

**Popular participation in public events and ceremonies  
in Cardiff in the twenty-first century**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**2018**

**William Roberts**



The study investigates present-day public events and ceremonies in Cardiff, and how they reflect, illustrate or employ traditional forms of communal activity. It employs the theoretical and empirical approaches of folkloristics, which deals with the identification, documentation and analysis of traditional material and expressive forms. Unusually, the study considers activities of popular origin and habitual practices of institutional origin on the same basis. It is framed largely by practice theory both generally and as applied within folkloristics, but with appropriate recognition given to the significance of performance theory.

The topic is addressed through the observation of a range of activities and their associated forms of public engagement. The study was limited to activities taking place outdoors in daylight within the city centre and Cardiff Bay, with most fieldwork between 2010 and 2013. Three themes are addressed: socialising, protesting and remembering. A few activities are largely unorganised, but the majority are organised by public authorities and/or commercial bodies or by members of the public acting together. Many events have been launched in the past decade, and have become established within a recognisable cultural calendar, albeit the concept of a present-day 'ritual year' cannot be justified.

As the capital city of Wales, certain institutional activities associated with the state, i.e. United Kingdom, are enacted. In contrast, there are few formal celebrations of Cardiff or Wales as such. Informal expressions tend to illustrate the cultural norms of the mainly English-speaking south-east, but the increasing presence of Welsh-speakers is becoming more noticeable, although there are few regular events centred on the language.



## DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

Signed .....(candidate) Date.....

## STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD.

Signed .....(candidate) Date.....

## STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated, and the thesis has not been edited by a third party beyond what is permitted by Cardiff University's Policy on the Use of Third Party Editors by Research Degree Students. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Signed .....(candidate) Date.....

## STATEMENT 3

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed .....(candidate) Date.....

## STATEMENT 4: PREVIOUSLY APPROVED BAR ON ACCESS

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available online in the University's Open Access repository and for inter-library loans after expiry of a bar on access previously approved by the Academic Standards & Quality Committee.

Signed .....(candidate) Date.....



## **Acknowledgments**

As supervisors for the research, Professor Colin Williams (2010-2015), Dr Siwan Rosser (2015-2018), and Dr Juliette Wood (2010-2018) provided invaluable support. The insights drawing on their varying academic expertise and interests were particularly relevant to a research topic which touched on a wide range of issues. Having begun formal study of the discipline at Cardiff University Centre for Lifelong Learning in 2005, I also recognise the influence on my approach to Dr Wood, Dr Lisa Tallis and Dr Ian Spring. My thanks also go to many others at Cardiff University, including the academic and administrative staff of the School of Welsh, and staff at various libraries. Fellow-researchers, in the School of Welsh and elsewhere, provided unknowing inspiration.

Mr Alan Herbert, Riverside Community Centre, Cardiff, provided useful advice on newer communities in Cardiff, and their public engagement. Many of those involved in ceremonies and events provided valuable information on aspects of their activities which were not immediately obvious. This was often unsolicited, and many showed surprising interest in what I was doing. The few who were antagonistic presented a reminder that the fieldworker's concerns are not necessarily shared by others.

My most heartfelt thanks are to Mrs Elizabeth Roberts, for constant support, throughout the whole process.





<b>Contents</b>	
<b>Summary</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Declaration</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Chapter 1 - Overview of the research</b>	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Aim and objectives	3
1.3 Structure of the thesis	3
1.4 Methodology	4
1.5 Background research	4
1.6 Fieldwork	5
1.7 Analysis and interpretation	9
<b>Chapter 2 - Public events and ceremonies in context</b>	
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Historical overview	15
2.3 Summary	20
<b>Chapter 3 - Theoretical issues</b>	
3.1 Introduction	21
3.2 Earlier approaches within folkloristics	21
3.3 Concepts of folklore and tradition	24
3.4 Performance theory	25
3.5 Practice theory	28
3.6 Theoretical approaches to ceremonies and events	34
3.7 Authenticity	37
3.8 Identity	41
3.9 The study of folklore in Wales	45
3.10 Subsequent analysis	47
<b>Chapter 4 – Socialising</b>	
4.1 Introduction	49
4.2 Crowds for major events	49
4.3 Parades	56
4.4 Markets and fairs	65
4.5 Analysis of socialising events	71
4.6 Issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff	87
4.7 Summary	89

<b>Chapter 5 - Protesting</b>	
5.1 Introduction	91
5.2 Trade union demonstrations	93
5.3 Other demonstrations	97
5.4 Analysis of demonstrations	108
5.5 Issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff	122
5.6 Summary	124
<b>Chapter 6 - Remembering</b>	
6.1 Introduction	125
6.2 Remembrance	126
6.3 Recognition	139
6.4 Analysis of civil-military events	145
6.5 Commemoration	156
6.6 Public grief	158
6.7 Analysis of temporary memorials	160
6.8 Issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff	166
6.9 Summary	166
<b>Chapter 7 – Conclusions</b>	
7.1 Introduction	169
7.2 Objective 1	170
7.3 Objective 2	172
7.4 Objective 3	178
7.5 Objective 4	202
7.6 Summary	208
<b>Bibliography</b>	213
<b>Appendix 1 - Timeline of events</b>	231
<b>Appendix 2 - Comparative table of genres</b>	257
<b>Appendix 3 – Illustrations</b>	263

## **Chapter 1 – Overview of the research**

‘...the rhythms of the British year are timeless, and impose certain perpetual patterns upon calendar customs: a yearning for light, greenery, warmth and joy in mid-winter, a propensity to celebrate the spring with symbols of rebirth, and impulse to make merry in the sunlight and open air during the summer, and a tendency for thought to turn towards death and the uncanny at the onset of winter’ (Hutton, 2001, 426).

‘Definitions of folklore are as many and varied as the versions of a well-known tale’  
(Ben-Amos 1972, 3).

‘The pragmatics of demography, economy and politics...are never divorced from the intimate world of folklore and tradition, but are too rarely explored’  
(Brewer, 1994, 6-7).

### **1.1 Introduction**

This study considers present-day popular engagement with public events and ceremonies in Cardiff. In common with other British cities, Cardiff has undergone major infrastructure developments since the mid-1990s, including the development of new sports stadiums, performance venues, retail centres and traffic-free outdoor spaces. However, while the underlying economic intention is similar to elsewhere, the political context is unique, the enactment of many public activities being informed by Cardiff’s being the capital city of Wales (since 1955) and seat of the National Assembly for Wales (1999).

People have always engaged with public events and ceremonies, many of which celebrate the time of year, or are associated with dates or periods of communal significance; other activities are influenced by social, economic and political imperatives and concerns. Some have longstanding precedents in urban settings, e.g. regular markets and fairs, and less regular public protests; others are more recent, e.g. certain civil-military ceremonies and organised sports. The majority can be considered as being or employing traditional

forms, including most recent introductions which have become well enough established to be considered as new traditions. The common understandings of 'tradition' and 'traditional' are employed here by necessity, but as with the many and varied definitions, folkloristic interpretation can be significantly different, a point considered later, and which informs the study throughout. While few of the activities introduced in the past two decades have direct antecedents, they all have recognisable precedents, and in general, it is often the longevity and endurance of the basic form of event or ceremony which is significant. They are an aspect of a civil society, which provides the context for free, public engagement with cultural and political organisations, and both partnership with, and opposition to public authority at all levels (Day et al. 2000, 26-27). The number and range of activities illustrate this point, and the substantial participation, in many cases, negates the common presumption that people are now more concerned with personal rather than collective relationships and calendars. Within this study, the term 'popular participation' is employed to encompass any recognisable level of involvement.

Given the foregoing, the topic is considered both intrinsically interesting and to have academic relevance. It is addressed through the discipline of folkloristics, which is concerned with 'the identification, documentation, characterization, and analysis of traditional expressive forms...[and]...processes' (Georges and Jones, 1995, 1), and which is underpinned by the recognition that folklore is a 'describable and transmissible entity' (Georges and Jones 1995, 93). The centrality of popular participation is evident in Santino's definition of folklore as 'the intersection of the personal and the public, informing personal expression by means of public, conventional, and traditional forms' (2004, 372). However large the activity and whatever its purpose, it is individuals who have a free choice to engage with it, but the nature of such popular participation will vary. An event may be open to anyone to engage directly; it may be formally limited to a specific section of the population or likely to attract a self-selected public. An event may be formal and its content prescribed; it may be informal and largely unorganised, or somewhere between the two. Folkloristic usually deals with, often longstanding, vernacular culture, i.e. folklore as commonly understood, but the activities recorded include those organised by established civil, military, commercial, cultural and other formally established sectional bodies. The term 'institutional lore' is employed to avoid the contentious or confusing use of 'folklore' for all activities considered; similarly, 'popular lore' is used for folklore as commonly understood. It remains necessary and

practical to employ ‘folklore’ and derivatives in direct and indirect quotes, as the literature uses these. There is no implication of exact equivalence between popular and institutional lore, but rather, a degree of correspondence of forms, their use and methods of transmission (intrinsic aspects), and the nature of popular participation (extrinsic).

The research was undertaken on a part-time basis, between 2010 and 2017, with substantial fieldwork undertaken between July 2010 and December 2013. Some later events were observed to assess developments, particularly where there had been noticeable changes. With a few exceptions, only free outdoor events and ceremonies were considered, but some activities requiring payment, or which were held indoors are mentioned for comparative purposes. While ceremonies are recognisable in having a formal social significance, they are a subset of events, and ‘event’ is used subsequently for ‘public events and ceremonies’, unless there is need to make the distinction. Three broad themes were chosen: socialising, protesting and remembering. Each is defined and considered in separate chapters, the order chosen to reflect progression of emphasis from popular lore to institutional lore. An initial overview provides an idea of the range and number of different activities taking place.

## **1.2 Aim and objectives**

The aim of this study is to investigate the nature of present-day public events and ceremonies in a modern urban setting, the associated popular participation, and their folkloristic significance.

It is addressed by the following set of objectives:

1. To develop a methodology for the recording and folkloristic interpretation of organised and non-organised public events and ceremonies
2. To illustrate the nature and patterns of these activities and the associated popular participation
3. To determine the extent to which these activities illustrate issues of folkloristic significance
4. To consider the extent to which the recorded data and subsequent analysis illustrates issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff

### **1.3 Structure of the thesis**

Chapter 1 is an overview of the research and the methodology adopted. Chapter 2 provides a contextual background, and Chapter 3 covers its theoretical basis. Chapters 4 to 6 comprise narrative summaries, analysis and interpretation of a range of recorded events, within the themes of socialising, protesting and remembering. Chapter 7 provides an overarching interpretation and a concluding summary, and there is a series of appendices, including representative illustrations of material forms and demography.

### **1.4 Methodology**

Folkloristics lacks single standard approaches to theory and fieldwork, and to achieve an appropriate balance of description and interpretation, a methodology was developed to ensure a systematic, rational and approach, applicable to this study overall. This requires an understanding of the theoretical basis of the discipline, a confidence in the validity of data being used (from having developed and applied fieldwork skills), and knowledge of a substantial range of empirical studies, within and around the area being dealt with. The methodology adopted is summarised subsequently in terms of the background research, fieldwork, and analysis and interpretation. Of necessity, the summary includes material drawn from the early part of the study.

### **1.5 Background research**

The background research concentrated on two issues, undertaken concurrently: a literature search and an information search on recent, current and forthcoming events in Cardiff. Both were necessary before a fieldwork programme could be developed, and were continued throughout the study period, to ensure that new publications could be assessed, and that appropriate activities continued to be recorded.

The literature search covered three areas: general folkloristic theories, theories associated with public events, and empirical studies, in historical and modern urban contexts. The central elements of this were a detailed online review of the major British and US folklore journals from 1980 to the present, accessing books on the areas of interest from the Cardiff University and Cardiff Public Libraries, and online searches on central themes and topics.

Certain of these, from online searches and following references in other sources, were from other disciplines broadly definable as social studies. Most sources on historical background deal with European and English contexts, but are considered applicable to Wales, although some sources address this specifically.

The necessity for continued checking of all sources for information on recent, current and forthcoming events became clear at an early stage. Some large-scale events have comprehensive media coverage, but most others receive little or no attention. The major local newspapers (*Western Mail* and *South Wales Echo*) were checked initially, but as news stories and features are also published on their website (WalesOnline), hard copies were only checked on occasion, to confirm continuing congruence between print and website. Frequent checks were made of the websites of broadcasters, public bodies, tourism and leisure organisations, and the organisers of events; this last category included, inter alia, public, commercial, sporting, political, military, campaigning, trade union, Welsh language and social organisations. Also checked were events listing websites, some of which produce data not readily available from other sources, although a minority have detailed information. Atkinson and Coffey propose that sources such as blogs, video and photographic sites can be considered as primary data evidence (2011, 80), but checking congruence or divergence from fieldwork observations was their primary value.

## **1.6 Fieldwork**

In the period from March 2010 (before the formal start date of the study, 1 July 2010) to September 2010, events observed included military parades, formal and informal religious services, political and social campaigns, protest rallies and marches, fairs, funfairs, street entertainment, stag and hen parties, street markets, street races, charity walks, and crowds for major sporting events and concerts. To consider all in detail would have been impractical, and four parameters decided upon. Supporting comments are given in brackets.

1. Three broad areas of activity would be considered: socialising, protesting and remembering (they cover a wide range of events and forms of popular participation; they can all be observed relatively frequently; they have had equivalents or analogues over the centuries)

2. The research would be essentially observational (this did not exclude the option of participant-observation, discussion or interviewing)
3. Observations would be limited to the city centre and Cardiff Bay (most events take place in these relatively compact areas; exceptions would be made to illustrate issues as appropriate)
4. Observations would be within daylight hours (early observations showed that most public events take place between mid-morning and mid-afternoon)

Sims and Stephens stress the validity of observation as an active form of folkloristic investigation, in that while centred on watching what people do, it also involves examining material objects, listening, photographing, seeking information on locations and fixed forms (2011, 224). Their comment that the approach lacks the 'regular, experiential contact with the texts and performances' (Sims and Stephens 2011, 204) is not wholly valid. The fieldwork was substantial, and with the time spent and the repeated recording of certain activities, increasing familiarity with contexts and participants, detailed pictures can be built up. Although formal interviews were not undertaken useful data was obtained from conversations in many cases. There is also an advantage in researching in one's native city, as many contexts and historical associations are known.

Virtually all repeated activities and types of activity were observed, albeit often casually, over many years of living in Cardiff and several substantial periods of working in the city centre. This was supplemented by direct participation in a range of activities relevant to the study. These include rugby crowds, food fair, Big Weekend, protesting rallies and marches, and the Service of Remembrance. Most other longstanding types of activity were attended within an audience or witness-audience. Such personal experience and continued engagement as a participant in or at many events allowed an insider viewpoint as well as that of observer. However, the cautionary comments of Stoeltje et al. (1999) on the potential influence of personal knowledge, opinions and predilections needed to be considered, throughout. They can provide an element of background information but could also prejudice the balance of what is recorded and how it is interpreted. It is considered that, as far as possible, any potential predilections etc. were recognised and an objective stance adopted.

Taken together, background material from desk-based and street activities (see below), repeated observations and speaking to participants provide a strong basis to appreciate



that what is happening at an event has sources and influences which may be neither observable nor inferable. Geertz summarises the situation, in his comment that ethnographic descriptions are 'extraordinarily thick because most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined' (1993, 9).

A diary of known forthcoming events was drawn up, and as many as possible were observed. Regular visits were made to the city centre and Cardiff Bay at times tending to have more activities, particularly spring and summer, and Saturdays throughout the year. A substantial amount of promotional material was collected, from low quality printouts to professionally printed programmes, booklets or other detailed materials, which are the norm for many major socialising events. The quality and availability of promotional materials for major socialising events increased substantially during the study, including posters, banners, rolling screens and decorated street furniture. However, most events have limited promotion, but many use the Tourist Information Offices (TIC) in the city centre (closed in March 2015) and Cardiff Bay. TICs are particularly useful for smaller events' posters and flyers, local newsletters and free local and all-Wales magazines. Other useful locations are performance venues, shops with event or listings notices (particularly book, music and record shops, and tattoo parlours), cafes, pubs and clubs, church noticeboards, and fly-posting. Flyers were collected whenever on offer; most were for food and drink outlets, left-wing campaigns and evangelical Christian churches. Much of the background information for certain events came from promotional materials. People promoting, doing, setting up or taking down something appropriate, usually responded politely and often usefully. This was particularly relevant to activities involving the armed forces, which include expressive and material forms, the details and significance of which were less well-known before the study than those of most other regularly observed groups. Unsolicited information from people recognising me, including some with whom I had discussed the research, was occasionally useful.

Maintaining the initial parameters and defining the themes and their locations did not constrain the fieldwork; it is considered that virtually all forms of event enacted within the three themes were observed or otherwise recorded, although some were one-off activities. As anticipated, the range and number of events observed or otherwise recorded was greater than for many fieldwork-based studies, and the choice of observation as the

central technique proved advantageous as it allowed a greater number of events to be seen directly. This provided more data on enactments, actors and their material and expressive forms. The enactment of some regular and relatively frequent events was observed on several occasions, and to an extent this alleviated concerns around partial observation. The introduction to Appendix 1 – Timeline summarises the numbers.

The large number of sports crowds observed is readily explained: there is a regular pattern of major fixtures complemented by one-off events every year, and most are on Saturdays when other public events are also more likely to take place. As such, crowds can be observed as the main intention of a day's fieldwork, or as one of the activities open to consideration.

In terms of form and content, sports crowds are the main non-organised public activities, and although linked directly to priced events, no degree of obligation to attend or to engage in any particular subsidiary activity is imposed. While issues of commodification and conventions inform actions (considered in the appropriate narratives and analysis), these occasions provide opportunities to observe freely chosen expressive and material forms, and the extent of commercial and peer-group influence, and allow comparisons over time and between different sports. There are fewer comparable expressions of expressive and material forms at markets, and constraints on these forms in parades, which provide repeated observation opportunities within socialising. As the majority of socialising events are scheduled well ahead of time and promoted beforehand, planned observation is often straightforward.

A similar pattern of scheduling and repetition applies to many remembering events, notably civil-military activities. The constraints on direct participants in the expression of institutional lore contrasts strongly with socialising, but the extent to which variations and developments occur validate undertaking repeated observations. Protesting is different to both socialising and remembering, in that a minority of events are promoted beforehand, many being in response to fairly immediate issues, which compounds issues of promotion. Given the variety of causes concerned, the levels of experience of those involved, and the potential forms of protesting open to those involved underpinned the need to undertake as many observations as possible.

Activities observed on a single occasion were almost always because that was the only enactment recorded of a particular type of event, e.g. one-off civil-military activities and certain expressions of public grief. While the first such examples could be compared with other civil-military events, the latter could only be considered in terms of the literature; fortunately, many single example events were of recognised forms.

The Observation also allowed the ready inclusion of the unexpected, which can test the strengths and limitations of the approach. Overall, there were few if any noticeable changes in established institutional events, and the forms and frequency of most other activities were essentially similar. There were some unexpected developments and changes, within socialising, in events of both popular and institutional origin.

The order in which elements of an event are observed is sometimes straightforward, particularly with formal events which tend to have a linear structure to their enactment, but this is not the general case. Many events are relatively short, and missing a few minutes can mean missing an important aspect, while at bigger events only part might be observed. Such issues were accepted as unavoidable, but it was felt that repetitions and the timescale would substantially reduce their impact. Conversely, some events were seen without any prior knowledge of their taking place. The problem of partial observation was never overcome, but the use of appropriate secondary material was often useful in confirming what had been recorded including details of material and expressive forms, and real-time estimates of percentages or absolute numbers.

Certain factual data was recorded in every case, e.g. location, date and timing, basic form of the activity, actors and the nature and sequence of their actions. Summaries were written-up for every event, and narratives prepared for those chosen for inclusion within the theme chapters. In the analyses, some events observed or recorded, but not included as narrative summaries, are mentioned to illustrate or support particular points. In considering enactments, 'example' is a representative non-recurrent event, e.g. a protest march, and 'instance' a recurrent activity, e.g. a specific rugby international match.

### **1.7 Analysis and interpretation**

By its nature, this study includes a substantial amount of narrative, but Howe stresses that qualitative research '*does transcend storytelling and does proceed systematically*' (1991,

52). However, the storytelling, i.e. summaries of events observed or otherwise recorded is central; the data is not there unless fieldwork and associated desk research is undertaken. Handelman's proposal that there are 'broad parameters of likelihood' of 'certain operations being accomplished through certain forms of public event' (1998, 7) has validity, i.e. the form of an event reflects its intention, but does not imply that recording, categorising, analysis and interpretation of events is a mechanical exercise.

Analysis centres on the identification of 'generalisable cultural patterns' Bronner (2012, 24), and given the wide range of activities considered, this is dealt with in most detail in Chapter 7 Conclusions. No presumptions were made at the outset on what aspects of public events or the theories applied would be likely to exhibit such patterns. A practical methodology is adopted, which accepts that a specifically recognisable set of practices might be so closely associated with a group that it can be taken as authentic to them; the nature of such sets of practices is considered later. This sense of authenticity, in terms of recognisable provenance, can be applied to what is known, observed and inferred, and the contextual use. It applies to both established and imagined communities (a term considered later), popular and institutional lore, and provides a baseline for dealing with the relevance or resonance of lore to a wider demography. The use, adaptation and misuse of material and expressive forms within or outside their original provenance raises issues of authenticity, but there is no implication of value judgement on this. Objective assessments can often be made of use in different contexts and the extent of its movement from its origin.

Most data recorded is qualitative, and the initial stage of analysis is the recognition of patterns, common qualities, continuities and consistencies within this. Data on occurrence can illustrate what events or types of events are being enacted regularly or frequently, and which are infrequent or rarely recorded. Recording patterns of overall form and constituent material and expressive elements can be straightforward within an activity, type of activity or theme, and the degree of repetition assists this. Certain forms of event and constituent elements display patterns between activities in the same theme and across themes. Some forms of event vary in scale and format but contain essentially similar characteristics. The order of the thematic narratives reflects an increasing degree of institutional lore, from the essentially popular activities of socialising to popular and

institutional protesting, and then to remembering in which the major events are institutional.

Those present vary from casual observers to others with professional roles, taken to include those paid, appointed, elected or otherwise in some established functional position. In some activities, popular participation involves taking on a professional role. Attendance patterns including breakdown of age, gender and ethnicity illustrate who is present and who is not; this can have folkloristic and broader social significance. The extent to which data is quantifiable varies, but absolute numbers and percentages have been assessed where appropriate and can assist interpretation. Most descriptive and quantifiable patterns may be reasonably predictive of future similar enactments and allow valid generalisations to be made of their likely form, content and demography.

Lindquist summarises a central issue, that ‘if a nation can be represented by concrete bodies (such as militaries) or symbols (such as flags), it can also be imagined in terms of ideals that emerge from narrative’ (2006, 446). Recognising patterns of the concrete involves detailed comparison, whereas other aspects require a degree of judgement and inference, e.g. interpreting the broader significance of an observation or identifying elements of performance and practice. The extent to which, less tangible aspects, e.g. contextual norms, purposes, goals, and outcomes could be assessed varied, and Smith’s cautionary comment that an observer ‘has no way of knowing what the significance of the particular acts he witnesses may be’ (1971, 68) is a constant concern. Background information may be very useful, but there is always an element of ‘guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses’ (Geertz 1993, 20) and combining ‘speculation as well as rationalization’ (Bronner 2011, 10). However, Geertz’s caution that ‘what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to’ (1993, 9) does not obviate the need for a consistent approach underpinned by theory and taken account of relevant empirical studies.

This study is underpinned by the proposal that the activities dealt with illustrate or employ traditional forms of communal activity, whatever their popular or institutional origin. Given the diversity of activities considered, and issues around folkloristics and institutional events, the avoidance of cherry-picking or special pleading, in terms of theoretical approaches was essential. Considerations of tradition in the present-day, by

Bronner (2011) and Oring (2013), and a critique of the two most significant theories, performance and practice, by Bronner (2012), provide the theoretical basis for analysis. Studies of both theories and complementary or subsidiary issues were undertaken. These theories and the rationale for considering practice to be the more appropriate theoretical approach are considered in Chapter 3. While some sources provided substantial theoretical material, others were more limited but presented useful concepts or terminology.

## **Chapter 2 – Public events and ceremonies in context**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a context for observation and recording, and the theoretical framework adopted to analyse them. It includes a brief historical summary of public events, some of which may be considered as precedents for, although not necessarily antecedents of, present-day activities. It also considers the development of cultural, political and other institutions, some of which are continuingly important to events in Cardiff.

### **2.2 Historical overview**

Bushaway notes that before the Industrial Revolution, there were local, popular customary calendars which included ‘festivals and rituals drawn from other calendars whose primary functions were essentially different’ (2011, 30). Many were centred on the agriculture year, when ‘food and drink were abundant, courtship and social intercourse of every kind flourished, and the hardship of life was forgotten’ (Thompson 1993, 51). There were also calendars of Christian, pagan, legal and dynastic origin (Griffin 2005, 27), albeit pagan and other vernacular religious activities were diminishing by the seventeenth century (Thomas 1971; Brown 1979). Activities included ‘carnivals...fairs, feasts, civil and social ceremonies and rituals’ (Bakhtin 1968, 5) guilds and processions (Burke 2009, 263-264). There were formal ‘princely entries’ (McGowan 2000, ix) and ‘deeply traditional’ festivals attached to religious feast days (Friedrich 2000b, 5); indeed, records of the state and Church are the main sources of information events for the Early Modern Period (Burke 2009, 103-105; Hutton 2001, 412). In Wales, Howard notes All Souls Day beggars, the Mari Lwyd around Advent and at New Year, parish festivals, horse races and Shrove Tuesday football (2001, 659-660).

Changes in religious attitudes following the Reformation led to a decline in popular festivities, and the calendars of the state and civic authorities influenced public events, with objections to popular activities such as dancing, plays, gambling and drinking (Burke 2009, 290-291; Bushaway 2011, 158). The tendency of sports and games, particularly the early forms of football, to go beyond rough play into violence, is often recorded (Hutton 2001, 154-155, 159-163; Roud 2006, 50-56; Ehrenreich 2007, 228-231). During the

seventeenth century in 'busy England' (Bushaway 2011, 158) and presumably 'busy Wales', public events were influenced by commercial developments (Griffin 2005, 37; Borsay 2006, 203; Burke 2009, 335). Ehrenreich considers that the number of festivals decreased over the centuries owing to the development of capitalism. There was less opportunity, as 'the middle classes had to learn to calculate, save and "defer gratification"', while the working class had to show up 'sober and on time, six days a week' (Ehrenreich 2007, 100). Tilly notes that forms of popular protest such as 'tollgate attacks...orderly destruction of property...[and] Rough Music' became less common in the early nineteenth century (1995, 33), a period which saw the development of greater popular political engagement, with 'advertised assemblies...presentations of speakers...resolutions, votes, acclamations, petitions' (1995, 21). Later in the century, certain popular concerns were addressed by political reforms such as 'extension of the franchise...fair elections...workers' rights...universal education' (Rogers 2004, 115).

The structured public ceremonies including military parades, and the importance of national flags and anthems developed in France following the Revolution (Ehrenreich 2007, 194; Elgenius 2011a, 151) provided a pattern for other countries. Civic rituals allowed relationships 'between the corporation, employers and major urban institutions on the one hand, and popular collectivities such as friendly and trade societies on the other' to be played out (Gunn 2007, 171). Thompson notes the popularity of trade processions from the early eighteenth century (1993, 58). The Cardwell Reforms of the Army (1881) renamed most infantry regiments to reflect their recruiting area, e.g. South Wales Borderers.

Wales had no large towns until the early Victorian period, and Cardiff became a large populous town in the mid-nineteenth century. The population tripled to seventy-one thousand between 1851 and 1871, and it became the first large centre of commercial and later political power in Wales (Davies 2002, 4; Bryant 2006, 121). The development of civic and educational institutions combined to make the nascent city very different to the rest of the nation (Evans 1985, 351; Williams 1985, 223; Davies 1992, 453), although the subsequent pattern of urban public events became similar other UK cities (Gunn 2007). However, by the 1870s, 'civic pageantry was forced to compete' with 'an increasingly commercialised popular culture' (Gunn 2007, 179), This includes events of popular origin, as the influx of new citizens from within and outside Wales produced a 'gathering



of strangers' (Evans 1985, 352). The point is illustrated by O'Leary, who writes that parades in this period and for decades subsequently, expressed sectional rather than more communal identity, including Ivorites, celebrating Welsh history, culture and language, and Corpus Christi, displaying Roman Catholicism, and indirectly Irishness (2012, 128). Such processions were 'both familiar and spectacular' (O'Leary 2012, 9) and had their own 'intrinsic codes of conduct' (Gunn 2007, 233), with the 'Sunday best' suit worn to emphasise seriousness of intent (O'Leary 2012, 22). However, in Cardiff, most present-day public events were established relatively recently.

Despite a lack of overarching unifiers, Wales and Welshness had long been associated with certain imagery, and Porter contends that this was part of an English construct by which the 'outlandishness' of others helped define Englishness (2001, 101). In contrast, Morgan suggests a degree of knowing exaggeration of both the positive and less positive, as the use of this imagery became more widespread in the late eighteenth century (2007). An 1804 illustration by Mary Parry entitled 'Wales' shows a woman with goat, leek and the Prince of Wales' Three Feathers (Museum of Welsh Life, Item 15.2). The popularity of the Red Dragon, goat and harp as Welsh images increased from the early nineteenth century, with the daffodil introduced in 1907 (Morgan 2007, 90-91). Following a Cardiff Eisteddfod prize in 1834, Lady Llanover promoted what is now considered traditional Welsh women's dress (Stevens 2005; Morgan 2007, 80) although her influence has been contested (Freeman 2007). Morgan notes that as 'Dame Wales' this dress became a popular image and caricature later in the century (2007, 81).

From the early 1800s, Wales became associated with Nonconformism notably Methodism (Williams 1985, 161-162; Davies 1992, 327-331; Jenkins 2000, 95-97), and as with the Reformation the associated religious practices virtually replaced earlier customs, music and singing (Burke 2009, 329). Morgan comments on the lack of a modern secular culture and literature as a potential counterbalance to the impact of religious reform (2007, 48-49). While recognising the development of a 'Welsh society' from the mid eighteenth century (Morgan 2007, 58) the lack of a national political structure led to a greater emphasis on cultural matters (Morgan 2007, 98), although this is not unique to Wales. Leerssen discerns commonalities in the 'cultivation of culture' throughout Europe, during the nineteenth century (2006, 559-560), and emphasises its most frequent origin in towns and cities (2015). The 'public organisation of cultural

pursuits', generated most strongly by the professional and middle classes includes 'the establishment of associations, city academies, book rooms, reading societies and clubs, and the establishment of newspapers or periodicals'; 'the institutional infrastructure created by the modern state' includes 'archives, libraries, universities...national academies, museums or galleries' (Leerssen 2006, 571-572). In addition to such, essentially, literary and academic activities, Leerssen notes the propagation of formal commemorations and festivals, and 'practices [and] performative culture', including revived and invented traditions, sports and music (2006, 572).

