



NATIONAL IDENTITY IN CULTURAL VENUES

WALES' NATIONAL IDENTITY IN

ST FAGANS NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND WALES MILLENNIUM CENTRE

CARDIFF 2017

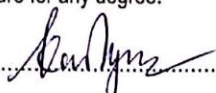
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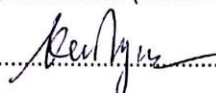
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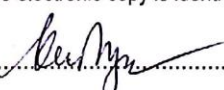
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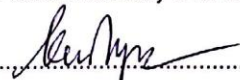
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List of abbreviations:

WMC Wales Millennium Centre

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Abstract

National identity has been widely discussed in the cultural studies and is more and more concerned when the nationalism is rising back with Brexit and the US election. Cultural venues as powerful instruments in performing national identity, however, have not received sufficient attention. In Wales, the government has always attempted to promote the Welsh identity and differentiate it from the English, claiming Wales as a nation with distinctive characteristics. The research analyses the “Welshness” expressed in two top attractions of the country: St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium Centre, helping to understand how these institutions deliver and construct the nation’s cultural values, as well as contributing to the larger academic debates. The results have shown that the places perform their roles with different focuses, and there are many discrepancies in the presentations of the cultural components, including the spatiality, material culture, social and cultural life. It also demonstrates the complexity of the national identity, with its elements intertwine into each other and its fluidity in response to various factors and forces. Thus, this phenomenon should not and cannot be assumed or generalised, but requests close examination in particular circumstances to understand.

1. Introduction

1.1. Research context

In the global economic and political world, over the past 50-odd years, globalisation has been a phenomenon in “economic, cultural, social, and political changes” (Guttal, 2007, p. 523). It blurs the boundaries, mixing the characteristics and culture of the countries in the global integration (Guttal, 2007). However, lately the nationalism has flared up with “Brexit, the US presidential election, the rise of anti-system populist parties” (Banting, 2017, p. 1348), pulling more attention towards the characteristics that shapes a nation’s “social and political life”- the national identity (2017, p. 1348). At the same time, national identity is important in tourism, strongly promoted as the attractiveness of a place in the universal world (Dicks, 2013; Skinner, 2006). There are a lot of research, discussions and debates around national identity, on different aspects of it and different ways it is expressed. The cultural venues are remarkably important in representing the national identity (Dicks, 2013; Edensor, 2002), however, there is not much research on how national identity is represented in those places, requesting further studies on this topic.

In the context of Wales, the country has a long history of being suppressed, which could force it into the edge of existence (Davies, n.d.). Despite the attempts to homogenise the culture of the English, the Wales’ characteristics and values have survived, and are now prioritised by the Welsh government (Welsh Government, 2016, p. 2). One of the seven goals in the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 “A Wales of vibrant culture and thriving Welsh language”: “A society that promotes and protects culture, heritage and the Welsh language, and which encourages people to participate in the arts, and sports and recreation” (Welsh Government, 2015, p. 4). In the statement “Light Springs through the Dark: A Vision for Culture in Wales”, the government asserts to “fully committed to culture” (Welsh Government, 2016, p. 2). It wants to break out from the shadow of its big neighbour-England (Harris, 2007), to “present itself as a distinctive and diverse nation”, not only for tourism but also “to work, live, do business and invest here” (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 14). However, it is not yet well-known and the government is trying to improve its images and reputation internationally and creating the “identity premium” which can increase the values of the products and services of the country. Thus it needs “a distinctive competitive identity. (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010, p. 16). The cultural venues are of the powerful tool to help it construct and deliver the Welshness to not only Welsh people, but also international tourists and promote the its image in the world. Thus, the research is designed to find out the Wales’ national identity in the selected sites (St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium Centre), which can develop further

strategies to more effectively deliver the Welshness. It also contributes to the theories around the national identity in cultural places.

1.2. Research aims and questions

The research aims to understand how the Wales' national identity is in different cultural venues in Wales, including St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium, by answering 4 questions

1. What are the roles of cultural venues – St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium Centre - in constructing and reconstructing Welsh National Identity?
2. To what extent is Welsh National identity constituted through 'contested' spatiality in the analysed venues?
3. How is material culture utilised to define Welsh National Identity in the St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium Centre?
4. To what degree is Welsh National Identity in the case study venues underpinned by 'traditional' or 'progressive' depictions of social and cultural life?

Question 1 aims to analyse to what extent a particular venue is delivering the traditional culture or constructing the new values. Questions 2,3,4 serve to explore different components of the national identity represented in the case study venues. Question 2 is about the spatiality, to see whether the organisations focus on the characteristics of the sub-national, national or international level; on the rural or urban features; on familiar homely places or more symbolic, iconic ones. Question 3 looks at the physical presentations as well as the performance and services provided to understand the purposes behind them, whether they are designed to express the national identity or are more of the business operations to attract tourists. The last question deal with not only the old and new images of the nation but also with the dichotomy of the unity and multiculturalism, that is, how the diversity is represented the studied venues in various aspects, such as genders, ethnicities, religions, national origins and so on. The analysis is based on the theories of the national identity, discussed on both secondary data from policies documents, online materials and primary data from interviews and participation observation at the sites. Multiple sources of data complement each other to provide a more comprehensive view of the matter and stronger debates on each research questions to conclude with more valid arguments.

1.3. Research methodology and design

This research is a qualitative research applying comparative case study on two venues, namely St Fagans National Museum of History (hereafter also referred as St Fagans) and Wales Millennium Centre (hereafter also referred as Millennium Centre or WMC). Both are top tourist attractions in Wales and claim to represent Wales' national identity explicitly. By comparing different places, the research aims to understand how the Wales' national identity is represented in those sites, what the rationales are behind and draw conclusions on each research questions.

The data is collected from both primary and secondary sources. The secondary information is gathered by textual analysis methods from policies, strategy documents of the government and the managing organisations of the venues, and other online resources like official websites of related organisation, news, Youtube video. This provides some initial understanding and a ground for further information collection. Then, the primary data is collected from the interviews with key influencers to the strategic development of the sites, to get deep insights of the matter, as well as information from participation observations, which reflects how the national identity is expressed in reality. These sources of data complement each other to provide more comprehensive and valid conclusions.

The research design, aside from the introduction which gives an overview of the research, contains four other chapters: Literature review, Research methods, Findings and Analysis, and lastly Conclusion.

The Literature Review introduces the key concepts like nation, national identity, spatiality, material cultural, diversity, etc., raises the debates around the formation of national identity as well as its representations in cultural venues like museums and art centres. It demonstrates the gaps in the literature that need to be filled, provides guidelines and frameworks for the empirical data collection.

The Research Method declares the philosophy and strategy throughout the research and selects the suitable methods. It describes how each method is used, clarifies sampling choices, explains data analysing process to draw conclusions, as well as explains how the methods complement each other in understanding the questions. The reliability, replication, validity and ethics of the research are also considered in this chapter.

In the Findings and Analysis, the empirical information is grouped into the research themes based on the research questions, and discussed the meanings. In each section, the data from St Fagans and WMC are represented separately, however, in the same order, following the guidelines from the

Literature Review chapter. The Conclusions chapter then combines the findings and answer the questions. It also gives recommendations for further research and studies.

2. Literature review

This chapter gives an overview of the theoretical discussions around the National Identity represented in the museums and arts centres. It aims to provide the current understanding on the topic and to produce a framework for the data collection and empirical analysis in the following chapters. To understand how the national identity is represented, firstly, the concept “nation” and “national identity” is introduced in section 2.1. It demonstrates the complexity of the notions and the debates around them, proposes an approach to study the concepts. Section 2.2 represents how the national identity is formulated and the key factors affecting it, which will be used as a ground to explain the representation of the national identity in particular circumstances (St Fagans and WMC). Section 2.3 defines the roles of the cultural venues in constructing and reconstructing the national identity in museums and arts centres. This section not only illustrates the importance of those venues, but also suggests an aspect of analysing later- to see how the cultural venues (St Fagans and WMC) perform their roles. Lastly, section 2.4 describes the components of national identity represented in the museums and arts centres, which will be frameworks for analysing the selected sites.

Here I argue that national identity is a contested concept, representing the cultural denominators formed by the ideologies of the cultural elites and the globalisation, tourism, market demands and opportunities. Thus, it is not fixed but varies in different circumstances and there is no formula to forecast how it is constituted or expressed. Similarly, national identity shaped in the cultural venues differs, as the venues not only passively deliver the authentic characteristics and official culture, but also proactively constitute new values in response to the external environment. However, there is a gap in academic literature on the extent each role is performed in the cultural places. In addition, there are various ways in which each component of the culture (including spatiality; material culture; social and cultural life) is emphasised, requesting a close examination in particular places to understand the national identity showcased in specific contexts.

2.1. Nation-National identity

Identity is referred to “the imagined sameness” that differentiates a person or a group from the “others” (Robins, cited in Wu, 2011, p. 27). Similarly, Carter argues that national identity distinguishes the notions of “them and us” (Carter, 2010, p. 14), Edensor also supports the definition of national

identity as the internal commonalities to separate from the external, “the drawing of boundaries between self and the ‘other’ ” (Edensor, 2002, p. 24).

However, it is challenging to characterise the “national identity” as a nation is an ascriptive entity. A nation is generally understood as a “society” or a “community” (Edensor, 2002, p. 1). Hobsbawm describes a nation as “a modern construct” (cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 5). Hutchinson considers nations “creative personalities continually evolving over time” (cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 10). Anthony Smith attaches nations to “pre-existing “ethnies”- ethnic communities or groups- which shape the nation” (cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 8). Anderson calls a nation “imagined community” (cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 7), as it is just a cognitive attachment of the members due to the group’s geographical fragmentation and segregation (cited in Scorrano, 2012, p. 346). Pahl (2005, p. 621) in his research also discusses on the “communities in the mind”, supporting the imaginary of the notion.

At the same time, national identity is stratified into different dimensions and levels due to the multiplicity of the communities, societies and ethnicities within it. There are communities of different scales, such as region, nation, continent, etc., or different contexts, for example, political division, occupation, religion and the like (Carter, 2010), not to mention “no community is homogenous. Different cohorts... hold different perspectives” (Pieterse, 1997, p. 134). Likewise, ethnicities built on the background and shared values can be various (Carter, 2010), especially when the people who have mutual origins can also regard themselves to different communities and ethnies (Takaragawa, 2002, p. 38). The developments of transportation, technologies, ideas, information, good and services allow people to connect easier in numerous ways, blurring the boundaries of “communities”. Cyberspace and media help form international, virtual societies whose members do not share historical origins (Pieterse, 1997).

National identity, as a “symbolic elaboration” of the nation, is therefore “imagined” (Scorrano, 2012, p. 346). There are two approaches to analyse national identity. The first one is the “polythetic” approach, by which no presumptions or hypotheses are made, the culture is established from all the present components, including objects, people, activities and so forth. Following this method, the connections between the components are linked to build up a collective culture. This seems to bring more objective and fewer bias considerations, but at the same time, can be extremely complicated and challenging, especially when it comes to the samples and resources required (Carter, 2010, p. 43). Thus, this research adopts the second method, assuming the existence of the commonalities and analyse them by gathering information and evidence (Carter, 2010, p. 43). The following section seeks to understand how these commonalities are formed.

2.2. Constructing and Reconstructing National Identity

National identity, like other identities, is “produced, consumed and regulated within culture” (Woodward, 1997, p. 2; Wu, 2011; Edensor, 2002). However, national identity does not represent the collective culture as a whole but only a set of selected “common denominators” (Edensor, 2002, p. 8). As the communities are “heterogeneous”, “stratified” (Hetherington and Inskeep, cited in Blackstock, 2005, p. 42), there are various different cultural norms and values within the nations, leading to “more than one form of authenticity” (Wang, cited in Meethan, 2006, pp. 11–12).

There is no formula for the cultural values to construct the national identity, the cultural elements that national identity represents are influenced by many different factors (Edensor, 2002). Understanding these influencers is crucial to learn how the national identity is shaped in certain ways, which can be applied to analysing the cultural venues. By reviewing the literatures, these factors are summed up into three groups. The first one is the cultural elites, mainly referring to the politically powerful, which is also the focus for discussions, but this can also include other cultural stakeholders like the cultural organisations, the donors, the directors of the cultural venues and so on. The second factor is the globalisation. Last but not least, tourism, economic development and national branding, though are all affected to a great extent by the globalisation, deserve a close attention.

National identity is an important source of solidarity, gathering the common characteristics especially when the communities are diverse (Moran, 2011; Wright, 2011). The commonalities, in turn, compose the national recognition, which is a key to identity (Kook, cited in Carter, 2010). Gellner argues that the political elites construct the “cultural homogeneity” by top-down “centralised policies, structures and norms” to lower levers. In the modern world, it continues to disseminate its ideologies on national identity via education, official stories and histories, established organisations and bodies (cited in Edensor, 2002, pp. 2–3). Hobsbawn and co-editor Ranger also emphasise on the influences of the powerful in establishing the official traditions and carrying them on to reflect in the modern national identity. They discuss that the elites “are primarily concerned with ideological manipulation rather than issues of authenticity and spectacle, to control rather than notions about protocol”, compel and direct the masses align to their will and objectives (Edensor, 2002, p. 5). The scholars tend to conclude that elite’s ideologies focus on “high culture”, the ceremonial and symbolic practices while neglecting the popular and mass cultural forms (Smith; Gellner; Hobsbawn and Ranger, cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 3-11).

Smith also acknowledges the manipulation of the powerful on the national identity, however, he recognises the heterogeneity and even conflicts of different elite groups (cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 8). National identity is the result of negotiations and compromises between different concerns and benefits of the government and other stakeholders, taken into account other objectives of “education strategy, of artistic movements, of sporting provision and of festivals” (Edensor, 2002, p. 16; Dicks, 2013). In addition, national identity is not always about the unity of the nation. The government is determinative in defining the images of the nation, whether to focus on the unity or the diversity of the country (Moran, 2011).

National identity is also influenced by the external forces. Many studies have proved that national identity is not fixed but keeps modifying, that “no culture is immutable”, it adopts to and adapts with others over time and spaces (Carter, 2010, p. 135; see also Edensor, 2002; Wright, 2011). In the modern time, when “globalisation diminishes the differences between people and produces a less diversified world” (Carter, 2010, p. 136), Young argues “the idea of a ‘pure’ culture cannot survive globalisation” (1999, p. 10).

“Globalisation is characterised by disjunctive flows of people (“ethnoscape”), technology (“technoscapes”), information (“mediascape”), ideas and ideologies (“ideoscapes”) and money (“financescape”) and other channels (Edensor, 2002, p. 30; Marks, 2012). These movements offer interactions and connections where different cultures blend and mix up their values, contesting the “authenticity and purity of cultures” (Meethan, 2006, p. 19; Marks, 2012; Magu, 2015). People are getting familiar with rituals, traditions and customs from other places, challenging the nation own distinctiveness, “rendering old dichotomies of “self” and “other” more ambivalent” (Edensor, 2002, pp. 32–33; Pieterse, 1997, p. 125). Meethan also alerts the threat of “de-territorialisation” where culture is commodified and loses its links to its place (2001, p. 120). This does not mean the national distinctiveness necessarily dissolves into the global integration (Meethan, 2001, pp. 120–121), but the cultural diffusion and new culture arisen from the globalisation is “one of the great, early-twentieth-century paradigms of cultural change” (Young, 1999, p. 7)

Another important factor affecting the cultural promotion as well as “reconstructing” local and national identity is tourism (Smith, cited in Toyota, 2006, p. 159). Tourism itself is a component of culture (Skinner, 2006), but it’s also “a means of asserting and reforming identity” by delivering material objects, images, cultural characteristics not only to local people but also to international tourists (Strinari, cited in Toyota, 2006, p. 158). It is a strong mechanism for cultural diffusion and

assimilation due to the movement of people and the interaction of norms and practices, especially when it is fostered by globalisation (Dicks, 2013, p. 41; Meethan, 2001, p. 119)

Tourism is also a form of consumption, “consuming services, time and images” (Toyota, 2006, p. 158), is an economic activity which concerns with revenues and benefits. Culture is a trading good under tourism (Dicks, 2013) and to promote tourism, cultural elements and symbols cannot stay rigid but need to adjust to “retain their relevance over time and their appeal amongst diverse groups” (Hobsbawn and Rager, cited in Edensor, 2002, p. 5). Meethan claims “culture cannot be bought and sold without negative effects” (2001, p. 92) and many other scholars have studied on the consequences caused by tourism on culture and national identity. For example, Lisiewicz concerns with the national identity being changed from the “signified” to the “signifier”, representing “empty” signs, messages, logos rather than reflecting the nation’s characteristics or defining “a sense of national belonging” (Lisiewicz, 2013, p. 55). At the same time, there are also arguments that to promote tourism, the countries need to keep their cultural uniqueness and solidarity in the “plurality and diversity of identities”, distinguishing “we-ness” from “other-ness” (Huang, 2012, pp. 221–222; Moran, 2011). Regardless of the benefits and drawbacks, tourism and culture interact in a reciprocal manner: the tourists and tourism activities contribute to the movement and interference of cultures and identities; and the “culture, once an identity maker, has now become a trademark or brand” to attract tourists (Skinner, 2006, p. 263; Toyota, 2006).

