patagonia can best be described as a tale of two
heritages. There are those who celebrated Welshness in much more nuanced, quieter ways,
whereas there are those who actively engage in and inserted themselves in the very public,
prescribed forms of Welsh cultural heritage performance. As alluded to in previous chapters, I
have chosen to associate the two categories with the private and the public spheres. Flor had her
own categories for these two communities: the active Welsh heritage community, and the passive
one. To Flor, the active Welsh community was the group responsible for actually maintaining
the heritage, through public events and other related activities. Obviously, there was a lot of
work that went into hosting the various community events, especially considering the increased
number of events in 2015, and to Flor, these efforts were reflective of a person’s investment in the culture. She also conveyed that she felt people should be recognized for their efforts, and so, it was natural that people should receive some personal benefits for their efforts.

In contrast to these ‘active’ community members, the ‘passive’ community members, according to Flor, did not integrate well into the active community, and did not want to. Without being explicit, she seemed to indicate that these passive actors were the problematic members of the community who were not doing their due diligence to ensure Welshness was maintained as a public spectacle. She felt that Welshness should be publicized, especially given the renewed interest in recent years. While I could appreciate her perspective on the dueling nature of these two Welsh communities in Gaiman, I disagreed with her assessment on the passive community. There are multiple reasons for our differing perspectives including the fact that Flor was really only looking at Gaiman as a microcosm. Due to the scope of my work, I was looking at the cumulative implications of the Welsh heritage network on the Welsh Patagonian community as a whole. In addition, Flor did not extrapolate out why these divisions were taking place, nor did she question the roots of such division. To her, divisions within and between groups of people were inevitable, and the Welsh Patagonian community was no different. Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, Flor was also a proud and self-identifying member of the active community according to her own framework. Her family owned one of the teahouses in Gaiman, and she participated in many of the events for Patagonia150. In addition to her own public presence, her father was running for local office, and a fairly prominent figure in the local community. Thus, her life outside of Welshness was one in the public eye already. As has been noted for Angelica and Sarah (both referenced in earlier chapters), the expressed desire to be a
public Welsh figure was precisely the thing that precluded these individuals from being
community exemplars.

The active/passive or public/private models do not capture the full complexity, however,
of individual actors and their positioning within the Welsh heritage network. That is to say, there
was often much more fluidity for an individual to move between the public and private spheres
of doing Welshness and being Welsh. In fact, most community members did move between the
two, though the more important indicator was where they spent the majority of their time doing
Welshness. Within this framework, not one of the primarily public or active Welsh community
members was a community exemplar. That is to say, it was not enough to do Welshness, but one
needed to be Welsh in order to achieve such status. I will add here, though, that even the
individuals who spent the majority of their time in the more private Welsh community did cross
over into the public sphere for various events, as well as when their efforts were being
recognized by the larger community as exemplary. As might be expected, for the majority of
these individuals, when attention was brought to their dedication, they would sheepishly accept
the praise because, to them, they were simply being Welsh. Despite one’s primary sphere of
Welshness, most anyone could be an organizational representative on behalf of the more macro
scale of the network. What was more important for these positions was the person’s individual
connections and situational timing. This indicates that, while anyone could rise to a position of
centrality within the macro organizational scale of the network, this positioning was not
necessarily linked to community exemplar status or centrality on the micro, individual
scale. What follows is a similar public/private breakdown, but relative to the organizations
involved in the Welsh heritage network.
Heritage Supporting versus Heritage Doing

A similar, albeit far too simplistic, division reflective of that mentioned above also took place relative to the organizational nodes within the heritage network. Similar to network actors who either performed or were Welsh, organizational nodes could roughly be grouped into two categories: those that were prominent and highly regarded as supporting Welsh heritage versus those involved in the doing of Welsh heritage preservation through on-the-ground efforts. Though the term heritage conservation was only mentioned once throughout my interviews, many of my informants did speculate about the best way(s) in which to maintain Welsh Patagonian heritage. Several individuals echoed the future of Welsh heritage was directly linked to the preservation of the language, and the preservation of the language could only be accomplished through the schools. Indirectly, the majority of the community members articulated the centrality of the schools in the Welsh heritage network they envisioned, and yet the schools were not heavily linked to the more prominent heritage associations in their respective areas. Nor did the teachers of the schools receive the level of public appreciation and recognition for the efforts that everyone generally acknowledged were critical for ensuring Welsh was taught to and being spoken by the younger generations.

Two of the schools, Ysgol y Hendre in Trelew, and Coleg Camwy in Gaiman, were each directed by a board of parents and other stakeholders in the Welsh Patagonian community, Cylch Cymraeg and Asociación Galesa de Educación y Cultura Camwy de Gaiman, respectively. While Asociacion Camwy was strongly linked to the Department of Culture in Gaiman, Cylch Cymraeg was less connected to the heritage association in Trelew, San David. Ysgol y Cwm in Trevelin was linked to Patagonia Celtica, but not directly linked to any other organizations. The description of these nodes relative to other, more prominent nodes in the
network, is helpful in order to understand the layering of the macro scale of the network; however, this organizational dimension is just one that the overall network supports and cannot be separated from the individual, or more micro scale. In this sense, the personal connections of the individuals working with and volunteering for these respective organizations became increasingly important and consequential for the degree of embeddedness of the organization. These network dynamics substantiate an earlier claim that some network organizations, while highly visible and significant for facilitating connections between individuals were often not responsible for the doing of heritage. While the organizational connections of some nodes ran very deep, these organizations may have done little in the daily practice of Welshness. The organizations that actually coordinated and administered the activities to preserve Welsh language and culture in Patagonia were those less deeply embedded.

In part, one potential reason why the schools had not become the hubs, or more significant nodes, in the network lies in the fact that structurally they were intermediate zones of Welsh practice. That is, while the schools taught Welsh language and the occasional additional subject (like math or science) in Welsh, they were still responsible for teaching the standard provincial curriculum in Spanish, as well as the required English classes. Therefore, the focus was not entirely on Welsh or Welshness. In addition, because each of the Welsh schools was private, attendance was linked to the ability to afford such schooling. Due to the reputation of a higher standard of education at private schools, families with means—both Welsh descendants and non—sent their children to these schools if they were able to afford them. In many of these cases, the decision for families to send their children to these schools was less about the Welsh component and more about the all-around experience. These selection processes are another mechanism by which Welshness is made more exclusive. In this way, while Welsh heritage is in
part a community resource for select members to access, it also becomes diluted because members of the community without specific or direct interest in Welshness participate in activities but without any aspirations of becoming Welsh exemplars. Therefore, the schools, while serving a fundamental role in language preservation, were also sites where the true nature of commitment of all those that were participating in the language activities was murky.

The Welsh heritage associations, hosted by each town, on the other hand, while serving a easily identifiable role as far as the attribution of specific task fulfillment, were fundamental linkages in the preservation of Welsh heritage in Patagonia because they served as the venues of dialogue for event hosting and sponsorship as well as the means through which Welsh tourists and other groups would become connected to individual community members who would host them or help support their endeavors while they were in country. As such, the roles these heritage organizations take on are more overtly public in nature, and these individual Welsh associations do a lot to promote Welsh heritage and identity, but the mechanisms they used to do so are less formalized and tangible than those used for Welsh language instruction of the schools. Thus, the heritage associations can roughly be defined as those that support heritage, whereas the schools, and likewise the chapels, are defined by doing the work of heritage maintenance.

In a similar fashion to the schools, the chapels also had a more articulable role in Welsh heritage maintenance. The chapels offered a physical location where the community members, some Welsh speakers and some non-, could come together and connect with one another through Welsh traditions. Alberto expressed to me the social value of events such as these because, as he stated, “...people socialize in Argentina, but they do it less...” (Personal Interview. X November 2018). These services, as Alberto conceived of them, simultaneously served as socializing opportunities, in addition to their heritage maintenance functions. The regularizing of these
services has enabled a routineness to being Welsh. Due to the way the valley was parceled and settled, the Welsh descendant families in the valley still primarily associate with their family’s chapel. Yet, events like the gymanfa ganu services that rotate to different chapels throughout the valley ensure that the remaining patrons of each chapel are connecting with these smaller community subdivisions between chapels. Due to their positioning in the network, the chapels provided the venue for the more organic version of Welshness to be maintained, in contrast to the contrived and heavily network-facilitated public version. In consequence, those who attended the events at the chapels, and likewise those hosted by the schools, were more likely to spend the majority of their time and efforts celebrating Welshness in the private sphere. Conversely, those who were, as Flor determined, the active community members were unlikely to attend the services or school events unless endorsed by the Welsh heritage network. The above sections have outlined the ways in which the Welsh heritage network has precipitated divisions within the community and the ways in which Welshness is practiced in different spheres. The following section will begin to outline how these divisions result in the diffusion of principally language-based ideologies that, themselves, are at times contradictory to the mission of the network. These ideologies, of course, cannot be separated from the people who espouse them, and thus the following section will emphasize the role of the Welsh teachers that come to Patagonia through the Welsh Language Project in the diffusion of ideologies about Welshness.

**Welsh Language Ideologies in Patagonia**

In Wales, language ideologies have fallen on class lines, though not always very neatly. The unintended consequences of language revitalization efforts have led to inter-language hierarchies. In Wales, this has resulted in lower class speakers who, if they are Welsh speakers, have had more limited access to social and public resources, and are generally
associated with speaking a less prestigious form of Welsh. This form of Welsh does not carry the same linguistic capital as does the more formalized, academic Welsh that one might learn in the school system. Academic Welsh is more prestigious, and deemed to be the most important form of Welsh for official and institutionalized revitalization efforts. Those who speak the less prestigious version of Welsh, or no Welsh at all, and who may be from one of the many impoverished, post-industrial regions of Wales, typically deem English the only important language in official contexts (Madoc-Jones et al. 2013). Elements of this hierarchy have been transferred to Patagonia, through the individual actors and organizational messaging from the nodes in the Welsh heritage network. Namely, the more prestigious or proper forms of Welsh are those taught within the community.

