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Y Wladfa Gymreig:

Outbound Diasporic tourism and contribution to identity

Abstract

Diasporic tourism is acknowledged as a powerful force in travel, but there has been more focus to date on inbound forms. Significant outbound Welsh diasporic tourism takes place to the colony known as Y Wladfa Gymreig in Argentinean Patagonia, founded in 1865. The Welsh Patagonian example is interesting because it is a settlement based phenomenon, which has had less academic focus than those centred on 'homecoming'. Travelling to a place of dispersion may also generate strong cultural attachment and emotional connection, particularly where identity politics in the origin has become diluted through globalisation. Using Bond's & Falk's (2013) tourism and identity related motivation theoretical framework we examine tourists who have visited this unusual destination. Questionnaires with potential tourists as well as interviews with visitors are combined with a research visit to the region to investigate the framework aspects of identity development; identity maintenance and identity moderation and reconstruction. Attributes that framed identity construction were *experiencing Welshness; personal connections; events; nostalgia; novelty; language;* and *loyalty*. We also found the potential for such visits to unsettle identity, so that ultimately articulation of 'home' is far from being fixed or permanent in the tourism context. These findings illustrate the dynamic and hybrid nature of identity, and the importance of tourism in its negotiation.

Keywords

Introduction

Diasporic tourism is a complex geographical phenomenon driven by aspects of mobility, identity, heritage and culture (Shiladitya Bose, 2008). This study presents research concerning Welsh diasporic tourism to Argentinean Patagonia with a particular focus on identity. Although there has been extensive historical research and cultural exchanges between Wales and Argentina since 1965, there has been limited work on the extent to which these have influenced current mobilities. Reinforcement of Welsh identity is a key driver of both motivations and experiences for visitors to the colony as evidenced in the celebrations held in both Argentina and Wales for the 150th anniversary of the founding of the colony in 2015. Specialist travel agents have taken this opportunity to promote travel to the region, giving researchers the chance to examine the understudied example of outbound diasporic tourism, where tourists travel from the homeland to places of settlement, as opposed to the more common homecoming phenomenon, which has received more attention to date.

Diasporas

The term diaspora stems from the Greek word *dispersion* meaning *to sow throughout* or *scatter abroad* and often has historical links to religious identity (Coles & Timothy, 2004). Diaspora can be defined as 'the scattering of people from their original home' to 'long-term settlements in foreign places' (Dywer, 2009:499). Diasporic communities have existed for many centuries, may take many forms, and are multi-faceted social groups which problematize modern concepts of geographical and political boundaries (Shiladitya Bose, 2008). Coles & Timothy (2004) recognise the importance of the common bond in diasporas, arguing that, rather than providing a single meaning, diasporas are often defined on the basis of multiple shared characteristics; defining diasporas as 'groups of people scattered across the world but drawn

together as a community by their actual common bonds of ethnicity, culture, religion, national identity and, sometimes, race' (Coles & Timothy, 2004:3).

Notably, Sheffer (2003) notes that diasporic means not just the physical and geographical scattering of people, but the cultural attachment and emotional connection to the origin of dispersal. Diasporic communtities are characterised by ethnic minority groups who reside and act in host countries but maintain strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin, often marked as their 'homeland' (Sheffer, 1994). As Cloke *et al.* (2009: 333) describe, diasporic itself 'refers to the sense of home, belonging and cultural identity held by a dispersed population'. Importantly, the actual identity experienced by the dispersed population is often filtered by place, meaning that whilst there is a common connnection to the idea of a homeland, articulation of this identity is dynamic, as this paper demonstrates.

Diasporas and tourism

Diasporic tourism is a niche tourism segment and is often conflated with visit friends and relatives (VFR), heritage, cultural, religion, genealogy or root tourism. Diasporic tourism can include aspects of all these forms of tourism, but yet has distinctive features (Coles & Timothy, 2004). Indeed, the concept of tourism may seem in opposition to the concept of diasporas, for the former implies superficial connections with a place away from home, whilst the latter implies deep and rooted relations (Wagner, 2008). It is often suggested that 'classic' tourists consume a place through representations, are unable to appreciate the density of the destination and often do not fully grasp the local culture (Rojek & Urry, 1997). In contrast, although diasporic tourists visit for a short time and have little experience of being in the space, they have a sense of cultural awareness and the feeling of being home (Huang, Ramshaw & Norman, 2016). Diasporic tourists are therefore often categorised outside the idea of the 'classic' tourist. In diasporas, as in VFR tourism, there is a link between migration and tourism

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(Wagner, 2008). Individuals visit familiar persons and places and have a greater sense of belonging (Hall & Williams, 2002; Coles & Timothy, 2004). According to Kelner (2010) culture, heritage and identity play major roles in diasporic tourism. In order to understand diasporic tourism it is crucial to understand the associated complexities and motivations, which may be materialistic as well as emotional (Duval 2003).