In conclusion, national identities are the selected cultural values influenced by the cultural elites (mainly the government) in response to the globalisation, tourism and economic objectives. The external influences change the national identity in different directions. It can reinforce the national distinctiveness but can also commodify, de-territorialise the cultural values, distort the cultural particularities or even create new characteristics to attract tourists and promote the country in the global world.

2.3. Cultural venues (museums and art centres) in constructing and reconstructing the National identity

Edensor (Edensor, 2002, p. 1) regards places and spaces as the main signifiers of the culture and national identity. When it comes to cultural venues, Dicks asserts that “visitable sites of culture allow a representation of place-intensity. Stories and reconstructions of local places are arguably the central organizing concept in many of the new cultural and heritage centres” (Dicks, 2013, p. 18). The national cultural centres like national museums, monuments and iconic arts centres, constitute and reinforce

the identity of the nations, creating meanings and cultural values (Dicks, 2013, p. 18; Moran, 2011, p. 2155). The cultural display in those venues “has been a vital means of manufacturing and promoting this place-identity” (Dicks, 2013, p. 35) and through tourism, express and disseminate it widely to audiences (Neumann cited in Edensor, 1997, p. 175).

The cultural sites are significant in delivering and constructing the national identity. They align to the governments’ objectives, policies and strategies, are effective tools to “provide the means by which a sense of national or local identity can be constructed” (Meethan, 2001, p. 37). At the same time, they respond to the global market, “material environment and socio-economic circumstances”, represent specific angles of the culture or create new cultural values, to become more attractive and competitive (Meethan, 2001, p. 37,136; Edensor, 2002; Dicks, 2013). The rest of this section discusses in details how the cultural venues, especially museums and iconic arts centres, deliver the official cultures defined by the government and other cultural elites, and proactively construct and reconstruct new content and ideologies of the national identity.

“Cultural organisations – museums, theatres, arts centres and the rest” all need public funding for their operation and some even need planning permissions from the government. Thus, they need to “demonstrate how they have contributed to wider policy agendas” and follow the government’s strategies and objectives (Holden, 2004, p. 13; Meethan, 2001).

In general, though museums tend to be considered as institutions that store the images of the past, places of nostalgia, they are actually active channels of propagation of ideologies and philosophies of the nation- state (Takaragawa, 2002; see also Scorrano, 2012; Wu, 2011). Museums can be referred to two main functions: “museum exhibitions and the museum as an institution” (Wu, 2011, p. 39). Museum exhibitions are not purely “science displays”, but also reflects “the culturally, socially and politically saturated business of negotiation and value-judgment” (MacDonald cited in Wu, 2011, p. 39; Dicks, 2013; Prior, 2002; Carter, 2010). As social institutions, museums reach out to a variety of people, they delivery messages and meanings to the audience via the displays and other operations (Armada, 2010; Pieterse, 1997; Scorrano, 2012). They “reflect and reinforce the culture and society in which they exist” (Scorrano, 2012, p. 348) and help construct “powerful ideologies, categories and identities, perpetuating dominant national myth or providing cultural cement for socio-political order” (Prior, 2002, p. 4). Because of their influences, there are always negotiations, even tensions and conflicts between different stakeholders (Dicks, 2013), including “governments (of different levels), the public, related disciplines or peers” (Wu, 2011, p. 11), “curators and academics” (Mason, 2007, pp. 156–157), “communal assent” (Weiser, 2015, pp. 400–401), and between "the interests of

historical preservation and those of the private developers" (Dicks, 2013, p. 136). Regardless of what roles museums play, there are always external forces from the political elites affecting how the audience perceives the content of the culture and identity. (Low, cited in Wu, 2011, p. 42; Young, 1999; Crang, 2003).

Interestingly, there are very few papers analysing the manipulation of the government and other powerful groups on the art centres. Lisiewicz in his research finds out the "conscious governmental policy aiming at the internationalization of the Polish art scene"(2013, p. 54). Edensor claims the influences of other stakeholders on the symbolic venues to represent the "meanings which are attuned to their political project or identity"(Edensor, 2002, p. 46). As discussed above, the arts centres as social institutions are influential to the public, thus, they also get pressure from and are influenced by the government policies and tourism strategies, especially when it comes to funding application. However, while it seems that the museums are considerably impacted by the powerful, it is not clear to what extent the art centres deliver the government's ideologies of culture.

On the other hand, places and spaces not only passively deliver the culture but also take an active role in "constitution and reproduction of social identities and social relations" (Valentine, cited in Pritchard and Morgan, 2006, p. 238). Cultural venues like museums and arts centres are affected by the globalisation trend and tourism. They need "clear cultural identities to become visitable" (Dicks, 2013, p. 35; Scorrano, 2012). That means they can promote their cultural distinctiveness to attract tourists, but also means they can change in other directions to meet tourists' expectations (Meethan, 2001; Pieterse, 1997; Skinner, 2006).

Witcomb argues that museums focus more on changing towards marketing and serving diverse international visitors rather than taking its "civic roles" (cited in Scorrano, 2012, pp. 345–346). Other scholars also suggest that museums may not stick to nostalgia and indigenous culture but transform to representing appealing cultural resources and stories (Gruffudd et al., 1999; Scorrano, 2012) or even non-tradition (invented) cultures and identities to attract tourists (Dicks, 2013; Pieterse, 1997; Skinner, 2006). This "denaturalize" the definition of "historical and cultural specific" of identity (MacDonald cited in Huang, 2012, p. 222). Similarly, arts centres may not interpret what the national identity is, but focusing more on the artistic values and becoming more appealing to visitors, or to claim the position of the country (Lisiewicz, 2013, p. 55). They, thus, adopt and adapt to new cultural values. Though visitors do not always agree or perceive the same ideas of the presentation, it is undeniable that those venues "create a powerful effect of realism" and direct the images of the country in certain ways (Crang, 2003).

On the whole, cultural venues are powerful instruments delivering the nation- state's ideologies of national identity. Museums continue to be "a familiar guarantor of cultural authority" and are still the guardians of the indigenous values and "major sites of building unity" in diversity (Young, 1999, pp. 11–13). Similarly, arts centres are also under control to deliver certain cultural features. Nevertheless, they also adapt to the external environment and are affected by tourism, business condition and opportunities. Their target audience has expanded more widely, leading to the modification in the cultural representation to attract tourists and embrace the opportunities and challenges of globalisation (Young, 1999), promoting a hybrid type of "cultural expressions both particular and universal" (Young, 1999, p. 11). While there are plenty of research on museums, not many of studies on cultural venues as a whole and arts centres in particular have been carried out, thus, there is a need for further theoretical development on the roles of those places in constructing and reconstructing the national identity. Also, this raises a question of how each role in different types of cultural sites, which will be one of the framework to analysing later in this research.

2.4. Components of national identity

Anderson focuses on three dimensions of the national identity, including "the spatial, material and embodied production of communal identities" (Edensor, 2002, p. 7). Meethan, in a similar way, acknowledges the "interlinked propositions" of four cultural aspects in places, including (1) the "material and symbolic elements", (2) "the socio-spatial forms"; (3) "the spatial and institutional level", and lastly (4) "dynamic system of change" (Meethan, 2001, p. 40). Carter (2010) defines two aspects of culture- the fluidity of culture and the scale of culture. In this section and the rest of the research, the national identity in the cultural venues is analysed through three components as the combination of the mentioned categories. The first one concerns with spatiality, including the spatial scales as well as rural and urban, different spatial scapes. The second component is the material culture, represented on the displays, performance and added services and features of the place. Lastly, the social and cultural life dimension regards not only the "traditional" or "progressive" life represented, but also the diversity of ethnics, genders, social classes and the like.

To begin with, the spatiality element closely associates with the national identity in many ways, representing not only in different geographical scales from home, country, to supra- national and international scale, but also from symbolic, social spaces to dwellings places and the mundane everyday, from sceneries to the activities and operations embedded within them (Edensor, 2002, p. 65; Meethan, 2006).

In terms of geographical boundaries of culture, national identity in places is not only about the national values, but also contains “regional distinctions” (Edensor, 2002, p. 65), “cosmopolitan” and localities (Edensor, 2002, p. 64; Dicks, 2013). At the same time, the “nation-state seems to be threaten by large, supra- national federations” (Edensor, 2002, p. 38) and the globalisation which brings in characteristics that overwrite the national attributes (Edensor, 1997, pp. 38–39; Lisiewicz, 2013; Meethan, 2006).

Other spatial dimension of national identity in spaces and places is the rural and urban essence (Dicks, 2013, p. 46; Edensor, 1997) and different scapes including landscapes, taskscapes, iconic sites, sites of popular culture and assembly, dwellingscapes, homelystapes (Edensor, 2002; Meethan, 2006). Landscapes is a critical element of the identity since “it can combine geographical belonging with complex narratives of human exploits, extraordinary characters and historical- heroes” (Edensor, 2002, p. 49). Taskscapes refers to not only the dwelling places like shops, entertainment and social places but also the routines, space-making practices embedding in it, is the immersion and operation of the inhabitants in relations with each other and with the environment. Similarly, the homelystapes with the design and use of kitchen, garden, etc.; the iconic sites, the new spaces of international airports, commercial centres; the sites of popular culture and assembly like squares, marketplaces and so on, are all attributed to the national identity. Those scapes intertwine into each other and into other spatial aspects (Edensor, 2002). Edensor suggests that “certain landscapes and regions are assigned heightened status as markers of national identity than others”(Edensor, 2002, p. 67). As the result, the cultural spatiality of St Fagans and WMC will be analysed to find out the emphasis in each site.

While the spatiality lies within the national identity represented, the material culture expresses it and is crucial in "manufacturing and promoting this place-identity" (Dicks, 2013, p. 35) since the exhibitions are “privileged arenas for resending images of self and “other” (Karp, cited in Pieterse, 1997, p. 123). The cultural display is utilised in the cultural sites to impose the images of the nation. Crang argues that particular display arrangements are used in museums to deliver messages and ideologies on purpose, though they do not necessarily reflect “authenticity” (2003, pp. 258–259). Likewise, the visual arts also play “a prominent role in the promotion of national identity” (Facos and Hirsh, 2003, p. 10).

The material culture is applied in various forms. The languages used are the manifestation of the culture and also a means for delivering it. It is the “major force in “constructing” what is perceived as “reality”” (Beard & Cerf, cited in Carter, 2010, p. 17). The identities are also represented in the architecture and design in the space, forms of flora and fauna, sound. Some ordinary and familiar

materials, images and objects in a specific place that cannot or hardly be seen in foreign areas, like the red telephone box in the United Kingdom, helps form the identities. It is also applied for the daily life and leisure activities occurring in the space, for instance, the operation of rugby pitches, football fan zones, social life, pubs, bars in Cardiff, cuisine of France and Italy, British sarcasm etc. From the symbolic images of flags, anthems, currency to the home-made recognition like the Ivy League universities, all are the representors of a country (Edensor, 2002; Prior, 2002).

The national identity is not only delivered through the objects and exhibitions, but also the “performance- what it does, how it moves, speaks, stands and sits” (Edensor, 2002, p. 72), activities and events occurring inside the place, or services like restaurants (Edensor, 2002; Facos and Hirsh, 2003, p. 10) and “the production and consumption of souvenirs” (Meethan, 2006, p. 6). Places and spaces offer an overarching environment for cultures to perform, thus, they connect to many other cultural signifiers, becoming a significant factor of identity (Edensor, 2002; Marks, 2012; Pritchard and Morgan, 2006; Real, 2015; Sun et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, the displays are not always to present the culture and national identity but are also constrained by the “historically contingent circumstances” (Meethan, 2001, pp. 31–32), “the boundaries and hierarchies of taste, the popularisation of aesthetics and the effects of globalisation and, of course, the spectre of postmodernism” (Meethan, 2001, p. 117). The material culture as a great part of the cultural economy, also needs to be interactive, attractive and visitable, offering a whole package of products with appealing design and presentations, good experiences and services, rather than just the content (Dicks, 2013; Meethan, 2006; Pieterse, 1997). The conciliation of the interests determines the display strategy to deliver the desire outcomes, including “which objects will be displayed, which stories told, which characters held up and which ones forgotten” (Scorrano, 2012, p. 348). Material culture can be utilised to tell authentic culture, to emphasise certain aspects of national identity but also can be bent over certain ideologies or commercialised instead. The rationales behind the material culture, from the displays to performance and added services, becomes a question for the analysis in St Fagans and WMC.

On the social and cultural life dimension of national identity, heritages and museums are seen as the agencies keeping, showcasing and transmitting the historical and cultural values from generation to generation, forming the community identities (Dicks, 2013; Takaragawa, 2002; Wu, 2011). The objects displayed, the ambience constructed, the people and performance in those places help “to actively foster a homogeneous, standardised public national culture” (Prior, 2002, p. 41; Takaragawa, 2002, p. 39), thus, “produce and reproduce culture and identity” (Takaragawa, 2002, p. 37). Museums and arts

centres as other cultural places reflect the social progress, from history, “a ‘glorious’ past of ‘golden age’ and antecedence” to “the modernity of the nation” (Edensor, 2002, p. 45).

However, a nation itself comprises of numerous characteristics, thus, is heterogeneous and multicultural (Moran, 2011). The effects of globalisation foster the exchange and learning process of cultures, forming more hybrid forms, endorsing multiculturalism and the prominence of mixed identities (Pieterse, 1997). In addition, the development of tourism requires national identity to be fluid, adaptable and responsive to situations to remain relevant, acceptable and attractive (Edensor, 2002; Pieterse, 1997), creating a condition where “cultural identity is not given but produced” (Pieterse, 1997, p. 128). National identity is a collection of fragmented pieces of traditional and modern cultural values, of “multiple identities (local, regional, transnational, global, sexual, urban and so forth), and ‘the other’ becomes ‘others’ (differentiated by ‘race’, class, gender, national origin, lifestyle and so forth)” (Pieterse, 1997, p. 125).

National unity and multiculturalism are not mutually exclusive, there are always attempts to balance the unity and diversity of cultures in promoting national identity (Magu, 2015; Moran, 2011). Magu (2015, p. 642) asserts that “cultures often retain their unique features even as they borrow and adopt features of other cultures they interact”. Likewise, the identity cohesion opens up to cultural diversity, even the highly uniformed communities adopt and adapt to the difference delivered by the flow of people, ideologies and resources (Habermas, cited in Moran, 2011, p. 2156; Carter, 2010; Pieterse, 1997). In some nations built up not from the homogeneity but rooted from multinationalism like Australia or Canada, the diversity is promoted even more in the tourist places (Moran, 2011).

This chapter has explained the complexity of the national identity, due to the heterogeneity of the nation and different elements of culture. It is modified under the influences of the cultural elites; globalisation; tourism, economic development and national branding. Since the two roles of the cultural venues in delivering the national identity are defined as (1) delivering the cultural elites’ or the nation’s ideologies and (2) actively reacting to the external forces, creating new values; each selected venue will be analysed on how each role is indicated. The three elements of national identity in cultural venues, including cultural spatiality, material culture and social and cultural life will be analysed to find out to what extent they are expressed, which features are emphasised and which ones are neglected. The spatiality focuses on two dimensions- spatial scales and urban-rural, while the spatial scapes entwined in them will be briefly mentioned. The material culture follows three categories in the theoretical discussions, including 1) physical presentations; 2) performance, activities and events; 3) services, retails and consumption, to examine whether they are engaged in expressing

national identity or more commercialised. Lastly, since the social and cultural life comprises of many aspects, the analysis later will follow the three elements of the material cultures to find the evidence on unity and diversity. The findings together with the three general factors influencing the national identity are resources to understand why the national identity is represented in certain ways in certain places. This may also uncover other factors specifically influence the national identity in the cultural venues, however, this is not the focus of the research.