The Welsh Patagonian community’s own dialect has also been constructed, through this framework, as an “old fashioned” (Personal Interview. 5 Sept. 2015) form of Welsh, because it has been conceptualized as unchanging throughout the period since the Welsh landed in Puerto Madryn. In addition to these frames, an additional language hierarchy exists in Welsh Patagonia, but between Welsh and Spanish. In this community, Spanish is not considered acceptable for endorsed ceremonial Welsh events and activities. It is considered the necessary language of exchange for almost all activities outside of those expressly Welsh. Therefore, speaking Welsh in Patagonia, among community members, carries extreme prestige and social capital within certain community events. For many members of the community—especially those more active in the public heritage sphere—you are not truly Welsh unless you speak the language (even if you do not have direct Welsh lineage). This perspective mirrors trends in Wales where foreigners who speak Welsh are, in some particularly nationalist circles, valued more highly and considered more Welsh than those who do not speak Welsh but who were born in Wales and
whose ancestors come from Wales (Madoc-Jones et al. 2013). Consequently, some Welsh Patagonian community members believe that even those who are not of Welsh descent can, by learning the language, become more Welsh than direct Welsh Argentinian descendants who do not speak Welsh. In this way, Welsh language ideologies of the homeland have been carried to Argentina, through the transnational ties, but have been adapted for the Chubut context, as has been discussed at length throughout this and previous chapters.

These language ideologies became increasingly apparent to me throughout my time in Patagonia. Before entering the field, I felt it best to build my Spanish capacity, while not putting in as much effort to maintain my Welsh, because I assumed the majority of my interactions would be in Spanish. However, at least to the very public-facing Welsh Patagonian community, the more visible of the two coexisting Welsh communities, not speaking Welsh to a high degree of fluency was a liability. In fact, Welsh speakers were clearly valued more highly among the public Gaiman community than the private community. This became apparent to me when young people from Wales would come to visit the community on short, fortnight-length stays. Those who spoke Welsh fluently were openly received and warmly welcomed by the members of the public Gaiman community who were seeking exemplar status. That is, those in the community aiming to be the most Welsh actively sought out and favored Welsh speaking visitors. In most cases, their perception was that, if they were associating with Welsh visitors, they themselves must practically be Welsh. These individuals subscribed to the ideology that, in order to be considered Welsh, you had to speak Welsh. In more than a few cases, these same individuals were not of Welsh descent themselves, but had become involved in community efforts as a mechanism for social climbing. The subsequent impact of this very limiting approach to Welsh language competency was that it forced some Welsh to experience their own
emotional qualms about the Welsh language, their abilities to speak it, and what it means to be a Welsh speaker (though Welshness itself was not in question) in the homeland, and now in Patagonia.

Due to the influx of Welsh primary schools in recent generations, there are now Welsh Patagonian learners and speakers who did not learn Welsh as their first-language, but have become fluent through their schooling. Some Welsh national visitors to Patagonia, like Sandra, were apprehensive about their own Welsh abilities in comparison to those of the Patagonian community members. Sandra, for example, had the perception that the majority of the community was learning Welsh at home and, comparatively, would have had more skills to speak the language at a comparable age than she had. Sandra was afraid that she might be ‘found out’ for not being a proper Welsh speaker, meaning being a Welsh first-language speaker. Given the volunteer work that Sandra was in the community to do, as one of the two university students traveling around Patagonia for three weeks to support the Welsh teachers in the various schools throughout the province, Sandra felt her Welsh was not going to be sufficient enough to interact with the, “native speakers of Patagonia” (Personal Interview. 19 July 2018). Sandra quickly learned, however, that her skills not only far exceeded what she needed to fulfill the expectations of her scholarship, not even the fluent speakers in the community could detect a difference in her accent versus anyone else from Wales that visited the Patagonian community.

I met another student studying Welsh Patagonian heritage who was Welsh by birth and grew up in Wales, but was from an English-speaking family. She did not speak Welsh, nor did she attend a Welsh medium school. She did speak Spanish, but this was not considered good enough coming from her, considering her Welsh ancestry. I was fortunate in that, though I am of Welsh descent, I was born and raised in the United States and got a ‘pass’ for not speaking
Welsh fluently. In fact, it was not necessarily expected that I spoke Welsh at all, though my limited ability presented me with some additional clout. Spanish as my language of choice was much more expected and unsurprising. Lilly ended up very resentful of the Welsh Patagonian community, and was very frustrated that she did not, by community standards, pass as Welsh. This was most frustrating for her because it forced her to question her own identity, and what it meant to be a Welsh person, but according to the diaspora.

In actuality, there are fewer and fewer Welsh first-language speakers in Patagonia with every generation. There are distinct generational lines where Welsh ceased to be the language of the home and, despite efforts to teach elementary school students, very few excel at Welsh to the point of fluency. Even fewer have opportunities to speak Welsh in their daily lives. Every Welsh first-language speaker I met was in their fifties or older. The presence of these beliefs from Welsh nationals that there is an abundance of Welsh speakers in Patagonia, however, signifies that there are some inaccurate perspectives about the Welsh community in Patagonia floating around Wales. The Welsh heritage network has been complicit in supplying these narratives, notably through the Welsh media, when Welsh visitors return to Wales and recount stories of their often very crafted experiences in Patagonia.

In practice, most Welsh Patagonian Welsh speakers (L1 or L2) could not hear or distinguish the difference in accent or grammar from a school-aged learner versus a native speaker from Wales. This speaks equally as much about value of the language as it does about

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22 A group of Welsh nationals, including some celebrities, participated in the Velindre Cancer Center charity trek in Trevelin in 2015. I participated in the trek, as did members of the Andean Welsh Patagonian community. One of my good friends, and a Welsh descendant, expressed his frustration with this particular event, and the Welsh nationals who participated, because they spoke more with me than they did with him. They asked questions about my research and my perceptions of the community. And yet, right there hiking with them, there was a younger Welsh Patagonian with whom they could have inquired (he was a fluent English speaker) similar questions about his experience being Welsh Patagonian. He said to me after that, “...they don’t even want to talk to real Welsh Patagonians. I’m right here! But no, they just want to say they went to Welsh Patagonia” (Personal Interview. 25 November 2015).
the degree of competency and particular dialect of the Welsh Patagonian. That is to say, Welsh speaking Argentinians were willing to overlook grammatical and accent differences and simply acknowledge fluent speakers, affirming the role of language squarely among Welsh values. Patagonian learners, while highly valued as seen through the constant emphasis on the importance of learning Welsh, were recognized as an important component of the community, and often acknowledged for their efforts. However, these efforts did not afford community members the same amount of prestige that being fluent and the ability to converse with native speakers from Wales held. This reaffirms the measure of speaking Welsh with a high degree of competency as an exemplary characteristic.

For a select few Welsh Patagonian community members, the inability to speak the Welsh language fluently was not a hindrance to obtaining a higher status. Granted, I only saw a handful of such examples, and those who were not able to speak Welsh and yet were still able to obtain relative positions of power within the Welsh community were notable exceptions. Given the social constraints on particular Welsh identifying features vis-a-vis the Welsh heritage network, the fact that this mobility within the network was even a possibility was striking. In fact, in the instances when this occurred, there was an undeniable gendered component. In these cases, the community member was most typically a middle aged male, of Welsh descent, and had obtained a position as the leader of a Welsh cultural heritage organization. These men also had careers outside of the association, and were able to bring social capital from their professions to the leadership position within the heritage organizations. As referenced in Chapter 2, these positions largely represented nothing more than figureheads on behalf of the organization. The true work, in the form of hosting guests from Wales, coordinating events, and doing outreach, came from the committee of actors volunteering on behalf of the organization. When it came to the actual
hosting of and meeting with the Welsh visitors, it was the Welsh speakers who were called to the table to show these visitors an *authentic* experience, regardless of their title(s) within one of the various heritage associations. Again, we circle back to the importance of the Welsh language as not only one of, if not *the*, most highly valued characteristics of Welsh Patagonian community participation, but as an important tool for exchanging and recirculating Welsh national values throughout the network. The most instrumental organizational node in creating the ideological and value laden feedback loop of the Welsh heritage network was undoubtedly the Welsh Language Project, making the individual teachers the primary vectors of such ideologies to the community. I will go into detail about the project in the following section.

**The Heritage Network and Diffusion of Ideology**

Perspectives surrounding the language are highly variable across the nation of Wales, but these ideologies interplay directly with those on Welsh nationalism more broadly. The intricacies of such ideologies influence prospective Welsh teachers even before they have left Wales for Patagonia. For many of these individuals, a strong sense of nationalism is accompanied by a desire to spread and strengthen the virtues of Welsh nation—language being not the least of which. With similar variation, the awareness of and perceived importance of the Patagonian community to the Welsh national community also varies by region. Consequently, students will typically come from regions in Wales where, for whatever reason, the Patagonian diaspora held a more significant place in the community imaginary. In Aberystwyth, a university town in west Wales, the Welsh community is Patagonia is highly significant, even though only a few of the original settlers were from that area. The presence of the Wales-Argentina Society most certainly helps foster this sentiment. Likewise, in towns that had included the colony as part of the school’s curriculum, or where families had direct connections to relatives in
Patagonia, the colony was more familiar to residents. In other areas, conversely, the Welsh Patagonian community might be known about, but was considered a relic of the past and did not hold much in the way of contemporary meaning or impact on people’s daily lives. In still other locations, the Welsh Patagonian community was wholly unfamiliar. It seemed to me that, in communities in Wales where there was strong support for the diaspora, these same communities used the diaspora as a means to substantiate their own Welshness. Though this was not the focus of my research, it did seem anecdotally and preliminarily the case that for intermediate zones, or zones where there were mixtures of both Welsh and non-Welsh speaking communities in one locality (like Cardiff, or the Midlands, for example), the diaspora was more familiar. In other regions (like the north, or the southern valley towns, conversely), the diaspora was not spoken about to any great extent because, in these regions, Welsh identity was less in flux due to a greater degree of community homogeneity. Thus, Welsh knowledge of its diaspora is as varied as opinions on what it means to be Welsh in the first place.

Institutions heavily influence Welsh heritage in Argentina not only due to their scope of work, but more importantly, because of who is representing or working on behalf of the organization. In this way, teachers are responsible for either maintenance or decline of participation in Welsh language events. The ideologies the Welsh teachers personally hold, as alluded to previously, have huge implications for the view on and usage of the Welsh language in the Patagonian community. In some cases, a staunch nationalism led teachers to refuse to learn Spanish and only use Welsh as their language of exchange, even to Argentinians outside of the Welsh community. I witnessed one such event with a Welsh teacher living in the Andes community. We went for coffee and she placed her order in Welsh. The waiter, unsurprisingly, did not understand, and she became frustrated that he was not ‘getting it.’ She expressed to me
that she felt, “everyone in Esquel and Trevelin should speak Welsh” (Personal Interview. 24 November 2015). It is unclear whether she was taking such a hard stance because she knew that I was researching Welshness in Patagonia, or if, indeed, she truly felt so strongly. Regardless, the consequences on non-Welsh community members were the same in that, rather than acting as a motivator to inspire non-Welsh community members to learn the language, such behavior dissuades those who might have been curious from exploring the language any further. In this way, teachers who adopted similar perspectives were fostering an exclusivist and exclusionary position that has, in the past, discouraged increased participation in Welsh community activities by non-Welsh community members.