An emphasis on the state and middle-class in cultural developments should not overshadow the involvement of the working class, who were significant and often central in certain fields including the developing labour movement and religious revivals. Given the demography of rural communities and the expanding towns life of Wales, the working-class were also participants in the wider cultural movements. An important element of this culture was the eisteddfod movement, expanding from the late eighteenth century. The central ceremonies of the Gorsedd of Bards of the Island of Britain, at the modern National Eisteddfod, remains one of the best-known national traditions. Its introduction to a local eisteddfod (1819) exemplifies Iolo Morganwg's 'invented Welsh traditions the Welsh had never known' (Williams 1985, 165), but Iolo (Edward Williams 1747-1826) was also 'the first serious folklorist in Wales' (Williams 1985, 165). Another major landmark was Lady Charlotte Guest's translation (between 1838 and 1849) of eleven mediaeval Welsh stories, to which she gave the name *Mabinogion* (Davies 2007, ix). The Welsh National Anthem, *Hen Wlad fy Nhadau* (*Land of My Fathers*) was composed in 1856 and the tradition of its being sung at public occasions developed quickly (Morgan 2007, 79). The late nineteenth century also saw the widespread development of choral singing (Morgan 2007, 79); Leerssen notes this and the Eisteddfod movement among his examples of cultural development (2015, 11, 17). Andrews comments on the intention of the Welsh industrial middle class in the late nineteenth century, to develop a 'progressive and historic, classless and democratic' national identity, with rugby among the distinctive aspects of contemporary Wales employed in this (Andrews 1996, 53-55). The Welsh Rugby Union was established in 1881, and other new cultural institutions included the Football Association of Wales (1876), National Eisteddfod Society (1880), University of Wales (1893), Royal Welsh Agricultural Society (1904) and the National Museums and Galleries of Wales (1907). The Welsh Folk

Museum and other issues of folklore in Wales are considered later. The Church in Wales has been disestablished since 1920, although the Anglican influence on public liturgy is noticeable. Many of the above cultural institutions and others have been and still are based in Cardiff, as are the main broadcasting and print media, i.e. BBC Cymru/Wales, ITV Wales, S4C (the Welsh-medium television channel) and *Western Mail*.

Leerssen includes institutional language planning and popular language activism as nineteenth century cultural concerns (2006, 572), although both became more prominent in Wales in the later twentieth century. Mass unemployment, during the 1920s and 1930s, led to large-scale migration from the Valleys (Williams 2000, 188-189), and the smaller numbers attending Nonconformist chapels led to a decline in the number of Welsh speakers (Williams 2000, 191) and their strong influence on social and political attitudes (Pope 1998, 1). The establishment of the youth movement Urdd Gobaith Cymru (1922), the nationalist political party Plaid Cymru (1925), and the later Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society, 1962) were responses to language concerns. The decades following saw the development of Welsh-medium education from the 1970s, S4C in 1982 and a first Welsh Language Act in 1993.

Hill contends that before the Assembly, the people of Wales 'had to content themselves with a set of institutional symbols', within which he emphasises 'museum, university, dual language' (2002, 14). Indeed, there are still strong direct and indirect associations with these and the cultural institutions established in the late nineteenth century. By their nature, some of these are less prominent in public events in Cardiff, but only sport now maintains a strong presence in the wider public consciousness, with international rugby and football an actual presence. However, it is significant that the Royal Welsh Show and National Eisteddfod receive day-long coverage on S4C, and substantial media input, more generally.

Housley et al. comment that such symbols, and the broader, culture, language and religion produced a Wales that was 'a nation without a state' (2009, 197). Paterson and Jones suggest that the lack of a separate legal system unlike Scotland had resulted in a lack of 'many of the strong professional organisations central to Hegel's conception of a civic society' (1999, 176). Bryant makes the significant point that 'Cardiff, unlike London, Edinburgh, or Dublin, is not a city that has been at the heart of a nation's history for centuries' (2006, 121).

While the establishment of the Welsh Office in 1964 may have been a step towards a recognisable civic society (Paterson and Jones 1999, 175), the National Assembly for Wales became the first directly elected body to have political power at national level. The influence of the Assembly and other social and cultural developments on issues of identity is addressed in Chapter 3, but the negatives also need consideration. Hodgson notes two ‘competing assessments’ in Wales: there is either ‘a vibrant community spirit based on civil and civic participation’ or ‘civil society...is weak and needs to be created’ (2005, 96). The argument for the latter is that the public sphere has become diminished, owing to a centralisation of government and a perceived lack of influence on powerful bodies (Rogers 2004, 116; Gleeson 2006, 20).

From the 1930s, the main popular interests in the UK have been cinema, television and spectator sports (Sandbrook 2005, 118-119), particularly rugby and football in Wales (Williams 2000, 189). In recent decades, a noticeable night-time ‘play economy’ has developed among teens and twenties (Bromley et al. 2003, 1833; Lovering 2006, 182), up to seventy thousand visiting Cardiff’s bars and clubs at weekends (Lovering 2006, 182-183). Large-scale infrastructure projects and urban development generally have impact on the numbers of outdoor and indoor events (Punter 2006, 122). The Millennium Stadium centres on stereotypically classless rugby, but Cardiff Bay’s gentrification centres on various middle-class activities such as food fairs, sailing and opera. Considering Cardiff specifically, Davies comments on the economic benefits associated with ‘promotion of city fairs or festivals...in recent years’ (1983, 7); ‘recent’ is significant, as the city did not reflect a widespread expansion of events following the Second World War and during the 1970s noted as a common phenomenon elsewhere (Cohen 1985, 86; Boissevain 1992b, 10). Cardiff Summer Festival has been established since the mid-1980s, with Winter Wonderland and Calennig (New Year’s Eve) since the mid-2000s. The particular emphasis on summer, Christmas and New Year is widely noted, in the present century (Foley and McPherson 2007, 1440; Robertson et al. 2007, 99; Bell 2009, 3).

### **2.3 Summary**

Williams comments that the Welsh ‘have lived by making and remaking themselves in generation after generation...usually within a British context’ (1985, 304). The above illustrates the essential validity of the comment, but also the influence of wider European

cultural developments in the nineteenth century. This can be seen as part of a broad movement toward organising and formalising both popular and institutional activities within broadly acceptable time-frames, e.g. protesting (1820s – 1830s) and cultural institutions (notably from mid-1870s to mid-1900s). The development of political parties, pressure groups and formal institutional structures of government in the nineteenth century has continued into the twenty-first. With the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales, the major infrastructure projects and the mainly positive employment and broader economic developments, the influence of Brewer’s pragmatics of demography, economy and politics in providing the context for expressions of folkloristic significance is illustrated throughout. In addition, what Hill terms ‘institutional symbols’, such as ‘museum, university, dual language’ (2002, 14) remain similarly relevant. The Welsh Folk Museum (now St Fagans Welsh National Museum of History) has been a major influence on the study of folklore in Wales, and is considered later within a broader of this topic (see 3.9). This is also relevant to the University of Wales and the now independent Welsh universities, while Cardiff University is involved in various events. However, the two languages within Wales remain the most significant of Hill’s symbols. While the influence of any of these matters may not be at the forefront of their mind, they provide the contexts in which people can engage in free outdoor activities, within a modern popular customary calendar, in which some older calendars retain some relevance.



## **Chapter 3 – Theoretical issues**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Folkloristics has substantive theoretical bases, but folklore's lack of sui generis identity (Ben-Amos 1972, 5) as phenomenon or discipline has led to continuing debate on basic matters. There is no standard terminology for many concepts and types of activity (Ben-Amos 1984, 98; Abrahams 1985, 330, 1987 and 1993, 28; Santino 2004, 365); most significantly, there are no generally agreed definitions of folklore and tradition which have 'seesawed in folklore discourse', between the process of transmission and that which is transmitted (Ben-Amos 1984, 116 and 118). That they are social constructs often appears to have been forgotten in dogmatic theoretical statements. A few words have specific folkloristic significance but are also employed throughout with their common understanding, including performance, practice and commemoration. The context usually makes the meaning clear.

Most of the subsequent material on folklore and tradition per se is drawn from folkloristic sources. A review of earlier approaches is integral to this study, as some retain significance in the present, e.g. the widespread use of folkloric themes, stories and characters in popular culture in the past decade, but more relevant is that certain issues continue to influence current empirical and theoretical standpoints. This leads to a consideration of developing concepts of folklore and tradition from the mid-1950s, notably the emergence and widespread acceptance of performance theory from the 1970s onward and the radically alternative practice theory from the late 1990s. Theories associated with ceremonies and events, and the publics which engage with them bring the aim of the study into focus. This topic and subsequently authenticity and identity are influenced by other disciplines, and while this has been the case since the 1960s (Hufford 1995, 528), care is required to avoid presuming comparability in understandings, terminologies and theories. A summary of the study of folklore in Wales is relevant as there are several pervasive concerns which impact in a variety of ways.

### **3.2 Earlier approaches within folkloristics**

Folklore developed in part from the field of popular antiquities, prominent from the seventeenth century onward; this interest included studying, inter alia, popular

amusements, sports, pastimes, ceremonies, manners, customs, events and beliefs (Owen 1985, 3; Abrahams 1993, 3; Oring 1994, 214). Oring also notes antiquarian interest in the 'legitimizing value of the past', including discovering precedents for 'political and religious institutions and prerogatives' such as common law and Parliament (1994, 216, citing de Caro 1972). However, the main concern was with rural cultures considered as expressing aspects of enduring national character but be in danger of being lost (Evans 1973, 17; Abrahams 1993, 4; Roper 2012, 245; Wingfield and Gosden 2012, 258). Abrahams expresses the common opinion that valuing the traditional operates in counterpoint to industrialisation and modernisation (1993, 10), but privileging and othering the rural and traditional has been to the detriment of folkloristic consideration of the urban and the institutional.

A concurrent interest in folktales, ballads and other forms, with a history of oral transmission, also stressed risk of loss. Percy's *Reliques* emphasises the poor condition of its main manuscript source (1906 [1765], 2), although many ballads were already in printed form and still being performed (Abrahams 1993, 11-12; Boyes 2010). Pre-dating significant collecting of folktales, literary fairy tales, drawing on traditional stories and forms, became prominent in continental Europe, in the late seventeenth century (Zipes 2012, 109-134; Warner 1995, 161-197; Noyes 2014, 16). That sources ranged from villagers to aristocrats (Warner 1995, 19-20), suggest that written forms may have influenced later collectors. Zipes comments on folktales 'stylized into potent fairy tales', by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm (2012, 57), but allowing for such matters, *Kinder und Hausmärchen* (1812-15), Lönnrot's *Kalevala* (1835) and the like presented people with local or localised stories from their past, whatever the degree of authenticity. In some cases such collections contributed to the 'land-based patriotism [that] arose during the 19th century' (Abrahams 1993, 4), which in stressing a defined territory, an heroic history and the single and exceptional nature of a long-established people supported the powerful in the cause of building nation-states and of the less powerful in promoting claims of national identity. Morgan's summary of such romantic nationalism in Wales (2007) illustrates the approach to many present-day expressions of Welsh identity.

Thoms's introduction of the term folk-lore in 1846 aimed to bring the British approach in line with continental Europe, replacing antiquarianism with formal collecting, organising and publishing (Ben-Amos 1972, 3; Abrahams 1993, 9; Oring 1994, 214). The



professional and middle-class background of many of those involved in the development of folklore studies and generally within the broader expansion of cultural interests (Leerssen 2006, 572; Boyes 2010, 31-33; Roper 2012, 246-248) echoes the social status of antiquarians (Abrahams 1993, 3; Morgan 2007). The apparent antiquity, longevity and endurance of many such forms, allied to theories of social evolution and associated cultural survivals allowed organisation and classification in ways comparable to geology and biology. Evidence of past structures and links, and the recognisable development of these, e.g. the acceptance and dispersion of variants of a folk-song, as being comparable to biological mutation (Oring 1994, 217) led to taxonomies cognate with palaeontology. The Folklore Society, founded in 1878 as one of the first organisations concerned with the study of traditional vernacular culture, maintained an interest in survival, into the early twentieth centuries (Roper 2012, 245). This contrasts with the substantial field collecting of current forms and usages by early members of the Folk Song Society, founded 1898 (Roper 2012, 251-252). Although not necessarily concerned with the usual contexts or specifics of performance, theirs was an early approach to folklore as a process. Folklorists in the USA had interests comparable to European counterparts, but comments on the absence of a 'stable lower social level' and 'common ethnic origins'; rather, there were multiple folklores: a 'settler nation', an 'indigenous population' and 'former enslaved forced migrants' (2014, 17). This historical situation is significant in informing later theoretical developments.

What Dundes's terms the 'materials of folklore' would have been broadly accepted from the earliest days to the mid-twentieth century. Reflecting much of the foregoing, the materials include, inter alia, myths, legends and tales, and vernacular charms, chants, insults, costume, dance, drama, art, belief, instrumental music, songs, speech, games, gestures, symbols, prayers, vendors' cries and 'major forms such as festivals and special day (or holiday) customs' (Dundes 1965, 3). The stability of such defined categories implies a mechanistic approach to genres, but given the variety of content and range of contexts associated with each, this had never been the case. However, in the mid-twentieth century, more nuanced theoretical opinions on the nature of both the materials and their study were becoming increasingly prominent.

### 3.3 Concepts of folklore and tradition

Ben-Amos writes: ‘often emotive, yet unambiguous, tradition has persisted with but vague definitions not only in folklore but in humanistic and social scientific discourse, in general’ (1984, 98). Bronner considers that as ‘a term and as an idea, tradition has not been treated kindly’ (2011, 2). Folklore as ‘the science of tradition’ (Hartland 1904, cited in Bronner 2006, 409) is a difficult term as there is no clear-cut field of interest cognate with the natural sciences, whose concepts and techniques were drawn upon. However, had folklore been accepted as both the name of the discipline and its theoretical and empirical content (cf. biology and geology), many terminological and theoretical issues might have been less contentious. Dundes’s description of folkloristics as ‘the study of the materials’ (1965, 3) is helpful, although the nature of such study goes well beyond his categorisation of materials. It allows for theoretical differences, although continuing seesawing between understandings of the nature and boundaries of folklore and tradition remains problematic.

Many definitions of folklore attempt a simple summary, e.g. ‘all traditional expressions and implementations of knowledge operating within a community’ (Abrahams 1971, 17) and ‘knowledge, understandings, values, attitudes, assumptions, feelings and beliefs’ which are ‘transmitted by word of mouth or customary examples’ (Brunvand, 1978, 2). Toelken stresses recurrence in form and content but change in performance (1996, 37), noting ‘processes, forces, and attitudes that result in the retaining of certain information, beliefs, styles, customs and the like’ and comparable processes etc. that ‘function to alter features, contents, meanings, styles, performance, and usage’, terming these ‘Twin Laws of Folklore’ (Toelken 1996, 39-40). Georges and Jones’s ‘describable and transmissible entity’ (1995, 93) can include both process and product; this is expanded by Sims and Stephens, who list, *inter alia*, ‘folk songs and legends...quilts, Boy Scout badges...holiday food’; folklore is, thus, ‘verbal...customary...and material’ (2011, 1-2). In common with most of Dundes’s materials, these are relatively distinct entities, for which the term ‘primary genre’ can be employed, with ‘secondary genre’ applying to Dundes’s major forms, i.e. activities combining other distinct genres (Lindquist 2006, 448; Gilman 2009, 337). From a non-folkloristic standpoint Gilman provides the useful term ‘conventions’, for limiting characteristics distinctions of ‘thematic, stylistic, and compositional elements’ (2009, 3); this supports Santino’s comment that ‘genres are

available, as are the forms and the items' but that choices, styles and innovations are personal (2004, 372).

However, these definitions do not address the continuing debate on the nature, significance and relationship of product and process within folklore, and there are definitions which address this in categorising aspects or forms of tradition. While there are varying opinions within each, performance theory and practice theory are the central contrasting approaches. Each is dealt with in turn.

### **3.4 Performance theory**

The major theoretical approaches of performance and practice draw on earlier definitions and attempt to resolve problems inherent in the foregoing concepts of folklore and tradition. Particularly in the USA, developments centred on the recognition that folkloristics was under-theorised, in comparison with comparable disciplines, notably anthropology and the developing field of sociolinguistics (Ben-Amos 1972, 10; Hymes, 1972). The qualitative difference between the material (essentially stable) and the expressive (essentially fluid and flexible) became the focus of more attention. Bascom's term 'verbal art', was presented as a 'convenient and appropriate term for folktales, myths, legends, proverbs, riddles' as 'an acceptable term to distinguish it from the total range of materials classed as folklore and 'meant to encompass only a segment of folklore' (1955, 245, 246). Abrahams later writes that 'the full analysis of a tradition or genre calls for the study of organizational elements of both items and performance' (1968, 145), and, that concepts of folklore as tradition and performance 'are not mutually exclusive is, *of course*, clear' (1972, 16; emphasis added). In the Introduction to *Toward new perspectives in folklore*, Paredes supports Bascom, in 'delimiting folklore in specific situations, where it can be controlled or studied', rather than 'defining a general concept' (1972, x).

However, other contributors to this volume which Bronner calls 'the founding manifesto for performance-oriented folklore studies' (2012, 29) take a narrower view, and several essays and their authors remain influential. In aiming to identify the 'unifying thread that joins jokes and myths, gestures and legends, costumes and music into a single category of knowledge' (1972, 3), Ben-Amos terms verbal art, the 'main feature of folklore' (1972, 7), i.e. he extends its significance beyond the original scope. He emphasises the

‘performance situation’ as the ‘crucial context for the available text’, and the importance of repeated performance of such texts ‘by different peoples on various occasions’ (Ben-Amos 1972, 5). As such, folklore is not an aggregate of things, but a process – a communicative process’ and ‘the action that happens at that time’ (Ben 1972, 9). This approach is echoed by Bauman: ‘the future of folklore as an empirical discipline depends on a redirection of attention from folklore as superorganic tradition to folklore as action’ (1972b, 33), and that ‘the only relevant sharing of folklore which takes place is a communicative sharing through performance’ (1972b, 35). Two later sources provide a useful summary of the significance of form and process rather than content: performance is ‘aesthetic practices – patterns of behavior, ways of speaking, manners of bodily comportment’ (Kapchan 1995, 479) with a performer’s ‘communicative competence’ subject to evaluation for its ‘virtuosic skill, communicative efficacy, and affecting power’ (Bauman 2014, 99). The idea of folklore as action informs Kapchan’s proposal that performances ‘materialize and are recognized within generic bounds’ (1995, 482), implying that genres delineate categories of action rather than describable and transmissible entities.

Making an objective evaluation of communicative competence without some basis for comparison of virtuosic skill etc. might seem difficult, but isolation from an underlying something that exists prior to and which informs performance has never been absolute. Indeed, Ben-Amos emphasises that ‘folklore forms and texts are performed repeatedly by different peoples on various occasions’ (1972, 5), but while accepting the methodological necessity of abstracting and collecting ‘things’, stresses that folklore is not reducible to enumerative definitions (lists of objects) or substantive definitions (folklore as art, literature, knowledge or belief) (1972, 9).

Ben-Amos offers a later summary of the main folkloristic interpretations of tradition, but he is not arguing for the concept, or modifying earlier views. He writes that ‘the process of tradition implies the dynamics of transmission of cultural heritage from generation to generation’ (1984, 116-117), and describes ‘seven strands of tradition’ within folkloristics. He does not suggest that the strands are necessarily interdependent or mutually exclusive, nor does he privilege any. The seven strands were a significant statement and have been widely referenced up to the present. Tradition as ‘lore’ is past knowledge, in danger of dying, i.e. comparable to early folklore opinion (Ben-Amos

1984, 102). Around a third of the paper deals with ‘canon’. He notes a ‘Great Tradition’, associated with literacy and elites, which denies canonical status to other printed and oral texts; while commenting that ‘narratives, songs, proverbs, and riddles’ provide an equally well understood canon, he recognises this as a ‘convenient abstraction’ (Ben-Amos 1984, 105-106). ‘Process’ is the dynamics of transmission, but Ben-Amos treats this very superficially; noting the longstanding concept of transmission in time, he emphasises the significance of a spatial dimension, i.e. the immediate performance context (Ben-Amos 1984, 117). He does not rehearse performance theory, and his definition of tradition as ‘performance’ is brief, stressing that tradition cannot be discrete product and discrete process, and that the former emerges and is recreated in the latter. ‘The telling is the tale’ (Ben-Amos 1972, 10) is reformulated as ‘there are no narratives only narrations’, as tradition ‘cannot be both dynamic...force and pre-existing, culture-specific material’ (Ben-Amos 1984, 123-124). Ben-Amos also defines tradition as ‘mass’, i.e. that which is transmitted and changed by those who transmit it (1984, 117), as ‘culture’ i.e. thought and behaviour (1984, 119) and ‘langue’ which refers to the underlying concepts and rules of culture (1984, 121).

Other advocates can be less rigid than Ben-Amos. Bauman (echoing Abrahams 1968, 145) notes that there is not a binary division between performance and earlier approaches: ‘completely novel and completely fixed texts represent the poles of an ideal continuum, and that between the poles lies the range of emergent text structures to be found in empirical performance’ (1977, 40). He later accepts that performance may involve the ‘interplay of authority and creativity, the ready-made and the emergent’ (Bauman 1992b, 42-43). Seemingly similar, Kapchan considers repetitions central to ‘the generic means of tradition making’ (1995, 479) and accepts ‘conventionally appropriate rhetorical strategies, formulae, citations, and symbols’ (1995, 482). However, employing conventionally appropriate rather than traditional is somewhat evasive, and similar examples from Kapchan are given later. Both Kapchan (2003, 124-126) and Bauman (2014, 103-106) illustrate the basic point of their comments, using patent-medicine vendors’ sales pitch as examples of the contextual adaptation of conventional expressive forms. The essential simplicity of context and intention exemplify Ben-Amos’s assertion that ‘there is no dichotomy between processes and products’ (1972, 10), but more complex examples would present a stronger case.

The concept of a recognisable folk remained less contentious. Ben-Amos writes that ‘no matter how defined...[folklore’s]...existence depends on its social context, which may be either a geographic, linguistic, ethnic, or occupational grouping’ (1972, 5). Echoing Ben-Amos on repetition of texts, Kapchan comments that these ‘situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities’, including ‘nationalism, ethnicity, class status, or gender’ (1995, 479). Given Ben-Amos’s emphasis on folklore as ‘artistic communication in small groups’ (1972, 13), both his and Kapchan’s groupings are anything but small.

Performance theorists continue to promote the approach by both justification and criticism. Bauman provides a recent summary of ‘prominent shaping influences’, i.e. antecedents and precedents for performance theory, including Malinowski’s ‘context of situation’ (1923) and Parry and Lord’s ‘oral formulaic composition’ (1960) (2014, 97). Kapchan proposes that the performance approach provides ‘an intricate counterpoint to the unconscious practices of everyday life’ (1995, 479). The point is expanded by Bauman, who describes the movement of performance from ‘ancillary, unanalytical attraction’ to its theatricality, to a ‘broadly synthetic, comprehensive conceptual and analytical framework...[of]... communicative practice’ (2014, 111), as a ‘critical corrective to long-entrenched, even canonical approaches’ (2014, 113). While somewhat dogmatic, Bauman is more restrained than other proponents of the ‘purer’ version of performance. Kapchan seriously over-argues that textualising a performance is ‘akin to murder’ (2003, 122). However, she subsequently accepts that comparing the textualised ‘performative moments’ can illustrate the development of social movements in, e.g. ‘civic celebrations, pageants, parades, and other crowd rituals’ (Kapchan 2003, 122). Briggs describes the Aarne-Thompson (1964) system as ‘an endless production of individual cartographies’ which are ‘largely along Eurocentric lines’ (2012, 100), and proposes that ‘the work of folklorists should be to use these analyses of the distinct parameters of pragmatic and communicable dimensions to denaturalize reifications, promote awareness of conflicting strategies and models, and explore alternatives’ (2012, 104).

### **3.5 Practice theory**

While Kapchan considers it an intricate counterpoint and Bauman a critical corrective, Noyes calls performance theory, ‘one provincial view among others’ (2014, 32), but both the historical basis of American folklore studies and the socio-political context of the

early 1970s, makes the development of theory appropriate to the US understandable. However, the narrowed focus of the new perspectives which inform performance theory have been questioned. Oring acknowledges a widespread acceptance of performance theory, but in reviewing its origins writes that ‘folklorists set out to relieve folklore of the burden of tradition with a ‘redefinition of folklore’ as the creation of art in the moment, with no ‘necessary connection between folklore and the past’ (1994, 222). He notes the reluctance of some modern theorists such as Abrahams ‘to dispense with the concept of tradition’ (Oring 1994, 228), but avoidance of the term continues, e.g. ‘historical relations’ and ‘history, its categories and valuations’ (Kapchan 2003, 126 and 132). Oring also expresses concern on artifice, within performance: ‘a process that is deliberate, controlled, utterly replicable, and expedient’ (1994, 214), and considers performance theory to be a research strategy, which explains nothing, but ‘only tells where one should look for explanations’ (1994, 228).

Oring covers similar ground in a later critique of the seven stands of tradition, and considers Ben-Amos’s lack of ‘personal interest in the concept’ unsatisfactory (2013, 23), particularly the lack of emphasis on process, which underlies his own definition of tradition as ‘the process of cultural reproduction’, in which culture is ‘reproduced in transmission and repetition’ (2013, 25). He accepts the compatibility of pre-existing lore and its change taken as given, a viewpoint which is central to practice theory, and disputes the validity of taking the past as given and considering ‘each instantiation...as a performance with its own peculiar variables’, i.e. the essence of performance theory (Oring 2013, 26). Within his critique he also comments on the common expressed dichotomy of tradition and modernity but argues that this requires the former to be defined within the latter, as comparative and evaluative (Oring 2013, 31-32).

Echoing his earlier comments, Oring proposes that what performance theorists consider ‘*innovation, improvisation and creativity*’ is in fact the ‘deliberate, crafted and aesthetic’ (2013, 27; emphasis in the original), implying a following of rules and lack of novelty. He highlights the issue of social constructs being taken as reality, and the authoritative attitude that ignores the significance (or lack of) that people attach to habitual, vernacular activities; they may not relate such forms to folklore, simply knowing that they have been ‘around for a while’ (Oring 2013, 30). Bronner similarly stresses ‘that most people are unreflective about tradition’, but this ‘does not lessen its importance’ (2011, 5). Oring’s

concept of cultural reproduction allows tradition to be value-neutral, irrespective of any positive or negative interpretation of the product (2013, 34).

Bronner asserts ‘the limitations of performance study’ (2012, 24) owing to the lack of ‘social precedent’ (2012, 32), and provides a useful summary of the more useful folkloristic implications of practice theory. Practice theory is not specific to folkloristics, having developed substantially within social studies from the 1990s. It can be defined, narrowly, as ‘routine activities...notable for their unconscious, automatic, un-thought character’ (Swidler 2001, 74) or ‘activities which are situated, corporeal and shaped by habits without reflection’ (Thévenot 2001, 56). Neither Swidler nor Thévenot considers the significance of agency, but most definitions of practice theory do so, e.g. ‘skills, or tacit knowledges and presuppositions, that underpin activities’ (Schatzki 2001, 2) and practice as ‘knowledgeable, informed and goal-directed’ (Barnes 2001, 21). The latter also notes that ‘people constantly modify their habituated individual responses as they interact with others, in order to sustain a shared practice’ (Barnes 2001, 24), which implies some form of pre-existing knowledge and skills as noted in the examples of definitions of folklore in Chapter 3 (Abrahams 1971, 17; Brunvand (1978, 2). The concepts of tacit and latent knowledge are important to this, as they differ, although are not necessarily clearly distinguishable. Collins considers the former as understood or implicit, and including the consciously and unconsciously learned, e.g. riding a bicycle and speaking one’s native language (2001, 108). Latent knowledge includes approaches which are recognised as appropriate to a context, but which not have been applied on a regular basis if at all, e.g. awareness of the basics of taking part in a procession. Unlike Ben-Amos’s objection to an aggregate of things, Bronner stresses that ‘the aggregate (and precedence) of folk behaviour’ are central (2012, 23). In this definition, precedence is concerned with prior awareness and current application of the aggregate within a recognisable group, rather than as illustrating an historical precedent within or without the community. This underlies Bronner’s emphasis on the advantage of practice theory over performance in ‘its cultural tradition, consideration of cognitive or unconscious sources of action, and explanatory reach, particularly in analysing generalisable cultural patterns’ (2012, 24). Like Barnes, Bronner stresses the centrality of reflexivity in practice theory (2012, 30), and that individuals do not ‘invariably “follow” rules or traditions’, and that ‘much of the drama or purpose of repetitive practices is the identification, negotiation, and questioning of governing norms’ (2012, 33).



The foregoing illustrates Bascom's comment that 'the aesthetic experience of the audience is simultaneous with the creative act' (1955, 248-249). From a performance perspective, Kapchan expands the point, writing that repetitions of aesthetic practices 'situate actors in time and space, structuring individual and group identities' (1995, 482). However, if 'aesthetic' is taken broadly rather than specifically artistically virtuosic, in terms of the appropriateness of the enactment within the accepted parameters of the activity, it is equally applicable to the well-presented and carefully argued, the rough and ready, and the institutional. Interpreting an enactment implies familiarity with what underlies the communicative competence and the influence of personal experience (Cohen 1985, 53; Braid 1995, 18). There is some resonance with cultural significance, whether clear or highly-coded, and the norms of the context. Bronner's 'identification, negotiation' etc. can be considered as equating to the emergent and creative through drawing on the appropriate aggregate and precedence. Given this, practice theory can readily explain an enactment as affective and/or effective in mediating and creating individual identities and social communities. The communal nature of popular and/or professional participation often clearly illustrates the centrality of reflexivity. This includes contexts in which there is less familiarity with aggregate, but practices are learned relatively quickly and then acted out at the event. The performance approach remains valuable as a methodology in describing the enactment of certain forms of action and interaction, particularly some smaller-scale performer-audience contexts, while maintaining that this is within the context of practice theory. However, relatively few activities have been observed regularly in which performance as explanatory methodology can be useful.

Bronner's comment on the explanatory reach of the practice approach echoes his distinction that, 'in explanation, we find principle, in interpretation we contemplate pattern' (2006, 418). Recognition of broad patterns can be relatively straightforward, particularly with events or types of event which are regular, and for which, aggregate and precedence may be known from previous cases or the literature. However, it can be more complex, and involve 'guessing at meanings' (Geertz 1993, 20) and 'speculation as well as rationalization' (Bronner 2011, 10). In this, there can also be an element of interpretation, as engagement with events is linked to group values, attitudes etc. which might be recognised or inferred. However, explanation is secondary to interpretation, in this study. The potential to infer intention from a 'cultural scene and the evaluation of the

influence of contextual rules or social structure' (Bronner 2012, 34), is valuable in dealing with issues of authenticity, and employment of forms outside their original provenance. In its emphasis on the empirical, practice ties in with the methodologies of observation, and has the potential to be applied to institutional lore, in which aggregate and precedence are often evident.

Bronner proposes eight senses of tradition which complement the foregoing, and which include concepts of product, and transmission and process. In coming from a proponent of practice theory, Bronner provides a counter to Ben-Amos's seven strands (implicit in his chosen title), although adopting a similar approach in not privileging any sense or implying any mutual exclusiveness. Each sense is 'intrinsically prescriptive and socially constituted' (Bronner 2011, 11). Tradition is 'relational: instead of being a synonym for the past, tradition brings out the connection of the past in, as well as to, the present' (Bronner 2011, 4). Folk culture is 'socially constructed frames or registers in which people invoke and enact tradition' (Bronner 2011, 9), but 'does not carry the rule of law, although it implies authority' (Bronner 2011, 11).