3. Research design and methodology

This chapter outlines how the research is carried out. Section 3.1 sets out the researcher's position in the research philosophy, informs of the research strategies and the consideration of reliability, replication and validity. Section 3.2 justifies the research methods chosen and describe how each of them is used in detail. Section 3.3 illustrates the ethical consideration of the research.

3.1. Research philosophy and strategy

The research philosophy defines the position of a researcher, an assumption of the social world or reality, knowledge, events occurred, and how they can be studied and "warranted" (Bryman, 2012; Graham, 2005, p. 10). This research follows the critical realism philosophy which assumes that the reality exists "independent of our conceptions of it" (Graham, 2005, p. 19), at the same time, acknowledges that social factors can affect and transform the reality (Bryman, 2012, p. 29).

The research aims to identify the national identity delivered through the cultural venues. It admits that culture exists, persists and shapes the perspectives of the participants, "acts as a point of reference" (Bakers, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 34). Nevertheless, national identity and culture are continuously changed and reconstructed by the social context and the stakeholders involved in the operations and management mechanism behind it (Bakers, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 34). Thus, the research adopts different research methods to get in-depth understanding of what kinds of culture are representing the national identity, who and what construct the identity represented and how it happens.

Qualitative research, in particular, ethnography is acquired, which has "a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomenon, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about it" (Reeves et al., 2008, p. 512), concerning with "both the depth and complexity of social structures and relations" (Jeffrey and Troman, 2004, p. 535). It helps to understand the national identity defined and delivered in at the cultural sites, and explain the similarities or differences of them. Different methods including comparative case studies, textual analysis, participation observation and semi-structure interview are adopted to explore the research questions.

The research design is also concerned with reliability, replication and validity (Bryman, 2012, p. 46). Reliability regards to the consistency of the findings of the research (Bryman, 2012, p. 46). Since data based generated from a single method is inadequate to provide accurate research result, data are collected from different sources by multiple methods (multiple-method form the data triangulation) to be able to compare the information and interpret the phenomenon better (Denzin cited in Reeves

et al., 2008, p. 53; Holtzhausen, 2001). In this research, textual analysis is the starting point, allowing information gathering from published strategy documents, policies, newspapers and audio visuals. The texts' meanings are clarified through interviews with the stakeholders, the interviews are also cross-checked with the published information on the real performance of desire strategies. The participation observation is then carried out to see if what has been said is actually delivered.

Replication is the ability to replicate the research, thus, the methods and findings was described in details (Bryman, 2012, p. 47). Validity refers to the application of the research findings on a greater or other contexts (Bryman, 2012, pp. 47–48). The research is an in-depth ethnography, focusing on a specific case of Wales. Hence, the results may not applicable for other cases with different characteristics and in different contexts.

3.2. Methods

3.2.1. Comparative case study

Comparative case study aims to generate understanding by comparing two or more cases (Goodrick, n.d.). The more cases involved, the better the results generalise the theory. However, given the scared resources and time, analysing too many cases will “trade-offs in terms of depth and detail” (Goodrick, n.d., p. 4). Since the research is designed to interpret how the Welsh identity represent similarly or differently in two cultural venues, defined by purposive sampling based on their relevance to the research purpose, at the same period of time (May, 2011, p. 253). They are St Fagans National Museum of History (St Fagans) and Wales Millennium Centre (WMC).

St Fagans is the first national open – air museum in the United Kingdom, opened in 1948. Of all seven museums of the National Museum Wales, St Fagans is considered to most profoundly represent Wales' identity (National Museum Wales, n.d.e). Its engagement in displaying the people's lives throughout the history (National Museum Wales, n.d.f) is the central operations, although it is also “a contemporary museum, one in which culture is a living process, and where people can share their stories, life experiences and skills in a welcoming and sociable environment” (National Museum Wales, n.d.f)

In contrast, opened in 2004, WMC is a modern, iconic building considered as “Wales' national arts centre” (WMC, n.d.). It is a home of eight arts organisations including Welsh National Opera, National Dance Company Wales, Literature Wales, Ty Cerdd- representing “amateur and youth music in Wales”,

BBC National Orchestra of Wales, Hijinx Theatre and the Touch Trust (Theatres Magazine, 2012, p. 6). It is “one of the World’s iconic arts and cultural destinations”, offering a wide range of performances like theatre, musical, opera, comedy, dance, ballet, educational programmes and visual arts (Arts Council of Wales, n.d.b; Creu Cymru, n.d.). Located in Cardiff Bay, adjacent to the National Assembly for Wales, it has a strong symbolic function with a vision to be “an internationally significant cultural landmark and centre for the performing arts, renowned for inspiration, excellence and leadership” (Arts Council of Wales, n.d.b).

Both venues are considered explicitly representing Wales’ identity, and are the top free attractions in Wales (Beaufort research, n.d.; Sanders, 2014) . By comparing ST Fagans with rural, traditional images of Wales and the modern Wales Millennium Centre, representing a dynamic Wales, the research aims to compare the national identity in these two-contrary imaged cultural sites and understand the rationale behind the similarities and differences.

3.2.2. Textual analysis

Textual analysis is a method analysing the texts, including literary books, diaries, newspapers, documents, anthropological texts and other materials like visual texts (films, pictures, paintings, advertisements), music and sounds, scenery, maps (Aitken, 2005) to understand the content in a specific context (Dittmer, 2010, p. 280). In this research, the discourse of culture and identity is examined, the roles and interpretations of the national identity represented in the venues are also looked for in the texts. Written texts including policies and strategies, newspapers, websites were searched by the related keywords such as **‘culture wales’ ‘identity wales’ ‘welsh culture’ ‘welsh identity’, ‘tourism wales’** and other related terminologies. The primary source for these texts was electronic search engine including Google Search, Web of Science, Google Scholar, Cardiff University’s library portal. The websites of the government and relevant bodies and institutions are analysed on the contents and the published documents as well as articles. The researcher also consults the reading list: Economic development and regeneration (National Assembly for Wales, 2016), newspaper articles, YouTube videos of Visit Wales on Wales branding and so on, marketing videos of the sites and the governments. The list of texts is presented in Table 1. Other forms of texts were read at the venues using participation observation methods, and the observation during interviews will be explained in the later sections.

Table 1: List of texts for textual analysis

Types	Name	Authors
Websites	Official website of the Arts Council of Wales	Arts Council of Wales
	Official website of Wales Millennium Centre	Wales Millennium Centre
	Official website of National Museum Wales	National Museum Wales
	Official website of Institute of Welsh Affairs	Institute of Welsh Affairs
	Official website Business Wales	Business Wales
Strategy documents/ Inquiry reports	Promoting Welsh Arts and Culture on the World Stage.	National Assembly for Wales
	Light Springs through the Dark: A Vision for Culture in Wales.	Welsh Government
	The Welsh Government Strategy for Tourism 2013 – 2020: Partnership for Growth.	Welsh Government
	Inspire...Our strategy for creativity and the arts in Wales	Arts Council of Wales
	Operational Plan 2016/17.	Arts Council of Wales
	Imagine... Our vision for the Arts in Wales.	Arts Council of Wales
	Corporate Plan 2017-2019	The City of Cardiff Council
	The Wales Identity. A sense of place.	Business Wales
	Cardiff Liveable city report	The City of Cardiff Council
	Economic Renewal: a new direction	Welsh Assembly Government
	Inquiry into the Accessibility of Arts and Cultural Activities in Wales- Response from Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales	Communities and Culture Committee- National Assembly Wales
	Inspiring people, Changing lives.	National Museum Wales
	Operational Plan 2015/2016.	National Museum Wales
Youtube videos	What has Wales Millennium Centre ever done for us?	Wales Millennium Centre
	Cymru Wales - Naws am Le / Sense of Place	Visit Wales
Others	Other online newspapers and magazines	Various

For data analysis, the research follows the tasks for textual analysis defined by Gee (1999) (cited in Dittmer, 2010, p. 280). The focus is on “Activity building” which means the “situated meaning of on-going processes” (Dittmer, 2010, pp. 280–281) to find out the images of Wales the analysed venues and other governmental bodies want to deliver. Another one is “world building”, which is looking at what is represented and what is absent, “connection building”, which tries to connect the objects, people, contexts, values and places to draw hypotheses on the interaction of them and the relationship overtime, between the past, the future and the present (Dittmer, 2010, pp. 280–281), to see how the national identity is represented in the sites and the trend or future developments. Equally important is the “socio- culturally- situated identity and relationship building”, to see the distinctiveness of the cultural values in the sites, to understand the development choices and relate them to the environment they situate in (Dittmer, 2010, pp. 280–281). However, other tasks are also considered where relevant to interpret the context and its influence on the Welshness displayed. The information then grouped based on following the themes of the research questions, combined with other methods to answer the questions.

The textual analysis was the start before any field work, setting the foundation for further development of thematic analysis, interview questions and defines the objects and targets for observation. The broadness and ambiguity of culture topic can be challenging to determine the information that is relevant, hence, the researcher sticks with the research questions and themes

defined from the literature review. Besides, multi-reading was carried out after interviews and observation to increase the reliability of the findings.

3.2.3. Key stakeholder interviews

Interviewing is “an interpretative methodology” (McDowell, 2010, p. 158), relying on words and textual environment to find out the meanings behind (Valentine, 2005, p. 111). This helps to cross-checked on the information collected from textual analysis, but also aims to understand in ‘rich, detailed and multi-layered’. (Burgess, cited in Valentine, 2005, p. 111, see also McDowell, 2010, p. 159)

Potential interviewees are defined based on their high positions in management and strategic development of the research organisations, and other bodies that are significantly influential to those venues. There were 17 invitations sent out via emails or LinkedIn messages and five accepted. They were (1) A director at WMC, (2) A director at St Fagans, (3) A representative in Culture, Welsh Language and Communications Committee of the National Assembly for Wales, who also invited his advisor to join and contribute in the meeting, (4) A director at Visit Wales- the Welsh government’s tourism development team and (5) A director at Arts Council of Wales (see Table 2). Hereafter they are respectively referred as WMC’s Director; St Fagans’ Director; National Assembly’s Representative and National Assembly Representative’s Advisor; Visit Wales’ Representative and Arts Council’s Representative (first letters in capital)

Given the time and resource limitation, the sampling for interview method is unable to attain the theoretical saturation where “ new data no longer suggest new insights into an emergent theory or no longer suggest new dimensions of theoretical categories” (Bryman, 2012, p. 421). However, the researcher managed to discuss with at least one person from each key organisation. More interviewees in each organisation may reconfirm the information, however, it is not necessary as the interviewees held a prominent position and had significant knowledge and understanding of the concepts and research purposes. Other related organisations including the Cardiff city council, National Museums Wales are less involved or unlikely to provide significantly different perspectives. Instead of spreading out the resources, the small number of key interviews offers opportunities to invest more time in each and gain deeper understanding.

Table 2: List of interviewees

Interviewees	Organisations	Descriptions	Interview channels
WMC's Director	Wales Millennium Centre	A member of management board who holds decisive positions in the development of the centre	Telephone
St Fagan's Director	St Fagans National Museum of History	One of the top leaders, holding a key role in displaying strategies	Face to face, at St Fagans
National Assembly's Representative	National Assembly Wales	A member of the Culture, Welsh Language and Communications Committee	Face to face, at the National Assembly Wales' office; with the participation of the National Assembly Representative's Advisor
Visit Wales' Representative	Visit Wales	One of the Heads of the organisation	Face to face, in a cafe
Arts Council's Representative	Arts Council for Wales	One of the directors of the organisation	Skype

The preferable approach was face-to-face interview, however, due to the tight schedules of the interviewees, some interviews were proceeded on phone or Skype. The interviews lasted approximately one hour each, the interviewees chose the times and venues for the meeting, some were at their offices, some were at a café. The interviewees were fully informed of the purpose of the research as well as were asked for permission for recording.

Semi-structured interview is adopted. Unlike the structured interview, this method allows the researcher to focus on the objectives of the research while still be flexible to the broaden the questions on new topics that are not expected in advance, or discover more on some specific concepts raised during the interviews (Valentine, 2005, p. 111). The pre-set questions were prepared based on the textual analysis and the research aims (Bryman, 2012, pp. 578–580). Most of them are open, exploratory questions, categorised into different themes about the roles of the venues, how the identity is represented and factors affecting the representation of the identity (see examples in Appendix A and Appendix B). Interviewees were encouraged to explained more on some new concepts and their perspective of Welsh culture, for instance, Welsh identity within a broader British recognition.

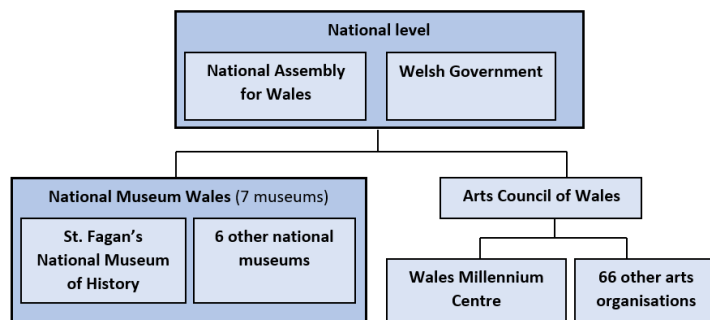


Figure 1: Management hierarchies of St Fagans and WMC

The interview records were then transcribed within 2-3 days when the memory of the researcher was still fresh to embrace the ideas and to avoid “losing the context of what is said” (Bryman, 2012, p. 578). The information from the interviews also were used to form the questions to clarify on some new or unclear points in the following ones. With each one hour – long interview, the transcription is long, thus, only relevant parts are represented in the research. The full interview audios are provided upon request.

The researcher also considers the other factors to improve the effectiveness of the interview method. Firstly, since each interview is different, the information varies (McDowell, 2010, p. 159), the thematic analysis was used, referring information back to the themes of theories and textual analysis, following the research questions for clearer interpretation of the meanings and findings. Secondly, an interview is “a complex and contested social encounter”, thus is affected by the environment and emotions of and relationship between the participants, both researchers and interviewees alike (McDowell, 2010, p. 159). Thus, the interview places were chosen to be private to avoid noises and informal conversations were inserted in between questions to build rapport, creating a more open and comfortable environment for knowledge exchange (McDowell, 2010; Valentine, 2005, p. 113). While English is not the researcher’s first language, a list of pre-set questions helps deal with language difficulty and stay focused. The researcher shares the interest in local culture with the interviewees so it was an advantage of connecting.

3.2.4. Participation observation

Participation observation is an ethnographic method, involving ‘participating’ and ‘observing’ (Cook, 2005; Watson and Till, 2010, p. 122). Participation is about “immersing” oneself into the environment and activities and observation is watching what is going on (Cook, 2005). In this research, the role of the researcher is “covert observer” (Cook, 2005, p. 175), more “observational” rather than “participatory”. The research aims to read the display and ambience to see how the Welsh identity delivered in different places, rather than getting “fully involved” in the environment to learn about it (Cook, 2005, p. 175). Since both observed sites are public places in which it is easy to access, and the staff are informed of the researcher’s role.

