

(RE-)CONSTRUCTING NATIONAL CINEMA IN
MINORITIZED LANGUAGE CONTEXTS: THE CASE OF
WALES AND GALICIA

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Summary

This thesis examines the relationship between cinema in minoritized language contexts and the (re-)construction of (national) identity/ies in such contexts. More precisely, it concentrates on two cases, Wales and Galicia. The study considers the employment of visual art in these minoritized language contexts, and mainly focuses on cinematic representations expressed through the medium of Welsh and Galician with the aim of determining the kind of cinema that is being developed in Wales and Galicia in their autochthonous languages. This has helped evaluate how these cinemas have approached the question of identity/ies in films that have been shot in Welsh and Galician. Although the thesis focuses on these two particular cases, it intends to offer approaches and readings that could be applicable in similar contexts. In effect, the aim of this study is to analyse the ways in which certain minoritized language contexts and/or ethnic groups deal with aspects such as language, place, gender, ethnicity and identity; how these elements interrelate and, more importantly, how they are used and represented in order to (re-) create (national) cinema. It also discusses the following questions: what is the current situation and state of affairs in terms of cinema production and culture in Wales and Galicia, what is national identity and how can it be defined in the cinema of minoritized language contexts, and what are the expectations for the future of cinema in these contexts.

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*Ar ôl
ar ôl y buom,
yn dal i aros,
a gweini,
a gwenu a body yn fud,
boed hi'n ddwy fil o flynyddoedd
neu boed hi'n ddoe...*

Menna Elfyn 'Wnaiff y gwradedd
aros ar ôl?'

*Compañeiras nos sonhos do Edén,
unha illa no medio do mar,
que iluminan o loito máis negro,
que esquece o desterro e o medo a
loitar.*

Sés 'Tempestades de Sal'.

*It has always been a matter
of lists. We have been counting,
folding, measuring, making,
tenderly laundering cloth
ever since we have been women.*

Gillian Clarke 'Letter from the far
country'.

Introduction

This thesis examines the relationship between cinema in minoritized language contexts and the (re-)construction of national identity/ies in such contexts. An examination of the ways in which works of visual art reflect and explore nationhood will help identify the discourses and ideologies that are being (re-)produced with regards to the nation. The area of art to be examined is cinema. More precisely, this investigation aims to concentrate on two cases, Wales and Galicia. Wales has the status of nation within the United Kingdom and Galicia is one of the historic nations within the Spanish state. Both Wales and Galicia are understood to be stateless or non-sovereign nations.

The study considers the employment of visual art in minoritized language contexts, and will mainly focus on cinematic representations expressed through the medium of Welsh and Galician with the aim of determining the kind of cinema that is being developed in Wales and Galicia in their autochthonous languages. This will help evaluate how these cinemas have approached the question of identity/ies in films that have been shot in Welsh and Galician. The fact that both languages are minoritized questions the capacity of developing audiovisual sectors in Wales and Galicia which guarantee the presence of these languages. As, in principle, these cinemas will encounter greater difficulties for their development than those that are produced in hegemonic languages contexts, it will be interesting to observe how they are created. Furthermore, an examination of the images that Welsh and Galician-language films reproduce will provide an indication of the extent to which these are representative of the communities whose realities they reflect. The representation of these images becomes particularly significant in these cases as “indeed one of the arguments in favour of minority language [media] is that it can be used to give the minority community some power over the way in which it is represented” (Cormack and Hourigan 2007, p. 14)

In this respect Film theory has widely discussed the importance of the relationship between cinema and the representation of identities, not only with regard to the national but also ethnicity, gender, sex, language, etc (Easthope 1993; Thornham 1999; Mette and Mackenzie 2000; Kaplan 2000). Indeed the use of art in general as a means to express, discuss and (re-)interpret ideas and ideologies is not only interesting but essential as a human activity. Mass media is today an undeniable instrument for influencing and changing attitudes and perceptions of the world: it is clear that it plays an important role in political power and social development. As a consequence of this, culture is constantly being transformed according to values and principles that are transmitted by this means of communication. If this obtains for society as a whole, the process of considering its influence on particular societies whose national and linguistic rights are being questioned or prejudiced is often not so straightforward. In such a context, the cinema of minoritized language communities encounters a range of challenges when attempting to identify ways in which to articulate new cultural expressions.

In a globalised world where the film industry prefers the use of dominant languages to present its products, countries like Wales and Galicia have understood the need to establish a dynamic national cinema as an urgent priority. In these contexts where the concept of identity is a major aspect of national political and cultural debate, the (re-)construction of visual culture is essential to develop a distinctive cinema which will guarantee the visibility of the Welsh and Galician nations. By observing the elements that have been used in a variety of Welsh and Galician filmic representations, the similarities and differences between the two visual cultures will be identified. This will help evaluate the ways in which certain cinematic elements are portrayed in the two national cinemas in order to establish if they are significant for the (re-)construction of national identity in Wales and Galicia as well as for the cultural normalization and survival of the two autochthonous languages, Welsh

and Galician. Furthermore, the study will seek to identify how recurring themes and paradigms have been used in both cinemas. Ultimately it will address relevant questions which focus on the (re-)construction of a national cinema in the Welsh and Galician contexts. Following the discussion of films in each chapter, these questions will be addressed in the conclusion by taking into account the information that the analysis has provided.

Although the thesis focuses on the two particular cases of Wales and Galicia, it intends to offer alternatives and readings that could be applicable in similar contexts. In effect, the aim of this study is to analyse the ways in which certain minoritized language contexts or ethnic groups deal with aspects such as language, place, gender, ethnicity and identity; how these elements interrelate and, more importantly, how they are used and represented in order to (re-)create national visual culture in Wales and Galicia. It will also focus on the following questions: what is the current situation and state of affairs in terms of cinema production and culture in Wales and Galicia, what is national identity and how can it be defined in the cinema of minoritized language contexts, and what are the expectations for the future of cinema in both contexts. In order to carry out this analysis, some of the aforementioned elements (language, place, gender, ethnicity and identity) as represented in Welsh and Galician cinema will be discussed in a number of films and documentaries. This will seek to assess whether a national Welsh and Galician cinema expressed through the medium of the autochthonous language is possible in a capitalist society dominated by the Hollywood film industry.

Theoretical Approach

This study is structured into three chapters (place, ethnicity and feminism) which must not be considered as independent variables but as interrelated. Equally, chapters have been ordered with the purpose of facilitating understanding of the theoretical approach and any further related conclusions.

Following Anthony D. Smith's concept of *ethnie* (Smith 2004, p. 131) which identifies ethnic groups according to certain elements such as memories, culture, territory that are shared by the group, ethnicity, language, place and gender will be analysed here. According to Smith (2004), a shared common past is essential for the group to be considered an *ethnie*, as well as being linked to a historic territory while maintaining a sense of group solidarity (Smith 2004, p. 131). Smith points to the importance of memory and history (including myths) for the survival of the ethnic group. This idea will be constantly found in Welsh and Galician cinema as the films studied here show. The "common myths of ancestry and memories", and "elements of shared culture" include language, history and culture; the "historic territory" draws attention to the importance of place; "some measure of solidarity", for the cases analysed here, will be useful in identifying the sense of solidarity amongst the group as a whole and that of the members of the group who are being oppressed within the group itself, namely women and the working class (Eisenstein 1979).

Feminist theory will help discuss the role of woman as the oppressed gender within the oppressed group (Stirling 2008, p. 79). In this study the feminist approach will be considered not as a variable but from a transversal perspective. Smith (2004), for example, considers gender a variable. However, this limits the possibilities of creating a new discourse of the nation. Instead, considering

feminism as a transversal theory will help create a new discourse of inclusiveness with regards to the nation (West 1997; Castro 2011, pp.81-108). Furthermore, as cinema is responsible for a powerful misfiguring of the female, it is essential for a study of film to use feminism as a tool to tackle the stereotypical and sexist images associated with the portrayal of women in film. As feminist film theory affirms, “feminism has no single vision, although it is a visionary way of seeing. Film, on the other hand, often and anxiously envisions women stereotypically as “good” mothers or “bad”, hysterical careerists” (Humm 1997, p. 3).

In addition to this film theory themes of transnational cinema, aspects of social psychology (Michael Billig), sociology (Pierre Bourdieu), ecology and postcolonial theory will help assess notions of (national) identity. This will provide readings for the definition of Welsh and Galician cinema and offer new opportunities to articulate a discourse which will contest that advanced by the State.

A Brief Synopsis of the Films

This investigation will concentrate on the analyses of a range of Galician and Welsh films that have been selected according to different criteria such as social reception and political and linguistic background. The majority of them are in Welsh and Galician although in some cases other languages such as English, Castilian, Russian, and German are also present. The majority of the cinematic representations studied here are standard films but some short films and documentaries have also been included.

From the Welsh perspective, this study will focus on the films *Y Chwarelwyr* (1935), by Ifan ab Owen Edwards, which is the first Welsh language film with sound. It deals with aspects of the life of a community that depends on the quarries; *Milwr Bychan* (1986), by Karl Francis, deals with the reasons which led young Welsh men to enrol in the British Army and go to Northern Ireland during the period of 'the Troubles'; *Hedd Wyn* (1992), by Paul Turner, is a nationalist interpretation of the First World War and was Oscar-nominated for Best Foreign Language Film in 1992; *Ymadawiad Arthur* (1994), by Marc Evans, is a reflexion about the past and future Wales and satirizes elements of Welsh identity; *Branwen* (1995), by Ceri Sherlock, based on a tale of the Mabinogion, is the story of a Welsh woman married to an Irish man, and her political views that contrast with those of her husband and the other men around her; *Twin Town* (1997), by Kevin Allen, is an English-language film set in Abertawe (Swansea) that deals with social issues such as unemployment and its impact on youth; *Solomon & Gaenor* (1999), by Paul Morrison is a discussion of multiethnic identities in an industrial community in Wales; *Eldra* (2003), by Timothy Lyn, is based on the childhood of the Welsh-language Roma writer Eldra Roberts and the cultural clash between the Roma and Welsh tradition. It is set by a small town, Bethesda, in a semi-rural area of Snowdonia in North Wales; *Cwccw* (2008), by Delyth Jones, is about an abused

woman who tries to escape from her reality by reading feminist theory and creating her own fantasy world; *Patagonia* (2010), by Marc Evans, is a story of Welsh identity in Wales and in Patagonia, whose two parallel stories discuss aspects of individual and collective identities.

Amongst the Galician films that have been selected for study are *Sempre Xonxa* (1989), by Chano Piñeiro, which is a depiction of rural Galician life and the effects of emigration (and the first film to be shot entirely in Galician); *Pradolongo* (2007) by Ignacio Vilar which is an examination of the relationship between national identity and environment; *A Mariñeira* (2007) by Antón Dobao is based on a short story by the Galician author Darío Xohan Cabana, and is a story about the importance of historical memory and the role of women in fighting fascism during Franco's dictatorship; the short film *Cienfuegos 1913* (2008), by Margarita Ledo Andión, examines women and the historical connections between Cuba and Galicia; *As Mulleres da Raia* (2009) by Diana Gonçalves examines solidarity amongst Galician and Portuguese women from border towns in Galicia and Portugal during the dictatorships in both countries; *Modelo Burela* (2009) by Matías Nicieza is a documentary about language use in bilingual communities, in this case in the town of Burela in northern Galicia; the short film *Gato Encerrado* (2010) by Peque Varela, which deals with immigration in a capitalist society; *Crebinsky* (2011) by Enrique Otero is a road movie about two brothers in search of their identity through a process of memory and reconciliation with the past. The brothers' journey is also a metaphorical one, undertaken to their birthplace and guided by the cow, a key symbol of the Galician imaginary.

What is (not) British and Spanish Cinema?

An examination of what British and Spanish cinema is (and is not) will contribute to the definition of what constitutes Welsh and Galician cinema. Most studies on the history of British and Spanish cinema focus frequently on English and Spanish films but fail to include Welsh, Scottish, Cornish, Galician, Catalan or Basque productions. In the cases where these appear in studies they are normally placed in some section at the end which usually include some English and Castilian-language films made in the north of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia respectively, and which are frequently listed in this order of apparent importance; Wales and Galicia are often more absent in these volumes than the others.

There are exceptions to this as the works by the Professor of Theatre, Film and Television at the University of Glamorgan and director of the Centre for the Study of Media and Culture in Small Nations, Steve Blandford, demonstrate with regard to British cinema. In *Wales on Screen* (2000), he examines how Wales has been portrayed in cinema and television. In *Film, Drama and the Breaking-Up of Britain* (2007), he establishes the following subdivisions for British cinema and theatre: England and Cinema/Theatre, Ireland and Cinema/Theatre, Scotland and Cinema/Theatre and Wales and Cinema/Theatre. As stated in the introduction, the title makes reference to Tom Nairn's *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism* (1977):

It is arguable, of course, whether a truly cohesive idea of Britain ever existed at all, but the last two decades have brought open debate over the fractured nature of modern British identity much more firmly into the realm of popular consciousness. Whilst devolution for Scotland and Wales has been one powerful factor in this profound and important

change in the way that the British think of themselves, there are many others (Blandford 2007, p. 7).

What is interesting about Blandford's analysis is the examination of the question of the 'fractured British identity' as portrayed in cinema and theatre. Furthermore it introduces the category "England and Cinema/Theatre" which is not commonly used; in this respect he intends to disassociate the term British from English (Blandford 2007, p. 19):

In the ever growing body of literature about British cinema there is even less discussion of the idea of a distinctive 'English' cinema ... In an academic climate that has been relatively pre-occupied with the discourses of nationalism and postcolonialism, it is surprising that so few questions have emerged about the implications of devolution for an emergent English culture and therefore an English cinema.

This categorization allows the consideration of the label "English cinema" which coexists with the others (Scottish, Welsh and (Northern) Irish cinema/theatre) whilst questioning the idea of a "British cinema" and allowing an exploration of the *other* national cinemas in the UK. The employment of this terminology will help us discuss Welsh cinema as a separate unit.

As for the invisibility of the work of Galician filmmakers, some examples can be found in Higginbotham's *Spanish Film Under Franco* (1988). Despite the fact that she dedicates part of the book to the analysis of filmic works of exiled film-makers, she focuses on the work undertaken by Lu  s Bu  uel during his exile in Mexico while only briefly mentioning the Galician director Carlos Velo in the introduction (Higginbotham 1988, p. 5). In a more recent work on contemporary 'Spanish' cinema entitled *Spanish National Cinema* (2003), Triana-Toribio makes a clear statement about what she believes Spanish

national cinema to be (Triana-Toribio 2003, p. 4). By clearly stating her intentions and, more importantly, reasons, for excluding ‘other national cinemas’ (Triana-Toribio 2003:12), she renders them a different object of study to that of “Spanish national cinema”. In her introductory statements she explains that her work does not include Basque and Catalan cinema (there is no mention at all of Galician cinema) because, in her own words (Triana-Toribio 2003, p. 12):

I do not claim expertise in nationalist movements in Catalonia and the Basque Country and I am not proficient in Catalan nor do I have knowledge of Basque. To study those national cinemas in the same depth as the Spanish national cinema would require a three-volume book.

By deliberately leaving these two cinemas out of her object of study she is actually defining Basque and Catalan cinemas as those which are expressed in Basque and Catalan and which deal with aspects of “Catalan and Basque myths of national identity” (Triana-Toribio 2003, p. 12). In her statement there is no reference to the Galician language or to Galician cinema at all, something which underlines the invisibility of Galicia in this work.

The inclusion or exclusion of linguistic criterion to define cinema in minoritized language contexts is still a matter of debate amongst authors and film specialists with some proposing it might be more appropriate to consider the production criteria (González 1992, p. 3; Comas 2003, p. 8). However it is not the purpose of this study to determine if films that are produced in English and Castilian in Wales and Galicia, respectively, should be considered as part of the Welsh and Galician canon or not, but rather to analyse those which are filmed in Welsh and Galician and which are, by definition, part of it. Following Triana-Toribio’s definition of what Spanish national cinema is (and

is not), this study proposes to use the failure to include Welsh and Galician cinema under the ‘British’ and ‘Spanish’ label as a pretext to explore Welsh and Galician cinema separately and from a national perspective. Some key works on Welsh and Galician cinemas have already approached this subject matter from this perspective (Nogueira Otero 1997; Berry 1994; Blandford 2000). However, this investigation aims to concentrate almost exclusively on films made in the Welsh and the Galician language. This will contribute to the development of the field of Minoritized Language Media which “differs from language study... in its engagement with the problematics of media study... [and] also differs from conventional media studies in its reliance on the concepts ... of language study” (Cormack 2007, p.10).

The use of ‘gaps’ that exist within the hegemonic discourse for creating a (new) national discourse in non-sovereign European countries has been discussed by postcolonial theorists, who propose to widen the postcolonial concept and include some of these cases because:

[They tie] in with general developments in Postcolonial Studies since the 1990s, namely the ever-increasing interest in deconstructing simplistic binarisms, through greater attention, for instance, to gaps and fissures within the colonizer’s discourses (Stroh 2011, p. 13).

In principle a postcolonial perspective may not seem to be readily applicable to the Welsh and the Galician cases. In effect, the term ‘postcolonial’ can be problematic for cases of non-sovereign nations such as Wales and Galicia, even in the era of post-devolution Wales and in the post-francoist Galicia of the *Estatuto de Autonomía*. According to Childs and Williams, cited in Barlow and Mitchell et al. (2005, p. 194):

Decisions related to Wales continue to be made by the British state [and] it is perverse to use ‘post’ to denote a state which is not fully present, and then link it to something [the “colonial”] which has not fully disappeared. It is, therefore, a sense of ‘in-betweenness’ that must best characterise the postcolonial era.

A similar argument has been made for Galicia by economist Xosé Manuel Beiras, even under the Franco dictatorship:

A dependencia colonial non soamente se dá antre economías rexidas polos estados formalmente soberanos e independentes, senón tamén entre sociedades con réximes económicos distintos dentro dos lindes dun mesmo estado. É colonialismo interior, cuíos resortes son aínda máis fortes polo feito de que a economía dominante dispón dunha meirande capacidade de presión ... e a economía dominada non dispón siquera da defensa que fornece unha fronteira política e arancelaria (Beiras Torrado 1981, p. 58).

Colonial dependence does not only exist between economies governed by formally sovereign and independent states but also within societies with different economical regimes within the same state. This is interior colonialism whose reins are even stronger because of the fact that the dominant economy has a greater capacity to exert pressure ... and the subordinate economy does not even have the defence that is provided by having a political border and customs (my translation).

However, and although Postcolonial Studies have mainly concentrated on cases of overseas colonies, some authors have discussed the validity of the postcolonial approach “to also include margins, minorities and emerging nations within (white) Europe” (Stroh 2011, p. 11). Stroh’s study focuses on

the Scottish case but she refers to the Welsh, Irish and the Cornish cases in her introduction. She proposes to use the colonial and postcolonial concepts not as:

Historical, political or sociological concepts, but rather ... as a methodology for analysing certain discursive and ideological patterns which occur in the context of inter- or transcultural encounters and power imbalances (Stroh 2011, p. 14).

This is the approach which will be considered in the present study and particularly in those sections which examine complexities of identity, place and language. This will help carry out a more extensive analysis of Welsh-language and Galician-language films that will contribute to the development of Welsh and Galician Studies in general and more precisely to the area of Welsh and Galician Film Studies.

Language: Exclusive vs. Inclusive Rhetoric

Language has been used in the recent state-centered rhetoric as a means to represent the alleged lack of inclusiveness in contexts where the autochthonous language is an important element of definition for the ethnic group (Brooks 2006, pp. 139-165; Callón Torres, 2010). Such rhetoric can have negative effects and can even result in social division. Therefore in the current neo-liberal context where ‘political discourse ... will typically flag nationhood’ (Billig 1995, p. 98), it is essential to (re-)create a discourse which contests the State rhetoric of the hegemonic language as endangered so that the linguistic rights of minoritized-language ethnic groups are guaranteed. However, to confront the “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991) transmitted via the discourse that minoritised languages are exclusive is not a straightforward task.

In such a context autochthonous-language cinema in Wales and in Galicia must find ways and alternatives to present itself as attractive for its audience: this is essential for the normalization and survival of the language. As the Galician actor Luís Iglesia (PGL 2011) states:

[O idioma] é moi importante velo normalizado na cultura visual porque por exemplo ves estamentos ou determinados sectores sociais que nunca falan en galego falar [galego] nas películas, avogados, xuíces, militares, todos eses sectores que son máis reaceos a empregaren o galego.

It is very important to see the language normalized in visual culture because, for example, you can see certain social groups who never speak Galician, speaking it in films; lawyers, judges, soldiers, all those groups who are more reluctant to use Galician (my translation).

The actor comments further on how important dubbing and subtitling is for the normalization and normativitation of minoritized languages, and how it is essential to have media in the native language and actors who have competence in it: “Pódese ser bo actor galego sen saber falar ben galego? Eu creo que non, non pasa en ningún lugar do mundo porque vai ser así aquí?” (PGL 2011) [Can you be a good Galician actor without being able to speak Galician properly? I don’t think so. It does not happen anywhere else in the world, so why should it be so here?] (my translation).

These are some of the challenges of cinema – and art in general – produced in Wales and Galicia. The manner in which language is (re-)presented in the media will influence the perception of the audience towards the minoritized language (Cormack 2007, pp. 53-55). This is one of the principal reasons why Welsh and Galician cinema must create interesting and quality products. Browne (1996, p. 59 cited in Cormack, 2007, p. 7) establishes that media in minoritized language contexts must seek:

- (1) to rescue the language; (2) to increase self-esteem; (3) to combat negative images; (4) to work for greater cohesiveness and, through this, for political influence; (5) to provide a visible and audible symbol of indigenous society; (6) to provide an outlet for creative production; (7) to provide a source of employment.

These purposes are relevant for Welsh and Galician media. In this study film is the focus of attention and therefore these ideas will be examined in cinema.

Galician Cinema: The Past and the Present

In the late 1970s Galician cinema encountered a challenge that seemed difficult to resolve and which was regarded in different ways by two groupings. On the one hand one of the groups maintained that Galician cinema should introduce new and more commercial forms of filmmaking and should consider the professionalization of the sector. The other group believed in the creation of an alternative cinema whose aim was to make cinema accessible to everyone (Hueso 1996, p. 188 in Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 330).

In this context, in 1977 the Galician director Carlos Velo travelled from Mexico, where he had lived since his exile in 1939, to Galicia in order to take part in a Galician Cinema Conference (*V Xornadas de Cine*) where he participated in debates. According to Velo, the Galician audiovisual sector should break with the clichés that presented a folklorist view of Galicia and which were introduced during the Franco dictatorship, and adopt modern techniques. He also believed in the creation of a cinema that could be accessible to everyone in both rural and urban contexts. At the same time he affirmed that Galician cinema has an enormous international potential because it can be used as a link between exiled Galicians in America and the territory of Galicia itself, something that he defined as “as dúas Galicias atlánticas” (Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 330) [the two Atlantic Galicias]. Galician cinema could also play a very important role within Lusophone cinema which could widen its international potential enormously. In effect Velo believed in a Galician-Portuguese cinema in which Galician cinema could be “a expresión máis extraordinaria que poidera haber ... [e que] ten millóns de espectadores en todo o mundo” (Nogueira Otero 1997, pp. 330-331) [the most extraordinary expression that could exist [and which] has millions of spectators around the world] (my translation).

Some of the issues that characterized the beginning of Galician cinema in the post-Franco era continue in the present. In effect the creation of a stronger audiovisual sector is still a requirement (Ledo Andión 1998, p. 150). Promotion and distribution are some of the main concerns. The lack of funding, of commitment of the Galician government and of an appropriate legislation have been identified as the main causes (Ledo Andión 1998, pp. 150-151). The situation is in some cases overcome by alternative ways of filmmaking – like web-based media, for example – and screening as the numerous cinema or cultural festivals such as the Festival de Cine de Ourense, Cineuropa, Festival de Cans, Festival da poesía do Condado and many other local festivals and events demonstrate.

To some extent this is the consequence of a lack of involvement and commitment by the political administration. During the current political context in which the Galician audiovisual sector is facing one of its most difficult situations in the post-Franco era, the need appropriately to combine both is particularly important. The situation does not appear too optimistic given that one of the intended measures of the current government of the Xunta de Galicia (administered by the Partido Popular since 2009) is the privatization of the CRTVG (Compañía de Radio-Televisión de Galicia, Radio and Television of Galicia company), the public Galician-language radio and television service created in 1985, which has been until now one of the key instruments in the normalization of the Galician language in the post-Franco era. In such a context, the Galician audiovisual sector (produced and made in Galicia) as a whole and especially Galician-language material is confronted with a very serious situation. In this sense the outcome of the current debate will probably mean the survival or disappearance of the sector (Tojo 2012).

With these contexts and factors in mind, this investigation will focus on the analysis of a number of Galician visual products in order to identify points of resolution and new ways for its development and success.

The View of the Insider

Traditionally both Wales and Galicia have been stereotypically represented in cinema by emphasizing the beauty of the landscape of both countries as well as other (alleged) elements of national identity, an approach which also applies to cinemas of other nations; for example, Scottish and Irish cinema (Mcarthur 2003; Wyndham 2006). Such images have usually been (re-)produced by outsiders: for the Welsh case mainly in British and American cinema (i.e. *How Green Was My Valley*) and for the Galician case in cinema produced during the Franco regime and in Latin America (Berry 1994, pp. 161-166; Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 282; Gruffud Jones, 2007, p.197). It must be noted that these characterizations have partly been responsible for some of the stereotypes that have been reproduced in the visual art of both countries.

The problem of relying almost exclusively on stereotyped cinematic settings and themes has been pointed out as an aspect that limits the creativity of cinematographic art. This has been clearly summarized for Welsh cinema by Barlow Mitchell et al. (2005, p. 23): ‘There have been many concerns expressed about the ways in which the mass media in Wales rely on traditional stereotypes of what constitutes Welshness and has proved reluctant to embrace the changing nature of contemporary Wales’. This idea of challenging stereotypes, which is present in the Welsh and the Galician context, incorporates an interesting and constructive debate on the subject which, at the same time, points to one of the principal focal points of this thesis: the present and potential nature and dynamics of Welsh and Galician cinema. However, this firstly requires a process of deconstruction: not of those ideas that the nation has created about itself but those that have been invented by outsiders (Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 64). Stereotyping must be confronted if it is the product of a vision from outside.

Preconceived images of (ethnic) groups are discussed, for example, by Brunsch (Brunsch, 2007), who examines the concept of stereotype, beginning with how it was described by the journalist Lippman in 1922 as “judgments made about others on the basis of their ethnic group membership” (Brunsch 2007, p. 3). Today, Brunsch argues, a stereotype can be defined as “a fixed idea or image people have of a particular type of person or thing but which is not always true in reality” (Brunsch 2007, p. 3). Stereotypes never describe individual behaviour, rather the *perceived* behaviour of a certain group. Stereotyping is therefore “an exaggerated set of expectations and beliefs about attributes of a group membership category” (Brunsch 2007, p. 3). The problem with establishing “a norm behaviour of a certain group” is that it may differ depending on who establishes it. The “exaggerated beliefs” can be more or less amplified according to the necessities and purpose of the creator. In this respect, colonizers have, for example, made use of the creation of stereotypes throughout history as a means of controlling the colonized (Norquay and Smith 2002, p. 139). They disqualify the characteristics of the native population and they (re-)invent stereotypes in order to succeed in “the construction of colonial discourse” (Baker and Diawara et al. 1996, p. 100).