Tradition can be the 'total sum of knowledge associated with non-institutionalised oral transmission, artisanship, and performance and associated with continuous pre-existence' (Bronner 2011, 43). It has limitations, notably the absence of values and understandings, and customary example (cf. Brunvand 1978, 2), but these can reasonably be presumed. To an extent, it conflates Ben-Amos's mass, culture and langue, although these include values etc. explicitly. While exemplifying seesawing, it can be taken as a reasonable definition of popular lore, and three subsequent definitions presume its validity.

Tradition can be a 'temporal process of *handing down* valued material' and 'the practical knowledge...associated with this process' (Bronner 2011, 40-41). In broad terms, handing down implies transmission of lore within a social community, to ensure its continuation, over time. Handing down has an element of the didactic, albeit not necessarily formally instructive or pedagogic. A second sense is a 'spatial or reformative process of *handing over* imaginative material drawing on collective wisdom or non-institutionalized "lore"' (Bronner 2011, 41-43). This implies an audience within or without the group, and while it can be taken as equating to Oring's cultural reproduction, it does not deny the validity of the performance approach. In terms of those receiving what is handed down or over, Jarman stresses the cognitive value of reading, listening, or

observing, although recognising that they are secondary to the experiential impact of participating directly as a means of ‘encoding social memory’ (1997, 8).

Tradition as ‘proclivity by individuals for the repetition of actions and speech’ (2011, 44-45) implies application of embedded, often quotidian practices and habitual, knowing usages and social etiquettes. While not ruling-out any sense of purposeful transmission, such proclivity can develop without obvious conscious awareness, i.e. is at one extreme of practice theory. Gailey’s term, ‘the only reasonable thing to do or believe’ (1989, 143) is a neat summary of this point. This study argues that these senses can apply as readily to institutional lore.

Tradition within ‘tightly knit communities’, which feel that their lore is endangered (Bronner 2011, 43-44), echoes Ben-Amos’s lore as past knowledge, in danger of dying. This presents an emic stance and is less obviously open to public expression and observation than Bronner’s etic concept of tradition as ideas ‘often presumed to be conservative...collective...naturalistic...religious...or ethical’ (2011, 46). This last might occur as a defensive stance against the presumptions or perceived prejudices of others. Bronner also notes a less focused sense of tradition as a contradiction to progress (2001, 47-48).

The foregoing is applied to popular lore in this study, but there is an argument that folkloristics should take cognisance of ‘institutional and bureaucratic organizations and practices’ as a form of cultural reproduction, ‘in order to grasp the larger questions of cultural continuity’ (Oring 2013, 36-37). Noyes comments that institutions ‘generate their own folklore’, and, while accepting popular aspects to this, stresses that ‘professional authority and identities are sustained by group-specific belief systems and expressive patterns’ (2014, 23). Both this and Handelman’s comments that event content ranges from ‘the unreflective to the exegetical’ (1998, 62) hint toward a continuum leading to the institutional and canonical. Although defined in terms of religious and philosophical traditions, Bronner provides a further definition which in its implicit repetitiveness of handing down is readily applicable to any institutional lore. This is tradition as the ‘standards, figures, norms or ideals often prescribed in texts and identified as scripture, canon, pantheon, reputation, or order...which form the authority and basis of an organization or institution’ (Bronner 2011, 45). His earlier linking of handing over to ‘collective wisdom or non-institutionalized “lore”’ (Bronner 2011, 41-43) is an obvious

issue, but overall and accepting the caveats, Bronner's senses provide the most useful basis for correspondence of popular and institutional lore, particularly through consideration of the broad or specific commonality or comparability of material and expressive forms, and forms of transmission.

### **3.6 Theoretical approaches to ceremonies and events**

The following applies to all types of events considered in this study, and either illustrates or allows inference of underlying commonalities of form and intention between activities within and across the themes. They are bounded in time and space, both of which are recognised as non-quotidian and special; they are internally coherent, with characteristics and processes that are stylised and familiar; they employ symbols and reflect identities and values (Abrahams 1987, 179; Handelman 1998, 15; Friedrich 2000b, 4; Santino 2009, 12). Significantly, Handelman stresses that they are 'constituted through their *intentionality*...and through their *practice* (their enactment or performance)' (1998, 17; emphasis added). Indeed, performance theorists cannot avoid the basic point of intention, in that they are 'situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within socially defined situational contexts' (Bauman 1992b, 46), in which 'meaningful' implies intention. Noyes's suggestion that large-scale events, in modern, plural societies, are 'loci of political, economic and cultural conflict' (2003, 8), is a quite persuasive approach to Brewer's pragmatics, taking conflict as presenting opposing or modifying alternatives. However, it should be noted that there is a stance that many events of popular origin are, or have their roots in, contestation, renegotiation and realignment of social realities (Kugelmass 1991, 456; Picard and Robinson 2006b, 3). Lindquist summarises this as illustrating a degree of tension between 'ritual and festivity, society and individual, hegemony and opposition, nation and locality, tradition and innovation' (2006, 463), all of which are significant to this study. Handelman's approaches to the lived-in world (considered below) address these issues, but the significant overarching point is that events are 'cognitatively graspable and emotionally livable' (Handelman 1998, 16), i.e. appealing to both head and heart.

While most definitions of events imply intention, the lack of standard terminology is an issue. Broad overall intention is defined by Dundes's 'major forms such as festivals and special day (or holiday) customs' (1965, 3), and Hutton's 'festivals of irresponsibility' and 'festivals of responsibility and obligation' (1997, 427). Falassi proposes a more

specific morphology analogous to Propp and the folktale, ‘accounting for all festivals’, within which he includes all types of event (1987b, 4-6). However, his analogy does not impose the mechanistic near-inevitability of Propp. He includes rites of passage, reversal, conspicuous display, conspicuous consumption, exchange, ritual drama and competition; some are more applicable to component elements, notably valorization, i.e. framing and validating the activity, and closing devalorization (Falassi 1987b, 4-6). While his illustrations tend toward the ritual and the Classical, every category is observable in modern events, and while not wholly discrete or all-embracing they can be useful in bringing together events with common intention. Examples can be directly comparable, e.g. Royal Salute and homecoming parade, and the less obvious, e.g. wearing identifying ribbon and placing a Cross near the War Memorial. In generalising this approach, Handelman’s tripartite system (1998, 22-62) is more useful in analytical terms. His categories are: ‘events that model the lived-in world’ which contain formalised and/or idealised constructs which may be used in a manner which is recognisably ritual, in order to ‘directly effect social realities’; ‘events that present the lived-in world’, which are ‘axiomatic icons of versions of such [social] realities’ and would include civic events; ‘events that re-present the lived-in world’ which ‘do work of comparison and contrast in relation to social realities’ and include festivals, carnivals, protests (Handelman 1998, 49). In emphasising events as both entity and process, Handelman links neatly to Oring and Bronner. Entity implies intention and process leads to outcomes, so the systems allow for the planned and anticipated, and what happens; this applies to activities of both popular and institutional origin, and associated popular participation.

Custom and tradition are often equally interchangeable, although the idea of the former as a particular habitual activity and the latter as an overarching context in which customs are enacted might often be implicit. The interchangeable use of festival and celebration, and ritual and ceremony is common, but festival and ritual are the most inclusive terms. They are often considered near-opposites in popular understanding: festival is about fun, music, drink and sex, whereas ritual is solemn and/or religious, with an underlying moral significance. However, festival encompasses a wide range of disparate activities, including carnivals, spectacles, parades, sporting events, and fairs (Abrahams 1987; Sharpe 2008, 218). Many express a community’s values and identities to themselves, but often engage others (Kugelmass 1991, 459; Quinn 2005, 238). The form might be a ‘linear, simultaneous or random set of events, with multiple genres and activities’, and

certain features occur frequently: opening ceremony, ritual, drama and contest, food and drink, dance and music, craft and arts, costuming and concluding event (Turner and McArthur 1990, 85). The role of music, drinking and dancing, in reinforcing the emotional impact of festival is frequently noted (Hedetoft 1995, 141; Fournier 2009, 195;), and playful deviance (Ravenscroft and Gilchrist 2009, 36) is commonplace. However, there is rarely any intention to be offensive, and the need to work within appropriate institutional requirements is generally respected (Lawrence 1987, 126-127; Kugelmass 1991, 459).

Rituals as such are likely to be recognised, based on the setting, distinctive dress and prescribed forms of speech and action (Bird 1980, 19; Bryan 1996, 16). They focus on and emphasise matters with particular significance for the community (Chaney 1983, 121; Abrahams 1987, 177). They model the lived-in world, in being ‘occasions for imagining how things could be or evaluating how they ought to be’ (Rothenbuhler 1998, 15). Ritual intends to affect, and those involved may be moved or touched emotionally (Schechner 2006, 72), and less frequently psychically (Rothenbuhler 1998, 16). A ‘transient personal experience of togetherness’, which Turner terms *communitas* (1995, 132) can occur in rituals, but is more commonly associated with the music, drinking and dancing of festival (Fournier 2009, 195). Most public rituals are part of a ceremony, which may include other formal, more secular, activities, to which ritualisation (Bell 1992, 74) and ritualesque have been applied (Santino 2009, 21). Rothenbuhler suggests that some such secular activities have elements cognate with religious ceremony (1998, 25), but there is usually a recognisable difference in form. The presence of the ritualesque if not ritual per se is found in some festivals, and elements of festival can be associated with rituals and formal ceremonies.

The significance of the intention of events to popular participation is that they are graspable and livable by the public, whether involved directly or indirectly. Indeed, involvement of both performer and audience is central to most events, a point accepted in both performance and practice theory. Santino comments that ‘the public – that is, the audience – differs in different public display events, but it is always comprised of the public that matters; the individuals who are affected by the nature of the event’ (2009, 11-12). This links to earlier proposals on three main forms of event undertaken in the presence of a public: those enacted before an audience, in an institutional context for

people unfamiliar with the activity, and in front of a fluid and unpredictable spectatorship (Santino 2004, 365). The term witness-audience is used for the last category, but although less structured and/or more transient than an audience, much the same theory applies. Brewer makes an allied point, that 'it is important to note that there are different audiences for the same traditions' (1994, 8), and the study illustrates examples. Santino also notes a public which itself undertakes an action intending to achieve recognition in some way (2004, 367). He does not include a public of consumers, which is a common category in public events.

Santino shows that the relevance of an event is implicit, and this links to the fundamental point that personal embodied experience underpins the conceptualising and understanding of the nature and significance of events (Sklar 1994, 10; Fournier 2009, 195-196). Indeed, freely chosen presence can be considered the basic event action, expanding Bocoock's presence as the 'basic ritual action' (1974, 40). Many social etiquettes (consciously applied proclivities) are associated directly with presence and the appropriate use of space and interaction with others. These include 'extended social interaction' including talking to strangers, and 'figuring out where to stand, jockeying for a view' (Gabbert 2007, 267), when 'the usual urban rules of non-contact [are] in abeyance' (Sklar 1994, 10). When the public is the performer, Eyerman's proposals on forms of action at demonstrations are applicable quite widely, particularly declarative activities: 'gathering deliberately in a public place', 'displaying an identifiable group membership...[and]...support for some position' and 'communicating collective determination' (2006, 197). Goffman writes of an 'involvement contour' to describe the varying level of attention during an event (1966, 18), distinguishing 'main involvement' occupying the most time and attention, and 'side involvement' in which other things might be done at the same time. He also notes 'dominant involvement', 'subordinate involvement' which is 'more limited or time-constrained' and 'constant obligation' (1966, 43-44). Most such issues are generally applicable, but constant obligation is less likely for most indirect popular participation.

### **3.7 Authenticity**

This study considers that a specifically recognisable set of popular or institutional lore and its reproduction in transmission, are so closely associated with a group that it can be taken as authentic to them. However, drawing on his concept of the aggregate and

precedence of folk behaviour, Bronner writes that ‘by invoking tradition, one offers a pattern that can be repeated, altered, adapted, and indeed broken’ (2001, 11). While this might suggest a free-for-all use of aggregate, repetition and variation are both fundamental; the centrality of reflexivity implies that any expression of aggregate is influenced by context and that precedence does not mean rigidity. This sense of authenticity in terms of recognisable provenance can be applied to what is known and observed, and also what can be inferred. This concept of authenticity applies to those engaged with events and the activities themselves, and there are two terms, widely-used within the humanities and social studies, which need initial consideration. Anderson makes two important points in his concept of ‘imagined community’: members of a recognisable group may not all be known to each other, and that ‘communities are to be distinguished not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined’ (1983, 18). The first is evident from cursory observation of most groups, while reasonable inference of identification as a group can be made, in many cases, however transient. Hobsbawm’s distinctions of ‘invented tradition’ are equally important: those ‘actually invented, constructed and formally instituted’ and those ‘emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and datable period’ (2007a, 1). The emphasis on institutional events throughout Hobsbawm and Ranger (2007) does not make the concept less applicable to those of popular origin. Furthermore, the development of implicitly informal traditions (not necessarily popular) can be traceable over a relatively long period. However, no events, of either popular or institutional origin, or any of their component elements are wholly original (Billig 1995, 45; Handelman 1998, 7; Oring 2013, 390).

This approach neither implies nor precludes any sense of longevity and endurance, although a recognisable antecedent offers a strong argument for authenticity of an event (Dundes 1985, 6; Elgenius 2011b, 1), a point illustrated in Boissevain’s ‘modes of ritual revitalisation’:

- Resumption – celebration had lapsed, but reappeared through one of
  - Revival – relatively short timescale
  - Restoration – relatively long timescale
- Retention – celebration had not lapsed, but had larger scale or new purpose (1992b, 10).



While Boissevain deals with events deriving from prior activities, Oring expands this, proposing that ‘invented, revived, or reformulated’ traditions can be considered as valid, if they are informed by the same forces as cultural reproduction (2013, 38-39). Oring’s approach can apply to recognisable precedents, obviate concerns around imagined community and invented tradition, and the employment and/or adaptation of lore outside its original provenance. However, events need not be wholly accurate or inclusive in their representation of history or culture. The deliberate use of history, heritage, tradition and folklore can imply a continuity with the past which may not be wholly valid (Connerton 1989, 48). While often having an economic significance, there can be conscious intention to create a degree of solidarity, and not to alienate and exclude some potential participants by being too rigid. There are useful categorisations of the deliberately inauthentic, which encompass a range of possible situations.

Newall notes:

- Folk culture away from its original local context
- Playful imitation of popular motifs by another social class
- Invention and creation of folklore for different purposes outside any known tradition (Moser 1962, translated Newall 1987, 131).

Wells proposes:

- Transformation of tradition – modifying traditions to appeal to a perceived market
- Cultural appropriation – the use of traditional concepts, forms and symbols to create an association with traditional ideas and values
- Fakelore, folklorism, or pseudo-tradition creating things that are *like* traditional things (1994, 54-55).

While Brewer comments on the ‘highly coded and self-referential’ nature of folklore (1994, 6-7), imprecision is not necessarily a barrier to referential usage. Judgements on such issues can usefully employ Bendix’s ‘shades of authenticity’ (1997, 21), and Warshaver provides a useful system to categorise authenticity, which can encompass Newall and Wells. While his stated aim is to address folklore in what he defines as cognitive/cultural postmodernism (1991, 219), the system is applicable to activities which are more traditional. Warshaver’s term ‘cultural re/production’ (1991, 219) allows for

both practice and performance perspective; re-production pre-echoes Oring and practice, while production could imply the creative element of performance.

First level folklore is ‘the lore produced by a given folk’ (Warshaver 1991, 220), although the basic sense is acceptable to both popular and institutional lore. Second level folklore is ‘when this folklore becomes the object of knowledge of a professionally cultured substantive rationality’, leading to its ‘material reconstitution by folkloristic praxis’ (Warshaver 1991, 220-221). Within the limits of explanation and interpretation, this presents to others, ‘true strains’ and ‘real things’ (Warshaver 1991, 222, citing Bronner 1986); i.e. an acceptable representation of the enactment of first level lore. Third level folklore is ‘abstract reconceptualization and denotative reconstitution of second level constructs of first level folklore which reproduces (objectivates) first level folklore’ (Warshaver 1991, 220). This replaces ‘adequacy, accuracy or truth by usefulness, saleability, efficiency or other measures’ and converts ‘an object of knowledge into an object of consumption’, commodifies folklore (Warshaver 1991, 222-223). Warshaver notes third level in ‘ephemeral cultural productions’, including public events (1991, 226), its employment by cultural intermediaries (mainly helping/therapeutic), and as personal action of self-fulfilment (1991, 223). He also writes that ‘third level detaches the signifier from the referential dimension of a concrete tradition’ (Warshaver 1991, 224), and while the basic sense is valid, there are issues. Firstly, a presumption that formally presented second level interpretation underlies third level use excludes direct experience or observation of first level lore as the source. Secondly, it implies conscious, but not casual or unreflective, use. Thirdly, and contradicting this, recognising the referential dimension, i.e. original provenance and significance, underlies knowing use and misuse.

The foregoing are folkloristic views, but the understanding and interpretation of those involved informs their individual acceptance of the activity. In a useful parallel to Andersen, Ravenscroft and Gilchrist’s proposal that authenticity is ‘a function of the participant, not the event’ (2009, 39) accepts the validity of an emic understanding as much as the etic explanation. This is not communal vernacular authority, but an acceptance that people interpret and construct narratives.

The link to aggregate and precedence is central to this study’s approach to authenticity. The repetition of both popular and institutional lore illustrates the things that are significant to a group. While it is the expressive and material forms which are observed,

these represent underlying values and understandings etc., i.e. they are identifiers and identity. This is considered in the next section. The ways in which expressive and material forms are employed within a group do not affect their validity as identifiers, nor does their use beyond the group. Rather, this latter use can illustrate a direct link to the group, a derivative link (e.g. the later example of military veterans), the deliberate choice of a particular element in being appropriate to another context, or conscious or unconscious reference. Recognising shades of authenticity can be significant in terms of commonalities within and across themes.

### **3.8 Identity**

Oring writes that ‘folklore studies have always been vitally concerned with identity’ (1994, 211), and proposes that that pre-existing identity comprises ‘three interrelated concepts’ (1994, 212): a relatively objective individual identity, a more subjective and variable personal identity, and a collective identity derived from common group experiences. The last is the most relevant to public activities, where self-identifying is often a significant issue in direct and indirect popular participation; it is often overt and central to an enactment. Noyes comments that identifiable groups are ‘unified within and differentiable without’ (2003, 7); the latter is often facilitated through the ‘symbols of a community’ which provide ‘short cuts to the collectivity it represents’ (Elgenius 2005, 15). Some collective identities are intrinsic and imply a hinterland of knowledge and experience, e.g. gender, ethnicity and language, for which Coulter uses ‘nonself-membership’; others, whatever their nature or degree of embeddedness, illustrate ‘self-membership’ (2001, 35). Some identities are strongly and near-permanently embedded, e.g. class and occupation; others are embedded but not necessarily acted out as constantly as this, e.g. student or rugby supporter. However, collective identity is not necessarily centred on large or established groups. They can include ‘any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor’ (Dundes 1980, 6) including ‘overlapping networks and temporary situations in which ritualised or stylised action occurs’ (Bronner 2012, 27-28). Neither the stability nor transience of groups involved necessarily influence self-identifying, and Bronner allows for transience and also groups which may not self-identify strongly within the context, e.g. fairgoers. This point is supported by Gencarella’s comment that ‘the folk...do not necessarily pre-exist rhetorical expression; often it is the discourse that names a folk and not vice versa’ (2009, 176). Such naming could be by an

authority of some sort, ‘a rhetorical fiction... legitimizing an opinion’, or adoption ‘by masses of individuals’ (Gencarella 2009, 175). This combines Kapchan’s view on enactment structuring individual and group identities with an acceptance of pre-existence.

The concept of authenticity links to aggregate and precedence, but often goes beyond group boundaries to involve expressions of overarching collective identities. The most important for this study are British and Welsh identities, which Bechhofer and McCrone’s distinguish as state and national identities (2013, 559). The common use of national for either in the literature is rarely misunderstood. Significantly, neither implies any prescriptive form of identity, constitutional or political source or intention. However, civic has a more prescriptive meaning. In addition to defining formal activities of local authorities, it is a consciously adopted identity, which ‘foregrounds the political construction of community in the here and now’, contrasting with ethnic identity, which privileges aspects of background, family and language (Van Reekum 2012, 584).

Billig comments that British identity tends to be taken as ‘not only something which is thought to be natural to possess, but also something natural to remember’ (1995, 37). While suggesting a very large-scale taking for granted ‘as the only reasonable thing to do or believe’ (Gailey 1989, 143), there are differing opinions on what this encompasses. In terms of civic identity, Bradley suggests ‘four historic pillars of British identity’ (2007, 9), parliamentary union, Monarchy, Empire and Protestantism. Billig uses ‘banal nationalism’ (1995, 6) for the low-key day to-day institutional expressions of national identity, e.g. national flags on public buildings, and comments that ‘fervent political rhetoric’ is not how national identity is normally expressed (1995, 5). There is no formally designated UK-wide national day, and while Heath et al. note this as atypical (2007, 28), McCrone suggests that British history is too divisive to agree a meaningful event (2009, 26). In contrast, Elgenius’s proposal that national days are most successful in countries where nationhood is considered as vulnerable (2011, 412) suggests that, allowing for national differences, the UK is stable. Other ideas on might also be useful in considering the situation. Geisler proposes that national days are noticed in being exceptions to the banal and in not being ubiquitous (2009, 17), their intention being to illustrate the ‘respectability and transmission of continuation of the state via speeches, processions and occasions’ (McCrone and McPherson 2009b, 3) and to engender ‘institutionalized notions of sameness and oneness’ (Elgenius 2011a, 94). Skey’s use of

‘ecstatic nationalism’ (2011, 95) for such notions might overstate the case, but parallels fervent political rhetoric. While not pervasive, these issues are relevant to many events, and are addressed accordingly.

In terms of ethnic identity, day-to-day British cultural norms might affect any popular participation, but the presence or influence (if any) of overarching traditional British popular lore depends on context. Such lore is well-established and recognisable but lacks a defined restricted provenance and may not be either distinctly popular or institutional. It includes, *inter alia*, commonly recognised and understood tropes, images, figures, history, stories, music, myths, legends, folktales, folk belief. In this context, popular lore needs to be taken as including widespread common knowledge about some of these matters, which are not wholly or directly popular lore e.g. history and stories. Given that all of these topics appear frequently in the media as fact or fiction, certain generic components are taken for granted and rarely need consideration as to their meaning. However, even casual observation of events will show that some elements are noticeable by their absence.

The contrast with Wales is clear, in that expressions of ethnic identity are commonplace, but while recognition of civic identity has become stronger in post-devolution Wales (summarised later), there are few obvious situations in which it might be expressed in public. This distinction of ethnic and civic identity has not always been made, e.g. in Balsom’s continually influential ‘three-Wales model’ (1985). He defines a substantially Welsh-speaking ‘Y Fro Cymraeg’ (mid- and north-west), Welsh Wales in the south-West where the language is significant, and an ambivalent ‘British Wales’ in the south-east and border counties (1985, 3). In this last, the Welsh language is not a significant identifier for the majority English-speaking population, and a self-defined British identity is prevalent but not necessarily dominant (Balsom 1985, 3). The model is not detailed, but while less rigid distinctions between British and Welsh civic identities have been suggested subsequently (Cloke 1996, 464; Scully and Wyn Jones 2012, 665), the differences remain valid in the expression of ethnic identities. Indeed, British Wales might seem an obvious definition to many who live in the area and would not cloud the issue between British and Welsh identities. In supporting the idea of a specific ‘south-Welsh identity’ (2006, 151) Edwards notes the popularity among young adults at Welsh bands’ concerts: ‘clothing and flags showing...allegiance’ with the ‘national anthem,

sporting anthems and pop anthems merging into one...the imagined community assembled' (2006, 156). Edwards also notes the Manic Street Preachers' strong references to 'the post-industrial south Wales' (2006, 150) and the Stereophonics to 'working-class, south-Welsh identity' (2006, 151).

Such expressions and the associated sense of identity is part of a longstanding and recognisable cultural, romantic conceptualisation of Welsh identity grounded in claims of authenticity (Housley et al. 2009, 207). Its bases include the Welsh language, Nonconformism, the Labour Party, rugby, coal-mining, steel-making, farming, and the various cultural institutions. Jones contends that, rather than just responding to imposed or organised culture, a Welsh identity developed within communities, 'rooted in a specific combination of social and economic conditions' (1992, 331-2). Many communities remain 'symbolic constructions linking to ideas of belonging' (Aull and Jones 2003, 206), and the near disappearance of the mining and steel industries has not reduced what Trossett calls, the 'sectarian tendency for Welsh society to fragment into rival factions' based on 'bro' (own locality) and 'milltir sgwar' (square mile) (1999, 169-170). This is particularly evident in the Valleys, the ex-mining areas to the north of the coastal towns and cities, and this point is significant, in that Cardiff identity is often expressed as not being like people from the Valleys. Cardiffians 'know' that they are considered as stuck-up city-slickers in the Valleys, exemplified by a general antipathy towards Cardiff Blues rugby team (Roderique-Davies et al. 2008, 200-201). Such negative approaches echo Evans's comment on the lack of a 'Cardiff-consciousness' during the 1930s (1985, 352-353). However, Cardiff's 'social detachment from much of the rest of Wales' (Lovering 2006, 180) can be exaggerated, and Cardiffians recognise that they have much in common with others throughout south-east Wales. There is an urban overlay, and with the longstanding presence of many of the nation's cultural institutions, complemented by the development of the Assembly, the city is increasingly the focus of Wales and Welsh activities.

In considering the issue of nation-building in Wales, Mason expands the general issue from locality, to include the 'fault-lines of language, geography, age, class, and more recently ethnicity' (2004, 23), although the significance of these varies, based on the context. Paterson and Jones's comment that, post-devolution, the development of stronger civil institutions would influence identification as civic, rather than ethnic in Wales (1999,

184), has proved to be the general case. Those claiming civic rather than ethnic identity as primary rose from twenty-three to thirty-two percent, between 1998 and 2003 (Tilley et al. 2004, 154). However, while around sixty percent of adults claim combined civic and ethnic identity (Tilley et al. 2004, 154; Haesly 2005, 252), these identities often tend to be expressed relatively discretely, in differing contexts. While the political changes have been the underlying driver (Evans 2007, 124; Housley et al. 2009, 197), the ‘vitality, creativity, interest and pride’ (Haesly 2005, 257) created by the coincidence of various social, cultural and sporting developments, and a widespread acceptance, in the 2000s, of the appellation ‘Cool Cymru’, are also highly influential. The common use of ‘the people of Wales’ rather than ‘Welsh people’, by the media and public bodies, both helps and blurs the issues; while the first term appears essentially civic and the latter essentially ethnic, the former allows for self-identification in either way. Popular participation in public events is more likely to express ethnic than civic identity, most prominently through the display of material forms.

### **3.9 The study of folklore in Wales**

Consideration of folklore as an academic study and in popular organisations and publications in Wales can offer important contextualization for certain aspects of the present study. The study of folklore in Wales during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was essentially similar to the rest of the UK, and within the broader European context (see 3.2 and 2.2 respectively). The translation of *The Mabinogion* into English and the publication of its stories in both Welsh and English in versions aimed at children exemplifies this. The relatively recent publication of a new translation (Davies 2007) and the range of popular books on Welsh folklore shows the continuing widespread interest. Although Wood notes an emphasis on the Welsh language in nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship (1997, 93), folklore informed themes within literature, geography and anthropology from the early twentieth century. However, although the Welsh equivalent of folklore is ‘llên gwerin’ (the literature of ordinary people), it did not develop as an independent academic subject, and an emphasis on folklife rather than folklore informed ethnographic studies in the University of Wales. Other than regular Lifelong Learning courses at Cardiff University, folklore per se is of less interest in the now independent Welsh universities, although some work in Celtic studies, e.g. research and publications on ballads and Iolo Morganwg abuts the discipline. The limited academic concern is

exemplified by the fact that Kinney (2011) is the first comprehensive survey of Welsh traditional music in over eighty years. Kinney comments on ‘the antagonism to traditional music still found in a number of highly regarded Welsh musicians’ (2011, 220), and Huws suggests that an edited corpus of traditional music remains a distant ideal (2011, vii).

The University of Wales Ethnology Section remains active as a graduate interest group, and Cymdeithas Llafar Gwlad (Welsh Folklore Society) is a comparable popular membership group organising day schools in north-west Wales. Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru (Welsh Folk-Song Society), which supported the publication of Kinney, produce an annual journal and occasional books. They and Cymdeithas Genedlaethol Dawns Werin Cymru (Welsh National Folk-Dance Society) are the only independent folkloric organisations undertaking regular research into vernacular culture in Wales. Cyfres Llafar Gwlad (Gwasg Carreg Gwalch) is a continuing series of folklore and folklife books, with the magazine *Llafar Gwlad* covering the same fields. Other publications with broader concerns can also include the broad field of folklore, history and heritage, e.g. the academic publications *Y Traethodydd* and *Llên Cymru*, and the popular *Barn* and *Y Wawr*. However, in proportion to in England, there is little published which is of both popular and serious such as *The English Year* (Roud 2006).

The National Museum of Wales has always been the best-known institution concerned with folklore and folklife. ‘Bygones’ collections at the main building in Cardiff’s civic centre (1913 and 1926), and their establishment of a Department of Folk Culture and Industries in 1936 (Mason 2004, 20), led to the establishment of the Welsh Folk Museum at St. Fagans in 1948. Its intention was to show how ‘the people of Wales lived, worked and spent their leisure time over the last five hundred years’ (Mason 2004, 20). The initial emphasis was on the material culture and past traditions of rural, Welsh-speaking Wales (Owen 1985, 5; Mason 2004, 23), privileging this as ‘more authentically Welsh than the supposedly alien and anglicising industrial’ (Mason 2004, 23). In the mid-1950s, the Museum began ethnographic fieldwork on contemporary folklore and broader culture in both Welsh and English-speaking communities; this produced an extensive oral testimony archive of folk tales, music, customs, and a national archive of Welsh language and dialect (Mason 2004, 20). From the late 1960s, the fieldwork included mining and metal industries (Mason 2004, 23). As the buildings are the most prominent features, the folklife aspects of the Museum are better known to visitors than research into folkloristic issues.



Mason notes the Museum's lack of 'a discussion of the nature of Welsh identities – be they based around class, place, gender, generation, ethnicity, language, or work' (2004, 28). This issue was subsequently addressed by a new gallery (Oriol 1) with short-term displays of older and twenty-first century materials and written testimonies. However, Owen's suggestion (1985, 14) that both the past and the present are equally open to folkloristic study has not been fully recognised in Wales, either in the universities or the Museum. Oriol 1 was lost to major rebuilding, and another name change from Museum of Welsh Life to Welsh National Museum of History promises a broader timescale. However, folklife and folklore remain integral to their activities although not necessarily termed as such, with a substantial programme of events (many family-oriented) and increasing community engagement throughout Wales, e.g. with Black History Month and International Women's Day.

