

## **3.4 Nationalism Nationalist views.**

### **Aspect: The impact of nationalism on Welsh political parties and movements.**

This unit covers the specification elements related to “the impact of nationalism on Welsh political parties and movements”. It is designed to provide a background to the topic but is not inclusive of all potential material required for examination purposes. It concentrates on both the knowledge and analytical skills required for A2. It DOES NOT seek to prepare students directly in the skills and processes required for answering the end of year examinations.

Both teachers and students will also need to undertake their own research/reading in order to provide a fully comprehensive coverage “the impact of nationalism on Welsh political parties and movements”. This additional research is especially important in updating current material on the topic, which was not known or available when this unit was prepared.

It is important that teachers read through this unit and explore the exercises prior to commencing. The unit can therefore be shaped best to the timings of the teacher and class concerned.

### **Aims and objectives**

#### **Aim:**

The critical analysis of the impact of nationalism on Welsh political parties and movements.

#### **Objectives:**

1. To examine key nationalist concepts.
2. To illustrate the theoretical relationship between nationalism and Welsh politics.
3. To determine why certain ideas are so important to nationalists.
4. To identify areas of tension within Welsh politics concerning nationalism.

### **WJEC Government and Politics Assessment Objectives**

The following WJEC learning objectives areas are addressed:

A01 – The conceptual basis of nationalism.

A02 - The similarities, differences and connections between nationalism and Welsh political parties and movements; the similarities, differences and connections amongst nationalist concerning Welsh politics.

A03 - To seek to order the importance of central reasons and arguments with respect to determining the importance of particular concepts of nationalism.

## **Further guidance**

The session commences with a general introduction.

The teacher should let the students know that this study session provides an introduction to the relationship between nationalism and Welsh politics.

The teacher should introduce the session by asking ‘which type of nationalism best describes Welsh nationalism – liberal nationalism, conservative nationalism, expansionist nationalism, cultural nationalism, civic nationalism?’ The teacher can develop the discussion by asking ‘which types of nationalism are not appropriate in describing Welsh nationalism?’

## **Conclusion**

Session concludes with the teacher reminding students that labels like liberal nationalism, conservative nationalism, expansionist nationalism, cultural nationalism and civic nationalism are terms that we use to categorise ideas. While this may help us to understand and organise such thinking it may not be the case that nationalists would recognise themselves adhering to these categories. It is quite legitimate for other analysts to come up with different labels for such categories.

## Exercise 1: The impact of nationalism on Welsh political parties and movements



### Guidance

Students don't have to do all the terms in one go. Students can be allotted a certain group of terms to complete, for instance half the class could do the first eight terms while the other half do the last eight. Students should undertake this exercise individually and then in pairs. They should then agree on an answer before feeding back to the whole class.

The teacher should also let the students know that by matching the terms and definitions they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO1 – *Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories and issues.*

The activity can be completed on a computer or tablet or on the printable worksheet included. It can also be returned to as a revision exercise.



### Activity – The impact of nationalism on Welsh political parties and movements - key terms and definitions

[Click to open activity](#)

[See Worksheet 1](#)

Students should match the key terms and definitions.

Key Term	Definition
Chauvinism	Prejudiced support for a particular nation.
Civic nationalism	A belief that a group of people share a common identity based on their shared citizenship.
Clear red water	Rhodri Morgan outlined a distinct set of policies in the Welsh Labour Party, as opposed to the UK Labour Party.
Cultural nationalism	A belief that a group of people share a common identity based on their shared culture.
Culturalism	A belief that an individual's identity is dependent upon the culture in which they are imbedded.
Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg	A pressure group that has historically used direct action to campaign for the rights of Welsh language speakers.

Cymuned	A pressure group that campaigns for the rights of Welsh language speaking communities.
Deindustrialisation	A process of social and economic change caused by the decline in the industrial capacity or activity of a region or economy.
Devolution	The delegation of power from a central government to a regional administration.
Devolution is a process not an event	Ron Davies described the devolution settlement of 1997 as the starting point from which to develop rather than an end in itself.
Ethno-culturalism	A belief that a group of people share a common identity based on their shared culture and ethnicity.
Home rule	A form of limited autonomy or self-government over internal matters of a territory that cedes sovereignty to a central government.
Plaid Cymru	A Welsh nationalist party that has been influenced by both cultural and civic nationalist traditions.
Red dragons and red flags	Keir Hardie believed it was possible to combine national identity with international socialism.
UKIP	A British nationalist party that is Eurosceptic and populist.
Welsh values	The belief that there are a distinct set of principles that are unique to Wales.



## Notes

These terms, although not an exclusive list, are crucial to an understanding of the impact nationalism on Welsh politics. Students must start to familiarise themselves with them. It is not enough to understand and know these concepts but students will be expected to use them.