The problematic aspect of maintaining stereotypes associated with the people of non- sovereign nations is that they have in most cases emerged from the gaze of “the outsider” (Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, pp. 81-83). The use of exaggerated clichés has been a useful tool for dominant cultures to create a discourse which undervalues the colonized. This can be achieved through different means such as education or culture. For example, there are numerous examples in Spanish literature of characterizations of Galicians as “ignorant country people” (Teijeiro 1996, pp. 203-46) and a similar description has played an important role in trying to discredit Welsh people in the so-called *Blue Books Report*ⁱ (*Reports of the commissioners of enquiry into the state of education in Wales*) (Roberts 1998, p. 3). Moreover, in both cases women were

the object of offensive accusations which included insulting descriptions of their supposed unpleasant physical appearance (Teijeiro 1996, p. 238) and inappropriate sexual behaviour (Teijeiro 1996, p. 240; Aaron 1994, p. 185).

If these examples have proved to have a deep effect on Welsh and Galician self-perception, the impact that media has on society is incalculable and that is the reason why it can have a profound effect on identity definition (Berry 1994, pp. 10-11). In the Galician case documentaries and short films produced during Franco's dictatorship were aimed at reinforcing the idea of "regional identities" (Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 282) as part of the 'national' project. In the case of Galicia these films were used as an instrument to introduce a folklorist and propagandistic view (Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 282). The use of Galician imageries and settings such as landscape, monuments, the Way of St. James, Santiago de Compostela, etc, were intended to establish the idea that these elements were part of an alleged Spanish identity. Certain cinematic depictions of Galicianness in American recipient countries of the Galician diaspora created a pejorative vision of Galicians (Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 312). In addition to this, gendered stereotyping played an important role in the creation of the image of 'la gayega' (Galician woman) which presented Galician woman as the object of mockery (Nogueira Otero 1997, p. 313). Through this representation, Galicianness is not ridiculed by applying stereotypes to the Galician community as a whole but by using woman as a metonymic image of the nation.

In opposition to this, recent films have discussed the history of emigration of Galician women from a very different perspective. *A cicatriz branca* (The White Scar) by Margarita Ledo Andi3n and *Dúas Letras* (Two Letters) by Fina Casalderrey and Eloy Varela, both directed in 2012, are examples of this. *A cicatriz branca*, for example, deals with the experiences of Galician women who had to emigrate to Argentina in the 1950s. The film seeks to make the history

of these women visible. From a feminist perspective, Ledo Andión points to the social and cultural discrimination that these women experienced as well as the poor working conditions and exploitation they suffered. Considerations of woman as the double or “triple or quadruple [marginalized]” (Gramich 2007, p. 1) gender will be further develop in the following chapters. However, it is relevant to comment at this point on the importance of incorporating feminist film theory in this discussion in order to (re-)create a Welsh and Galician cinema which is committed to social equality. Indeed, this is important because “film reflects social changes, but it also shapes cultural attitudes” Thornham (1999, p. 10).

Stereotyping is, of course, not unique to Wales or Galicia. In effect the problem has nothing to do with the existence of stereotypes of Welsh and Galician people, or Wales and Galicia as a whole, but the way in which stereotypes are reproduced. Bearing in mind what has been named “the view of the outsider” (Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 64), film in general, but especially film which is produced in contexts like Wales and Galicia, has to find a way to deal with stereotyping in order to reincorporate its own values and create a genuine fiction. Stereotypical representations can be used as a means to reinvent self-perception by recreating them from a national perspective. This can be achieved through humour, for example, as some authors have pointed out (Perrins 2000, pp. 162-67; Pérez Pereiro 2009, pp. 1888-1900). In effect cinema and arts in general, as a means of expression, can be used as a medium through which national history can be explored and reinterpreted and in the case of minoritized, sub-state national identities and cultures this is of crucial importance and relevance. Having a Madrid- and London-based mass media has influenced the way in which media has been developed in Wales and Galicia (Scriven and Roberts 2003, p. 11; Xunta de Galicia 2006, pp. 123-124). This was in part resolved with the creation of a Welsh and Galician audiovisual sector mainly dependable on TVG (Televisión

de Galicia, Television of Galicia) and S4C (Sianel Pedwar Cymru, Channel Four Wales). However it is (still) essential to create personal, 'local' film products as well as to reinterpret stereotyped images of Welshness and Galicianness through the view of the 'insiders'.

The idea of the deconstruction of stereotypes is analysed in a brilliant essay about contemporary Cornish fiction by the Cornish writer Alan M. Kent (1995). He discusses the necessity of reinterpreting the stereotypes that are usually associated with Cornwall in general and more specifically with Cornish fiction: "it is as if one only has to step outside to feel some mystic Celtic force enter the body" (Kent 1995, p. 173), he states, insisting upon the large number of clichés about writing in Cornwall (Kent 1995, pp. 173-179). He proposes the destruction of all those stereotypes that have determined the contents of Cornish literary products by what he metaphorically calls "smashing the sandcastles" (Kent 1995, p. 173), referring to the idyllic picture of children making sandcastles on sandy beaches as a recurrent image of Cornwall.

Following Kent's metaphor, the next section will discuss some Welsh and Galician cultural movements that have tried to 'smash the sandcastles' of clichés associated with Wales and Galicia by combining traditional and modern aspects of Welsh and Galician culture.

A Movidá, Cwl Cymru and Bravú

The artistic movements of *A Movidá*, *Cwl Cymru* and *Bravú* are analysed here as they are considered representative of an experimental period in Wales and in Galicia. Furthermore, exploring the importance of such movements in the Welsh and Galician contexts will enable us to establish parallels between them. A brief overview of the political and social context of the 1980s and the 1990s in Galicia will enable a better understanding of the film production of the time. After ‘the long, dark years’ of the Franco dictatorship a new cultural movement arose in Galicia in the 1980s: the movement that came to be known as the *movidá* started in the city of Vigo (thus the name *movidá viguesa*) as a cultural expression of political and social concerns of the time. After long years of repression, artists found themselves in a situation where creation was in close relation to the demands of the freedom of speech that had been denied for decades. There was an urgent need for innovation and for a break with the perceived stagnation of the past.

Music and visual arts – mainly brought together by using video creation techniques – were the preferred form of cultural production; in that context, bands such as *Os Resentidos*, *Siniestro Total*, *Semen Up*, *Aerolíneas Federales* or *Golpes Bajos* were born. If these bands are a good example of the expression of a post-modern way of interpreting Galician culture with the aim of creating a modern Galician society, they perform this from two different perspectives. Although the lyrics of *Siniestro*, for instance, have references to Galician culture and language, the group prefers Spanish to Galician as their means of expression. It is with *Os Resentidos*, led by musician and director Antón Reixa, that both Galician culture and language were vindicated as well as reinterpreted. *Os Resentidos* attempted to express a desire to reinvent Galician culture or more precisely to break with the old stereotypes related to it. The popular sentence of one of *Os Resentidos*’ most famous songs, “Galicia caníbal”

(Cannibal Galicia), “a matanza do porco” (the pig killing) directly and ironically addresses one of the main elements of traditional rural Galician culture. Music was one of the means through which a wish for greater freedom was expressed, and anything that had to do with *smashing the sandcastles* of repression was not only acceptable but desirable. Some of these ideas were also reflected in film produced at the time.

The lack of technical resources resulted in experimental works. Examples of this are Antón Reixa’s short film *Salvamento e Socorrismo* (1984) or many of the video clips of the groups of this period that were used as another way of art experimentation such as *Pánico en las Falklands* (1983) and *Viuda Gómez* (1985) by Xavier Villaverde and *Galicia Canibal* (1985) by Reixa. The book *Galicia en clips* (Fernández Rego and Portero 2012) collects information about video-clips made in Galicia from 1980s to the present. Later the ideas and projects of this time had an influence on the creation of groundbreaking TV programmes like *Sitio Distinto*, presented by Carlos Blanco and Antón Reixa.

Something similar happened in Wales during the period of the erroneously-named *Cwl Cymru*. The cultural movement that took place in Wales came to be known by a sort of hybrid term taken from the original “Cool Britannia”. Ignorance of the wider artistic movement in Wales was the result of the international success of “predominantly English-speaking” rock bands that somehow overshadowed the visibility of the other artistic products (Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 23).

The Galician *Bravú* movement that took place in the nineties was influenced to some extent by the *movida* movement. However, in opposition to what happened in the *movida*, where the aim was to break with tradition, the *Bravú*’s objective was to reconstruct Galician traditional culture and society. It managed to reinvent Galician culture in a way that had not been achieved

before. The success of the movement was the reinterpretation of Galician rural culture. The Bravú musical and film products projected the image of a modern rural Galicia for the first time. It injected a dose of self-esteem into Galician society which started to understand that Galicia could be rural and modern at the same time as moving away from traditional and conservative values. Galicia could be proud of having “myths of common ancestry and memories [and] elements of common culture” (Smith 2004, p.131), whilst embracing modernity. The *Bravú* movement is the perfect embodiment of modern urban and rural life as it emerges in the main cities of Galicia, created by the sons and daughters of those people who had to move from the rural areas to the city in search of opportunities for a better life. They are the sons and daughters who have already been born in the city but are proud of their rural, humble origins. The Welsh and the Galician cultural movements of the eighties and the nineties reinforced the self-confidence of their respective societies by playing with stereotypes through what could be called ‘the view of the insider’.

RURAL-URBAN CONFLICT AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

This section will examine and assess environmental issues and concerns caused by industrialization and the subsequent social and national problems that stem from the conflict between the rural and urban. It will focus upon the films *Y Chwarelwr* (1935) and *Twin Town* (2002) and the short films included in *Hai que botalos* (2005) and in the film *Pradolongo* (2007).

Environmental Activism

Conflicts derived from the clash between the rural and the urban and the vindication of national rights have always been present in both Welsh and Galician art and society. In this sense, environmental activism has usually been understood as a means of denouncing political and cultural colonization. For example, the case of Tryweryn, the flooding of a valley in Welsh-speaking rural north Wales in the 1960s (Morgan 1981, p. 333; Hasan 1988, p. 97), brings to mind similar cases in Galicia such as the reservoirs of Castrelo de Miño and Fervenza and the drainage of the lake of Antela (*lagoa de Antela*), all of which were built or drained during the Franco era (Huete 2008; Fernández Soto and Fernández García et al. 2011, pp. 295-312). Every environmental disaster in Galicia from the sinking of oil tankers, the introduction of wind farms in areas of immense ecological importance, the creation of power stations and reservoirs to the problem of forest fires, was perceived by a large part of society and environmental activists as an attack not only on the environment but also on other native and distinctive elements of Galician society such as language, traditional occupations, etc. In other words, it was seen as an attack on the distinctive elements that constitute the nation or ethnic group.

The sinking of the oil tanker *Prestige* is the most dramatic example of recent decades and gave rise to the subsequent *Nunca Máis* (Never Again) movement.

Its main demands were to obtain official recognition for Galicia as a catastrophe zone as well as the introduction of a disaster prevention system that would avoid environmental disasters in the future. It linked the attack on landscape to the idea of an attack on a traditional national sector, the fishing industry, which was interpreted as contributing to the destruction of a whole community with very distinctive features: a (mostly) Galician-speaking community that lived in a very productive and characteristic area of Galicia, namely the coast (mainly in the area of Costa da Morte but in addition in the Rías Baixas) (García Negro and Doldán García, 2002). By linking landscape to the defence of national rights, *Nunca Máis* became the social (and national) response to the Spanish government's failure to handle the disaster and a criticism that Galician government had attended to the interests of the state instead of those of Galicia. Their negligence was understood by society as an attack on Galician national interests and changed the way in which Galician society perceived itself (Diz Otero and Lois González 2005, pp. 255-80):

Los acontecimientos que rodean la catástrofe del “Prestige” parecen haber hecho emerger una ciudadanía activa con una capacidad de movilización y acción participativa sin precedentes.

The events that surround the catastrophe of the “Prestige” seem to have caused the emergence of an active people with a capacity for mobilization and participative action without precedent (my translation).

A range of documentaries and short films such as those put together under the title *Hai que botalos* (2005), directed by author, filmmaker and member of the Royal Galician Academy Margarita Ledo Andión and other Galician filmmakers, were an attempt to criticize the government of the Xunta de Galicia, led by Manuel Fraga at the time of the crisis, by making Galician society aware of the government's unjust policies through the medium of

cinema. These short films aim to make the audience aware of the need to change the political situation in Galicia in order to improve the social and economic conditions of the country. The title *Hai que botalos* (Get them out) is a word play with the homophonic Galician verbs *botar* (to get rid of) and *votar* (to vote). The themes focus on environmental issues derived from the ineffectiveness of governmental policies which caused the sinking of the *Prestige* and other oil tankers, forest fires, sea and air pollution, the dismantling of key sectors such as farming and fishing, etc. Furthermore, it points out that generations of Galician people are forced to emigrate as a result.

Emigration is in fact the main subject of the last two short films: *A dúas velas* (Only with Two Candles, an idiomatic sentence which colloquially means ‘to be broke’) and *O home do telexornal* (The News Presenter). The setting of *A dúas velas* is the kitchen of a house in the countryside where two brothers chat under the light of a candle. They are forced to do so because of continuous power cuts. Ironically the house lies behind a wind farm and should ordinarily be provided with enough energy. Instead the protagonists of the story must use candles and wear coats to keep warm. In addition to this the film addresses some of the environmental issues derived from the construction of wind farms such as noise and visual pollution. It also suggests that they do not function as sources for generating jobs in the area. This idea is conveyed through the story of one of the brothers who is an emigrant, and enables a debate on the issue of emigration as well as on some of the possible causes of it. Moreover the film suggests that emigration is one of the causes of the political situation in Galicia by implying that if the youngest generation of Galicians keeps leaving, there will not be future for the country. As one of the brothers puts it: “Aquí vaise todo para fóra e a luz non ía ser menos. Mesmo se chamas a Fenosa por un apagón destes acabas falando con unha de Madrid” [Here everything goes away and electricity is not going to be any different. Even when you call Fenosa [a

Galician gas and electricity company] to report a power cut you end up speaking to somebody in Madrid] (my translation).

The quote also suggests that in addition to people, resources are also taken from Galicia in order to supply the State. This is indeed one of the causes of the impoverishment of Galicia and one of the reasons why Galicia, despite being constantly described as a poor country, is so important for the economy of the State. In effect, figures show that:

De toda a enerxía dispoñíbel (9.862 ktep), o 64,3% consómese en Galiza e o 35,7% restante expórtase maioritariamente ao resto do Estado. Isto significa que, malia o incremento do consumo interno nas últimas décadas, o sistema enerxético galego segue a cumprir un papel fornecedor crucial na economía española (Doldán García 2008, p. 254).

Of all the energy available (9.862 ktep), 64.3% is consumed in Galiza and the other 35.7% is exported mainly to the rest of the State. This means that, despite the increase in internal consumption of recent decades, the Galician energy system still plays an essential role as a provider for the Spanish economy (my translation).

O home do telexornal is another of the short films of *Hai que botalos* that deals with the issue of emigration and its political consequences. The setting in this case is a coastal town (probably in the northwest of Galicia on the Costa da Morte although this is unclear in the film) and the protagonists are a boy and a girl on holiday. Both of their families are emigrants and they are now spending their summer in their hometown in Galicia. Although in *O home do telexornal* there is no explicit mention of environmental issues, there is a critique of the government of Manuel Fraga and his omnipresent and authoritarian attitude.

This is mockingly conveyed by the children's confusion with one of Fraga's presidential campaign posters:

- A: Para quieto! non sabes quen é?
- Z: E logo quen é, lista?
- A: Ese é o que presenta o telexornal, paspán.
- Z: Pois o meu avo di que é o que manda e acabouse.
- A: Pois eu digoche que é o que presenta o telexornal. Non ves que sae sempre? cando empeza, polo medio, máis adiante, ao final, ten que ser o que presenta.

(A: rapaza; Z: rapaz)

- G: Stop it! Don't you know who that is?
- B: Well tell me who it is then, clever-clogs.
- G: That's the news presenter, you idiot.
- B: Well my granddad says he's the boss and that's that.
- G: Well I'm telling you he's the news presenter. Don't you see he's always there? At the beginning, in the middle, later on, at the end, he has to be the news presenter.

(G: girl; B: boy)

Apart from discussing Fraga's role in Galician society, the idea of the connection with the environment as a sign of identity is also apparent from the beginning of the short film. The children are framed with maritime scenery in the background which emphasizes the importance of the sea in Galician culture. The relationship with the land of their ancestors defines their identity but in different ways: while the boy appears to prefer his adopted country, the girl prefers Galicia:

- A: E a ti que che ghusta máis, Canarias ou aquí?

- Z: A min Canarias porque di meu pai que non chove e porque hai choio.
- A: Pois a min ghústame máis aquí que en Suiza: xogho máis, hai mar e están os meus avós que me deixan facer o que quero.
- Z: Si, iso está ben pero o avó di que hai que irse, para traballar hai que ir fóra.
- A: A minha nai tamen di iso pero sempre se vai chorando, ela torce a cara pero eu ben a vexo e meu pai non abre a boca ate chegar a Francia.
- (A: rapaza; Z: rapaz)

- G: So what do you like more, the Canary Islands or this?
- B: I prefer Canarias because my father says that it doesn't rain and because there are jobs.
- G: Well, I like this more than Switzerland: I can play more, I've got the sea and my grandparents let me do whatever I want.
- B: Yes, that's good but my granddad says that to be able to find a job we have to go abroad.
- G: My mum also says that but she always goes away crying, she turns her face but I can see her and my dad doesn't say a word till we get to France.
- (G: girl; B: boy)

In the first case Galicia is seen as a country without opportunities (and of rain and unemployment) where the only feasible option is emigration. On the contrary, for the girl, Galicia is the place where she can feel freer. In this respect the girl is portrayed as the most reflective character of the two. However, in the end, the boy also embraces his Galicianness and his attachment to his native land, as is made clear in the following conversation:

- A: E ti que vas ser [de ghrande]?

- Z: Pois eu vou ser emigrante.
- A: *Tas* parvo, para iso non se estuda. Eu vou ser acrobata para ver mundo pero ti para que vas ser emigrante?
- Z: Para vir aquí de vacacións.
(A: rapaza; Z: rapaz)

- G: And what do you want to be when you grow up?
- B: I'll be an emigrant.
- G: Are you silly? You don't need to study for that. I'll be an acrobat so that I can see the world but why will you be an emigrant?
- B: To come back here on holiday.
(G: girl; B: boy)

All the short films included in *Hai que botalos* are distributed according to a convenient structure which aims to inform the audience of the causes and effects of the impoverishment of Galicia. While the two short films analysed here concentrate on the effects, the previous ones focus on some of the causes by showing different environmental disasters in Galicia. This structure intends to explain the connection between a lack of employment with the attack on the natural resources of Galicia so that the audience becomes aware of the situation and contends it by exercising their right to vote. Cinema is in this case a suitable tool to make at least a part of Galician society conscious of a wide range of environmental issues that affect Galicia. Equally it was the means through which this, as well as the Fraga government's policies, were denounced. Other films have also explored some of the environmental consequences of state policies undertaken in Wales and Galicia at a more metaphorical level. An example of this is the Welsh film *Patagonia* by Marc Evans and the Galician film *Crebinsky* by Enrique Otero which will be discussed later in this thesis.

Place and belonging

The following sections will deal with the cinematographic response to environmental problems and concerns which derive from the impact caused by industrialization and state policies in Wales and Galicia and the subsequent social and national problems that stem from the conflict between the rural and urban. This will be examined in the films *Y Chwarelwr* (1935), *Twin Town* (1997) and *Pradolongo* (2007).

Given that this part of the study focuses on representations of identity and place, some aspects of postcolonial theory will help examine the ways in which Welsh and Galician cinema addresses this. The postcolonial approach will be understood as a useful theoretical framework for exploring the circumstances that derive from the clash of cultures as a consequence of political or cultural colonization. Postcolonial theory and literature has constantly remarked on the connection between place and belonging and the gaps that are produced as a result of colonization (Said 1979; Sharp 2009; Upstone 2009). In effect “postcolonial theories seem to be very geographical in that the language used talks about spaces, centres, peripheries and borders” (Sharp 2008, p. 5)

In terms of language, for example, the naming of places has clear implications not only in defining identity but also in perpetuating it. Consequently if the indigenous name of a place disappears, the gap produced between the knowledge of the physical entity and the impossibility of describing it in the native language creates a new relationship between the individual and the environment: “The gap which opens between the experience of place and the language available to describe it [results from the] imposition of the language of the colonizer power” (Ashcroft and Griffiths et al. 1989, p. 9).

In this sense place is examined from a postcolonial perspective as a space with meaning (Salgado, 2007; Sharp, 2009; Teverson and Upstone, 2011). A community which has been dispossessed of a significant place will experience a sense of loss as a consequence of the disappearance of a place towards which it feels some kind of attachment. The sense of belonging to a place has changed either because the place does not exist any longer, because it has been altered, or because it is not recognized in the terms that the community believes to be appropriate. As a significant element of the group has been transformed aspects of identity and belonging will have to be redefined.

The Welsh and Galician films which are discussed in the following sections explore all these ideas and hence some of the considerations of postcolonial theory are applicable. However, and as mentioned earlier in this study, ‘postcolonial’ will be understood here to mean a period in which political dependence upon the State still exists because political and economic independence has not yet been entirely achieved. As postcolonial theory points out although “in conventional accounts, decolonisation marked the end of colonialism ... postcolonial approaches see continuity from the colonial to the post-colonial periods” (Sharp 2008, p. 69). Place will be understood both in purely geographical terms and at a more abstract and symbolic level. The postcolonial approach will frame the relationship between place and identity from a cultural and ideological perspective.

Y Chwarelwr and Pradolongo: Rural and Urban Conflict

Both *Y Chwarelwr* (1935) and *Pradolongo* (2007) illustrate a portrayal of the life of a Welsh and a Galician community respectively, whose main economic income depends on slate mining. In these two films there is an implicit critique of the capitalist system that forces the working class to live under conditions of exploitation (long working hours, insecure and unfair working conditions, poverty, unemployment, etc). Poor working conditions are the main focus of *Y Chwarelwr* while the high unemployment rate in rural areas is one of the main concerns in *Pradolongo*. Furthermore – and although this is not as explicit in either of the two films – the political dependence of Wales and Galicia with regards to the State renders the situation more difficult because their natural resources are exploited responding to external interests.

The conflict between the rural and the urban is the main theme in *Pradolongo* which focuses on the need to preserve the rural world of Galicia as a means to defend and (re-)create national identity. Vilar's work is an attempt to offer solutions for the rural by trying to find alternatives to traditional ways of understanding the work of the land. For Vilar, this will not only be beneficial for the environment but most importantly it will also be an extremely important source of employment and progress for the country. He discusses the local – the Courel area which the film aims to depict – as well as the national, and in doing so has chosen only one of the many examples of the policies that have affected the Galician rural environment: *Pradolongo* focuses on the negative effects of slate mining which include not only a long-term high unemployment rate – owing to the fact that the slate resources are exhaustible – but also the disappearance of native fauna and vegetation. This has indeed been one of the main environmental concerns in Galicia during recent decades. Afforestation policies have been carried out in Galicia not only in the Courel area, where the introduction of foreign invasive trees – mainly pine trees – is

widespread, but also in other areas on the coast where the invasive eucalyptus is causing the disappearance of autochthonous forests and vegetation (Vence 2012; Plaza 2012). Villares explains that the State's Forestry Department (*Patrimonio Forestal do Estado*) was responsible for the introduction of these highly productive species from the 1950s to the 1970s (Villares 2004, p. 431).

Analogous examples of this kind of policies can be found in Wales. In effect in order to introduce these policies in Wales as well as in Galicia both the British and the Spanish governments have introduced the idea of 'wasted land' (Bohata 2004, p. 89). This concept is the main focus of analysis of Bohata's 'The Battle for the Hills: Politicized Landscapes and the Erasure of Place', included in her work *Postcolonialism revisited: writing Wales in English* and which focuses on the works of a number of Welsh poets. Their poems show a concern with the Forest Commission policies which caused the disappearance of autochthonous population – both human and natural – in Wales. Her analysis points to the conscious use of the term as a tool to introduce the idea that the forests are worthless and do not have owners (Bohata 2004, p. 89). In Wales the manipulation of the concept 'wasted' provided the State with an excuse to develop forestry policies that led to the subsequent afforestation of some areas. According to Bohata the afforestation process "is ... introduced not only as a means of settling families on the land, but also as a solution to the depopulation of the hills" (Bohata 2004, p. 90).

A very similar situation has developed in Galicia. The 'problem of the rural' as referred to by the State – and even by the Galician government – has led to the development of policies that enabled afforestation. By getting rid of autochthonous species, the Galician countryside became an 'open space' where foreign varieties that are supposedly more economically productive were introduced. As a consequence of the disastrous policies undertaken during Franco's dictatorship, Galician geography has changed dramatically. The savage

elimination of indigenous vegetation has led to irreparable environmental damage and the destruction of a previously productive primary sector. The coup d'état and the subsequent establishment of the dictatorship put an end to the economic transformation that was starting to take place in the first decades of the twentieth century in Galicia. The first decades of Franco's fascist regime were dedicated to building reservoirs and to the introduction of sawmills which would help develop a new wood and paper industry. Such industries and reservoirs were built in areas of high ecological value (Díaz Pardo 2006, p. 20; Folgar De la Calle and Martín Sánchez 2002, pp. 279-86).

Vilar's film reveals a concern with this type of environmental damage which is represented in a fictional space called Pradolongo, where the reality of an area whose landscape is being devastated by opencast mines is exposed. However, the film is also a homage to the natural beauty of Galicia as well as a manifestation of the wide range of possibilities that the rural offers owing to the productivity of Galicia's natural resources. The film's focus on a particular local community is relevant to other parts of Galicia and can also be extrapolated in order to establish comparisons with other similar contexts, such as in Wales. In effect all the aspects which *Pradolongo* discusses – the idea of community in rural areas, the mines as the only or easiest alternative to unemployment, the identification with the land(scape), etc. – can be entirely understood in a Welsh context.

Conflicts between rural areas and the process of industrialization presented in *Pradolongo* are also present in the history of Wales. The migratory movements from rural areas to the city were one of the consequences of the industrial revolution in the country. The clash between experiences in a new alien environment (the industrial south) and memories of the familiar (the rural north or west) produces a gap that is difficult to resolve. Some literary works have reflected this experience: "I be just thinking ... 'bout the days long ago,

when I did use to walk the fields of the North before ever I come down here to work in the pits” (Jones 2010, p. 4). The characters of Jones’ novel *Cwmardy* resemble in many ways those of *Y Chwarelwr*, mainly because they are contemporary works (1937 and 1935, respectively) and they therefore share a concern with the economic and political context of that time. *Y Chwarelwr* is a film about the life of slate quarrymen and the first film shot in Welsh. Although there is no mention of a rural background as in *Cwmardy*, it also focuses on the effects of industrialization and explores the difficulties of living in an industrial environment.