A related trend is that, because the role of the Welsh teachers is to do just that--to teach Welsh--they were told before leaving Wales that Spanish was not a requirement to teach in Patagonia and, in fact, it was not even recommended. The idea was that if the teacher only spoke Welsh, pupils would learn Welsh more quickly. Another one of the teachers with whom I spoke said that, though she had learned Spanish after having lived in Argentina for three years, she often pretended not to speak Spanish because she felt the students were, “...lazy and would not try if they knew” (Personal Interview. 5 Sept. 2015). This sentiment was problematic, and a thread of the same tapestry of ideologies surrounding Welsh language learning as applied to the conditions under which Welsh learning must take place in order that the teachers could be most effective. On the opposing side of these views, there were also teachers who, due to their tenure in the position or their pure desire, learned Spanish and communicated in both Welsh and Spanish in the classroom, relative to their students’ needs. However, this approach has received some criticism, by other teachers and community members alike, because of the aforementioned ideology surrounding speaking Spanish in the classroom. To my knowledge, no formal
evaluations on student outcomes have been done to determine the most effective approach as far as actual language learning is concerned, but with regard to the Welsh Language Project classes where adults make the choice to attend, or not, the teachers who were better able to meet their students where they were, in regard to their Welsh competency and confidence in speaking, tended to have fuller classrooms and more receptive students, from my experiences.

Like the teachers involved in the Welsh language project on the Chubut side, those who served as the institutional representatives for the project in Wales also had a strong role in affecting Welsh heritage, language instruction, and emotional investment in Patagonia. Several of my informants, either teachers or local representatives that worked with the Welsh Language Project, expressed that the most recent head of the Welsh Language Project on the Wales side was committed to the project generally, but largely ‘played by the rules’ of the British Council—a large, bureaucratic institution—which resulted in few programmatic or funding changes for the project while he was in the position. While the project functions in the most basic sense, the initial idea behind the project was that it would be started by the British Council, but that the local communities in Chubut would create the sustainability plan for the project’s longevity. Given that the local communities are also short on monies, the British Council has continued to fund the project since 1997. Unfortunately, however, the budget has not significantly increased since the project’s inception, and so the teachers are very limited in their ability to reach more diverse groups, as such outreach would require additional resources.

**The Status of Welsh Language Learning in Chubut**

I will use the following section to capture the distinctions between language instruction efforts in Argentina and Wales in order to provide insight into the perceptions and, in some cases, misperceptions, surrounding language usage and maintenance in each nation. In my
experience, those who attended Welsh classes in Patagonia were typically those with some degree of Welsh ancestry who were curious to experience their roots, teachers and aides in the Welsh-medium primary schools, or local individuals simply curious to learn. Of the half dozen classes offered, only one was a speaking class specifically designed to assist those who grew up speaking Welsh or those who had learned with a degree of fluency to be able to converse around selected topics each week. This was, in my experience, the most promising class as far as Welsh language instruction and maintenance was concerned. The weekly class provided a controlled environment where students could ensure they would be able to speak Welsh with native speakers. The lesson plan tended to be much more freeform, as well, which encouraged open conversation, as opposed to the scripted, text-based recitation activities used in the lower-level courses.

The reality, however, for the lower level classes was that, with the infrequency of meeting times, routine absences, and simply a lack of engaging curriculum and resources put into instruction, most of the learners starting from a place of little to no previous Welsh language knowledge or experience will likely never become fluent or even highly proficient in the language. Regrettably, the nature of instruction was not conducive to high degrees of competency with the language, unless you were one of the individuals raised in an environment where you had access to the Welsh language from an early age. In contrast, Welsh instructional curriculum in Wales has been somewhat standardized and many universities and language programs offer intensive, highly structured, and varying term length courses to meet the needs of individuals with differing lifestyles. Such courses have not caught on in Argentina as they have in Wales. Likewise, the teachers in Argentina only have access to older version of Welsh language curricula that is no longer used in the homeland. That is to say, as Welsh pedagogical
strategies improve and are disseminated throughout the homeland, these materials and resources do not reach Chubut, or if they do, there is significant lag. Furthermore, the locations and times where one can learn Welsh in Patagonia are relatively few and far between, so if Welsh learning does not fit into your agenda for a given period of time, you will likely not be able to continue lessons or your learning will result in large gaps of classroom engagement and the need for extensive review.

In Wales, in distinct contrast, classes are offered routinely, for all different levels, starting at various points throughout the year, and in various cities and towns across the nation. In addition, one has the option of attending a plethora of intensive courses during holidays, summer vacation, and similar break periods during the academic year. Significantly more resources are put into providing student-friendly class schedules in order that the majority of students interested can attend classes. In this way, one of the major divergences between Argentina and Wales is that classes in Argentina are by and large under the control of the instructor whereas, in Wales, the courses are very much student dictated. One of the Welsh teachers, while I was in Chubut, attempted a week long intensive course in the Andes during winter break. The course was fairly well attended, and students seemed very pleased with this format, but expressed that such a structure would only be functional for particular times of the year. The teachers in the valley did not seem as keen to offer a similarly structured course, despite its high likelihood for success. Unsurprisingly, if Welsh language investment is the gauge by which to measure the success of language revitalization efforts, then the homeland is far exceeding the diaspora, and the payout has been much greater. While Welsh learning in Argentina has received a lot of publicity, in large part due to the novelty, the success rates of these efforts are understandably much lower.
As I learned throughout my various trips to Wales, in addition to attending Welsh classes and with other Welsh learners, there remain strong divides in Wales about whether or not the government should invest such resources into Welsh language maintenance. Those in opposition to such spending typically argue that Welsh is a dying language, and therefore it is not fiscally responsible to continue funding such endeavors. Many of these individuals would argue that money put toward Welsh instruction is a waste, especially because the language is minimally used outside of Wales. Some people hold additional animosity toward the fact that the government not only spends resources on Welsh language efforts in Wales, it also allocates funds for these efforts in Argentina. This same faction of people would argue that there are many more worthwhile causes that would support the Welsh people and that language maintenance does not have practical benefits in the same way that money being put toward the variety of social and economic concerns in Wales might have.

The proponents of the financial support for the Welsh Patagonian community argue that the spending is justified because it helps to elevate the status of the language. An associated perspective is that, if Wales promotes the Welsh brand, and this is bolstered by its thriving, Welsh speaking diaspora, the nation can elevate its status within Europe more generally. Thus, the Welsh heritage network facilitates the productive use of heritage, in its persistent effort to elevate Welsh Patagonian heritage as a means to elevate itself, principally through language revitalization efforts. The fact that Welsh heritage has endured 150 years in a far-away place that is in itself a distinct contrast to the homeland has enabled pro-language Welsh nationalists to utilize and leverage Welsh language efforts in Argentina to forward their domestic Welsh goals. The following chapter will delve into the nuances of being a Welsh Patagonian exemplar, and the ways the network facilitates these roles.
REFLECTION FROM THE FIELD

I had heard of Alice long before I ever met her. I was first directed to get in contact with Alice through a Welsh tour operator to whom I had reached out through his website. Marc owned and operated a tour company that ran Welsh-themed tours to Patagonia, in addition to other destinations. Marc was married to a (non-Welsh) Patagonian woman, and so the idea to offer tours throughout her homeland, while simultaneously offering tours for Welsh nationals interested in visiting the diaspora, seemed to make perfect sense. I had spoken with Marc via Skype early on during my time in the field. Given his familiarity with the community after having run the Welsh Patagonia tours for the last 7 years, I had asked Marc whom might be helpful to speak with in the Welsh community. First, and foremost, he mentioned that I needed to speak to the “queen of Gaiman,” Alice (Personal Interview. 15 June 2015). Now, at the time, I had no frame of reference for who Alice was, nor the role in the community she held. It was not until several months into my research that I realized how apt Marc’s title for Alice truly was. More importantly, I did not yet realize how Alice’s participation in Welshness was now the standard for exemplary Welsh Patagonian community membership.

When I first had the pleasure of meeting Alice in person, I was intimidated beyond explanation. Not only had this person been built up through continual reference by all those with whom I inquired, Alice’s personality was one of unapologetic frankness along with a complete and genuine fondness for people and the Welsh community. On our first meeting, I arrived at Alice’s house and was instructed to just enter the front door if no one answered the knock. I ended up having to do just that, and found myself walking into one of the oldest houses in Gaiman. I eventually found Alice in the kitchen, and we spoke about my reason for being in Chubut and what I hoped to achieve while I was there. We also discussed Wales, and I was
made privy to a brief family tree of Alice. Alice was a direct descendant of Michael D. Jones, and thus had been performing Welshness for as long as she could remember. She was well connected in the community, and an undeniable resource for all things Welsh Patagonia. She made countless recommendations for others with whom she felt I should speak, as well as other events that she felt I should attend to get a better sense of the community. In essence, Alice knew everybody, and everybody knew Alice.

As I attended the increasing number of events the Welsh community hosted prior to the anniversary festivities, and again prior to the Eisteddfod in November, I had the pleasure of seeing and speaking with Alice on several occasions. In addition to these events, I would also frequently see her in choir. She would invite me over periodically, just to chat, and it turned out that I would be over with increased regularity once I began volunteering at the local museum to work with her son, Alberto. Alice was always keen to hear how my project was going, and how I was liking living in Chubut in general. I expressed a desire to improve my Welsh language skills after my time in Patagonia, and she offered to help me find a Welsh host family to host me and only speak to me in Welsh while I was in Wales. Alice also offered to introduce me to others in the community with whom she felt it would be good for me to speak. In addition to these linkage roles that she filled, she, on several occasions, would drive me to the events that were not reachable by bus. She also offered to help me find new accommodations when I was relocating between the Welsh towns in Chubut. These roles, though typical to some degree of Alice, felt above and beyond her Welsh exemplar role, and more in line with being an exemplar human. Her connectedness definitely made fulfilling this role easier, but her desire to look out for people was an equally strong motivator.
I was not until later in my stay that I began to feel more comfortable around Alice. For several months, I did not want to be a burden on Alice or say the wrong thing or any number of other potential disruptions that I felt I could cause. Several months into my stay in Chubut, a Welsh friend of mine had mentioned that Alice told her how fond she was of me, and that she wanted my research to go favorably. Alice expressed to her that she knew I was self-sufficient, but appreciated when I moved into an apartment owned by one of the Welsh families. This familiarity was one of Alice’s trademark characteristics. If Alice was unsatisfied with an event, or the behavior of a fellow community member, she had no trouble explicitly stating her discontent. She would also be, sometimes painfully, honest when she did not want to attend an event but felt obligated to do so. This candidness, in my experience, added to Alice’s charm, and perhaps her ability to achieve exemplary status. That is, Alice’s participation was genuine and devotional, and this was clear by what she said, or conversely didn’t say, regarding various events. Alice attended Welsh Patagonian community events when and because she felt it was important. This behavior speaks to her commitment to ensuring Welsh preservation in the province. Alice, and her sister alike, had dedicated nearly all their time to the Welsh cause. In fact, prior to her passing, Alice’s sister was perhaps the slightly larger pillar in the community and continued to be considered the community exemplar even after her passing. As it was, Alice’s sister was the one responsible for starting the museum in Gaiman. She carried the torch in regard to formalizing heritage preservation efforts. Alice’s son Alberto, in part by choice and in part by expectation, became the keeper of the museum after his aunt passed.