Extension tasks can focus on sorting these terms into several categories:

- Concepts and beliefs
- Terms connected exclusively with the Labour Party, Plaid Cymru and others
- Terms which could be seen to apply to a wide range of parties.

Teachers may wish to start to highlight tensions within parties over different conceptions of nationalism.

## Exercise 2: Nations and nationalism



### Guidance

Students should undertake this exercise individually and then in pairs. They can compare their notes and discuss any discrepancies.

The teacher should also let the students know that by identifying different interpretations they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO1 – *Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories and issues*

The activity can be completed on the printable worksheet included.



### Activity – Nations and nationalism - note taking See Worksheet 2

Students read the extract from ‘*Nations and nationalism*’ by Andrew Heywood and then make notes on different interpretations of cultural nationalism using the table in Worksheet 2.

The extract is from an article published by Andrew Heywood which can be accessed, from his website alongside many other articles at:

<https://andrewheywood.jimdo.com/articles/>

We are grateful to Andrew Heywood for allowing us to include the extract in this work.

### Nations as cultural communities

The idea of the nation as an essentially ethnic or cultural entity can be traced back to late eighteenth century Germany and the writings of figures such as Herder (1744-1803) and Fichte (1762-1814). For Herder, the innate character of each national group was ultimately determined by its natural environment, climate and physical geography shaping the lifestyle, working habits, attitudes and creative propensities of a people. Above all, he emphasised the importance of language, believed to be the embodiment of a people’s distinctive traditions and historical memories. Each nation thus possesses a *Volksgeist* (literally, the ‘spirit of the nation’), which reveals itself in songs, myths and legends, and provides a nation with its source of creativity. Herder’s nationalism therefore amounted to a form of culturalism, emphasising an awareness and appreciation of national traditions and collective memories instead of an overtly political quest for statehood.

The implication of Herder's culturalism is that nations are 'natural' or organic entities, that can be traced back to ancient times and will, by the same token, continue to exist so long as human society survives. A similar view has been advanced by modern social psychologists, who point to the tendency of people to form groups in order to gain a sense of security, identity and belonging. From this perspective, the division of humankind into nations reflects nothing more than the natural human propensity to draw close to people who share a similar culture, background and lifestyle to oneself. Such psychological insights, however, do not explain nationalism as a historical phenomenon, that is, one that arose at a particular time and place, specifically early nineteenth-century Europe.

Ernest Gellner (1983) emphasised the degree to which nationalism is linked to modernisation and, in particular, to the process of industrialisation. Gellner stressed that while pre-modern or 'agro-literate' societies were structured by a network of feudal bonds and loyalties, emerging industrial societies promoted social mobility, self-striving and competition, and so required a new source of cultural cohesion. This was provided by nationalism. Nationalism therefore developed to meet the needs of particular social conditions and circumstances. Gellner's theory nevertheless also implies that nationalism is now ineradicable, since a return to pre-modern loyalties and identities is unthinkable. However, Anthony Smith (1986) challenged the idea of a link between nationalism and modernisation by highlighting the continuity between modern nations and pre-modern ethnic communities, called 'ethnies'. In this view, the nation is historically embedded: it is rooted in a common cultural heritage and language that may long pre-date the achievement of statehood or even the quest for national independence. Smith nevertheless acknowledged that, although ethnicity is the precursor of nationalism, modern nations only came into existence when established ethnies were linked to the emerging doctrine of political sovereignty. This conjunction occurred in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and in Asia and Africa in the twentieth century.

The cultural or ethnic dimension of national identity is most clearly expressed in so-called cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism commonly takes the form of national self-affirmation; it is a means through which a people can acquire a clearer sense of its own identity by heightening national pride and self-respect. This can be seen in the case of Welsh nationalism, which focuses much more on attempts to preserve the Welsh language and Welsh culture in general, than on the search for political independence. Friedrich Meinecke (1970), went one step further and distinguished between 'cultural nations' and 'political nations'. 'Cultural' nations are characterised by high level of ethnic homogeneity; in effect, national and ethnic identities overlap. Meinecke identified the Germans, the Russians, the English and the Irish as cultural nations. Such nations can be regarded as 'organic', in that they have been fashioned by natural or historical forces, rather than by political ones. Cultural nations nevertheless tend to view themselves as exclusive

groups. Membership of the nation derives not from a political allegiance, voluntarily undertaken, but from an ethnic identity that has somehow been inherited. Cultural nations view themselves as extended kinship groups, distinguished by common descent. In this sense, it is not possible to 'become' German, Russian or English simply by adopting the language and beliefs of such peoples. Such exclusivity, however, has tended to breed insular and regressive forms of nationalism and to weaken the distinction between nation and race.