Y Chwarelwr and *Pradolongo* refer to different periods but the settings of the two films – both in the quarries and in the domestic environment – provide useful points for comparison. In both films exploitation of the environment affects other areas of society when the quarries appear as the only alternative for employment in these areas. In both films environmental issues will have a direct consequence on the dismantling of the primary sector (farming, fishing and mining) that will generate a wider secondary sector (industry). However, once natural resources are exhausted the unemployment rate will dramatically increase with no alternative employment for the communities (Mooney 2001, p. 237). *Y Chwarelwr* portrays a previous stage to that in *Pradolongo*: it is when working in the quarries is the only alternative for a whole community and for all the different generations of the male members of the family. One of the most significant scenes is when the young boy has to leave his studies and start working in the quarry so that his sister can continue studying as the beneficiary of a grant. The film deals with the health problems derived from poor working conditions and it addresses the issue of the difficulty of improving life conditions when studying is not even a possibility for most members of the community. In *Pradolongo* the resources of the mines have not been exhausted and working in the quarries is an alternative for some of the young boys in the area. However, Martiño opposes this idea and he stands as the representative of

a potential new generation that can see all the possibilities of the rural even in a world ruled by the capitalist system. Organic farming introduces the idea of alternative forms of exploitation which can be beneficial for the environment and can also help tackle unemployment.

The open ending of the film allows the audience to think about the options for the future. It is suggested that Martiño will go to university like other youngsters so he will not pursue his project of organic farming in the fields of Pradolongo. However, his father tells him about the possibility of buying his own piece of land one day where he could carry out his dream of becoming a farmer. Vilar's deliberate decision to leave an open future for Martiño is an attempt to leave an open future for the audience and especially for Galicia. The director does not opt for the catharsis of a happy ending in an attempt to show Galician society the potential for change. However, while all this is true for Martiño, Vilar does not want the audience to forget that not all members of the same society have had the same opportunities. Roi, Martiño's brother, has a very different view of his native land because he has not had the same opportunities in life. He had to abandon his studies in order to help the family by earning an income. The film implies that the alternative is possible only in a fair society. In this sense both *Pradolongo* and *Y Chwarelwyr* share the same idea of the importance of education, although in *Y Chwarelwyr* it is the youngest sister who will have the opportunity to continue her studies. In both cases the opportunity of education is guaranteed at least for the youngest siblings.

Urban Areas: the Case of *Twin Town*

Despite the fact that the main object of study of this thesis are Welsh-language films and Galician-language films, the English-language film *Twin Town* (1997) has been included for two main reasons: *Twin Town* represents in many ways the opposite of a range of Welsh-language films that are discussed in the present study. It depicts an urban context which is mainly English-speaking and lacks some of the elements discussed previously (i.e. rural setting and the idea of community). Furthermore it has been claimed to be “the most successful Welsh film at the box office since *How Green Was My Valley* (1941)” (Perrins 2000, p. 152) as well as one of the 1990s cinematic products resulting from the so-called *Trainspotting effect* (Mazierska and Rascaroli 2003; p. 205) – which refers to the films that were inspired by the themes discussed in the film *Trainspotting* by Danny Boyle (Street 1997, p. 134).

Whilst *Y Chwarelwr* and *Pradolongo* share a more idyllic rural depiction of Wales and Galicia, *Twin Town* is a post-industrial depiction of Wales. It is set in south Wales and deals with aspects of urban life and Welsh stereotypes. The area is presented as a wasted, nowhere land where unemployment, poor working conditions and corruption are common. In the urban context of *Twin Town* there is no place for the community values that we can see in *Pradolongo* or in *Y Chwarelwr*; the characters of *Twin Town* do not have hope in the future. Here again place has an enormous influence on people. In this case Swansea is the main setting of the film. There are references to meaningful elements and personalities of the city such as Dylan Thomas. However, this could also be any other city in the world and that is because it represents the loss of identity of a community. For example, the film plays with the stereotype of a South Wales that is not Welsh speaking. What it attempts to convey ironically is that Welsh may become an alien language in some parts of the country if it is not generationally transmitted. The scene where the parents sing in Welsh is

ridiculed by their daughter and this is an attitude that becomes even more absurd when they choose Welsh to speak to their dog. Allen's depiction can obviously be contested if understood as implying that Welsh is a residual language that is currently only used in certain social circumstances. However, it can also be interpreted in terms of the need to fight for the valorisation of the language so that it can be normalised. All these aspects that have been presented in the film in a rather peculiar way by using humorous and absurd elements have been interpreted by some authors as an "elusive confidence to either ignore the obvious ways to "be Welsh" or to laugh at them from within" (Blandford 2007, p. 94). In this respect humour in the film is used as a means of evaluating and reinterpreting some elements that are traditionally associated with Welshness (Perrins 2000, pp. 153-55).

However, *Twin Town* has received a great deal of criticism as well. For some critics, such as Berry (1997) or Thompson (1997), "the film still looks at Wales from the outside and trades in the stereotypes" (Blandford 2007, p. 95) and depicts a highly negative image of Swansea which can be damaging for the city (Blandford 2007, p. 95). This idea derives from the film's cinematic language and the scenic design that create a mock tone which often leads to absurdity. The plot develops according to a series of absurd events that will result in tragedy: a dog's decapitation and the killing of the family members of the protagonists, the Lewis twins, played by real-life brothers Rhys and Llyr Ifans. Humour and absurdity is the means through which the film's events and scenes are linked. In this respect the film employs humour as a tool to criticize the overemphasis on some aspects of Welsh culture with the intention of creating a distinctive image of Wales. The problem with this, according to Allen's vision in the film, is that these elements can lose their real significance and become symbolic. Although symbols are part of the memory and history of a group, the film alerts us to the risk of them becoming mere symbols. With regards to language, for example, the film suggests that Welsh could become a symbolic

language mainly used in anecdotal situations. This is mockingly represented in the scene with the dog. The film employs absurdity to provoke a reaction. It is used as a means of exploring and (re-)constructing meaningful elements of Welsh identity and according to some film scholars “it can be read ... in terms of cultural maturity” (Blandford 2007, p. 95): ‘In short we may be beginning to learn, to paraphrase Caradoc Evans, not to hate ourselves, but to like each other well enough to criticise our own behaviour’ (Perrins 2000, p. 164).

The film evokes humour in dealing with the stereotypes associated with Welshness. This means that they are subverted and criticised in order for them to be reconsidered so that they do not become meaningless symbols of Welsh culture. Other serious issues affecting post-industrial South Wales are discussed in the film. *Twin Town* draws attention to the problems of unemployment in a southern city in Wales: it does not depict the traditional portrayal of a bucolic, beautiful Welsh landscape. In contradistinction to the rural portrayal of the other films examined in this thesis, in Allen’s film there is only urban scenery. While the city has been presented as the ‘promised land’ for those living in rural areas – in contrast to the countryside as the place of no possibilities or progress – *Twin Town* suggests the opposite.

The real conflict between the rural and urban and the environmental issues that derive from this is reflected as a matter of concern that filmmakers have tried to address. These films point to the need to articulate a dialogue between these two realities: how to approach this is not an easy task but it is necessary for national development and more importantly for the survival of specific elements of Welsh and the Galician identity such as environment, language and native traditions. This is conveyed in *Pradolongo*, where Martiño embodies the concept of a possible ‘modern rural Galicia’. In effect, the film reinforces the idea that the preservation of the common heritage is not incompatible with modernity. It links the past with the future by offering a blank canvas where

everything is possible and where the reinvention of (national) identity can take place. The three films examine similar elements: they deal with social issues such as the environment, unemployment and the negative consequences of losing a place, language and ultimately one's identity. In some ways *Twin Town* reflects what Wales can become if some of the elements of rural life – the idea of community, of a common history and language, etc – discussed in *Pradolongo* and *Y Chwarelwr* disappear. While *Pradolongo* and *Y Chwarelwr* concentrate on the negative aspects of industrialization in rural communities, *Twin Town* moves to an urban setting where the process of industrialization is unstoppable.

Landscape and Identity

For a better understanding of the importance of resolving the conflict between the rural and the urban in Wales and Galicia, the deep connection between landscape and identity in these two contexts must be observed. This section will examine the ways in which landscape is portrayed in Welsh and Galician film. By observing the elements that have been used in some Welsh and Galician cinematic characterizations of landscape, the investigation intends to explore if the representation of landscape in both cinemas is to any extent relevant for the (re-)construction of the concept of national identity.

For the analysis of these concepts in the films *Hedd Wyn* (1992) and *Pradolongo* (2007), landscape will be here understood “not as a painting but as ... the matrix through which ideologies may become manifest in specific viewed and experiential contexts” (DeLue and Elkins 2008, pp. 188-9). The study of the ideological perspective of landscape and more specifically of the landscape that is portrayed in Welsh and Galician film will enable us to understand how the national imagery of a community is constructed because:

Studying landscape as a conveyor of ideology allows us to call attention to the ways in which the built environment (or cultural landscape) frequently becomes complicit in cultural formations. Landscape is ... therefore exceptionally powerful as an ideological tool (DeLue and Elkins 2008, p. 190).

This idea will be expanded with the concept of *ethnoscape* coined by Anjun Appadurai (1996, p.33) which incorporates ethnicity not into any space but into landscape. For a deeper development of the interrelationship between landscape and ethnicity we will follow various analyses of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (May 1999, pp. 30-32). In addition to the authors already

mentioned, the ideas of this chapter are based on a range of theoretical works. Several conceptions of landscape and identity will be introduced. This will help discuss the way in which social imagery is constructed in the Welsh and Galician cinematic representation of landscape.

Ethnoscape in Welsh and Galician Film

The portrayal of landscape and its relationship with the construction of national identity manifested in the Welsh film *Hedd Wyn* (1992) and in the Galician film *Pradolongo* (2007) will be the focus of this section. The analysis of the filmic representation of landscape in these two films will draw attention to what has been established in this study as the two metaphorical levels of cinematic landscape portrayal; that is, the local and the national level. It will investigate the elements that define the landscape of local communities in Wales and Galicia and their implications at a national level. Approaching landscape as a representative metaphor of the local will help to understand how the idea of identity is shaped in a wider national scale and how Welsh and Galician filmmakers represent this in their works.

In the same way that Welsh and Galician authors have dealt with fiction and poetry, filmmakers have given place and landscape a powerful meaning. This can be observed, for instance, in *Hedd Wyn* and *Pradolongo*. The protagonists of the films, Martiño and Ellis, experience a close connection with the landscape of their hometown, and their emotional connection with their local environment determines their own identity. The conception of the close relationship between place and identity is discussed in these two films which focus on “the experience of affinity to a particular landscape and locality by suggesting that the very geography of an area embodies the qualities of a close human relation” (Bohata 2004, p. 20). The films share the same idea of understanding the local landscape (*Meirionnydd* and *Pradolongo*) as a metonymic transposition of the national territory (Wales and Galicia). Furthermore, this idea appears to be in close relation to the concept of social imagery and the implications of such a concept in the definition of national identity. The ideas expressed by Dafydd Evans in his article on Welsh national identity in border regions are perfectly applicable to these cinematic cases

(Evans 2007, pp. 123-143). In effect both *Hedd Wyn* and *Pradolongo* show “how inhabitants ... use aspects of both locality and region ... to construct their sense of national belonging” (Evans, 2007).

In Vilar’s film, the piece of land known as ‘Pradolongo’ is the regional space that represents the whole nation. The people who live there interact with that space in different ways but they all agree that it is a meaningful place in the community. In that sense, ‘Pradolongo’ is the microcosm where identity conflicts merge. Moreover, it is where the different views of what constitutes the community – and on a larger scale, the nation – converge. All the characters, even those who no longer feel any sentimental attachment, have a personal story related to that terrain. Even those who deny any affectionate connection to it, such as Anselmo and his father, share with other members of the community a story which retains ‘Pradolongo’ in the background. Although Anselmo’s father only thinks about the short-term economic benefits of ‘Pradolongo’, his personal history is also rooted in it as a place which has always been known to him and to the community to which he relates.

Hedd Wyn’s attachment to his birth place appears to be in close relation to his identity and to his sense of belonging. The landscape that has surrounded him since his childhood fills the imagery of his poetry. His compositions reproduce the local scenery serving at the same time as a metaphor of the national level: *his* landscape is described in *his* autochthonous language. However that landscape and that language belong not only to him but to the whole community: that is how he, as well as his poetry, become the (poetic) voice of a whole nation. Hedd Wyn is also a symbol of resistance.

Martíño and Ellis share a similar background. They both intensively interact with the landscape of their native villages and they do so in a way that surpasses the physical or geographic. The deep connection between human beings and

nature that surrounds them is so intense that they do not understand their existence without it. For both Ellis and Martiño the landscape of their home towns works as a metaphor for the nation. Ellis' poetry could not have been produced without the intense relationship with his native Meirionnydd. Similarly, Pradolongo is for Martiño the place where conflicts and solutions coexist: it is both a place of joy and suffering. This is where he has spent memorable moments with his friends but it is also a place for reflexion where his personal doubts and internal conflicts meet. It is where the world of his childhood and his adulthood merge and it is at the same time the heritage he has received from his ancestors: it is his connection with the "common myths of ancestry and [historical] memories" (Smith 2004, p. 131) of his community but it is also the link with the future. The future can reinvent the past in this particular case through the development of organic farming, of which Martiño is an advocate.

The concept of habitus introduces the idea of common 'ways of viewing, and living in the world' (May 2008, p. 45) that social groups experience via socialisation. Furthermore "habitus comprises all the social and cultural experiences that shape us as a person" (May 1999, p. 27) and undoubtedly Martiño and Ellis are the result of a range of social and cultural experiences that have determined the way in which they perceive the world around them and, subsequently, the definition of their national identity. However, for Bourdieu, "habitus is both shaped by, and *also shapes*, the objective social and cultural conditions which surround it" (May 2008, p. 48). Therefore it is not only objective, social and cultural experiences that determine people's attitudes, but the individual, subjective way of interpreting and experiencing reality influences them also. Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that this "does not determine individual behaviour [because] a range of choices, or strategic practices, is presented to individuals within the internalised framework of the habitus" (May 1999, pp. 27-28). In effect, the protagonists of these films do

not behave in the same way as the other members of the community: they are the antithesis to the rest. The Welsh film is named after the protagonist of the story. He is representative of his community, and, on a wider scale, of his nation. In the case of Pradolongo something similar occurs because the real division between the place, Pradolongo, and the human, Martiño, is rather vague. The film suggests that Martiño and Pradolongo are two dimensions of the same system. Martiño is the changeable, subjective dimension while Pradolongo is the objective and static dimension which is at the same time subjected to change.

Ellis' refusal to take part in the war is a personal choice as is his younger brother's wish to enlist. Ellis' determination is not only a declaration of pacifist beliefs but also a declaration of his national rights. His anti-war beliefs have much to do with his way of understanding the part of the world he lives in, and his own interpretation of his local community – where the native language and the landscape play an essential role – determines his behaviour within it. Furthermore this determines his perception of the world not only as a Welsh person but also as a citizen of the world. In effect his pacifist beliefs are the result of his love for nature but also for humanity. This is the main reason why he does not want to take part in the war. Ellis, or more precisely Hedd Wyn, using his bardic name, stands for Wales or rather for a particular perception of Wales where the tranquility of the native language and landscape appear in contrast to images of war.

Similarly, Martiño represents Galicia or, more accurately, the choices that Galicia as a nation should make in order to maintain its distinctive nature. He symbolizes the link with the past that is reinterpreted from a modern perspective. In this way a new concept for the understanding of territory is introduced: the possibility of enjoying a new way of rural life while maintaining identity and reinventing the present and even the past. Martiño

wants to maintain the link with roots as he is aware that when these disappear the concept of belonging becomes problematic. However, he does not want to address this from a traditional, conservative perspective. Much to the contrary he wants to make society aware that if it is understood from a new perspective, the rural way of life can be productive. The idea of being able to change or adapt pre-existing cultural codes is also present in the concept of Bourdieu's habitus when this is understood as "both a product of our early socialisation, yet ... also continually modified by individuals' experience of the outside world" (May 2008, p. 49). This idea is conveyed in the two films. The title *Pradolongo* is very significant because it metaphorically points to the idea of a space that is part of the early socialization of most of the characters and at the same time is constantly changing. The literal meaning of *Pradolongo* is 'long' or 'wide field', where long would refer both to time and length. That is where all the conflicts of the plot converge as well too as where the causes and solutions to all problems originate. Therefore, *Pradolongo* is presented as the 'long field' where different viewings of the cultural codes of the community and the nation take place.

Despite Ellis' personal decision not to take part in the war because of his beliefs, he has no other choice but to do so in order to enable his younger brother to avoid entering the army. Martiño's ideals will also be affected by an external party. In spite of his determination to start a new business that will benefit the whole community, his dream of becoming an organic farmer comes to an end when *Pradolongo* is sold by all his project co-members for the lucrative extraction of slate. In opposition to these two active and strong characters, the other members of the community in which they live appear to be quite inactive and too accommodating of the circumstances they have to live in. With the exception of the protagonists, the incapacity of most of the characters to foresee an open world of possibilities is related to the fact that

they have internalised a particular perception of the world as members of a “subordinate culture” (May 2008, p. 48). This perception is caused by:

The negative and commonly expressed views of ethnic-minority cultures and practices (including the speaking of a minority language) as regressive and ‘premodern’ [which are] ... expressed predominantly by majority-group members. However, they are also expressed by minority-group members themselves, usually as the end result of a process of negative internalisation (May 2008, p. 48).

Roi, Martiños’ brother, like the great majority of the community, has actually internalised this negative view of his community and nation. The idea of rural Galicia as ‘regressive and premodern’ has been a constant in dominant state rhetoric (Torres Luna 1999, pp. 851-56; Murillo Ferrol 1983, p. 694). This rhetoric has introduced the idea of ‘the problem of the rural in Galicia’. By stressing that ‘the problem’ is part of Galicia, the cause of this alleged problem is transferred from the colonizer to the colonized. In doing so, the colonizer’s rhetoric achieves two objectives: avoiding being considered as the origin of the conflict and making the colonized internalise guilt so that they do not defend their rights. However, according to Bourdieu, the internalisation of the conflict that may produce inactivity in the recipient is not insuperable because although “individuals and groups operate strategically *within the constraints* of a particular habitus, [they] also ... react to changing external conditions; economic, technological and political” (May 2008, p. 46). This can be seen in the two films under discussion in Ellis’ and Martiño’s determination to take action within those practices: their attitude becomes, therefore, an example of “an orientation to social action” (May 2008, p. 45).

The portrayal of landscape and its interrelation with identity that has been analysed in this section allows some conclusions to be made. The imagery of

the native landscape that appears in Welsh and Galician cinema has been proven to be a powerful instrument with which to defend national rights. Whatever circumstances surround the characters, nature works as an ally to help them evolve as individuals and as members of their community. Nature functions, therefore, as a metonym of the nation. In literary terms, it is what Uxío Novoneyra, a poet from Courel – in the same area in which *Pradolongo* was shot – expresses in geographical terms when he writes that he dreams of a ‘free Galicia from Courel to Compostela’. These films suggest that to belong to a community means to share a particular view of the world and a particular way of life. Consequently, when being dispossessed of a place, a particular way of understanding a part of the world and the identity of those who inhabit it disappears. It is what the Welsh philosopher J. R. Jones very accurately describes as “your country leaving you” (Aaron and Williams 2005, p. 32).

In literature both Welsh and Galician authors use landscape as a metaphor of the nation in similar ways. The ideological uses of landscape are reflected in both national discourses: both tend to use geographical terms to define national identity and for both the word ‘land’ functions as a synonym of the country (*Gwlad* and *Terra*). Place works as a powerful tool in two senses: as an instrument with which to protect national rights and as a way of denouncing colonization. Similarly native landscape functions as the element by which opposition is established between the colonizer and the colonized: wild, fertile, green Galicia appears in opposition to dry, flat Castile while Welsh hills are usually opposed to flat England. At a time where Galicia was qualified as a “cortello inmundo” (López Sánchez 2010, p. 81)[filthy stable], Rosalía de Castro, for instance, constructs an imaginary of resistance through her poetry (López Sánchez 2010, p. 81) which involves a positive and subversive description of Galician native landscape. This construct is established in terms of binary oppositions where green fertile Galicia is contrasted with dry, flat Castile:

E voume á Galicia hermosa
Dond' en xuntanza m' agarda
O que no tendes, señora,
Y ó qu' en Castilla n' achara,
Campiños de lindas rosas,
Fontiñas de frescas auguas,
Sombra ná veira d' os ríos,
Sol nás alegres montañas.
(De Castro 1977, p.82)

And I am leaving for lovely Galicia
Where all this is awaiting me
All this which you do not have, madam
And which in Castile I couldn't find
Little fields of beautiful roses
Little fountains of fresh water
Shade by the riverbanks
Sun on the cheerful mountains.
(my translation)

For the analysis of this interrelation between national imagery and landscape in Wales, Bohata's 'The Battle for the Hills: Politicized Landscapes and the Erasure of Place' (Bohata 2004, p. 89), which has already been mentioned for a discussion of afforestation policies, is very revealing. The Welsh postcolonial theorist's study focuses on literature although her analyses are perfectly valid for other forms of artistic expression. In her examination of how Welsh writers use nature as an essential element for the construction of Wales as a nation, the article becomes an assertion of environmental and national rights, where these are considered to be interrelated parts of an overarching whole. In a very similar way Welsh and Galician filmmakers have transferred these ideas to

cinema which by its very nature and essential processes as a visual art can explore images of nature and landscape in a more graphic and unmediated manner.

ETHNICITY

Some Considerations for the Welsh and Galician Contexts

The previous chapter concentrated on the relationship between belonging and identity through the analyses of place and landscape. Here the idea of ethnicity will be discussed by employing some of the theoretical approaches that have already been mentioned, such as the concept of *ethnie* as coined by Smith (2004, p. 17). Anthony D. Smith's interesting definition of pre-modern *entities*, which he calls *ethnies*, facilitates debate about modern concepts of the nation. Smith distinguishes between the concept of the modern Western state which originated in the nineteenth century – and which led to the creation of the modern 'nation-state' – from that of pre-modern nations. The latter have existed since antiquity or at some point in antiquity. This study follows Smith's definition of *ethnie* as "a named and self-defined human community whose members cultivate common myths, memories and symbols, and possess a distinctive public culture, occupy a historic homeland, and observe common law and shared customs" (Smith 2004, 17). Furthermore they share "some measure of solidarity" (Smith 2004, 131).

In the modern capitalist and globalized world where migrations are to a great extent a consequence of the economic system, one of the main challenges of non-sovereign nations is to create a discourse of inclusiveness in which migrants are integrated into the community in such a way that identity, or more precisely identities, coexist. By doing so the national discourse will not only be made more open but also contest the rhetoric of the state that frequently defines 'the other', that is, the non-sovereign nation, as exclusive (Billig 1995).

In the configuration of the modern nation-state the focus on a common 'national' history is the means by which the state will present itself as valid to

the members of that (nation-)state (Billig 1995). Therefore a discourse that contests such rhetoric is imperative for the survival of non-sovereign nations. In the case of Wales and Galicia, for example, the denial of their true national history within the historiography of the state is no coincidence (Nogueira Román 2012, p. 25). It is crucial for Spanish historiography, based on the idea of Castile as the dominant kingdom, to deny the existence of the Kingdom of Galicia as this would reveal that Castile was originally a county within that kingdom, that the kings of that kingdom were Galician and that the cultural language of the Christian kingdoms was for centuries Galician (Nogueira Román 2002; López Carreira 2005; Nogueira Román 2012). In terms of history and language, Wales is also problematic for the construction of a 'British history' which is based on the idea of England as the powerful centre. The concept of Welsh as the descendent of the Brythonic language that was spoken on most of the island (Davies 2007, pp. 44-45) is problematic for the 'British' history which places English as the dominant language in the island. To accept that both Welsh and Galician were at one time the predominant and most influential languages in the island and peninsula complicates British and Spanish historiography because it denies a principle on which the state is based: that of an old common language. Furthermore, this also contradicts the principle of common identity and ethnicity; that is, for this case, the notion that 'all' citizens are British or Spanish. Both historiographies use the myth of the united state (which is described as a nation) as an everlasting entity in order to present the nation-state as the only 'normal' and valid current political institution (Billig, 1995).

The concept of the (nation-)state depends precisely on the principle of normality as if all the elements that form that 'nation' had always been there. In this respect, it is worth considering Michael Billig's concept of *banal nationalism* (Billig, 1995). According to him, it is very important to remark on those symbols that are presented as a 'normal' part of daily life. This enables

the state to subtly introduce the idea of what is right and wrong with regards to 'national' identity. There is no need to say what people are (British or Spanish, for example) as that is something that all 'already' know, and those who do not fit into this category are 'the others', that is, the ones who are 'wrong'. This strategy exists in centripetal state rhetoric (Birch 1989; Sort i Jané, 1997; García Negro, 1999; Rodríguez Sánchez, 1999) which stigmatized 'the others' while Spanish and British remain 'neutral' terms. For the survival of the so called nation-state its members must feel that they belong to this 'neutral' ethnical category:

Preténdese que as institucións nacionais alternativas entren en contradicción coas institucións e os principios democráticos contemporáneos, tomando a convivencia cívica como un patrimonio dos estados existentes e tómasse a imposición do uniformismo por defensa da igualdade. Nin sequera está plenamente aceptada a diversidade lingüística, reservándose para o castelán a condición de lingua do estado e o deber do seu coñecemento ... a visión historiográfica que se impón corresponde á continuidade de ser de España desde tempo romano, se non antes, que foi instrumentada no século XIX (Nogueira Román 2012, p. 150)

It is expected that alternative national institutions come into conflict with contemporary democratic institutions and principles, where civic coexistence is regarded as a heritage of the existing states and the imposition of uniformity is understood as a defence of equality. Even linguistic diversity is not completely accepted, the condition of state language and the duty to know it is saved for Castilian ... the historiographic view imposed correlates with the continuity of being from Spain from Roman times, or even earlier, which was established in the nineteenth century (my translation).

This state rhetoric must be contested in order to maintain the linguistic and political rights of so-called *minorities*. For this purpose modern theories on ethnicity will be considered. In order to analyse how film in Wales and Galicia has represented aspects of ethnicity and identity, the Welsh films *Patagonia* (2010), *Ymadawiad Arthur* (1994), *Eldra* (2003) and *Solomon a Gaenor* (1999) and the Galician films *Crebinksy* (2011), *Modelo Burela* (2009) and the short film *Gato Encerrado* (2010) will be examined. Firstly, the analysis will focus on the representation of ethnicity in some Welsh and Galician films; secondly, it will observe what kind of discourse about ethnicity is being created in Welsh and Galician cinema.

Representations of Ethnicity in Film: An Inclusive Wales and Galicia

The documentary *Modelo Burela* (2009) by Matías Nicieza relates the different stories of immigrants in the Galician coastal town of Burela. Galicia is widely known for being an emigrant country but recently it has also been recipient of groups of immigrants who come mainly from Latin America, Western European countries and Portugal. In this context language issues have arisen. Although the main sociolinguistic issues in Galicia regard the native population, how to make immigrants engage with the native language and culture is a challenge that must also be addressed. In the case of immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries the answer seems less complicated owing to the fact that for Portuguese speakers it is, in principle, easier to live among Galician-speaking communities than in Spanish-speaking communities because of the common Galician-Portuguese linguistic background. Moreover this is beneficial for Galician and for its normalization as it establishes a link with other Galician-Portuguese speaking countries. This has been pointed out as a valuable element for the survival of the Galician language in Galicia (Rodrigues Fagim, 2001; Carvalho Calero, 1981; Rodrigues Lapa, 1979). The second important group of immigrants comes from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. In principle, the simplest option for them in a bilingual society where Galician and Spanish are spoken seems to be to continue to use only Spanish.