There are many examples of diasporic tourism across the world, and these are often significant drivers for the industry. For example, less than half of all visitors to Mexico are 'classic' tourists, the majority are Mexicans who now reside in the USA (Barkin & Ghimire, 2001). Diasporic tourism can be either the scattered population travelling to their homeland or the population living in the homeland and travelling to visit the dispersed or their settlements (Cloke *et al*., 2009; Coles & Timothy, 2004). Both travel patterns are marked by the key attributes of experiencing belonging and cultural identity (Timothy & Teye, 2004). Diasporic tourism takes place all over the world with most research currently focusing on the 'homecoming' travellers, the dispersed that travel back to their homeland (for example Baldassar, 2001, Basu, 2007, Iorio & Corsale, 2012, Huang, Ramshaw & Norman, 2016), who we may define as inbound diasporic tourists. However, the concept of 'homelanders' travelling *to* diasporic settlements is largely undiscovered. In this case, it may be that travelling to a place of dispersion may also generate strong cultural attachment and emotional connection, particularly where identity politics in the origin has become diluted through globalisation. Therefore the examination of Welsh outbound diasporic tourism as a settlement-based phenomenon is a unique example worthy of study.

It is established that tourism is used as a medium for meaning construction, evidenced by the development away from modern mass tourism and market-driven performances to the greater importance of culture, ethnicity and sustainability in the industry. According to Kelner (2010) tourism is a way of engaging with the place and recognises the growing potential of

diasporic tourism through the growing awareness of importance of culture and heritage. Therefore meaning construction can be seen as an important motivator for diasporic tourism. Clifford confirms that diasporic travel involves more meaning to individuals than classic forms of tourism, noting that 'diasporas are different from travel… in that it is not temporary… it involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home' (1994:308).

Most research on tourism motivations focuses on the closely related heritage tourism phenomenon, with only limited literature considering the motivations and experiences for diasporic tourism. Heritage tourism is often an emotional experience and most heritage tourism participants perceive a site as part of their heritage (Hall, 1990; Poria *et al.,* 2006). It is argued that the relationship between space and the individual lies at the core of heritage tourism and it is necessary to understand the links in order to understand the traveller's behaviour (Poria *et al.,* 2003). These aspects can also be seen as important for diasporic tourism. However, in contrast to cultural and heritage tourism, diasporic tourism's emphasis is on the relationship between experiences and identity, whilst both cultural and heritage tourism simultaneously play an important role in the motivations for diasporic tourists.

Identity and tourism

Individual motivations and experiences of travel relate to notions of self and identity (Desforges, 2000) which helps in comprehending travel behaviour. Palmer (2005:8) argues that it is crucial to understand identity in relation to tourism because tourism is 'shaping the ways in which one relates to and understands self and other, nation and nationness'. It is understood that each individual has multiple identities and it is seen as important to consider identity in terms of personal and collective identities; who we are and how we differ from those around us (Cloke *et al.,* 2009). There are many aspects that influence our identity. Components that characterise our identity might be objective issues like nationality, locality or more subjective

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aspects such as lifestyle and the people around us (Cloke *et al*., 2009). Conservative approaches assume that we have relatively stable and one-dimensional identities. This perspective also supports the belief that identities (e.g. class, gender, race, age, sexuality) are determined by biology (essentialism), an approach that has been heavily criticised in the social sciences.

In contrast Beck (1992) argued that the conventional approaches to identity have weakened and recognises social structures decreasingly being associated with class, gender or age classifications. Instead Beck (1992) observed a process of reflexive modernisation- the procedures of increasing individualisation and de-traditionalisation. Based on Beck's ideas, Giddens (1991) understood self-identity as a project whereby individuals constantly revise and reform the narrative of the self. Gee (2001) proposes that individuals have a core identity that is more consistent (e.g. one's core values such as sexuality and religion) than other aspects, however, Cohen (2010) suggests that identities are short-term points of attachment. Indeed, social constructivists argue that differences between us are shaped through wider socio-spatial influences (Cloke *et al*., 2009). Trepte (2006) confirms that one part of our self-concept is defined by our belonging to social groups, emphasising that groups construct knowledge collaboratively, creating smaller cultures of shared meanings and values. Cloke *et al.* (2009) describe this approach as emphasising relational identities, endorsing that identities are constructed in relation to perceived similarities and differences.

Hall (1990) discusses the term cultural identity and recognises two different perspectives. The first perspective describes cultural identity in terms of one, shared culture, where people have history and ancestry in common. The author refers to a 'collective one true self, hiding inside the many other […] artificially imposed selves' (Hall, 1990:223). The second perspective distinguishes that besides similarities there are also significant dissimilarities, which 'constitute 'what we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become'' (Hall, 1990*:225).* In the view of the second perspective, cultural identity is not just

something that exists already but is also something that develops. Indeed, Nash (2002) demonstrates that genealogical visits can be as unsettling as much as reinforcing collective identities. It is thus a matter of *becoming* as well as of *being* (Hall, 1990). Indeed, as Etemaddar, Duncan and Tucker (2016:503) have shown (in this journal); 'the notion of home should be viewed as incomplete, contingent and fleeting, rather than fixed and permanent, specifically within the tourism context'.