The obvious point from the above is that little of it is directly relevant to most of those participating in the events dealt with in this study. Most English-speaking people in south-east Wales do not engage with traditional Welsh cultural activities; they do not sing in a choir, folk dance or go to eisteddfodau, and a visit to St. Fagans is simply a day out. Similarly, few now have direct experience of agriculture, shipping, mining or the steel industry; although they may be a generation or two from any of these, there is no resonance with the folklife of such communities. However, the majority of Welsh-speakers will be familiar with to varying extents with the cultural issues concerned, although not considering any or all in terms of folklore. The significance of this distinction is apparent quite widely and is addressed as appropriate.

### **3.10 Subsequent analysis**

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a framework for addressing observed and otherwise recorded data, and associated background information. Using this material, the analysis of cultural reproduction in the theme chapters centres on Bronner (2011 and 2012) and Oring (2013), employing complementary or subsidiary theories and empirical studies as appropriate. Two points are central throughout. Firstly, whatever the popular or institutional origin of the activities, they all reflect, illustrate or employ traditional forms of communal activity. Secondly, a degree concept of correspondence of popular and institutional forms is presumed, in terms of their use and methods of transmission, and commonalities in the

associated popular participation. Chapter 7 provides an overarching interpretation and a concluding summary.

## **Chapter 4 – Socialising**

### **4.1 Introduction**

Socialising as interaction with others is fundamental to every public event, but this study limits it to activities which are recognisable in folkloristic terms as festivals. Direct or indirect popular participation is central to all. They conform to Argyle's definition of leisure activities in being 'freely chosen' and often with 'no material gain' for the public involved (1996, 4), and include the best-known public events in Cardiff. Although some forms of organised event, notably markets and fairs can be of popular origin, most are institutional. Some large static events last two or three days and a few for several weeks, whereas activities involving display and spectacle tend to last a few hours. The larger organised events are usually well promoted and anticipated, and can attract thousands, in a day as audience, witness-audiences, customers or other consumers. However, the highest level of popular participation occurs in non-organised crowds for major events.

Three broad areas are used to illustrate the aim of the study: parades, markets and fairs, and crowds for major sporting events and concerts. Taken together, they encompass the greater part of non-quotidian daytime socialising events. Given this and the variety of the events, there is none which can be taken as a paradigm or any form that illustrates an overarching institutional or popular lore. Similarly, there is no single common repertoire of popular participation; there are several repertoires or grammars, many elements of which can be considered quotidian social etiquettes which are exaggerated in certain contexts. The fundamental point is that direct or indirect popular participation through being present is central to all socialising events.

### **4.2 Crowds for major events**

Bronner writes that sport involves 'masses of people who engage in the praxis of playing without participating in play' (2011, 351), and in the twenty-first century, Cardiff has provided increasing opportunities for such engagement. The Millennium Stadium (opened 1999) usually has six or seven rugby internationals each year, with attendances up to more than seventy-four thousand; similar crowds attended European Rugby Cup finals in 2011 and 2014, and eight matches in the 2015 Rugby World Cup. Around forty thousand attend the Speedway Grand Prix (since 2001) and rugby league is played every

two or three years. Eleven football matches were played at the Stadium as part of the London 2012 Olympics, but Wales football internationals are now played at Cardiff City Stadium (2009) with crowds up to around thirty thousand. The Swalec Stadium (developed on an existing ground in the early 2000s) holds sixteen thousand and has staged one-day cricket internationals most summers and England-Australia test matches in 2009 and 2015. Cardiff Bay hosts various sailing and boating competitions, and until 2012, some parts of Rally GB (motor sport). An annual 10K run and a half-marathon, the latter attracting around eighteen thousand runners, allow direct popular participation by professional athletes, serious amateurs and fund-raising fun-runners.

Similar crowd activities are now associated with major outdoor pop and rock concerts, but more low-key than for sport. During the research period, there were five major concerts at the Millennium Stadium: Take That (14-15 June 2011), Michael Jackson Tribute (8 October 2011), Rhianna (10 June 2013) and Bruce Springsteen (23 July 2013). Crowds were observed for these and a London 2012 Olympics concert in Bute Park (25 May 2012). Cardiff City Stadium hosted Bon Jovi (12 June 2013) but the crowd was not observed.

#### **4.2.1 Rugby crowds**

In a rare folkloristic consideration of an established supporter group (American football), Lindquist comments that ‘spectator sports are polysemic phenomena – cultural performances that involve aspects of play, ritual and festival’ (2006, 448). The build-up to any major fixture illustrates these and provides a context for Bronner’s masses to engage in, what Lindquist calls ‘participatory game day activities’ (2006, 449). Rugby supporters are the most frequently observed and the following applies to a typical Six Nations international, i.e. in the major competition for European nations.

Supporters begin arriving in Cardiff some hours before kick-off, usually between two o’clock and half past five. The timing affects pre-match activities to an extent, but supporters visit cafes, pubs and restaurants, with shopping and the National Museum being other popular options. During the hour or so before kick-off, there is a fairly static grouping in Westgate Street, which has several pubs (three new venues during the study period) and two stadium entrances. There is also a constant two-way flow to entrance gates on the Stadium’s river side. Most people arrive in small groups and apart from

families are often single sex (a small majority male) and of a similar age. There is little evidence of ‘mutual availability, attention and responsiveness’ (McPhail 1991, 115) ‘extended social interaction’ (Gabbert 2007, 267) beyond the immediate groups. engagement with strangers is mostly limited to pedlars, face stencillers and ticket touts, and mutual joking between supporters and police. The demography has changed since the opening of the Millennium Stadium, notwithstanding the continuing presence of longstanding supporters. With an increase of around twenty thousand seats (thirty-five percent) and twice the number of international matches tickets are easier to obtain. Marketing rugby as a family sporting occasion, with music, big screens, fireworks and other entertainment has attracted more couples and children, and overheard conversations indicate that many groups of young men, and increasingly mixed-gender groups, are not regular followers, but find it an appealing day out.

Since around 2010, fan zones have been set up by the Council, WRU or the commercial sponsors of matches, in the larger public spaces. In addition to live screening attracting those without tickets who want a big group atmosphere, there is direct promotion of the sport, e.g. appearances by sports personalities, rugby-related merchandise and freebies, and the necessary elements of drink, food and often live music. Fan zones are controlled areas, the limited excess of drink and unhealthy (taboo) food noted before matches, if not always subsequently, illustrates a degree of self-control. These zones have become quickly established as an invented tradition, and similar are set up for other sports.

Around seventy percent (of all ages) wear day-to-day clothes appropriate to the weather, although many young adults do not wear topcoats. Many of this seventy percent display something red, but scarves are the only longstanding form seen commonly, and friendship scarves (introduced early 2000s) showing team names, colours and match date are worn by around ten percent. Wales replica shirts were first worn in the late 1990s and became the most popular identifier by around 2010, worn by around thirty percent. During the 2016 Six Nations it was around half this, with no obvious reason such as cold weather. The design is modified every few years, with changing team sponsors, and the relatively modest cost of official merchandise means that the current version is most common. Very few supporters wear club or similar rugby identifiers. Other red tops are less common, but a noticeable proportion have some national imagery or wording, usually English rather than Welsh. Near-replica shirts are a popular group identifier for stag and hen

parties and others, usually with printed or embroidered group name on the left breast. Welsh is used occasionally, sometimes by English parties. Many have nicknames are usually on the back, and it is presumed that most are for affect. Young women's nicknames frequently refer toward individuals' sexual proclivities; this is less common with young men where drink-related choices are popular

Since the mid-2000s, varying numbers wear complex outfits. Some are appropriate to the sport, e.g. a 3-D rugby field atop a miner's helmet, but the majority reflect popular culture and commonly understood images although the references are quite varied. They include characters from books, film, television and advertisements, historical types, from ancient Britons onward, stylised and/or exaggerated working dress. Beach parties are seen occasionally. Complex dressing up requires planning, preparation and often, coordination; many are quite demonstrative, but few involve acting out roles. Two notable exceptions were stag parties: an 'Edwardian English' rugby team who adopted postures associated with photographs of the period, and used appropriate archaisms, and Snow-white (in drag) leading four of her dwarves, one Christmas elf and one little piggy, all singing the 'Hi-ho!' song. Like all such fancy-dress, those involved are whole-hearted, often quite shameless and include medical students whose frequent cross-dressing as nurses maintains their longstanding reputation for playful deviance. Around five percent of supporters display other forms, mainly Welsh images, emblems and national colours. These include Red Dragon flags, more often draped than carried; this image, along with daffodil, leek and sheep also appears frequently as inflatables and headwear. Around one percent wear Red Dragon, daffodil or sheep suits, and a few young men cross-dress as 'Dame Wales'; these forms are particularly associated with rugby, and rare or non-existent at other sporting events. While it remains a pervasive image, this is the only obvious example of Morgan's popular caricaturing of 'Dame Wales' (2007, 81). Some dress remains consistent and new forms appear, and virtually every form of outwear has had its commercially sourced Red Dragon pattern.

Professional face stencilling is popular, particularly with twenty-somethings; national rugby logos are the most popular, notably Red Dragon and Three Feathers. Most national flags are too complex to stencil, but some professional face painters do these. Amateur body-painting is less common, and young men supporting southern hemisphere teams are

the most enthusiastic, presumably because those who fly to matches are less likely to bring complex costumes.

The few other material forms recorded directly linked to rugby include relatively common tops with British and Irish Lions tour fixtures, and at most matches there are a few red tops with the pre-match captain's talk at Wales – England 1977, 'Look what these bastards have done to Wales...', or the score-line, recalling a very late Wales score in the same fixture in 1999: '32 – 31'. Cartoon images of current players are sometime featured, but photographic images of a particular player or team are virtually unknown. With the exceptional case of Ray Gravelle, no player has been commemorated after death, although the associated metal and other badges have not been observed since 2005. Wigs in a player's distinctive hair colour have been a minority interest since the mid-2000s. While football supporters, including a high proportion of children, have a player's number and/or name on a replica shirt, this is rare in rugby.

The same basic forms appear to a lesser degree at other major games, e.g. the Heineken Cup Final (2011 and 2014) and the annual Welsh Varsity match between Cardiff and Swansea Universities. 'Judgement Day', a late-season double bill of east versus west featuring the four Welsh regional, teams attracted sixty-six thousand in 2016, almost doubling the first 2013 figure, and around four times the attendance for comparable games, earlier in the seasons. The lack of substantial identifying dress etc. for the event suggests many irregular or one-off attendees.

Singing can be heard from pubs, usually the same repertoire as in the Stadium, although most people know first verses only. The WRU and BBC make efforts to improve this, e.g. a television campaign to teach the hymn *Calon Lân* for the 2014 Six Nations Championship, but with little impact. There are usually a few small groups of competent singers in the streets, some identifiable by dress as choir members; the repertoire includes hymns and songs associated with Wales and specifically rugby. There are occasionally bands in or outside pubs, and more street musicians playing and/or singing Welsh music than usual; singers' repertoires often mix old or modern, in either language, and some are more opportunist than competent. There is almost no chanting other than the disyllabic 'Wales! Wales!', which has been heard from at least the late 1960s.

All pubs are busy but very few people drink too much, and overall, match-day social etiquettes are employed. The authorities know that supporters are more likely to be well-behaved pre-match, supporters mix and opposition to police or security staff is unusual. There is often mutual joking between supporters and police, but the necessary degree of control through ‘formalization of space, time and behavior’ (Handelman 1998, 11), is largely respected. Only one comprehensive check of temporary traders by police and Council staff was observed, 2 February 2013; the general approach is live and let live with an element of commercial playful deviance.

#### **4.2.2 Other sport crowds**

Much of the foregoing applies to other sports but at a lower level, e.g. fewer than ten percent of football supporters wore replicas football shirts to internationals during the main fieldwork period. This increased substantially following the 2016 European Football Championship, which saw a strong performance by Wales. Identifying headwear and face stencilling are uncommon, but St. David’s flag is as popular as the Red Dragon. Unlike rugby, there is strong identification with clubs, particularly Red Dragon flags superimposed with club or supporters’ group name. The London 2012 Olympic football matches were unusual in that Team GB were playing, whereas the four home nations normally field separate international teams. As such, there was no associated set of behaviour in place for the British supporters, although two men’s matches were sell-outs. There were very few national or club football shirts; the nearest analogues were ‘London 2012’ and ‘Team GB’ tops, but none focussed on a specific sport. There were few Union Flags or Red Dragon and English St. George flags, and few direct or allusive references to stereotypical Welsh, English or British identifiers. Red, white and blue images were seen on hats, deely-boppers and children’s clothes, some using the form of the Union Flag. There was very little fancy-dress, e.g. two Red Dragon suits and two sleep-suits at one match. There were few pedlars and no obvious ticket touts, as the London 2012 authorities had strict regulations on such activities.

Unlike most other sports, football retains an element of stylised conflict against particular opposition and there is occasional need to ‘call the troops out’ (Ehrenreich 2007, 252), by which she means the police. At the European Football Championship qualifier Wales – England, 26 March 2011, several hundred British Transport Police, South Wales Police and Police Service of Northern Ireland (as part of a training exercise in event control)



were grouped in threes, around 100 metres apart, throughout the city centre, the presence of camera operators and medics suggesting heightened concern. There were fewer issues between Wales and England supporters, but owing to longstanding antagonism with Cardiff City, Swansea City supporters were directed to particular pubs; they chanted and clapped rhythmically during this. A stand-off between Wales and Belgium supporters at a 2014 World Cup qualifier (7 September 2012), with police watching carefully, was the only ‘international incident’ recorded. The next home game, against Scotland 12 October 2012, was more noticeable for police advising visiting fans not to leave the city centre as there were few pubs near Cardiff City Stadium. Having armed police at 2012 Olympics football was an event-wide approach, and not linked specifically to football. There were no media reports of problems with 2016 European Football Championship qualifiers.

Cricket supporters tend to wear simple identifiers, and even when England have played matches, their ‘Barmy Army’, known for dressing up, have been small in number. Rugby league supporters are less frequent visitors, and mainly for club games, at which quite complex dressing in team colours has been noted since the early 2000s. A high proportion of speedway fans favour t-shirts with rider names and often photographs.

#### **4.2.3 Concert crowds**

Demography differs from one concert to another, as performers tend to attract a majority of long-term fans, but overall behaviour is similar. The Take That concert, 14 June 2011, was typical. Around sixty thousand attended, the Millennium Stadium’s capacity being reduced to accommodate the stage area. The overwhelming majority of those attending were women between thirty and forty, with few older than fifty. Most were in parties, of up to ten. There were relatively few family groups, and these contained the majority of men and girls in early teens; no boys were seen. Most women wore smart casual, with a few wearing identifying t-shirts, with slogans such as ‘I ♥ [whoever]’ and ‘Mrs [whoever]’. None of the official or other merchandise stall, pedlars and face stencillers was busy. The sixteen ticket touts noted had fewer tickets than at most sporting events.

All bars and restaurants were busy from late afternoon, and by 6 p.m., most had around ninety percent occupancy, inside and outside. Around three hundred were sitting on the Castle Green, almost all women, median age thirty to thirty-five; some had food and drink, but there was no obvious organised picnicking. An ice cream van was parked

outside the Holiday Inn. Near the Stadium, some women were sitting on the kerb, or in the road, some on jackets. There are few obvious expressive forms, other than those associated with the anticipation of going to an event, such as excitable talking. There was a modest police presence.

### **4.3 Parades**

Parades expressing particular identities or interests became relatively common in Cardiff in the late nineteenth century (O’Leary 2012, 128), but there have been relatively few socialising parades over the past half-century. Many have been discontinued, the best known being the University Rag parade (1900s to late 1970s; February) and Lord Mayor’s Parade (1960s to late 1990s; mostly summer, with the last few on St. David’s Day). Corpus Christi (late nineteenth century to mid-1980s) and South Wales Miners’ Gala (1952 to 1970s) had socialising elements, in addition to the respective religious and political aspects. There are now three large annual events: the National St. David’s Day Parade (established 2004, held 1 March), Cardiff Carnival (1990, early August) and Pride Cymru (2012, usually late August or early September). All are well promoted by the organisers and receive substantial media publicity, particularly their more colourful images. The smaller Cadi Ha parade, part of Gŵyl Ifan (Feast of St. John), a folk-dance event held since early 1980s over the weekend nearest Midsummer Day, 24 June, attracts a small, mainly chance witness-audience.

#### **4.3.1 National St. David’s Day Parade**

This event (subsequently ‘St. David’s Day Parade’) is promoted as an opportunity to celebrate the patron saint of Wales, and to express Welsh identity. It has been supported by the Assembly and Council, but is non-political, and neither body is represented directly. It is concurrent with the Lord Mayor’s Annual Service, but timing allows civic and other dignitaries to watch the parade passing St. David’s Hall. The basic format has been the same since 2004, but with various routes. Enactments observed from 2011 to 2014 were organised by the Council Events Team and were essentially similar; the Council withdrew funding from 2015, but self-organisation by regular participants maintains the essential format. The muster begins in King Edward VII Avenue from 9 a.m., but most parade participants arrive between 11 a.m. and noon, with musicians and dancers giving informal performances throughout this hour. By 12.15 p.m., all

participants are in place, and the master of ceremonies (a well-known local musician and broadcaster) introduces short addresses by the Parade Marshall, a minister from the Welsh Council of Churches, and a representative from the Council. The minister speaks in Welsh, and the others use mainly English, but with more than a courtesy level of Welsh.

The parade begins at 12.30 p.m., led by PCSOs, with Council stewards walking alongside; the level of control is very light, which is the general case with socialising parades. It is headed by 'St David' and the Parade Marshall, wearing what is promoted as traditional Welsh male dress: a simulacrum of Scottish forms, including cilt [sic]. The Marshall carries a very large flag of St. David and is followed by the Banner of the Welsh Princes, displaying forty putative coats of arms, on two poles and crossbar. There are groups of around twenty each with smaller St David and Red Dragon flags, and since 2011, the Giants of Wales. The originals are Owain Glyndwr and Dame Shirley Bassey, and from 2012, Sir Tom Jones, 'Nessa', a character from a popular television series *Gavin and Stacey*, and rugby international Gethin Jenkins. Pupils from the five schools at which they were made walk alongside. There are some musicians and dancers, and occasionally a Mari Lwyd.

Participants are similar from year to year; most are white, there is a reasonable gender balance and the age range is usually wide. A few adults wear traditional Welsh dress, and many others a daffodil or, less frequently, a leek (usually artificial). Musicians, singers and dancers from Wales and Celtic countries or regions, such as Brittany, Asturias and Patagonia, wear traditional dress. Apart from 2014 (a Saturday), several hundred pupils and their teachers attend from Welsh-medium and other schools. Pupils wear regular uniform with daffodil or leek, and they perform the only song heard regularly: *Cenwch y Clychau i Dewi – Ring out the bells for St. David* (written 2011). Other than Welsh-medium schools, there is a noticeable lack of major educational, civil and cultural organisations. The only regular exception is the Football Association of Wales; smaller regular groups include the Welsh Ex-Boxers Association, Nepali and Filipino communities. The last two have very small communities within the city. The majority of the former are Ghurkha veterans and their families, many with links to south Wales as there has been a long-standing link to the Army's Brecon base. There are individuals from the city's Welsh speakers, some widely recognisable from the media as being prominent in political, academic and cultural activities. Overall, it is not a very showy event, and

some adults appear uneasy, perhaps embarrassed, which is unusual, as in many other contexts, people express various forms of Welsh identity quite readily.

Until 2013, the parade passed along High Street, ending near St. David's Hall, where there was a temporary bandstand with mainly Welsh folk and acoustic music, from noon to 3 p.m.; in 2013, there was also a smaller bandstand in High Street, and some street performers, including 'ancient Britons' and women 'rugby players'. In 2014 and 2015, the route was reversed, and ended with a performance of traditional and modern acoustic music, and displays of social dance. The earlier route was re-adopted in 2016, as the Welsh Cultural Centre had recently opened near the end-point, and they organised post-Parade activities.

Between one hundred and fifty and three hundred members of the public watch the muster, the majority being couples, between forty and fifty. On school days, a few pre-school children are present, with some girls in traditional costumes. There is extended social interaction, with people moving around among the various groups; many take photographs, and there is an air of expectancy and festivity. Fewer than twenty percent wear daffodils, of which around half are artificial, increasingly those sold by Marie Curie Cancer Care; leeks, real or otherwise, are virtually absent. There are occasional replica Wales rugby shirts, but few flags or other identifiers. More Welsh is spoken than at the majority of events, with accents from throughout Wales. The one or two pedlars and face stencillers do not have many customers. A witness-audience of around six hundred assembles, from Kingsway to High Street, but there are limited numbers elsewhere, other than in 2014 (Saturday), when there were around three thousand, along various parts of the route. Waving flags and clapping are the main responses. Around five hundred attended the subsequent session, and most were quite participative, when appropriate. Cardiff University journalism students usually film the event.

#### **4.3.2 Gŵyl Ifan**

Gŵyl Ifan (Feast of St. John) is a folk-dance event held since early 1980s over the weekend nearest Midsummer Day, 24 June. Its instigators and continuing organisers Cwmni Dawns Werin Caerdydd (Cardiff Welsh Folk Dance Company) were formed in 1968. It attracts groups from throughout Wales, with around eighty to ninety participants; all have practiced separately beforehand. The main event on the Saturday begins with the

Cadi Ha (Raising the Summer) parade, in which six men led by musicians (usually fiddle and squeezebox) process past the Castle to the City Hall Lawns, where the other dancers have gathered. Despite its longevity the event is not well-known, and the parade attracts a small chance witness-audience. The maypole is erected, and several sets of dances are performed on the lawns, but not around the maypole. Most are stylised forms of social dances, rather than display as in the Morris. i.e. institutionalised popular lore rather than an institutional lore as such. Costumes are based in nineteenth-century everyday dress, but few follow Lady Llanover very closely. Spoken Welsh is predominant at this phase, but this does not present a problem for non-Welsh speakers as the spectacle is the essential point, and there is usually a very small audience apart from other dancers. There are further displays in the city centre and Cardiff Bay over the weekend, with bilingual presentation and the opportunity for the public to join in the dances. As such it is the only regular opportunity for direct popular participation in a folkloric activity by spontaneous rather than planned choice.

#### **4.3.3 Cardiff Carnival**

The first parade was in 1990, as part of Butetown Festival (1975-94). Butetown is the oldest residential area immediately adjacent to Cardiff Docks, and the parade's naming as Cardiff Mas Carnival, in the early 2000s, reflected its Caribbean heritage, with a strong element of the Caribbean Mas festival and its traditional characters. A substantial part of the Docks and some older housing was lost with the development of Cardiff Bay, at around the same time, and a broader constituency became involved; a change to Cardiff Carnival (subsequently 'Carnival'), in 2012, reflected this. However, most of the costume materials are imported from specialist suppliers in Trinidad, and some forms are linked to the Caribbean and others inspired by Brazilian traditions (Dewis 2014, 131). In recent years, the event has had a theme linked to Cardiff or Wales, although not always obvious to observers, e.g. 'Cosmic Celts' (2010) and 'Magick: Dr Dee's World of Wonder' (2011). The parade is choreographed, with workshops on performance and costume making, throughout July. It is organised by South Wales Intercultural Community Arts (SWICA), with financial support from the Council, until 2011, and from a leisure company subsequently. It usually takes place on the first Saturday of August.

The parade, 6 August 2011, was typical of recent previous years. It began in Cardiff Bay, at 10.30 a.m., and reached St. Mary Street at 12.40 p.m., led by a police constable and a

PCSO, with SWICA stewards alongside. Around a thousand took part, headed by male spring-walkers, doing high somersaults, and female dancers/tumblers. There was a giant of Dr John Dee, probably recognised by few; a similar-sized Queen Elizabeth 1 was quite striking, as were other sizeable constructions, particularly, sailing ships. Well-made costumes included three further queens and two ships, stylised wizards,imps, bats, dark blue devils and white angels. Several groups were dressed as Native Americans and South Americans, representing areas explored in the Elizabethan period, and others had non-specific imagery, in terms of the theme. Some of these were traditional Caribbean Mas forms: Black Indian, Imp, Bat and Jab Molassie/Blue Devil (Dewis 2014, 231-233), although only one performer was from the Caribbean (Adeola Dewis), employing participant observation as an aspect of her PhD fieldwork. There was face painting, to complement dress rather than mimic skin colours. The provenance or significance of Mas forms would be unknown to the majority of those watching the event.

Women and girls made up the majority of most groups involved; median age was late teens to thirty-five, with some younger children. Overall, the vast majority of participants were white, with some of black or Asian ethnicity, and thus unrepresentative of the demography of the city, and even less so of the Butetown area. Most seemed to be enjoying themselves. Many groups were dancing, some quite professionally, but most in a simple manner of swaying and moving the arms, and some groups simply processed. Three samba, one Banghra and one brass band were placed at intervals, but there was virtually no vocalising or verbalising, or any attempt to engage directly with the audience. Some of the more professional performers presented thirty-minute shows, in High Street and the Big Weekend concert area, outside the City Hall (see later, under ‘Markets and fairs’).

The parade, 4 August 2012, was on a smaller scale, with a route from King Edward VII Avenue to St. John Street; the usual end-point was not available, as the Big Weekend had been cancelled. It began at 4 p.m., and the three hundred participants were mainly adults. The format was essentially similar to previous years but with no obvious theme; the fewer big display items included lion, hare, unicorn and spider. There was a show in High Street, but no final performance; instead, there were two associated performance areas, in Queen Street and the Hayes, with professional and local amateur musicians, dancers, family-

friendly burlesque shows, conjurors, jugglers and others. The commercial sponsor had a gazebo at each location, with free gifts, such as hats, for children.

The parade, 10 August 2013, had similar participants and material features, as in previous years, although there was no obvious theme. It began in Queen Street at 3.30 pm, and the route caused problems from the outset, as it began through the busiest pedestrianised shopping street. Police had to clear a way through shoppers, moving with, against and across the parade; although the crowd did not close in, the impact of seeing the parade approach and pass was completely lost. The limited space affected dancers, in particular, and a planned show in Queen Street was cancelled. The parade proceeded subsequently as in previous years, and High Street numbers were comparable. 2014 and 2015 were essentially similar.

The 2011 witness-audience was mainly family groups, more women than men, median age thirty-five to sixty, with some children under ten. The majority were white, but with noticeable numbers of black and south Asian people, although not wholly reflecting the city's demography. Most were standing, with a few, mainly children, sitting. They were three to four deep along High Street, totalling around four hundred, with similar numbers near Cardiff Castle, with few elsewhere. Gathering and assembly was simple, with no necessary interaction with others, apart from appropriate respecting of space. Dress was appropriate to a summer afternoon. These relatively modest numbers provide a false picture of public interest, as several thousand watched the performance at City Hall.

Despite heavy rain showers, around one hundred and fifty people watched the 2012 assembly, with crowds two to three deep from Kingsway and subsequently. The demography was similar to previous years, suggesting presence by choice, but of the several thousand watching, some were there for a later London 2012 Olympics football match, involving Great Britain.

It was impossible to make any useful assessments in Queen Street, in 2013, although up to two hundred watched the preceding stage activities, which distracted people from watching the assembly. Similar numbers were at a stage in St. John Street.

In part, as a reaction, Butetown Festival was reinstated, on the Bank Holiday, 24 August 2014, attracting around five thousand people, ten percent of its previous attendance.

Promotional materials and media reports referred to its roots, and it can be considered a rare example of restoration after a relatively long timescale. The Cardiff Story (a museum opened April 2011) held an exhibition, celebrating twenty-five years of Carnival (January and February 2015), having similarly celebrated Gŵyl Ifan in 2013.

#### **4.3.4 Pride Cymru**

Cardiff Wales LGBT Mardi Gras was established in 2000, and has taken place most late summers since, in Bute Park. LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) is used, as it was recorded more frequently than the more inclusive LGBT+ or LGBTQ. In 2017, the name 'Big Weekend' was reactivated and added to Mardi Gras; most features of the previous event of this name (see 4.4.4) were retained, but with a £5 ticket, fee. Although organised by and for members of these communities, Mardi Gras attracts a wider audience; up to forty thousand have attended, with around twenty thousand since becoming a priced event in 2011. Pride Cymru, which has the same organisers, began as Cardiff Wales Mardi Gras Parade, in 2012. The term 'Pride' appeared in some 2012 and 2013 promotional materials, but the current name was adopted in 2014. In highlighting LGBT rights, there are elements of demonstration, but the event is essentially entertainment.

Three enactments were observed, and the direct participation in all three is considered initially. The parade on 1 September 2012 began at 11.00 a.m., between the city centre and Cardiff Bay, with the major part of the route being St Mary Street to City Hall. Around six hundred participated, the male-female balance was equal, and the median age range twenty-five to forty. It was led by two young women in pink Mardi Gras t-shirts, carrying a long rainbow banner, and there were stewards, mainly male, in pink t-shirts and black berets. There were around twenty identifiable groups of between twenty-five and fifty, with some smaller groups and individuals. There were a few floats, the only occasion that these were recorded in a procession. Most LGBT groups were relatively local, including South Wales Gay Men's Chorus, 'Eagle' gay bar group, Stonewall Cymru, Transgender in Wales, Cardiff University LGBT and Cardiff Young People's LGBT Group. National groups included Terrence Higgins Trust, Gaydar and Gaydar Girls, and a few staff groups from major retail and catering companies. Non-LGBT organisations included Labour Party, Liberal-Democrat and Plaid Cymru (although very few Council or Assembly members), trade unions (Unite, BECTU), Côr Cochion



Caerdydd and religious bodies. Most people wore typical summer clothes, with some groups having identifying t-shirts. A few individuals and some groups wore conventional or stereotypical LGBT dress; some were subtle, and others less so. There was some male cross-dressing, particularly drag queen and dowdy middle-aged woman, but a 'bishop' was the only emphatic female cross-dressing. Virtually all groups had very clear identifiers, mainly long banners, some at waist height and some carried on two thin poles. There were a few tall flags, and smaller Pink Dragon and rainbow flags. There were very few homemade posters, but around a third had professional versions, with group name and slogan. These included 'Some people are Gay – Get on with it!' (a long-established LGBT phrase), 'My pride isn't for sale', 'Pride against the cuts' and 'Love is a human right'. A poster with 'THIVK, TEST, TAKE CONTROL', was the only reference to HIV/Aids, other than in the Terence Higgins Trust leaflets, the only handouts noted. There was very little use of Welsh on posters.

There was reasonable order, and a general air of confidence, swagger and enjoyment. Whistles and horns were popular, and chants included variations on 'No ifs no buts'. South Wales Gay Men's Chorus, and other groups, sang intermittently; 'If you're queer and you know it' caused some confusion at 'stamp your feet', as it broke the processional rhythm. There was little direct interaction with the witness-audience, other than one protester arguing against the event, on religious grounds. Two male police constables and two St. John cyclists followed the parade.

On 31 August 2013, there was a muster in Churchill Way, with the route along Queen Street. Most groups arrived together, and there was little inter-mingling. By 10.30 a.m., twelve hundred were present, including thirty-plus groups, many of which had appeared in 2012 and the demography was similar. Additions included Police and several men's rugby and football teams. There were two bands and two dance groups, all familiar from Carnival. Dress not seen in 2012 included men and women in skimpy versions of sailor, soldier and policeman. A group of topless young men were the only ones in any state of undress; a web address stencilled on their chests was confirmed (by them) to be a gay pornography site. Material forms were essentially similar to 2012, but with greater use of written Welsh, particularly, 'Mae rhai pobl yn hoyw – Symudwch ymlaen!' ('Some people are gay – Move on!'). 'Never kissed a Tory' was a new popular slogan, and there were several posters regarding recent anti-LGBT action in Russia.