In this context, how does a country which has traditionally been – and still is – a massive sender of emigrants welcome the arrival of immigrants and provides them with the opportunity to partake of its autochthonous culture? *Modelo Burela* provides some useful suggestions. The events in Burela prove that integration and inclusiveness are possible and furthermore they show the beneficial aspects that can derive from a Galician-speaking multicultural society. The film shows the statements of individual cases of immigrants that

come from many different places and are perfectly integrated in the community. Several ethnic groups cohabit perfectly in a context where a strong link between them all is Galician. The Galician language proves to be an inclusive element of cohesion among members of different ethnic groups regardless of their birth origin. In this sense *Modelo Burela* is an example of how film can be used as a vehicle to inform society of successful developing projects in Galicia with regards, in this case, to language and ethnicity. This idea of considering language as an element for inclusiveness has been commented on in other forms of artistic expression such as literature, for example. It has been argued that the Galician literature is inclusive as the autochthonous language is “un criterio inclusivo en tanto que permite que calquera persoa con vontade, independentemente do seu lugar de orixe, poida facer literatura galega” (Castro Vázquez 2011, p.89) [an inclusive criterion since it allows any willing person, regardless of where they come from, to produce Galician literature] (my translation).

The language policies developed in Burela have proved to be successful and are a valuable model to be extrapolated to other places in Galicia as well as to any other contexts where the endangered native language within diglossic contexts comes into contact with other cultures and languages. Similarly, Catalan, for example, has been regarded as the common language and element of social cohesion. Currently Catalonia is a multicultural and multilingual country where more than two hundred languages are spoken. It is in this context that Catalan can be used as the language of social and public interaction. This guarantees the linguistic rights of the native population as well as those of immigrants. As Puigcercós (Del Río 2010) states: ‘Sen esa cohesión corremos un grave risco de conflito ... non se poden profesar dúas relixións á vez, pero si falar varios idiomas, aprender unha lingua non é renunciar a outra’. [It is when that cohesion is lacking which is when we are at risk of conflict ... one cannot profess more than one religion at a time but we can speak more than one

language; learning a language does not mean giving up on another one] (my translation).

New social and cultural initiatives in Catalonia have employed the idea of a common language as a means to create a common (public) space for Catalan speakers regardless of their ethnic background. *El Catalá, llengua comuna* (Catalan, the common language) is the slogan used on some language campaigns celebrated on the Diada de Sant Jordi (Saint George's Day), the day of the Catalan Language, as for example the lip dub initiatives which are collaborative film projects. By using the collaborative format, these campaigns support the linguistic rights of Catalan speakers while reinforcing the idea of social cohesion.

Similar initiatives have been carried out in Galicia as the project *Eu falarei* (I will speak) (EDLG Chapela 2012) demonstrates. Based on the original song by Gloria Gaynor *I will survive*, performed by secondary students and mainly promoted by teachers, it focuses on the importance of maintaining the oral use of Galician. In this case the collaborative project has three main objectives: to encourage youths to use the native language, to draw attention to recent sociolinguist figures that show an alarming decrease in the number of Galician native speakers, and to object to the current Xunta de Galicia's language and education policies. These policies set up by the PP since they took power in 2009 have been aimed at establishing a multilingual education system where Galician has less representation. Since the passing of the Law for Linguistic Normalization in 1983, this is the first occasion on which Galician has less legal status in public institutions.

By introducing humorous elements, frequently present in Galician cultural products, and also via a collaborative project, *Eu Falarei* has been successful in social media (mainly YouTube, Facebook and Twitter). The short film starts

with the presentation of an absurd and humorous hypothetical future in which Galician and Galicia no longer exist. The teacher explains this (in Spanish) at the beginning of the lesson:

Hoy dentro del tema ocho dedicado a las lenguas extinguidas y muertas vamos a hablar de la lengua gallega. Fijaos que arcaica, que primitiva. Es posible que muchos de vuestros tatarabuelos y bisabuelos todavía se acuerdan de cómo se hablaba en un sitio que llamábamos Galicia.

Today, in topic eight about extinguished and dead languages, we are going to talk about the Galician language. Look how old and primitive it is. It is possible that many of your great-great-grandparents and your great-grandparents still remember how it was spoken in a place called Galicia (my translation).

However the video develops into an optimistic lip dub version of the song *I will survive* in which students and teachers are involved together with the millions of viewers who can follow the project via the internet. Examples like this demonstrate that new visual formats are transforming the way in which art is created, transmitted and received. For the particular case of minoritized languages, these experimental forms of visual art can help produce new projects in and about the native languages and cultures.

Another example of how language is and can be an inclusive element is shown in the Welsh film *Eldra* (2003). The film is presented through the eyes of a Romany girl who feels caught between two cultures and is unsure to which ethnic group she belongs. Despite her own uncertainty regarding personal and identity, the Welsh language in *Eldra* (as with the case of Galician *Modelo Burela*) never works as an exclusive element. On the contrary, Welsh is the normal and common language of everyday life for Eldra and her family. Eldra's

concerns have more to do with finding her place in the world: as an individual with a different ethnic background, she constantly feels she does not fit in anywhere. However, at times, she also feels that she belongs to both ethnic groups. Although it is clear that being an immigrant is somehow equivalent to being an outsider, there seems to be an over dramatization of her feelings in the film. There are many aspects of Romany culture which she happily embraces, especially the close relationship with nature. This is something that she also finds in Welsh culture and in this respect the Welsh landscape provides her with the opportunity to grow closer to her own Romany background. In effect, both nature and language work as linking elements in the film.

At least some of Eldra's conflicts derive from a lack of understanding between generations rather than a cultural gap between the Romany and Welsh cultures. As a child in the process of developing her own personality, confrontation with her parents is inevitable. However, there are some aspects of her insecurities that result from the clash of the two cultures: it is clear that her conflicts appear when she tries to maintain Romany ancestral ways of interpreting the world within the Welsh context. In this respect, *Eldra* raises some important questions over the clash of different ethnic groups that are applicable to modern societies. Eldra is constantly searching for her place in the community in order to be able to feel that she belongs somewhere. Belonging to a Welsh-speaking Romany family places her in an in-between situation where her cultural identity and ethnicity is permanently being discussed. In her case, choices are at times problematic. Her situation is obviously more complicated if compared to other members of the community because her internal conflicts derive from the transnational identity that she embodies. The term *ethnoscape* (Appadurai 1996, p. 33) to describe the intercultural phenomena that occur as a consequence of global migrations is easily applicable to an analysis of *Eldra*. The encounter of two ethnic cultures, the Romany and the Welsh, is what makes Eldra wonder about her position in the community.

Her perception of the world is undoubtedly affected by this cross-cultural situation. However, it is not only this that makes her a different character. Her understanding of the world is also determined by the fact she is a girl. As a female character, Eldra explores other aspects of identity. A deeper examination of the relationship between identity and female characters will be made in further chapters.

The stunning scenery of the film is used as a cohesive element where the conflicts of the *double* identity of Eldra meet. Her close connection with nature is part of her Romany heritage but also her Welsh identity. The legacy of her Romany identity has been orally transmitted through generations and in the film it is embodied in the figure of her grandfather. In effect the importance of preserving her family's cultural traditions is the message that he brings to her: "I'm Romany, every inch. Taid [grandfather] said". Although Eldra is proud of this, she also feels a deep and special connection with the place where she lives as the continuous scenes which portray her in a countryside setting show. While still a child, Eldra's reflective personality places her in a position between childhood and adult life. Her grandfather's death symbolizes the beginning of her journey into adulthood: in this sense the figure of the grandfather not only represents the link with Romany heritage but also with childhood and fantasy. After his death, Eldra's imaginary world becomes more realistic and although she continues to be a child she has developed a more mature vision of the world. In the process of becoming an adult, Eldra will have to find out by herself who she is or who she wants to be. This is conveyed in one of the last scenes of the film which shows her and her close friend Robat talking about the future. She does not know if she will continue to go to school and she even speculates about a possible nomadic future living in a caravan. However, she accepts the unpredictability of the future with a calmness she lacked at the beginning of the film. This very symbolic scene suggests an acceptance of her dual identity as she embraces the broad opportunities that this offers. The

aspects analysed in *Eldra* show that the sociolinguistic context in Wales is not the reason for the conflicts presented in the film. Much to the contrary, what we have is the example of a normalized linguistic context in a Welsh-speaking community. In effect, *Eldra* introduces the idea of an ‘inclusive Wales’ where language is not an element of exclusion but the element of cohesion (Brooks 2009, pp. 1-15).

Finally, the rights of ethnic groups and indeed the lack of them is the main aspect discussed in the Galician animation short film *Gato Encerrado* (2010) by the acclaimed director Peque Varela. In contrast with *Modelo Burela* and *Eldra* that deal with multiethnic identities and inclusivity in non-sovereign nations, *Gato Encerrado* (Cat in a Box) focuses on the difficulties that some ethnic groups encounter when trying to obtain work permits in States where they are not citizens. The exclusion suffered by groups who are not white and European is the main concern of *Gato Encerrado*. Furthermore, the story presents an examination of ethnicity and migrations as understood in a globalized capitalist world. Varela’s inspiration for this short film came from her concerns with immigration policies in the United Kingdom and the United States of which she became aware while living in London and Los Angeles. Her purpose in making the story of the invisible – the so-called illegal immigrants – visible is clear from the beginning of *Gato Encerrado* which starts with the following statement: “Deixa que che conte a miña historia” [Let me tell you my story].

By using cats instead of people to represent immigrants, the director points out the barbarity of the modern capitalist system which divides society – and even humanity – into categories of affluence or poverty according to birth. It criticizes capitalist hierarchical and bureaucratic structures which make it impossible for immigrants – especially for some groups of immigrants – to legalize their situation and to obtain a work permit. The animalization of people symbolizes the lack of humanity of capitalist societies. The economic

imbalances created by this kind of system force impoverished groups to emigrate in order to survive and provide their families with some sort of income that will prevent them from starvation. The short film presents the miseries of immigrant cats which try to get hold of documents to obtain the legal status that would enable them to have a work permit. In the process they come across a number of violations of their human rights, including rape, starvation and ultimately in most cases, death. The endless procedures they have to face are represented by a labyrinth that symbolizes the difficult process for obtaining citizenship. For immigrants to reach their destination a number of obstacles will have to be overcome, corruption and the abuse of power among them. Moreover, university policies in certain states which require ‘overseas’, that is, non-European students to pay more fees (Johnstone and D'Ambrosio et al. 2010, p. 206) are also criticized in the film.

One of the most imaginative aspects of *Gato Encerrado* is that it plays with the idea of the number of lives that cats have. More precisely, it plays with the difference in culture regarding the number of cats' lives: do they have seven or nine? In *Gato Encerrado* the number of lives a cat has is dependent on the cat's ethnic background. The system provides certain groups with legal advantages that will allow them to live for longer. Varela has commented on an original idea she had for this film. She created a story which would explain the cultural difference of the number of lives of a cat: a cat's grandparent told its grandchild a story that would explain the imbalance between the number of lives. Originally all cats had eight lives but a group of them stole a life from the other group. As a result the first group increased the number of lives to nine while the other moved down to seven. This, in the director's own words, stands as a metaphor for Western colonization mainly in Africa and America which continues in various ways in the present.

In the film, citizenship is given to those who have nine lives, although some of the cats, despite having a passport and money, are denied citizenship which requires nine lives. The in-between situation that some immigrants – the so-called illegal immigrants – experience is introduced by the number eight, with the immigration officer allowed to decide what happens to cases falling between seven and nine. The film ends with the officer thinking which button to press, the one which will provide the cat with the nine lives necessary to obtain citizenship or the one which will deny them. As a way of looking for some kind of empathy from the spectator, the button chosen is in the middle; that is, neither seven nor nine, which leaves the cat again in a legal impasse. This functions as a metaphor for the real situation immigrants face because they are trapped in a permanent state between legality and illegality.

The concept of ethnicity is discussed in this short film in a peculiarly ironic way. The use of animals instead of people points to modern ways of imposing slavery and oppression. The film criticizes racist discourses that reinforce the idea of subdivisions in humankind. The idea of closeness indicated already in the title (“encerrado” [in a box/enclosed]) emphasizes the idea of the impossibility of escaping from an unjust legal and economic system in which people are assigned certain roles in society according to their birth origin. Ex/inclusiveness is determined by people’s ethnic origin and this causes class divisions where those who belong to ‘illegal ethnicities’ are forced into the lowest positions in society or are simply outside the law. *Gato Encerrado* fiercely disapproves of capitalism and imperialism and demands equality and inclusiveness for those members of society treated as outsiders.

The three films discussed here show the concern of a group of Welsh and Galician filmmakers with aspects of ethnicity and in/exclusivity. They are very different works, even with regards to format, which nevertheless show a common preoccupation with identity, in/exclusiveness and ultimately with the

need to guarantee human rights. These cinematic productions discuss what it means to be Welsh and Galician and this includes the indigenous population and the migrants. Both cinemas look for ways to accommodate *ethnies* into modernity. By definition ethnic groups must share a common past and in the films this is shown by presenting the importance of history and memory as a requirement for the survival of the group. However, it is also essential to articulate ways to welcome other ethnic groups without losing the characteristics that define Welsh and Galician identity. In this context an inclusive Welsh and Galician society is created open to everyone who wishes to form part of it while maintaining the historical and cultural features that define Welshness and Galicianness.

Ethnicity and Transnationalism: the Welsh and the Galician Diaspora

Transnational Cinema focuses on the visual products of filmmakers whose creative career takes place outside their homeland (Ezra 2006), or in other words the authority of transnationals as filmmaking authors is derived from their position as subjects inhabiting transnational and exilic spaces, where they travel in the slip-zone of fusion and admixture (Shohat and Stam 2003, pp. 207-8).

So-called Transnational Cinema deals with aspects of diaspora filmmaking but also with how to articulate discourses of gender, class, sexuality and therefore of identity in a capitalist globalized world. Some of the ideas of Transnational Cinema will be adopted here. However, instead of employing them in an analysis of the works carried out by filmmakers in the diaspora – which is the main focus of Transnational Cinema – this study will apply them to themes related to ethnicity and diaspora as reflected in Welsh and Galician cinema. The transnational concept will therefore be analysed with regards to the content of the film regardless of the location of the filmmaker. However it must not be forgotten that this investigation aims to contribute to the debate on (re-)creating the national discourse in Wales and in Galicia. Therefore the transnational must not be considered in this study as a denial of the national but, on the contrary, as an element that permits a dialogue with the national surpassing the geographical boundaries of the nation.

On the premise that Galician history in particular but also that of Wales has been deeply marked by the history of migration and exile, it can be maintained that the cultural artefacts produced in both nations are to some extent influenced and conditioned by the story of such a diaspora: this is reflected in the cinema of both nations as this study contends. In many aspects, and at least in the Galician case, and especially in certain historical periods (mainly during

the Franco dictatorship), the diaspora has not only influenced but more accurately improved and helped to develop the situation within the nation. For a proper understanding of the Galician situation today the history of the diaspora must be taken into account. To include this in the (re-)construction of the national discourse is not only necessary but imperative in order to remember a part of the national history that was dominated by injustice and oppression. In a similar way the history of the diaspora in Wales must also be remembered.

The term diaspora is preferred here as it avoids having to establish the potential boundaries between exile and emigration. The concept of 'free will' lies at the heart of the supposed difference between these two terms. That is if someone *chooses* to live abroad she/he will be an emigrant. If, on the contrary, a person is *forced* by (political) circumstances to abandon their land, then she/he is in exile. By establishing the criterion of the principle of free will, emigration is presented as an act of choice where the conditions that lead people to leave their homelands are ignored or at least underestimated. In principle it seems that those who define themselves as exiled people express a wider awareness of their colonized condition (Bergsten 2003, pp. 10-11). However the difference between exile and emigration is overstated as political oppression, poverty, wars, natural disasters etc can also lead to material and human conditions that force migrations (Indra 1999). In an attempt to create a new term, Ugarte (2010) introduces the expression "emixile" which he applies to different contexts including those in Ireland and Galicia:

There are many examples in world history in which exile and immigration/emigration go hand to hand ... Castelao makes little or no distinction between exile and emigration ... Ana Carballal asserts, "Emigration and exile are very similar realities, because Galicians, due to their poverty or to political retaliation have to abandon their land in

large numbers in order to make it in life. Galicians are and see themselves as victims; victims of a political system that oppresses them or victims of socioeconomic dispositions that work against the idiosyncratic characteristics of their region (Ugarte 2010, pp. 9-10).

These ideas will be taken into account in this study, although the term diaspora will be preferred here over the expression “eximile” proposed by Ugarte. Diaspora will be used to refer to any migratory movement of people from Wales and Galicia.

Ethnies in the Diaspora: Patagonia and Crebinsky

The concept of *ethnie* will be examined in the two acclaimed films *Patagonia* (2010) and *Crebinsky* (2011) given that the themes discussed in them enable a comparative analysis to be made.

Both films touch key aspects of Welsh and Galician culture in ways that have not been previously explored. Marc Evans as well as Enrique Otero employ humour as a device which enables them to deal with aspects of Welsh and Galician history in a more subtle and indirect manner. Indeed *Patagonia* and *Crebinsky* describe Welshness and Galicianess from a perspective that explores the complexities of identity from a wider approach. Both directors examined humour and ethnicity in previous projects; for example, in *Ymadawiad Arthur* (1994), Evans creates a futuristic Wales in which a Welsh member of the future travels back in time to learn more about his ancestors' lifestyle. The film quotes Welsh national symbols such as rugby, the Welsh language, the Eisteddfod and King Arthur within a framework of the ridiculous in order to pose questions about the meaning of being Welsh. To do so the film does not analyse the present but the past and the possible future. The "myths of common ancestry [and] shared historical memories" (Smith 2004, p. 131) seem to be important for the Welsh of the future, but at the same time the Welsh people of the past have a role to play in a future Wales. The members of the Eisteddfod of the future whose president is a woman think that the rugby player is King Arthur who has travelled in time in order to save the Welsh language. This again points to Smith's definition of *ethnies* where "elements of common culture" – in this case language – "and some degree of solidarity [is felt] at least among the élites" (Smith 2004, p. 131). This is represented by the members of the Eisteddfod. The degree of solidarity is also conveyed in the link between the two characters, who both require each other's help to be taken back to their original times. Moreover, Arthur needs to collaborate with them

in the future to save Welsh. Some of the ideas in *Crebinsky* resemble those in *Ymadawiad Arthur*, particularly the humoristic way of presenting national symbols in Wales and Galicia (for a further discussion of the relationship between Wales and Galician media and humour see Perrins 2000, pp. 152-67 and Pérez Pereiro 2008). In *Crebinsky* this is mainly embodied in the cow which is the cause of the brother's journey from the coast to mainland Galicia. In both films core elements of national history will be needed in order to find solutions to the characters' identity crisis. Playing with the absurd is a useful tool for both directors to explore ethnicity: it allows them to access certain themes and discuss them with greater facility, such as national history.

Patagonia also uses humour to present the story of Cerys. Although *Crebinsky* and *Patagonia* describe completely different personal stories they depict similar ideas. In both cases the parallel stories merge in the idea of identity where members of a particular ethnic group are searching for their place in the world and the meaning of their existence in it. In *Patagonia* there is the personal story of Cerys and the personal story of Rhys and Gwen. *Crebinsky* also shows two parallel levels: the personal story of the Crebinsky brothers and the historical events of Franco's dictatorship and World War II. This works as an allegory of the two sides, the fascist on the one hand and the one which confronted fascism on the other. The links between Franco and Hitler are represented in the characters of the Nazi soldiers and the Spanish Falangistⁱⁱ. This level of the film points to Franco's collaboration with the Nazis, something that is frequently altered or hidden in official Spanish historiography (Burgos Espadas 1988, p. 99).

In both cases the primary or surface story is the search for roots: Cerys is of Welsh ancestry but she was born in Patagonia and has never been to Wales; her wish is to see Wales before dying although quite ironically she is almost blind to see the Wales she has always dreamt of. Her identity is, therefore, based on

memories of the past, of stories she has heard and on the idea of what the homeland is regardless of the geographical place where she was born. The link with the ideal homeland is shared by other members of the community in Patagonia. Gwen and Rhys meet Mateo who is also of Welsh ancestry. Gwen and Rhys are going through a difficult time in their relationship and Gwen will have an affair with Mateo. Mateo's strong feelings for Gwen seem also to be influenced by the fact that she is originally from Wales, the geographical, 'real' Wales, rather than the imagined one. Mateo falls in love with her because she speaks the common language and represents the link with origins, with roots of Wales as represented by language.

The idea of going back to the homeland is also very important in the Galician consciousness; in the case of *Crebinsky*, this is represented by the metaphorical journey to the birthplace of the protagonists. The two orphans are isolated from the world because something traumatic has happened to them which has made them forget who they are. Although this will not be revealed until the end of the film, it is the lack of a common and shared memory within a group that has made them forget. Mijail and Feodor's journey finishes where everything started: in their hometown. This is the crucial moment when we finally understand the personal story of the characters: their fear of water was caused because a flood made their hometown vanish when they were still children. When Mijail starts crying, his brother Feodor rather asks him not to cry using one of the most moving metaphors in the film: "Mijail, non chovas" (Mijail, please don't rain). Both films summarize the whole quest for their roots, for their membership of an ethnic group in a very similar scene: the image of the flooding of their birth towns. The metaphor of the flood suggests the draught of lakes and wetlands in Wales (i.e. Tryweryn) and in Galicia during Franco's dictatorship (i.e. Lagoa de Antela); this caused floods in towns and villages and the subsequent displacement of people (Fernández Soto and Fernández García et al. 2011, pp. 295-312). These stories are the narratives of

the colonised ethnic group which has been dispossessed of a piece of their land in order to advance the political interests of the State. Feeling attached to a place is part of the common memory of the group: in both *Patagonia* and *Crebinsky* the most dramatic moments are those final scenes in which the audience finds out that the hometowns of the protagonists have been flooded as a consequence of building a reservoir in the area. When Cerys finally finds her mother's hometown, she will discover that it is now covered by water and it looks like a kind of artificial lake. Similarly, the Crebinsky brothers return to their hometown only to find that it has become a ghost town.

In both cases the intervention of state policies has terrible consequences for the community. The common past and the solidarity between the members of the group is erased once the place has disappeared, and therefore the characteristics that define ethnicity disappear and with them the possibility of existing as an ethnic group. Despite dealing with some of the historical injustices that both nations experienced, both films emphasize the possibilities of the present and the future. The love story between Alejandro (Cerys's neighbour who is from Patagonia but has no Welsh ancestry) and Sissy (a Welsh girl) introduces new alternatives. The link between Patagonia and Wales will persist and moreover it now includes others who do not necessarily need to have any blood relationship with Wales in order to feel affinity with it. This is then an inclusive Wales that welcomes those who do not necessarily originally belong to the ethnic group. In the same way that Welsh people were accepted in other territories, they now welcome people in theirs.

Similarly, *Crebinsky* speaks about the links of solidarity between Galicia and Russia. In the film, the concept of *creba* becomes powerful. *Crebas* (sea waste) is a Galician word that refers to objects washed up on the coastline. According to the laws established by the people who live in coastal villages, what is found belongs to the person who finds it. Mijail and Feodor's father was found by

their mother in the seaside where she saved him: he was a *creba* that she took for herself. He was Russian but established himself in Galicia where he started to become part of the Galician ethnic group. Mijail and Feodor are the result of that relationship and therefore the proof that links of solidarity have been established in that context. Otero wants to provide his characters – and probably Galician society as a whole – with the possibility of rewriting history, of recovering memory and therefore identity. Even if this were something only achievable through imagination, he seems to convey that it is possible as creativity can be a powerful tool to confront adversity. Feodor and Mijail are provided with the opportunity to remember or to discover what happened, and an open ending is left for them – and the audience – to decide the future. However, such an open ending poses many questions for both the characters and the audience. The main question posed is what would have happened if events had been different. For example, if the Allies – embodied by the American army in the film – had landed in Galicia instead of Normandy, or if they had intervened in the Iberian Peninsula and defeated fascism there. The world of possibilities is powerfully symbolised in the last scene when it starts raining and they find themselves in the middle of the flood again. The film therefore establishes a circular narrative by moving the characters through a journey that will take them to experience a similar situation to that experienced in their childhood when their personal story began. However this can be interpreted in two ways. It can symbolise a circular story that refers to the impossibility of escape from the Fascist regime; in this sense the new flood represents the isolation and suffocation generated once more by the dictatorial regime. It can also be interpreted as an open ending which leaves the spectator with a certain feeling of hope. What is different from the beginning is the fact that the brothers are no longer unaware of the past; in fact, the brothers' journey is a process of memory recovery and this is one of the most powerful instruments with which to confront oppression. In the very last scene of the film the brothers are seen on a trunk with some objects from their childhood

which they were able to recover from their drowned house. A part of their personal history has been recovered and this means that the future can still be (re-)written: this scene links the past, the present and the future through the same image and suggests the beginning of a new journey.

Male Characters and Language

This section will examine the connection between language and identity with a focus on male characters in the Welsh films *Milwr Bychan* (1986) and *Hedd Wyn* (1992) and the Galician films *Pradolongo* (2007) and *Crebinsky* (2011). Female characters and the relationship between language and identity will be discussed in the chapter about feminism.

Pradolongo and *Hedd Wyn* explore language and identity in similar ways. As for Martiño, as for Ellis, language is the element that links the space – the landscape – and the concept of belonging. Martiño and Ellis’ attachment to their land cannot be described in any language other than their autochthonous one. The depiction of landscape in both films reinforces the idea of Welsh and Galician-speaking communities as the element that links landscape and language to identity. Other members of the group share similar views. In effect this is the result of “a set of *embodied* dispositions” (May 2001, p. 48), including language, which the group acquires through socialization and which shapes the way it perceives the world (May 2008, p. 48).

In the process of (re-)inventing (national) identity both characters, Martiño and Ellis, have a clear choice for their autochthonous language as the “natural” medium through which they express their view of the world. In the case of *Pradolongo* expression in the autochthonous language – Galician – does not appear in opposition to the dominant language – Castilian – as all the characters speak Galician. The sort of idealized Galician community depicted in *Pradolongo*, where all the characters irrespective of their social background or age group are Galician-speaking, is different to reality. However, Vilar chooses not to focus upon the reality of the linguistic conflict in Galicia in this case. In what seems to be an attempt to show that Galician can and should be the language of the whole community, and therefore of the whole nation, the real

sociolinguistic context is absent. The film suggests that a minoritized language, in this case, Galician, could have the status of a normalized language.

Hedd Wyn is more realistic in that sense. The linguistic conflict between the dominant and the subordinate languages and the prejudices towards the latter that derive from this situation are clear throughout the film. Some scenes are explicitly descriptive: one example is when the protagonist and other Welsh soldiers who enlisted or were forced to enlist are ridiculed by one of the English Officials for speaking Welsh and for being “rustic countrymen”. One of the most significant moments is when Ellis and his father attend the trial when we actually hear English for the first time in the film. In that scene it is authority that uses the dominant language, and of course Ellis and his father have to speak English too.