Meethan suggests that in order to understand the role of travel in the construction of self-identity it is crucial to understand the increasingly mobilised global world. The author recognises that the 'contemporary global condition is characterised by flows and mobility rather than stasis' (2004:139). Further, the New Mobilities Paradigm (NMP), proposed by Sheller & Urry (2006:17), argues that 'places are thus not so much fixed but are implicated within complex networks by which hosts, guests, buildings, objects and machines are contingently brought together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain times'. These mobilities result in ever increasing subnational and transnational identities (Cohen, 1997), and the emergence of a hybrid cultural identity. Hybridity can be defined as the intermingling of cultures (Brah & Coombes, 2005), where individuals or social groups are perceived to be between cultures (Clifford, 1994). Beck (2000:74) notes the prevalence of hybridity in contemporary global societies, suggesting 'one's own life is no longer tied to a particular place'. Urry (2002) confirms that 'home is no longer one place... it is locations', a trend reinforced, if not led by global tourism. Further, the increased acknowledgement of global diasporas extends the range and degree of all forms of travel for relatives (Urry, 2002). Furthermore, increased physical mobility is augmented by the transformation of spatial relationships through the growth and spread of technology which enables new forms of social interaction (Meethan, 2004).

Of course the notion of historical mobility and its celebration through tourism should itself be criticised in many cases (Cater, Low and Keirle, 2018). Many diasporas are the result of centuries of colonial practices, which have created a fractured world of colonisers, displaced and oppressed. Post-colonial theories 'seek to reconsider and interrogate the terms by which the duality of coloniser and colonised, with its accompanying structures of knowledge and power, has been established as well as the state of being 'post' of after the condition of being a colony' (Hall and Tucker 2004:2). Although this is beyond the scope of the current paper and its specific case, it is a very important issue, and has received warranted attention (for example Palmer, 1992, Sealy, 2018). Indeed, quite apart from the political ramifications of such narratives, this also raises important questions about who has rights to particular narratives of place. For tourism these are rarely controlled by the host (Cater, 2009). In a similar vein Ruting (2008) has shown how gay urban culture has become commodified and subsumed to serve a metropolitan capitalist leisure system.

Despite identity as a social construct being one of the key issues for tourism researchers, few studies look at ways in which individuals experience identity *through* tourism (Palmer, 2005). It is widely accepted that more attention needs to be paid to the formation, reformation and contestation of identity by individuals taking part in cultural and heritage tourism (McIntosh *et al.,* 2002; Palmer, 2005). The concepts of identity and nationality are complex and varied, particularly due to their intangibility (Palmer, 1999). However, this intangible essence of identity is what brings people together and differentiates them from others. Palmer (1999) highlights the importance of identification through similar behaviours, communicating and thinking, for 'heritage, national symbols, ceremonies and customs of a nation, thus provide an almost inexhausible supply of material which can be appropriated and adapted for the purpose of creating a distinctive sense of nationhood for tourists' (Palmer, 1999:316).

Considering the concept of self-identity in relation to tourism is essential for understanding aspects such as motivations, destination choices and more (Desforges, 2000). According to Abram *et al.* (1997) tourism is caught up in a never-ending process of identification. It has been recognised that identity is constantly reshaping and tourism provides a framework for the construction of identities (Kohn *et al*., 1997). Desforges (2000) describes this as a more fluid and constructive conceptualisation of identity, which is reflected in tourism consumption literature. Urry (1995) focused his early work on the role of tourism consumption in constructing identity and argued that tourism can produce new identities. He emphasises that experiences of the world are produced by tourism through social development of identity at specific places at specific times (Urry, 1995:144). Other scholars on identity have also shown the ways in which tourism is used as symbols of social differences (Desforges, 2000).

MacCannel (1989) focused on a more individualistic scale of identity, namely 'the self', suggesting tourism consumption is purely about individuals attempting to discover a sense of self. He argues that the consumption of tourism involves a search for the authentic, a concept that has been problematic in tourism studies. For example, Poria *et al.* (2001) argue that tourism (in particular heritage tourism) often occurs in a space that is not authentic. Nevertheless, all scholars recognise a shift from a static, fixed self to one which is fluid and constructed, confirming that identities are conceptualised (Desforges, 2000). Moreover, tourism performances become central to the construction of the self. Desforges (2000) claims that for the whole tourism process it is important what sort of person the tourist wants to become and that tourism enables individuals to think of themselves as particular sorts of people. Giddens (1991) goes on to argue that because self-identity is no longer fixed and stable, the modern individual faces a variety of possible selves. Thus, self identity is not a distinctive trait, instead it is the combination of the selves that make an individual.

As this indicates, the topic of identity and its role in tourism is multi-dimensional and complex. Although some attempts have been made to understand how identity relates to tourism, there is less about how travellers experience identity through tourism practice, in particular diasporic tourism. This dynamic process of identity negotiation is illustrated through Bond's & Falk's (2013) tourism and identity- related motivation framework. The authors established a model on the assumption that individuals are motivated to undertake certain activities to establish, maintain or revive particular self-aspects. They argue that tourism experiences are used to enact identity. In the model, motivations are divided into three sections: *identity development, identity maintenance* and *identity moderation and reconstruction* which are taken as useful stages to illuminate some of the discussion in this paper.