Alberto’s experience, however, demonstrates that it is not simply the role that one holds that can dictate one’s exemplar status. In fact, it would seem almost automatic that Alberto would also be considered a community exemplar, given his own lineage, and his responsibility in
the community. After witnessing Alberto greet tourists to the museum on several occasions, I could clearly see that he enjoyed socializing with visitors, and detailing some exploits of the Welsh Patagonian history. However, he also explicitly and implicitly expressed his feelings of obligation, and simultaneous frustration, for maintaining the museum. He certainly recognized the value of preserving the countless documents and archival resources housed in the museum, including original letters to and from settlers and their families in the homeland, and yet it never seemed that Alberto wanted to be the one to personally continue this work. Rather, he was expected to do so. His brother, Alice’s other son, was married with children and seemed to be somehow exempt from the obligatory service to the Welsh community. He also seemed to have no desire to be a significant part of the Welsh community, and as such he only attended events sporadically. Alberto, on the other hand, had taught himself Welsh and had completed a lot of research on his own on the Welsh Patagonian settlement, but he did these tasks because they were on his terms and not expressly for the betterment of the community. For these reasons, it was clear that Alberto was not going to be able to reach the same exemplar status that his aunt, or mother for that matter, had achieved. In one sense, he did all the right things, but he did them for reasons that were misaligned with the community values. His reasons were personal and inwardly focused. Those who have reached true exemplar status in the Welsh Patagonian community have done so on behalf and for the betterment of the Welsh Patagonian community at large.
CHAPTER 5: WELSHNESS AS KNOWLEDGE AND THE CREATION OF EXEMPLARS

The Welsh community in Argentina is most accurately described as the Welsh community in Patagonia. While there are Argentinians familiar with the Welsh community who live in other parts of the country (largely due to tourism promotion, as this history is not taught in textbooks outside of the provincial ones\(^{23}\)), these individuals tend to be few and far between. Meanwhile, a majority of the residents in the Chubut province, at least on some level, know about the Welsh community and its role in provincial history. Given the symbolic markers of Welshness throughout the province, in addition to the provincial history curriculum including a section on the Welsh contributions to Chubut\(^{24}\), this knowledge comes as little surprise. Graham notes that heritage is defined by “....geographical imagery, memory and myth” and that landscapes and physical localities become the staging areas for cultural performances that perpetuate these myths as they relate to the heritage of a particular place (2002, 1008). For the Welsh community in Patagonia, the interpretation of provincial history as specifically Welsh history has credited the community with settling and modernizing the Chubut. Regionally based authority is given to these claims through the support of the provincial and local governments, but largely facilitated by the connections Welsh Patagonians and Welsh nationals have forged through the Welsh heritage network. These connections are important because bring in needed resources and international exposure to the region through tourism and British media. The Welsh national community, and accompanying ideals of autonomy, nationalism, and language preservation, serve as a backdrop to Welsh heritage activities in Patagonia. Network actors in

\(^{23}\) The most recent history textbooks now include an extensive section describing the Welsh legacy, while minimizing the Indigenous contributions (Williams 2012).

\(^{24}\) One of my informants noted that the most recent history text, *Chubut: Mi Provincia*, has an extensive section on Welsh history in the province.
Patagonia, similarly, navigate the local social structures that the network has created, and so their individual positioning within the network becomes tied to not only their individual actions, but, equally as important, how these efforts are received by the public and private spheres of the network and through the system of values that the network espouses. Following, I expose some key parallels between the public and private spheres of Welshness defined in Chapter 4 and the idea of the internal and external knowledge-based heritage city. I then expound upon the ways that, for some individuals, the network creates more fluid categories between which select actors can move, before highlighting the network’s true exemplars.

The Knowledge-based Network and Welshness

In recent years, the notion of the knowledge-based city has proliferated throughout scholarly literature, notably in the fields of economics, business, and development. The knowledge-based city concept is a simple one in that it presupposes financially prosperous cities, if those cities are populated by individuals from knowledge-based fields and industries such as academic institutions, science and technology firms, social justice entities, consulting firms, and so forth (Chen and Choi 2004). According to scholars, these elements, along with the infusion of creativity and innovation, and fused with opportunities for design, development, and experimentation, create the conditions for successful networks that lead to positive economic gains for the city in question. Chen and Choi explore the idea of the knowledge-based city as it relates to the flow of science and technology knowledge, specifically tacit knowledge. They discovered a particular set of conditions was necessary in order to optimally facilitate the flow of knowledge between relevant stakeholders. In their model, they determined that the geographic locale was the location where the primary interactions of the network took place, the “local knowledge center,” as they termed it (Chen and Choi 2004, 78). Similarly, the “production
“centers” were the physical locations where, in the case of their study, the actual products were produced (Chen and Choi 2004, 78). In addition, they identified the transnational flow of knowledge in the form of people moving between nations, and bringing and receiving knowledge with each exchange. While Chen and Choi’s (2004) model is intended to capture the flow of scientific information for the production of tangible technologies, this model is an apt characterization of the transnational Welsh heritage network, and broadly speaking, facilitates patterns that mirror tacit knowledge exchange. Rather than knowledge in a strict sense, that which is exchanged through the Welsh heritage network is ideology, and these ideologies shape the perceptions of Welsh values and how network actors are able to, or not in many cases, achieve exemplar status.

Applying Chen and Choi’s model to the Welsh heritage network allows for a fairly straightforward, one to one mapping. Generally speaking, in Welsh Patagonia, Chubut and the Welsh heritage dominated towns serve as the local knowledge centers—the primary location where the transfer of Welsh ideologies takes place. In addition, however, and fueled by the increase in web-based communities, the internet has likewise served as a knowledge center where ideologies are exchanged through blogs, online forums, dedicated social media pages, and related websites. The production facilities are, in the case of Welsh Patagonia, the actual spaces and places where performing Welshness and being Welsh are made possible. These facilities take the form of events, Welsh classes, social gatherings, and other associated physical locations where the Welsh Patagonian community gathers to perform Welshness. The transnational exchange component comes in the form of physical exchange of people between Wales and Welsh Patagonia, whether this is through tourism, visiting family and friends in the homeland and/or diaspora, organizational trips by the groups mentioned in previous chapters. These
physical exchanges, as well as the subsequent web and media based exchanges, enable the tacit exchange of values surrounding Welshness and Welsh ways of being, moving both into and out of the homeland and the diaspora.

**Heritage and External/Internal Cities**

Brian Graham builds on the idea of the knowledge-based city, and applies a particularly heritage-focused lens to the concept. Graham importantly contributes the fact that knowledge-based cities, when spoken about at any given point in time, are themselves temporally- and contextually-based. That is to say, cities arose out of historical legacies and thus, temporal and historical contexts are important for more properly situating knowledge-based cities within a region, or the context of a larger nation. That is to say, then, cities or localities where heritage production and performance are taking place cannot be divorced from the forces of society and nationalism that have shaped or enabled such localities to come into being. In this sense, the locality, both physical and conceptual, is Welsh Patagonia, and in between the locality and the nation (the homeland of Wales and all the associated forms of nationalism) operates the transnational Welsh heritage network where value-laden ideologies on ways of being Welsh are communicated, shared, adapted, and diffused. In turn, network actors respond and adapt their behavior in both the internal and external cities, paralleling the public and private spheres where Welshness operates.

Graham continues by defining the external city as the location where heritage is practically used for economic and cultural purposes. Most straightforwardly, these are typically tourism and heritage destinations where industries have arisen out of the ability to gain economic, and often social, capital through the commodification of cultural heritage—both tangible, things like artifacts and architecture, and intangible, such as language and other forms
of more commercialized cultural performance. Internal cities, in contrast, are characterized by the daily expression of heritage, but with nationalism operating in the background. As opposed to the external city, which supports more monolithic forms of heritage performance, the internal city allows for greater diversity in not only the ways by which heritage is expressed, but also the types of heritage that are actually being performed (Graham 2002). Following, I will tease apart Graham’s theorization of the knowledge-based heritage locality as it relates to Welsh Patagonia, and explore the ways the network motivates actors to participate in Welshness. Though easily situated within this framework initially, the accounting for the role of the Welsh heritage network complicates the ways in which Welshness is expressed publicly and privately, and makes less defined the lines that separate Graham’s internal and external cities as they are applied to the Welsh case.

External and Internal Welshness

The external city, as Graham sees it, is defined by the institutions that have the power to shape how group identity is displayed through heritage. That is, these are the outward facing entities, physical structures, monuments, markers on the landscape, and so forth that, together, often promote a singular form of heritage. At the moment, presenting a unified version of Welshness is easier to do in Argentina than Wales, given the novelty of this particular cultural tradition in Argentina, and the scale of promotion throughout Chubut, as opposed to the entire nation of Wales. The town and city tourism departments in Patagonia offer various Welsh circuits that tourists can visit. In towns like Trelew, Gaiman, and Trevelin, there are signs and historical markers, in Welsh and Spanish, where tourists and townspeople alike are constantly reminded of the area’s Welsh roots. Additionally, the provincial and local governments occasionally support Welsh themed events that are deemed likely to draw significant community
support and attendance. Thus, the Welsh Patagonian community, through heritage and tourism, is constantly reminded that provincial heritage indeed belongs to them.