The 2013 parade encountered the same problems as the 2013 Carnival, but compounded, almost immediately, by the fact that few people were there specifically to watch. Participants had to force their way through, mainly uninterested, crowds. This required more than usual shouting and gesticulating by two policemen, and there were no stewards to assist. The situation reduced the initial impact of the event, and there was little chanting or singing, but some whistling. The bands were still heard, with *Guide me, O thou great Redeemer* being played at one point. The rate of progress improved, on leaving Queen Street. There were three brief stops for performances by the musicians and dancers, and the parade ended slightly late, at around midday. At the end-point, other bands and dancers had been performing, and Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Party members had set up tables, with event-appropriate and general materials.

The 2015 event was essentially similar to 2013. New groups include Fire Service and Scouts. There were professionally produced posters throughout, with the dates of significance to LGBT issues, including 1967 (repeal of laws concerning same sex activities), 1972 (First Pride Parade), 1984 (LGBT support in south Wales for striking miners) and 1985 (First Pride Parade in Cardiff). Plaid Cymru had posters in Welsh, English, Spanish, French and Russian.

In terms of indirect popular participation, the 2012 crowd/witness-audience had gathered after midday, about fifteen minutes before the parade was due to pass. They were two to three deep in St. Mary Street and High Street, and five deep near Cardiff Castle. Median age was thirty to fifty-five, with a balance of male and female, and a few younger children. Overall, around three thousand attended specifically. There was substantial clapping, but few direct exchanges. Most of the audience were dressed in typical summer clothes and did not display any LGBT identifiers. Among those presumed to be going to the Mardi Gras (i.e. with picnic bags or similar), a minority, particularly young women and teenage girls, wore stereotypical styles. These included exaggeratedly 'girly' outfits, including lots of pink, gingham, ankle socks and doll-like make-up; the variant, 'girly-zombie' was noted several times. These outfits were in clear contrast to that summer's, near de rigeur, hot-pants and crop-top. Several male groups wore Hawaiian shirts and carried inflatable flamingos. There was some more subtle but recognisable gay/lesbian clothing and hairstyles, and more hand-holding than usual. Nobody had tops from previous LGBT events, and very few had other identifying tops, from concerts or sports events. Four

pedlars were selling obvious identifiers to wear (pink and rainbow boas and cowboy hats) and to wave (rainbow flags and wriggly ‘snakes’).

In 2013, there were no obvious observers at the muster, but the demography of the witness-audiences in High Street and St. Mary Street was similar to 2012, although the median age was younger (thirty to forty-five), and fewer than fifteen hundred seemed to have attended deliberately. Fewer were obviously going to Mardi Gras, and among those, most of the late teens wore currently fashionable clothes, and there was limited stereotypical dress. Fourteen pedlars were observed, with merchandise including rainbow umbrellas, pink ear-shaped deely-boppers and fluffy hats. The 2015 witness audience was essentially similar to 2013.

#### **4.4 Markets and fairs**

A large indoor market has operated since the late nineteenth century, and until 1987, there was a sizeable street market, lost to building development. However, Cardiff has no long-established history of fairs, although there was an annual touring funfair, set up in Sophia Gardens every summer, from at least the 1940s to the 1990s. In common with other urban areas, the numbers of markets and fairs have expanded over the past twenty years. The majority are of institutional origin, to the extent that they are organised on a commercial basis; this can involve the Council or established single companies managing the facilities for individual producers and providers. There are some smaller markets of popular origin. There are enough commonalities between markets and fairs to justify their being considered together; they are temporary, static, commercial activities which depend on customers spending on their goods or services. Certain events have elements of both forms, although one tends to provide the basic format.

##### **4.4.1 Street markets**

Outdoor craft fairs began in the early 1990s, and from the mid-2000s, around ten have been held annually in the city centre and Cardiff Bay, totalling eighty-plus days. They have the same managing company, and many traders appear regularly. Merchandise is mainly jewellery, children’s clothes, cosmetics, wood and slate items, with a minority selling food and drink. Around St. David’s Day and Christmas, most merchandise is themed appropriately. In 2010, the Christmas event, which is the only one with regular

evening opening, expanded, with Working Street and the newly pedestrianised High Street being promoted as ‘Cardiff Castle Quarter’. Wooden huts replaced tents, and the fifty stalls have had a rolling programme of around eighty craftspeople. From 2012, the switching-on of Christmas lights moved from near Winter Wonderland to the main shopping streets, with ‘Step into Christmas’ also including Santa with real reindeer, and around twenty individual or pairs of strollers. Although no longer seen at funfairs, and perhaps tending toward the faux, they remain a first level form. The craft fair added food and drink outlets, including German beer and sausages; this element expanded substantially in 2014, with acoustic musicians playing in open-front bars, and a similar set-up was used during the Rugby World Cup 2015, when some matches were played in Cardiff. Markets selling continental foods, most often Italian, appear several times a year, usually in Queen Street.

The foregoing are of institutional origin, but there are two regular events of popular origin. Riverside Market, opposite the Millennium Stadium, is a community project, and has run weekly, since 2001. Its thirty stalls concentrate on food and drink, from small local producers. A craft, second-hand and food market has operated in High Street, at weekends, since 2012. A few of the old-style street traders (mainly fruit) observed at the study’s outset have gone, and newer traders (mainly toys, mobile phone accessories, e-cigarettes) have appeared.

#### **4.4.2 Ffair Tafwyl**

Tafwyl (Taff Festival) was established in 2006, as a Welsh language festival, with a week of activities in city centre pubs and other venues; everything is promoted in both Welsh and English, on their website, flyers, posters and programmes. The first Ffair Tafwyl was held Saturday 23 June 2012 at Cardiff Castle; the 2013 and 2015 events were observed and had an essentially similar form. There are food and drink outlets, craft stalls, with Welsh producers but not necessarily obviously Welsh merchandise, although clothes with broadly political slogans are always available. These various outlets, literary talks, a Welsh learners’ tent and dance performances echo the activities at larger eisteddfodau. Other elements include cookery, craft and music workshops, and a children’s activity area with tuition from players of the Welsh Rugby Union (WRU), Football Association of Wales (FAW) and Glamorgan Cricket Club. There is a large stage for bands and a smaller one for acoustic performers; some acts are long-established and well-known, but others

are newer and younger. There are no Red Dragon flags or other formal uses of national imagery.

Around two to three thousand are present, at any one time; around thirty-five thousand attended a two-day event in 2016. A majority speak in Welsh, and there are some recognisable faces from the media, politics and academia. Most are white, and the age range is from baby to, at least, seventies, with no obvious gaps; such a wide age range is unusual at any event. There is a balance of male and female, and many families with young children. Casual summer clothes predominate, with virtually no obvious traditional Welsh identifiers. Occasional tops with Welsh language slogans are less obvious to a casual observer than, say, a replica rugby shirt. The Castle is also open as usual, and many visitors who are not aware of Tafwyl, walk around, as at any other similar activity; the novelty of its being a Welsh language event appeals to some, but seems to distract others.

#### **4.4.3 Cardiff International Food and Drink Festival**

This event (subsequently ‘Food Festival’) was established in 1986, and runs from a Friday to Sunday, in early July. It was observed from 2010 to 2013, and the basic format has hardly changed since its inception. It is part of the Council-organised Cardiff Summer Festival (subsequently ‘Summer Festival’), and promoted as such, in Welsh and English, on the Council website and other promotional materials. A programme of exhibitors and activities is in the same small booklet format as that for the Festival as a whole. While the booklet and signage are bilingual, the event as a whole has little obvious Welsh language content.

It is held in Roald Dahl Plass, Cardiff Bay, where marquees with flooring and electricity, house hundred-plus producers mostly relatively small businesses. A high proportion are from Wales, with some from other parts of the UK and Europe including France, Germany and Italy. Much of the food and drink is day-to-day (including pies, ice cream, beer) and particularly delicatessen (including cooked meats, cheeses, pickles). An adjacent farmer’s market has been present since 2011, with around forty smaller stalls, mostly local producers, some quite well-known. Its format, with two lines of stalls, facing inward, is the typical arrangement for such markets. There are some non-food craft stalls, in both areas. There are demonstrations by local chefs, several seen regularly on television.

This event has a narrow demographic profile, the vast majority being thirty to fifty, mainly white, with most in couples or groups of couples; the relatively few children are mainly under ten. Typically, people wear casual clothes. At any one time around five thousand are present, but with continuous churn, around twenty thousand attend daily. Around a third consume food and drink, which is at the perceived classier end of the market; there is no taboo fair food. Another third buy something to take home.

There are strollers, employing stylised imagery, such as ancient Britons and toy soldiers, and professional street entertainers; direct interaction with and involvement of the public common. A small bandstand stages local bands, and there is always an audience, as the main seating area is immediately in front.

In the early 2000s, there were two or three other large Cardiff Bay events annually, but financial cuts have left the Harbour Festival as the only analogous activity (August Bank Holiday, since the late 1990s). The two-day Great British Cheese Festival, in Cardiff Castle (early autumn, 2008 to 2012), its successor, Cardiff Country Fair (from 2013) and the three-day Great Welsh Beer and Cider Festival (mid-Summer, mid-1970s) are comparable, priced events.

#### **4.4.4 Big Weekend**

The Big Weekend ran annually from 1995 to 2011, as part of the Summer Festival, and was the biggest organised outdoor event in Cardiff. The event combined one of the UK's largest temporary funfair with three outdoor concerts, over a weekend in early August. The format hardly changed over the years, with the funfair taking over the civic centre's central roads, which were enclosed by high mesh fencing, with entrance and exit at each corner, and large 'Alcohol Free Zone' signs. The concerts were staged in outside the City Hall and National Museum. Male and female private security staff and occasional police employed a light touch, and St. John Ambulance volunteers and vehicles were always present. The event was not held in 2012, as the date clashed with London 2012 Olympics football, at the Millennium Stadium, and was cancelled permanently in 2013, for financial reasons. The reintroduction of the name and an essentially similar event as part of Mardi Gras in 2017, although with a modest ticket price event, has been noted above.

In 2010 and 2011, most larger rides were £2-4, i.e. not expensive, in terms of potential city centre leisure-time expenditure; they were often fairly full, particularly in the evenings. Engendering dizziness was suggested by names, such as ‘Typhoon Orbiter’ and ‘Twister Twist’. Most imagery related to US popular culture, particularly cinema, television, surfing and football; the music was heavy beat and vocal, but not well-known. Most rides had recorded mid-Atlantic voices, encouraging potential customers, and a few had barkers. Cries, such as, ‘Hands in the air!’ and ‘Someone scream!’ were obeyed by most but not all riders. Children’s rides included trains, teacups, bungee and helter-skelter, with most imagery from long-known film and television cartoon characters; south Wales station names on one train ride was an unusual local touch. Sideshows included several each of darts, shooting range, hook-a-duck, and ball in the bucket. Prizes included soft toys, in a mix of current and some quite old children’s film and television favourites. One hoopla had adult prizes, e.g. drink, money and watches. There was no recorded sound, and barkers varied from loud to completely silent; the former tended to be repetitive, rather than inventive. The rides and sideshows were all run by established fairground families, including Danter and Studt, and virtually all had male staff. Food outlets were local, and offered burgers, sausage, hot dogs, chips, candy floss, honeycomb and sweets. There were no merchandise stalls, but a few pedlars were allowed in, late evening, with wearable and swingable LED items, being the most popular purchases.

From late afternoon, there were around two to three thousand present, but there is churn, and demography is not fixed. Afternoon attendance at the funfair tended to include families with younger children, with noticeable number of south Asians. Early evenings attracted mainly mid-teens, roughly forty percent male, mostly in single sex groups of two to five. Most of the time, they walked around rather than spending money; the usual teenage concerns, regarding co-presence, mutual availability, attention and responsiveness presumably applied. Adults, thirty to forty, in casual clothes, tended to predominate later; most were in small groups, and interacted, with fair workers, rather than others. Teenagers and young adults went on rides more than other groups.

The concerts featured local and national bands. There was a covered stage, with a big screen to one side. Without a specific musical focus, the concerts attracted an audience of around four thousand, including the mid-teens noted, although the median age was thirty to forty, with an even gender balance. Most wore what might be called ‘drinking

casual', e.g. t-shirt and jeans. Audience responses, particularly later in the evening, displayed the conventional forms of responding to bands' requests for action, vocalisation and verbalisation. In addition, there were group-generated actions, such as raising arms, swaying and singing along.

Two smaller annual funfairs began in the early 2000s. One of several large-scale after-parties associated with the Mardi Gras, has five or six dizzying, rides. Winter Wonderland is free and family-centred, with an ice rink, children's rides and a few sideshows, and lasts from late November to early January. When supplemented by adult rides for the New Year's Eve Calennig event and a few days after, it attracts young adults, as part of a night out. Larger events in Cardiff Bay have a few rides, while galloping horses, big wheel and helter-skelter appear for periods, in various locations. Speedway Grand Prix occasionally has a Globe of Death, an entertainment dating from the 1920s (Cameron 1998, 6).

## **4.5 Analysis of socialising events**

### **4.5.1 Introduction**

Two factors strongly influence the scale and nature of socialising events in Cardiff: nowhere else in Wales has the number and range of venues, and the greater part of leisure and entertainment provision is aimed at the population of Cardiff, the Vale of Glamorgan and the Valleys. This catchment area may influence the fact that no event has any necessary or obvious link to the city, its people and its history, or its status as capital. However, this does not reduce the tendency to include Cardiff and/or Wales in event names and promotion. With the size of the city, many activities cater for interests which can be satisfied elsewhere, but many of the events considered are promoted and clearly experienced as special day activities.

There are no theoretical issues specific to socialising, but some empirical points are significant. Sports crowds illustrate the largest-scale non-organised activities recorded, while fairs, markets apply across the theme, but the three topics are initially dealt with discretely. The occurrence and location of events illustrates Objective 2 (patterns of events and associated popular participation) and the other sections relate to Objective 3 (folkloristic significance). All inform Objective 4 (issues particular to Wales and/or



Cardiff). There is a brief summary, as Chapter 7 draws together material from all three theme analyses. Chapters 5 and 6 adopt the same approach, and when there is direct comparability, reference to this chapter aims to avoid repetition.

#### **4.5.2 Occurrence**

Time of year is the most significant influence. In seasonal terms, Summer Festival takes advantage of long days, while Step into Christmas and Winter Wonderland contribute to the night-time economy, in parallel with extended shop opening. Craft markets take place around most bank holidays, as well as much of the summer. St. David's Day Parade and Gŵyl Ifan link to specific dates, and the Six Nations rugby championship (and its predecessors) has always been from January to March. Other dates are incidental, e.g. Carnival was linked to Big Weekend, and Pride Cymru to the existing Mardi Gras. There is a predictable overall calendar of socialising events, both free and priced, which echoes the centuries-earlier popular customary calendar, albeit not drawing, as directly, on the Church or agricultural year.

Most new street markets have no calendrical significance. Rather, the pragmatics of economy and of demography, i.e. what people will want to engage with, underpin the commercial decisions to open new ones from the late 1990s, with a parallel increase in the number of craft market days. The latter tend to open for up to two weeks, but most markets and fairs last one to three days, usually including Saturday. Mardi Gras (2000, LGBT) and Tafwyl (2012) are sectional fairs, and Armed Forces Day field event (2009; see 6.3.3) has elements of fair. Events which are more cost-effective, notably Food Fair and Harbour Festival have expanded, and the introduction of Step into Christmas illustrate a similar motive.

Although there are some long-standing activities, socialising has shown more change and development than other themes. Financial constraints caused the Council to end the Big Weekend (1995-2011), having also stopped two Cardiff Bay performance events in the previous five years. While public authorities, commercial organisations and sporting bodies are behind most of the organised activities, voluntary and community groups are the drivers of events such as St. David's Day Parade, Tafwyl, Mardi Gras and Pride Cymru, but an event's origin is rarely directly relevant to the public. This is an example

of the generally flourishing active membership of clubs and voluntary organisations (Sandbrook 2005, 120-121; Jarvie 2007, 412-413).

### **4.5.3 Location**

Writing on twenty-first century cultural development in Cardiff, Lovering comments that the physical and social infrastructure of a city impact on people's 'going to events from street festivals to organized pop concerts and sport' (2006, 179). The compact nature of both city centre and Cardiff Bay present limited options for location or route. Static events are always located in places where large numbers go regularly, notably the main shopping areas, or where they might go for a major or more novel activity, e.g. Cardiff Bay, Cardiff Castle and Coopers Field. Some are in permanently bounded locations, e.g. Tafwyl, Mardi Gras and Armed Forces Day field event; others are in settings temporarily bounded, e.g. Food Fair and Harbour Fair. Craft and other markets in the city centre have no external boundaries. Other than the streets around sporting venues, particularly the Millennium Stadium, no spaces have any longstanding intrinsic significance. In having temporary food, drink and merchandise outlets, these areas include some of the essential features of dedicated fan zones off the streets. The elements of organised stage performances and big screen match coverage are new introductions, but like all areas marked as temporarily special, they tend to be clearly marked out, albeit with marketing banners predominating over the more usual flags, lights and appropriate imagery. The city centre has some conventional routes, suitable for any processional events; they are chosen to limit traffic disruption and allow straightforward direction or control of marchers. Parade routes are chosen to attract a witness-audience, but as noted, are not always well chosen.

### **4.5.4 Crowds for major events**

As rugby supporters provide the most regular data, theirs can be taken as a representative popular lore, in terms of identity and the nature and use of material and expressive forms. Other supporter groups are comparable, the narratives illustrating commonalities and differences; the few concert crowds and the limited consistencies illustrated do not provide sufficient data for useful analysis. There is little recent directly relevant research on rugby supporters, but broader supporter and fan theory and empirical observations can be usefully employed. Like all major sports, rugby has a stable and continuing community

of supporters (Boyle and Haynes 2002, 202; Giulianotti 2002, 31). Most of these are middle-aged men, who have followed their local team since boyhood, and with which they identify, rather than the regional or national side (Roderique-Davies et al. 2008, 198). Before 1999, most international tickets were distributed through clubs, so, what Giulianotti terms 'traditional' supporters (2002, 31) formed the bulk of the crowd. Thus, they have 'intense and meaningful set of associations...memories, fantasies and identification' (Burstyn 1999, 18) associated with both their club and Wales.

However, greater stadium capacity provides opportunities for less committed occasional attendees who Giulianotti terms 'consumer fans' (2002, 31) and increased proportions of women, children or young adults, particularly at less significant fixtures. This has resulted in increased primary loyalty to Wales, across all supporters (Roderique-Davies et al. 2008, 2004). While this does not imply inauthentic or fair-weather fans, newer supporters will lack the hinterland, i.e. the rugby lore, of traditional supporters. All express self-membership of the same group, but in the varying demography at the more recently established major rugby fixtures, it can be relatively easy to distinguish long-term supporters from others. Giulianotti also defines 'identifiers' who tend to watch matches on television, and 'flâneurs' who take a dilettante approach with superficial engagement with the game (2002, 34, 38). If present, they could not be distinguished from others, but the four categories are a good illustration of Brewer's point on different audiences for the same activities.

Burstyn comments that 'the culture of sport is...unified by specific rituals and codes common to all' (1999, 18) and Lindquist writes that sporting events are 'cultural performances that involve aspects of play, ritual and festival' (2006, 448). The latter also comments that sports contain 'messages about social relations and values that are communicated through verbal and customary form, official and unofficial commentary, and participatory activities' (2006, 446). While literature on sports supporters tends to emphasise behaviour in the stadium, the build-up to major fixtures also provides a context for 'masses of people' to engage in 'the praxis of playing without participating in play' (Bronner 2011, 351), illustrating Schechner's 'mimicry/simulation' (2006, 93/94). Although incidental to the central purpose of the day, the mass of supporters is an event, per se in the build-up. The greater part of their activity is self-generated and self-managed, and centred on supporters themselves, presenting a public intending to achieve

recognition within itself rather than to others. Gathering near the Millennium Stadium is by necessity rather than deliberate choice, but otherwise, crowds lack coordination and direction; with tens of thousands doing essentially the same things, there is limited engagement between pre-formed groups and no meaningful indirect popular participation. This is a rare, and certainly the largest and most prominent case of a largely non-organised event, and cultural reproduction of behaviours the essential expressive aspects of which have hardly changed over the past half-century, at least. The expansion of associated material forms is shown below as having developed from earlier dress and adornment over a similar period.

Other than friendship scarves and the occasional commercial tops with ‘Look what these bastards...’ or ‘32 – 31’ (which refer back four and two decades, respectively), there is relatively little reference to the sport or the fixture, and no meaningful recognition of the values, attitudes etc. which traditional supporters express in supporting their team. As most of the imagery displayed is associated with rugby and Wales, the lack of expression of the aggregate and precedents of any longstanding rugby lore as opposed to that of rugby supporters, this is not immediately obvious. The scale, prominence and commonality of forms of identifier masks the superficial nature of the immediate collective identity. It might, therefore, be argued that rugby crowds are a perfect example of presence as the basic festive action, but justification of their authenticity as a recognisable folk group is more nuanced.

Supporters are identifiable by an indirectly associated intention (attending the match), and although transient, their grouping involves substantial numbers of regular participants, engaged in displaying identity. Dressing up, rather than wearing simple identifiers, has developed into a recognisable invented tradition, since 1995, when rugby became professional. In terms of consistency and continuity, there is a recognisable canon, much of which is not seen commonly, in other contexts. Some elements illustrate continuous pre-existence, e.g. varying levels of red rosettes, leeks and red and white hooped bobble caps, as seen on the covers of *A Run for Your Money* (DVD; 1949), *Live at Treorchy* (CD; 1974) *Grand Slam* (DVD; 1978). The replica Wales shirt has replaced the rosette as the main identifier (the relative cost is incidental), leeks tend to be artificial or inflatable, while similarly-shaped beanies outnumber bobble hats, but the linking thread of Welsh forms and colours is a constant. While illustrating commodification,

these changes exemplify cultural reproduction as dynamism. Up to around thirty percent wear replica shirts, and higher proportions wear scarves, hats and other headwear (daffodil, sheep etc.) and other identifiers than pre-1995. However, the striking consistencies of dress, among a sizeable minority suggests some degree of informed, personal decision making, based on communal norms. Despite this, the balance of Giulianotti's categories cannot be accurately assessed from observation, so the extent to which there is significant symbolic communal meaning or simply following fashion and commercial opportunity is debatable. As a result, the level and consistency of display only partially illustrate Lindquist's social relations and values.

The specifics of sports supporters' dress have traceable historical continuities, and links to non-rugby sources. Wales replica shirts have been common since 2001, when they were first commercially sponsored (Cole and Farmer 2007, 56/56); together with adornment and carried forms they are thematic, in being a development on simpler regular identifiers (rosettes and bobble hats), worn since the early twentieth century. However, the step change was influenced by commercial awareness of complex supporter identifiers developed in the USA and, subsequently, in English cricket's Barmy Army, from the late 1980s. Having precedents from the broader world of major sports, they illustrate novelty, within an existing lore. As individual forms, shirts, inflatables etc. are stylistic in employing Welsh colours and other identifiers. That Wales international shirts have been red since 1881 (Cole and Farmer 2007, 56/56) is also a significant aspect of identification. Variations in any material forms illustrate the compositional.

While replica shirts might only appear banal or trivial, their overt display exemplifies management of personal appearance, in declaring status as supporter; in identifying allegiance, they are indicators of significance and differences of worth. There is also an implicit message: 'I am here – and one of the crowd', emphasises themselves, rather than the significance of the event, reversing the priorities of the traditional supporter's 'I was there!' (Max Boyce's most famous catchphrase). Despite the negatives, what is observable is an aggregate of material lore with precedents and antecedents, providing a basis for practice, albeit in the relatively simple form of display. There is an element of handing down what is perceived as being appropriate to wear or carry; if only indirectly, i.e. there is folkloric transmission overlapping with copycatting. This does not deny the element of accommodation with commerce, as most dress and adornment is purchased,

the commercial awareness of banal nationalism is obvious. However, none of the foregoing reaches anywhere near institutional direction, but rather it is self-organisation, described by Lindquist (2006). As such, the ‘victory [of commodification] is never total’ (Butsch 2002, 72).

Commercial imperatives are also shown by the WRU’s direct marketing via social media, and major street advertising, with a trailer in the main shopping area, on match days. Print and broadcast media coverage is intense, these matches being the only events at which BBC Wales have a temporary street-based radio studio and roving reporters, both allowing direct popular engagement, most of which is in English. Economics also underlie the development of fan zones. Less formally, engaging with unlicensed pedlars, face stencillers and ticket touts, the modern equivalents of cheapjack traders and the like, on the edge of the law for centuries (Cameron 1998, 128; O’Leary 2012, 115), is the only liminal activity (playful deviance?) associated with crowds. However, only a minority engage with any pedlars etc., stop to watch performers, or in impromptu singing.

Overall, the activities illustrate a special day custom based on dress, which might be considered a narrow secondary genre. They exemplify Falassi’s rite of conspicuous display and while this includes playful deviance in adapting and misusing national forms, the game’s status in Wales makes rite of reversal unjustifiable (1987b, 4). Material forms and their implied significance are axiomatic icons, which present the lived-in world of a large sectional group (and indirectly a substantial television audience) rather than contrasting with quotidian social realities and re-presenting the lived-in world. Given that the event has no overall organisation or intended structure, applying Handelman might seem inappropriate, but it fits the context as readily as the most formal events. From another perspective, for the more casual supporters (Giulianotti’s consumer fans), it might be more simply festival, exemplifying the tone of Kugelmass’s ‘competing types of festival costume’: those supporting ‘the ritual element’ and ‘those which parody or satirize and reveal the festival element of the parade’ (1991, 456). While products using modified imagery of first level lore, e.g. daffodil hats, might be considered as exemplifying third level, their being part of a developing lore of long standing, makes them first level. While material lore is thriving, the stereotypical image of singing supporters remains but musical canons (particularly chapel and rugby club) have been lost. This illustrates a broader lost collective experience of communal singing

(WalesOnline 2006), particularly vernacular songs of any type or provenance (Gammon 2008, 3).

Despite their relative frequency, rugby internationals have aspects associated with a national day. There is a degree of ecstatic nationalism, and Van Reekum's comments on the 'heartfelt and even passionate' national identity expressed at sporting events (2012, 585), albeit Haesly suggests that identifying with sporting success (particularly beating England) illustrates a 'superficial' Welsh identity (2005, 249-251). That rugby is more associated with south Wales clouds the issue, and while part of an iconic representation of the nation to others the activities do not 'invest the "community" with ideological integrity' (Cohen 1985, 21), if Wales is the community concerned. Rather than being superficial it might be considered a narrow national (ethnic) identity. That Abell et al. note a far weaker link between sporting success and national identity in England (2007, 104) might suggest too great an emphasis on rugby, and less on a broader Welshness.

#### **4.5.5 Parades**

Socialising parades are an obvious example of procession, the most straightforward example of a secondary genre and a 'universally available form of public expression' (O'Leary 2012, 18). Given this, there is no issue of authenticity based on continuity of the event or its overall form and content. The essentials of their intrinsic codes of conduct (Gunn 2007, 233) are common knowledge, and direct engagement whether regularly or one-off illustrates proclivity or unreflective practice. This does not deny that parades develop and establish their own format and may draw on similar activities. They are likely to be recognised as traditional (in common understanding), and it is the content which is usually more significant. The varying nature and impact of spectacle have been noted, and the latter contributes toward signifying the intention of the activity and identifying the participants. Much of this is the appearance of material and accepting a degree of expression within dress and adornment, the display of banners and flags and to a lesser extent music and singing are the only primary expressive genres regularly recorded in parades. Intention is usually clear: declaration of identity, at St. David's Day Parade and Pride Cymru, and entertainment more significant at Gŵyl Ifan (with Welsh identity implicit) and Carnival (with less clear identities). By their annual nature, they are special day customs and rites of conspicuous display.

St. David's Day Parade and Pride Cymru are typical of processions with a range of disparate groups and individuals of varying levels of experience. Most participate by choice, based on interest in the intention of the event, with little evidence of obligation or sense of duty, although they have issues of identity politics, i.e. self-membership is the norm. Many in the St. David's Day Parade are members of established groups, some of which are permanently constituted, e.g. schoolchildren, or regularly embodied, e.g. musicians and dancers. Other groups are not formally constituted, but the degree of mutual availability or extended social interaction can illustrate recognisable social or other ties, e.g. the media, political, academic and cultural bodies. While the strong level of embodiment in pre-existing embedded Welsh identity (however understood by those concerned) contradicts the idea of discourse naming a folk, the once a year gathering of discrete often very different groups and individuals tends to confirm it. This exception does not deny the general validity or usefulness of Gencarella. At Pride Cymru, social links can be inferred as a significant factor, with campaigning links also central to many participants.

Gathering begins to illustrate fundamental differences with rugby crowds. People meet deliberately at a set location, albeit convenient rather than significant. Members of established groups may arrive together, but there is a degree of community from the outset, owing to their having common purpose and anticipation of subsequent embodiment as participants. People acknowledge others and there is extended social interaction; this is enabled because the events are established, some participants are present each time, and there may be other links, e.g. social or professional. The importance of dress and/or adornment in contributing to embodiment varies from central in Carnival to significant, but often low level at St. David's Day Parade. Presence is the basic action, as it is identification and embodiment into group membership, and support for its position. Other than Carnival, the parades are simple and conventional in form and involve broadly consistent behaviour throughout, with little need for direction. Given the clear differences in the material and expressive forms of the events, appropriate issues are noted for each.

Although centred on embedded identities which have their own associated tacit knowledge, many participants in St. David's Day Parade and Pride Cymru have little experience of processions. It is not a common or indeed necessary activity to express



Welsh or LGBT identity; given this, there is less need for handing down, as there are fewer generic conventions than in protesting, but the approach is essentially similar, in terms of oral transmission and customary example. Both emphasise the element of spectacle, i.e. performance as commonly understood; this is now the main rationale of Carnival, as it has lost much of its original intention of Caribbean cultural display, although several material forms continue to be employed.

At St. David's Day Parade and Pride Cymru, material identifiers include dress, adornment, flags and banners. At the former, Red Dragon flags and daffodils are the only forms that appear consistently in other contexts. In contrast, traditional Welsh dress is more associated with schoolgirls on St. David's Day, and with adults in commercial contexts at tourist locations; its origin in Lady Llanover's mid-nineteenth century semi-invented designs for traditional Welsh dress (Stevens 2005) are ignored, if indeed known. This also applies to the daffodil (dating from the early 1900s as a Welsh image) and St. David's flag (1920s, and uncommon before 2000). Even the cilt and its associated forms are normalised in festival contexts, despite epitomising third level lore. Dressing as St. David is an unusual introduction, while the Banner of the Welsh Princes uses images, which seem familiar, although only a few are ever seen as individual flags. Taken together, the material forms and imagery employed illustrate aggregate and precedent, in both general terms, i.e. common Welsh forms, and in event-specific terms, i.e. appearing regularly. Such familiarity justifies a general lack of directly informative material or expressive content.