It is clear that identity is a crucial aspect in diasporic tourism (McIntosh *et al.,* 2002). Wang (1999) argues that it is increasingly difficult for individuals to discover their true self, due to increasing cultural and moral complexities in the globalised world. The fluid nature of identity and culture described in the literature above further complicates this quest. However, diasporic tourism is often a way for individuals to attempt to find the true self, for, as Basu has noted 'individuals are able to construct meaningful self-narratives from the ambiguities of their diasporic migrant histories, and so recover a more secure sense of home and self-identity' (2007:1). Whilst Nash (2002) has shown that this process is often unsettling, Santos & Yan (2009) maintain that tourists often search for their authentic selves through tourism or aim to sustain and affirm their identities. However, as stated previously, most of the focus of diasporic tourism research on identity to date has been on homecoming, with very little on outbound diasporic tourism. This paper therefore examines what role identity plays in diasporic tourism with a focus on homelanders travelling away to diasporic settlements. We use the novel case of Y Wladfa Gymreig in Argentinean Patagonia, structuring discussion around the Bond and Falk (2013) model.

Y Wladfa Gymreig

In 1865 the a small sailing ship 'Mimosa' left the pier of Liverpool with 153 Welsh women, men and children to cross 7000 miles of ocean. Their aim was to establish a new Wales due to the depressed conditions at home and their fear of losing the Welsh language and culture (Bowen, 1966). The Welsh wanted to escape poverty and the oppression enacted by the English (Baur, 1954; Williams, 1965), searching for freedom and better living conditions in countries across the world. In America they settled down for many years and built strong Welsh societies, particularly around modern-day Philadelphia (Baur, 1954; Bowen, 1966) (strongly evidenced in the contemporary names of subway stations in the west of the city (figure 1). However, when the first children of the new generation were born they adopted quickly to the Anglo-American rather than the Welsh culture. Thus, in the mid 19th Century, Patagonia, as a sparsely populated area, seemed to be the ideal destination to sustain the Welsh culture and language (Williams, 1991).

< Insert Figure 1 About Here - Caption: Subway stations in modern Philadelphia- *Bryn Mawr, Haverford, Narberth, Merion, Bala* and *Cynwyd* all have Welsh origins. Source: Author >

Today the province of Chubut in Argentinian Patagonia has a population of around 550,000 residents, of which some 50,000 can claim Welsh ancestry, and is host to the majority of Argentina's Welsh speaking population (Welsh Government, 2018). The regional flag of Patagonia consists of the Argentinian national flag with the Welsh dragon superimposed. Y Wladfa ('The colony') describes Welsh settlement in the province. Puerto Madryn, Trelew, Gaiman, Trevelin and Esquel are all towns and cities in the Argentinian Patagonia that have large Welsh communities (Fig.1). The settlement has developed a number of well-known traditions such as the *Torta Galesa* (Welsh cake) and the Eisteddfod, a Welsh annual festival

(Welsh Government, 2018). Although there are no formal censuses, Welsh identity in Patagonia has broadly increased since the recognition of the centenary of the founding of the colony in 1965 by both the Argentinian government and Wales (Glaniad, 2006). The road to devolution in the UK and the formation of the Welsh assembly in 1999 further increased emphasis on maintaining Welsh identity, both at home and abroad. For example, the Welsh language project, supported by the Welsh government and the British council, has, since 1997, supported the teaching of Welsh to adults and in schools in Patagonia, with over 1000 people registered as learning the language each year (Welsh Language Project, 2017). The year 2015 was widely celebrated with many events in both Wales and Patagonia as the 150th anniversary since Welsh settlers arrived in the country.

< Insert Figure 2 About Here - Caption: Map of Patagonia highlighting important Welsh settlements, Source: Tango Tours >

Disaporic tourism has had limited examination in the Welsh context, with a similar focus on homecoming aspects. Morgan *et al.* (2003) analysed the market potential for the *Wales Homecoming Initiative 2000* and the associated marketing activities of the Wales Tourism Board. The authors noted that diasporic tourism in the Welsh context is a highly accessible market segment, because of the already existing emotional attachment to the destination and the cost-effective reach through word of mouth, database marketing and PR (Morgan *et al.,* 2003). Yet Wales continues to fail to achieve the levels of homecoming tourism seen in other parts of the British Isles; Scotland and Ireland being key examples, hosting tourism campaigns called 'The Homecoming' and 'The Gathering' in 2014 and 2013 respectively.

Nevertheless, identity does play a key role in Welsh tourism, particularly the influence of language. Few studies have been carried out on the formation of national identity and none

have specifically linked identity's influence on diasporic tourism. Bourhis & Giles (1976) recognised that there are a variety of primary and secondary features of the Welsh culture, but that language is the most important dimension of the Welsh identity. In their research, respondents stated that the English language had 'destroyed' the Welsh culture, which indicates the importance of the Welsh language for cultural identity. Palmer (1999) also recognises the importance of language in heritage tourism and claims that language is a tool that helps to construct, promote and maintain national identity. She concludes that the relationship between language, heritage tourism and national identity is very important. Similarly Gunew (2003), in a collection examining how the binary of home and migration construct each other in opposition, discusses how language frequently represents palpable reminders of home. Therefore, in the context of Welsh diasporic tourism it is essential to understand the negotiation of national identity, and languages' place in this.