In *Crebinsky* director Enrique Otero chooses a very original way of representing identity and language. In a film where four languages are used to represent the national identity of different characters, language becomes an important element of self-definition: Characters are defined according to their use, or lack of use, of a particular language. Indeed if figures were considered here it could be argued that Galician is the least spoken language in the film. This is because although the Galician characters are the protagonists, the two brothers Feodor and Mijail interact with each other in a very peculiar way where dialogues are frequently almost without speech or maintained only by making sounds. Otero intentionally creates an atmosphere which is at the same time imbued with emotion and pathos. His employment of silent comedy techniques and characteristics is indeed one of the strongest achievements of the film; silent comedy elements are particularly effective ways in which to represent a time when fascism was spreading through Europe, as Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* demonstrates.

The use of humour and irony in order to overcome these difficulties is not exclusive to Galicia. Many countries that have been – or still are – under oppression, employ humour as a means to react against a repressive political status quo. This is one of the aims of *Crebinsky*. Otero's film recreates Galician stereotypes using humour. Moreover, the director plays with stereotypes associated with other countries. Five languages – Galician, Spanish, English, German, Russian and even the language of the cow, as she is also one of the protagonists of what has been described as a *cow-movie* (Sotorrió 2011) – are used in the film to ascertain the identity of the characters. Spanish and German are the languages used by the members who represent the Fascist regimes of Franco and Hitler. English is the language of the American officer played by the acclaimed Galician actor, Luis Tosar. On his way to Normandy in a submarine during World War II he decides to disembark on the Galician coast after seeing the corpse of a German soldier. He is mockingly depicted as an individual who sees himself as saviour and superior to others. This is conveyed when he sees Mijail and Feodor through his periscope and says: "Look at those natives". Ironically he dies as soon as he tries to plant the US flag on Galician soil. This is a highly ironic shot where American intervention lasts for no more than five minutes of the film. Ultimately Galician and Russian are the languages of the brothers who embody the relationship between the two ethnicities.

Crebinsky interestingly points to the idea of establishing links of solidarity. In effect, the whole film occupies a space where the national identity of the oppressed is perfectly compatible with the idea of internationalism: the two brothers are half-Galician, half-Russian, a combination that works perfectly and which suggests that left-wing republican ideas could have developed if Franco had been defeated. In contrast to this, the director also portrays real historical events and therefore real Fascist repercussions and outrages in Galicia. In the film there are references to other European fascisms of the time

as well. German – and German-speaking – characters play an important role in the film, suggesting the involvement of Franco's regime in Hitler's policies. In World War II, tungsten mines in Galicia and Portugal were operated to provide Hitler with a source material to develop a special type of ammunition (Leitz 1996, p. 171; Niedermüller and Stoklund 2000, p. 54; Qumata 2008); English – and more precisely American English – ironically represents American government external policies with a perception of themselves as world liberators; or, in other words, the idea of a universal 'civic' society.

Galician is the language of the *ethnie* to which the protagonists belong: it is the language of characters who have forgotten their past. Memory returns because of the disappearance of the cow which is one of the main traditional symbols of Galicia. It is significant that one of the symbols used by outsiders to ridicule Galicians – owing to its association with Galician rural life and alleged 'backwardness' – has a central role in the development of the film's plot. Mucha or Muscka – either in the Galician or in the Russian version depending which brother refers to her – takes the two brothers on a journey through the Galician landscape; this will become a process of memory and identity recovery. Mucha takes them to the origin: the place where they were born, where their parents died and where the flood swept them away, leaving them with no home and no identity. Water becomes a symbol of fascist oppression. Feodor and Mijail's fear of water is a symbol of the fear of facing reality when this is too painful to accept; their inability to face it may be representative of the whole community. Indeed it is rather significant that Galician is the language of the voiceless, of the defeated ethnic group. They cannot express or speak about what happened for two reasons: because it has been a very traumatic experience but also because they are still under oppression and they are not allowed to speak freely.

Spanish is the language of the Falangist soldier and therefore of those with connections to Franco's fascist regime. It is also the language used in communication between the Spanish and the German worlds. In a rather significant scene, the singer Loli Marlene sings a Spanish version of the German song *Lili Marlene*: for the first time in the film Galician characters are using the language of the state. Although both she and the audience are Galician-speaking, Galician was forbidden in public events under Franco and this aspect of Galician sociolinguistic history is conveyed accurately in this scene.

Otero creates two levels of representation in the film: one level where the real events are taking place and the other one where fantasy and unawareness lie. The two levels are separated according to language which will define national identity. The level where war events are taking place is performed by the Spanish, German and American English speakers and the other level is performed by the characters who speak Galician and some words of Russian. Although the Galician-speaking characters could choose not to face reality, they are ultimately able to overcome real cruel events through the employment of humour and appeal to fantasy. Silence is the voice of the voiceless in the film, reflecting the real situation under Franco.

In *Milwr Bychan* by Karl Francis the linguistic element appears in close relation to national identity which shows the conflict between civic identity (British) and the ethnic (Welsh). The achievement of this film is to make the spectator participate in historical events in Northern Ireland, and explore the reasons why a young Welsh man would enrol in the British Army. By analysing the causes of the character's decision, the spectator will be able to empathize with him in a rather unexpected way. The flashback technique used in the film enables us to understand his background and at the same time it helps understand his present situation. Will is not legally old enough to enrol when

he decides to join the army. Unemployment and a socially deprived background make him and his friend – as well as many other young Welsh men – see it as the alternative to escape from the reality in which they live: it is the most simple – and at times the only – way of getting some income. However, for Will the army will become not only a means to earn a living but also the closest thing he has to a family. The film takes us through a process of empathizing and finally understanding Will's mind and therefore his reasons for his actions.

Milwr Bychan draws attention to the colonizer's tactic of firstly creating an impoverished situation in oppressed countries to then use their members to colonize other places. By making the colonized unaware of their possibilities as a free country or community, they are controlled. A vicious circle is created in which the colonized needs – or thinks that s/he needs – the colonizer. All this will affect every aspect of the native culture, including language and other elements of identity:

As the colonizer tries to control the colony by incorporating natives into the bureaucracy and military, they begin a long process that leads to native citizenship (Heatrik 1978) ... allowing them to fulfil duties of the empire for which they can claim rights. For naturalization to occur in large numbers, colonial natives must first assimilate into the colonizer's culture and support colonizer values (Janoski 2010, p. 9).

This is also true of Will. However, he will also encounter problems because of his Welsh identity in demonstrating that he is *really* serving the British Army. Being a Welsh-speaker makes him even more suspect in the view of the Army officials, especially in the last part of the film. At first, everything seems to work rather conveniently for him until two things happen: he falls in love with an Irish woman and he kills

an Irish man in an offensive action. Will is imprisoned after having shot the Irish boy and he is forced to accept that he is guilty. This event will change his perception of the conflict and he will start a process of identity awareness that is closely related to his more frequent use of his native language.

He accepts having done something wrong but he sees himself as part of a group which is guilty as a whole. His refusal to accept his guilt – or at least that he is the only one guilty – makes him stronger and reinforces the idea of his Welsh identity, something which is conveyed by his use of Welsh. The more confident he feels with his identity and his ideas, the more Welsh he speaks until he will only speak Welsh even to his English commanding officers. Language is used to establish two different levels in the film: English is the language of lies and false identity, while Welsh is the language of real feelings, of honesty and ultimately of the protagonist's real identity which he finally chooses to embrace. For example, he is unable to reveal to his Irish girlfriend his true identity, that he is a British soldier. However, he will tell her the truth in Welsh, which although a language she cannot understand, is for him the language of true feelings. Moreover the comradeship amongst Welshmen is expressed through the medium of Welsh and when he is declared insane Welsh is the language he uses to defend himself.

Identity awareness is the main focus of the film; *Milwr Bychan* draws attention to a very important issue: the consequences of accepting that one belongs to a colonized nation. Will's acceptance of what he really is comes together with his expulsion from the army: that is the principal dramatic moment of the film. In his own words, the army is the only family he has ever known and therefore he will now have to face an uncertain future. At this point he really understands what being Welsh means, declaring that he is "not guilty of coming from a small nation" and emphasising that he is "not a *Brit*" on several occasions. However, this poses the question of what being Welsh means, or more

precisely, what the consequences of accepting Welsh identity are. Like the main characters in *Crebinsky*, the protagonist of *Milwr Bychan* is shown in the final shot of the film in the present, being aware of the past and facing the future. This shows that the development of the character's consciousness is intrinsically related to questions of identity raised during the films.

Memory and Solidarity

In Smith's definition of *ethnies* memory and solidarity are mentioned as important elements for the community's self-definition. Indeed they are considered as elements of cohesion within the community (2004, p. 131). Both memory and solidarity are meaningful concepts in the films that have been discussed. The protagonists of these films believe that only memory and solidarity among the members of their community – and on a larger scale, their nation, or even humanity as a whole – will make it survive.

Hedd Wyn and *Pradolongo* look for the link with common ancestry myths and historical memories of the communities and countries they represent, and recreate national identity. *Pradolongo* is the imaginary place where the characters interact and it is at the same time a reference to the common past where all the myths and memories of historical events coexist. The importance of a common history is embodied in different ways by several characters of the film. Raquel's mother is a history teacher who draws the teenager's attention to historical remains in the area. In the cultural trip that Raquel, Martiño and Anselmo undertake, the audience is taken on a brief tour through Galician history. Some elements, such as the megaliths and the Romanesque church, are indicators of a glorious past, common to both the characters and the viewers. A significant scene of the film shows different periods of Galician history merge in one single moment with the landscape of the area. The Celtic heritage, the splendour of the Romanesque period represented in the church that also has elements of the Baroque, and the natural setting where all these events take place, are there to be observed at the same time by the three teenagers. *Pradolongo*, the physical entity, the landscape, is the embodiment of ancient history, the present and the future that the girl and the two boys represent. This shot is an appeal to collective memory and to the importance of the awareness of one's own history for the understanding of national identity.

According to Smith (2004, p. 131) “some measure of solidarity” is needed in order for a group to be identified as an *ethnie*. Community solidarity is embodied in the character of Martiño and his father and to some extent some of their neighbours when they first agree to let them use their plots of land so that they can create an organic farming cooperative. What Martiño maintains through the whole film is his sense of solidarity and loyalty. When at the end of the film he is deceived by his best friend, his neighbours and even by some members of his family, the link, the unity with the whole community is broken and that again will be expressed through the landscape; when the rest of the community takes the decision to sell Pradolongo, not only is the physical environment that is a key element in the definition of Martiño’s identity in danger, but the whole idea of (national) identity – the community, a shared history and the idea of solidarity – is destroyed.

Ignacio Vilar chooses a realistic ending as “choice is ... at the heart of habitus” (May 2008, p. 45), it is the audience who in the last instance must decide what sort of Galicia they want. The idea of choice is conveyed when Martiño’s father tells him that he may go to university like most of his classmates and friends, but if after finishing his studies he prefers to live his life in the countryside he will still have the possibility of starting somewhere else (even if Pradolongo no longer exists). Habitus is therefore “a system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditioning” (May 2001, p. 45). Although once a particular place disappears a particular way of viewing the world disappears with it, *Pradolongo*’s ending suggests that there is still hope for the future if solidarity amongst members of the group is maintained.

Patagonia (2010) and *Crebinsky* (2011) are good examples of films that explore memory as the key instrument for preserving identity. The ‘road movie’ structure of the two films is the means by which both directors metaphorically reinforce the importance of history and memory for the process of (self-)

awareness of the group. *Patagonia* – shot mainly in Welsh and Castilian – starts with the story of Cerys, a Patagonian old lady of Welsh ancestry, and Alejandro, her young neighbour who has never been away from Argentina. Their first scene starts as follows:

- ¿Quién es?
- Mi madre antes de zarpar para la Argentina.
- 1927 ...Wow!
- Roberts.
- Ese era su apellido de soltera, Roberts.
- *Nant...Briashw*
- Nant Briallu, el nombre de su granja en Gales.
- Parece feliz.
- Estaba embarazada de mí
- ...
- Vamos a viajar un poquito, Alejandro, nos vamos a Gales.
- ¿A Gales?

- Who is that?
- My mother, before she sailed for Argentina.
- 1927 ...Wow!
- Roberts.
- That was her maiden name. Roberts.
- *Nant...Briashw*
- Nant Briallu, the name of her farm in Wales.
- She looks happy.
- She was pregnant with me.
- ...
- We are going travelling, Alejandro. We are going to Wales.
- To Wales?

From this moment Cerys and Alejandro start a journey to Wales in search of Cerys' mother's birthplace. The only way they have to find it is by using an old picture of Cerys' mother in the farm before she left for Patagonia. In the same way, in *Crebinsky*, the younger brother's memories of the past rely on two photographs he has kept since he was a child: one showing a girl and the other a village. The use of another type of visual culture in the two films, such as photography, emphasizes the idea of the significance of memory in preserving individual and collective identity. The photographs symbolize their link with the past. Moreover the fact that they are black and white photos in both cases indicates the idea of an immovable past that has not been fully embraced by the protagonists of the stories.

The development of the stories as road movies becomes a metaphor for the personal development of the characters. Indeed the process of memory and recovery of one's past will turn into a personal and collective healing process which will enable the individual and the whole group to analyse the present as well as the past that has influenced it. Furthermore it will open up new ways of approaching the future from different perspectives. This will allow the characters to move from their static image of the past retained in their memory by black and white photographs to a more dynamic framework where present and future are still to be created. Both stories also show that solidarity amongst oppressed groups is one of the means of preserving memory. For example, in the case of *Crebinsky*, the link between Galician and Russian – the Crebinsky brothers are half-Galician, half-Russian – means the inclusion of 'outsiders': Galician as opposed to Spanish and both Galician and Russian as opposed to Fascism.

The Crebinsky brothers' parents meet in a rather peculiar and, in keeping with the tone of the rest of the film, comical way. Their father is shipwrecked and their mother discovers him lying on the beach. Although initially hesitant – she

does not know if he is dead or alive – she almost immediately smiles once he opens his eyes. The next scene is a shot of their wedding. As their story is only transmitted by a sequence of shots in which there is no dialogue, the only indication that he is Russian is the fact that he is wearing a typical Russian hat with a Soviet badge. The story of the Crebinsky family therefore focuses on the integration of a member of a different ethnic group (Russian) into a non-dominant ethnic group (Galician). In principle, being part of a non-dominant ethnic group makes the Galician community more given to accept and include other non-dominant ethnic groups. Indeed the father is never seen as an outsider and the linkage between the two non-dominant ethnic groups is represented in the brothers, Mijail and Feodor, who are half-Russian, half-Galician.

In contrast to this, the Falangist and the Nazi soldiers, who belong to the repressive force, are portrayed as outsiders. In fact the two parallel stories (the journey of the brothers following the cow and the journey of the Fascists following the brothers) never meet except in a brief comical scene in which they salute each other without knowing who is who. Oppressive ethnic groups are therefore excluded from this solidarity. However, solidarity amongst dominant groups also exists: the Falangist soldier collaborates with the Nazi soldiers. This points to the collaboration of different fascist regimes in Europe during World War II (Christie 2003, i) and also to Spanish oppressive authority in Galicia embodied in the character of the Falangist soldier.

Similarly solidarity amongst oppressed ethnic groups is metaphorically portrayed in *Patagonia*. The idea of solidarity between the Welsh and the Native Americans predicated on their shared experience of British and Spanish oppression has been present at least symbolically and literarily in Welsh fiction and poetry, as for example the work by author Eluned Morgan shows: ‘the solidarity and friendship forged between the Welsh and the native Indian

people [appears] in contrast to the violent oppression of the Indians practised by the Spanish settlers' (Gramich 2007, p. 22). Although this is not specifically mentioned in the case of *Patagonia*, the story of Cerys and Alejandro represents the link between the Welsh settlers in Patagonia and the native population. As a non-dominant ethnic group forced to leave its country in order to maintain its language and culture, the Welsh settlers must necessarily empathize with the Indians and the story of the colonization of America. When the Welsh community decides to settle in Patagonia:

There was a clear awareness that the proposed settlement would involve occupying land which, despite the Spanish conquest, pertained to the indigenous population much in the same way as the Welsh laid claim to Wales despite the English conquest (Williams 1991, p. 35).

This shows that the history of the native populations of Patagonia affected by Spanish colonization was not ignored by the Welsh settlers. Moreover, they did not ignore the unfair actions that the Argentine State – as well as European authorities – tried to impose upon the Native American population at the end of the nineteenth century. They indeed wanted to eliminate the indigenous populations that were hindering the expansion of the Argentine frontier, and the Welsh settlers were sent by the Argentine authorities to mediate with the Tehuelche (Williams 1991, p. 56). Although they maintained neutrality with respect to the Argentine authorities' decision, they sent a letter in support of the natives:

We the inhabitants of Chubut, implore upon your geneality for expressing in the manner our feelings and our wishes on behalf of natives known to us in this region. Without interfering in any way in the measures which you saw wise to adopt, we hope that, as ones who are long acquainted with the native people, we can express our hope

that you can show them every compassion and assistance that are consistent with your obligations (Williams 1991, p. 57).

Despite maintaining a detachment from the conflict, the Welsh settlers show a form of solidarity towards the indigenous populations. At a symbolic level at least there is a connection between an oppressed culture in Wales and the indigenous people. These ideas of links and solidarity are present in both Welsh and Galician film and the present study that establishes a comparison between these two oppressed cultures evidences this.

In *Patagonia*, the story of Sissy and Alejandro – who have an affair when he visits Wales with Cerys – represents this idea of the link between two cultures, which in this case involves the Argentinean too because Alejandro is not of Welsh ancestry. In Wales, Alejandro feels comfortable for the first time; his personal development since the beginning of the film is derived from his trip with Cerys: this suggests the idea of a reciprocal relationship in which Patagonians are also welcomed in Wales. In this case Wales functions as the recipient country which embraces intra-ethnic relations. Furthermore this perpetuates the connection with the historical past of the migration to Patagonia in the collective imaginary. This idea is also present in Galician cinema which has frequently made reference to the Galician diaspora. In both Welsh and Galician cinema the ‘measure of solidarity’ appears to be dependent on the ability of the members of the group to preserve memory. Historical memory is not only necessary for the preservation of the distinctiveness of the group but also essential for its survival.

FEMINISM

Feminism: the Key to (Re)-creating the Nation

Although there is still a gap between women's involvement in political debate and their visibility within academic discourse (West 1997, p. xiv), scholarly writing and thinking as well as political opinion has recently shown a major preoccupation with the development of Gender Studies (Berger and Radeloff 2011, p. 37). The denouncement of the injustice that has been and is suffered by women in patriarchal society appears to have become more visible. This is true at least in certain discourses, such as the academic one, as recent disciplines and studies on gender can demonstrate (Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 92). The vindication of women's rights appears to be intersected by the vindication of other 'categories' such as sexuality, ethnicity and class. In effect some theoretical approaches to this matter understand the vindication of women's rights not only in close connection with the vindication of other rights but as the key element to transform society (Eisenstein, 1979, p. 6; Castro & Reimóndez 2013, p.13).

This is based on the premise that gender discrimination is not specific to any particular context but is on the contrary present globally as a result of patriarchal values which dominate society (Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 11). If sexist attitudes and gender clichés are found worldwide, the struggle for women's rights is consequently also universal, on the basis of the assumption that once a more equal situation with regards to gender is obtained, society will be more equal and just. Feminism provides the appropriate theoretical background as well as the social and political ideology to obtain this by allowing a (re)-definition of social, cultural and systemic values in completely different terms. It is the ideological instrument which will contest the dominant patriarchal discourse both from a theoretical and

practical approach. Furthermore it functions as a transversal theory which helps analyze and find alternatives not only to gender inequalities in different contexts but also to other local and global conflicts (West 1997, p. xv; Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 9).

Feminism therefore provides an appropriate and constructive framework in which to solve these conflicts as well as to challenge dominant discourses. This is certainly relevant for cases such as the Welsh and the Galician which are exploring new ways of confronting these kinds of discourses. The (re-)definition of the national discourse must unquestionably involve a rethinking of gender and sex discrimination if it aims at introducing an inclusive perspective (Ward, 1997; Castro Vázquez 2011, pp. 81-108). Thus feminism as the ideology which searches for equal rights for women and men in order to achieve a just condition for women must be an essential part of the discourse of the nation. The transversal character of feminist thinking – which results from the transversal character of sexism (Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 9) – enables its application to the discourse of the nation.

Although discourses of the nation have tended to be presented as primary and homogeneous while regarding feminist discourses as secondary and partial (Ward, 1983, pp. 254-55; Coulter 1993, p. 3; Davies 1994, p. 253; González Fernández 2005, pp. 18-19), it is in effect through the feminist perspective that it will be possible to redefine national(ist) discourses (West 1997, pp. xi-xv). The fact that feminist nationalist women “are struggling to define and reconceptualise their relationship to states, nations and social movements as activists central to the debate, [and] not as passive recipients” (West 1997, p. xiii) demonstrates both women’s active role in creating new discourses of the nation and the importance of this in the redefinition of such discourse. Women’s role and involvement in political and social movements is not only important but essential to understand the development of socio-political

processes because “women are (re-)constructing the meaning of both nationalism and feminism from a women-centered viewpoint” (West 1997, p. xiii). In this sense the struggle for the liberation of women must be seen as a key for the liberation of oppressed nations.

In *Capitalist Patriarchy and the case for Socialist Feminism* (1979), several authors interpret feminism as the (only) way to confront not only patriarchy but also capitalism as to define capitalist patriarchy as the problem is at the same time to suggest that socialist feminism is the answer (Eisenstein 1979, p. 6). In her interpretation of Marxist theory, Eisenstein proposes that the liberation of women will mean the liberation of the working-class as a whole that will ultimately transform the capitalist system. Other feminist theorists explore a similar idea with regards to the state. They consider that “women (unlike men) live in a world with two sovereigns – the state, and men” (West 1997, p. 124). Such a principle clearly points out the necessity to vindicate women’s rights together with the rights of oppressed nations. Furthermore this can include the question of class as discussed by Eisenstein (1979). Indeed the relationship between women and working class people in general has been commented on by Comte, Marx and Engels: both are perceived as oppressed and subordinated entities of the state. According to Comte, women in particular and the working class as a whole are perceived as potential activists because they are in a position of “having but little influence in political government [and therefore] they are more likely to appreciate the need of a moral government” (Comte 2009, p. 4).

Feminism aims at securing equal rights and human life free from oppression. In this sense it is the instrument by which patterns of oppression that derive from patriarchal and neoliberal principles are contested. Gender and national(ist) struggles may therefore be constructed according to this perspective. Following this, the present analysis will attempt to demonstrate

that it is not only desirable but necessary to create a new dialogue between feminism and nationalism. This has been pointed out in the Welsh and the Galician cases (Davies 1994, pp. 242-252; González Fernández 2005; Castro 2011, pp. 81-108) as well as in other cases not only in Europe but worldwide as feminism is both universal and culturally specific (West 1997, pp. xiv-xv).

(Re)-constructing *Hen wlad fy nhadau* and *a nazón de Breogán*.

In the context of stateless nations such as Wales and Galicia, feminism has proved to be a fundamental element in the (re)-construction of the nationalist movement. From the 1970s on, the Galician feminist movement distributed in different associations and groups was involved in the reconstruction of the Galicia of the post-Francoist period from a feminist and nationalist perspective:

Un dos aspectos que singularizan o feminismo galego fronte ao das doutras “nacionalidades históricas” é o seu carácter galeguista, inherente a todas as asociacións. O contexto galego, a conciencia de nación oprimida, é considerado polas feministas como un aspecto determinante nas súas reivindicacións, independentemente do matiz internacionalista que anuncian algunhas delas (Bar Cendón 2010, p. 80).

One of the aspects which distinguishes Galician Feminism from that of the other “historical nationalities” is its pro-Galician nature, which was shared by all associations. The Galician context, the awareness of being an oppressed nation, is considered by all feminists as a crucial aspect of their claims, regardless of the internationalist view which some of them maintained (my translation).

Galician feminists are aware of the condition of women as an oppressed group which in the precise case of Galicia is also determined by their belonging to an oppressed nation. Thus they understand the variables gender/nation as an essential part of their discourse and activism. In effect they have been involved in all areas of political activism such as the claim of nations to self-determination, the resistance to the dismantling of key sectors of Galician industry, the opposition to the implementation of damaging environmental policies and many others (Bar Cendón 2010, pp. 71-73).

The Galician feminist movement includes a great variety of groups and associations. All of them have been very actively involved in politics without necessarily being affiliated to any particular party. In some cases they position their militancy in nonpartisan feminism because of the patriarchal structure of political parties. Others, on the other hand, are active in political parties; they believe feminism as a political instrument to transform society is compatible with militancy in political parties. Some of the partisan groups include for example the Galician Woman Association (AGM) or Galician Nationalist Women (MNG). Amongst the groups that have preferred the non-partisan option are *Alecrín*, for instance, which concentrates on social critique and FIGA (Independent Galician Feminists) that has opted for cultural activism (Bar Cendón 2010, p. 74).

Despite the heterodoxy of the feminist movement, which is something that is not exclusive to Galicia but to the feminist movement as a whole, some of the most important groups come from a nationalist, usually left-wing perspective. However, their work has been aimed not only at the local and national level but also at the international one. An example of this is the establishment of the Galician Coordinator of the World March of Women in 2000 which was responsible for the organization of the World March of Women in 2004 in Vigo and for the 7th International March Meeting in 2008 (Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 89). The organization of the World March of Women in Vigo (having been previously organized in Quebec, Bruges and New York, for instance) placed Galicia at an international level as a national cultural and political entity and gave international recognition to the Galician feminist movement (Bar Cendón 2010, p. 321). This proves that feminism is a social and political movement which focuses on the conflicts derived by social and political inequalities worldwide and is the appropriate instrument to solve such problems at a local and an international level.

In addition, Galician feminist associations (since the 1970s) use Galician as their means of expression as they recognize it as an element of identity. Although in the programs of the different feminist groups and associations there is no specific mention of the commitment to use Galician, there is an assumption that this would be the case. Galician is the language used in their pamphlets, posters, banners (see illustrations in Bar Cendón 2010) articles, journals and books. Journals such as *A Festa da palabra silenciada*, *Andaina*, *A Saia*, *Area*, *Alborada* or *Donicela*, amongst others, as well as the articles and books published by Galician feminist writers – María Xosé Queizán, Margarita Ledo Andión, Carmen Blanco, Camiño Noia, etc (González Fernández 2005, pp. 25-37) – are proof of this. Furthermore, using Galician is also a way of contesting Spanish nationalist discourse because “a reivindicación da lingua galega vai unida á rebeldía contra o estado opresor e contra a cultura nacionalista española da ditadura, que edulcora o desprezo por Galiza con tópicos como *Galiza, terra nai*” (Bar Cendón 2010, p. 80) [the defense of the Galician language goes hand-in-hand with rebellion against the oppressor state and against the Spanish nationalist culture of the dictatorship which sweetens its disdain towards Galiza with clichés such as *Galiza, motherland*] (my translation).