One striking consequence of heritage tourism development that is readily apparent is the separation of space between the heritage city and the remainder. While Welsh monuments, placards, street names, and tourism entities are somewhat dispersed throughout the Welsh towns, other main attractions, such as the tea houses, gift shops, and historic buildings, tend to be around the central squares. Even in Gaiman, the ancestral homes of many members of the descendant community are situated within and around the central area of town. Spatially, this makes sense because the Welsh established the town and thus, the Welsh roots are visible in its layout. Yet, contemporarily and as Gaiman, and Patagonia more generally, increases in population, there is now an area referred to as ‘new’ Gaiman. Old Gaiman, naturally, refers to the more historic, Welsh area of town. New Gaiman, in contrast, is characterized by quickly erected, irregular housing structures that are now home to many of the ethnic minority communities relocating to Patagonia, namely the Bolivian population, but also members of the Indigenous community. What is more is that ‘new’ Gaiman and ‘old’ Gaiman are also physically separated by a large hill on the western side of what was the historical town boundary. New Gaiman was erected beyond this hill and, when entering the town from the west, one is initially confronted with a visibly impoverished area and then, following the one connecting road between the two parts of town, after a bend to the left and around the hill, old Gaiman appears in stark contrast. It is clear that efforts to maintain the visual appearance of old Gaiman are pointed and ongoing. And, yet, the tourists who come to Gaiman typically come from the east and are able to avoid ever even learning about new Gaiman. The neighboring city of Trelew, while much bigger, possesses a similar spatial division between the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ parts of town.
(designations repeatedly expressed to me by my informants). This division, while equally striking, is obviously a consequence of much larger economic and structural practices that created such physical divisions. Yet, as in Gaiman, the Welsh monuments and community members are not found in the ‘bad’ area of Trelew.

When it comes to the rural zones immediately outside the town boundaries, however, the lines between the ethnic communities are blurring. While the chacras and small farms remain largely owned by Welsh descendant families, the land is often now worked by a majorly migrant labor force that typically stays on the property, something akin to tenant farming. The increasing presence, and now co-existence, of non-Welsh ancestry groups, in some ways acts as a contestation to the Welsh-only Chubut narrative. In Chubut, the majority of the heritage landscape provides a testament to the Welsh. Indigenous heritage markers, if present at all, are few and far between, and supplementary in nature, rather than serving as the focal point. Currently, there is nothing commemorating Bolivian contributions to Patagonia, and such developments are unlikely to occur for quite some time given the newness of the community’s presence in Patagonia.

In contrast to the authorized forms of heritage represented in the external city, the internal city allows for more nuanced forms of practicing heritage. It is, one could say, the heritage of the mind--the ways that its practitioners conceptualize a particular heritage. Within the internal city framework Graham identified, there can be a multiplicity of forms that heritage practice

25 Since the 1990s, Argentina as a whole has experienced significant Bolivian migration, due to the availability of jobs. This is especially true in Patagonia where, since the 90s, cities in the region have been expanding with jobs in construction, and since the 2000s, post the economic collapse with proliferating jobs in manufacture and even oil. Estimates say that 9.5 percent of those residing in Argentina are Bolivian or of Bolivian descent. In Patagonia, more specifically, approximately 50,000 Bolivians are now residing in the area, which is a figure close to that which represents the number of individuals with Welsh ancestry. Bolivians in Argentina represent the most sizeable community outside of Bolivia’s own borders (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bolivian_Argentines).
takes. Likewise, the motivations for individuals to participate in heritage acts also vary greatly. That is, while the daily practice of heritage happens on the individual level, it is influenced by the more encompassing structural levels, as well as global discourses. Consequently, as demonstrated by several Welsh Patagonian community members, practitioners are not only performing heritage as a proactive effort to preserve that which has been deemed valuable and worth saving, they often do so as a reactive measure to changing social circumstances outside their control. Hughes and Carlsen contribute that conversations about heritage preservation are frequently premised upon the idea that social and economic factors negatively affect many of our heritage resources (ecological, physical structures, etc.) (2010). Thus, it is no surprise that a few of my informants, namely those more prominent in the public operations of the heritage network, expressed concern that the Bolivian community was growing. Without explicitly stating the nature of the fear, their descriptions all revolved around the fact that they felt, if Welshness was not maintained, it could be overshadowed in the future. One way that some of the Welsh Patagonian community members have gone about distinguishing themselves is through the Welsh language and generally associating more fervently with Welsh heritage activities. The efforts of some of these community members, while their modes of expression fall within the realm of Graham’s external city, their motivations for participation more closely align with the implicit values embedded in the internal city concept. Thus, the changing political, social, and economic conditions have inspired some members of the Welsh Patagonian community to differentiate themselves vis-a-vis changing provincial demographics.

More simply, Welsh heritage, for some community members, has become an adaptive resource to be used in different ways, and catalyzed by different stimuli. Those of the community who expressed fears about the Bolivian community, often responded in very overt
and public methods to visibly reclaim and reassert Welsh ancestry in the region. I would argue that, for the Welsh, such adaptation is certainly being witnessed vis-à-vis the avoidance and relative non-acknowledgement of both Indigenous heritage, and newly present Bolivian community and cultural traditions. In this way, we see that heritage can be a very reactive tool, and one that responds to social pressures in similar ways to other social movements. The outcomes of such responses, of course, are not always favorable or inclusive.

And yet, conversely to heritage as a reactive tool, it can be used proactively too. This has also been demonstrated by the Welsh national community in its persistence to elevate Welsh Patagonian heritage as a means to elevate itself. The fact that Welsh heritage has endured 150 years in a far-away place, in distinct contrast to the homeland, has enabled Welsh nationalists to utilize and leverage the existence of Welsh language learning and cultural celebration in Argentina to forward the discourse of Welsh nationalism in the homeland. The Welsh heritage network enables these various social influences, values, and ideologies, to circulate throughout the network simultaneously, as communicated through the various institutional nodes. Individuals within the network then respond to the value system that has been diffused by adopting, adapting, and reissuing said values through the various layers of the network.

The Network, Values, and the Creation of Exemplars

Graham notes the need for communities to “recreate what could or should have been there but never actually was” (1008). This is nowhere more apparent than in Welsh Patagonia, and again rooted in the rhetoric of the initial nationalistic migratory processes that led to the establishment of the Welsh community just over 150 years ago. The initial formation of the Patagonian settlement was premised on linguistic and cultural freedom—preserving Welsh values and traditions in a location where this could be done unhindered. Though the colony’s
history did not unfold as initially intended, time and again my informants referenced Welsh values when asked to identify what individual participants gain from maintaining Welsh heritage in the region. While economic and political benefits were mentioned by some of my more critical participants, and even then only on a surface level or brief mention, the majority of people with whom I spoke referenced ‘los valores de galeses’. In this way, we see that there is a perceived value system that has been maintained by and within the Welsh community (though it undoubtedly has spread out to the provincial community at large, by demonstrating these values through cultural performances and memorials) that are conceptualized as somehow different and distinct from Argentinian national values.

There are a few ways to interpret this emphasis on values through the frame of the internal city. One is that the Welsh community in Patagonia still envisions itself as unique and distinct from other members of the Argentine national community, though nearly all my participants iterated that they identify as Argentinian. The recalling of a unique heritage and value system allows community members to distinguish themselves from other communities who inhabit the province. The second interpretation could be that these Welsh values are seen as more valuable and worth preserving, relative to the values of not only the Indigenous community who once inhabited the province, but also in comparison to the new Bolivian migrant community that has established itself in the last two decades. There are countless global examples where the presence of new ethnic communities in regions dominated by a certain group for generations leads to intra-group tensions. These tensions can be performed through means of heritage, within the frame of the internal city, but in both the public and private spheres. Therefore, we can see how Welsh heritage is not only being used to remember the past, but to also retool the contemporary Chubut, and more broadly the Welsh national, narrative. Under this premise, then,
it is no surprise that those of the Welsh Patagonian community who more publicly, and on the surface more fervently, celebrated Welsh heritage and appeared to be Welshness’s biggest proponents, were doing so in reactive efforts as much as proactive ones. Their counterparts—the network actors who celebrated Welshness more privately and were more prominent actors within the private subset of network—not only expressed no apprehension about the presence of these communities, two actually expressed a desire to see an elevated heritage presence for these other ancestry groups. Augustina, the daughter of one of the Welsh Patagonian community’s scholars and an author who had published several books on the community, specifically referenced multiculturalism and her desire to see school curriculum encompass all the relevant provincial heritage in order that people would more easily be able to trace their lineages and “construct their own identities” (Personal Interview. 24 July 2015). Alice, in a similar sentiment to Augustina, mentioned that she felt the Bolivian community should create a similar program to the Welsh Language Project, but for teachers from Bolivia to come support the migrant community in order that the children could maintain the heritage and practices from their land of origin.

Morley and Robins argue that with the globalization of power and transnational economy comes the possibility for a resurgence of alternative identities—continental, national, and regional (1995). These changes can spur the development and augmenting of alternative identities seeking to protect what are considered sacred or authentic values. This can lead to a “constellation of cultures” according to Eliot, but very much contradicts the anonymizing and standardizing of large-scale identities (1977, 132). Morley and Robins go on to say that as a contestation to the development of global centers, regions, and their subsequent regionally-based identity groups, are calling into question the spatial order (1995). In this sense, the Welsh Patagonians are, in one way, seeking to solidify ties to one of those global centers (perceived,
Wales), in order to elevate their status as a part of a broader European identity. In another way, though, they are also creating a locally-powerful stronghold in the province. It could be argued that the Welsh Patagonians, rather than experience what Manuel Castells terms a “collective alienation” where “the outer experience is cut off from the inner experience,” the Welsh in Patagonia are in fact trying to reconcile these potential conflicting experiences by reestablishing a more Welsh-rooted way of life in their daily experiences (1983, 7). For some of the community members, there does seem to exist an internal conflict about what it means, and the ability to be Welsh in Patagonia.

More accurately, there is an awareness among some that despite ongoing efforts, Welshness in Patagonia, in one sense, inches further away from its roots every year that passes since the landing in 1865. This temporal distance strikes some community members as an emotional distance as well. This fact is in addition to the fact that the younger generations of those celebrating Welsh heritage is continually shrinking, rather than expanding as would be hoped by some. And yet, at the same time and despite all the factors that inspire questions as to the future of Welsh heritage in Patagonia, Welsh heritage in Wales and Welsh heritage in Patagonia seem to be in their most congruent state since the community began assimilating to Argentinian national culture through more formalized means in the 1880s. Some of the community members who expressed concerns about the future of Welshness were old enough to remember the lack of connections prior to the last 20 years, and did not want to see a similar decline though they acknowledged the likely possibility. Others seemed much more comfortable with the fact that Welsh heritage in Patagonia was something of a fad at the moment. According to Alberto, it became “politically correct” to support the Welsh community in recent years (Personal Interview. 21 Aug. 2015). There was a sense that, though there was political favor at
the moment, if and when a new government takes office, the winds may change and Welsh heritage may not maintain prominence. Lowenthal argues that heritage can be used to “set the record straight” regarding historical or past misgivings (1985, 327). I suggest this is the way in which Chubut heritage is constructed both in the homeland and in Patagonia—as a means to set the Welsh story right by emphasizing the fact that the language and cultural traditions live on in Patagonia, despite historical forced assimilative techniques similar to those experienced in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Additionally, however, the Welsh Patagonian heritage narrative also justifies the prominence and continued prestige and hierarchical valuing of Welsh traditions relative to its, in this schema, lesser Bolivian and Indigenous counterparts.