This method helps cross check what had been found in the previous sources of data in reality. Each location was observed three times. The first two times were during quite day and during peak day for visitors. The third time was to purposefully look for some missing information, which did not require

to be in a specific time (see Table 3). The researcher followed an observation guidelines formed as a result of textual analysis and interviews (example in Figure 3), but was open to other signs. To avoid cognitive assumptions from textual analysis and interviews affecting the objectivity of the observations, the researcher took time in the beginning of the visits to look around without following the list and try to find things related to the research. During the observations, the researcher asked questions about the venues in informal conversations with staff, for examples how many groups they had on that days, how many visitors/ groups they had on average, which language they used in communicating with visitors and colleagues, etc. to get some new perspectives. The field notes marked with name of place, dates and times, were used and photos were taken to record the observations

Table 3: Participation observation times at St Fagans and WMC

Venues	First Visit	Second Visit	Third Visit
St Fagans National Museum of History	Tuesday 02 May 2017 1pm- 4:30 pm	Saturday 06 May 2017 12pm – 4:30 pm	Wednesday 24 May 2017 12pm -4:30 pm
Wales Millennium Centre	Friday 28 April 2017 3pm- 6pm	Saturday 06 May 2017 6pm - 8pm	Saturday 03 June 2017 5pm- 6pm

Observation guidelines	
1.	Date/ time
2.	Outside/ surroundings:
-	Location, accessibility
-	External feature
-	Design
-	Signs/ languages
3.	Inside
-	Décor/ colours
-	Interiors
-	Ambience: Music/ lights
-	Programmes/ shows: leaflets, banners, standees
-	Visitors: age, genders, social classes, individual/ groups, size/ composition of group
-	Staff: appearance, uniforms, introductions, story-telling, recommendations, language used
-	Interactions between customers, between visitors and staff
4.	Retails/ consumptions:
-	Decorations
-	Drinks and food menu: how many things are Welsh, have Welsh ingredients? Is there Welsh language menu?
-	Souvenirs in gift shops: arrangement, traditional vs. mainstream items, local vs. international items
5.	Programmes/ events:
-	Which events/ shows/ programmes are Welsh, about Wales or contains Welsh elements?
-	Which events/ shows/ programmes are international?
-	Which events/ shows/ programmes are commercial?
-	What do the shows tell about Wales as the nation, about different people groups in Wales?
-	Educational programmes

Figure 2: Observation guidelines

3.3. Ethical considerations

Ethics is considered to protect the research participants from any potential risks or harms, as well as the society and environment (Bryman, 2012, pp. 134–135; ESRC, n.d.; Social Research Association,

2003). The research follows six ethical principles of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, n.d.). First, the research's topic and aims were discussed with the researcher's supervisors from Cardiff University and Radboud University, and the procedure was reviewed frequently to 'ensure integrity and quality' in each step (ESRC, n.d., p. 1). Secondly, the research participants and other related people, including interviewees and the staff of the venues were fully informed of the research's purposes. Third, the identities of the participants are anonymised. Forth, the participants were informed of their rights to take part in or withdraw anytime they want, participation is based on voluntary. Fifth, any risks possibly arise due to the research is considered in advance, stated in the ethics form (Appendix E) that was approved by the supervisor at Cardiff University before doing any field work. Lastly, the research is carried out independently by the researcher, no conflicts of interest or partiality was detected.

The ethical consideration is also "a responsibility to maintain high scientific standards in the methods employed in the collection and analysis of data and the impartial assessment and dissemination of findings" (Social Research Association, 2003, p. 13). Although interpreting qualitative data contains subjectivity as it is influenced by the perception and perspective of the writer, the issue is alleviated by the thematic analysis as tool for coding and data triangulation as discussed above. Also, the languages of the texts and the interviewees will be remained as original or close to the original ones as possible.

In summary, the researcher takes the view of a critical realist to conduct the research. The methods used are comparative case study, comparing St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium Centre, textual analysis, interviews and participation observation. Using multiple sources of data allows cross-checking and improving the reliability and validity of the results. The information collected is analysed in themes following the research questions. Last but not least, ethics is an important element considered throughout the research to make sure no harm is caused to any individual, to the society or the environment.

4. Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the data collected from the empirical work, including textual analysis, interviews and participation observation, following the themes set by the research questions. In each theme, the findings applied for both venues are provided in the beginning, offering an overview. Then the data from St Fagans and WMC are presented separately, however, in the same sets of components, for the coherence of the content as well as for the ease of comparison. It is proved that many of the components in each theme as well as crossing the sections are interlinked, thus, the same indicators can be used to interpret different dimensions of the national identity. In this case, the information will be explained more clearly in one part and mentioned briefly in others. The related theories are reflected together with the empirical evidence.

Section 4.1 is about the roles of the two sites in constructing and reconstructing Welsh nation identity. Section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 illustrate the three main components of the Welshness, namely the spatiality, the material culture and the social and cultural life.

4.1. The roles of cultural venues

The academic studies have categorised the roles of the cultural venues into delivering the traditional, indigenous values and constructing new characteristics of the national identity. In Wales, everything from local drink to iconic buildings helps tell the stories of the country to the world (Houlihan, 2010), of which the cultural venues are *“major in the cultural development”* as emphasized by National Assembly’s Representative. Different venues tell different parts of the Wales’ story and in case of St Fagans and Wales Millennium Centre (WMC), Visit Wales’ Representative said:

“... the Millennium Centre are a sort of more popular culture, if you like. The museum is another aspect of culture that’s more historic and say, academic, that’s not really the case as it’s built to everybody...”

In “The Wales identity. A sense of place”, the sense of place is not just all about traditional value and authenticity but also things that are appealing to tourists (Business Wales, 2016). The Welsh government(2016) in the “Light Springs through the Dark: A Vision for Culture in Wales” states:

“The identity is not only represented in traditional culture but also help frame, and inspire, much of our contemporary cultural output” (p. 3)

This confirms both functions of the cultural venues in Wales. The following parts analyse St Fagans and Millennium Centre to understand how these roles are performed and what the emphasised is at the sites.

4.1.1. St. Fagans

According to the textual analysis (Table 4), St Fagans holds a significant role in representing Wales' identity. With its historic heritage, the museum is at "the heart of identity and distinctiveness" (Welsh Government, 2016, p. 9). Of all the national museums in Wales, it is believed to most explicitly express the Welsh identity and represents the nation to the world (National Museum Wales, n.d.e, n.d.c) The first curator, Dr. Iorwerth Peate refers the museum to "a powerful tool for rebuilding cultural pride and a cohesive national identity" (cited in Mason, 2007, p. 160). However, its role is more than just showcasing the historical Wales, it also seeks to develop a more contemporary and international outlook, as David Anderson- Director General of the National Museum expects:

"We believe that St Fagans will become **one of the great museums of history, defining Wales as a contemporary multi-cultural nation, connected to the wider world.**" (National Museum Wales, n.d.f)

Table 4: The roles of St Fagans in building Wales' national identity in some sample texts

Light Springs through the Dark: A Vision for Culture in Wales	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> our heritage sites and historic places have an important part to play in supporting regeneration. They are at the heart of identity and distinctiveness, and can make a decisive contribution to quality of place (Welsh Government, 2016, p. 9)
National Museum Wales' website: Oriel 1: An experiment in interpreting Welsh identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Each of these museums represents the identities of peoples and in their area, but the museum that explicitly seeks to do this for Wales more than any other, is Amgueddfa Werin Cymru, the national museum at St Fagans. (National Museum Wales, n.d.e) (Mentioning 7 museums of the National Museum Wales)
National Museum Wales' website: Next step	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> St Fagans National History Museum will be a new national institution for a Wales that is emerging as a nation with its own identity on the world stage, and one that will be a new model for history museums in the twenty-first century. (National Museum Wales, n.d.c)
National Museum Wales' website: Our Vision for St Fagans	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "We believe that St Fagans will become one of the great museums of history, defining Wales as a contemporary multi-cultural nation, connected to the wider world." David Anderson- Director General (National Museum Wales, n.d.f)

(Source: National Museum Wales, n.d.e, n.d.c, n.d.f; Welsh Government, 2016)

The St Fagans' Director asserts that the museum functioned mostly as "museum exhibitions", but now its function as a "an institution" has strengthened. It aligns to the government's objective and strategies by delivering the top-down tourist programme:

*“...In the past our vision had been about preserving collections ... Now it’s much more about being a venue for people to improve their own lives and I think that vision.... the Well-being of future generation acts for Wales is all about how to make people’s live better and **the museum is seen as the powerful tool through which the government can do that...**”- St Fagans’ Director*

*“Occasionally, there’ll be a **tourist agenda**, I think, this year is Land of Legends, so we have **the Land of Legends programmes**”- St Fagans’ Director*

However, he also argues that the museum does not only transmit the messages of the government, it is empowered to develop its own exhibitions and development strategies and has its own voice over what their visitors will see and learn from

“80% of our money comes from the government so they do give us a, you know, we are aware of them of course, and, but they don’t put enormous restrictions on what we do, as long as there’s a conversation, you know, but they don’t involve in the details toward our exhibition programmes and all the buildings that are going up, we just have to provide justifications when we’re asked but this rarely comes from the government”- St Fagans’ Director

As a result, St Fagans embraces the opportunities and pro-actively searches for the expectations of the visitors, represents Wales in the way that is appealing to tourists. It conducts surveys to understand “*how the visitors’ demographic has been changing, what are the critical factors that they stay with us, how long they stay... idea of who to target*” (St Fagans’ Director) to establish its strategies tailoring to different client niches. Visit Wales’ Representative acknowledges “*they (St Fagans) have a lot of concerts, special events going on there, which target different audience, theatres, events, sort of things*”. In this sense, it becomes more market-oriented than just presenting indigenous culture.

Regardless of the messages the museum carries, its reach to the wide variety of visitors (550,000 visitors a year compared to around 250,000 of most of the open-air museums in Europe according to the St Fagans’ Director) makes it a powerful representative of the Welshness. The museum’s free entry turns it into a popular park for weekend outing for families in local area and from England, and one of the top attractions for international tourists (Figure 3)



Figure 3: Visitors at St Fagans on Saturday 06 May 2017

It is also “the largest learning provider outside of the classroom in Wales” (National Museum Wales, n.d.a), which makes it even more effective in communicating the national identity. There are many school groups of students during the week (Figure 4). The staff at St Fagans shares that there can be 7 or 8 groups a day, the group size can be up to 80 to 90 students. The new main building opened soon in summer 2017 also dedicates spaces for three classrooms and venues for group gathering (Figure 5).



Figure 4: School groups at St Fagan on Tuesday 02 May 2017



Figure 5: Area for classrooms in the redeveloped main building of St Fagans

The events that St Fagans holds also contribute to the constitution and redefinition of Wales. The project Oriel 1 in 2017 collects the ideas of “what it means to belong to and to live in the country today” from people all over Wales (National Museum Wales, 2007), to make sure that the visitors’ voices are heard and they received what they expected.

In conclusion, St Fagans is a powerful tool of the government in delivering the development strategies and tourism programmes, building a national image aligning with the government’s objectives. At the same time, it proactively constitutes the identity by uncovering the visitors’ expectation, reacting to the market’s needs and delivering those desired values in its exhibitions. Through its educational programmes and events, the institutional function of St Fagans is enhanced, making it more effective in both delivering the authentic images of Wales as well as adding on new values in the Welsh culture perceived.

4.1.2. Millennium Centre

Wales Millennium Centre (WMC) is considered to be an “internationally significant cultural landmark” (Arts Council of Wales, n.d.b) with the vision to “bring the best of the world to Wales and to showcase the best of Wales to the world “ (Caines, 2015). It is a “focal point for the culture, identity and talents of Wales” (Creu Cymru, n.d.), explicitly “promotes Welsh identity” (Denholm- Hall, 2015). Arts Council’s Representative and Visit Wales’ Representative also assert its importance in Welsh cultural promotion (Table 6)

Table 5: Interviewees comment on the important of WMC in presenting Welsh identity

Arts Council's Representative	<i>"It's important to have an iconic building for Wales, I think... people want a flagship, and having a distinctive building like that, which is good for photographs and something like that. I think it's quite a symbolic building"</i>
Visit Wales' Representative	<i>"the Millennium Centre is a modern building... maybe incorrectly, the Millennium Centre would be more elite type of culture. That's certainly an important part of Welsh culture as well. And it has its play"</i>

The centre is an instrument of the cultural elites as it follows the objectives of the Arts Council of Wales and the Welsh government, for example, in inspiring people, increasing accessibility and the like:

"... So obviously we've received the public subsidy. It's only 15 % of our turnover 3.6 million pounds per year. So obviously The Arts Council (of) Wales they give us that money, are very much aligned with the objectives of the Welsh government... We try to align with Arts Councils' objectives of the Welsh government." (WMC Director)

However, it seems to have a high level of freedom in following the government strategies. WMC Director did not mention about the thematic years of Visit Wales or the branding programmes of the government, while Arts Council's Representative shared that they *"don't think about it (Welshness) overtly at all"*. Though the government manages the cultural venues via top-down policies, strategies and funding, in the case of WMC, the subsidies are minor, and the strategies are more guiding and encouraging than controlling:

"We get the letters from the government every year without money..., which is like telling us what to do...And they usually say work closely with Visit Wales around the Year of Legends.... I'm not sure if we do that (passing down to the arts organisations under Arts Council of Wales) ... but we have, not all of them, we have conversations with some or encouraging them. I'm sure Millennium Centre would have a conversation with us around that"- Arts Council's Representative

"Tourism policy is decided by the government here so the main theme is put out there but it's upon the individuals how they respond to the policy"- National Assembly's Representative

As an iconic arts centre of the country, it is also prominent in drawing a picture of Wales that is *"distinctive and desirable in the eyes of others..."* (Arts Council of Wales, n.d.a, p. 6). Nia Elias- Assistant Business Performance Director at WC declares:

“We tell stories here. We know that there is history of telling story in Wales, and that’s our job at the Centre” (Visit Wales, 2016, 0:04-0:11)

It expresses a modern Wales through its contemporary buildings, shows, events, educational programmes and exhibitions. The introduction video of the WMC - “What has Wales Millennium Centre ever done to us” indicates the centre’s function as a social and educational organisation, providing “culture creativity, outstanding performance stage, free programmes, education programmes, festival, exhibition, kids singing around the world, apprenticeship and change people life” (Wales Millennium Centre, 2014, 2:15-2:32)

By collaborating with worldwide partners and becoming an international centre, it also brings in international values and new culture (Arts Council’s Representative) and communicating the Welshness to diverse customers. Figure 7 illustrates a great number of visitors at WMC in a peak time, the majority was English speaking but there were also quite a few international customers (figure 7). In quite time, it became a social place for mostly middle – aged English speaking people (Figure 8).

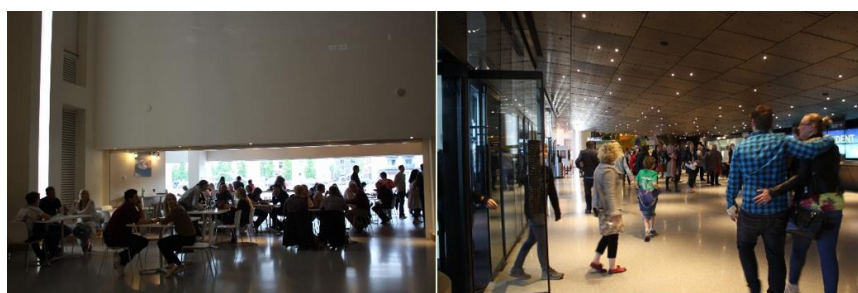


Figure 7: Busy Wales Millennium Centre on a Saturday evening (06/05/2017)



Figure 6: Quiet Wales Millennium Centre on a Friday afternoon (28/04/2017)

Like St Fagans, Millennium Centre partly delivers the identity oriented by the government, aligning with Arts Council of Wales’ strategies. However, the managing instruments of the government like policies and funding are weak, providing more flexibility to WMC in deciding the development directions and convey Wales’ story. WMC has actively branded a new and contemporary Wales, shaped the visitors’ perceptions of the Welshness by its easy accessibility and various activities.

4.2. The spatiality in Welsh National identity

In the literature review, the cultural spatiality is categorised into three dimensions: the spatial scales representing the characteristics of different levels, from sub-national, national to international; the urban- rural essence; and different spatial scapes from individual living spaces to social gathering places, from mundane daily to iconic and symbolic sites.

The analysis in the context of Wales (Appendix D) suggest that there is a shift from British identity to Welsh identity. The government also focus on the characteristics of the localities and regions in Wales by the thematic years. That means each year, a specific feature is promoted, for example “the Year of Adventures” in 2016 or “the Year of Legends” in 2017. At the same time, there is a trend to be more international and outward-looking. The features or urban and rural landscapes, as well as various spatial spaces are considered.

In the following parts, the spatial dimension in St Fagans and WMC are analysed focusing on the spatial scales and the urban-rural characteristics, while the spatial scapes intertwined in them is briefly mentioned.

4.2.1. St Fagans

The position of St Fagans on the rural-urban axis is obvious. The museum started with the buildings moved from different parts of the countries, they were “an idealised version of a fast-disappearing, mainly Welsh-speaking rural past” (McAleavey, 2009, p. 58). When it changed its name from the Museum of Folk Life to the Museum of Welsh Life” it “changed direction from concerning itself exclusively with **rural Wales to preserving and interpreting the life and culture of the people of urban and industrial Wales**” (McAleavey, 2009, p. 58, St Fagans' Director). This proves the influence of the cultural elite’s ideologies on the cultural expression in the museum.