However, these clichés as well as patriarchal attitudes have also been identified within the Galician nationalist movement, especially in its early phases. This is true of literature and history (Queizán 1998, pp. 74-78; Rios Bergantinhos 2001, pp. 159-161; González Fernández 2005, pp. 170-171; Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 72). Despite being encouraged to participate in the nationalist struggle, women were frequently defined by patriarchal values (Rios Bergantinhos 2001, p. 33); for example, by considering their roles as dependant on men’s activities (Rios Bergantinhos 2001, p. 45), by referring to their physical appearance or manners (Rios Bergantinhos 2001: 87-88) or by mentioning the image of the nation as a mother: “a figura de Galiza como nai –

necesitada do carinho e o afecto do povo galego” (Rios Bergantinhos 2001, p. 159) [the image of Galiza as a mother – in need of the affection and care of the Galician people] (my translation). Noa Rios Bergantinhos, a Galician historian and nationalist activist, notes the invisibility in Galician history of the role and involvement of women in the Galician nationalist movement prior to Franco’s coup d’état in her work *A mulher no nacionalismo galego (1900-1936). Ideologia e realidade* (2001). Her exhaustive research into political documents and journals of the time reveals the lack of prominence given to female activists as well as to the gendering of the nationalist discourse:

Dentro do discurso nacionalista galego podemos observar como Galiza se apresenta totalmente sexualizada. Aparece como unha mulher protagonizando diferentes roles femininos, pode aparecer como escrava, como nai ou donzela, mas em todos os casos, necesitada de heróis masculinos que a libertem, existindo também numerosos elementos da afirmação da masculinidade do povo galego (Rios Bergantinhos 2001, p. 159).

Within the Galician nationalist discourse, it can be noticed how Galiza is presented as totally sexualised. It appears as a woman who performs different female roles. It can appear as a slave, as a mother or as a maid but in all cases it is in need of male heroes who can set her free. There are also numerous elements for the reinforcement of the Galician nation manhood (my translation).

The historical approach of the study aims at making the work and involvement of women in the formation of the Galician nationalist movement visible. The author does not only give evidence of the patriarchal structure and vision of the political parties but also of the importance of the role of women by providing information about them and their work (Rios Bergantinhos 2001, p. 135).

The involvement of Galician feminism in nationalist movements and the sexist attitude of an important part of the Galician nationalist movement has also been identified by other authors such as María Xosé Queizán, a Galician feminist writer who has been involved in several feminist associations and projects since the 1970s, and who has written widely about feminism and nationalism in Galicia. The author has commented on the necessity of reinventing nationalism by providing it with a more feminist perspective, pointing to the importance of feminism in helping to construct Galician nationalism after Franco. The author denies what she calls some of the foundational myths of the Galician nation such as Galician matriarchy or the consideration of the nation as a *Terra-Nai* (the Motherland) which are, according to her as well to other authors (Blanco 1995, p. 68; Rios Bergantinhos 2001, p. 159; González Fernández 2005, p. 42; Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 76), patriarchal creations (Queizán 1998, p. 43).

Other ideas such as that of a practically exclusive male bardic tradition as present both in the Welsh and the Galician literary canon and national imagery have been discussed and challenged in the work of some women writers and thinkers (Queizán 1998, pp. 20-22; Gramich and Brennan 2003, p. xvii). For example, Queizán has carried out a study on misogynist and racist aspects of Pondal's poetry, a poet who is known as 'the Bard' and considered one of the foundational figures in contemporary Galician history and literature (Queizán, 1998). Similarly Gramich and Brennan have challenged the idea of a Welsh bardic tradition 'which, until quite recently, has been assumed to have been an exclusive male preserve' (Gramich and Brennan 2003, p. xvii). The andocentric conception of the nation is clearly illustrated in the definition of Wales as *Hen wlad fy nhadau* (the land of my fathers) and Galicia as *a nazón de Breogán* (Breogán's nation). Feminist critiques aim at reconsidering some of these

clichés associated with Welsh and Galician history and literary canon as well as at placing women as political and cultural subjects.

Like women in Galicia, women in Wales have also had an important role in Welsh language activism. They have been involved since the 1960s in language pressure groups such as *Cymdeithas yr iaith Gymraeg* (Aaron 1994, pp. 189-190), whose activities included, for instance, protests and campaigns in favour of a Welsh-language channel (Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 135) and *Merched Y Wawr* which focuses more on cultural activities (Adamson 1991, p. 126). More recently they have also taken part in *Cymuned*, “an anti-colonisation pressure group which works on behalf of Welsh-speaking communities” (Wilson and Stapleton 2006, p. 39) established in 2001. Although women have always had a prominent role in *Cymdeithas*, since the 1990s they share equal numbers of leading positions with men and both women and men are actively involved in direct action (Tomos 1994, p. 260).

Apart from operating as a movement for the recognition of the rights of a distinctive element of Welsh identity, language activism has also raised other political and social issues such as gender and/or sex discrimination or problems derived from unequal economic systems (Elfyn 1994, p. 282). The relationship between minoritized-language and oppressed gender is clear for many Welsh activists. Poet Menna Elfyn states of her own experience: “I eventually went to prison myself as a language activist, but came out a feminist. Imprisonment brought home to me the existence of another silenced war, waged this time against women” (1994, p. 282). This comes from an awareness of her position in the world as a Welsh-speaking woman:

Searching for wholeness in a world that marginalizes and divides one into Welsh, woman, poet, requires a great deal of questioning and contemplation. Those who speak Welsh and have tried to live their

lives through their mother tongue will perhaps be able to recognize how similar their situation is to that of 'woman'. Both groups are relegated to second-class citizenship, yet both are now struggling to transform the system which tries to disempower them (Elfyn 1994, p. 284).

Apart from Elfyn, other Welsh-language women authors such as Meg Elis or Angharad Tomos have used literature as a means of supporting and promoting Welsh (Aaron 1994, p. 190). Interestingly, English-language authors such as Gillian Clarke and Christine Evans have shown in their writings a concern with a fractured identity derived from the loss of the native language (Aaron 1994, p. 193). However this, according to Clarke "can still be discovered, hidden deep under the accumulated strata of Anglicization" (Aaron 1994, p. 193).

Amongst the political parties in the Welsh context Plaid Cymru does not make any clear reference to feminism. It does make a statement for equal rights: "We are committed to equality for all regardless of gender, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation or age" (Partyofwales.org n.d.). However, and in contrast to all political parties in Galicia which are led by men, the party has been led by a woman since 2012; Plaid's leader, Leanne Wood, has defined herself as a feminist (Walesonline 2012).

The position of Galician nationalist political parties towards the recognition of women's rights has developed since the 1970s. However not all nationalist parties have approached the matter in the same way: since 1995 the BNG, the main nationalist party with political representation in Galicia, has considered feminism as a social right and a political requirement for the organization. Its last political program makes specific reference to feminism which is contemplated with a transversal focus. Moreover, during the bipartite

government in Galicia shared by PSdeG and BNG (2005-2009), the Vice-presidency for Equality and Welfare (*Vicepresidencia de Igualdade e Benestar*), which was managed by the BNG, created the General Department for Equality (*Secretaría Xeral de Igualdade*). Anova, the other nationalist party with political representation since 2012, presented a general political program within the political association AGE in which there are references to equal rights for men and woman and equality policies. However there is not any explicit mention of feminism or gender policies. Pro-independence parties such as NÓS-UP clearly declared themselves as feminist and antipatriarchal and work against the idea of a “patriarchal family” which they understand aims at dominating women by confining them to the private sphere.

What both Welsh and Galician activists currently share is their commitment to feminist philosophy from a national perspective. Equally feminists in Wales and Galicia are aware of the importance of recognising the women who have been silenced, forgotten or simply ignored in world history. Welsh and Galician national histories have not been an exception to this and so women have been forced to feel what Aurora Marco has called “*estranxeiras na súa propia historia*” (Marco López 2011, p. 8) [strangers in their own history], paraphrasing Rosalía de Castro’s poem “*Estranxeira na súa patria*” [Stranger in Her Own Homeland]. In effect “*durante moito tempo as mulleres estiveron esquecidas da historia de Galiza, como aconteceu ... en todos os países do mundo*” (Marco López 2011, p. 7) [for a long time women were forgotten by the history of Galicia, as is what happened in every country in the world] (my translation). Welsh historian Deirdre Beddoe points to same idea with regards to the Welsh context: “Welsh women are culturally invisible” (Beddoe 1986, 227).

Literary and historical works have been used by Welsh and Galician authors as a means through which women’s voice and views are recovered (Aaron and

Rees et al. 1994, pp. 2-3; Gramich 2007, p. 2; Miguelez-Carballeira and Hooper 2009, p. 210). The rewriting of history from a feminist approach is an act of historical memory which does not only mean the recovery of women's history but of the true Welsh and Galician national histories as a whole. Furthermore, the recovery of historical memory helps counteract the official historiography of the state as well as patriarchy and in the case of Galician history, the ideas and ideologies introduced by the fascist regime. This enables, at least to some degree, the voice of the silenced women in history to be recovered (Higginbotham 1989, p. 50; Ryan 2010, pp. 92-93; Marco López 2011, p. 7).

In this respect the use of oral records has played an important role in the recovery of women's history/ies because they offer the opportunity of bringing back the voice – both in a literal and metaphorical manner – of the silenced women (Bar Cendón 2010, p. 20; Marco López 2011, p. 24): “Para dar voz a tantas silenciadas, foi imprescindíbel acudir a fontes orais, unha técnica de investigación que permite unha aproximación á realidade de grupos sociais situados fóra do Poder e as mulleres ... constitúen un destes grupos” (Marco López 2011, p. 24) [In order to give voice to so many silenced women it was crucial to turn to oral records. This is a research technique that enables us to approach the situation of social groups which are outside Power and women constitute one of these groups] (my translation).

(Auto)biography – as well as fictional biography – has also been pointed out as a useful genre to be analyzed from the feminist viewpoint. This genre enables the work and life of women that have been ignored by official history to become more visible. Moreover it can be used as a means to recover historical memory which is very important in the case of women (Smith and Watson 1998; Cosslett and Lury et al. 2000). These ideas have been transferred to cinema in the form of documentaries because:

As a genre, critical autobiographical documentary film searches for “truth”— for an understanding of the self that is both resistant to any singular, stable or unified essence, yet whole in its “ceaselessly modified function” ... Its text is a tool for self-reflexive analysis and agency as it critically investigates the many perspectives and circumstances that lead to one’s understanding of self ... This search is not so much about discovering the true story (although it may start out this way) as it is about pursuing numerous angles, revealing the many gaps, and, ultimately, locating liberation in a reinvention of the self within fluctuating reverse discourses that simultaneously disrupt existing notions of dominant and normalizing ones (Zanski 2006, p. 3).

Therefore it is not a mere coincidence that women filmmakers have paid a special attention to this kind of filmmaking because it enables them to tell as well as to vindicate the (his)stories of women. Although some directors in Galicia have used this type of filmmaking, particularly when discussing historical memory, in the case of films about the history of women it is particularly meaningful because it is employed as an attempt to make women’s works and role in history visible. This provides an opportunity to reconstruct official historiography because it incorporates a part of it that has been hidden or simply ignored until recently. Cinema offers the possibility of making this visible from a double perspective: on the one hand, it allows an on-screen discussion and presentation of (hi)stories which have had female protagonists; on the other, its (audio)visual features are meaningfully and metaphorically linked to the idea of visibility. Both are used as a means to make the invisible visible. However, the fact that certain kinds of filmmaking such as documentaries or short films are not considered in the same category as a feature film (i.e. categories in film festivals and awards) should not be overlooked either. Certain cinematic genres have tended to be more used by specific groups and in particular contexts (i.e. utilized by minoritized and

marginalized groups). The use of non mainstream genres by these groups has been commented on, for instance, by González Fernández (2005, pp. 12-15) in the case of Galician women's literature. Most women writers of the 1980s, with the exception of some authors such as Margarita Ledo Andión who produced narrative and experimental poetry (González Fernández 2005, p. 12), focused on non mainstream genres like children's literature or the essay. These authors used the gaps left aside by mainstream literature to create new spaces from which to produce. Thus the study of these genres both in literature and cinema is of particular importance in order to understand literary production and filmmaking in contexts of minoritized groups.

Women and Language

The role of Welsh and Galician women in language activism has already been discussed. Their involvement in feminist and language-focused pressure groups comes from an awareness of the need to respond to gender discrimination and linguistic repression. The stigmatization of Welsh women and the Welsh language which resulted from the publication of the *Blue Books* Report in 1847 influenced Welsh women's self-perception (Gramich 2007, pp. 4-5). Similarly there are connections between the oppression of Galician women and the Galician language (Queizán 1977). In Galicia the Francoist period had harmful repercussions for the perception of the Galicia language and of Galician people. Galicians were considered as uneducated people who lived in underdeveloped conditions mainly because of their inability to express themselves properly in Castilian and because Galicia was largely rural (Roseman and Parkhurst, 2008, p. 132). As Roseman and Parkhurst state:

The “ignorance” of peasant agriculturalists and the working class was highlighted as a major cause of various trends, ranging from high levels of infant mortality and “low” crop yields to the lack of female and filial obedience to men's authority (Roseman and Parkhurst 2008, p. 132).

Rural Galician women were stigmatised as ignorant and backward (Roseman and Parkhurst 2008, p. 133). They were also said to lack “appropriate submissiveness to authority” (Roseman and Parkhurst 2008, p. 133). The *Sección Femenina*ⁱⁱⁱ was responsible for the “re-education” of Galician women “to make them most able to contribute to their families, their communities of residence, and thereby to the Spanish “nation” as a whole” (Roseman and Parkhurst 2008, p. 133).

Furthermore the fascist regime understood perfectly that language was one of the key elements that had to be eliminated in order to carry out their *national* project. Several laws were passed under Franco's dictatorship forbidding the use of any other language of the Peninsula but Castilian (Forrest 2003, p. 116). If we take into account that Galician was the language of the great majority of the population the Franco regime and its mechanisms had to undermine traditional language usage in order to remove any trace that could be identified as an element of national cohesion. This had terrible consequences in Galicia. The correlation between being Galician – and Galician-speaking – and being uneducated became a cliché. An example of this is that until now, some of the meanings for *gallego/a* ('Galician [person]' in Castilian) given in the Royal Spanish Academy online dictionary are “silly” and “stutterer” (Redacción Faro de Vigo 2009). In such a context Galician women as the oppressed gender were doubly stigmatised for being both women and Galicians.

The documentary *A memoria da lingua* (The memory of the language) directed in 2010 by Andrea Nunes and Raquel Rei reflects the current historical and sociolinguistic conflicts of Galician society with a special focus on women. In the film, the Galician sociolinguist Goretti Sanmartín analyses some of the sociological aspects that have influenced language use in Galicia as a whole and more precisely in the case of women. Galician women who are Galician-speaking – especially those who still preserve native Galician phonetics and intonation – are still nowadays considered ignorant and unsophisticated. Such stigmatizations have had profound repercussions in language use in Galicia.

According to Sanmartín studies that are currently being undertaken suggest that physical appearance and language are closely related with the negative or positive view of women. Patriarchal physical patterns attributed to women include in this case language in a wide sense where body language and manners

are distributed as adequate or inadequate according to the language choice. Therefore women are in this way the double victims of oppression.

Similarly, Welsh women were labelled at times as ignorant and immoral (Aaron 1994, p. 185). Wales and Welsh people as a whole, but women in particular, were considered barbaric (Aaron 1994, p. 185). At the end of the nineteenth century this situation started to be reversed and Welsh female writers and artists gained importance in Welsh politics and culture. They had an influence in the work of twentieth century women writers in Wales who were more politically aware (Gramich 2007, p. 5).

These women started to question identity from different perspectives. An example of this is outlined in the article ‘Welsh lesbian feminist: a contradiction in terms?’ by Roni Crwydren (1994, pp. 294-300) which discusses identity with a focus on gender and sexuality. When Crwydren starts to openly recognize her sexuality she also starts to question her national identity; with regards to her sexuality she has always felt she was “an outsider” (1994, p. 294) but during the process of redefining her sexuality, she also started to question her position as a political outsider (1994, p. 295). As an English-speaking person born in Wales with an English and Anglicised Welsh background Crwydren started to consider the relation between patriarchy and different forms of oppression:

Was there a parallel between the oppression of lesbians and the oppression of the Welsh through language? ... And what happens when you feel that two separate yet equally integral parts of yourself are simultaneously being oppressed? (1994, p. 297).

Oppression works in many directions and in her case three elements converge: sexuality, feminism and national identity. As she states: “it felt crucial ... for me to learn to speak and read Welsh, for both political and personal reasons (I

believe that the two cannot be separated)” (1994, p. 295). Therefore her struggle to be recognized as a woman who could freely choose her sexuality appeared in inevitable relation to the definition of her national identity where the native language played an essential role.

Language and identity is examined in the work of women authors in Wales and Galicia. In Wales both Welsh and English-language writers discuss language in their texts and poems (i.e. Gillian Clarke, Menna Elfyn, Angharad Tomos or Gwyneth Lewis). In Galicia the *Rexurdimento*^v (the Resurgence) could not have been possible without the figure of Rosalía de Castro. De Castro’s literary leadership of the resurgence of Galician as a written language is a conscious and political positioning both in terms of her identity as a woman and as Galician. Her poems pay tribute to her homeland as well as to all those Galician women to whom she gives voice and importance.

The author is very conscious of the situation of women and such concern is stated in the preface of *Follas Novas* (Bermúdez and De Castro 2002, p. 9) published in 1880. In the section “As viúdas dos vivos e dos mortos” (The Widows of the Living and the Dead) (Bermúdez and De Castro 2002, pp. 181-224), she expresses her empathy with the women of her time who suffered the social consequences of an unjust history. This was written when hundreds of thousands of Galician men had to emigrate for economic reasons, mainly to America. De Castro aimed at giving prominence to the forgotten victims of this situation who were women. They are the focus of this section in the book which makes reference to those women whose husbands died and therefore became widows or to those others who would not officially be considered as widows because their husbands had died at sea and their bodies had never been found; the tragedy of the loss of a loved one was intensified by not having a body to bury. Furthermore as those women were – and are – not officially

recognized as widows until years have passed since the disappearance of their husbands, they cannot claim any benefit from the government.

The poem ‘N'a tomba d'o xeneral inglés Sir John Moore morto na batalla de Elviña (Coruña) o 16 de xaneiro de 1809’ (At the tomb of English [British] general Sir John Moore killed at the battle of Elviña (Coruña) on January 16th 1809) included in *Follas Novas* (Bermúdez and De Castro 2002, p. 102) was dedicated to Maria Bertorini (birth name Maria Margarita Jones): “To my friend Maria Bertorini, a native of the country of Wales. Coruña, 1871”. In making such a statement in her poem, the poet is establishing a link between women of oppressed countries. De Castro’s work in Galician has traditionally been defined by Spanish – and Galician – literary criticism as romantic and sentimental, obscuring in this way her political purpose. However recent studies focus their attention on reconstructing the reception of Rosalía’s work (Angueira 2009; García Negro 2010; Rodríguez Sánchez, 2011; González Fernández and Rábade Villar 2012).

Discussions about identity are, in principle, rather more problematic for women from oppressed nations because they must confront gender and national issues. However, this is precisely what makes them more aware of the need to contest any form of oppression. Rosalía de Castro wrote in *Cantares Gallegos* (1863) after centuries of Spanish centripetal oppression in her native language: “Galicia non debes chamarte nunca hespañola” (De Castro 1863) [Galicia, you must never call yourself Spanish]. More than a century later the Welsh poet Menna Elfyn confronts patriarchy in a very ironic way in the following powerful verses (Gramich 2007, p. 153):

Gwrandewch chi, feistri bach,
tase Crist yn dod ‘nôl heddi
byse fe’n bendant yn gwneud ei de ei hun’

Listen here, little masters,
 if Christ came back today
 he would definitely be making his own tea

Furthermore the links of solidarity established between these women have proved to be constructive and encouraging. Rábade Villar in conversation with Menna Elfyn puts it this way:

In poetry, subjectivity is very important, and the questions of what does it mean to be 'I', what does it mean to be a female 'I', and even what does it mean to be a female 'us', the idea of a plural approach. And in Menna's poetry, I found this idea of a female community, as in 'Live sisters live', which I read as a letter to Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton (Miguélez-Carballeira 2008, pp. 10-14).

Feminism introduces a new approach for the (re)-definition of the nation which brings in a more positive and confident attitude towards national and gender identity/ies as the words by Galician feminist musician Sés clearly show: "Eu sempre lle digo a todo o mundo que son muller e galega, que non teño a culpa. Simplemente tiven sorte" (Espino, 2013) [I always tell everyone that I am a woman and Galician and that I am not responsible for that. I have just been lucky] (my translation).

Language and Female Characters

The relationship between language and national identity has already been examined in relation to male characters in the films *Milwr Bychan* (1986), *Hedd Wyn* (1992) *Pradolongo* (2007) *Patagonia* (2010) and *Crebinsky* (2011). The representation of female characters and language will be explored in the Welsh and Galician films *Branwen* (1995), *Cwcu* (2008), *Cienfuegos 1913* (2008) and *As mulleres da raia* (2009). *Branwen* and *Cwcu* will also be further discussed in the next sections.

The TV movie *Cwcu* by Delyth Jones discusses feminism, language and identity. In her process of identity reconstruction, Jane will find in feminism a way for personal development as well as for creativity. Although her knowledge of feminism comes through the medium of English – she reads Hermione Lee’s biography of Virginia Woolf – Welsh is the language of her daily life and of her work as a Welsh language writer. There is no mention of any language issue among the characters: by presenting Welsh as the language of daily life, as well as of fiction, the film suggests that Welsh can be the language of any situation in Wales. The only conflict that could be raised here is the one that relates feminism with Anglo-American culture.

The question of the reception of Anglo-American feminism in the Welsh context has been commented on by Welsh authors (Aaron, 1994: 183). In the film this is brought into context through Hermione Lee’s work: traditional conventions that understood the feminist movement as a product of English and American culture need to be re-examined. As Aaron explains, as a result of English colonization, numerous aspects of Welsh culture – not only women’s role in society – were influenced by English culture (Aaron 1994, p 183). However, according to her, feminism has helped contest sexist ideas about womanhood introduced in the Victorian period (Aaron 1994, p. 184). In effect

Welsh feminism can make possible “the construction of a less sexist Wales but also of one more free from the long-term effects of cultural colonization” (Aaron 1994, p. 184).

In the second part of *Cwcu*, Jane is taken to a sort of imaginative world where only Welsh will be present; English disappears when she throws Virginia Woolf’s biography into the river. It appears that she has already learnt what she needed about feminism – in this case Woolf’s feminism – and she is now capable of reinventing herself as a free woman. The situation becomes complicated when her memories from the past come back and she will need to go back to Woolf and feminism to find a way to overcome reality and start a new life.

Women’s history is also present in Margarita Ledo’s *Cienfuegos 1913*, a tribute to her late mother. The short film is divided into two parts, with one section being filmed in Cuba and the other in Galicia. Part one, directed by Cuban filmmaker Belkis Vega, combines images of Cuba with the director’s memories of Galicia, the land of her ancestors. In part two Galician director Margarita Ledo uses her mother’s story to establish a dialogue between Cuba and Galicia, and more precisely between Cuban and Galician women. Her correspondence with a Cuban female filmmaker is used as a filmic device to speak about a family story and also about the interconnected history of the two nations. In terms of language, Galician is the language used by the narrator – Ledo herself – to describe Galicia, her mother’s personality and her childhood memories, while Spanish is the language of the letters she reads as part of the narration. Spanish is used for communication means between the Cuban and the Galician directors. It is also the language of part one set in Cuba.

Cienfuegos 1913 goes back to roots, to origins and therefore it draws attention to identity and how this is created. Her mother’s childhood in Cuba influenced

the development of her personality. For a complete understanding of the effect Cuba had on her mother – which included Cuban words and expressions as well as her interest in politics – she will be assisted by her Cuban pen friend. A female vision of the Cuban places of her mother's childhood enables Ledo to understand her mother's memories and also her own personal story. Moreover the film creates a link between the history of Galicia and Cuba.

The definition of her mother's personality as influenced by the Cuban experience pays tribute to the importance of the Cuban heritage in Galician history. It is significant that this is commented on through a female perspective – they are all female characters – which gives prominence to the history of women. The short film suggests that the director's own identity is at least in part influenced by her mother's view of the world. Her concern as a mother and her political awareness as well as her understanding as a Galician woman émigré becomes evident in the sentence: “Sabes? preguei para que che nacesen ás” [You know what? I prayed so that you would grow wings] (my translation) in reference to Ledo's exile years during Franco's dictatorship.

The importance given to the history of women observed in *Cienfuegos 1913* is also evident in *As mulleres da raia* (Women on the border) by Diana Gonçalves. Again a story about women told by a female director, the film pays homage to the women of the border areas of Galicia and Portugal that had to survive thanks to the black market during the dictatorships of Franco and Salazar. The so-called *raia* (border) is a term traditionally used to refer to the political – not the linguistic – border between South Galicia and Portugal. Gonçalves brilliantly makes use of the term to tell the story of the women living there. *As mulleres da raia* is a well-documented film about a story of historical importance that focuses on the role developed by women. In some aspects the film is rather problematic with regards to the representation of language and its relationship to national identity. In the documentary the people who were

interviewed speak their regional variants of language used in South Galicia and North Portugal. For the showing in Galicia, Gonçalves decided to introduce Galician subtitles for the Portuguese speakers. This appears to create a rather absurd situation as it is sometimes not easy to distinguish if the speaker belongs to one or the other side of the border given that these variants are phonetically very close to each other (Rodrigues Lapa 1979, p. 119). The director's aim is to display a supposed ethnic difference via the conduit of linguistic variance; language is then employed in the film to define national identity. However, in this case such consideration appears to be problematic as Galicia and Northern Portugal are both linguistically and ethnically very close. It would have been more interesting to observe not the difference but the link between the women of these regions of a *raia* where language plays a crucial role in their mutual understanding.

The reference to language as a distinctive element of national identity is clear in *Branwen*. In the film several ideas regarding national identity merge. These ideas seem at times to be contradictory when the rights of women who belong to stateless nations and who speak their native language come into conflict with the patriarchal values of society. Being a Welsh-speaking nationalist woman clearly places Branwen in a position which is not easy to secure: she will have to stand up for her rights as a woman, as Welsh and as a Welsh-speaker. In this sense she clearly opposes both patriarchal attitudes and values and what is supposed to be her 'civic' identity which would include an English-speaking British nationality. She actively defends her Welsh identity which she understands in nationalist as well as internationalist terms: she feels Welsh and also part of a pan-Celtic nationhood. In her understanding of her identity as undoubtedly Welsh she considers language one of the key and strongest elements. Indeed language is not only an element of self-definition but furthermore part of the struggle for independence. For her, such a struggle can be carried out in both armed and linguistic terms and she seems to consider

both equally important. Branwen is supportive of the Irish Republican cause and she also teaches Irish to women who are not native speakers. Therefore a kind of pan-Celtic solidarity where language is a powerful tool to confront the Empire is established: this brings to mind the movements in defence of the Welsh language such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg in which women played a very important role.

Women in Welsh and Galician Cinema

This study has been carried out by addressing two important issues: firstly, an important part of the films produced in Wales and Galicia have been traditionally made by male filmmakers; secondly, many of the films preserve the traditional stereotyping of female characters. The stereotyping of female characters and the necessity to invert this situation has already been discussed in feminist film theory (Humm 1997; Thornham 1999; Kaplan 2000). Furthermore it is equally important to increase the number of women filmmakers. Not only in cinema but in any expression of art the visibility of woman is always less obvious. This is often more problematic when considering women from stateless-nations. As Katie Gramich puts it:

Women writers from small nations frequently suffer a double marginalization and consequent neglect ... Welsh women writers who have written in Welsh suffer a further burden of marginalization ... It is no wonder that, suffering triple or quadruple marginalization, Welsh women writers have been until very recently virtually invisible (2007, p.1).