The presence and particular prestige of Welsh culture and heritage in Argentina is particularly surprising, given the nation of Wales’ own positioning on the international scale. Within Great Britain, the Welsh have actively sought recognition, status, and representation in the form of language access, institutional support, and moves toward home rule. While none of these aspects of civil society resonate with the Welsh Patagonians per se, the lingering presence of these issues in the rhetoric from Wales resonates with the Patagonians in a way that community members still speak of the fortitude and dedication of the Welsh community, all these decades after the initial settlement. With this context, it is clear to see that the lens through which to view the external city that is Welsh Patagonia is through that of recognition on the structural scale. It is clear that the Patagonian community constructs Welshness as more than simply a place of origin or cultural ancestry group. Rather, the Welsh heritage network prescribes the expected behaviors and stances on the external level, which trickles down to the public sphere where these forms of Welshness are often performed. Thus,
the network also creates opportunities for individuals to participate in their own ways of being Welsh and subsequently, for those who achieve this level, to be recognized as exemplars on the internal city level, and most typically within the private sphere. In some senses, network actors navigate the nuances of their socio-political positioning as individuals, through their regional identities, and as members of a diaspora within a larger nation. As network actors, individuals receive the messaging from Wales, but are simultaneously motivated to act based on perspectives gleaned from their own local experiences. This, for many, has translated into what they interpret, relative to the institutionally-based ideologies diffused throughout the network fused with their own interpretations of their surroundings, as the ambiguously defined set of ‘Welsh values.’ Though there is some commonality between the elements of these values that my participants could articulate, there was simultaneously a high level of subjectivity between my informants, because this term came to refer to the collective experience of individuals within the Welsh heritage network relative to their personal experiences in Argentinian society at large.

The Welsh heritage network has provided the mechanism that diffuses and sustains the idea of Welsh values. “These chains [human relationships] branch like lightning bolts, forming intricate patterns throughout human society” (Christakis and Fowler 2009, x). This line captures the essence of social networks in that, depending on the area of inquiry, humans are interconnected exponentially. An important aspect of networks, then, is that while reverberations might be slow, an individual, due to the phenomena above (high degree of connectedness), can have influence and alter the way the network operates and impact the ideologies and values it diffuses. For these reasons, establishing a heritage network—despite motivations for this interest—can be a highly productive tool for maintaining and revitalizing a heritage identity. The productivity, mobilization, and influence of the heritage network is central
to the ways Welsh heritage has gained such prominence in recent decades in Argentina, and why it has, in some ways, silenced the potential for other regional heritages. At the same time, the network has greatly expanded the ability for Patagonians to participate in heritage, far beyond those with direct ancestry, meaning that several community members operate within and between the different levels of the Welsh heritage network. Next, a few of those individuals that operate between the different levels of the network are brought to the fore.

The People and the Internal/External Spaces

As mentioned, the network facilitates the creation of exemplars, by creating the internal and external spaces for individual actors to perform Welshness. While these spaces roughly translate to Flor’s passive and active Gaimans, or to the private and public performance of Welshness as detailed in Chapter 4, the network has also created ambiguity for some. That is, there are individual actors in the network who operate in both private and public spheres. In one sense, these individuals seem to conform to and demonstrate the values that the community professes. And yet, these same individuals also get wrapped up into the fanfare and publicity of some of the larger community events. This publicity, and the demand for such events, is entirely network driven, however, as the Welsh Patagonian community would not have the same following or provincial support was it not for the network and the accompanying resources the network brings.

Tomas and Daniela are two examples of those who do not easily fit within either the public or private spheres, and often bridge the gap between the two. It was also apparent to me that for their family, Tomas and Daniela viewed the celebration of Welshness in the public fora differently for activities that took place in the community versus those in the home. Tomas and Daniela were married, and each came from direct Welsh descendant families. Both Tomas and
Daniela spoke Welsh, and they actually taught their children Welsh as well. In addition, their children had the opportunity to attend the Welsh secondary school in Gaiman. Daniela was currently running the music school in Gaiman, and was involved in all music related activities for the Welsh community, though specifically in Gaiman. The other Welsh towns, Trelew, Puerto Madryn, and Trevelin, had their own choirs and musical groups, and there was an unspoken territoriality among these groups, so overlap between the membership was not typical. Tomas and Daniela’s children were also heavily involved in the music community to the point that, whenever the older daughter would return from university, she would participate in choir and other musical events that were taking place while she was in town. The younger child participated in most all activities and, for her age, was heavily involved in the public Welsh activities in Gaiman. Tomas has extensive local notoriety, and a fair amount in Wales as well, for his singing abilities. He had been asked to record Welsh music in both Argentina and Wales, and had several connections to the homeland. Not to mention, due to both Tomas’ and Daniela’s pedigrees, they had been featured in many of the handful of documentaries and television specials about the community over the years, given their ancestry and intergenerational presence in the community.

I would frequently see Tomas and Daniela in choir, at the music school, and at the various Welsh services. They regularly attended the Welsh services in and around Gaiman, though not always. In many ways, they were committed to the community without question, as was demonstrated through their actions. And yet, most frequently when a group of Welsh visitors was in town, it was Tomas and Daniela that would organize the Welsh services and accompanying events, and who would turn what under normal circumstances would have been an opportunity to be Welsh into a performance of Welshness. Thus, while their motives were
demonstrably toward maintaining the role of Welshness in the region, they seemed to get caught in the more public sphere of the network which, for those seeking an elevated status in this sphere, encouraged individualism and the seeking of opportunities for public recognition. For these reasons, Tomas and Daniela, while operating in both the public and private spheres, and were highly respected by the community, were unable to achieve exemplar status.

Augustina, while on one hand had a similar circumstance to that of Tomas and Daniela, she was much more able to harness the position of community exemplar. Like Tomas and Daniela, Augustina’s family was one of the original Welsh families to arrive in Patagonia. Her father was a well respected community historian, and her family more generally was recognized throughout the community. Augustina, herself, had written a book on the women of the Welsh Patagonian community, and was involved in much of the behind-the-scenes work for activities and organizations, the majority of which were in Gaiman. Augustina had helped to write the curriculum and lesson plans for the primary school, and personally felt that it was important for all children to learn about their heritage, regardless of Welsh ancestry, but likewise, it was good for all children to learn about the history of all groups that represented the region. Thus, she did feel it was important for non-Welsh students to learn about the Welsh legacy and vice versa.

Of all the participants that I would see at the various community events, I saw Augustina at the fewest number of events. In part, I think this was because she did not feel the need to attend every single event, as she did not feel she needed to be involved in every aspect of Welsh heritage preservation on the ground level, so to speak. Often, and in a somewhat related sentiment, had I not been looking for her at a few of the bigger events, I would have missed her. That is, Augustina never made a display about the fact that she was attending an event. In one case, she was actually recognized for her service to the community, but was seated toward the
back and simply stood up and waved as an acknowledgement of her award. This was a key difference between Augustina and other network actors like Tomas and Daniela. Actors like Tomas and Daniela sought recognition and some form of control over the performance of Welshness, as demonstrated through events they chose to host, whereas Augustina was content to provide her perspectives on what she felt Welshness is and how it should look in an advisory capacity, but opted to relinquish control over the daily performance of Welshness to those more inclined to be at the helm. Alice took a very similar stance. She advised others as needed, when consulted for feedback, and participated in being Welsh in the ways that were most important and resonated most closely with herself.

During her interview, Augustina mentioned her excitement to make Welsh a culture in Argentina in which all community members, regardless of ancestry, could participate. She expressed hopes to elevate Bolivian and Indigenous heritage throughout the province as well. Augustina was, like Alice, one of the few Welsh Patagonian community exemplars and, due to her social standing within the community, she was appointed to the role of Secretary of the Department of Culture in Gaiman. This role is promising for Augustina, and the Welsh heritage network more broadly, due to her more inclusive perspective on heritage and the potential reverberations her perspectives might have on the Welsh heritage network. Augustina’s new role, however, moves her positioning from primarily operating in the private sphere to the public one, and it will be interesting to see how this transition might affect her status as a community exemplar.

The Welsh Patagonian Exemplar

The preceding imagery serves to capture varying layers individual actors navigate within the Welsh heritage network. The next section will illuminate some of the relationships between...
the individual actors and their interactions within the broader Welsh Patagonian community. As the significance of the Welsh exemplar came through in data analysis, I was able to unpack questions like, who are the Welsh Patagonian exemplars? What does it mean to be like these exemplars? And if one were to imitate these exemplars, what would one have to do, and what would they subsequently achieve in doing so? As Nelstrop et al. note, “imitation of the exemplar exists extrinsically” (2009, 113). This sentiment is significant because, if someone identifies a personal desire to enact or achieve an identified set of values, the motivating factors for the actor are frequently tied to societal or community pressures that exercise influence over the individual. The Welsh Patagonian case is most certainly characterized by such relationships. Despite my participants repeating the personal significance of Welsh values on their behavior, the social pressures to behave Welsh were apparent, notably if an individual wanted to achieve an elevated status within the Welsh heritage network. More ironically, in relation to Welsh Patagonian heritage, is that actor behavior was not typically motivated by a desire to maintain a facade of Welshness for tourism. Appearing Welsh for the various Welsh tourists that visited the region might have been a consequence of their actions, but many network actors in the public sphere sought further recognition among fellow network actors in Argentina as well as those in Wales. It was widely recognized that the interactions with those who were strictly Welsh tourists were fleeting and thus more effort was put into interactions with those who had demonstrated longer term relationships with the diaspora, or who represented more prestigious institutional connections in the homeland. Accordingly, community membership and further embeddedness in the network were the goals, in their own right, of many network actors, not to mention the social capital benefits from hosting and associating with Welsh visitors.
One of the prominent scholars in the area of moral anthropology, Joel Robbins, has studied the impact of exemplars on individual actors within a social group. He states that times of cultural change are particularly fruitful to study, as these periods are typically defined by the imposition of new values on a set of longer-standing or preexisting values. In these circumstances, society members have a range of values from which to choose and to act upon (Robbins 2007). The conditions for such in Welsh Patagonia have been outlined above, and in previous chapters, with the changing Chubut demographics, in addition to the increasing agency the Welsh nation is seeking through its language revitalization and cultural sovereignty efforts. Robbins additionally posits that people act in ways that are morally sound within a given cultural framework, but they have choice as to which values within this larger schema they choose to follow (2007). This idea, in conjunction with the fact that cultural systems are composed of hierarchical values, means that individuals will act on the values within the system that resonate with their circumstances, while not adopting other values within that same system that are in contrast to their goals. These conditions explain the different ways that the Welsh Patagonian community defines Welsh values vis-a-vis themselves and their own positioning in the community. This notion also illuminates why some individuals are able to achieve the status of exemplar while others who are seemingly performing Welshness in a way that reflects some community values are unable to attain such a status.