Article: *Nations and nationalism* © [Andrew Heywood](#)

<b>Herder</b>	
<b>Gellner</b>	
<b>Smith</b>	
<b>Meinecke</b>	



## Notes

The teacher should make the class aware these are only a selection of interpretations of cultural nationalism and that there are others which are valid.

Extension tasks can focus on the similarities and differences between different interpretations which entail students undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO2 – *Interpret and apply political information to identify and explain relevant similarities, differences and connections.*

## Exercise 3: Welsh values



### Guidance

Students should undertake this exercise individually and then in pairs. They can compare notes and make any alterations. During feedback students should be asked to expand their answer by explaining why the policy area is connected to that particular value.

The teacher should also let the students know that by identifying the connections between policy areas and values, they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO2 – *Interpret and apply political information to identify and explain relevant similarities, differences and connections.*



### Activity – Welsh values - note taking

Students need to be given the link below and instructed to read **Extract 10** (Tanner and Michael, 2007, pp. 39–40).

<http://www.open.edu/openlearn/people-politics-law/politics-policy-people/sociology/contemporary-wales/content-section-7.2.2>

Students need to find the values that are described as Welsh and then select policy areas that are connected to these values to show how nationalism has influenced the Welsh Labour Party.



### Notes

The teacher should make the class aware that nationalism has made an impact on all political parties and not just those who overtly declare it.

Extension tasks can focus on analysing Conservative and Lib Dem policy commitments to Wales that may be different to their UK equivalents.



## Exercise 4: Benedict Anderson: Imagined communities



### Guidance

Students should undertake this exercise individually and then in pairs. They should then agree on an answer before feeding back to the whole class.

The teacher should also let the students know that by identifying the different factors they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO1 – *Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories and issues.*

The teacher should also let the students know that by identifying the similarities and differences between national experiences, they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO2 – *Interpret and apply political information to identify and explain relevant similarities, differences and connections.*

The activity can be completed on the printable worksheet included.



### Activity – Benedict Anderson: imagined communities - video clip See Worksheet 4

Students to watch the documentary on this link:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=15nqjGCAqd4&t=250s>

Students should then use the table in Worksheet 4 to make notes on what factors have gone into creating nations.

Students then judge which factors have been significant in the development of Welsh nationalism and which factors are responsible for the weakness of Welsh nationalism.

Factors	Video clip	Welsh experience
Monarchy		
Decline of religion		
Time		

Printing		
Language		
External threat		
State manipulation		
Culture		
History		
Race		



## Notes

The teacher should make the class aware Anderson's interpretation of imagined communities could be added to the other interpretations from Activity 2.

Extension tasks can focus on seeking similarities and differences between Anderson, Herder, Gellner, Smith and Meinecke.

## Exercise 5: Welsh political nationalism



### Guidance

Students should undertake this exercise individually and then in pairs. They should then agree on an answer before feeding back to the whole class. During feedback students should be asked to expand their answer.

The teacher should also let the students know that by identifying the different justifications they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO1 – *Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories and issues.*

The activity can be completed on a computer or tablet or on the printable worksheet included.



### Activity – Welsh political nationalism – timeline

[Click to open activity](#)

**See Worksheet 5**

Students match the events to the year.

Event	Year
Establishment of Cardiff as capital of Wales	1955
Creation of Welsh Office and Secretary of State for Wales	1964
First devolution referendum	1979
Second devolution referendum	1997
National Assembly for Wales created	1998
Elections to the National Assembly for Wales	1999
Referendum on further powers to the Assembly	2011
Government of Wales Act creates a reserved powers model of devolution	2017



## Notes

The teacher should make the class aware that political nationalism has influenced all political parties not just those who explicitly state as much. Welsh political nationalism has had an impact on the Labour, Conservative and Lib Dem parties as well as Plaid Cymru.

Extension tasks can focus on researching circumstances surrounding each event, focusing in particular on which parties were involved with each event.

## Exercise 6: The future



### Guidance

Students should undertake this exercise individually and then in pairs. They should then agree on an answer before feeding back to the whole class. During feedback students should be asked to explain which argument is more valid.

The teacher should also let the students know that by matching the key words and columns they are undertaking WJEC Assessment Objective AO1 – *Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of relevant institutions, processes, political concepts, theories and issues.*

The activity can be completed on the printable worksheet included.



### Activity – The future – research

**See Worksheet 6**

Students research arguments in favour and against future devolution developments. They can record their findings on Worksheet 6.

Developments	For	Against
Increase number of AMs		
Change the electoral system		
Decrease voting age		
Devolve policing		
Create new judicial system		
Adopt income tax raising powers		
Construct a federal UK political system		
Formulate a settled devolved agreement that ends the constant tinkering.		



## Notes

The teacher should make the class aware that further developments in devolution are likely but whether the public will be asked to vote in a referendum is unclear.

Extension tasks can focus on finding other proposals for further devolution.