The foregoing shows that cultural reproduction of what is familiar to an audience or witness-audience tends towards practice shaped by habits without reflection. There is an accepted aggregate of material forms, and precedence in their use (although not necessarily all together or to the same degree) at all types of event associated with Wales and Welshness. Given the pre-existing collective competence of those watching, handing over confirms identity, values etc. (however defined or experienced), to those within and without the parade. There is limited necessity for handing down of identity-related matters; the main exception is teachers and pupils, the ages of the latter precluding substantial building on practice or latent knowledge.

Processional giants are an old form which have become popular in recent years, in events lacking local precedents (Hannant 2011, 62 – 63, 94-95), but significantly, among all the

forms and images, only Owain Glyndwr represents an historical Welsh-speaking Wales. The others represent its English-speaking south-east. More generally, the stereotypical cultural expressions associated with the area raises the same issue of ideological integrity as rugby crowds. The apolitical nature of the event allows for the absence of civic authority representation, but the presence of more Welsh cultural institutions would strengthen the intention of the event. Thus, while expressing ethnic identity, it does not live up to its national intention. Thus, modelling the lived-in world is not wholly appropriate; the stereotyping makes it less than an axiomatic icon, so not wholly presenting the lived-in world. The gaps are significant, and might have been addressed, quite readily. These negatives should not be dismissed, but the festival nature clearly represents the lived-in world, and having been established for a decade, and containing so many well-established elements, it is a first level activity.

This also applies to Pride Cymru, as the form of Pride Parade has become established in the UK since 1972. Although knowing and exaggerated, most forms of dress, undress, adornment and other imagery can be taken as authentic and appropriate to various LGBT identities, none has either the longevity or the widespread presence and usage of comparable Welsh forms. They display cultural reproduction of various public faces of LGBT, and differ, completely, in that certain forms, notably posters and t-shirts, promote LGBT issues and challenge discrimination: ‘Some people are gay – Get on with it!’ is a well-known expression, but its overt presentation, and other statements and slogans is highly demonstrative. Exaggerated dress, generated within the LGBT community as ludic form plays up to stereotypes; in being associated with night-time social contexts, and displayed at an unconventional time and location it shows playful deviance. They might be considered as folk art, in contrast with pre-existing Welsh imagery and the stylising within Carnival. Identifying t-shirts, banners and posters are cognate with those of protesting (of which there is an element, see 5.4.5). The Rainbow flag (folk art), and adaptations of its image are seen throughout, but Pride Cymru is an exception to all other processional events, in its substantial display of forms and images associated with non-LGBT bodies, e.g. political parties, religious, commercial and voluntary organisations. This is now a common feature of such parades (Munt and O’Donnell 2007, 99), and it might be inferred that the issue is considered more relevant than St. David’s Day Parade, i.e. Brewer’s political pragmatics come into play. Unlike the relatively stable St. David’s

Day equivalents, the aggregate of material and expressive forms at Pride Cymru is developing each year.

Given the various material and expressive forms, there is strong expression and confirmation of LGBT identities, but peer-imposed boundaries consciously avoid anything likely to be offensive or unacceptable to the public, police and civic authorities, such as some extreme forms of undress, seen at the Mardi Gras itself. Pride Parades can be seen, simply, as spectacle and novelty, although also encouraging greater acknowledgment and acceptance of Cardiff's 'very small publicly visible gay community' (Lovering 2006, 180). However, there is an issue of ideological integrity, in that Pride Parades generally have become festival rather than demonstration, and potentially confirming rather than challenging stereotypes and attitudes (Hughes 2006, 240; Johnston 2007, 30; Ravenscroft and Gilchrist 2009, 40). This issue is in the literature, rather than observable, although Pride Cymru has reversed the issue in adding campaigning to an originally socialising event.

Handing down to those with less experience of Pride Parades can be presumed, and it is suggested that the first direct acknowledgment of LGBT identity to an unknown public is an emancipatory rite of passage (Johnston 2007, 30; Munt and O'Donnell 2007, 99-100). The fact of its being named Pride Cymru and being the biggest LGBT day in Wales, but not an all-Wales activity raises no issues of integrity; there are other large Pride events throughout the country. There is more obvious engagement by the majority, than in St. David's Day Parade, and it can be considered as both presenting the LGBT lived-in world, to those involved in whatever way, and re-presenting it to others.

The substantial social engagement between the public and participants, before the parade implies pre-existing links, and offers a different slant to publics that matter. In contrast, witness-audiences along the route exemplify the lack of involvement at spectacles, noted by Ehrenreich (2007, 206), i.e. their main involvement is being present, with no element of constant obligation. They usually have a level of expectation, but actions are not influenced strongly by the context. Although there are often high levels of shouting, laughing, and clapping from a majority, no interaction is required within the witness-audience or with parade participants, beyond the usual conventions of crowded situations. Witness-audiences probably take the events as essentially entertainment, but having chosen to attend, some understanding of overt or implicit messages can be presumed.

Handing over to the witness-audience raises the issue of confirming others' opinion, but a balance of performance and declaration is clear. At St. David's Day Parade, little is wholly new to most of the witness-audience, whereas most of those observing Pride Cymru lack a comparable awareness of, or identification with, LGBT identity, and the significance of some forms and images will be lost on them. The likelihood is that, as with the most causes, a majority are not particularly exercised by LGBT issues, but this does not negate the point, nor deny broad recognition of the event's intention.

Most observers of Gŵyl Ifan will see only the procession, and in missing the dance display they are not exposed to its cultural significance exemplifying ethnic identity and most transmission is to other dancers (cf. rugby crowds). As they enact a long-standing expressive lore there is direct handing down and handing over, albeit to a limited audience, few of whom (apart from other dancers) are aware of content and its significance. There is performance, as commonly understood, but practice in folkloristic terms; it also conforms to a rite of conspicuous display, presenting a lived-in world. Most display is based on stylised forms of social dances, i.e. institutionalised popular lore rather than an institutional lore as such. Fiddle accompaniment is authentic, but squeezebox is not. Folk dance is not a common street activity, and all these points imply shades of authenticity. It is also a rare example of Bronner's endangered lore (2011, 43-44), although folk dancers are not as obvious a tightly knit community as his sense tends to imply. In being a longstanding, popular element of the National Eisteddfod and others, albeit increasingly less so (Jones 2010, 26) its authenticity has both institutional and popular authority. Overall, the relative longevity, continuity and broader cultural context, confirm first level status.

In contrast, the whole of Carnival can be observed. This also originated in the 1980s, drawing on the strong Caribbean heritage of the Docks area (commonly called Tiger Bay). While continuing to employ material and expressive forms from Caribbean Carnival, people from other ethnic and social backgrounds have influenced its content from the early 2000s. This illustrates broader issues commonly associated with revivals of events of popular origin, including an individual or small group driving it (SWICA), some original actors or associated with the form, and regularly engaged actors (Livingston 2008, 69). Currently, its traditional characters are more often enacted by white people with no direct link, illustrating a rare, overt, conscious example of 'trans-ethnic folk

romanticism' (Wells 1994, 53). Its workshops and rehearsals involve the same issues as Gŵyl Ifan.

Carnival also selects and articulates appropriate elements of Welsh heritage; accepting that 'Dr. Dee' (2011) might not have been recognised, the Elizabethan imagery would have been broadly understood. Dewis's comment that 'some Welsh observers still consider it...an alien form of expression' (2014, 132), presumes deeper than is likely in the witness-audience. Although not a British form, the term and the basics of its enactment have been adopted; its origins are still considered, and aspects included, and it re-presents the lived-in world. Despite changes and associated concerns, it can be considered that the event has developed, as much as rejected or lost. Thus, its longevity and continuity as a regular community activity, anticipated by the public, establishes first level status, but it remains to be seen if the revived Butetown Festival influences future enactments.

The most significant point overall, is that despite the limited number of events, popular participation illustrates an awareness of the aggregate and precedence associated with the intention, and builds in and on its own specifics, in the universally available processional form. As such, it illustrates practice theory based on experience, by regular participants, and common knowledge by others.

#### **4.5.6 Markets and fairs**

Markets and fairs present more complex issues of analysis, but there are several basic starting points. Their scale varies substantially, but all have some commonalities of form. The distinction between market and fair is often immediately clear, and funfairs stand out as such. Markets and fairs can be of institutional or popular origin; funfairs are always institutional. Some events overlap the distinctions, and elements of each may be found in less obvious contexts. The events themselves have folkloristic significance, and both popular and institutional lore are expressed by the various actors involved. They are secondary genres, employing essentially similar subsidiary secondary and primary genres to their predecessors and to established markets. They exemplify festivals which involve 'exchange of information or goods and services within, and between, communities' (Hede and Rentschler 2007, 157), and the extent to which they have expanded makes them 'prime manifestations of the experiencing economy' (Robertson et al. 2007, 99).

Although none of the current street markets or fairs has long history, the common format of rows of tents facing each other has been a feature of markets for at least two centuries (Brown 2001, 59). Today's organic meat, French patisserie and craft items have their forbears in the sausages, biscuits, lace and toys of mid eighteenth-century markets (Cameron 1998, 158; Brown 2001, 19). While the range of merchandise is more optional than essential (unlike the static indoor market), considering street markets as second level, i.e. as knowing, narrow enactments of a traditional form within a ludic context is not a strong argument. Since the late twentieth century, these activities have become as widespread, well-established and taken for granted as any traditional street traders, and first level status is justifiable.

Cardiff's fairs lack direct antecedents and none is very long-established; the oldest is the Royal Horticultural Society Flower Show (a priced event), which began as a local activity in the 1970s. While its intention is specialised, it has the general form, i.e. temporary, tented stalls for event-appropriate merchandise, marquees for displays and performances, and food and drinks outlets found in modern fairs, and which shows broad commonality with much earlier fairs (Brown 2001, 59). Abrahams suggests that the forms of rural fair (functional, utilitarian) and festival (non-quotidian play) tend to merge in urban settings (1987, 181), and the essential case can be made for, say, Food Festival and Harbour Festival. These events are static, for three days, within a defined space, but there are other formats. Step into Christmas is dispersed throughout the central shopping area, for one evening. Some are sectional, e.g. Tafwyl and Mardi Gras, but their validity is not affected in having specific target audiences. Indeed, the audience at Tafwyl do not need to understand Welsh to enjoy the music and dance performances, or buy food, drink and other goods; Mardi Gras has always attracted a substantial non-LGBT attendance, and the reactivation and addition of Big Weekend (2017) could increase this. Fair-like activities include fan zones (Speedway Grand Prix the first, late 2000s) and Armed Forces Day field event. In that Food Fair and Harbour Festival are established examples of a, now common, invented tradition, they can be considered as first level.

Food Festival and Harbour Festival, in particular, have stylised markets, and non-quotidian merchandise catering to modern preoccupations, e.g. local and organic food sourcing, real and craft beers. Taken together, such enthusiasms represent a broad set of invented traditions within the modern practice of food tourism (Çela et al. 2007; Everett

2009). The numbers attending fairs are greater than markets and more time is spent, but interaction with stall-holders etc. is much the same as at markets. Cooking and other demonstrations involve greater engagement, and, with an acceptance of coming and going, the general rules of audience behaviour are applied.

The cooking and other demonstrations at Food Fair are comparable to earlier fair sideshows and performances, while music, singing and dance have been part of fairs, of all types, for centuries (Cameron 1998, 161-164; Brown 2001, 52-56). Given this, the sole example of music festivals (Big Weekend) is considered within this context. While incidental or background at many fairs, music is central to Big Weekend concerts which employ the form of modern outdoor music festivals, albeit on a smaller scale, and treated as such, by the audience. This also applies to the Mardi Gras concert and the outdoor after-party. Ehrenreich notes that the form developed during the late 1960s, when, ‘after two centuries of quiet attention [to music], there was a return to direct participation at rock concerts’ (2007, 210). Outdoor events lend themselves particularly well to this; one in ten adults attends a music festival in any year (‘Festival Britannia’, BBC4 17 June 2011), and with substantial television coverage of major summer events, most adults are aware of the conventional forms of vocalisation, verbalisation and actions. Given this, concerts and associated popular participation can be considered as established within the invented tradition of the modern music festival, and thus first level.

The events have traditional forms, but there are no obvious material forms of folkloristic significance associated with the majority working in them. The two or three sets of strollers at Food Fair and Harbour Festival, since around 2010, have precedents in funfair jugglers and strongmen (Cameron 1998, 2-11), and have also become an established feature of many customer-centred events. Their direct interaction, often with the unsuspecting, illustrate extemporisation and is close in form to sales pitches.

Funfairs as such date from the mid-nineteenth century, but many sideshows and mechanical rides have direct antecedents, from swing-boats (early nineteenth century) to waltzer (mid-1930s) (Cameron 1998, 4 and 178). The associated imagery is colourful and stylised; whatever the specifics, it tends towards a nostalgic otherness, in time and space. Recognisable cartoon characters date from various periods, and images illustrating colourful and/or speedy activities are often stylised Americana. The main primary expressive genre is barkers’ calls and interaction with riders, and these tend to be quite

repetitive, with far less improvisation than strollers. These events are unique in displaying continuity through the various families involved (Cameron 1998; Brown 2001), and in maintaining both fair and family traditions, they enact recognisable combination of popular and institutional lore.

Other than responding to ride-workers' customary calls directions to shout or scream, which confirms awareness of an appropriate aspect of experiencing dizziness, one of Schechner's forms of play (2006, 93-94), public interaction is similar to markets. Although the format and associated actions and social etiquettes are known almost universally, the widespread awareness of the continuities can engender a sense of liminality in that the funfair is someone else's very different way of living and working, and comparable with that associated with other travellers. As such, they re-present the lived-in world to fairgoers, while to fair barkers and other workers it is quotidian and presents their lived-in world. Overall, the longevity and consistencies of form confirms funfairs as first level activities.

The broad demography at markets and fairs is similar from one instance to another. When the emphasis is on middle class tastes, e.g. local and authentic food and drink, and cooking demonstrations, they attract substantial numbers of thirty to fifty-somethings, i.e. consumers considered more likely to have such interests. However, display of such values or identities is usually incidental or secondary rather than overt. Most customers arrive and remain in small family groups or in couples, and even when relatively large numbers are acting similarly issues of gathering, co-presence etc. are relatively unimportant beyond necessary social etiquettes in crowds. Numbers are large at major events with churn throughout the day, which can alter demography, with more young adults usually appearing later. This change is noticeable at events at which music is central, e.g. at Big Weekend evening concerts, although young adults replace teenagers rather than older adults. Similar patterns are found at events having relatively narrow target audiences, e.g. Tafwyl or Mardi Gras.

Being relatively non-engaged, i.e. 'just looking', is a basic action at markets and fairs, but the seller-customer context is central. The context is temporary, but such engagement does not necessarily mean taking on a role totally different from the everyday. People apply tacit and latent knowledge and habituated responses based on social precedent (Bronner 2012, 32). The context requires greater direct interaction with professionals than



any other events, and rather than counterpoint to the everyday, the activities are in harmony. Sellers' institutional lore and buyers' popular lore are interlinked, and for both the stylised interaction is at the boundary of practice and performance. Sellers employ a degree of performance in that they interact and respond with customers, and buyers employ a complementary popular lore by adapting and exaggerating the quotidian shopping etiquettes. While illustrating the modification of habituated individual responses to sustain a shared practice, this is also ludic behaviour i.e. as mimicry/simulation. While less performative than Kapchan or Bauman's sales pitch, each dialogue is emergent and different, and illustrates an uncommon situation in which applying performance theory as a technique could be appropriate.

Allowing for this, aggregate and precedence is clear throughout. All events display commonalities, notably that they are temporary, static, commercial or semi-commercial activities which depend on customers spending on goods or services. They are rites of conspicuous consumption and exchange, and involve both professionals (stall-holders, ride workers etc.) and those attending. In including mimicry of the quotidian (essentially shopping) and exceptions to it (play and entertainment of various sorts), they re-present the lived-in world to those attending. There is a popular acceptance of markets, fairs and funfairs as traditional, communal activities, and a near-universal knowledge of their compositional characteristics. They have historical and folkloric associations, the latter drawing as much on childhood stories as direct experience; given this, there is limited need for social etiquettes to be handed down to children or young adults. The intention and opportunities at funfairs clearly need little explanation to the young.

They illustrate economic pragmatics, in being part of 'the play economy' (Lovering 2006, 182), but although tens of thousands of customers support markets and fairs, this is very small in relation to fixed retail provision, particularly given the building or redevelopment of several retail complexes since 2000. Shopping remains the primary reason for daytime visits to city centres (Bromley et al. 2003, 1839).

#### **4.6 Issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff**

The centrality of location and leisure-related facilities have been noted as the two most influential factors on activities. The most common aspect of the events is the emphasis on conspicuous display in some and conspicuous consumption in others.

The use of national forms and images and their adaptation and misuse, particularly in rugby crowds, illustrate the extent to which they are taken for granted locally, as representing and illustrating Wales and Welshness. Their strong visible association with rugby, a game more popular in English-speaking south Wales, helps explain their near lack at Welsh language events. Indeed, conspicuous display is often prominent whatever the intention of an activity, the Red Dragon flag and other forms and images often underpinning public expressions of Welsh ethnic identity. Although the flag is both an institutional and popular symbol, and has no specific association with any social, political or sectional interests, its use tends to illustrate an accepted level of popular banal nationalism and is less prominently an expression of civic identity (see 6.3.3 and 6.3.6). The use of Welsh identifiers is exemplified by St. David's Day Parade, an event which began shortly after devolution, when there was a general confidence in Wales and Welshness. While the Parade is termed 'National' and was initially organised by the Council with Assembly support, the point on ethnic identity still applies. In being held in the middle of the Six Nations rugby championship, the event is overshadowed to some extent in terms of the public expression of Welsh identity and lacks relevance as a national activity. However, a generous assessment of the sometimes less than impressive Parade might accept this as illustrating Elgenius's comment that national days are most successful in countries where nationhood is considered as vulnerable (2011, 412).

The Parade and Gŵyl Ifan are the only regular socialising events that might be commonly understood as being folkloric in themselves, and deliberately include such forms and images, without any noticeable misuse, as intrinsic to the enactment. However, the Parade also has an element of recent invention (e.g. Banner of the Princes and the song *Cenwch y Clychau i Dewi*) and the introduction of giants. At Gŵyl Ifan the main Welsh material identifier is traditional dress, and the event is centred on expressive dance forms which have no specific geographical provenance within Wales, although being more associated with Welsh-speaking communities and the eisteddfod movement.

While spoken Welsh is predominant at Gŵyl Ifan, the audience do not need to understand it to enjoy the dancing. Ffair Tafwyl is the only event centred on use of the Welsh language. In its overall format, there is some air of the maes (eisteddfod field), and it can be presumed that many attendees are also eisteddfod-goers. In expressing ethnic identity, these events are unusual within socialising, in exemplifying events that model. Ffair

Tafwyl has strong public promotion of the Welsh language to non-speakers, with *Cymraeg i Oedolion* – Welsh for Adults and *Cymdeithas yr Iaith* stands. Less didactically, Welsh speaking players from FAW, WRU and Glamorgan Cricket Club are involved in sports activities with children.

The paucity of traditional Welsh folk music is noticeable, and unlike the music of Scotland and Ireland, it is rarely employed ‘to evoke geographical place for the listener’ (Matheson 2008, 61). Since the early 2000s (the era of ‘Cool Cymru’), it has been the music of Welsh rock bands providing a communal identifier, Edwards commenting that, ‘not only...folk music patterns that can represent ideas of identity, but also popular music’ (2006, 142/143).

It is clear from observations that the issues above are irrelevant or tangential to many socialising events. Carnival often has a Welsh or part-Welsh theme, but employs little if any of the national forms. *Pride Cymru* uses the Welsh language on posters more than any other activity. Markets and fairs might display Red Dragon flags and merchandise can employ Welsh imagery, but the latter are simply local forms which have equivalents anywhere in the UK.

#### **4.7 Summary**

Argyle comments that leisure activities have their ‘own rules, rituals, costumes and calendar of events’ (1996, 174), and while observations confirm an identifiable calendar, the rules etc. vary across the main socialising forms. Many events are present-day versions of well-established forms, including processions, markets and fairs; these last appear in various forms. Regular events and types of event have their own recognisable patterns of form, and of direct and indirect popular participation. Established regular activities, e.g. rugby crowds tend to be essentially similar; newer regular events, e.g. *Pride Cymru*, have not developed a completely consistent format, but build on experience. Numbers engaged tend to be similar, for each regular activity, but at others they vary depending on the specifics of the event. The underlying nature of popular participation is similar in comparable contexts, and taken together, they epitomise the cognitatively graspable and emotionally livable as much as any public events.

Oring's concept of cultural reproduction is evident across the theme. The employment of Welsh material forms and images, in both formal and informal contexts, and their centrality in rugby crowds and the St. David's Day Parade parades, is inescapable. His confirms Connerton's comment that non-quotidian costume is 'found in all carnivals which mark the suspension of hierarchical rank, norms and prohibitions' (1989, 10). This illustrates a widespread level of popular banal nationalism, in which none of the national symbols has association with particular social, political or sectional interests. Material forms are more significant than expressive ones in crowds and parades, and the degree of handing over to others, and the extent to which performance can be recognised is limited. The significance of forms and images is more likely to confirm existing, rather than enlighten a witness-audience. Expressive forms are limited across these events, the near-lack of Welsh or other vernacular music and song is striking.

Popular participation at markets and fairs illustrates both proclivity and practice. Customers employ quotidian shopping forms (proclivity), but their awareness of the faux nature of the context leads to knowing exaggeration of these forms, people can adapt regular practices to the ludic setting. However, an underlying point is that customers are engaging with institutional, mainly commercial, lore rather than expressing popular lore.

## **Chapter 5 – Protesting**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Demonstrations range from one-off events of narrow sectional interest to activities forming part of coordinated campaigns, over a wide area and over a substantial period. Such campaigns can include meetings, organised public relations, websites, blogs and online petitions, and a demonstration itself may be an occasional activity. Whatever the case, few demonstrations last more than a few hours and while their scale varies, direct popular participation is central to virtually all. Larger events are among the most spectacular street-based events, but in being irregular and usually unexpected to a majority of the public they tend to attract a chance witness-audience. This is a secondary matter, the primary intention being to show collective purpose in responding to or pre-empting a real or perceived threat or challenge from an antagonistic other, that has taken deleterious action, or has the power to do so. There is a presumption that the other will recognise and take note of the symbolic meanings of the various actions, images and directly expressed messages, in the same terms as those protesting.

History and experience show that the other may not respond in ways beneficial to those protesting, and the centralisation of government and perceived lack of influence on powerful bodies in recent times has been suggested as a major element in this (Rogers 2004, 116; Gleeson 2006, 20). Despite this, protesting has increased throughout the UK since 2011 (Bailey 2016), albeit not smoothly. A noticeable increase in Cardiff, in late 2010 and throughout 2011, much of it overtly linked to the actions of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (from May 2010), was followed by dip and subsequent increase in 2014. Tarrow notes a cyclical pattern of protesting, resulting from heightened social tensions or antagonism towards recent political action (1995, 92-94). Many of the 2014-15 events in Cardiff were environmental, housing and student demonstrations, which follows a national trend noted by Bailey (2016), although the proportional decrease in employment-related protest (20% in 2015) is not the case in the city. Large trade union demonstrations continue to be undertaken, and while not providing a specific paradigmatic form, comparable to the Service of Remembrance, they are a useful model against which to consider other activities. Given their longstanding history, they display a range of traditional forms and component elements, and the issues concerned are usually broadly understood by the public.

The irregular nature of demonstrations, and frequently, lack of pre-event promotion, is not as great a problem as might have been thought; the repeated use of similar elements, in events of both popular and institutional origin, and in similar and dissimilar contexts, displays strong patterns and common qualities. Indeed, protesting exemplifies the idea that the form of an event is likely to be informed by its intention more readily than most activities, and there is a strong argument supporting closer correspondence between their enactment and folkloric practice than is found in other examples of institutional lore. Given their value as a model and the particular popular resonance, trade union demonstrations are considered initially.

## **5.2 Trade union demonstrations**

Some trade union demonstrations relate to specific areas of employment and may be aimed at particular employers; others are concerned with legislation or regulation by the UK Government. Most take the form of rally and/or march, and the latter are among the largest processional events in the city. In 2011, there were three large-scale trade union demonstrations and several smaller events; this level of activity was slightly more than in most years.

### **5.2.1 ‘Protest in the Park’, Saturday 5 March 2011**

This named demonstration comprised a march and subsequent rally, to coincide with the concurrent Welsh Liberal Democrat Spring Conference and Welsh Conservative Conference. The event had been promoted on trade union and other websites, such as Radical Wales, which has a regularly updated calendar of demonstrations, and there had been some media coverage. At 10.30 a.m., around sixteen hundred had assembled in King Edward VII Avenue; being a Saturday, few were missing work. The median age range was thirty-five to fifty-five, with few in their twenties. Around two-thirds were men, and virtually all were white. Being a cold day, most wore topcoats and there was no identifying dress.

The majority were in identifiable groups, including around twelve trade unions and trade union groups and five political parties: Labour, Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales (subsequently, simply Plaid Cymru), Communist, Socialist Party Wales and Socialist Workers Party. Also present were CND Cymru, Côt Cochion Caerdydd (Cardiff Reds

Choir), Cymdeithas yr Iaith, Remploy (Government-sponsored employment scheme for disabled people) and Right to Work (an umbrella campaign, established by the Socialist Workers Party, but with wider support). Around twenty percent carried an identifier of some sort. These included twenty-plus banners, nine of which used a style traditionally associated with the labour movement, showing the organisation's name, with framed picture at the centre, illustrating prominent figures of the organisation's past, or a representation of its activities, with motto at the base. Those observed were sewn, or sewn and painted, and most had limited detail. Thompson Solicitors banner (seen frequently at demonstrations) is typical, being mainly red with a central picture of protesters, noting that 'Harry Thompson represented the Poplar Councillors in the 1920s', and having the motto 'Justice For Working People'. Nine other banners had modern designs, and although one was sewn, five were painted or printed on canvas, and two printed on a synthetic textile. A Remploy banner was the only one which approached being campaign-specific, in specifically opposing proposed cuts. Some banners had Welsh imagery, notably the Red Dragon, in some form, and/or a general use of red, green and white. All were carried on two upright poles and a crossbar; most were simple, but two had toppings (spike, ball), and one had tassels. Throughout, all bearers were men.

Small TUC flags were seen throughout the march, and individual trade unions with substantial numbers of larger flags included Unite (representing various work sectors), Unison (public sector, particularly local government and health) and Public and Commercial Services Union (mainly public sector, particularly Civil Service; often simply PCS). A3 posters, the standard size if professionally printed or downloaded, mounted on sticks, were carried by members of Unison, GMB (various work sectors), Plaid Cymru and the National Shop Stewards Network. Socialist Workers Party posters were available for anyone to carry, with the slogans 'Break the Con-Dem coalition' and 'Resist, Protest, Strike!' (red and black on white).

The march began at 11 a.m., led by two mounted policewomen; there were groups of two or three policemen every hundred metres or less including one with a video camera, one with camera, one medic, and two mounted. All wore normal uniform and hi-visibility jackets. There were no recognisable figures at the head of the parade, which was led by two Remploy banners, one traditional and the other modern. Flags were waved and posters manipulated, for greater visual impact of messages, but while constant within

groups, few individuals displayed continuously. A percussion band provided music, and Côt Cochion Caerdydd sang *The Red Flag* and other socialist songs. There was little calling or chanting throughout, and nothing beyond ‘Tories out!’, and similar. Marchers stopped and chanted against the Welsh Liberal Democrats at the Angel Hotel, their conference venue, where the pavement had been blocked off with high mesh fencing. Overall, it was a relatively quiet event. There were some onlookers, but none seemed there specifically to engage with the march, i.e. no waving or verbal interchange.

The marchers reached Sophia Gardens by 11.35 a.m., and most remained for the associated rally, which was held two hundred metres from the Conservative conference at the Swalec Stadium. Speakers included Wales TUC President, Unison Assistant General Secretary, GMB Regional President, Wales National Union of Students President (all female), Unite General Secretary, PCS General Secretary and Cardiff Trades Council Secretary (all male). The number of speakers, and the national or regional status, indicates the importance attached to this event. Responses were polite rather than enthusiastic.

### **5.2.2 Public sector strikes, Thursday 30 June 2011 and Wednesday 30 November 2011**

The June event was in opposition to Government proposals to change public sector pension regulations. Promotion and media coverage were similar to ‘Protest in the Park’. With a number of large public-sector buildings in the Civic Centre, there was a concentration of activity in a relatively small area. At 10.40 a.m., there were fourteen pickets (nine male and five female) at the main building of the National Museum and Galleries of Wales; they were mainly aged under thirty, and displayed a range of PCS posters. No other buildings had pickets, and a PCS member explained that they had all been picketed earlier, but most people had gone to Sophia Gardens for a march back to the Assembly offices in the Civic Centre. There were posters on trees and in the ground on three sides of the Assembly offices: ‘PCS Official Picket’, ‘PCS defends public services together’ and ‘Picket Line’.

Around seven hundred marchers arrived at Kingsway at 12.40 p.m. There was an approximate gender balance, median age ranges from thirty- five to fifty-five, the majority white. They were led by a police van, with four mounted police (two male and two female) and six policemen on foot, with constables to each side at twenty-metre



intervals, one policeman with a camera and one medic. A mounted policewoman and six policemen made up the rear. There were no distinguishable trade union stewards. There were two men with loudspeakers, but the response was muted, to chants such as ‘No ifs, no buts, no public-sector cuts’ and ‘They say cutbacks, we say fight back’. There was no music or singing. Casual clothes were the norm, with no obvious worn identifiers. Banners included Unite, PCS, PCS South East Wales Region (the only traditional embroidered banner), several from National Union of Teachers (NUT), Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL), University and College Union (UCU). Most unions had their own posters, emphasising cuts, pensions and fight-back; ATL had one banner and one poster which were bilingual. No crowd had gathered, but around twenty-five stopped to watch, clap and cheer, at the junction of Kingsway and Queen Street. Four men around twenty chanted, ‘If we all are united, we will never be divided’. There were two professional photographers.

The rally began at 1 p.m. at the Assembly offices, outside what is commonly called the Old Welsh Office. Banners were displayed against the wall, but there was no attempt to remove them. Police vehicles had blocked the King Edward VII Avenue, to avoid traffic interfering with the rally. Free sandwiches, crisps and cold drinks were provided. A PCS information table offered face painting, although only one woman aged around thirty with a ‘tiger’ face was observed. Two dogs, with coats showing membership of ‘Greyhounds Against the Cauts’ were present; this play on cats and cuts was an uncommon example of written humour. Speakers included the President of Wales Trades Union Congress, who began his address, ‘Comrades...’, and the Deputy President of the PCS. Responses were polite rather than enthusiastic.