Sarah, for example, did display behaviors of what could be considered indicative of a Welsh Patagonian exemplar, but at the same time, her actions were often deemed very individualistic and self-serving. For the community’s perception of her, the balance between her intrinsic and extrinsic motivations was not such that she could achieve a sort of exemplar status. She prioritized her perceived individual incentives and acted much less so in the name of the
community. While Sarah did countless tasks in an effort to gain an elevated status within the network, these were not deemed to be the right sort of selfless tasks that would help further the community’s preservation efforts. While it would be refreshing to claim that community members like Sarah sought to be exemplars out of a pure and steadfast drive to be more closely Welsh, the economic and social incentives for their behaviors cannot be lost. Sarah owned a teahouse directly off the square in Gaiman, and charged students to participate in the Welsh classes she taught. She had financial interests in much of the work she would do in the name of Welshness. Based on my experience, and the actions of and interactions between my research participants, it is obvious to me that many of the behaviors were, at the very least, socially motivated to gain some sort of social capital within the community. Additionally, however, there were the associated economic capital gains for certain actors who had access to such means.

Alice, in stark contrast to Sarah, was truly the Welsh Patagonian exemplar, with a select few who followed her ranking in short order thereafter. As often stated by the community, Alice was, in fact, the center of Gaiman. She spoke Welsh, (and Spanish and English) and participated in just about every possible Welsh activity she could. She also treated everyone in the Welsh Patagonian community as family, meaning that she was not only a caretaker to everyone, she was also the first to share her opinions on the sometimes harsh truths about other people’s decisions. At their core, her behaviors, and really her sheer way of being, captured the values that my informants referenced over and over. And while, throughout my fieldwork and data analysis, I was always struck that so many referenced these same types of values and yet did not seem to act on them, I later understood that the idealized values that the community recognized and, in many ways, hoped to perpetuate despite not always living them themselves,
were frequently exhibited by Alice. Alice was a fierce advocate for Welshness, but in similar ways to Augustina, did not attempt to dictate how Welshness looked. She practiced Welshness daily through her actions and participation at community events, but she did not feel the need to strictly script or rehearse Welshness. Rather, to both Alice and Augustina, while there were some very valuable formalized mechanisms for maintaining Welshness, language and education being two such mechanisms, Welshness was something that happened much more organically and free form. Neither of these women became too bogged down with the network, though both were highly connected nodes.

Sarah and Alice provide two embodied examples, on opposite ends of the continuum, that demonstrate the range of ways of performing and being Welsh that those hoping to achieve exemplar status may enact. Robbins reminds us that exemplars are sometimes understood as perfect and infallible (2015). Rightfully, though, he argues that this has not always been the case, and that often, being an exemplar also means making mistakes, which are still accepted as a part of the morality process. “Big men are moral leaders not in spite of their failure to act as moral saints but precisely by virtue of that failure” (Robbins 2015, 28). That is, the range of acceptable actions for an exemplar, and degree to which they are practiced, vary greatly between actors. Near exemplars, or exemplars who fail at their professed act but still demonstrate as nearly as possible the desired values of a community, are necessary to adapt these idealized societal values and offer a more practical example in a real context. This is in contrast to the idea that values rigidly impose themselves on society members in order to strictly regulate behavior. Rather, the most meaningful values arise from existing exemplars who reflect the ideals of the community in which they act (2015). Perfection is not an expectation for Welsh Patagonian exemplars but intent is highly influential. As is demonstrated above, Alice’s intent
was deemed in accordance with the values the Welsh Patagonian community sought to profess, whereas Sarah’s was not. Consequently, Alice’s actions were much more positively received and it was no question that she had made a lifelong commitment to Welshness.

Alice certainly was not the only Welsh Patagonian who has been involved in Welsh heritage activities since she was young. Others, like Mariana, one of the choir directors, had also long since participated in the various forms of community Welshness. Mariana and her brother Gwilym both grew up speaking Welsh, and were old enough to remember when Welsh was taught in school. Gwilym now lived in Wales, but made periodic trips home to visit with the family in Patagonia. Age, it seemed, also played a role in one’s ability to achieve exemplar status. Such a status was not something an individual could achieve in a few years. A much longer standing and demonstrated commitment to the community was required, though the nature of and specific actions associated with this commitment were more open-form. Gwilym, for example, wrote and published a series of reflections on what it was like growing up in Welsh Patagonia, and some of his personal assessments about contemporary community identity. He lived the vast majority of his adult life in Wales, and had married a Welsh woman. Mariana stayed in Patagonia, and dedicated her energies to the music school as well as supporting her son in his musical career, which had taken him to Wales on several occasions to collaborate with music artists in the homeland. Mariana’s son, perhaps interestingly, despite his efforts and contributions to the community, was not an exemplar. Additionally, despite his connections in the homeland, he was not a highly embedded individual in the network. Thus, the Welsh heritage network displays both a rigidity and flexibility for who can and cannot be deemed an exemplar. While there is no singular, unifying definition of a Welsh Patagonian exemplar, there
are simultaneously actions and intentions, as well as personal characteristics, which preclude someone from achieving such a status within the community and the broader network.

Robbins provides a key perspective in the relationship between the valuing of particular behaviors and the actions taken to achieve the expected outcomes (2015). Robbins claims that, while social values motivate actors to behave in ways that ideally achieve certain outcomes, often these outcomes are not achieved. While the undercurrent of the desired value may be apparent in an individual’s actions, it is much more rare that these values are actually exemplified in the individual’s behavior (Robbins 2015). This is a valuable framework for understanding the Welsh heritage network, notably as it operates in Argentina, but more broadly as it operates transnationally. While many participants in the network are motivated by Welsh values, as was communicated to me over and over throughout my research, very few individuals were ever able to achieve exemplary status or behave in exemplary ways that afforded them the privilege and positioning those motivated by such forced desired. Now, there were a handful of references made to a few of the Welsh Patagonian community members, by their fellow community members, that indicated their actions on specific occasions had risen to the level of at least being near-exemplary. As general practice, however, these individuals’ behavior did not demonstrate a commitment to Welshness as a way of being.

**Heritage and Values**

As has been illustrated, the Welsh heritage network is the mechanism responsible for diffusing the value-laden nationalist ideologies of the homeland throughout the Welsh Patagonian community, to which network actors attribute a collective system of both community-level and personal values that then motivate individual actors to participate in Welshness in a multitude of ways. While my informants did not explicitly envision or term the
network as such, they consistently referenced the importance of the preservation of Welsh values and implicitly credited the linkages to institutions in Wales, and associated programming, as helping to preserve said values. That is, the network and related activities, as well as publicity the network garners, all collectively work to preserve both the romantic myth and the contemporary reality of the Welsh Patagonian community. The network, while fulfilling a highly pragmatic function, is inextricably linked to the emotional work it performs, which serves to reaffirm individual identities in the context of changing provincial, and arguably national and international, dynamics. Indeed, without this emotive and nostalgic framing of network activities, and the purview of the network more generally, the Welsh heritage network would not be successful in the same way it has been. That is, the functional outcomes of Welsh heritage preservation are directly tied to the degree the mission of the network resonates with network actors.

What I came to learn through this research is that it was the public Welsh community, the ‘in-crowd’ as it were, that shaped the very sanitized and flattened version of Welshness in Chubut. It was the members of the community who most sought to control the presentation of Welshness, through various scripted events and activities, that felt a sense of competition for visibility and associated prestige for being involved in Welsh affairs. And yet, those who most overtly acted to script Welshness tended to be the farthest from achieving the prestige associated with being an exemplar. The prestige, of course, came in the form of complete and unquestioned reverence by the Welsh Patagonian community, and an unquestioned notion of membership in the Welsh Patagonian community. Now of course, there was no official membership marker or designation. As I have alluded to up to this point, the Welsh Patagonian community, broadly conceived, was much more diverse vis-a-vis ancestry and traceable connections to the Welsh
homeland than I had originally understood. Marriage and informal ties had historically afforded a person some leverage in becoming a Welsh Patagonian community member and network actor with the public sphere of Welsh Patagonian heritage, whereas a person with direct ancestry might not be widely considered part of the Welsh Patagonian community if they did not participate in at least a few public Welsh activities. They most certainly were not Welsh heritage network actors if they did not make appearances at least some of the events and sponsored activities. My sample, of course, was a bit skewed as I actively sought community members who participated in the network in some way. Additionally, those most often willing and interested to speak to me about this research were the same people who typically represented the visible Welsh Patagonian community. Those less concerned about increasing their own visibility within the network were often those content with their predominantly private sphere displays of Welshness. This subset of the network was also willing to speak with me, though these encounters tended to me much less formal and much more familiar and intimate (often in their own homes). Because the forms of Welshness that the primarily public sphere actors embodied were unscripted, they were often difficult for these informants to articulate. And yet, such acts of Welshness tended to be the most inclusive and organic forms of practice—the essence of being Welsh in Patagonia.
CONCLUSION

The literature on diasporas generally supports the notion that one of the most salient characteristics of diaspora groups is that they possess a homeland consciousness maintained over time, and feel a strong solidarity with the members of their homeland (Basu 2006). If we accept these elements as indisputable components of diaspora identity, then the Welsh Patagonian community represents a quintessential diaspora group. To have maintained a Welsh Patagonian consciousness implies that some form of practices within the community have remained distinctly Welsh over 150 years after the beginning of this chapter in the Welsh legacy. This research has demonstrated that, in fact, given the contemporary economic and social conditions in Chubut, and inextricably linked to those respective conditions in the homeland, the Welsh Patagonian community has, through the exchanges facilitated by the transnational Welsh heritage network, cultivated a Welsh consciousness that influences the daily lives of Welsh Patagonian network actors. That is, it is not only possible to perform Welshness in Patagonia but, if done in a way that most favorably reflects Welsh values, individual actors can achieve the status of a Welsh Patagonian community exemplar by truly being Welsh in Argentina as recognized by the Welsh heritage network.