Study Methods

The material for this paper comes from a larger project examining motivations and experiences of tourists intending and completing visits to Welsh Patagonia. In partnership with a specialist tour operator catering to this market, the researchers undertook a variety of research methods to uncover the potential and extent for this market segment. These were: a questionnaire survey in the UK; author observations while in Patagonia; and interviews with Welsh tourists in Patagonia and the UK. Questionnaires (n=126) were firstly conducted at two major cultural events in Wales, the Urdd Eisteddfod in Bala, which is one of Europe's largest youth touring festivals and attracts around 100,000 mostly Welsh visitors a year, and the National Eisteddfod in Llanelli, Wales, which is Wales' leading annual cultural festival. The questionnaire had four sections: *Travel Patterns; Patagonia; Attitude Statements;* and *Demographics*. Purposive sampling was adopted by recruiting participants at the stall of the tour operator. This strategy was effective in ensuring that respondents had a significant interest

in the Patagonian colony as a tourist destination, and that Welsh attributes were significant in their personal identity. It is worth noting that visiting Patagonia from the UK is relatively expensive, both in terms of travelling to South America and activities in the destination. Therefore Welsh tourists are likely to be wealthier and from higher socio-economic groups.

One of the authors then travelled to Argentina to conduct a detailed ethnographic observation of Welsh tourism in Patagonia. Much of the identity research to date has utilised ethnographic methods for their ability to uncover the nuanced and personal nature of identity construction (for example Desforges, 2000; Etemaddar et al, 2016; Hall, 1990), which would be beyond quantitative explanation. Research tools during this trip included field notes, a research diary, photographs, informal conversations and semi-structured in-depth interviews with Welsh tourists in Argentina (n=11) and tourists on return home (n=9). The interview guide consisted of questions including the motivations to conduct a trip to Patagonia, activities and trips whilst in Patagonia and the outline of some of the most memorable experiences. The interviews included questions about an individual's identity, if their identity played a role in the travel to Patagonia and if participants feel more connected to Wales because of their trip. The researcher also addressed issues of authenticity and commodification of culture and tradition in the interviews and discovered individual's experiences and emotions. Towards the end of an interview the researcher explored the potential for future travel intentions to Patagonia and if the 150th anniversary would be a reason to travel back to Patagonia.

Results

Experiencing identity through Welsh diasporic tourism

The main objective of this study was to identify the role of identity in diasporic tourism and how individuals developed, maintained and moderated identity through tourism. Although this paper concentrates on qualitative findings, the attribute statements in the questionnaire

confirmed that nearly all surveyed agreed that their travel behaviour says a lot about who they are (90%); that who they are and where they are from plays a role in a visit to Patagonia (95%); and that individuals achieve personal fulfilment through travelling (92%). Thus it is argued that the relationship between space and the individual lies at the core of diasporic tourism and it is therefore necessary to comprehend the travellers' motivations in order to grasp an understanding of diasporic tourism, and the role of identity within this experience (Poria *et al.,* 2003). Therefore the research question was initially approached by focusing on motivations for the Welsh to visit Y Wladfa. To assist with initial analysis we used a Word Cloud (Fig.2), generated from the reported reasons that Welsh respondents wanted to visit Patagonia collected in an open ended question on the questionnaire (*For which reasons did/would you travel to Patagonia?*). Word clouds are increasingly useful for coping with large amounts of textual information and allow an initial visual analysis of the data (McNaught & Lam 2010).

< Insert Figure 3 About Here - Caption: Word cloud of responses to open ended question 'why did/would you travel to Patagonia?', Source: Authors >

Using the prompts from this word cloud and the creation of free nodes in NVivo, the researchers then created categories for motivations and the ways in which individuals experienced their identity through tourism, which helped to refine further selection of data (Charmaz, 2003). The data collected were divided into recurring themes by establishing patterns in the data. Data management was an important aspect of this study, as the large amount of data had to be organised into manageable units. Themes were identified individually by both the researchers in order to reduce bias. The authors identified seven categories of identity motivations relevant to this case: *Experiencing Welshness; personal connections; events; nostalgia; novelty; language; and loyalty*. The next section will discuss these

motivations and the links to identity, and the relevance of the theoretical framework proposed by Bond & Falk (2013). Quotes from the interviews are reported directly from the respondents using pseudonyms, a 'methodology that allows the researched community to vocalise their discourses' (Cater, 2006:319) rather than relying solely on the interpretation of the investigator.

Experiencing Welshness: Many respondents stated that observing the way of life in Patagonia and witnessing where the Welsh settled and developed is their priority. Respondents were primarily motivated by a desire to experience culture, history and customs (Nguyen & King, 2004), which are aspects related to their core identities (Gee, 2001).