However, from the observations, the museum is still very much rural. Located in the West of Cardiff, around 4.5 miles from Cardiff Castle in the city centre, St. Fagans National Museum of History lies in a



Figure 8: Route from Cardiff Castle (city centre) to St. Fagans National Museum of History (Google Maps, n.d.)

protected forest areas. It is surrounded by a sparsely populated commute. The fact that it is difficult to access by public transportation with limited buses, especially in the winter, and very

car reliance brings the feelings of the countryside, little isolated from the dynamic city centre of Cardiff. Figure 8 shows the location and the St Fagans road leading to the museum.

There is also representation of modernity, contemporary urban figures like new buildings for exhibitions and workshops, shops, however, it accounts for just a small portion in comparison to the rural landscapes and buildings (Figure 10). In addition, the modern buildings seem to have functional purpose rather than intention to deliver modern outlook of Wales.

“We’re also a collecting museum, so we have massive artefacts collections and archives and all the history collections, so we need places to display them. And those places, those galleries must be secured to a modern standard and have modern environmental regulations applied to them. So, they have to be contemporary and they have to look in certain way and have air conditioning, security against thefts and so. So, because of those museum collections, we do have contemporary looking buildings on site” (St Fagans’ Director)



Figure 10: Some urban and contemporary corners of St Fagans



Figure 9: Origins of the buildings in St Fagans (National Museum Wales, n.d.)

Regarding the spatial scale, the houses are from different parts of Wales (Figure 9), representing the inclusivity and consideration of the localities and regional characteristics. While Wales seems to be the border for the artefacts displayed, the British identity is less seen, which is alike to the government’s focus. There are little representations of the English influence, for example, there is no Victorian houses. The Victorian style and the royal family is hardly found, with marginal evidence in the interior of some houses in the Rhyd-y-car terrace (Figure 11).



Figure 11: Rhyd-y-car terrace and the British Victorian style in some most recent houses

The spatial scales are also illustrated in the events at St Fagans. The museum organises big events around the calendar, mostly following the popular Christian events like Christmas, Halloween. It is trying to make more events around the Welsh calendar and have Welsh ingredients in the events, like Welsh food or Welsh arts. Some of the big events they have are a battle resembling the one 400 years ago, craft festivals, Welsh language learning festival, etc. It seems like the events also take the country-Wales as the main consideration when it comes to expressing the national identity, less concern with representing British identity or international images of Wales.

In terms of spatial scapes, there are social places like church, cockpit, chapel, school, Oakdale Workmen's Institute, etc.. (Figure 12), however, the site is dominated by the dwellingscapes and homelandscape of the houses. Surrounded by greenery, it also represents the Welsh landscapes, recalling a countryside village of Wales (Figure 13)



Figure 12: Some of the social houses in ST Fagans: St Mary Board's School (left) and Oakdale Workmen's Institute (right)



Figure 13: St Fagans brings the feelings of a rural village

As discussed in the literature review, certain spatial features are emphasised than other, which is the flexibility of the national identity responding to a specific context. In St Fagans, there is an inequitable presence between rural and

urban areas, with more spaces for the countryside atmosphere. Displays are mainly of national (Wales) scale, little on British as a whole or international scale. It is very in line with the government intension

of distinguishing Wales to England and other countries in the United Kingdom, making Wales stand out on its own. However, it has not reflected the goal to be international. The spatial scapes is also dominated by the dwellingscapes and homelscapes, more quotidian places than symbolic sites.

4.2.2. Millennium Centre

In contrast to St. Fagans, Wales Millennium Centre is a modern building in the Cardiff Bay, which is just around 1.5 miles from the city centre. In the past, this was the “King Coal”, a dockland transacting the most amount of coal in the world. Nowadays, it is “one of the most successful regeneration projects in the United Kingdom” (AECOM, n.d.). WMC at the first sight is already a dynamic urban image of Wales.

The spatial scales is also explicitly expressed. The building is next to the National Assembly Wales, a symbol of power devolution, representing a cultural-political independence of the country. In front of the centre is an open-air space for exhibitions, events, entertainments called Roald Dahl Plass, surrounded by Techniquest Science Discovery Centre, Butetown History and Arts Centre, the Norwegian Church Arts Centre (Cardiff Bay, n.d.), various services providers from food and drinks to accommodation. This place is a centre for many big events, from local to international. At the northern end of Roald Dahl Plass, there is the Water Tower (Figure 14), known for being the headquarters in the famous Doctor Who series (Visit Cardiff, n.d.a), representing Cardiff and Wales as places where international brand can be made. The globalisation influences in this area is apparent.

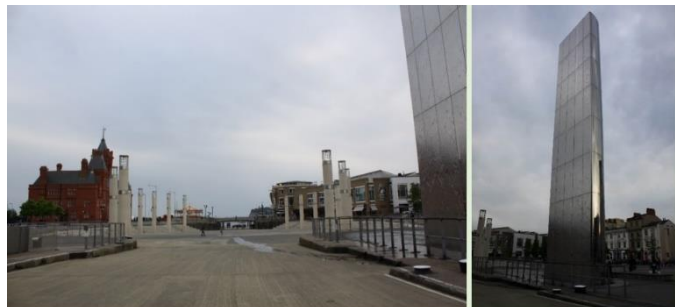


Figure 14: Roald Dahl Plass and the Water Tower



Figure 15: Gratitude to the Queen and the key to Wales Millennium Centre

The key to the Millennium Centre travelled around the world and came back, symbolising the vision of the centre to “bring the best of Wales to the world and the best of the world to Wales”. Above it is the gratitude to the Queen, a symbolic British figure (Figure 15).

Wales Millennium Centre is also well known for its unique design by Jonathan Adams (Figure 16). The design calls out for “Unmistakably Welsh, Internationally Outstanding” with the Welsh materials (Burrows, 2004, p. 12). Interestingly, the WMC is a replacement of the Cardiff Bay Opera House project. There were two design competitions held for the building and Zaha Hadid- an Iraqi-born British won both, but Cardiff decided not to use her design. Barber questions:

“She is the top woman architect in the world, the only woman ever to win the Pritzker prize... It seems insane that she is so neglected here. Is it because she is Iraqi-born, therefore still 'foreign' despite her British nationality? Or because she is a woman? Or because she is 'difficult'?” (Barber, 2008)

One can argue that WMC wants something reflecting the ‘Welshness’ rather than the “Britishness”

“Choosing not to follow the glass curtain style found in contemporary British architecture, the WMC was modelled on the great solid, stratified land forms seen throughout Wales. This was the preferred option as the harsh weather conditions experienced along the South Wales coast (the WMC is located only metres from the sea) had to be taken into account.” (Design Build Network, n.d.).



Figure 16: Wales Millennium Centre from the outside

However, WMC is assumed to be a regeneration of Cardiff. While there are plenty of sites committed to ancient, historical values, WMC can be a new image of a new Wales, dynamic and international as it claims. The rejection of Zaha Hadid’s extraordinary design, recognised by the experts, raises a question of whether Wales is not confident enough to have something

new, and whether the idea of Welshness is a way of looking-back rather than looking forward to the future.

Regarding the centre's operation, WMC holds different events at various times. At the time of researching, there were several events that had international elements like the LadyBoys of Bangkok, an Asian exhibition, and events around the Champions Leagues (Figure 17) which represented the continental and global figures. It, again, seems to be international, however, looking at 45 shows in the programme book of the centre, there are 13 shows produced by the WMC or the organisations in WMC, 5 shows are from other Welsh organisations while half of them (23 shows) are commercial



Figure 17: Champions League's side events at WMC

mainstream British tours, only four are international shows (WMC, 2017)(Appendix C). It indicates a narrow view of culture, bounded in the borders of the United Kingdom, not yet representing the dynamic, learning and adaptation to the global world of the new iconic and modern art centre.

The spatial scapes, again, are folded into other spatial dimensions. Standing out is the iconic sites and social places, which is embedded in the image of the building itself. The landscapes of the wooden land, the cliffs are also mentioned to some extent in the building materials. However, the dwellingscapes, homelyscapes are less expressed. It is rational as WMC aims to be an image of a modern, dynamic, urbanised Wales. At the same time, despite its vision to be outward looking and international, it still represents a narrow view of culture, attaching to the nationally bounded values. Although the theories suggest the bargain between the elites' ideologies and the external influences, in the case of WMC, it proves to be more complicated than the general theories on national identity. It is a hybrid type of culture with no clear tendency in representing the country's image.

4.3. Welsh National Identity in material culture

The material culture is perceived by academics as a very important signifier of national identity in the cultural venues. It not only contains the objects and physical presentations, but also in the operations, performances of the places, as well as in added services like restaurants, souvenir shops. However, the theoretical discussions conclude that it does not necessarily reflect culture, but is also constrained by other social-, political- and environmental- factors. It also adapts to the market's conditions to be attractive and visitable, thus, can become commercial instead of engaging in framing the nation's image.

The Welsh Government's Business Wales although admits there is no "definite answer" for what is Wales, that "it means lots of different things to lots of different people" (Business Wales, 2016, p. 6), recognises the significance of physical representations as well as the operations of them in creating the nationhood. In "The Wales identity. A sense of place", it instructs the businesses to utilise the material culture to represent Wales:

- "Try adding signage, a product, or a feature to your business to add a touch of local flavour. Or discover some interesting information about your area that adds to your regional knowledge, and pass it on to your visitors."
- "Sense of place can come from the contemporary too. New business, events, attractions, architecture. They all play their part"

(Business Wales, 2016, p. 6)

The interviewees also regard the physical and material culture, including cultural venues, food and languages, as an important aspect of Welsh identity (Table 7), but also mention the visitability of the objects (Table 6)

Table 6: Interviewees mentioning about material culture

Interviewees	Opinions on material culture
Visit Wales' Representative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "...it's different aspects of Welsh culture and they are also different that you would need different physical venues for them" • "...you can think of the projects for tourism or anything as the physical expression of the Welsh, so a restaurant which serves Welsh food" • "First of all, to encourage restaurants and hotels and to present Welsh dishes, or, and/ or, dishes which have Welsh ingredients. And then on the sort of behind the scene, to encourage Welsh food suppliers to brand their food in Welsh, identifiable Welsh way. Again, link to the overall branding of quality and Welsh distinctiveness"
National Assembly's Representative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "They're fairly major.... All are sorts of cultural icons out there and the signs are bilingual, two languages... It gives the visitability and the fact that Wales is different to England, you know...So it's a major distinguishing thing, you know, you cross the boundary into Wales and you see Welsh on the road signs by law..."

Although the government encourages branding Wales in the displays and operations, how it is actually employed in St Fagans and WMC is a question. The analysis will follow three components of the material culture including the physical presentations; performance, activities and events; and service, retails and consumptions to find the answers.

4.3.1. St Fagans

St Fagans recognises the importance of the material culture not only in the physical presentations but also in the experience provided. Its commitment is to provide "high quality museums, exhibitions and

public spaces”, “connected and accessible digital”, “inclusive and accessible cross-cultural activities”(National Museum Wales, 2015, p. 2). It wants to bring in “opportunities for people of all ages and abilities to interact both physically and intellectually with the objects.” (McAleavey, 2009, p. 62)

In the “Inquiry into the Accessibility of Arts and Cultural Activities in Wales- Response from Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales”, the material culture is again emphasised in St Fagans:

“...establish St Fagans as the National History Museum for Wales...This new kind of museum, will **totally integrate the display and interpretation of the archaeology and history collections utilising thematic galleries, historical buildings and the landscape to create one all-encompassing visitor experience.**It will transform the visitor experience in terms of **intellectual engagement and physical comfort**...(Communities and Culture Committee, n.d., p. 6)

Besides the original parts of the castle and gardens (Figure 18), the museum collects houses of different time periods, from the Celtic houses to the prefab in the 2nd World War to the House of Future in the 21st century and builds new modern centres for galleries, workshops and interactive activities. The houses in St. Fagans represent various aspects of Welsh life, from rural agriculture, craft to industries, from residential houses to social spaces (Figure 19). The buildings are arranged based on their functions, space and resources rather than by date, like the mill is put next to the river or the post office and the shops in the centre, next to a big junction. It is partly because of the constraints of the protected forests but it also tells a narrative of a harmonious social setting (Mason, 2007, p. 166)



Figure 18: St Fagans's castle and gardens: castle, Dutch garden, Romary garden (left to right)



Figure 19: Some of the spaces in St Fagans dedicated to different presentation: wool, food, shop, industry, summer house and boat house

The outdoor spaces imitate the landscape of rural Wales with living animals including sheep, cows, pigs, etc (Figure 20). The exhibitions inside resemble the real lives in the houses, animal models replace the real ones to give an illustration (Figure 21).



Figure 20: Sheep on the field at St Fagans



Figure 21: Displays inside the buildings at St Fagans

All the signs in St Fagans are bilingual with English and Welsh texts. The language is crucial to Wales' identity, that a lot of attention has been paid to the Welsh language, in the documents, texts, signs and information represented (St Fagan's Director). All the front of house staff can speak Welsh and they only use Welsh in communicating internally, which is a part of the work essence. For the visitors to recognise, they wear a small badge of Welsh speaking symbol on their lanyards (Figure 22).



Figure 22: Welsh speaking symbol on the staff's lanyard at St Fagans



Figure 23: The Welsh-Not necklace



Figure 24: A lift added in the Oakland Workmen's Institute

The displays try to reflect the original features of the buildings and tell the stories of Welsh lives, however, it is not always the case. As the studies on national identity have discovered, the presentations are also influenced by the constraints of the context it locates in, the regulations and strategies of the governments and the visitability of the place. The bargain of those factors decides what to be shown and how they are exhibited. The staff shares that 95% of the artefacts the museum has are in storage. Some, like a Welsh-not necklace in Figure 23, a symbol of Welsh language being depressed by the English, was stored in the cupboard and only shown occasionally to avoid wear and tear. There are also constraints from other governmental organisations to protect the conservation area and adjustments of authenticity due to the planning requirements:

"We're within the conservation area. In terms of the protections of the site, a lot of our buildings are listed so they're protected by Cadw, who ensure that we don't do anything to alter their historical significance...our trees are protected as well, we have environmental protection around some the wild lives on the outside...if we apply to change something we have to go to the Cardiff council for planning permission as well"- ST Fagans' Director

The museum also considers the accessibility of the visitors, for example, the door size could be extended or a lift is added in the Oakland Workmen's Institute for disable people (Figure 24). St Fagans' Director explains:

"It's an alteration of the historic accuracy, but in order to our visitors to be able to use it, 'cause (because) all our visitors pay taxes that come to us to put the buildings up. So they have a right to be in the house."

The performance, events and activities are engaged with conveying the Welshness, firstly by connecting to the historic collections of the museum:

*".. So, we are **focusing on the collections first and what can we get from the collections**. We don't always get that right in the first time. For example, I had the meeting this morning about the black history month coming here. So **we looked about through the collections, what the can the collections bring to that**, what can it explain why it's happening here. Some of the craft activities we've done, it's about making rope where we've got videos in the collections*

here—making rope from straws and show that to the visitors and then they can have a go. So we always try to build from our collections out ...”- St Fagans’ Director

Secondly, the staff is considered “the most powerful way of connecting” visitors (St Fagans’ Director). Since there’re no signs or introductions of the items in the houses, the staff introduces the visitors to the functions and history of the place, illustrates how things are made (like making steel tools and bakeries) and sometimes they just tell the visitors stories of their daily lives (Figure 25). Though it is



Figure 25: Staff illustrating the work and telling stories at St Fagans

not always about Welsh stories, the interaction is beneficial in the cultural economy.

The Welshness is also demonstrated in the events at St Fagans, like the Welsh battle, costume festival, Welsh language learning, etc. The museum tries to have Welsh ingredients for those events, like Welsh artists and food. However, it cannot avoid the commercial trend by renting out spaces to weddings, meetings, dining from outside for revenues (Visit Cardiff, n.d.b). St Fagans’ Director and other staff at St Fagans mentioned that there are always discussions between the event teams and the curator and archaeology team, to balance the benefits as well as the mission of the museum. This reflects the conciliation between different interests and between different groups in the cultural display mentioned in the literature review.