The persistence of Welshness in Patagonia raises questions of how and why the Welsh diaspora there has been able to cultivate and perform a globally recognizable and homeland-congruent image of Welshness over a century and a half after the initial establishment of the colony. The Welsh in Patagonia have been successful at revitalizing their own image within Patagonia, but, in a complementary sense, have been able to support Welsh nationalism in the homeland. Furthermore, Welsh national-Welsh Patagonian network ties have infused resources into various localities throughout the Chubut Province, which have in turn garnered the attention
of local officials, thereby further supporting the Welsh homeland’s mission to elevate the status of Welshness globally. These heritage maintenance efforts work to ensure that regional heritage ownership over Chubut heritage belongs to the Welsh Patagonian community, but simultaneously serves as a mechanism to rewrite the Welsh legacy of oppression toward a narrative of robust and thriving Welshness in the twenty-first century. The mechanism through which these outcomes have been made possible is the transnational Welsh heritage network.

As a result of global trends of increasing regionalist movements, cultural identities are being rearticulated in response to monolithic national identity discourses in ways that have begun to engage transnational belonging (Clifford 1998). The Welsh Patagonian narrative has been used by the homeland to demonstrate the resiliency of Welshness—the persistence of the language and heritage despite social, economic, and political influences to the contrary. Under this premise, Welsh heritage has adapted to these highly influential contextual conditions—both in reactive and proactive terms, and in both Patagonia and the homeland. The Welsh network has facilitated such retooling and solidifying of global Welshness by supporting linkages between institutions and individual actor representatives between the homeland and the Patagonian diaspora. The most effective mechanism to study the nature of networks like the Welsh heritage network is qualitative social network analysis, which, for this project, has illuminated the nuances of network interactions that have resulted in, in the Welsh Patagonian case, the uncovering of the public and private spheres of practicing Welshness. Crossley states that, “...we cannot know who is ‘well connected’ and thus what advantages or disadvantages this bestows unless we have enumerated the “connectedness” [degree] of actors in a population” (2010, 5). The implications of Welsh heritage network linkages, and the ideologies diffused throughout the network, have provided meaningful insight into the ways Welshness is performed.
in Chubut, and the associated social capital that a select few network actors can obtain by becoming network-defined Welsh Patagonian exemplars. That is, the network has served global Welshness as a responsive and proactive tool to publicize a recognizable and standardized form of Welshness for public consumption, while enabling actor-participants to engage with Welshness on more individualized, sentimental, and nostalgic terms. Likewise, Welsh heritage network preservation efforts in the diaspora in Chubut have resulted in contextually dependent forms of Welshness that define who, of the community, have been most exemplary at embodying Welshness in their daily lives.

As was demonstrated throughout my participant interviews, members of the Welsh community in Patagonia either performed or practiced Welshness, depending on the context in which the activity took place. The quieter subset of the Welsh community—those who practiced Welshness in the private sphere—tended to be those less explicitly concerned about or acting in response to what was envisioned by some as a threatening diasporic neighbor, whereas the prominent figureheads and heritage association representatives often did express concerns about the changing provincial demographics. Those more directly and frequently engaged in public Welsh heritage activities were often those who expressed concern about their Bolivian neighbors. This acknowledgement signified the fact that these processes were on people's minds, and that people perceived a need to reassert a locally-based, regional identity that linked to, at least on some level, a global center—in this case Britain, and more specifically Wales. In this example, the language was one of the most definitive markers of Welsh identity in Chubut, and a heritage form deemed valuable for preservation in Argentina. Considering the contemporary geographic, social, and economic landscape of the Chubut Province, the Welsh language has served as an effective mechanism to distinguish the Welsh Patagonian community relative to
others in the province, as well as in reference to their European ancestry. By speaking a different language from their broader Argentinian counterparts, the Welsh Patagonians are revitalizing their heritage, language, and culture, and reasserting a historical claim to provincial heritage and prestige. Relative to this newly developing and expanding Bolivian diaspora, the Welsh can ‘call seniority,’ as it were, given the longer term of their settlement in the region.

Despite the uniqueness of the Welsh language in the Patagonian region of Argentina, it has become increasingly difficult for the Welsh Patagonian community to draw upon distinct and definitive measures of difference relative to their other Patagonian counterparts. The Welsh community is no longer an isolated enclave with clearly identifiable boundaries, and has not been for several decades. The Welsh descendants live next to those of other ancestries, like the more numerous individuals of Italian or Spanish descent. The prominence of a broader Argentinian identity is indicative of other pan-identity trends like global cosmopolitanism referenced earlier, the presence of which often result in minority identity and heritage resurgence. The Welsh Patagonians have sought to de-homogenize themselves from the ‘others’ who are now also considered Argentinian. Thus, the Welsh Patagonians have distinguished themselves most effectively through the Welsh heritage network. Homeland institutions and actor-nodes have likewise been able to capitalize on the receptivity and participation of the Patagonian diaspora as a testament to the industriousness and resiliency of Welshness.

As described, the Welsh heritage network is composed of Welsh language-supporting and more nationalist-leaning institutions in the homeland, in addition to heritage associations in the Welsh diaspora in Chubut. The organizational level of the network influences the way Welsh identity is understood, and subsequently performed, in Chubut. The external city has defined the public forms of Welshness displayed for tourist and community consumption. The external city
also furthers the Welsh nationalist narrative and acts as an avenue for progress in the fight for Welsh recognition and valuing. The internal city has been impactful in shaping the characteristics required for Welsh Patagonians to become community exemplars, though most are unable to achieve this status. The network-defined internal nation of Welshness also operates in shaping the ways in which Welsh nationals have invested in furthering Welshness through various network linkages and activities.

Orozco contributes that, “Understanding the factors driving diasporic homeland engagement can inform the process” (2005, 38). What I sought to illustrate throughout this project was the ways in which actors within a type of global heritage network produce and perform locally meaningful and globally valued forms of recognizable heritage, as guided by the Welsh homeland-based ideologies that circulate the transnational Welsh heritage network. As was demonstrated throughout the individual stories of various Welsh Patagonian community members referenced in previous chapters, not only participant-actors can reach exemplar status. Individuals, like Alice, who were able to achieve such status did so in a manner that was uncontested by their fellow Welsh Patagonian community members, and longer-term Welsh visitors like the Welsh teachers who came to work in Patagonia. A balance of individual and situational characteristics that must coalesce is required in order to truly embody ‘Welsh values’ and subsequently, exemplary Welsh Patagonianness.

It remains to be seen the types of ideologies that will be diffused through the Welsh heritage network in the years to come. Currently, there are generational ideological influences that have impacted the network exchanges and programming. The older generations of Welsh nationals who visit the community retain a paternalistic mentality toward their Argentinian brethren. The sentiment held by many is that the Welsh need to help the Welsh Argentinian
community because some network actors conceptualize Argentina as a poor and developing nation in need of resources. This perception stems from a broader postcolonial notion, held by many in the West, that citizens of nations of the global south are existing in abject poverty, and that the nations in which they reside are unable to effectively manage their own affairs. Embedded within these notions are veils of superiority and the ability of the Welsh to be ‘saviors’ of the Welsh Patagonian community.

While not all Welsh nationals who visited the Welsh Patagonian community took this stance, notably during the 150th anniversary celebrations as well as the Trevelin anniversary, many did possess varying degrees of this notion. There also seemed to be generational and temporal divides regarding those who held these perceptions of the Welsh Patagonian community as needing of aid. That is, the older generations (middle-aged tourists and pensioners on holiday) tended to hold and enact this ideology much more strongly than the younger generations (Welsh teachers, university students, and long-term backpackers). The older generations of Welsh tourists, likewise, tended to only stay for the short-term (1 to 2 weeks) whereas many of the younger visitors stayed for a minimum of three weeks but, in the most long-term cases that I witnessed, up to 6 months. The Welsh teachers (typically younger individuals in their 20s and 30s) who stayed in the community anywhere from 10 months to a few years typically saw Argentina as a fully developed nation. One exception to this general rule was one of the Welsh Language Project teachers in Patagonia, a former teacher in Wales before her retirement, who still maintained the above-described conception of Argentina and the Welsh Patagonians as disadvantaged and requiring the assistance of the Welsh nation. This network actor, despite having been a longer-term visitor to Chubut, was of an older generation and thus her perspectives were more closely aligned with others in her age bracket. The assistance that
some of the individual Welsh nationals provided (as opposed to the institutional support identified in earlier chapters) often took the form of fundraising, item drives, and other small community-based projects that benefited the individual town(s) with which a particular network-actor on the Welsh side had a connection.

Due to the general generational divides that characterized the notion of the Argentinians as impoverished and in need of aid, it is likely that such ideas will eventually fade, and subsequently be phased out of network interactions as younger generations begin to represent network institutional and organizational nodes, and individuals of younger generations begin to participate more fully in Welsh heritage network activities. Nonetheless, there were instances when these imperialist notions had been, at least in some basic sense, adopted by some of the Welsh Patagonians based on some of the commentary a few of my informants made throughout my time in Chubut. Comments were to the effect that Argentinians were unable to orchestrate such effective and robust revitalization efforts on their own. While one perspective of this ideology could be said to be true—that without the support of Welsh institutional programming like the Welsh Language Project, heritage maintenance efforts in Welsh Patagonia would likely be greatly reduced—the greater deficiency lies in financial resources rather than inherent inability of the Argentinians, as the ideology of saviorism would imply. What is more telling is, despite several of the Welsh Patagonian community members having visited Wales, there was no strong community desire to go live in Wales permanently. Thus, on some level, most Welsh Patagonian community members were content to practice Welshness in Patagonia without feeling the need to be in Wales to do so.

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26 One example was a book drive of Welsh books from Wales to be donated to the newly-established primary school in Trevelin.
Therefore, what I sought to demonstrate throughout this dissertation is one example of the ways in which heritage is enterprising and can be used to create new outlets and spaces for the practice of heritage in the face of pan- and globalizing identities. More broadly, this research highlights a highly localized community heritage situation both shaped by, and actively shaping, their engagement with global processes—examples of which we will undoubtedly continue to see in a variety of contexts in the near future.
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