> '*Why I want to go? Well, I want to hear the Welsh language being spoken. I want to discover the Welsh history and I want to visit a Welsh Teahouse. I'd like to see if the Welsh cakes taste as good as here'* (Alaw, 39)

Visitors anticipated hearing and speaking the Welsh language; seeing the places where the Welsh live; learning about the history of the settlement; visiting Welsh sites such as chapels and schools; and meeting ancestors, families and friends. Verbs such as *meeting, hearing, experiencing, seeing, discovering, learning, visiting, communicating, talking* and *feeling* (see Word Cloud) indicate the desire to actively participate in the Welsh experience. According to Bond & Falk (2013:437) this motivation could be described as identity development, which refers to 'learning specific types of norms, actions and behaviours unique to a specific social setting or community of place'. However, this behaviour could also be categorised as identity maintenance which requires the development of a deeper understanding of the identity (Bond & Falk, 2013). Nevertheless, as Hall (1990) explained, these experiences are often an emotional experience and most tourism participants perceive a site as part of their heritage (Hall, 1990). Welsh diasporic tourism participants anticipate education about the history, customs and culture in Y Wladfa;

'I have studied Wladfa's history for many years, read, listened and watched programs. Now it's time for me to go and witness, feel and experience.' (Deian, 61)

The new mobilities paradigm (NMP) conceptualized tourist performances reaching beyond the passive gaze towards the embodiment of tourism production and consumption (Mavric & Urry, 2009). Respondents in this study such as that above noted a desire for active involvement via the increasing use of the body for self-expression and individual self-identity (Featherstone, 2003). In this context it becomes important to be aware of the paradigm of *emplacement* which suggests the sensual interrelationship between body, mind and environment in diasporic tourism (Howes, 2006). Welsh diasporic tourists want to experience, explore and intensify their Welsh identity. During a trip to Patagonia individuals can be engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual, or even spiritual level to Welsh identity, by stimulating a variety of human senses (Pine & Gilmore, 1998). The motivation of *Experience Welshness* describes the way in which an individual's identity-related needs and interests influences tourist motivations (Bond & Falk, 2013). This motivation is very closely linked to identity, because participants want to experience their own culture, language and heritage through this active tourism experience.

Personal Connections: Results indicated that personal relations play a key role in many visits to Patagonia. Welsh diasporic tourists are often descendants of Welsh settlers to Patagonia and they wish to 'meet' their ancestors. Many Welsh visitors also have families, friends or other personal connections in Patagonia. One of the respondents explained that he had visited Patagonia three times because he is a descendant of Michael Jones, who played an important role in establishing the Welsh colony. Root tourism or genealogy tourism are important niche segments and it is recognised that in recent decades there has been an increasing number of individuals travelling in order to trace ancestors and find their roots (Duval, 2002; Nash, 2002;

Timothy, 2008). Despite the fact that Patagonia is not the ancestral land of the Welsh, building relationships and exploring their identities is a key motivation for these diasporic tourists:

We have friends in Patagonia we'd love to visit. But we also want to meet people like us that are Welsh and have interest in our culture and our history. We could travel independently but we chose to go on a group holiday- who knows, we might make new friends?'(Anna (46) and Elwyn (51))

Diasporic tourism is closely linked to social ties. Diasporic tourists aim to build or maintain relationships, relate themselves to the Welsh communities and intensify their collective identities (Hall, 1990). As part of Bond & Falk's (2013) identity maintenance motivation they recognise that social bonding is an identity- related motivation in tourism. These authors use the term 'community seekers' to describe the tourists motivated by social bonding and characterise them as having a strong sense of heritage and personhood. The importance of meeting like-minded people in Patagonia was also highlighted by a quote in a follow-up interview with one of the diasporic tourists who had returned to Wales.

'I was a bit disappointed. I wish I could have met more people who were brought up in a Welsh environment.' (Iwan, 28)

This quote indicates dissatisfaction due to not making sufficient social contacts and stresses that the social component was a key motivation in the tourism experience to Patagonia, perhaps linked to the 'unsettling' reported by Nash (2002). The motivation of *Personal Relations* is very closely connected to one's identity. By meeting like-minded people, exchanging experiences and social bonding, individuals experience and reinforce the Welsh identity. Furthermore, travelling to Patagonia for one's social identity helps people to understand themselves (Timothy & Teye, 2004).

Welsh sites and events: The research showed that visiting the Welsh settlement sites and tourist attractions is crucial to travellers' experiences in Patagonia. Visiting Welsh teahouses, graves of Welsh settlers, chapels, museums and monuments were all mentioned various times. One of those interviewed confirmed:

> '*As a Welsh speaker I found Patagonia fascinating, to see Welsh graves, chapels and*
> *museums with Welsh interpretation was an amazing experience.'(Elena, 25)*

Visiting a Welsh teahouse was the most popular activity undertaken by tourists (figure 3). It is perceived as one of the Welsh traditions and links closely to the heritage that Y Wladfa attempts to maintain. One of the interviewed participants explained that it didn't matter if the teahouse was authentic or not, nor if the Welsh cake tasted the same as at home. Illustrating the problematic nature of authenticity described in the literature review above, he explained that:

> '*It is solely about the experience- walking into the teahouse smelling the smell of*
> *old furniture, hot tea, freshly baked scones and the dusty family pictures on the*
> *wall. I had never the pleasure of experiencing the tradition before. But I imagined*
> *that that's what it was like for my grandparents.' (Owain, 31)*

< Insert Figure 4 About Here - Caption: Welsh Tea House, Patagonia, Source: Authors>

Most respondents also stated that visiting the annual *Eisteddfod Y Wladfa* or *Chubut Eisteddfod*, which is the biggest and oldest Welsh language event in Welsh Patagonia, was or would be a main motivation for their visit. Many respondents also confirmed that they wanted to go to Patagonia for the 150th anniversary in 2015. The visit to Welsh sites and events is closely linked to experiencing identity through these activities.