In terms of services and consumption, the retail shops are also utilised to deliver the Welsh identity by selling traditional Welsh products, with a wide range from traditional fashion, food, craft, to industrial images in slates and metals. However, the modern Wales is merely represented in some figures of sports, no representation of music nor other modern lifestyle. Some examples are shown in Table 7.

Fashion	Slates	Wool	Love spoons	Dragon
				
Food	Landscape	Literatures	Sports	Metals
				

[illegible]

49



Figure 27: Menu of Odyn tearoom

In general, the museum seems to engage its material culture effectively to represent “things Welsh”, from the displays to the events and the shops, which reflects well the mission and vision of the site and the expectations of the visitors going to a historical museum. There is presence of commercial, market oriented intension and modification due to the restrictions from the government’s policies as well as the influences of the business operation, however, it only accounts for a minor proportion.

4.3.2. Millennium Centre

Similar to St Fagans, various types of physical presentations are exploited to reflect the Welsh culture at WMC. As a cultural landmark, the centre attaches to Welsh identity from its location and design. Arts Council’s Representative said WMC’s located in Tiger Bay, which is “*very local, very Welsh and very important part of our culture*”. Nia Elias from the WMC in the introduction video of the centre confirms:

“Jonathan Adams the designer of the Centre made sure that we looked Welsh. The material that’s used here- it’s all natural. It prides itself in the history and on our culture, be that the slate mines, the coal mines or the connection to our maritime history. We look Welsh” (Visit Wales, 2016, 1:40-1:59)

Besides the materials from different parts of Wales, representing the “the landscape, cliffs, history and materials of Wales” (Burrows, 2004, p. 12), the bilingual inscription created by a Welsh poet Gwyneth Lewis also deliver a statement. The Welsh part “**Creu Gwir fel Gwydr o Ffwrnais Awen**”, translated as “creating truth like glass from inspiration’s furnace”, reflecting that to “let light in and out of a building, offering enough a distinctively local view of the world; it should speak a truth which is transparent, beautifully crafted but also fragile and, therefore, doubly precious” (Lewis, n.d.). The English part “**In The Stones Horizons Sing**” has its own message, not only reflecting the music from the centre, but also “conveying the sense of an international space created by the art of music”, looking beyond the horizons (Lewis, n.d.)

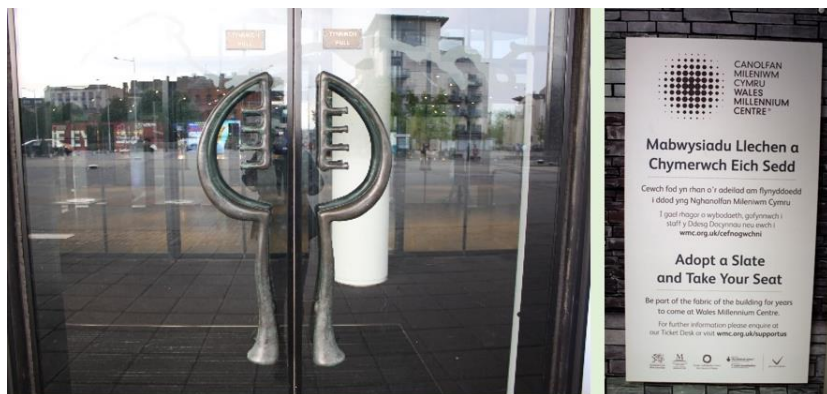


Figure 28: The metals and slates from Wales used at Wales Millennium Centre

All the signs are bilingual, the decoration is rather simple and elegant than extravagant (Figure 28 and Figure 29). Just like the traditional Welsh cake-plain and made from cheap, widely available ingredients- the centre reflects the lives in Wales, with people

appreciating simple things and relationships. It is something different from the English culture as the National Assembly's Representative's Advisor advises:

"We're less interested in people's places in the society and more interested in where they come from.... Whereas the English tends to ask you questions to find out what your job is... Social class is less important in Wales... It's where you're from and your connection that is more important"



Figure 29: WMC on the second floor

While the design and architecture are largely influenced by the government's ideologies, decided when WMC was just an initiative, the daily operation is determined by the centre, thus reflects its objectives more. In its performance, Wales Millennium Centre certainly well expresses a romantic Wales- the "land of songs"

"...that (WMC) sounds singing things... So we have opera, and musicals and choirs performing here, so that's a sort of a more formal bit of the Eisteddfod idea that is the cultural festival that we have..."land of songs" it's called..."- National Assembly's Representative

There are various of shows and events at the WMC that help form the Welsh identity. Some shows tell the stories of Wales like the Tiger Bay, some shows are altered to be more “Welsh” like Romeo and Juliet (WMC’s Director). The WMC’s director shares the centre’s ambition to represent Wales:



Figure 30: The shows at Millennium Centre, taken in May 2017

“The last one (in the four missions of WMC) but not the least is to create innovative work and showcase Wales to the world. So that’s where our ambition starts producing some of the work and not just presenting great work of others. (WMC Director)

Notwithstanding, half of the shows are tours around the United Kingdom, commercial and mainstream, and a few are international shows like Slava’s Snow show from Russia, or Wicked from the United States (Figure 30). It is partly because the centre has not had sufficient power, especially in the financial resources, to implement its goal. At the same time, the lack of attempt in defining the Welshness in art organisations makes them more business oriented than engaging in the country’s distinctiveness. Arts Council’s Representative admits that commercialisation is an unavoidable trend due to shortage of public fund and the visitors’ demand (Table 8).

Table 8 Arts Councils’ Representative comments on the commercialisation of WMC:

“I think they (WMC) have to be commercial just because of finances, basically. So, you know, we’re constantly looking at our portfolio now to maximize all the income generations they probably can, because public funding is getting less and less. So if these places are to survive, they have to exploit, it’s not a choice anymore, they have to exploit every opportunity to make money that they can. So if that means bringing in curious incident or something then, or a big musical that they can make money of it then, so be, that’s how it has to be”

“I think it’s a thread (being commercialised) ... At the end of the day, people haven’t only got so much money and they have to pay 30 pounds for the tickets what do they choose to see? The new musical arts about their community or something they knew they’d love like big musicals”

Thus, it seems that when the cultural elites are less influential, the national culture is less concerned in the displays and performance of the cultural site. Instead, it respond to the market, the trends and demands to be attractive and visitable. Other exhibitions also represents a more modern image and less specific to Wales like contemporary art exhibition (Figure 32), the planning exhibition (Figure 31). That somehow illustrate the openness to adopting new cultures instead of authentic Wales, however,

it is not clear if the centre organises these exhibitions on purpose or just rent out the space for revenue, as they are not stated in the programme book.



Figure 32: Contemporary exhibitions in the lounge of Wales Millennium Centre



Figure 31: Exhibition on planning



Figure 33: Some flyers at Wales Millennium Centre

The retail shops reflect many facets of the Welshness. As Visit Wales has different themes for Wales' branding, the items in the shops represent different Wales, showing the influence of the national ideologies. The adventurous characteristics from the physical landscape, weather; the legendary from

images of castle, churches, the crafts and romantic sides from wool products, poetries, songs, love spoons, simple daily life from natural product like honey, tea to jokes (Figure 34 & Table 9).

Table 9: Examples of various aspects of Welsh identity represented in the displays of shops in Wales Millennium Centre

Love spoons	Sheep, wool	Celtic accessories	Dragons	Food
Daily jokes	Sports	Architectures	Languages	Myths



Figure 35: Commercial items sold in the shops in Wales Millennium Centre



Figure 34: Music CDs in Wales Millennium Centre

However, it is noticeable that a big part of the shops is dedicated to commercial, widely popular, non-Welsh items (Figure 34). The music represented in the shops are mainly traditional Welsh, however, the effects of globalisation are also found in some internationally popular, mainstream artists, like Taylor Swift, One Direction (Figure 35). Interestingly, the current, international Welsh arts are missing. Catherine Zeta Jones and Luke Evans, the internationally famous Welsh artists, are figured in the website of WMC and Visit Wales introducing and welcoming people to Wales, but there was no such a thing in the shops.

In the café and bar, most of the menus were bilingual, containing popular dishes. Except for the bar having a substantial proportion of Welsh dishes, other cafes provide very few Welsh-related food and drinks (samples in Figure 36 and figure 37).

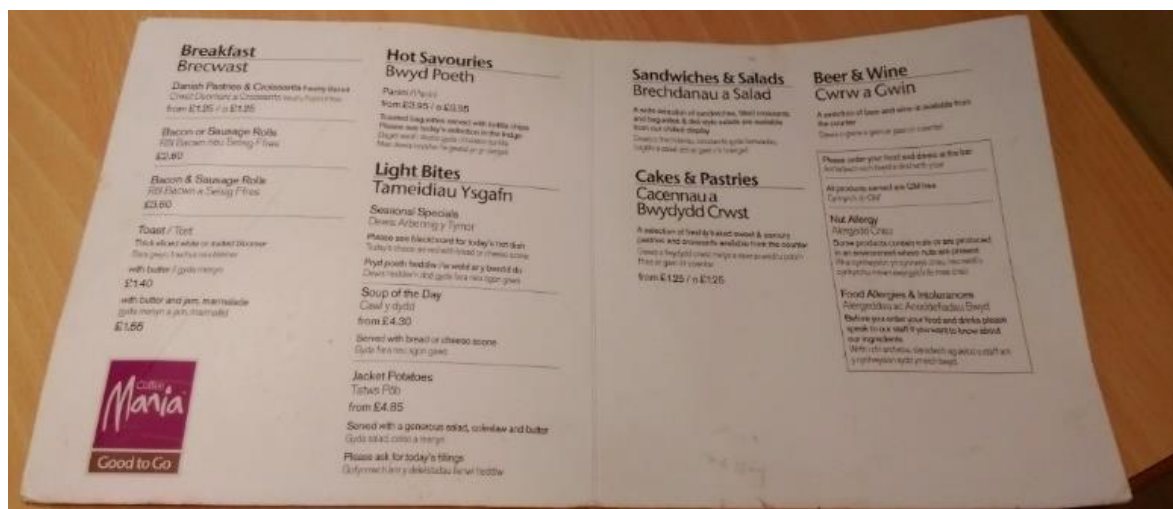


Figure 36: Menu of Mania café



Figure 37: Menu of the Bar

Overall, WMC is questionably committing to the Welshness. It relies on its physical design and building materials from its establishment to convey the Welsh identity. It is getting more and more of the Welsh shows, expecting more expressions of Welshness in its operation but is still more of a symbolic home for Welsh culture businesses and less of the translation to art cultural performances.

Its added services are distracted away from representing Wales and are more popular and ordinary. The centre seems to adapt its strategies to the globalisation, market's demand and opportunities more than following the Wales' images drawn by the government.

4.4. Social and cultural life in Welsh identity

The academic studies have discussed the complexity of the national identity, comprised of many aspects, from "tradition" to "progressive", containing numerous characteristics of multiple cultures and identities within it. However, again, the focuses on old and new features, unified image and diversity differ under the influences of different factors.

In Wales, the national identity is not only about the rural agriculture image, but it is also about the industrialisation, the "progressive", contemporary life with modern technologies, high skilled education (National Assembly's Representative). Another stereotype of Wales is the reference to "middle class" and "white"" (Carter, 2010, p. 129). Wales has "one of the oldest multicultural communities in Britain"- Cardiff (Runnymede, 2012, p. 3). Immigration has turned Wales into a more multicultural country, with different ethnics, religions.

"Within Wales, of course, you have different identities. Cardiff has its own identity, the Valleys have their own identity, West Wales, Pembrokeshire have their own identity, and North Wales certainly has different identity. Having said that, despite all of those differences, they all catch in the umbrella of Wales." (Visit Wales' Representative)

Since the social and cultural life is represented in many areas, the analysis at St Fagans and WMC follows the three elements defined in the material culture including physical presentations;

performance, activities and events; and services, retails and consumption, looking for the evidence of the old and contemporary Wales as well as the unity and diversity of the nation.

4.4.1. St Fagans

St Fagans is perceived as a history museum by most of the visitors, although its aim is to reflect life in Wales not only in the past, but also representing “a more realistic, representative and relevant interpretation of how people in all parts of Wales lived, up to and including the present century” (National Museum Wales, n.d.b). One of the reason is that the buildings take time to be constructed as St Fagans’ Director comments:

“so if we try to get something contemporary today or 20 years old, at the time we build, it’s 40 years old, and then history has moved on again and we always look like a history museum, even when we try to be contemporary, I suppose”

The displays at the museum also seem to skew toward a historical rural Wales, expressing the daily lives and routines of the local people. It brings in the romanticised image of a regular village, isolated from the city centre. Almost all the houses are of wealthy families, there is only one house of poor farmers, which is the Nant Wallter Cottage. There are a few houses from the urban areas and some buildings for the industrial and social places. Nonetheless, the dockland, which is a well-known symbol of the industrialisation and the country at a time is not represented. The coal industry and working class showcased in the Oakdale Workmen’s Institute has nothing to do with hard word at the mines, but is focused on “social, educational and cultural life” instead with a Library, Reading Room, and



Figure 38: Photos in the Oakdale Workmen's Institute- St Fagans

Committee Room, a “concert hall” and Billiards Room (National Museum Wales, n.d.d). This building surprisingly has an illustration on

genders with photos showing all men at the institute (Figure 38), which is rarely seen in St Fagans. There is no illustration on slavery either. The newer building in the Second World War- the Prefab- also does not reflect the harsh life but the romantic love stories of young couples building up their first homes there, with a photo of happy newlyweds on the introduction panel (Figure 39). The Welshness in the events and activities at the museum is also engaged to traditional Welsh and British culture.



Figure 39: The Prefab dating back to the second World War

When the museum was the Museum of Welsh Life, it experimented the House of Future, a house with solar panels on the roof, which reflects what people expected the future would be. However, it seems to be the only effort on reflecting modern life in the buildings, and is now turned into a gift shop on visitors' map (Figure 40). The new main building and a modern galleries and workshops (Figure 41) would bring a new essence to St Fagans with cutting edge technologies for interactive displays, representing the current time. Nonetheless, the main reason seems to be functional, to preserve artefacts in standard conditions, to provide spaces for classroom and retail centre (as mentioned in section 4.2.2). This, again, shows the influence of the contingent circumstances and the experience of the visitors, rather than the deliberation to showcase Wales.



Figure 41: The House of Future is now turned into a giftshop



Figure 42: Main building and exhibition building at St Fagans



Figure 40: Representation of modern sports at St Fagans

Also on the contemporary lifestyle, there is very little demonstration of the Victorian style or the Royal family, which is very popular in Wales these days. The modern popular culture like sports and music are rarely found. There are some books on rugby and football in the gift shop (Figure 45), and a

mainstream music festival featuring famous young English artists- Tom Odell and Jack Savoretti (Figure 43). The tearooms' menus and decorations are more like regular ones easily found anywhere nowadays, commercialised, with few Welsh products (Figure 44). This is a very touristic side of the museum, which reflect its business than authentic culture.



Figure 44: Banner of the music concert Buring Lantern at St Fagans



Figure 43: Decoration in Gwalia Tearoom (left) and Odyn Cafe (right)

One highlight of the museum in expressing the plurality of Welshness is a project focusing on “exploring Wales in the 21st century” in 2007- Oriol 1 (National Museum Wales, 2007), which “*went explicitly with the questions of what is Welsh identity*” (Head of St Fagans). It reflects not only the modern life but also the inclusivity of different people groups in the identity of the nation. This aligns to the government’s objectives in enhancing the well-being of the people and also provides the necessary interaction to appeal to visitors. Nevertheless, the consideration of diversity is limited. Besides the Dutch garden and Italian garden (Figure 45), which are originals in the Castle side, there used to be a Welsh-Italian themed café, Bwyty Bardi Café, in front of the main building before the redevelopment, reflecting the Welsh- Italian community in the south Wales (National Museum Wales, 2006). It was the only minor community represented overtly in the settings and there are no illustrations at the moment on immigrants. For diversity in religions, there is only one chapel (Unitarians) and one Celtic church, the events also follow big Christian occasions and other religions are not represented (Figure 46).

St Fagans’ Director mentions that the diversity has always been considered in the museum:

“... I think one of the issues St Fagans has had since its foundation was try to work out to appeal to all of Wales. So we, that the language is something to treasure and it’s one of the unique assets that coming here, every visitor deserves a right to hear and see it. But it’s a case that a large percentage of Wales doesn’t speak Welsh. And we are, as we were at one time the Museum of Welsh Life, so we have to represent these other communities as well...”