A related, but not formally linked, ‘Busk Against The Cuts’ was held at the statue of Aneurin Bevan in Queen Street, at its junction with Kingsway. A gazebo had been erected, and from around 11 a.m., there were around ten musicians, including two young women, playing in ad hoc groupings. Most were aged thirty-five to forty. Instruments were typical of street musician: mainly guitars, with one saxophone and one fiddle. The music was 1960s and 70s pop, and 1990s and 2000s indie rock, but no protest songs. Free vegetable burgers, buns, salad and relish were provided by ‘Food not Bombs’, a group who also provide a weekly meal in St. John Street and distribute a range of related and, unusually, other left-wing campaigning material. All food, plates and paper napkins had

been retrieved from supermarket skips, as had one unsteady table. They were distributing flyers summarising their aims (fundamentally preventing food waste). They attracted a steady flow, with no obvious demographic pattern; ‘customers’ ranged from well-dressed south Asian women to ill-dressed, possibly homeless, men as well as people involved in the event. A table had general and event-specific *Socialist Worker* materials; one of the four men present was south Asian, the significance of this being that protesting tends to engage fewer people from minority ethnic communities than any other regular public activity. There was a crowd of up to sixty including a few children under school age. Around twenty-five were dressed in various forms of radical aesthetic, i.e. the currently customary protest dress of cargo trousers with layers of non-matching tops. Fifteen men and one woman were dressed wholly or significantly in black, suggesting allegiance to anarchist belief. One woman had a red Unison t-shirt with white crown over the wording ‘Get angry and fight back’, parodying ‘Keep calm and carry on’; one man had an olive t-shirt with black wording ‘One Solution – Revolution’ and a picture of Trotsky. A man of around thirty wore a waistcoat with a few badges, including the commonplace picture of Jimi Hendrix, ‘Class Commando’ and ‘Fuck the Wedding’ (referring to Prince William and Catherine Middleton). Four women had pink streaked hair and one blue, and two men and one woman (all white) had dreadlocks. There were two dogs, a collie and a lurcher, on coloured ropes. A police sergeant was present.

The November strike had few noticeable differences. There were slightly more pickets including First Division Association (FDA, senior public servants) and Prospect (professional sectors). No-one was observed entering most public buildings in the Civic Centre, i.e. they were respecting the picket line, although there was no way of knowing how many had entered earlier. At the University, one poster was in Welsh, but leaflets were English only, as ‘the Welsh ones have not arrived’ (comment from UCU picket).

Most the approximately three thousand marchers were members of eighteen individual trade unions. Several had between one and two hundred members present: ATL, GMB, NASUWT (from National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers) and NUT, PCS, UCU, Unison, Unite, Chartered Society of Physiotherapy and Royal College of Nursing (RCN). Most groups had a reasonable gender balance, but the majority from Unite were men, and most of the physiotherapists and nurses were women. The median age range was thirty to fifty-five, with the predominantly female groups being younger

overall. Banners, flags and posters were similar to other demonstrations. Plaid Cymru and Cymdeithas yr Iaith groups had the only substantial proportion of Welsh posters, although there were numerous NUT posters ‘Pensiynau teg i bawb’ (‘Fair pensions for all’).

### **5.3 Other demonstrations**

These are far more varied than trade union activities, in form and scale. The following are representative of the events recorded.

#### **5.3.1 Hardest Hit march and rally, Saturday 22 October 2011**

This was the first demonstration in Cardiff by Hardest Hit, a recently established national umbrella campaign for disability rights. It was the only march comparable in scale to trade union events and was typical of a demonstration involving groups for which campaigning is a regular activity, but for which a major public protest is less usual.

The demonstration began with a rally in front of a temporary stage in the City Hall car park. This was the only demonstration recorded at this location for which staging was permitted. Between 11.40 a.m. and 12.30 p.m., over two hundred participants had arrived. Most were in small groups associated with a particular form of disability. A few were using wheelchairs and there were two guide-dogs, but there were few other immediately obvious indications of any particular disability. A number of groups wore t-shirts, in their campaign colour, with name and logo, and some had a campaign-specific message. They included the Welsh branch of the Royal National Institute of Blind People (RNIB Cymru) and the Stroke Association, with the slogan ‘Stroke support The Hardest Hit’. A talking magazine reporter was interviewing people. There was one professional photographer and three amateurs, with extensive equipment. There was a St. John Ambulance vehicle and free bottled water. Seven members of Cŵr Cochion Caerdydd arrived at 12.30 p.m., all women aged fifty to seventy, sang *Halleluiah I’m a Bum!*.

The Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party had tables with a range of promotional materials and petitions regarding proposed Remploi closures, and both had a canvasser approaching participants. At 12.45 p.m., a series of speeches began at the Socialist Party table; this was unusual, as there is rarely any unofficial subsidiary activity at demonstrations. There was applause and cheering from those within earshot. One speaker,

a man of sixty, in a wheelchair, had asked to speak on the platform but was refused. A Remploy union convener (man fifty-five) spoke on the proposed closure of their factories, and representatives of Swansea Trades Council (man fifty-five) and the National Shop Stewards Network (man fifty) both spoke in favour of unions and against cuts, with passing reference to disability issues. A man of thirty spoke about a new Jarrow March. Each spoke for one to three minutes.

Around three hundred heard the formal speeches between 1 p.m. and 1.30 p.m.. The Chief Executive, Disability Wales (female) stated that ‘the aim is to attract as much attention as possible’. A male, Asian, Conservative Assembly Member (subsequently ‘AM’) was booed, whistled and jeered at, with some chants of ‘Tories out’ and ‘Shame on you!’, as although his address was appropriate and he mentioned family experience of disability, there was an element of party politics. Labour and Plaid Cymru AMs (both female) were less partisan and kept to the subject of the event. An actor/writer gave an harangue against the coalition Government, with a final urge for marchers to put their best foot forward, and a cry of ‘Onward, Christian soldiers!’. The final speaker spoke initially in Welsh, then subsequently in English. She proposed a chant, ‘Make sure we’re not the hardest hit’, and got lacklustre response. There was a response of ‘No ifs, no buts, no disability cuts’, from a male Oxfam collector, around twenty-five, in faux Native American headdress, this being the only fancy-dress.

A circular march back to the City Hall began at 1.25 p.m., with over four hundred participants. It was headed by a female police sergeant, one male and one female PCSO; there were four stewards at the rear, and around forty others throughout and alongside the marchers. The protesters marched behind a long purple banner, with ‘The Hardest Hit’ in white, a form which the campaign uses throughout the UK. Although some of the speakers were immediately behind the banner, they had no particular position allocated. There were three traditional-form banners; those of Newport TUC and Remploy Joint Shop Stewards Committee were regular ones, and ‘Disability Wales says No to the Cuts’ was event-specific. There were small numbers of Unite and Unison flags.

Around a third of marchers had professional or homemade posters, but a substantial number of the former remained unused. Among those produced professionally were Right to Work (black/orange on white) with ‘Break the Con-Dem Coalition’, and the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Party (both red and black on white) with slogans including

‘General Strike Now’, ‘All strike together’, ‘Fight the cuts’, ‘Stop Remploy Closures’, ‘Save Remploy factories – save disabled people’s jobs’. Some were more generic, e.g. ‘Unison fighting for decent pensions’ and Disability Wales (black on white, with logo black/orange) with ‘Don’t disable us, enable us’. RNIB Cymru was subversive, with ‘Wales against the cuts’, which included a stick figure (as on road signs) with a white stick being cut by scissors, and non-Braille users were left to fill the gap in, ‘We’re being [Braille] by the Government’. RNIB also had ‘Who do you think you are kidding Mr Cameron?’, and all were black on white. Homemade posters included ‘ME awareness’ (laminated A4 cards on a string), Cardiff People First and Swansea People First (various colours and general messages regarding disability). An individual poster had ‘PM says scrounger – Doctor says Parkinson’s’. There was no obvious use of Welsh in the professional posters, and limited use in the homemade ones.

Three PCSOs were controlling traffic at North Road junction to allow the march to proceed into Kingsway. There were four stewards (one man, three women) at Kingsway/St. John Street junction. Nobody was waiting for the parade at Kingsway, but three girls (about fourteen) ran from Queen Street: ‘We want to see the parade’, and a virtually identical group ran from Church Street to High Street. There was some public interest throughout, and people took handouts from Remploy and Socialist Workers Party members (‘Kill the Welfare Rights Bill’), but there was no other interaction, e.g. clapping or cheering.

Speakers between 2.15 p.m. and 2.30 p.m. were the Director of RNIB Cymru (female) and a representative from the learning disability group All Wales People First (male). They both thanked people for attending, and the event dispersed.

### **5.3.2 Cardiff City supporters’ protests, March 2012 to January 2015**

From May 2012, Cardiff City (football) supporters, using the name ‘Keep Cardiff Blue’, held several marches and rallies, protesting against a change of shirt colour to red, from its century-old blue. The events displayed a professionally produced banner (‘Against modern football – Keep Cardiff Blue’), and there was a billboard near the stadium proclaiming ‘History-Identity-Pride’. A parody of the proposed new badge showed Mickey Mouse with the slogan ‘Dire and plastic’, rather than Red Dragon and ‘Fire and passion’. Around three thousand supporters took part in the largest demonstration march,

22 March 2012, and three hundred, 25 May 2012. Three thousand represents around ten percent of the Cardiff City Stadium capacity. Protesting in public, at matches, in the media and on the Internet, continued throughout and beyond the fieldwork period, and in January 2015, the management (antagonistic other) agreed to an immediate reversion to blue.

### **5.3.3 S4C rally, Saturday 6 November 2010**

This rally on potential changes to the funding and management of S4C illustrated some elements commonly associated with demonstrations on Welsh language issues, although such events are infrequent. It was organised by Cymdeithas yr Iaith and took place between 11 a.m. and 12 noon outside the Old Welsh Office, a customary location for their rallies since the 1960s. The promotional poster, which had been widely displayed, used the Welsh name for the venue, Hen Swyddfa Gymreig; it was mainly red and green, and featured Superted, a popular S4C cartoon character. The poster listed support from national organisations such as Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru (National Eisteddfod of Wales), Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth) and Merched y Wawr (Women of the Dawn, analogous to Women's Institute and Townswomen's Guild). There was also support from official language development bodies, other language and cultural groups, and trade unions. Cymdeithas yr Iaith had a gazebo, with bilingual promotional materials, including some event-specific materials and free yellow balloons with their red logo. There was a collection for the campaign.

Around fifteen hundred were present, with a balance of male and female, median age range thirty to sixty-five, and predominantly white. There were a number of well-known faces from S4C and BBC Cymru/Wales, and the fields of politics and education. Apart from around ten men in Wales and other replica rugby shirts (there was an international match later), there were very few people wearing identifiers. With the exception of one Red Dragon flag and someone dressed as Superted, there were no strong displays of customary or modern Welsh imagery. There were some homemade banners, several using sheets. Images and words included the Cymdeithas yr Iaith logo and 'Achub S4C' ('Save S4C') in yellow and red, and 'Ie i S4C newydd' ('Yes to a new S4C') in red. Homemade posters included Superted being stabbed in the back, and 'Cadwch S4C' ('Preserve S4C').

The general tone of the speeches was concern about and opposition towards the proposed changes. Speakers included the Chairperson, Cymdeithas yr Iaith (female), who spoke

almost wholly in Welsh and read messages of support from Urdd Gobaith Cymru, Green Party, CAGC (National Museums and Galleries Wales), Bwrdd yr Iaith (Welsh Language Board), plus few others. The leader of Plaid Cymru in the Assembly spoke in Welsh, with one English sound bite. A representative from BECTU (broadcasting technical staff), speaking on behalf of all the trade unions at S4C, apologised in Welsh for speaking English; his most notable phrase was ‘Take your imperialist character out of our modern Wales’. A local MP (male) and an S4C presenter (female) also spoke, the latter being highly political and very well received. Most spoke for around seven to ten minutes, and the level of attention was better than at most rallies. The speeches were followed by a guitarist and primary school singers, but most people were leaving at this point. One policeman was present throughout.

#### **5.3.4 ‘All-Wales Demonstration and All-Wales Student Assembly’ rally, Friday 21 October 2011**

This named rally, outside the Senedd, was against proposed cuts in funding for education, affecting provision of courses and fees. It had been promoted with A5 posters in and around Cardiff University, and presumably other educational institutions, for some weeks. It was initiated by Youth Fight for Jobs & Education Wales and supported by Campaign Against Fees & Cuts Cymru (Provisional Committee). Names, such as the latter are occasionally adopted by small left-wing groups to suggest a larger, more established organisation.

As with most rallies at the Senedd, whatever the scale, there was no organised march, but a general convergence from adjacent areas. By 1.10 p.m., there were around twenty protesters on the lower Senedd steps; this number is quite typical of many demonstrations. Most were twenty to twenty-five, and three-quarters men, including one Socialist Party member, seen regularly. Most carried posters with their organisations’ names, all but one being black and red on white. Messages included, ‘Cut Bankers Bonuses not University Funding’ (Cardiff Against the Cuts, and Socialist Party), ‘No Cuts in UWIC’ (Cardiff Against the Cuts), ‘Support the Jarrow March’ and ‘Cut Youth Unemployment not Jobs and Services’ (Youth Fight for Jobs). There was nothing in Welsh. There was a long Youth Fight for Jobs banner, seen on several occasions; black and red on yellow, it noted support from National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT),

Communication Workers Union (CWU) and CPS. There were flyers for Socialist Party events and a forthcoming demonstration by The Hardest Hit.

Speakers came from the group of protesters, and they remained immediately adjacent, rather than on a platform. There were three to five minute speeches by representatives from the Socialist Party, Aberystwyth University, Youth Fight for Jobs, Cardiff and Vale College, Glamorgan University, and the only women speaker, from University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC). The main themes were cutting bankers' bonuses and the need for continued student funding. Some included general, rather than party specific, left-wing rhetoric. The Socialist Party member thanked the media and the police, commenting that the latter's jobs would be next. A good quality PA with reasonable sound level was used. There was no Welsh language input. Although the event was poorly attended, the participants made the best of it, and spoke in a positive manner, to provide appropriate sound bites for an ITV camera crew; there was a short item on the early evening Welsh news. Two of the transient audience of around ten took photographs. Two police constables were present; this is the, which is a common level of security outside the Senedd.

### **5.3.5 'Occupy Cardiff' rally, Thursday 10 November 2011**

This demonstration was held outside the City Hall the day before a planned occupation of Cardiff Castle green (noted later), with intention to canvass Councillors on the matter. By 4.20 p.m., there were twenty-one protesters (thirteen male and eight female), and by 4.45 p.m., when they dispersed, there were around fifty (two-thirds male). Most were aged twenty to forty. There were two professional posters promoting the occupation, and two homemade: 'Protest is a human right' and 'Freedom of speech includes thought through action'. None of the councillors interacted with the protesters, and the event was quite typical of some demonstrations, which attract limited numbers and which do not have the impact intended. As the demonstration was immediately adjacent to the location for a famous football international to switch on the Christmas lights at 5.30 p.m., seven Police and PCSOs were present throughout. The sergeant and two others were female, which is the general case with family events. A frequently observed *South Wales Echo* photographer, and one freelance were present.



### **5.3.6 ‘Nuclear Weapons – Not in Wales – Not Anywhere!’ rally, Tuesday 16 October 2012**

This event was typical of larger demonstrations at the Senedd. Despite its name, there was as much emphasis on nuclear energy. It had been promoted widely, with posters and on appropriate websites, and attracted around one hundred and fifty. Most were fifty-plus, with a rough balance of men and women. With the exception of a group of performers, none wore identifying dress, and few badges were noted. There was a low barrier in front of the Senedd steps, with a series of, mainly long, banners. Some were homemade, including three with ‘Remember Fukushima’. Professionally produced examples included three ‘Nuclear Power-No Thanks’ (a long-established term), Red Dragons breaking a Trident submarine, with the slogan ‘Nuclear Weapons – Not in Wales – Not Anywhere!’ and the Welsh equivalent, ‘Arfau Nuclear-Ddim yng Nghymru – Ddim yn Unman’. There were also banners and general posters from local CND, Quaker and other groups.

Protesters assembled from around noon, with formal input from 1.30 p.m.. There were two-minute speeches by Assembly Members from all parties except the Conservatives, and from the Green Party and Scottish Nationalist Party, and written messages from religious and political leaders, and other prominent figures in Wales. Côr Cochion Caerdydd performed a series of songs, followed by a theatrical performance by Rebel Clown Army, a women’s voluntary collective. Two of the group wore boiler suits, and three outfits combined radical chic and motley. Four had white face make-up and one black, with eyes and mouth emphasised in white; potential association with stylised, offensive imagery seemed to have gone unnoticed. Although not Welsh, they had a stylised Red Dragon, similar in form to the Mari Lwyd.

An audience of around thirty were of similar age and gender, and clapped speeches and performances quite enthusiastically. Security included a police sergeant (female) and six police constables (three male, three female) and two Council stewards. There was no obvious media presence.

### 5.3.7 Student fees picket, Wednesday 24 November 2010

Some pickets have broadly comparable forms to those of trade unions, but this is not always the case. A student fees picket at Cardiff University illustrated a hybrid picket-rally form, which included speeches and less formal addresses to attendees and the public. It had been well publicised locally, by posters and flyers, and at 11.55 a.m. there were thirty-five present at the car-park gate of the university's main building. By 12.15 p.m. around a hundred had gathered; most were typical student age, with fifteen older, including some non-academic staff. There was an even male-female split. There were Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party tables with petitions and flyers, event-specific and others. There were professional posters, including 'We don't need no education cuts', 'Stop the vandals – Tory scum here we come' and 'Strike against cuts and fees' (Socialist Students), 'Cut bankers' bonuses not education' (Socialist Party), and 'F\*\*k [sic] Fees – Free Education Now' (Socialist Workers Party).

Chants, led by a woman of around twenty, included 'No ifs no buts no education cuts' and 'Cut bankers' bonuses, not public services', and the call and response, 'They say cutbacks', 'We say fight back'. Three women aged around twenty, sang *Build a bonfire*, twice. At one point there were ten police, including an inspector, but apart from ushering protesters from the road when holding banners up to traffic (and getting toots of support from drivers) they took no action. Picketing continued throughout, but was virtually ignored by students, staff and others not involved.

There were six speakers, and the main themes echoed the earlier chants. One commented that Cameron and Clegg had had free university tuition; using surnames, rather than Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, is the norm. Another speaker proposed cancelling replacements for Trident missiles and increasing public sector expenditure; speeches off the main theme are unusual. No Welsh was used by any speaker, and 'Côr Cochion Caerdydd' t-shirts and 'Caerdydd' on the UCU banner was the extent of written Welsh. There was an ITV cameraman and three professional photographers.

### **5.3.8 Pro-life picket, February-March 2013**

This event was unusual in being held over a period of weeks, during February and March 2013, when 40 Days For Life, an established US-based pro-life group, assembled outside a pregnancy advice organisation in St. Mary Street. It also attracted opposition, which is rare. It was observed several times, and typically, there were around fifteen protesters, mostly forty to fifty, mainly men, including some presumed Hispanic. Several held professional banners, with the group name and a slogan 'Say no to abortion', and coloured pictures of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. There was no singing or chanting from the group. On the opposite pavement, an opposing group of around twenty, aged from mid-teens to thirty, mainly female and most of them white, displayed homemade posters. Slogans included 'Pro-choice, the radical idea that women can make their own decisions' and 'Keep your rosaries out of our ovaries'. A PA played loud hip-hop music. There was no direct interaction between the two groups, and little response by the public to either. A similar protest, with fewer pro-life protesters and no opposition was recorded 5 March 2016.

### **5.3.9 Animal right pickets, Friday 1 – Saturday 2 March, and Saturday 30 March 2013**

The earlier demonstration was against 'practices and experiments at Cardiff University' and had been promoted with posters around its main building. On the Friday, a few student-age protesters handed out leaflets, and the following day, there was a converted ambulance with information on animal experiments, and three male and three female protesters, all around thirty. One woman was painted with a rabbit face and stylised ears, and dressed in faux bloodstained clothes, with a sign 'Fighting Animal Testing'; its two boxing hares is a frequent animal rights image. There was limited response to the demonstration, the main reason being that, although near the gates of the main University building, it was located on a narrow section of pavement, and potential discussions could block pedestrians' passage. This was a rare case of a very badly located demonstration.

The same woman was seen with fox face and ears at the 30 March picket outside a major newsagent. There were two other women, and several posters, including, a triangular 'road sign' with 'Danger – Shooting industry targets children', and others with 'Keep our sons away from guns' and 'Ewch a'r gwn o'r golwg' ('Get the guns out of sight'). This

was from 10 a.m. to noon and was followed by a leaflet campaign outside various bookmakers, noon to 2.15 p.m. (it was Grand National day), and then to 4 p.m. outside a major shopping arcade, with several shops selling fur products. There was no singing or chanting. Around ten percent of passers-by took a leaflet, but few engaged in discussion. The arcade was picketed on occasional Saturdays subsequently.

### **5.3.10 ‘Real Democracy’ occupations Saturday 4 to Saturday 11 June, and Friday 11 November 2011**

On 4 June 2011, three small tents were set up on Cardiff Castle green, adjacent to the outside walls, by a group named Real Democracy. There were a number of rough, homemade posters: ‘Revolution’, ‘Democracy’ and similar. At 5 p.m. there were six present, three men and three women, all aged twenty-five to thirty; the dress code was radical aesthetic. They stated that around thirty had slept overnight, and similar numbers were expected later. Toilet facilities had been provided by the local branch of a major fast-food company. A Council official asked for a poster to be removed from the wall and commented that the Council had asked the police to remove the tents, but it was not an illegal act, and they had no power to do so. Another woman, saying that she worked for the Council, shouted at three women decorating the castle walls that they were defacing a public building and should cease. Such face-to-face opposition is very unusual. The occupation continued with similar numbers, and was ended by the protesters, 11 June.

The Real Democracy group planned to set up a second camp at the Castle, 11 November 2011, and this was strongly promoted on various left-wing websites, as part of a worldwide day of occupation. Its being Armistice Day was not significant. A promotional poster, featuring the statue of Aneurin Bevan (a rare positive image of a political figure), had appeared around the area for some days. The group’s website indicated that there would be cooking facilities, a toilet, and that alcohol would be banned. Around a hundred people turned up for the start of the occupation; a few wore Guy Fawkes masks, and there was some face painting, mainly pastel swirls. Ten tents were erected. It was raining, and few banners were displayed, the most expansive stating that, ‘Our nation is under invasion – while our governments are committed to serving the interest of unelected corporations, your votes count for nothing’. Others included ‘Poverty has never been so profitable’ and ‘We are the 99 percent and so R U’; ‘the 99 percent’ was a popular nationwide term on

posters for some time around the period. Group posters included Cymdeithas yr Iaith and Food Not Bombs. There were six photographers.

Protesters were evicted from the site from around 7.30 p.m., being advised by police that they were breaching a city by-law, associated with an 1875 Public Health Act, rather than more recent legislation associated with public disorder. There were some mounted police, in the background. There was some opposition, and two arrests were made, under the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, for ‘failing to leave the land...as soon as reasonably practical’.

A subsequent Occupy Cardiff camp was set up, 21 November, in the grounds of Transport House, the offices of Unite, with the trade union’s permission, which seems to have missed the basic point of an occupation.

### **5.3.11 Boycotts**

From the start of the 2010-2011 season, around five thousand supporters of Cardiff Blues (rugby) boycotted matches at the Cardiff City Stadium, to which the team had moved in 2009. There was substantial Internet campaigning, but no public demonstrations, and it was the inaction of supporters, and the subsequent financial impact on the rugby club (the antagonistic other) that resulted in a return to Cardiff Arms Park in 2012. Given the predominance of symbolic forms of public protest, it is ironic that a non-cooperative boycott was one of the few activities to achieve its intention, completely.

### **5.3.12 Communes**

The only longer-term occupation was a squat at a disused public house, the Tredegar Hotel, from October 2011. Using the name Red and Black Umbrella, it continued throughout the study period as a centre for left-wing action, including meetings and courses, and provided food and drink. There were some temporary occupations/squats, including a disused Police Station, a mile from the city centre, occupied during August 2013 by the Antagonistic Collective Against Boredom.; the abbreviation of their name (ACAB) is more commonly understood as ‘All Coppers Are Bastards’. They decorated the building with anarchist symbols, banners and painted slogans, such as, ‘Less cops – more squats’, ‘Revolt now’ and ‘Fight the power’.

## **5.4 Analysis of demonstrations**

### **5.4.1 Introduction**

The number and range of demonstrations in Cardiff results from its location in the most densely populated part of Wales and its status as capital city, a centre of power and the main location of the national media. Protesting has a diffuse lore validated by its long history and given the near-universal latent knowledge of the basic compositional characteristics and the potential for anyone to be engaged by a cause, there is no comparable consistency in any other type of event. It also provides a near-unique coincidence of popular and institutional lore. There are no meaningful patterns of occurrence within protesting, as both its irregularity and cyclical nature mitigate against this. The study includes data for some demonstrations not included in the narratives; some were observed, and details of others accessed from the media.

### **5.4.2 Theory specific to protesting**

The topic employs some theory from social science, which readily applicable to folkloristics. McPhail notes the ‘available pieces, parts, skills, devices or ingredients with which an individual or group is familiar and may be prepared to perform’ (1991, 131); similarly, Tilly writes of ‘repertoires of contention’ comprising a ‘limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice’ (1995, 26). These terms echo definitions of folklore as product and process, while McPhail’s four main forms of collective protest are recognisably special day customs:

- symbolic, e.g. march, rally or picket
  - non-cooperative, e.g. strike or boycott
  - intervention, e.g. blockade or occupation
  - alternative institution, e.g. commune
- (1991, 137).

Eyerman proposes three stages, common to most demonstrations:

- ‘gathering deliberately in a public place...preferably...with symbolic significance’
- displaying an identifiable group membership and ‘support for some position by means of voice, print or symbolic objects’

- ‘communicating collective determination by acting in a disciplined fashion’, which could be in one place by ‘moving through a series of spaces’ (2006, 197).

The most commonly observed events are march, rally and picket; other than pickets, few elements of strikes are observed publicly. There was one example of boycott (Cardiff Blues), a few occupations, two known (but not observed) communes, but no blockades. Given this, march, rally and picket are considered in most detail. While useful distinctions, all demonstrations are symbolic to the extent that the likelihood of success (however measured) is very limited. As the repertoire is a grammar rather than a prescriptive or mechanistic toolkit, it is adaptable to the context of the demonstration, and readily observable commonalities underlie the specifics. Eyerman’s second and third stages summarise or imply the employment of material and expressive genres, in context; as such, they are better addressed as aspects of tradition and transmission. Demography varies as the causes concerned are very diverse, although some organisations and individuals are recorded regularly.

### **5.4.3 Occurrence**

Many demonstrations are unpredictable or promoted publicly shortly before they occur. Others are promoted well beforehand, in the media, on posters, or the Radical Wales website. The impact of other social media is presumed to have increased since the fieldwork period, given its general expansion, but there is no publicly observable evidence. National cyclical patterns, of increasing concern with environmental, housing and student issues are reflected in Cardiff, while continuing levels of employment-related protest go against a national decrease (Bailey 2016). Other than the S4C rally and Cymdeithas yr Iaith demonstrations at the Magistrates Court, few demonstrations have direct historical precedents. More events take place at the weekend, to attract attendance and popular and media interest. Protesting is often closely linked to government, and it is politically necessary for public authorities to accept two roles, i.e. sanctioning or supporting a demonstration and being the antagonistic other.

#### **5.4.4 Location**

Most rallies at the Senedd or City Hall relate to appropriate issues e.g. wind-farms and hospital cuts (Assembly) and Bedroom Tax and wheelie-bin problems (Council). Both are also convenient open spaces for demonstrations with little or no direct association with either level of government. The Magistrates and Crown Court are appropriate locations for demonstrations associated with contentious criminal cases, and during the study period, there were several involving Welsh language campaigners. The Old Welsh Office has a continuing, if more historical, significance for Welsh language campaigners, being perceived as the one-time centre of oppression and antagonism towards their concerns. The statue of Aneurin Bevan, a major figure in the post-war Labour government, provides a positive location for left-wing demonstrations, and the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Party campaign there regularly. It is also used by wholly unrelated groups, e.g. local Muslims protesting against the Afghanistan War (10 July 2010) and anti-government Libyans (24 Feb 2011). As such, it has gained significance as an appropriate place for any protesting, despite being cramped with street furniture and trees. Locations with temporary significance include venues for picketing and political conferences, while occupations at Cardiff Castle owe more to a convenient and highly visible area of grass in a central location, than any direct significance.

Most protesters accept agreed or imposed limits and an appropriate level of control. Physical limits are, usually, simple and limited; temporary low fencing, defining a route or location, is the most common, and high mesh fencing, e.g. for 'Protest in the Park' is very uncommon. In general, protesting is physically non-confrontational; people consider the costs and benefits of any course of action, and 'control their behaviour by self-instructions', rather than temporary, possibly unconscious, 'norms or social relationships' (McPhail 1991, xxv). Peer-imposed boundaries are applied, and behaviour is constrained, but this does not preclude engaging in playful deviance. Given the likely official sanction and police presence for larger demonstrations, contestation as such is rare.

#### **5.4.5 Demonstrations**

Unlike socialising, protesting's cultural reproduction lacks association with a particular group, but common to any potential protesting context whether popular or institutional. Much of the repertoire draws on the practices of organised labour, which began to be



formalised in the early nineteenth century, combining popular forms of protest with material and expressive forms based on those of Church and state. Thus, trade union activities continue to be the paradigm, albeit later forms of civil disobedience, e.g. women's suffrage and 1960s and 1970s anti-war demonstrations popularised approaches such as sit-ins and occupations. Trade unions have no central ownership or control of the repertoire, and provide no single handbook of procedures, but in being formally established named organisations, they enact a recognisable institutional lore. The consistency of this in form and content, in events of both popular and institutional origin confirms its authenticity as first level lore. In all cases, direct participants consider that they are enacting a valid and appropriate form of public action, and possibly representing a wider constituency, they would consider it as presenting the lived-in world, i.e. the material forms and their implied significance are axiomatic icons. This can be considered as providing vernacular authority for authenticity, but more objectively, demonstrations are rites of conspicuous display and reversal, and events that re-present.

Certain smaller left-wing political groups are present at a high proportion of demonstrations as they consider most popular causes as opposing a hegemonic status quo. However, they always maintain their identity rather than simply supporting the cause. Individual elected members of mainstream left-wing parties (from all levels of government) occasionally participate but while frequently the target of demonstrations, political figures rarely participate as representatives of the electorate to whom they are responsible. The Hardest Hit, nuclear power and 1<sup>st</sup> The Queen's Dragoon Guards events were exceptions. No direct representation of cultural institutions was recorded, other than the media, in their professional capacity.

Several trade unions, particularly but not exclusively from the public sector, are observed at most larger employment-related activities, and present a superficially similar demography. In reality, few are activists, and the majority have not engaged in any direct industrial action; however long the latter's self-membership, this is largely a secondary identity which rarely comes to the fore. The demography tends towards the white-collar public sector, often including substantial numbers of women. Many belong to relatively new unions and lack the history of unionism associated with heavy industries, once common throughout south Wales. As such, they are more of an imagined community than those engaged in, say, school or hospital protests, who may have closer ties.

Given the caveat on imagined community, trade union demonstrations present a useful model for all; the actual and popular association of workers' groups (formal and otherwise) and demonstrations, and longevity of many unions or their direct antecedents support this. That the aggregate and precedence is known about rather than directly experienced by a majority is unusual, but it can be taken as a given that any demonstration is first level; the form is, de facto, a popular activity however institutional the organisation(s) responsible. However, this also illustrates a lore which is both popular and institutional; indeed, it is the only example of such correspondence. However, institutional demonstrations do not have the regular commonalities of actors as, say, St. David's Day Parade, or of civil-military events (considered subsequently) but the consistencies of actions in implementing the repertoires of contention provide a valid comparison with the latter.