'I visited the Eisteddfod in Wales many times, but visiting the Chubut Eisteddfod was different. It brought me closer to the Welsh culture than a Welsh one would ever do.' (Lynn, 47)

Although seemingly paradoxical, this statement was further explained by Lynn with the argument that visiting a Patagonian Eisteddfod requires more commitment and effort and that only the 'true' Welsh would take on this challenge and make all efforts to visit the event. The Chubut Eisteddfod symbolises the Welsh identity. Individuals experience their collective identity through attending the event, because the desire to belong and to feel comfortable with others who share similar cultural meanings and who feel a common longing for the homeland (Nguyen & King, 2004). Similar to that observed by Baldassar (2006), visiting the sites and events also gives individuals the opportunity to relive the past or imagine what the past was like for their ancestors and fellow citizens. Arguably, these particular tourists, engaging in what is for them a tourism practice imbued with meaning, will search for sites and interactions that symbolise that identity. They may therefore have more in common with educational tourists, such as 'study abroad' participants, that some authors have suggested can have a more reflective and observant approach to their travels (for example Williams, 2009). As highlighted above the significant cost of travelling to Patagonia also symbolises commitment to identity.

Novelty: However, respondents did recognise that there is an element of difference in the Patagonian translation of Welsh culture. Many respondents indicated their desire to experience uniquely Argentinian or Patagonian attributes, such as seeing the nature, the countryside, farming, the scenery and the *paith* (Welsh for Pampas), seeing gauchos and visiting a Tango show. The novelty of the experience is what seems to attract many visitors. The uniqueness of the phenomenon and curiosity of the participants has often been stated as a reason to visit.

'I am tempted to visit Patagonia, not just because I want to see the Welsh settlement but I also would extend my trip to meet gauchos, dance tango in Buenos [Aires],

drive through the bleak landscape and see the wildlife. If I travel so far I want to

make it worthwhile.'(Elinor, 57)

While Welsh diasporic tourists seek personal relations and the experience of Welshness, most are also attracted by the uniqueness of the experience and by the differences compared to Wales that Patagonia has to offer. Cohen (1972) argued that tourists are seeking some element of novelty and strangeness while, at the same time, also need to hold on to something familiar. The visit to Patagonia offers the novelty and difference but at the same time gives many visitors the feeling of security or home away from home due to the shared culture and language. Novelty as a motivation is less related to the Welsh identity, but rather to one's self in the way that individuals find self-actualisation, challenge themselves in travelling to unknown territory and broadening one's horizons.

'I visited Patagonia because I thought it is like home. I came back as a changed

man. It is so different over there. The trip was eye-opening. Yes, some speak Welsh,

but most speak Spanish, drink Mate and eat cake for breakfast.'(Martyn, 68)

Nostalgia: During the research, nostalgia was identified as one of the most important identity-related motivations. Many respondents stated that pull-factors (Crompton, 1979) included Welsh traditions and the pure, uninfluenced language in Patagonia that draw them to visit the settlement. The threats to Welsh language and culture in Wales and the longing for the old times drives them wanting to go there as push-factors (Crompton (1979).

'Also, [I want to visit] to get a flavour of the traditional Welsh culture compared

to modern Wales' (Morgan, 58)

'Visiting that mill [Molino Nant Fach, Trevelin] was like traveling back in time,

like visiting my Nan when I was young. It was fascinating to see traditions alive'.

(Angharad, 37)

According to Lowenthal (1975) the disappearance of traditions, cultures and languages has increased people's need for nostalgia. Nostalgia, which implies a longing to return home (Havlena & Holak, 1991) or a yearning for some past conditions (Lowenthal, 1975), can be a motivator for individuals to travel to heritage sites (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Importantly for this case, Thomas (1996) clarifies that the concept of home is not necessarily linked with the homeland. It is rather linked to the past, the traditions and the search for their 'original' identity. One of the interviewees described his experience in Patagonia:

> *'It was a travel in the past. It was a surreal, strange experience. It was the way I grew up- agricultural, poor and Welsh'. (Bryn, 74)*

Another very interesting comment was provided by Anne (57) who recently relocated to London for her partner's work. She explained:

> *'I live in London now but my heart is set in Wales. It's my home. The visit to Y Wladfa connects me closer to my Welsh heritage.'(Anne, 57)*

According to Bond & Falk (2013) this motivation can be categorised as *identity moderation and reconstruction*, due to the individual being challenged by a situation that endangers her current identity. The nostalgic emotions indicate the longing for past conditions and the importance of tradition and the purity of language. Nostalgia motivates individuals to travel half way around the world in order to be able to experience and reinforce their own identities. Furthermore, nostalgic bonding to material possessions, souvenirs and mundane objects are common characteristics of diasporic travellers (Holbrook & Schindler, 2003). The researcher asked the interviewees who returned from a trip to Patagonia which souvenirs they brought back, some of which included a crayon painting of Cwm Hyfryd (the 'pleasant valley' settled by the Welsh); an arrowhead given to them by locals; flour from the mill; Bara Brith and Welsh cakes; a Chubut flag; soil from farming land; and a Welsh doll. These souvenirs link individuals

to their cultural identities and the tourism experiences (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). They are symbolic for their connection to Patagonia, the Welsh life and their memories.