Therefore, a real commitment is needed in order to provide women artists with a *room of their own* in the wide world of cinematic production. A feminist approach will help evaluate the portrayal of female characters in Welsh and Galician cinema. Any brief analysis of the depiction of female characters in cinema in general would demonstrate that the vast majority of them are based on stereotyped images and characterizations. These can be summed up in the following categorizations based on the ideas expressed by Sharon Smith in 'The image of women in film: some suggestions for future research' (Smith 1999, pp. 14-19) and the movie critic Pilar Aguilar (2012): Female characters do not play decisive, leading roles. They are not subjects but objects because the plot

revolves around the male characters. Male characters are associated with meaning while female characters with the aesthetic. Frequently female characters are the cause or trigger of conflict(s) amongst the male characters. They are identified with the maternal role (the vision of woman as “good” or “bad” mother) and the representation of women’s body and sexuality is aimed at male viewers. Moreover the number of female characters is usually smaller and they are not participants in the action which is led by the male characters. The following sections will explore how Welsh and Galician cinema reflect these ideas in the cinematic representations of the female characters in a number of films.

Female characters in relation to male characters

This section will build upon the theoretical approach developed previously in order to analyse the depiction of female characters in Welsh and Galician cinema. Following Smith's ideas (1999, pp. 14-19) and Aguilar's categorizations (2012) of stereotypes of female characters in cinema, it will focus on the roles developed by women in relation to male characters in Welsh and Galician cinema. The analysis will focus on the films *Sempre Xonxa* (1989), *Hedd Wyn* (1992), *Solomon a Gaenor* (1999) and *Pradolongo* (2007).

In both *Hedd Wyn* and *Pradolongo* female characters are defined by their relationship with the male characters. While Ellis in *Hedd Wyn* is depicted as a womanizer, one of the main tensions in *Pradolongo* is introduced by one of the female protagonists, Raquel, who causes confrontation between the two male friends. Similarly Lizzie, Ellis' first girlfriend in the Welsh film, is represented as a character who causes confrontation and is depicted as the counterpart of Ellis. While he is proud of his origins, Lizzie appears to be less committed and that is made clear when she rejects Ellis for his decision not to take part in the war voluntarily. Ellis' refusal to engage with Lizzie or to establish any further commitment with her is not presented as a sign of betrayal in their relationship. To betray his nationalist beliefs is worse than his lack of commitment to Lizzie. Male nationalist commitment in opposition to female betrayal is present in many national (hi)stories and/or myths, such as the Mexican Malinche. This controversial figure is seen as both the mother of *mestizo/a* as well as the symbol of national betrayal that favoured the Spanish conquest. However new studies about this figure from a feminist approach show that this depiction has not been constant but has on the contrary changed according to political and historical interests (Messinger Cypess 1991).

In *Pradolongo* the plot resolves around the male characters. The transmission of heritage through men is embodied in the character of Martiño. It is his father who unconditionally supports him while it is his mother who ultimately betrays him as she is the land-owner who, therefore, has to make the ultimate decision whether to sell the land or not. It is rather symbolic that although the loss of Pradolongo is a betrayal of the whole community, the most dramatic scene is when Martiño discovers that his mother has just signed the agreement for selling the land. In contrast it is his father in a later scene who gives him advice and support. Vilar's depiction is rather unrealistic as traditionally Galician women have shown a close attachment to their land: they worked it as their husbands had emigrated or were fishermen who spent long periods away or died at sea, as described by Rosalia de Castro in 'the widows of the dead and the alive'. The film conveys the idea that her circumstances influence her decision (i.e. her role as a mother). A mother of three she has to make a decision on what is best for her children. Her daughter and one of his sons want her to sell the land while Martiño wants the opposite. Her role as a woman is therefore defined in terms of motherhood.

Sempre Xonxa by Chano Piñeiro, the first 35 mm film shot in Galician and today considered a classic of Galician cinema, explores two of the core elements of Galician history: emigration and rural life. The success of the film in the Galician context can be explained by it being filmed in Galician and addressing key historical events. It aimed to address a national audience and that may also explain the lack of success of the film in other parts of the Spanish state. *Sempre Xonxa* clearly attempts to analyse and interpret essential elements of Galician national identity. However, the director introduces another key element in the story: the film not only represents Galician rural life but also, and mainly, the role of woman in that environment. Thus by positioning the female character in the centre of the plot, Piñeiro clearly seeks to represent the importance of women in the Galician context. It is an attempt to vindicate the essential role

that Galician women have played in the history of the nation. However the film also suggests the idea of Galician matriarchy used by traditional Galician nationalism. In effect Xonxa is represented as the prototypical Galician woman who lives and works in a rural area: she is a strong woman who works as a farmer, works the land and takes care of the family.

Although it is true that emigration and later exile have been two of the most dramatic aspects represented in Galician historical theory and fictional works, those have been mainly observed from the perspective of men who migrated and not the women who stayed behind and had to survive. It is undeniable that men were – and still are – the victims of cruel political and socioeconomic situations (Barreiro Fernández and Cagiao Vila et al. 2007). However, in contrast to the victimization of the men forced to emigrate, the consequences for women were either ignored or more often hidden by praise for the virtues of Galician rural women. Despite Piñeiro's intention to give female characters a leading role – something he had previously done in *Mamasunción* (1985) – the film introduces some stereotypical depictions. For example the number of female characters is smaller and although Xonxa is the protagonist she is the cause of conflict between the two main male characters, Pancho and Birutas. Ultimately in response to Xonxa's rejection Birutas rapes her.

Rape and other forms of violence have been used as strategies to oppress women in patriarchal systems (Etienne and Burke 1980). Feminist theory has widely commented on the control of female sexuality and pleasure as a means of controlling women (Isherwood 2000; Katrak 2006). This is shown in *Pradolongo* and *Solomon a Gaenor*. In *Pradolongo*, Vilar presents the reality of illegal immigration that is traumatic for women. Previous projects by Vilar, such as *Ilegal* had also dealt with illegal immigration. The representation of women immigrants in *Pradolongo* as the double victims of patriarchal and capitalist societies is critically exposed in the brothel that Martiño and Anselmo

visit. Martiño's decision not to have sex with one of the prostitutes underlines the hypocritical patriarchal use of love and sex: on the one hand we see pure idealised teenage love, and on the other, the use of sex as capitalist merchandise.

In the Welsh film *Solomon a Gaenor*, Gaenor is the victim of the morals of a strong religious community where women's status is still understood in terms of female 'sexual purity'. One of the issues depicted in the film is religious conflict, in particular between Nonconformity and Judaism in this particular community. The impossible love story of the protagonists is determined by religious affiliation: Solomon is a Jewish man from a conservative Jewish background and Gaenor belongs to a Welsh nonconformist community. As Solomon assumes he will be rejected for being Jewish, he decides to disguise his own identity, but after Gaenor becomes pregnant, his true identity is revealed. They are then both rejected by their communities and she is forced to leave the town.

What is interesting for this analysis, however, is how religion in general has been used as a means of perpetuating women's submission. The tensions between religion and gender-specific oppression in colonized nations are discussed in the character of Gaenor. In effect patriarchal and colonizing values have often been introduced through religion because in reality "patriarchy ... is a hierarchical conception requiring that only the father has authority in religion, politics, or law" (Richards 2010, p. 4). In the Welsh context at the beginning of the twentieth century, Nonconformity played a key role in defining those values which should be acquired by 'good' Welsh women. It reacted against accusations made in the *Blue Books* about the alleged promiscuity of Welsh society and Welsh women in particular by imposing women sexual restraint (Aaron 1994, 187). Although this was in part affected

by Victorian morality, and can be interpreted as the result of English influence in Wales (Aaron 1994, p. 183), the consequences for women were more severe.

This is what we find in Gaenor's character: she can be considered not only as the victim of the patriarchal attitudes of the community but as the victim of the patriarchal values that derive from the position of Wales as a colony. Her situation is the result of the imposition of repressive measures of both the oppressive and the oppressed nation. Gaenor is punished for her impurity as this is seen to shame her family and the community. She is expelled from her native village when she is pregnant and abandoned – at least in the first stages of her pregnancy – by her partner. This is an example of women of oppressed nations being doubly oppressed. More precisely, *Salomon a Gaenor* explores women's identity in nineteenth-century Wales. In effect in this period they could choose amongst three possible identities:

Either she abandoned her Welsh allegiance and adopted the English middle-class model ... or she defensively asserted her Welshness ... and ... clad herself in an armour of strict propriety ... or she accepted the English definition of herself as the libidinous hoyden of primitive Wild Wales. None of these possible identities afforded her a voice of her own (Aaron 1994, p. 188).

This situation changed in the following century with women involved in feminist, nationalist and language-focused groups (Aaron 1994, p. 189; Gramich 2007, p. 3).

Women and Political Resistance: *Branwen* and *A Mariñeira*

Branwen is a film based on one branch of the Mabinogion about Branwen, the wife of the Irish king. In the film, Branwen, who is Welsh, is married to Kevin, an Irishman from Belfast. Both are Welsh and Irish-speaking and share a desire to fight for the freedom of their countries. However they disagree on some ideas. In opposition to the 'pacifist' beliefs embodied by the male character (Kevin), the female character (Branwen) is the embodiment of the struggle for independence which, in her view, can be achieved by using political and armed means. Her struggle is defined in internationalist terms, that is, in solidarity with other oppressed Celtic nations, in particular between Ireland and Wales. In this sense, her way of understanding the need for solidarity between the different nations under British occupation represents the link between the two cultures.

In opposition to this most male characters in the film show rather problematic personalities. Her brother Mathonwy, for example, is a very complex character whose actions are mainly determined by his childhood experiences, he is responsible for breaking any possibility of reconciliation and understanding. In what becomes a highly symbolic scene in the film, Mathonwy, who represents British authority (he is a soldier), will be the killer of the Irish-Welsh baby. However, this is not only a matter of politics where national rights are being attacked; it is also the punishment that patriarchy sets for women. If women are not 'good mothers', that is, if they do not respond to what is seen as 'good' according to patriarchal values, they will be excluded and abandoned and, even more importantly, they will be made to feel guilty about their decisions and actions.

Mathonwy's actions are justified – or at least understood – as he is the victim of a childhood where motherhood failed. He lost both his mothers (his

biological as well as his adopted mother, also Branwen's mother) and he feels deceived by his sister who ultimately is blamed for his actions. His forgiveness is provided by the priest himself. The priest (who is also his adopted father and Branwen's biological father) will always try to understand his behaviour and will not let him down as both of his mothers (the biological and the adoptive one) have. The relationship between Branwen and Mathonwy becomes problematic because he sees her both as a mother figure and as a possible partner. This introduces in the story the idea of mother-son conflict discussed in psychoanalytic theory.

In this sense, Branwen is both responsible for her own actions and those of her brother(-son) and consequently for the killing of her own (biological) child. However, Mathonwy's hatred towards Branwen is also increased by the fact that the baby's father is Irish. Branwen's treason is therefore the result of her nationalist and feminist beliefs and for that she must be doubly punished. She is also punished by her husband, Kevin, and to some extent by her family. She will also be punished by other male characters in the film for her "irresponsibility" as a mother. Even some female characters will condemn her attitude. Some of Kevin's female family members expressed this attitude in the following statement: "I never liked her". Similarly her Irish-language student will 'advise' her to behave like a proper mother and wife as neither her son nor her husband should suffer because of her decisions. Women as the first victims of patriarchy will obviously internalize patriarchal norms and values which they will use against other women.

Violence against women is interpreted as the obvious consequence of women's irresponsibility. Ironically it is Kevin, who has defined himself as a pacifist, who will end up abusing his wife. Using armed actions to fight for his country seems to be reprehensible but not being violent with his wife. It is her fault for having chosen a kind of life of which she had already been warned. Guilt is

used as a powerful patriarchal tool to control women and Branwen is an example of this. The main character's world is surrounded by male figures and all of them, from her father to her son, will determine in one way or another her decision making. As the only female character in the main plot her relationship with the male characters is always analysed. Patriarchal attitudes will determine her life and the way she "has to" behave. From the beginning, she is defined not only as a woman but also as a mother. This role deprives her of the freedom to choose and live her life as an independent woman. In accordance with traditional patriarchal values the mother as the bearer of future generations must have a responsibility from which fathers are exempt. The mother is considered the main agent responsible for reproduction, and for passing on to her children the culture and values of the nation among which is language. Quite significantly Branwen is not only a Welsh-speaker but also an Irish language teacher, representing the Celtic heritage that must be passed on to younger generations. Patriarchal-related conceptions establish that all these responsibilities are incompatible with other social environments such as politics and public life in general and this is where Branwen's attitude becomes problematic.

After she is abused by Kevin she goes back to Wales and the new setting brings a new attitude; even her clothing has changed. In the first part of the film she usually wears red clothes which symbolize her passion and strength. However, after coming back from her stay in Ireland she will wear clearer colours that significantly suggest her change of outlook. Although at the end of the film she regrets the decisions made, it is not clear what will happen now that her son is dead. Previously she had told her father she had changed, which he questions. Actually her change and her consequent personal development cannot be explained without considering the patriarchal oppression she has suffered. If her decision was made after her experiences in Ireland it must not be forgotten

that they are the product of her husband's abusive behaviour and that of the British occupation.

Two important issues emerge from this analysis: women from oppressed nations are the victims of a double oppression (Gramich 2007, p. 1); and both patriarchy and capitalism oppress women (Eisenstein 1979, p. 6). Branwen expresses it very clearly when she tells her husband that she already has the *Brits* to tell her what to do. Hers is a constant challenge to male dominance regardless of whether it is being directly imposed on her as a woman or indirectly through the oppression of her country. Going beyond this idea, it could be argued that feminism and nationalism converge as the alternative to patriarchy and imperialism.

A Mariñeira (The Fisherwoman), by the author and director Antón Dobao, is set at the beginning of Franco's military coup d'état and extends from the following years of dictatorship to the present. Although the personal story of the Mariñeira is mainly focused on the first decades of the dictatorship, the film also covers the period up to the present. It is divided into two levels. In fact the story of the Mariñeira is introduced through the flashback technique that takes the audience back to the recent past of Galicia. This technique provides the director with the opportunity to create two atmospheres. One of them is set in the present and it is narrated by the Mariñeira's goddaughter; this is how we are introduced to the other level of the film which is the story of María, the Mariñeira.

The goddaughter starts to tell the story because her godmother has just died and she feels she needs to talk about her in order to keep not only the memory of her godmother alive but that of the whole community. The importance of memory for the survival of the community is present in the whole film and is indeed the link between the film's two levels. The preservation of memory and

the sense of solidarity with the community which has suffered such a wide range of atrocities is discussed. New generations have to be aware of what happened in the recent past because forgetting what happened would mean partly – if not completely – losing individual and collective identity: being aware of this is what could keep the Mariñeira alive. She clearly understands that in order to survive they should find ways to survive oppression. Dignity, as the protagonist says, and resistance are the key to survival.

A Mariñeira is also a story of and about the women who resisted Franco and fascist ideology. Although in recent years in Galicia this has been made more public thanks to several political and cultural initiatives (i.e. *Ano da Memoria Histórica* (Historical Memory Year) in 2006) the story of the women that lived and suffered the consequences of Franco's fascist regime has not yet been sufficiently vindicated. Recent studies – i.e. *Mulleres na guerrilla antifranquista galega* (2011) and *Teresa Alvajar López. Memorias dunha republicana* (2012) by Marco López – and films – i.e. *As Silenciadas* (2011) by Pablo Ces Marco and *Digna Rabia* (2011) by Victoria Martins and Ángel Rodríguez – are an attempt to make women's history visible. Similarly the film by Dobao, based on the short story by the author Darío Xohan Cabana *A Mariñeira de Quilmas*, is a homage to the important role of women in fighting Franco's regime and its fascist ideology.

The protagonist of the film, María, is an active character who plays a decisive role in the film. In effect the plot resolves around her. She works as a fisherwoman, a job that has traditionally been associated with men in Galicia. This view of the relationship between women and the sea challenges the myth of the longing wife. However, in Galicia, this is linked to the idea of women as (re-)producers (González Fernández 2005, p. 170). As the partners – and mothers, sisters and daughters – of absent men, the working-class “Galician Penelopes” cannot afford to be passive (González Fernández 2005, p. 170).

Solidarity among women is another important element of the film. If a sense of solidarity is necessary for the community to be considered an ethnic group (Smith 2004, p. 131), that is represented in this film by the female characters. In addition to María, her daughters, her neighbours and her goddaughter in the present preserve the link between the past and the present and therefore the possibility of survival for the ethnic group has been maintained. The importance of the role of women is mainly embodied in the character of María but this extends to all the other women in the film. This introduces the patriarchal idea of the role of women as matriarchs and preservers of tradition. However the film points to an important idea: the feminist ideology that was gaining importance in some progressive groups in the Republic and which was ended abruptly by the introduction of fascist ideology. At the beginning of the film – before the fascist takeover – this is represented mainly by María and her husband, Pandullo, who is a political activist with feminist ideas.

In opposition to all this, the Falangist soldier is a repressive figure who represents the ideology of Franco's fascist regime. He symbolizes all the characteristics of this ideology that rely on the idea of *Una, grande y libre* (*One, great and free*) which was the slogan of Franco's regime that referred to the idea of a united, great and "free" Spain (Preston 2012). The Falangist becomes the embodiment of oppression by the dominant culture – based in the case of Franco on the idea of race – while María is the symbol of resistance. She is depicted as a strong character who opposes political repression. Until the end of the film it is not revealed that her husband, a member of the guerrillas, died at an early age while hidden in the mountains. She buried him in a hidden place and from that moment on she will pretend he is alive in order for her and her daughters to be safer. The character's actions are at least in part determined by her role as a mother. María wants to see justice done. In order to this she will carry out a number of actions pretending they were done by her husband. Rather ironically it is precisely her invisibility as a woman which will enable her

to do this. She would do things to them and always left some leaves as her sign, the same leaf her husband used as a sign to contact her while hidden in the mountains. One of the film's most significant scenes is when we find out that the Falangist has been killed by her.

A Mariñeira is the bearer of the collective memory passing her story on to the next generation and is aware of the importance of a common past. Moreover she reinforces the idea of solidarity among the group. Her goddaughter represents the link with a past that must not be forgotten: the importance of memory is emphasized by her boyfriend's goddaughter who thinks the past must be left behind. Self-awareness is the key for survival and in *A Mariñeira* that is maintained by the female characters. The film points to the patriarchal concept of Galician matriarchy but also to women's resistance to patriarchal fascist oppression. "Somos herdeiros dunha ditadura cultural, somos vítimas dun ataque brutal contra o noso" ('Herdeiros da Ditadura', *Dios ke te crew*) [We are the heirs of a cultural dictatorship, we are the victims of a brutal attack against what is ours ('Heirs to the Dictatorship' by *Dios ke te crew*] (my translation). We hear the lyrics of the Galician hip-hop group *Dios ke te crew* in the background when the goddaughter meets her boyfriend on the beach where her godmother used to fish. This is the message of the whole film: the preservation of culture and identity operates through different forms of resistance among which is memory.

Feminism and Patriarchy: *Cwcu*

The last film to be studied is *Cwcu*, the first cinematographic work directed by Delyth Jones. It is about a writer whose personal life is in crisis because her creativity is being limited by marriage to an abusive and alcoholic husband. *Cwcu* is an exploration of different instruments of patriarchal oppression which are contested from a feminist perspective. This exploration is made through the eyes of Jane Jones who experiences a constant dichotomy between reality and fantasy. Every aspect of the film is presented in dual terms: real life/soap opera, creation/product, urban/rural, feminism/patriarchy, sanity/insanity, Plath/Woolf, etc.

The analysis of the film will be divided into three parts: the first part corresponds with reality, the second section with fantasy and the third one will focus on the open ending of the film. In the first part, the situation of a woman who is mistreated and abused by her husband, a famous actor, is revealed. As the victim of an abusive husband, Jane looks for comfort in creativity and in feminist theory. As her personal life is a nightmare, abstraction and fantasy help her cope with the situation. Herminone Lee's book on the feminist English author Virginia Woolf – which she keeps under a flower pot – is her escape from the real world. The film constantly plays with fantasy and reality, and at times these two merge. For example, the first scenes introduce the spectator into the non-real world as if they were actually part of the 'real' fictional story of the film. Surprisingly the first scenes are part of the soap opera *Meddyg Teulu* whose scripts Jane is responsible for. Her husband is the main actor of the soap-opera and quite ironically he is the doctor: he is the caring doctor in fiction and the abusive and obsessive husband in real life. Jane is the creator who cannot find inspiration because of her real life situation. Recalling what Virginia Woolf defined as "a room of her own", Jane is desperately looking for

that space in which she can be free and create, and in that search she meets a man with whom she starts a new life. Here the second part of the film begins.

The man she meets is an optician who provides her with glasses. This is the very symbolic moment when she starts to *see* and the transformation occurs. Jane transforms herself into a healer who escapes to the countryside with John with whom she will start a fulfilling relationship. She changes her name to Martha Olivia and he changes his to Morgan Oliver. Together they start a new life where he is a carpenter and she a reflexologist. The setting changes completely from closed, domestic scenes to an open, rural setting where Jane takes control over her life. In this sense the film appears to propose an approach to discussing feminism and ecology. Ecofeminism, for instance, brings together the demands for women's rights and ecology (Warren, 1994). In ecofeminist theory, the awareness of the oppression of women is inevitably linked to the awareness of other types of oppression, particularly the domination of nature. For some authors such as Deborah Slicer (1994, pp. 29-40) ecofeminism must identify the necessity to clarify the difference between anthropocentrism and androcentrism, the importance of establishing if women or feminists' voices must be privileged and, ultimately, if environmentalists must be feminists. According to her the understanding of human dominance over nature as a consequence of the male – and therefore not just human – dominant position in the world is significantly important for understanding male dominance over woman. Androcentrism would be the cause of the exploitation of nature and consequently of the exploitation of women because women have long been associated with nature due to their biological and reproductive characteristics (Slicer 1994, pp. 29-40). However not all authors approach the interrelation between feminism and ecology in the same way. According to Victoria Davion, for example, the feminist approach to ecology must be carried out excluding the idea that links *femininity* with a particular way of understanding the environment (Warren 2000, p. 53). That is, if

ecofeminism introduces the idea that women are associated with certain gender-patterns, then it would be not valid any more because a theory that considered the existence of gender-roles could not be regarded by definition as feminist. This would not be a feminist perspective but *ecofeminine* instead.

Some of these ideas are relevant for the analysis of Jane's transformation and personal development. She appears to have a close connection with nature and non-materialistic things and she is also a healer. At the beginning her partner shares her views but her idyllic world soon changes. John becomes concerned about money and convinces Jane to stop doing voluntary work and to charge people for her assistance. Once money is introduced, problems appear. In what appears to be a critique of capitalist (patriarchal) exploitation of nature, the film concentrates on the oppression of women. Jane is forced to work long hours in order to earn more and more money. The fact that John wants to introduce money as a necessary element in the couple's life makes a clear reference to capitalism as a patriarchal-created system that subordinates women.

The third part corresponds to the outcome of the confrontation between her real (in the first part of the film) and her fictional world (in the second part of the film). After experiencing a real life of abuse and rejection, Jane tried to construct a new fantasy world where everything was perfect with a new partner. Or at least that is what she wanted to believe. She is for a while an example of an "impostor" as the narrator says in the film: "The real lives impostors leave behind are almost uniformly intolerable and oppressive. The impostor is an escapist as much as an adventurer ... they cannot change the world into which they are born as losers so they change themselves".

However, at some point reality comes back and she has no option but to face it. In her real life, the glasses she was given by John in the fantasy world are

broken. She is now forced to see through her own eyes. Sam (her husband) has recovered from alcoholism and he has finished his role as doctor in *Meddyg Teulu* (he dies in the drama). Although it could seem that this would be the perfect situation, she finds herself lost and afraid. She is finally on her own and although she is free at last it is not easy for her to find her place in the world. Culturally interiorized patriarchal patterns of behaviour make her unable to move ahead. After years of being a victim of abuse Jane struggles to accept reality. For patriarchy to be sustained, violence is approved as a method to control and oppress women. This provides the patriarchal system with a tool to repress women by making the victim dependent upon the perpetrator. However Jane decides to be strong and start a new life. Binary oppositions (reality/fantasy, creation/production, sanity/insanity, etc) disappear and feminist theory becomes practice. In the final scene she takes the bus that says: “something tremendous is about to happen”. The open ending suggests that many opportunities are open to Jane. She has always been a *cuckoo* in somebody else’s nest and it is time for her to find *a room of her own*.

CONCLUSIONS: (RE-)CREATING THE DISCOURSE OF THE NATION IN MINORITIZED LANGUAGES CINEMA

The Moving Image in Wales and Galicia

This thesis focuses on the analysis of the debate(s) about the nation in the cinema produced in minoritized language contexts. In the films that have been discussed certain elements such as landscape, ethnicity, gender and language have been explored in order to investigate their significance with regards to the conception of the nation. Cinema addresses some of these questions by using the moving image as the intersection where the visual and the intellectual meet. For the cases analysed in this study, the visual has been used as a tool to examine the image as both a visible representation on screen and as an abstract, mental concept. This has enabled an analysis based on the artistic object (films) itself, as well as on the symbolic level. This is, on the one hand, the actual (visual) representation of the nation expressed through images in the film and on the other, the conceptual representation, or image, of the nation implicit in it. In this sense cinema, as a visual art, offers a twofold possibility: firstly and because of its limited dimensions (both spatial and temporal), it allows the examination of a precise representation or depiction of a reality, or even of particular sequences of it. However, in opposition to this, it also makes endless interpretations possible by allowing an exploration of a wide range of concepts, ideas and ideologies. Therefore, by using cinema as an instrument for analysis, it has been possible to examine how the discourse of the nation is (re-)created from within the nation itself in the Welsh and the Galician contexts.

More precisely this thesis has focused on exploring the kind of visual products that Welsh and Galician cinema create as well as the ways in which identity/ies are reflected and the type of discourse(s) and ideologies which they (re-)produce with regards to the nation. In the current context where nations such

as Scotland and Catalonia, which coexist in the same political framework as Wales and Galicia, are demanding to stage referenda on independence, questions arise regarding the relationship between the British and the Spanish State and the nations that currently form part of them.

In this study some of these matters have been discussed using cinema as a tool for investigation. Visual art in general and more precisely cinema constitute an essential instrument for examining not only the way(s) in which the nation is constructed but also the way(s) in which it is perceived and evaluated by society. In effect, it is not a coincidence that “sociological thinking about the nation” has set “the starting point for studies on national cinema” (Hjort and MacKenzie 2000, p. 4). Following this, an examination of Welsh and Galician national cinemas enables an analysis of the political and cultural situation in Wales and Galicia which can contribute to the debate(s) on the nation. This thesis has tried to contribute to such debate(s) by establishing a theoretical framework which makes the conception of the nation from an inclusive perspective possible.

Ethnosymbolism

Ethnosymbolism has been used as the theoretical background to analyse identity and the idea of the nation in Welsh and Galician cinema. Following Anthony D. Smith's definition of *ethnies* which he defined as:

A named and self-defined human community whose members cultivate common myths, memories and symbols, and possess a distinctive public culture, occupy a historic homeland, and observe common law and shared customs (Smith 2004, p.17).