Figure 45: Italian Garden in the Castle side at St Fagans's Museum of History



Figure 46: Inside the church (left) and chapel (right) at St Fagans

However, it is very difficult as they cannot represent everything about Welshness. St Fagans' Director also reveals the intension to representing the plurality of Welsh identity in the new development, for example, demonstration of Hindu communities, collecting people's opinions on what to display (Table 10). It is very much of the adaptation to the global movement in inclusivity and equalisation of different races, as well as the reflection on the visitors' expectations.

Table 10: St Fagans' Director mentioning on future consideration of diversity at St Fagans

<p>"... we took a lot in our new displays, about diversity, about getting different communities' voices in... But in the new exhibition, we've chosen to focus on Hindu communities, because they have just as much right to be in Wales and that story is less told within national organisations..."</p>
<p>"... The project we got on in a minute is about 25,000 pounds it recreates our galleries, lots of new interpretations. But when that project started, we set up a lot of forums to, so other people'd tell us essentially what they thought as importance...Because, I guess as staff, we tend to be white- middle class, about certain age, you know, so we're not the best people to decide who, how to represent diversity, so we made sure we got advice externally from these groups that monitor our work and advice. So yeah, I think there will be differences in the galleries as a result of that..."</p>
<p>"... the gallery I'm working on which is about different ways of life in Wales, whether it about the Welsh identity or an earlier Roman identity or...whatever, it's all about life in Wales and our visitors will see what they want, where they find themselves in those displays..."</p>

St Fagans represents a more traditional life with familiar rural images, mundane daily life and romanticised working class, rather than modern 'progressive' life, artistic and elite culture. At the same time, it seems to represent the white middle-class Welsh, with little expressions or other races or national origins. There is also negligible material of gender and religion diversity. This reflects the mission of the museum formed by the cultural elites since establishment, however, there are more signs of adaptation to the globalisation and visitors' preferences in representing the Welsh diversity.

4.4.2. Millennium Centre

“the Millennium Centre would be more elite type of culture. That’s certainly an important part of Welsh culture as well. And it has its play. And it’s a venue not only for presence, you have musical, which is very popular, all sorts of musical performances there”- Visit Wales’ Representative

Although WMC is regarded to high culture, traditional Welsh life is still seen in the crafts, the familiar images of the sheep, the beautiful landscape, the unflashy design of the building. The statement “to be born Welsh, is to be born privileged, not with a silver spoon in your mouth but music in your blood and poetry in your soul” (Figure 47) indicates the Welsh pride, of being artistic and romantic.



Figure 47: A statement on Wales' pride:

However, it clearly directs more toward a modern contemporary Wales and manifests the international outlook than the traditional, rural images, from its location to its architecture and design as discussed in previous sections. This aligns with the purpose of the centre set by the government. In “Inspire...Our strategy for creativity and the arts in Wales” of the Arts Council Wales (2014, p. 6), the centre is defined as

“On the threshold of the new Millennium Wales found itself plunged anew into redefinition. As it emerged from the industrial and rural society that had defined it in the 20th century, it looked to a new civic identity through state devolution, new economic challenges and the dynamic of establishing a truly bilingual contemporary lived culture” (Arts Council of Wales, 2014, p. 6)

That also echoes in the various performances WMC offers, from reflecting history of Tiger Bay, to international shows. The various themes of contemporary music and arts exhibition deliver a new image of Wales and create new values (Figure 49). During the research, there was a show “LadyBoys of Bangkok”- one of the biggest cabaret shows in the world, born in Edinburgh in 1998, reflecting an open-minded on sexuality and perspective (Figure 48) and an exhibition representing some Japanese images (Figure 50), demonstrating the globalisation influences. In the



Figure 48: The contrast colours of the Wales Millennium Cafe to the events outside

retail shops, diverse aspects of life are displayed, from the agricultural lives of teas, Welsh cake, sheep, to mainstream, international music. It is also an evidence for diversifying the business, embracing the market's opportunities and the efforts to accommodate the visitors' demands and expectations



Figure 49: Contemporary exhibitions in Wales Millennium Centre



Figure 50: A Japanese exhibition at Wales Millennium Centre

However, like St Fagans, WMC needs to put more efforts in promoting the plurality of Wales at WMC:

“Do we consider diversity when we constitute what we present and perform? Yes, because we want to be reflective.... Are we quite doing that yet? Not really but not there, work's in progress” (WMC's Director)

The multiculturalism in WMC is also encouraged by the managing organisation, Arts Council of Wales. The Arts Council's Representative asserts that although they do not define Welsh identity overtly, they would encourage the organisations under them to avoid stereotype of rural, traditional Wales, and stimulate innovation and creativity (Table 12)

Table 11: Arts Council's Representative mentioning the Welsh identity

<i>"We don't think about it overtly at all. Other than encouraging contemporary people in Wales to articulate what it means to them... If anything actually, we will push against traditional images of Wales, you know, too many of male voice choirs, or dragon, or daffodil which turn people in the Arts Council off."</i>
<i>"I suppose every country has this sort of stereotype... I think if anything, we would avoid these stereotypes.... I think we would encourage, say, reinterpretations of stories, of histories"</i>
<i>"so that's sort of sense of wanting to continue passing the content of culture from generation to generation, it's an important thing to us, although we don't define what those, that is"</i>
<i>"because it's a goal (a goal on vibrant culture in Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act), so it's alright, which gives us a right then to innovate in our own culture, I think"</i>

In summary, WMC represents both normal daily life, favouring the romantic rural and elite types of culture in the artistic, intellectual products. It expresses a hybrid identity under the objectives of the government as well as reflecting the business environment it is operating in. Similarly, both traditional and modern images of Wales can be found here, however, the focus is on the latter (Visit Wales' Representative). It engages to the white-middle class Welsh but is also open to more races and provides some illustrations on genders. However, some other figures like working class, religions are neglected.

This chapter has provided the findings for each theme of the research, including the cultural roles and different components of the national identity represented in St Fagans and WMC. Both places delivering the official cultural values by aligning with the governments' strategies, at the same time, respond to the business environment, constitute new characteristics. However, they deliver these roles with different priority levels. Similarly, the spatiality, material culture and the socio-cultural life are expressed distinctively in these sites due to the context where they position themselves and operate in. Besides providing some insights to the research themes, the findings have illustrated the complexity of national identity. Each component of the culture tangles within itself and intertwines with the others. The indicators can carry multiple meanings and are formed by multiple factors. Thus, it is requested to examine closely in specific circumstances in order to understand the national identity represented.

5. Conclusions

This chapter combine and compare the findings from St Fagans and WMC to draw conclusions on the research themes. This is not only to answer the research questions, but also to contribute to wider debates of national identity in cultural venues. Section 5.1 concludes on how the cultural venues construct and reconstruct the Welsh national identity. Section 5.2 discusses the spatiality in the Wales' identity. Section 5.3 wraps up how the "Welsh" things are presented and section 5.4 debates on the "traditional" and "progressive" depiction, concerning with the diversity of "Welshness". In the end, section 5.5 provides some suggestions for the expansion of the research.

5.1. Constructing and reconstructing Welsh national identity

The two venues focus on different images but as Visit Wales' Representative, they complement each other in representing Wales:

"But they complement each other, they don't, they're not in any form of conflict, it's different aspects of Welsh culture and they are so different that you would need different physical venues for them."

Both venues are the instruments conveying the government's objectives, engaging with increasing accessibility, inspiring people, improving life conditions. They are aware of and also align to some of the government's cultural promotion programmes and strategies. At the same time, they are powerful in shaping the perceptions of Wales in their wide range of visitors, from local residents to international tourists, through the stories they choose to tell and their educational influences.

However, the roles are taken at different scales in the two venues. St Fagans seems to act as a tool of the government more. There is a top-down strategy, which is the tourist agenda or the promotional theme of the year, while there seems to be no formal implication in WMC. Other than that, the government does not tightly control the venue's operation but the organisation is still aware of its mission. It has positioned itself clearly as a place for Welsh life reflection, in particular, folk life. Visitors also expect to see things Welsh when they come to the museum and there is not much room for other development directions. Welshness, in particular traditional and authentic cultural values, becomes the distinctiveness of the place, is what it has to keep to be appealing. Thus, globalisation and tourism are less likely to bring in new, exotic characteristics to the sites. In contrast, WMC is less directed by

the government and the Arts Council of Wales. There are no defined aspects of Welsh identity imposed on the centre, only a general statement of showcasing Wales to the world. It has much more flexibility in representing different facets of Wales. At the same time, the visitors come to WMC mostly to see the shows and for entertainment, instead of getting the feeling of being in Wales. The new, alien cultural characteristics, thus, become something fascinating of the place, encouraging the centre to be innovative and adopt new features, even though they seem to be more commercial than for the purpose of defining Wales.

Another reason is the funding and influences of the government and other cultural elites. St Fagans receives the funding mainly from the state, therefore, needs to take its strategies into consideration more. In contrast, WMC needs to generate most part of its operations from its own business, it is more affected by the markets and other external forces.

As discussed in the literature review, the cultural venues are influenced by the cultural elites as a tool to deliver the national identity and culture, and also respond to the market's expectation of them to be profitable, thus, bring in new, invented values. However, the level of influence is determined by the characteristics of the sites, its decided missions and functions, the level of involvement or control of the cultural elites, the conditions and expectation from the market which is influenced by the globalisation, tourism and socio-economic environment.

5.2. The spatiality

Each place focuses on certain aspects of the cultural spatiality, instead of covering all the spatial dimensions. In terms of spatial scales, St Fagans focuses more on the Welsh border, representing different regions and localities while WMC is more diverse, representing both national, sub-national characteristics and the international, outward looking Wales. However, the hybrid type WMC represents does not show a specific rationale and cannot be predicted, illustrating the complexity of the national identity construction. On the urban- rural axis, the two sites are positioned on different sides: rural atmosphere at St Fagans and urban image at WMC. Similarly, on the spatial scapes, St Fagans emphasises on the quotidian, dwellingscapes while WMC represents more of the the iconic site and social ones, although it still cover the mundane daily scapes.

This, again, is due to the functions and purposes of the venues. St Fagans is a historical museum where people expect a walk through the countryside, thus it is more about rural. Its vision is to represent Welsh life, therefore, the focus is more on national and sub-national levels. In this sense, familiar landscapes, homely and dwelling spaces are the aims. WMC instead is a modern centre, aiming to

represent Wales to the world, thus showcasing the dynamic, urban and outward looking Wales. Similarly, it less focuses on landscape and homely places. Having said that, it is not yet as international as it claims due to compromising for the market: people are not confident of exotic contemporary architecture of Zahah Hadid and it mostly presents the commercial British shows. It is a superficial progress to internationalisation and adopting new values.

The differences in spatiality representation of the two organisations seem to complement each other in establishing a more comprehensive view of Welsh identity. However, there is one similar figure in both venues that they all tend to showcase Wales as an independent country, as less expression on the United Kingdom as a whole. This very much aligns with the overall branding of Wales from the government.

5.3. The “Welsh” things

The Welsh identity is represented in many different forms of material culture in the investigated sites, however, at different scales and levels. In both side, the national identity is most obviously embedded in the fixed figures like designs, architectures, buildings. The reason could be that they are “hardcore”, barely change over time, hence, they remain the initial purpose of the government to establish the places to showcase Wales, in particular, Welsh life in St Fagans and an iconic symbol of Wales- WMC.

Other variable materials like performances, events and retail shops seem to reflect the organisation’s development strategies more. St Fagans shows the commitment in showcasing what it means to be Wales, although focusing mainly on the historic and cultural side of the country. It does present some modifications of the origins, however, they are minor and are because of some political and environmental restrictions. Nonetheless, those restrictions may as well be the motivations to keep the authenticity. The museum cannot operate as a commercial and entertainment centre that affects the scenery as well as the development of the conservative area it is located in. At the same time, it also reacts to the market demand for social venues like wedding, dining, etc, although only at the marginal level, and the museum is always conscious of its mission in telling Welsh stories.

WMC also shows the Welsh values in the physical representations and its performance, however, at a smaller level and scale, and represents a larger proportion of commercial components. Compared to St Fagans, WMC receives much less financial support from the government, thus, it is more sensitive to the market and need to exploit its resources to generate revenue. In addition, the centre itself and its managing organisation- the Arts Council of Wales do not attempt to define what Welsh identity is, or which facets of the Welshness to show in particular. On the contrary, St Fagans, since the beginning,

has always committed to the local life. Despite its four changes in its English names, its Welsh name has always been Amgueddfa Werin Cymru, meaning “Welsh Folk Museum”. It can be interpreted that WMC has more freedom from the government to direct its development, as well as the iconic modern building gives it the flexibility and ability to be dynamic, rather than sticking to one purpose

5.4. The “Welshness”

On the social and cultural life, St Fagans and WMC again show the difference in their emphases. St Fagans engages in traditional Wales, low culture while WMC showcases a hybrid type, both conventional and contemporary values, both popular culture and high culture. Both places seem to promote the unity of Wales rather than diversity by prioritising on the white, middle-class Welsh with romanticised rural and working life, representing familiar images of dragon, sheep, castles and so on. Little evidence on other races, national origins or the diversity in religions and beliefs are found. It is partly because of the influence of the government in ensuring the country’s branding consistency with similar views, rationales, and some specific images

“The intention is to have a brand for Wales, which is not just to do with the visual identity but what sits under that is a system values, of what’s characterising Wales, and to use that in all official promotions of Wales, not just tourism, but for investments, for industries, any sort of presentation Wales... And of course, we want other businesses to use the same products, the same sort of thinking when they represent their businesses so it’s a consistent part, not just from the top level, but also the project itself, we express the values as well. So it’s the consistence” – Visit Wales’ Representative

“...yes, it will be a dragon, okay, but it will be the top line of visual identity. And then the scripts, a particular type of scripts which they develop for this...”- Visit Wales’ Representative

At the same time, the globalisation and tourism encourage the multiculturalism. WMC with more flexibility in operation and a more open, outward looking attitude, reflects this better. There are more signs of diversity, like on genders or other cultures (for example, Asian cultures) in WMC. On the other hand, St Fagans is more rigid, and difficult to change

“Building projects take a long time and the themes change faster than our buildings can change. So how we would represent diversity around the buildings on site is a challenge we’re still trying to work through”- St Fagans’ Director

Both organisations express the intension to represent more diversity in the future, which can be interpreted as an inevitable trend in the globalisation and more equalised social situation.

Overall, the research has analysed the Welsh national identity represented in the cultural venues St Fagans and Millennium Centre. By comparing the two sides, it can be concluded that each venue takes different role in constructing and reconstructing the national identity, one can be a more effective tool of the government to passively deliver the national values, while the other can be more flexible in reacting to the surrounding environment and market demand, thus, adopting new values which then add up and diversify the nation's characteristics. In the same way, each of them expresses the different focus on the cultural scales, utilises the material culture to express the identity and represents diversity at different levels, depending on the its functions, characteristics, influences of the political elites, globalisation, tourism and economic development of them.

All things considered, I argue that the national identity is a sophisticated phenomenon, a broad term relating to numerous aspects and areas. It is not a fixed set of features but continuously modifies and adapts to the environment, drops out certain values and adopts new features. The cultural elements intertwine into each other, the presentations can hold multiple meanings and are the responses to various influential factors in the context it is represented. Although the concept can be conceptualised in certain ways, its representations vary in different contexts, even very unpredictable. Thus, national identity cannot be generalised to apply in all situations, and to understand its expressions, it is required to have close examinations and independent studies for particular cases.

5.5. Future research

While the evidence for the diverse presentations of national identity at the analysed cultural sites are rich, it is valid in the context of Wales and may not be applicable for other countries and areas with different socio-political conditions. Thus, it is fascinating to have a similar research in other contexts, for example, in more centralised nations where the states have more power in imposing its ideologies like the communist countries like China, North Korea, Vietnam, or in countries where multiculturalism is promoted as the nation's brand like the United States, Australia. This researches on museums and performing arts centres, however, it can be expanded on other types of cultural venues like sport venues, entertainment venues, castles, libraries and so on. Also, this opens a question on what factors affecting the representations in the cultural venues, how and to what extent their influent it, which can be study further.