Welsh Language: However, the most important aspect that attracts the majority of Welsh visitors to Patagonia is the Welsh language, even for some that do not speak Welsh themselves. The concept and importance of the Welsh language appears and reappears throughout the study. As described above, it is widely recognised that language is the most important dimension of Welsh identity compared to other Celtic nations (Bourhis & Giles, 1976). The Welsh language and identity in Patagonia is stronger now than in modern times (Rhys, 2007) and this shows in the number of visitors that want to go to Patagonia purely to hear the Welsh language. Language is closely connected to one's identity and the importance of the Welsh language illustrates the national pride of the participants. However, maybe because the Welsh language is endangered, individuals make it their personal agendas to keep the language alive:

> *'I live in a Welsh community, Welsh is my first language and I am very proud to be Welsh. It's very encouraging that there are so many Welsh classes for learners to learn our precious language. I want to go to Patagonia and support the language learning process' (Sionned, 41)*

On the one hand, as the quote above indicates, diasporic tourists feel that they can support the maintenance and growth of Welsh language by travelling to Patagonia and simply speaking Welsh. The manager of the museum in Gaiman explained that he believes the only way to ensure the Welsh language is still being spoken in 50 years is that the language is being used, heard on the streets and in cafes so the younger generation grows up bilingual. Another respondent explained that she wanted to go to Patagonia to raise money for a Welsh school, as she used to be a teacher in Trevelin and she perceives the Welsh language to be the most important aspect of the Welsh culture in Patagonia. The desire to maintain Welsh identity in the host country appears to be vital for the Welsh (Nguyen & King, 2004).

> *'Of course Welsh should be preserved and saved to understand where we once came from, we must understand our native tongue and our written language' (Owen, 22)*

On the other hand, many diasporic travellers had less ambitious aims and simply wanted to hear the language being spoken. This may be linked back to the motives of nostalgia or novelty.

'This is the only place in the world that I can talk Welsh outside of Wales' (Kate, 45)

'I want to hear the perfect, pure Welsh language being spoken' (Megan, 51)

Palmer (1999) recognises that language is one of the best tools that helps to construct, promote and maintain national identity and feel connected to the homeland, also recognised by Gunew (2003).

Loyalty and social acceptance: For many Welsh diasporic tourists visiting Patagonia enriches their knowledge but also signifies something richer and deeper. Three interviewees confirmed in individual interviews that they experienced a sense of loyalty in their visit to Patagonia. They believed that they 'owed' their homeland this visit. Furthermore, participants felt the need to visit Patagonia in order to be fully accepted in the Welsh society back home. One interviewee confirmed that:

> *'Through my visit I hope to feel fully accepted in the Welsh society back home. It is expected of me and I want to go so I can say I have been there.' (Rhydian, 28)*

Shanahan (2009) confirms that the desire to be part of a society or social group is an important motivation for tourism. Welsh diasporic tourists hope to gain a status of having travelled to Y Wladfa. Thus the need to belong to the Welsh culture and the motivation of loyalty and social acceptance are directly connected to the Welsh identity at a deep level.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the phenomenon of outbound diasporic tourism in relation to the Welsh settlements in Argentinian Patagonia. This case offers interesting insights into the dynamic geographical processes behind the construction of both individual and group identity. Despite the prime importance of intangible aspects such as the language described in this case, there is also strong association with the material artefacts and souvenirs that tourists take home with them. The combination of these are evidence of performing identity, with respondents being keen to actively experience Welsh tourism attractions in the region, often through embodied or sensual practices. The varied backgrounds and experiences highlight the hybrid nature of identity, subject to myriad global forces. Indeed, it is clear that diasporic identity is indeed a continual process of becoming, rather than a fixed one (Hall, 1990), also echoing Baldassar's (2001) concept of migration in its dynamic properties as 'migrancy'. Thus the articulation of 'home' is far from being fixed or permanent in the tourism context, as echoed in the recent work by Etemaddar et al. (2016) discussed above. Therefore this study confirms that diasporic tourism is a dynamic contributor to all three aspects suggested by Bond's & Falk (2013) in terms of *identity development*, *identity maintenance* and *identity moderation and reconstruction*.

Nevertheless, somewhat paradoxically it is apparent that some tourists are able to simultaneously reaffirm their Welsh identity through a visit to the colony, perhaps even finding it easier to connect to 'Welshness' in this setting. A critical extension of this argument may contend that this commodified culture is easier to access precisely because it is in such a bounded setting. Notably, this paper has deliberately not engaged with either critiques of commodification of space (Ruting, 2008), nor post-colonial perspectives which would question the very celebration of the dominance of a European culture over an indigenous South American one (even if that culture was itself a minority one). However, other researchers on

diasporic tourism have recognised the potential for this practice to re-indigenise place (Weaver, 2016), which warrants further research. Additionally, the class-based aspects to such practices should be examined to question whether such identity practices are a luxury restricted to those who can afford it. Nevertheless the opportunity surrounding the anniversary of Y Wladfa Gymreig to re-examine the disruptive processes of colonisation, as well as what constitutes Welsh identity at home, offers a valuable perspective that challenges the hegemonic Anglo-Hispanic discourse.

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