Concepts such as identity, place, historical memory and solidarity have been explored in a number of films. Place and landscape and their relation to the definition of identity for the ethnic group have been discussed in this thesis. Landscape and place are presented in Welsh and Galician cinema as intrinsically related to the depiction and development of characters. The concept of *ethnoscape* has been useful in this respect because it points to a relationship between the ethnic group and a common space or territory to which it feels attached. Most of the Welsh and Galician films that have been examined show in different ways this connection or link to a particular territory or space which provides the ethnic group with an essential and distinctive component of its identity. If the ethnic group is deprived of this component, one of the principles that defines the ethnic group will be affected because the link with a historic territory disappears. This is frequently discussed in Welsh and Galician cinema. The idea of place as constituent of the sense of (not) belonging demonstrates a concern with identity and territoriality. These two cinemas express concerns with issues that are present in Wales and Galicia as a consequence of the political situation in both countries. Indeed cinema functions as an instrument to debate the political situation and to denounce, for instance, environmental abuses in Wales and Galicia. It intends to

reproduce part of the political reality and functions as a space for reflection and analysis which at times aims at suggesting possible alternatives or solutions. This is not exclusive to Welsh and Galician cinema. In effect it is common in other cinemas of nations whose political status is also questioned. For instance, and to mention some examples of cinemas that coexist in the same political framework as Wales and Galicia, Irish, Scottish, Catalan and Basque cinema (Rockett and Gibbons et al. 1988; Mcloone, 2000; Barton 2004; Petrie 2000; Blandford 2007, chapters 3 and 4; Martin-Jones 2009; Balló and Espelt et al. 1990; Comas 2003; Martí Olivella 2003; Pablo 2012) have also explored identity/ies. Catalan cinema, for instance, has discussed the links between the absence or disappearance of distinctive elements of indigenous places with the personal conflicts of the characters. An example of this is *Barcelona: Un Mapa/Barcelona: A Map* (Ventura Pons, 2007). Despite the title, the images of the city of Barcelona are very limited because the story is mainly set in interiors. The gloomy, claustrophobic setting of the film reinforces the idea of an unknown Barcelona which contradicts the lively and luminous image of the Catalan capital. Characters are trapped in interiors where they are isolated and distant from an unrecognisable and unfamiliar Barcelona.

Some aspects discussed in *Barcelona: Un Mapa/Barcelona: A Map* resemble those explored in the Welsh English-language film *Twin Town* or in the Scottish *Trainspotting*. Although other elements may influence the dismantling of the ethnic group (i.e. capitalist system, unemployment, social disadvantages, etc) the loss of distinctiveness also has consequences for the experience of a sense of loneliness and an inability to adapt. This leads to a discussion of identity and belonging in terms of inclusiveness/exclusiveness. Both Welsh and Galician cinema show a preoccupation with this. Films such as *Milwr Bychan* (1986), *Solomon a Gaenor* (1999), *Eldra* (2007), *Patagonia* (2010), *Gato Encerrado* (2011) and *Crebinsky* (2011) deal with ethnicity in different ways. However, what these films have in common is a concern with different aspects

of identity which arise as a result of inter-ethnic tensions. Consideration of how minoritized language groups might approach this from the viewpoint of inclusivity is present in both cinemas.

The political and sociolinguistic situation in Wales and Galicia is reflected in their cinema not only as regards the nation itself but also the relationship that both nations have with other ethnic groups. The (re-)construction of the national imagery of minoritized language cinemas must involve a debate on the relationship between minoritized and hegemonic cultures but also on the relations established between other minoritized ethnic groups. In this respect cinema in Wales and Galicia must try to offer solutions to these questions from a national perspective. Humour has been pointed out as a possible instrument to discuss this. Pérez Pereiro (Pérez Pereiro 2009, pp. 1888-1900) suggests that humour can help confront clichés associated with the nation by offering the possibility of playing with stereotyped images transmitted by the hegemonic culture. The comedy TV show *Air Galicia* for instance introduces stereotyped images of Galicians, Catalans and Basques as a way to contest these visions from within the nation and establish a link between minoritized ethnic cultures. On the other hand, the stereotyped image of the Spaniard embodied in the figure of the Madrilenian aims at presenting him as ‘the other’, the outsider that goes to Galicia with a preconceived image of Galicia and Galicians (Pérez Pereiro 2009, pp. 1888-1900).

The similarities between Welsh and Galician circumstances allow the exploration of both national cinemas from a comparative perspective. In this study the comparative approach aims to find out if there are common patterns between Welsh and Galician cinema that can help identify their weakest and strongest points. This allows an evaluation of film production in these two cinemas that can also be applied in other similar contexts (i.e. in other minoritized language cinemas).

Feminism

The (re-)construction of the national discourse must integrate the concept of inclusiveness to help counteract that of the dominant culture and create potential links of solidarity with other oppressed groups. In this respect such a discourse favours intra-ethnic relations. Ethnosymbolism offers the possibility of considering this. However it has failed to identify gender transversally rather than as a variable (Bru-Domínguez, 2005). This thesis maintains the opposite because a feminist approach is not only necessary but essential to contest hegemonic discourses. In a study about cinema and minoritized cultures, a feminist perspective establishes the appropriate framework to analyse the national and cultural images that are (re-)produced in film in these contexts. This is relevant for two main reasons.

Firstly, because this is a study about minoritized cultures it must consequently consider the situation of any oppressed group. In this respect feminism is the only political and theoretical ideology that can resist patriarchy and find ways for the integration and inclusion of women. In order to create an inclusive discourse of the nation in Wales and Galicia where political and linguistic rights are maintained, women's rights must also be guaranteed. Feminist theory contributes a different vision of the nation (more egalitarian and inclusive) as well as a different way to approach and produce cinema (women as subjects). In Wales and Galicia this consideration is particularly relevant because of the intertwined variables gender/nation. Due to their political status both Wales and Galicia have frequently been invisible. Equally women as the oppressed gender have been invisible in patriarchal society. Therefore Welsh and Galician women in particular, because they belong to two minoritized groups (with regards to their nationality and their gender), are doubly invisible or marginalized (Gramich 2007, p. 1). Furthermore feminism as a transversal theory enables the inclusion of other variables such as class, ethnicity, sexuality,

etc (Castro Vázquez and Reimóndez Meilán 2013, p. 13). Hence if a new discourse of the nation is to be created feminism is the key to reconstruct it from an inclusive perspective that challenges oppression. Indeed the liberation of the nation is intrinsically related to the liberation of women as the oppressed gender within the oppressed group.

Secondly, cinema has been created as a male gaze product which objectifies women. In this respect any investigation about cinema must seek to deconstruct sexist views and stereotyped roles in order to create an unprejudiced vision of woman in art and in society in general. In Wales and Galicia the national imaginary created patriarchal and stereotyped conceptions of women (i.e. the idea of the Galician matriarch or the Welsh ‘Mam’) which have been constantly reflected in cinema (Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 84; Campoy García 2011, pp. 35-37). In opposition to the depiction of “Wales, land of my fathers, [as] a land of coal miners, rugby players and male voice choirs” (Beddoe 1986, p. 227 cited in Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 84), female characters have been assigned the roles of “the Welsh Mam, the Welsh lady in national costume, the pious Welshwoman, the sexy Welshwomen or the funny Welshwoman” (Beddoe 1986, p. 229 cited in Barlow and Mitchell et al. 2005, p. 84). Furthermore the discussions of identity and (not) belonging have frequently focused on the relationship between the male characters and the space or territory to which they feel attached. This reinforces the idea of the gendered nation: Wales as *Hen wlad fy nhadau* (land of my fathers) and Galicia as *a nazón de Breogán* (Breogán’s nation). The sexist and stereotyped vision(s) of women in cinema are not exclusively related to their role(s) in films – that is to the characters they perform – but to the whole film industry:

Women ... are oppressed within the film industry (they are receptionists, secretaries, odd jobs girls, prop girls’ etc.); they are oppressed

by being packaged as images (sex objects, victims or vampires); and lastly they are oppressed within film theory, by male critics who celebrate *auteurs* like Sirk or Hitchcock for their complexity or irony or for in some ways rising above their material – often the humble ‘woman’s picture’ or ‘weepie’ (Thornham 1999, p. 9).

Feminist Film Theory introduces a new discourse regarding gender and cinema which helps to modify these attitudes and also make more visible the work done by women. Furthermore cinema can be a key instrument of exploration for Feminist Theory. In effect for the past decades it has been “the crucial terrain’ on which feminist debates about culture, representation and identity have been fought” (Laura Mulvey 1989: 77 cited in Thornham, 1999:2). Recent films, mostly by female directors, in Wales and Galicia are proof of this (i.e. *Cwciw* (2008), *A memoria da lingua* (2010), *As mulleres da raia* (2010), *As Silenciadas* (2011), *A cicatriz branca* (2012), *Digna rabia* (2012), etc, which have all been mentioned and/or discussed in this study). Other interesting works include: English-language *Very Annie Mary* (2001), a film set in South Wales about a woman who lives with an abusive father and finds unusual ways to overcome her situation, directed by Sara Sugarman; the magnificent short film *1977* (2007) by London-based Galician director Peque Varela which explores identity from a queer theory perspective; and *Tralas Luces* (Behind the Lights) directed by Sandra Sánchez’(2011) which discusses the life of travellers from a feminist approach.

Feminist Film Theory provides the appropriate theoretical background for analyzing film from an inclusive perspective. In this respect this thesis has presented ethnosymbolism and feminism as key theories to reinvent the conceptual and visual representations of the nation as well as gendered images of it that must be contested.

Minoritized Languages

Ethnosymbolism introduces the appropriate concepts for considering language as an element of social cohesion. This idea is very relevant for this study because the survival of minoritized languages is not only dependant on successful language policies but also on an appropriate discourse that presents language as useful, valuable and inclusive. Minority Language Media Studies have discussed the relevance of media for language planning in minoritized language contexts (Moring 2007, pp. 17-31; Corominas Piulats 2007, pp. 168-187). Although the utility of media in language planning is for some still a matter of debate (Cormack 2007, p. 53), it is unquestionable that “any language community – and minority languages are no exception – would strive to develop a state of *functional completeness*” (Moring 2007, p. 18).

In this thesis the focus on audiovisual products filmed in Welsh and Galician is aimed at examining minoritized language media in Wales and Galicia. The comparative approach enables a discussion of minoritized language media from a wider critical perspective and offers the opportunity of establishing “points of commonality...in the related fields of socio-linguistics, geography, sociology and media studies” (Hourigan 2007, p. 248). Moreover it intends to offer alternatives for the future in a context where these languages are endangered and cinema is determined by globalization and film industry. In the case of stateless nations the nature of the film industry is at least to some extent determined by Hollywood and the State’s film industry and its language policies. This relationship between the internal (from the nation) and external (Hollywood and the State’s film industry) role of film has been commented on by film criticism:

Film studies’ concern with the role of cinema in the nation is inherently internalist. Its central concern is with how—if at all—the

production, circulation and consumption of the moving image is constitutive of the national collectivity. However, this internalism is necessarily tempered by an awareness of exteriority as a shaping force. Indeed, it is precisely the extraterritorial cultural pressure of Hollywood's production, imported in to the national space that sets up the contemporary issue of national cinema. This outside challenge to ideas of the national is at once interpreted as cultural, economic and political as well as ideological (Hjort and MacKenzie 2000, p. 22).

If this is true for any national cinema in the case of Wales and Galicia an extra 'outside challenge' must be considered: the film industry dictated by the State. Although the pressure of Hollywood is undeniable Welsh cinema is a good example of how non-English productions can reach Hollywood: *Hedd Wyn* and *Solomon a Gaenor* were nominated for Academy Awards. In effect the difficulties of developing a cinema in autochthonous languages are at times related to the film and language policies of the State, and even of sub-state national government (Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru/The National Assembly for Wales and Xunta de Galicia/Galician Autonomous Government for the cases analysed in this study).

An example of this is the controversy regarding the Catalan film *Pa Negre/Black Bread* (Agustí Villaronga, 2010), selected to represent Spain in the category of Best Foreign Language Film. The controversy arose from a debate about which language should be chosen for the projection of the film in Hollywood. Originally filmed in Catalan, some maintained that the dubbed version into Castilian should be presented instead of the original in Catalan. Finally the Catalan version was sent by the Cinema Academy of Spain. This meant that for the first time ever a film not shot in Spanish would represent Spain for the Oscars. With regards to this, Isona Passola, the producer of the film, has stated that "el cine tiene que admitir la diversidad de culturas del Estado" (Alonso

2011). [Cinema has to recognize the diversity of cultures of the State] (my translation). Passola has also declared that “the movie has normalised Catalan cinema [and] that Catalan culture has still one subject pending, which is the cinema”. Indeed ‘movies in Catalan will only represent 3% of all movies exhibited in Catalonia in 2011, this includes movies dubbed in Catalan. Films shot directly in Catalan only represent 1%’ (Alonso 2011). These figures show that cinemas in minoritized languages still need to overcome some problems.

The Welsh and the Galician television channels (S4C and RTVG) have played a decisive role in the development of the audiovisual sector and the process of language normalization. In both Wales and Galicia the demands of a Welsh and Galician television channel and audiovisual sector were understood as imperative and when finally obtained they were received enthusiastically:

Durante los últimos días se han presentado tres películas que marcan un punto de partida en el empeño de lograr una cinematografía gallega propia ... “Cinegalicia” se ha convertido en la puesta de largo del cine gallego (Arenas 1989).

In the past few days three films which marked the beginning of a genuine Galician film making have been shown ... “Cinegalicia” has become the coming-out party of Galician cinema (my translation).

However despite the optimism of the 1980s with the premiere of the films *Sempre Xonxa* (Chano Piñeiro), *Urxa* (Carlos López Piñeiro) and *Continental* (Xavier Villaverde), and of the current situation known as “Novo Cinema Galego” (New Galician Cinema), there are still challenges to be faced. One of them is the production, distribution and exhibition of Galician films (Ledo Andión, 1998: 150-151) in general and more precisely of films shot in Galician. The ‘TVG’s monopoly’ (Ledo Andión 1998, p. 150) on broadcasting

and consumption of Galician films has also been identified as one of the main problems (Ledo Andión et al. 1998, p. 150). The 1980s was also a good decade for Welsh cinema due to the involvement of the Welsh language television channel, S4C, in promoting and encouraging the development of a Welsh audiovisual sector. Therefore productions from this decade show that despite the challenges that Welsh and Galician language cinemas may encounter, developing an audiovisual sector in the autochthonous languages is not an impossible task. However in order to achieve this it is essential that Welsh and Galician institutions support the audiovisual sector by providing appropriate financial and institutional support. The future of the sector may not depend exclusively on this but this is one of the fundamental bases for its survival.

What is Welsh and Galician Cinema?

The main criterion to select the films discussed in this thesis is that they were shot in either Welsh or Galician. It aims at finding answers and alternatives for the development of cinema in Wales and Galicia in the autochthonous languages. However it has not been the purpose of this thesis to establish if films from Wales or Galicia not shot in Welsh and Galician should, or should not be, included in the Welsh and the Galician cinematic canon. Most works on the history of Welsh and Galician cinema have included both English and Castilian language films together with Welsh and Galician works under the label Welsh and Galician cinema (Berry 1994; Nogueira Otero 1997; Blandford 2000). More precisely they have tended to prefer the expression Cinema “in” Wales and Galicia. By doing so, they avoid taking a decision based on the criterion of language of what is (not) Welsh and Galician cinema.

Cinema is generally categorised according to the State/country of origin of film production. Therefore for a film to be considered Welsh or Galician it is sufficient that it has been partially produced in Wales and Galicia. The problem this creates in contexts where there are two co-official languages where one has minoritized status is that the hegemonic language tends to be more used. This can result in a relegation of the minoritized language (which ultimately results in its invisibility) because the hegemonic language takes up most of the normalised social spheres. In the case of Galician film this has been criticized:

A mesquindade coa que se trata á lingua reflíctese de forma alarmante na indiferenza da legalidade e das subvencións públicas. Non pode ser que as produtoras e empresas que reciben ou recibiron cartos públicos da Xunta para a realización dunha película en lingua galega, roden o filme en castelán. Posteriormente realizan unha dobraxe ao galego

(moitas veces de forma apresurada) para unicamente entregar copia á administración, dando cumprimento ás esixencias legais para a acceder á subvención. Iso si, finalmente o filme exhíbese en castelán. A copia dobrada ao galego visualízase no mellor dos casos case de forma testemuñal (Mera García 2011).

The meanness with which language is treated is alarmingly shown in the lack of interest of law and public funding. It is not acceptable that film producers and enterprises that are or were granted public funding from the Xunta for making a film in Galician, shoot the film in Castilian. After that they carry out the dubbed version into Galician (frequently in a hurry), in order to send a copy exclusively to the administration and observe legal requirements in order to have access to funding. Finally, for sure, the film will be projected in Castilian. At best the dubbed copy into Galician is shown in an almost symbolic way (my translation).

Situations like this show that studies of art in minoritized language contexts are necessary for them to develop. Films in minoritized languages are not only aimed at entertaining but also at promoting the language and providing a reference for the normalization of the endangered language. This is one of the reasons why it is vital to develop a competent audiovisual sector in autochthonous languages. Examples like the one above can be found in the cinema of similar minoritized language contexts. In her discussion of Catalan cinema and the film *Pa Negre* Passola points to a very important difference between the dubbed versions and original versions of films. If it is undeniable that dubbed and subtitled versions of foreign films have played an important role for the normalization of minoritized languages, the production and exhibition of films in their original version (in the autochthonous languages) must also be guaranteed. In Galicia, for example, TVG has been responsible for

dubbed versions of films and TV series since it first came on air in 1985 with the broadcasting of the Galician short film by Chano Piñeiro, *Mamasunción*. Although there could be certain resistance to hearing characters that had traditionally been heard dubbed into Castilian (due to historical and political reasons already commented in this study) speaking for the first time in Galician, the Galician channel had a positive impact on helping to dignify the social image of the language. An example of this is *Mareas Vivas* (1998-2002) whose success relied on presenting Galicianness and distinctive features of Galician culture and language from a national perspective. TVG has also broadcast children's programmes which have played an important role in making the language accessible to young audiences (i.e. *Xabarín Club*). Equally Welsh children and teenage/adult programmes have played an important role in language planning and normalization (i.e. *Sali Mali* and *Pobol y Cwm*). However while TVG has concentrated on dubbing, in Wales S4C's focus on subtitling has aimed to make the native language accessible to everyone: Welsh and non-Welsh speakers. However the number of films dubbed into Galician screened in cinemas is almost nonexistent despite the passing of a bill for promoting Galician-language films in cinemas. The situation in Wales is similar. However, as in the Catalan case, the real problem is not the presence of dubbed films (which can assist the process of language normalization) that are projected in cinemas, but the extent to which original Welsh and Galician films can be distributed and screened in cinemas.

In this context two main questions arise: what prevents Welsh and Galician films being screened in cinemas? And what kind of cinema needs to be (re-) created in order to find a solution to this?

Inclusiveness and Visibility

Welsh and the Galician-language television are, in principle, rather more consolidated media of communication than cinema. Thus cinema in Wales and Galicia still encounter challenges that need to be addressed. One of the main differences between television and cinema is commercial. In this respect:

O cine depende directa e inmediatamente dun público que faga posible a súa existencia social e mercantil, aínda que os poderes políticos poidan exercer (no mellor dos casos) unha acción correctora que responda aos intereses desa mesma sociedade (Veiga 2004, p. 311).

Cinema depends directly and immediately on an audience that makes its social and commercial existence possible, although political powers can carry out (in the best case scenario) a correcting action which responds to the interests of such society (my translation).

Difficulties of distribution and promotion have already been mentioned. In a context dominated by Hollywood and dictated by film multinationals finding ways to promote and exhibit non-American films is a challenge. However in the case of minoritized language contexts there is an extra external factor that influences the production and distribution of native language cinema as well as dubbed version of foreign films - policies dictated by the State:

In the context of a television channel, one may wonder about how desirable it is to use large amounts of dubbed 'international' material. However, in the case of cinema this is what constitutes the majority of what is available in any case, normally dubbed into the state language where necessary. Few minorities have reached a position where they can begin to think about having major Hollywood films dubbed into

their language in the cinema and for those minorities within the English-speaking world it is probably not a desirable option anyway, since people are unlikely to wish to view a dubbed film when they can understand the original (Jones 2001, pp. 1-6).

In the case of dubbed versions of foreign films both the Welsh and the Galician case are affected in a similar way. While the Welsh audience will be mostly listening to English language films the Galician audience will watch films dubbed into Castilian. However if they were dubbed or subtitled in Welsh and Galician, dubbing and subtitling could be understood as “tools [which] also offer the possibility of exchange between linguistic minorities as well as between majorities and minorities” (Jones 2001, p. 4). Equally, by using subtitles, Welsh-language and Galician-language films could be easily shown in other cinemas within the State or indeed in a wider context. This would allow Welsh and Galician cinema to be more visible in other contexts. It would be beneficial to intercultural dialogue and would enhance the possibilities of cinema.

In the UK and in the Spanish State the policies of the State concentrate on trying to balance the supremacy of Hollywood cinema by supporting and promoting ‘British’ and ‘Spanish’ cinema. Usually this will mean English-language and Castilian-language cinema. In this respect Welsh and Galician language cinemas (as well as Catalan, Basque, Scottish Gaelic, Irish and Cornish) will be the invisible ‘other cinemas’ of the State. The invisibility of cinema made in the autochthonous language is intrinsically related to the invisibility of these languages and of the ‘other’ nations that coexist in the British and the Spanish States.

Making the invisible visible has been one of the aims of this thesis. This enables a discourse that relies on inclusivity because it presents cultures and nations on

more equal terms. Language in the cinema of minoritized cultures must be understood, as in any other context, as a medium of communication and transmission of culture(s). If understood in these terms it favours intra-ethnic relations as well as a more equal relationship between hegemonic and minoritized cultures. Furthermore cinema as a visual art makes the (literal) visibility of oppressed nations and cultures possible. If Welsh and Galician cinemas can reach other contexts, Wales and Galicia will be better known beyond their borders and an awareness of their linguistic and political situations will develop. In the case of Galician cinema, Galician-language films should take advantage of the common Galician-Portuguese linguistic branch and try to establish links with the cinema of other Galician-Portuguese-speaking countries as well as with other countries where the Galician diaspora has spread, namely Latin America. Similarly Welsh-language cinema can take advantage of the common linguistic roots with Irish, Scots Gaelic, Cornish and Breton because this “could potentially support inter-community understandings” (Hourigan 2007, p. 71). Moreover both Welsh cinema and Galician cinema could have a place within the Celtic or Atlantic cultures film festivals. This visibility is equally important for the nation’s self-perception because:

Media seem most likely to encourage language use when they are strongly participative, strongly linked to communities (whether territorial or diasporic) of language speakers, and when they can give people a reason for adopting, or asserting, the identity of being a minority language speaker (Cormack 2007, p. 66).

New technologies offer a new range of possibilities for the development of the audiovisual sector that were unthinkable in other periods. Minoritized language media in general and cinema in particular can find in internet-based media the tool for its development (Cunliffe 2007, p. 133). In effect digital cinema is an

excellent instrument because “permite crear un lugar de encuentro para o intercambio de produtos culturais diversos” (Gómez Viñas, Roca Baamonde et al. 2011, p. 224) [it allows the creation of a meeting point for exchanging a variety of cultural products] (my translation). Some of the films that have been discussed in this study are a proof of this. However this must be considered cautiously because internet as a globalised tool is also a means to (re-)produce dominant discourses (Cunliffe 2007, pp. 133-150).

On the basis of human rights and cultural ecology the rights of cultures and languages as elements of identity must be preserved and in this sense minoritized language cinemas offer the possibility of exploring new ways of producing as well as of introducing new discourses based on integration and inclusiveness. These new discourses and images of the nation must take into account political, linguistic, gender and ethnic rights. In effect in the current political framework the visibility and preservation of the national rights of Wales and Galicia is only possible if these elements are debated and examined in order to (re-)create the discourses of the nation.

Both Wales and Galicia must take advantage of the legal status which their autochthonous languages have gained. In comparison to previous periods (Galician was forbidden and faced discriminated during Franco’s fascist regime and Welsh was not recognised as an official language to be treated equally as English) the legal situation has improved (Welsh Language Act 1993 and Government of Wales Act 1998 and article 5 of the Galician Statute of Autonomy 1981 that recognizes Galician as the language of Galicia and article 3.2 of the Spanish Constitution that recognizes Galician as a co-official language together with Castilian in Galicia). In addition to this the Welsh-language and Galician-language audiovisual sectors have been understood as key instruments for the normalization of the native languages: this led to Welsh campaigns for a TV service in the autochthonous language which led to the

establishment of S4C (Hourigan, 2007: 72-74). The Language Normalization Act 1983 for Galician considers CRTVG as a Galician-language TV and radio committed to the normalization of the language. However some new measures that are being introduced by the current Galician government (administered by the PP since 2009) as well as S4C's new funding situation (with the BBC as provider) means that in the twenty-first century some of the challenges that were encountered in the 1970s and the 1980s in Wales and Galicia may not have been solved. In Wales concerns about the future independence of the channel because of the change of funding mechanism have been raised. In Galicia the main concern is about the privatization of the public channel. The Galician audiovisual sector and Galician society as a whole must find ways to confront this situation. In some ways Galician cinema needs to go back to its origins, and more than ever it needs to reincorporate some of the ideas that were discussed at the beginning of the post-Franco era: the creation of a visual culture that is accessible by all sectors of society, the support of the professionalization of the sector and consolidation of Galician cinema's potential within the Lusophone world and the Galician diaspora. In this context Galician director Chano Piñeiro's declaration about contemporary Galician cinema is still relevant today: "facer cinema en Galicia é posible; facer cinema en galego é necesario" (Rozados Rivas 2003, p.1) [making cinema in Galicia is possible; making cinema in Galician is necessary] (my translation). In effect it is essential for both Welsh and Galician film to preserve their distinctiveness because as stated referring to television series (Huw Jones in Gruffydd Jones, p. 198): "Y gwahaniaeth pwysig yw mai ein hanes ni, ein moesau ni sy'n cael eu darlunio yn y cyfresi hyn/The important difference is that it is our history and our values that are depicted in these series".

ⁱThe so-called *Blue Books* report was a nineteenth-century report carried out by three English commissioners that visited Wales to collect information about the state of education. The report concluded that Welsh schools were inadequate and that Welsh people were not competent in English. Furthermore it stated that Welsh people were ignorant, lazy and immoral. For a further discussion on this matter see: *The language of the blue books: the perfect instrument of empire* (Roberts 1998).

ⁱⁱ The Spanish *Falange* is a political party of fascist ideology founded by José Primo de Rivera in the 1930s which is still legal in the Spanish state.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Sección Femenina (Women's Sections) was the women's branch of the Falange. It was aimed to promote the role(s) that fascist ideology assigned to women (i.e. women confined to the private domestic sphere, women as subordinate to men, etc). The *Sección's* activities consisted of 're-educating' women according to the fascist patriarchal and Christian values of the regime.

^{iv}The Rexurdimento is a period of Galician history in the nineteenth century which focused on the defence of Galician as a cultural language as well as the vindication of Galician national rights.

^vMaría Bertorini (birth name Maria Margarita Jones) was originally from Wales and married Camilo Bertorini who went to Galicia to work as manager of The Western Galician Railway; they were the grandparents of author Camilo José Cela (Zamora 2003, p. 12-13).

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