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7. Appendices

Appendix A: Sample interview questions for the representatives of St Fagans National Museum of History and Wales Millennium Centre

I. General questions for both organisations:

1. Could you please introduce yourself and your responsibilities at the venue?

Venue's functions and displaying strategies:

2. Could you briefly introduce the venue and its history? What are the missions of the venue?
3. How do you deliver those missions?
4. What types of events occur here?
5. What plans do you have for the future development?

Influences of stakeholders on the venue's displays and performance:

6. Who decide the display/exhibition strategies, event organisation? / What is the procedure for deciding display strategies?
7. Do you receive consultations from other parties (state, private bodies, civil society organisations, scientists...) for the display/exhibition/development strategies?
8. What challenges do you meet in balancing the science, private developers', public's opinions and the government regulations in operating the venue and in the images of Wales you are representing?
9. Who participate in developing the venue's strategies/ daily operation?
10. How do you link your development strategies with the Welsh government's cultural/ tourism/economic development strategies?
11. How do you link your strategies with Cardiff city's plans?
12. Are there any differences between Welsh government's and Cardiff city's development guidelines for the venue?

Tourism and globalisation effects:

13. Can you tell me about the visitors to your venue?
14. What are the images of Wales the venue wants to deliver to different customer groups?

15. Do you have different approaches/ presentations targeting to different customer groups (local and international)?/ What do you think of the exhibition contents and styles informing the customers of the Welsh identity?
 16. Can you tell me some achievements the venue has contributed to the city and the country?/ How do you describe the importance of the venue/ locate the venue's position in building Welsh identity?
 17. What makes this venue distinctive/ competitive among various tourism destinations in Wales?
 18. How are you going to make it a more attractive destination?
 19. Do you have any plans to improve visitors' experiences?
 20. What are the collaboration, partnerships you have at the moments? Do you have any plans to collaborate internationally?
 21. Considering a bigger context, how do you distinct yourself as a Welsh symbol from other open-air museums or art centres in the world?
 22. How does the venue consider diversity in Wales in its presentation and performance? How has it changed overtime and what is the plan for the future?
 23. What are the other challenges for the venues in delivering its mission and vision?
 24. What do you think constitutes 'Welshness'?
 25. What key elements of your activities do you think related to 'Welsh identity'?
 26. How is your vision of 'Welshness' changing?
- II. Particular questions for each site

Wales Millennium Centre

27. Rhodri Morgan, the First Minister, stressed that Millennium Centre belonged to the whole nation, that it was for all of the people of Wales and not just for the elite- How do you make it accessible for everyone?

St Fagans National Museum of History

(specifying questions 24 & 25 above)

24. The Museum had focused on life in Wales through the interpretation of historical buildings. In 2007, the project Oriel 1: An experiment in interpreting Welsh identities- explored Wales in the 21st century, involving people from all over Wales in an evolving and interactive attraction accurately representing what it means to belong to and to live in the country today." (National

Museum Wales, 2007)- > does that change the meaning/ mission of the venue as a museum of history?

25. The redevelopment of the Museum is said to claim Welsh identity on the world stage, and make the venue a new model for history museums in the twenty-first century. Could you please explain more about the change and the identity constructed in the Museum?

Appendix B: Sample questions for the representatives of the governmental organisations

1. Could you introduce yourself and your responsibilities?

Welsh culture and National Identity

2. Can you tell me about 'Welshness'? How do you describe it/ what and who constitutes 'Welshness'?
3. What features & cultural values does the government want Wales to be recognised as/ want to promote to the world? (Historical, rural, landscape or modern, dynamic...)
4. How do you promote those features and values?
5. Can you tell me about different ethnics or diversity in Wales? Is it a significant factor of Welsh identity? How has the consideration of diversity changed in the policies for cultural development?
6. What do you think of the roles of the cultural sites like museums, theatres, art centres... in promoting Welsh culture and identity?

The importance of the venues in building the National Identity

7. Can you introduce briefly about St. Fagans and Millennium Centre?

For questions 8 and 9: What are the roles/ positions/ the contribution of those venues in the country's/ city's

8. Economy and tourism?
9. In cultural development/ building national identity?
10. What are the strategies for representing Wales in those venues? How are they different or similar to each other?
11. To what extent does the government influence the display and development strategies of those venues?/ How do you manage the Welsh identity represented in those venues?
12. Besides delivering the Welsh identity, those venues also need to be visitable and attractive to tourist to gain revenues. Do you think the market oriented operation challenges the authentic Welsh identity represented?

- Verifying question: It seems like St. Fagans is changing to be a more interactive museum, applying new technologies and building modern centres to attract tourist. Do you think it challenges the authentic rural images that the museum represents?

Future development:

13. Do you think the globalisation and market competition are changing the cultural values and the national identity? (Do you think the national identity is flexible and changing to adapt with the social changes?)
14. What are the plans of the government to promote Welsh culture and identity?
15. What sides of Welsh culture and identity does the government want to present more to the world? What features would you like to keep as the authentic distinctiveness of Wales and what might be changed?
16. Similarly, what do you think will be the development direction for St. Fagans and Millennium Centre?

Appendix C: List of the shows at Wales Millennium Centre from 28 March 2017 to 24 November 2018

	Time	Event	Producer
1	Maw 28 Mar – Ebr 1 Apr Cirque Berserk! 4	Cirque Berserk!	UK Tour
2	Maw 30 Mar – Ebr 1 Apr	Y Glec \ King Hit	Welsh Organisation
3	Ebr 3 – 8 Apr	Rent	UK Tour
4	Ebr 4 Apr	Joan	UK Tour
5	Ebr 7 Apr	Black Is The Color Of My Voice \ Soul Sessions	UK Tour
6	Ebr 7 Apr	BBC NOW: Tales of Travel \ Straeon Taith	WMC's tenant
7	Ebr 8 Apr	Enough is Enough	Welsh Organisation
8	Ebr 10 – 15 Apr	The Commitments	UK Tour
9	Ebr 12 & 13 Apr	Tipping Point	UK Tour
10	Ebr 14 & 15 Apr	Jason & The Argonauts	Welsh Organisation
11	Ebr 15 Apr	Anthony Strong	WMC
12	Ebr 17 – 29 Apr	Sister Act	UK Tour
13	Ebr 21 & 22 Apr	Caroline Sheen: Feelin' Lucky	UK Tour
14	Ebr 21 – 30 Apr	The Ladyboys of Bangkok	UK Tour
15	Ebr 27 Apr - Mai 14 May	Romeo and Juliet	WMC co-production
16	Ebr 28 Apr	BBC NOW: Tales of Travel \ Straeon Taith	WMC's tenant
17	Mai 2 – 6 May	The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time	UK Tour
18	Mai 9 – 13 May	Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat	UK Tour
19	Mai 20 May – Meh 24 June	WNO: Die Fledermaus	WMC's tenant
20	Meh 4 – 17 June	WNO: Der Rosenkavalier	WMC's tenant
21	Meh 23 June	BBC NOW: Tales of Travel \ Straeon Taith	WMC's tenant

22	Meh 27 June – Gorff 1 July	Jane Eyre	UK Tour
23	Meh 30 June & Gorff 1 July	La Voix's Red Hot Globe Trot	UK Tour
24	Gorff 4 – 8 July	Funny Girl	UK Tour
25	Gorff 7 & 8 July	Do I Have To Wake Up? \ Oes Rhaid I Mi Ddeffro?	Welsh Organisation
26	Gorff 9 July	Milkshake Live - The Magic Story Book	UK Tour
27	Gorff 17 – 29 July	Grease	UK Tour
28	Gorff 30 July	Tickledom	Welsh Organisation
29	Awst 1 – 12 Aug	The Addams Family	UK Tour
30	Awst 16 – 26 Aug	Hairspray	International
31	Medi 5 – 9 Sept	Crazy for You	UK Tour
32	Medi 23 Sept - Hyd 7 Oct	WNO: Khovanshchina	WMC's tenant
33	Medi 29 Sept - Hyd 13 Oct	WNO: Eugene Onegin	WMC's tenant
34	Hyd 8 & 12 Oct	WNO: From The House of the Dead	WMC's tenant
35	Hyd 14 Oct	WNO: Die Fledermaus	WMC's tenant
36	Hyd 17 – 21 Oct	Slava's Snowshow	International
37	Hyd 24 & 25 Oct	NDCW & Marc Rees: P.A.R.A.D.E	WMC's tenant
38	Hyd 30 Oct - Tach 4 Nov	Beautiful - The Carole King Musical	International
39	Tach 1 & 2 Nov	Dracula: The Bloody Truth	UK Tour
40	Tach 14 – 25 Nov	Tiger Bay the Musical	WMC
41	Tach 22 - 25 Nov	Clod Ensemble: Under Glass	UK Tour
42	Tach 29 Nov – Ion 6 Jan 2018	Miss Saigon	UK Tour
43	Maw 14 – 17 Mar 2018	Birmingham Royal Ballet: The Sleeping Beauty	UK Tour
44	Gorff 4 – 28 July 2018	War Horse	UK Tour
45	Hyd 31 Oct – Tach 24 Nov 2018	Wicked	International

Producer categories:

UK Tour: Shows touring around the United Kingdom

International: Shows from other countries

WMC: Shows produced by or co-produced by the Wales Millennium Centre

WMC's tenant: Shows produced by other organisations located in the Wales Millennium Centre

Welsh organisation: Shows produced by other organisations in Wales

Source: Rhaglen What's On- Haf Summer 2017 (WMC, 2017)

Appendix D: The emphasis on the cultural spatiality of the Welsh government

The cultural spatiality contains three elements: the spatial scales, the urban-rural essence and the spatial scapes. In terms of spatial scales, Wales is generally perceived as just a part of the United Kingdom and the government recognises that

“United Kingdom, if you look at the atlas in Hanoi, you’ll see United Kingdom as all red, and no difference between Scotland, England and Wales. It’s only when you get here that there’s difference, because we have a long history of being oppressed by our big neighbours in England”- National Assembly’s Representative

But in Wales, there has been a shift from British identity to Welsh identity. Visit Wales’ Representative and National Assembly’s Representative assert:

*“I think what’s happened over the last, I don’t know, 30-40 years, has been a **gradual shift from this British identity, to a stronger Welsh identity**. We have the Welsh Assembly, we have the Welsh government now. Well, 30 years ago, it wouldn’t have existed. Same as Scotland and we see Scotland is pressing stronger now for a more or completely independent”*
(Visit Wales’ Representative)

“So Scottish independence’s very much up there.... people don’t think so strong about Welsh independence but at least it sets a measure” (National Assembly’s Representative)

Welsh characteristics have been promoted more and more, however, Wales is a diverse nation itself. “The Wales identity. A Sense of place” guidance comments:

“There’s more to Wales than rolling green valleys and vivid coastline. We’re a small nation – but we pack a punch. Our culture is alive with imagination. Our communities, blossoming with opportunity”. (Business Wales, 2016, p. 4)

Visit Wales also takes it into consideration.

*“ ... **different part of Wales will have its own strengths ... And of course, as a national tourism organisation for Wales, it is difficult for us to emphasise one region more than another, you know, we have to be fair to everybody**”* (Visit Wales’ Representative)

That is why they come up with the thematic-year tourism scheme, in which each year focuses on one particular figure of Wales. The Visit Wales' Representative mentions the year 2016 was the first one with the theme "the Year of Adventure", promoting outdoor activities, natural sceneries but also other types of adventures, even discovering a historical place or a book. The year 2017 is "the Year of Legends", from historical legends like castles, myths, traditional folk tales to modern legends like sports and music. He also shares a plan to have "the Year of the sea" with all the figures of beaches, coastlines and so one. In this sense, different regional and local characteristics are represented as the nation's brand.

The spatiality of identity also concerns with the rural and urban areas, National Assembly's Representative mentions:

"..promoting the idea of rural is great in terms of 14% of the Welsh economy that comes from tourism, but there's 86% that does not come from tourism and people still have to pay the bills, so yes, it's a dual thing, that's why we market some high skills, computerised, IT, high skilled university type industry... So there's a dual thing. It's not just a glorified national park with full of sheep"

However, the national identity is not only devolved from the Great Britain to Wales, and contracted to regional and local characteristics. There is, in parallel, a trend to expand more to the international level, an intension to represent Wales as a modern nation. In the culture strategy "Light Springs through the Dark: A Vision for Culture in Wales" it is said that

"if we are to convince others that Wales is a **modern, outward-facing nation**, for them to visit and do business with....We must deliver a strong message that Wales has an **international outlook**" (Welsh Government, 2016, p. 10)

Embedded in those spatial dimensions are different spatial scapes in a less explicit way like landscapes in the sceneries, the sea, the mountains, the national park; dwellingscapes, taskscapes, social places, places of popular culture in the indoor and outdoor sports venues, sports and music settings, etc.

Appendix E: Ethical Approval Form- Cardiff University

CARDIFF SCHOOL OF PLANNING AND GEOGRAPHY

Ethical Approval Form

Student Projects (Undergraduate & Taught Masters)

In the case of dissertations it is the responsibility of the student to submit the form, duly signed by their supervisor, and secure ethical approval prior to any fieldwork commencing. Please give a copy to the Undergraduate Administrator. A copy of the form should be included with their final dissertation.

Title of Project: Masters dissertation on Welsh culture and national identity in cultural venues

Name of Student(s): Thi Kim Ngan PHAN

Name of Supervisor/Module Leader: Mark Jayne

Degree Programme and Level: MSc European Spatial Planning and Environmental Policy

Date: 10 Apr 2017

Recruitment Procedures:

		Yes	No	N/A
1	Does your project include children under 16 years of age?		✓	
2	Does your project include people with learning or communication difficulties?		✓	
3	Does your project include people in custody?		✓	
4	Is your project likely to include people involved in illegal activities?		✓	

5	Does project involve people belonging to a vulnerable group, other than those listed above?		✓	
6	Does your project include people who are, or are likely to become your clients or clients of the department in which you work?		✓	
7	Does your project include people for whom English / Welsh is not their first language?		✓	

Consent Procedures:

		Yes	No	N/A
8	Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	✓		
9	Will you obtain written consent for participation?	✓		
10	If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	✓		
11	Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reasons?	✓		
12	Will you give potential participants a significant period of time to consider participation?	✓		

Possible Harm to Participants:

		Yes	No	N/A
13	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort?		✓	

14	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing a detriment to their interests as a result of participation?		✓	
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If there are any risks to the participants you must explain in the box on page 4 how you intend to minimise these risks

Data Protection:

		Yes	No	N/A
15	Will any non-anonymised and/or personalised data be generated and/or stored?		✓	
16	Will you have access to documents containing sensitive ¹ data about living individuals?		✓	
	If "Yes" will you gain the consent of the individuals concerned?			

If there are any other potential ethical issues that you think the Committee should consider please explain them in the box on page 4. It is your obligation to bring to the attention of the Committee any ethical issues not covered on this form.

Supervisor's declaration

As the supervisor/module leader (please delete as necessary) for this student project, I confirm that I believe that all research ethical issues have been dealt with in accordance with University policy and the research ethics guidelines of the relevant professional organisation.

Date

Name

Signature

If any of the shaded boxes have been ticked the supervisor/module leader must explain in the box on page 4 of this form how the potential ethical issue will be handled

¹ Sensitive data are *inter alia* data that relates to racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious beliefs, trade union membership, physical or mental health, sexual life, actual and alleged offences.

14	Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing a detriment to their interests as a result of participation?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
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If there are any risks to the participants you must explain in the box on page 4 how you intend to minimise these risks

Data Protection:

		Yes	No	N/A
15	Will any non-anonymised and/or personalised data be generated and/or stored?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
16	Will you have access to documents containing sensitive ¹ data about living individuals?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
	If "Yes" will you gain the consent of the individuals concerned?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

If there are any other potential ethical issues that you think the Committee should consider please explain them in the box on page 4. It is your obligation to bring to the attention of the Committee any ethical issues not covered on this form.

Supervisor's declaration

As the supervisor/module leader (please delete as necessary) for this student project, I confirm that I believe that all research ethical issues have been dealt with in accordance with University policy and the research ethics guidelines of the relevant professional organisation.

Date 10TH APRIL 2017 Name MARK JAYNE Signature M. Jayne

If any of the shaded boxes have been ticked the supervisor/module leader must explain in the box on page 4 of this form how the potential ethical issue will be handled

¹ Sensitive data are *inter alia* data that relates to racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious beliefs, trade union membership, physical or mental health, sexual life, actual and alleged offences.