Protesting's codes of conduct are more established than for socialising parades, and more complex for newcomers (subsequently 'rank and file'). Most trade unions and many other formally established campaigning groups have local full-time officials and/or experienced part-time branch officers, and there is some degree of professionalism evident in many less formally structured groups. Experienced protesters understand and employ the repertoire and appropriate group lore, and more prosaically, coordinate the rank and file. Demonstration marches provide uncommon examples of overt public handing down of practical matters through a mediating structure (Mechling 1997, 115; Strinati 2004, 6).

The rank and file are often directed to assemble at a location marked by banners and flags, at which a common initial activity is the provision of material forms, identifying with a group or the demonstration. Mounted posters are almost always provided, but Unison (30 November 2011) was the first noted offering a wide range of items to wear, carry and blow to all-comers, but the provision of identifying tabards and free event-specific or generic t-shirts (both folk dress) has subsequently become a more common practice, if not a widespread and established invented tradition. There is greater collective significance in the giving and accepting of t-shirt or tabard than any other forms; they are declarative, performance actions, i.e. bestowing and accepting temporary identification, in the role of protester, illustrate temporary significance and differences of worth. This structures individual and group identity and subsequent display of group membership;

implicit within this physical embodiment is an associated acceptance of group norms and ideals etc. in addition to the specifics of the event. This is handing down, by example, and a clear example of discourse naming a folk.

Following embodiment, participants move into positions, either choosing their location or being directed by stewards. The front rank may include the equivalent of dignitaries in civil-military activities, e.g. national or local politicians and trade union officials. Some groups aim to display their presence more strongly, but there is little formalised positioning or indications of status or precedence. There are some distinct but not key roles, including group leaders, those leading chanting and singing, banner carriers and stewards. Such roles may be assumed regularly by the same experienced individuals, displaying some degree of ownership and/or perceived status, but there is no formal hierarchy; that protesters are representative of a larger recognised or self-identifying group is more important. Participants tend to march in reasonable order, maintaining a sensible pace and avoiding bunching or separating of groups; the majority display an air of confidence but rarely swagger. There is some continued direction (handing down), particularly of intermittent subordinate involvement, such as waving posters or chanting. The coordinated if not strictly disciplined enactment of directed action produces what is clearly a performance, but its communal nature negates any consideration through performance theory. It is not creative in any meaningful way. Specific conventions can be learned in a relatively short time and acted out at the event; they might also become embedded enough to be applied in subsequent events. What is handed down builds on a basic understanding of the general cultural significance and norms of the context, and illustrates practice rather than performance, although it is performance in common understanding.

In contrast to most socialising parades, frequent vocalisation and verbalisation is the norm in protest marches, although a reluctance to engage with intermittent call and response chants is comparable to lack of singing. Chants tend to be simple in form and unsubtle in content, although direct insults are rare. The use of whistle and vuvuzela is more common, harking back to rough music of pots and pans, associated popular protesting in earlier centuries.

While all marches are essentially similar, rallies follow two distinct patterns, although all involve some form of audience-speaker relationship which is central to communicating

collective determination. Some are structured and reactive with an audience which attends and responds to appropriate input from a real or virtual platform; they include most of those involving trade unions and other established named groups. Others are less formally structured and the audience less disciplined; they are more often associated with local, sectional or immediate issues.

At the first type, gathering is essentially similar to a march but a static group requires little if any instruction or direction. There is no provision of material forms other than posters or flags, and neither of these is distributed at all events or in substantial amounts. At some events a majority are very familiar with the issues, e.g. S4C and Hardest Hit demonstrations, but appropriate behaviour can be learned from others' example and is comparable in all cases. There is usually adequate space and issues of positioning and spectatorship barely apply. Most present interact in small groups, or with representatives of trade unions and political parties. Without the constraints of a being in a hall, the social etiquettes appropriate to a relatively formal meeting are applied less strongly; most of the audience face the stage but not consistently. A majority are reasonably attentive although few remain so throughout unless there is a particularly inspiring speech. There is limited evidence of constant obligation, with polite attention being the norm; this does not reflect any lack of enthusiasm but a familiarity with the activity and likely content of speeches. There can be some conventional expressions of agreement or encouragement, with occasional cheering; any booing of 'hate-figures' or their policies are presumably anticipated by the speakers, and never leads to anything approaching rabble-rousing. When not attentive to speeches, people talk in small groups, read leaflets or waving banners towards television camera crews or police. As such, rallies are among the best illustrations of Goffman's involvement contour.

Those in positions of authority have a more prominent location than the audience and are more privileged by their roles, than in a march, although rallies have noticeably weaker social barriers than civil-military events. There is usually a master (rarely mistress) of ceremonies, and other than local politicians, speakers are rarely well-known faces, even, say, the General Secretary of a large trade union. None has distinguishing dress or adornment to facilitate public recognition.

Speakers generally present familiar rhetoric and messages emphasising the issue at hand, and almost all speech is in English. While aiming to attract media attention, the content,

tone and message are intended to recognise and to inspire protesters, including stylised praise of the audience, illustrating unusually direct naming. Unlike marches, handing down is concern with message rather than practicalities; the experienced are confirmed in their roles, the inexperienced are informed. In dealing with sameness and oneness, there is surprisingly little allusion to underlying beliefs, considered typical of old-style left-wing addresses (Moscovici 1985, 354; Rappaport 1992, 250), or to individual or communal heroes of organised labour, 'reminiscent of the saints' (Moscovici 1985, 354). Aneurin Bevan was mentioned at 'Protest in the Park' and The Jarrow March (1936) at The Hardest Hit and Student Assembly events. Only one speech began, 'Comrades...'. The general lack of engagement with the past or reference to continuity reflects the new demography and influence of trade unionism, and the perceived limit on the effectiveness of the public sphere. The contrast between this lack of reference to an historical and contextual aggregate and precedent, and consistencies of form is striking; as such, there is more handing over than handing down. One can presume that some off-the-cuff presentations have been rehearsed or at least repeat well-worn phrases, but Kapchan's comparison of such rhetoric to a sales pitch (1995, 485) is reasonable; as such, rally speeches are the only relatively frequent activities for which performance as explanatory methodology can readily be applied.

The second type of rally is more often of popular origin or involving smaller established groups such as left-wing political parties. They can employ the elements of the first type but tend to be far more informal. There is often greater evidence of activities associated with marches, e.g. waving posters. Speeches tend to be shorter than at structured rallies, often by speakers from within the audience, with guest speakers on occasions; there can be substantial interaction with the audience. At political demonstrations, speeches are often more strongly left-wing, aiming at direct intellectual and emotional response by the audience to their rhetoric. They often contain 'socialist visions [that] exalt and raise the masses' (Moscovici 1985, 354). At others, speeches can be less formal and more obviously extemporised than at structured events and can be considered in terms of performance as a subset of practice.

Pickets differ from other forms of protest, in that they are enacted in proximity to the antagonistic other, in locations which are both necessary and symbolic, e.g. outside buildings in which they would normally be working or studying. Those organised by trade

unions tend to involve branch officials and other active members, who know the appropriate procedures. Armbands and posters indicating that there is a picket illustrate a repetition of a recognisable message, i.e. the picket line should not be crossed by trade union members. This is practice of a recognised aggregate and precedence, in that pickets project a known cultural meaning which tends to be respected in most employment disputes. However, picket lines were crossed at both the staff and student demonstrations, at Cardiff University. This could illustrate conscious disrespect, or a lack of at least low-level, left-wing sympathy more common in the area a few decades ago. Whatever the reason, a once customary taboo is now often ignored. The animal rights and the anti-abortion pickets, and the pro-choice response to the latter, are among the few static events that intend to attract and influence an audience. Unlike trade union and student pickets, they are at chosen rather than necessary locations, albeit those protesting might argue this point. They are essentially cognate with the regular campaigning events, e.g. accepting leaflets and engaging in brief exchanges are the norm. The occupations at Cardiff Castle owe more to a convenient area of grass in an obvious location for being noticed, than any significance attached to the building.

Protesting's material forms vary from the spectacular to the very ordinary. Protesting has nothing as widespread as replica shirts or military uniforms and only identifying t-shirts have a relatively long history, and as such are thematic dress. Group colours and logos are stylistic, and any event or campaign-specific slogans are compositional. That many are relatively new but appear consistently, notably those of longer-established campaigning groups, brings them into line with uniforms and replica shirts, and confirm the comparability of flexible, modern, popular forms and older, prescribed, institutional ones. This does not deny the strong social and personal significance of such forms to those who wear them. The employment of older forms, whether theme-specific or more general, e.g. the symbols of banal nationalism (see 5.5) also illustrate the highly coded and self-referential.

Dress can often be as expressive as other material forms, but with lesser overt or implicit messages. Most protesters wear day-to-day dress, and other than pickets' armbands, identifying forms are never the norm. Radical aesthetic of any type is uncommon; Côté Cochion Caerdydd's red tops, with their name, are a notable regular exception. Although increasing, a minority wear identifying dress; the majority are t-shirts, and less often

stewards' hi-visibility waistcoats, displaying organisation name, logo and often slogan. Dressing-up beyond the conventional or common in the context, is limited, and this is often deliberate, to avoid stereotyping. In general, overt left-wing imagery is limited and campaign and other badges (folk art) which were common in the 1960s and 1970s are virtually a lost custom since the 1980s, apart from the popular Cardiff City parody and Cymdeithas yr Iaith badges. This may reflect a seriousness, and an intention to avoid association with an, often, trivial form. There are few customary identifiers at Welsh language events, while speakers at the Million Marijuana March (early May, annually) tend to wear suits and green ties ('hippies in suits' in promotional materials), in a knowing subversion of expectations. Other than replica shirts at Cardiff City demonstrations, there are no images clearly identifying Cardiffians. Other than the occasional Guy Fawkes or animal mask, disguise is almost absent.

Bodily adornment is infrequent. Other than stylised fox or other faces at animal rights events, face painting (folk art) is uncommon; when recorded, it includes hearts, flowers, roundels and Celtic swirls. These latter forms are also seen in body painting at the World Naked Bike Ride (2011 to 2013). At this, women, mostly twenty to twenty-five, paint images on others' face and breasts, although men tend to favour slogans. Nudity and pastel decoration echo late-sixties hippie images possibly without conscious reference, as direct mimicry of earlier cultures is rare in demonstrations.

Rather than through the norm of dress or adornment, identity is most often expressed by banners, flags and posters. The banner still underpins the aggregate and precedent of material forms, directly for trade unions and indirectly for others. A few banners are relatively new simpler versions of the format associated in south Wales with those of colliery lodges and other industrial trade union groups. New banners often use non-woven, relatively inexpensive flexible plastic, allowing for both permanent and event-specific forms. Although professionally produced, the consistency of form and content, illustrating important events and major figures (unlike most speeches) make them a form of folk art. Now rarely seen outside museums, the older ones were often oil-painted on silk, i.e. having form and significance comparable to earlier and contemporaneous religious banners and military standards. Their display engendered pride and emotional resonance within working-class communities; most of their few modern counterparts are from long-established generally male-dominated unions such as GMB and Fire Brigades

Union. The clearest consistent pattern is that just a few banners is the norm, rather than the massed displays of earlier years. Many new banners echo the style and imagery of associated flags, whose widespread use, particularly by trade unions, is a tradition developed since the late twentieth century. As many trade unions are relatively new, at least in their current manifestations, colours, logos and flags rarely have any obvious association with purpose, history or collective identity. Unite is the only major union to use socialist red, although it is commonly used by left-wing political groups.

Posters tend to show organisations' names and logos, and in using customary colours the provenance of professional versions is often quite clear, e.g. the red and black on a white background, used by both the Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party. These and many others use a consistent format with the organisation's name and logo at the top, with over-printed messages, which are recurrent or focus on the immediate issue. Having the party name on posters, which are often handed out to non-members, is a popular technique to suggest presence beyond the actual numbers. Centrally designed posters can be downloaded and printed locally, providing common images and messages throughout the UK. Messages can be simple slogans, whether straight to the point, e.g. 'Fight the cuts', unsubtle, e.g. 'F\*\*k fees...' or specific and local, e.g. 'Save Splott Pool'.

The content of professional posters is usually considered, and rarely likely to shock or offend. The form and content of homemade posters are not prescribed or limited; many are striking and can display humour, often rather dark. Some are poorly made, and messages can be unclear, particularly with inexperienced groups, e.g. Libyan protesters using thirty-plus English words and the Arabic equivalent. A student with 'How will I get into Hogwarts now?' was an uncommon written reference to popular culture, but imagery that mimics, parodies or subverts institutional forms occurs quite frequently. In cases where it is one-off, there is a case for both performance and level three lore. Faux prohibiting road signs are particularly popular, with the object of the demonstration crossed by the red diagonal. Another road sign parody, of a blind stick figure with white stick cut in pieces, was seen at The Hardest Hit demonstration. Three-dimensional images are uncommon. At the west Wales Hospital demonstration (19 February 2011), there was a life-size (death-size?) model skeleton in a Red Dragon dress and hat, with a red cut-out heart with 'Glangwili [Hospital] I didn't make it', and a baby doll strangled in white cloth, with a card 'Still Born in Aber, [Bronglais Hospital, Aberystwyth] not Stillborn Miles



Away'. The Glangwili event was the only one with a substantial use of written Welsh on professional and homemade posters. Images of recognisable individuals are very rare. In an unusual near-seasonal reference within protesting (24 November 2010), student fees demonstrators added a Santa hat and beard to a photograph of Nick Clegg (then Deputy Prime Minister), with the slogan 'You aint [sic] no saint Nick'. This appeared for some weeks. The bloodied head of David Cameron (then Prime Minister) with an axe, bearing the anarchist A/star symbol, through his head and the words 'The best cut of all', appears occasionally. The mix of professional and homemade are a material example of the ready-made and the emergent, and while demonstrations might employ both, all aim to project an affecting message, and to display or claim identity and authenticity.

The manipulation of posters (folk gesture) for greater visual impact of messages is the most common primary expressive genre, but while often constant within groups, few individuals do this continuously. Vocalisation, mainly booing or catcalling, is infrequent, and tends to be directed at individuals e.g. Nick Clegg, or at the location of antagonistic political meetings, e.g. the Liberal Democrat and Conservative conferences. Simple verbalisation is relatively common, mainly chanting, led by whoever has the loudspeaker, or a loud voice, and they need not have been appointed to the role. The most popular chant is 'No ifs! No buts! No [appropriate four syllables] cuts!'; there is no specifically popular call and response, but those heard include variations of 'Maggie, Maggie, Maggie. Out! Out! Out!' and 'What do we want? [three or four syllables]. When do we want it? Now!' These much-loved chants from the 1970s require the appropriate rhythm, but the point was lost on some. Folk song as declaration, and sometimes consolation (Lloyd 2008, 182), was common at demonstrations until the 1980s, but even the simple and well-known, such as *Build a bonfire* are rarely heard. Few join in with Côr Cochion Caerdydd (most of pensionable age, i.e. of an age to have protested in the 1960s or 1970s), whose repertoire includes *The Red Flag*, *The Internationale* and *We shall overcome*. This last and *We shall not be moved* are still 'familiar songs' at USA demonstrations (Ehrenreich 2007, 252; Garlough 2011, 359), but are rarely heard in the UK. Similarly, there were no protest songs at 'Busk against the Cuts'.

Imposed taboos tend to be functional, e.g. encouraging people not to cross a picket line, or to sound a car horn to show support. Lifted taboos include swearwords, whether verbal or written, and disturbing or potentially offensive imagery are forms of playful deviance.

To the extent that these are established stylised actions, they illustrate Bird's imposing or lifting of taboos as ritual action (1980, 29-30). The ignoring of certain taboos, notably smoking marijuana and public nudity, illustrates a 'relaxation of specific law enforcement' (Ravenscroft and Gilchrist 2009, 43). While the police continue to apply specific measures to control public order. In most cases, they do not display their potential power overtly. Most wear normal uniform and hi-visibility waistcoats or jackets, i.e. displaying their quotidian image' wearing forage caps, having camera operators and medics, is more performance than necessity, as violence is unusual at public events. Even with the relatively uncommon presence of an 'intensifier' (Waddington et al 1987, 170), e.g. a confrontation with the Deputy Prime Minister at a student fees protest (30 September 2010), the limit tends to be protesters and police engaging in jostling, in the context it is commonly termed 'a good clean shove' (Gaskell and Benewick 1987b, 5). The only major incident was a lightly policed protest march against ongoing violence in Gaza (26 July 2014), when chairs and tables and arrests were made.

Display at marches and other demonstrations informs and validates the identity and role of protesters. This applies whether pre-existing identity is strong, e.g. political affiliation, or potentially weak, e.g. the frequent secondary nature of trade union membership. Indeed, the contention that discourse names a folk usually applies, given the transient nature of demonstrations, and the potential inexperience of many. Demonstrations are probably the most likely contexts to illustrate for Kapchan's proposal that performance situates actors in time and space, thus structuring identities' (1995, 479), but people engage because the issue has resonance, although the balance of opinion, conviction and self-interest cannot be assessed.

The Cardiff City demonstrations, from March 2012, illustrate pre-existing identity, i.e. as supporters, but without experience as protesters or of other meaningful campaigning. Events in which pre-existing identity and experience were obvious, not least, by people's comfortable interaction, include 'Nuclear Weapons – Not in Wales – Not Anywhere!' and most specifically left-wing activities. The Hardest Hit event was an event, at which, most activists were embodied as part of interest groups, but with varying experience of public campaigning and demonstrations. A similar case applies to many S4C protesters, but other than Cymdeithas yr Iaith, there were no other organised groups with a specific concern for Welsh language issues. However, the broader (partly 'imagined') community

of Welsh speakers present, included many engaged in social and professional activities, including the media, politics, academic and public life, in which the language is a central identifier.

The range of new popular movements can obscure the point that many issues of widespread significance, a generation ago, are no longer of interest to the majority. Examples include nuclear disarmament and public expression of support for older, established political parties; neither has disappeared, and overall, protesting shows relatively little dynamism in either its forms or its basic content. That most such organisations have popular roots, and that new bodies continue to develop from small popular movements, illustrates the overlap or coexistence of popular and institutional lore, rather than a continuum. Most new popular movements lack continuous pre-existence but can employ the repertoire as much as established groups. That they draw on observed institutional lore does not detract from the argument, and there is no issue of inauthenticity. Exceptionally, the Million Marijuana March and World Naked Bike Ride (both instituted in the late 2000s) have precedents, in being local enactments within international movements. In the stylised, knowing subversion of imagery associated with marijuana users, and the overt nudity in the context of the relatively common form of a cycling demonstration, such as Cardiff's near-monthly Critical Mass, they display enough material reconstitution to justify categorisation as second level. However, their relative regularity over a decade suggests acceptance as first level.

Larger demonstrations of all types tend to receive coverage by local newspapers and television, and their associated websites; indeed, reporters and camera teams attend demonstrations more often than other events. Communication technology affects organisation, promotion, and recording of demonstrations; a short television soundbite can be the most important element of a demonstration. Video and written reports are often published on the websites of organisers and participating groups; they are copied and circulated within other interested groups and are occasionally copied by the mainstream media. The amount of information appearing on the websites of trade unions, left-wing political and other campaigning groups also indicates the level of reporting back to members, validating and enhancing their participation, and, to an extent, maintaining their role as protester. Although peripheral to authenticity, and not affecting the first level status of demonstrations, it has been contended that all protesting is symbolic, in that it

intends to affect, more than to effect. The eventual impact may not become widely known. Exceptions include the successful Cardiff Blues and Cardiff City demonstrations, the city's largest, and ultimately unsuccessful, campaign against the Cardiff Bay Barrage (Best 2004).

There is rarely any intention or effort to attract a witness-audience or validate their presence in any way. Although familiar, protest marches are usually unexpected by the public, and tend to attract a chance witness-audience. However, as with any spectacle, people stop and watch, generally by chance rather than choice; as a recognisable form of event, there is a level of expectation, but limited interaction. Given this, there is an identifiable if limited pattern to public response, rather than specific patterns of demography. People stop and watch a recognisable form of event, with a broad rather than focussed level of expectation; habitual forms and component elements are usually broadly understood, even if the issues are not. There may be a pre-existing awareness of the protester's norms and ideals, e.g. Million Marijuana March and anti-war demonstrations; in other cases, they might be recognised or inferred from the enactment and material and expressive forms employed. Most people know that no involvement is expected, so that accepting leaflets, engaging in short verbal exchanges or similar incidental activity is the extent of public interaction. This is handing over, although secondary to the main purpose of influencing an antagonistic other, by receiving as much media coverage as possible. A few exceptions, e.g. anti-abortion and animal welfare, are intended to inform or persuade the public.

### **5.5 Issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff**

Demonstrations on local issues occur in all large UK cities, but Cardiff's status as capital city, Wales's and the location of the Senedd and have made it increasingly more attractive to those with issues elsewhere in Wales. Wind-farms and hospital closures, in mid and west Wales, have been the most common of the Senedd demonstrations; activities concerned with north Wales are almost non-existent. The few all-Wales demonstrations have been concerned with language related issues and are among the few with any direct historical precedents. This is a significant change, and parallels protesting at the seats of power in other capital cities, albeit swimming pool and wheelie bin protests at the City Hall are as parochial as any city.

Two long-term protests were linked to Cardiff's past, but lacked precedents; the Cardiff Blues boycott and the more prominent Cardiff City activities were also among the few which ended favourably for the protesters. Welsh identity is quite readily expressed by the direct and indirect use of imagery recognisable within and without Wales, but the limited use of the written and spoken language suggests that it is superficial identification. Few posters give parity to Welsh and English, the World Naked Bike Ride being a notable exception. If available in either language, the English poster tends to predominate, overwhelmingly. Many bilingual posters and flyers employ more English, or it comes first and/or is in a larger font. The same point applies to most banners, while few organisational flags use Welsh. Established slogans are occasionally translated, e.g. 'Unite for Socialism-Unwch Dros Sosialaeth' (Cardiff TUC) and 'People before profits-Pobl cyn elw' (UK Uncut). 'Cofiwch Bronglais' echoes the slogan 'Cofiwch Dryweryn', dating back to 1960s protests against reservoir construction. The use of spoken Welsh is noticeable, as it is not the norm; an introduction and/or closing remarks are rare enough, and a complete address in Welsh is unknown, beyond specific language-related demonstrations. Given that most Cardiffians do not speak Welsh, and that English is the language of most public activity in the city, all of this is understandable. However, it displays a major disjuncture in public life, given the commonplace nature of Welsh language use in many social activities in Cardiff. The Red Dragon flag, and, to a lesser extent, subverted forms of the imagery and colours, are the most commonly recognised national forms, although rarely recorded in large numbers. Trade unions using the Red Dragon image to express Welsh identity, within a broader movement, include Unison Cymru and local branches, PCS Cymru Wales and Wales TUC Cymru. Million Marijuana March posters recognise the event's location, rather than identifying participants, many of whom come from England. Indeed, the Red Dragon flag, its colours and the general image are used by many groups and organisations, who might be politically opposed to nationalism. However, there is a noticeable lack of the more common imagery at Welsh language events, e.g. the S4C rally, illustrating a conscious intention to avoid association with popular banal nationalism.

In general, material identifiers associated with Cardiff, are uncommon, whereas Welsh identifiers are more common. The Red Dragon flag is seen, and the image is occasionally used in subverted form; more commonly, its imagery and colours are employed on posters and banners. The limited use of Welsh, evident in most activities, has a near equivalent

(albeit from the directly opposite position) in the overt avoidance of common Welsh imagery at language-related events.

## **5.6 Summary**

The narratives present a representative sample of events recorded, and while their scale and specifics vary substantially, patterns of form show strong consistency, in events of both popular and institutional origin. The basic forms of collective action have a long history, although there is no single community of protesters, imagined or otherwise. That the institutional has drawn on the popular, and that they remain equally prevalent is very unusual. This is due in part to the repertoire's essential simplicity and the near-universal latent knowledge of its characteristics. The need to build on this knowledge, and publicly hand down specifics illustrates an unusual paradox of participants in institutional events having less experience than in events of popular origin. Whatever the case, the authenticity of demonstrations can be taken for granted, and given that any protesting is significant to those involved, all can be taken as first level lore. Despite caveats, the commonalities of aggregate and expression of the same lore in popular and institutional contexts illustrates the potential of addressing institutional lore's 'larger questions of cultural continuity' (Oring 2013, 36-37).

McPhail's forms of collective protest are recognisably secondary genres, and Eyerman's three stages of action describe a common, but flexible, format for any type of demonstration within these. Tilly's repertoires of contention and McPhail's pieces and parts etc. frame the primary genres, common to virtually all protesting activities.

The logic of banners and flags (signs indicating the range of support) and posters (appropriate expressions of the argument) are more appropriate to the twenty-first century, than the potentially emotional approach of singing and chanting. A degree of idealism should be acknowledged in any demonstration, but also a level of realism, in that most demonstrations, in themselves, do not lead to major changes. As such, they represent the lived-in world.

## **Chapter 6 – Remembering**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Chaney uses the term ‘ritual forms of ceremonial’ (1983, 119) to define a ‘class of occasions which are felt to be peculiarly significant for the collectivity’ (1983, 121), and remembering is the only theme in this study in which certain events are commonly understood as ceremonies. Most are of institutional origin, but the theme also includes informal activities of popular origin. Whatever the origin, ritual and ritualesque forms are often employed in modelling the lived-in world, i.e. aiming to ‘directly effect social realities’ (Handelman 1998, 23). In this study, the theme is divided into four broad, relatively discrete categories: remembrance, recognition, commemoration and public grief.

Remembrance refers to formal, solemn and often regular events centred on those who died in wars or other tragic circumstances. Recognition is public acknowledgment of the role or contribution of a living individual or group, for some recent or ongoing estimable activity. Many remembrance and virtually all recognition events are of institutional origin, the majority being civil-military activities involving state, national and civic public representatives and major institutions, notably the armed forces and the Church. Some such events are essentially military, but given the frequent presence of civil representatives in some capacity, the wider term is used. As the Church in Wales is disestablished, the use of ‘Church’ encompasses Anglican and other Christian denominations. The usually central employment of institutional material and expressive forms in the enactment of civil-military activities exemplifies Kapchan’s comment that enactment and genre are ‘interdependent and mutually defining’ (1995, 482), e.g. a Royal Salute has to involve service personnel and military expressive and material forms. The contribution of institutions could overshadow popular participation, and although an audience or witness-audience will be noticed, direct popular engagement as armed forces reservists and veterans be subsumed within the whole and not necessarily recognised as qualitatively similar to part-time self-membership of any established group. Describing veterans as unexceptional does not deny their uncommon situation in having a sense of obligation not found in other popular participation. Forms of remembrance of popular origin are fewer in number and smaller in scale and are quite varied. Some employ

material and expressive forms associated with formal remembrance, and there are commonalities with certain material expressions of public grief.

For necessity, commemoration is employed throughout, in its common usage of honouring the memory of an individual or group or an important date. The context should indicate the distinction with the specific definition within the study, i.e. that commemoration refers to a single event in which actions in life, or the circumstances of death, are remembered with a permanent, or very occasionally temporary, physical memorial. Such activities are relatively infrequent, and it is problematic to undertake a meaningful specific analysis. Public grief refers to formal and informal response to recent or current tragic events; relatively few examples were recorded, but they included the most commonly known forms, e.g. temporary shrine, Book of Condolence and flags at half-mast.

There are substantial commonalities across the four categories, and the analysis concentrates on the National Service of Remembrance for Wales and temporary memorials. The former includes elements recorded in remembrance and recognition; the latter is relevant to all categories, in various ways.

## **6.2 Remembrance**

Since the late twentieth century, remembrance has taken place within a broader context, with the celebration of ‘major anniversaries’ and ‘the inauguration of new war memorials’ (Marshall 2004, 37), as aspects of a broader ‘development of rites of public display’ (Santino 2009, 12-13). From celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of VE-Day in 1995, most such anniversaries, at state, national and local level, have been associated with the Second World War, presumably informed by the age of veterans concerned. Events in 2010 included the seventieth anniversary of the Battle of Britain, and sixty-fifth anniversaries of VE-Day and VJ-Day; they were similarly remembered in 2015. Most newer major memorials relate to this conflict, including Women of World War II (London, 2005), RAF Bomber Command (London, 2012) and several smaller structures at the National Memorial Arboretum, Staffordshire (established 2001). The most memorable new rites of public display are the institutional and popular responses to repatriation of the dead from Afghanistan, from the mid-2000s, particularly in, what was renamed Royal Wootton Bassett. The introduction of Armed Forces Day (2009),



extending the scope of Veterans Day (2006) was informed in part by the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and is celebrated throughout the UK. In 2014, commemoration of the First World War began, the most striking event being the display of ceramic Poppies at the Tower of London ('Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red') July to November 2014. There have been nationally and locally organised activities in Cardiff, as part of the overarching 'Cymru'n Cofio — Wales Remembers 1914-1918', led by the Assembly. The most prominent were the centenary commemoration of the start of the Battle of the Somme (1 July 1916), with a vigil at Llandaff Cathedral, service at the Welsh National War Memorial and an orchestral concert, by composers linked in some way. The most striking physical feature was 'The Weeping Window', an occasional travelling display of some of the ceramic Poppies drawing on the London presentation (8 August-24 September 2017). However, the annual National Service of Remembrance for Wales has remained the central event during this period.

### **6.2.1 The National Service of Remembrance for Wales**

The National Service of Remembrance for Wales (subsequently 'Service of Remembrance' or 'Service' as appropriate) is the central event of a period of remembrance, which includes several long-established and more recent events of institutional origin. Established in 1919, the Service is the only state level event enacted concurrently at thousands of locations throughout the United Kingdom, including at the Cenotaph attended by the Monarch. Cardiff is unusual in not having a central war memorial dedicated to those from the city who died in the First World War, but given that two-thirds of the donations towards construction of the Welsh National War Memorial (subsequently 'War Memorial') came from the city (Gaffney 1998, 55), this is understandable. Gaffney also records the dissent from north Wales in particular regarding the choice of Cardiff, which influenced the funding (1998, 44-68). The Service at the War Memorial in the civic centre's Alexandra Gardens has also been the de facto event for the city, since its first enactment on Armistice Day, 11 November 1928. This date was maintained throughout the UK until 1956, with subsequent enactments on Remembrance Sunday, the second in November. This change coincided with declining attendances (Coppin 1968, 527; Cannadine 1981, 234), and they remain relatively small. Cardiff also has six local outdoor memorials, in addition to numerous, mainly indoor, Rolls of Honour

and plaques. Small services continue to be held at several such location, e.g. the outdoor memorial near Llandaff and in Cardiff University.

The Service has three distinct phases:

- muster and parade to the War Memorial
- religious service (subsequently ‘Service itself’)
- march-past at the City Hall

There is popular participation throughout, and at five observations (2010 to 2014) there were only minor differences. By 10 a.m., around five hundred have gathered around the War Memorial, where stewards from the Royal British Legion (subsequently ‘Legion’) and Air Training Corps (ATC) provide Orders of Service. A similar number are in Museum Avenue, where most simply watch the muster, and there is no obvious interaction with others, outside their own groups. A small minority take photographs with cameras more prominent than mobile phones, suggesting preparedness; the most popular subject was the Goat-Major and his charge, Shenkin (officially, Private Shenkin Jenkins), of 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion The Royal Welsh, the regiment’s reserve unit. Following Shenkin’s death in 2017, a new Goat (retaining the name Shenkin) was chosen from the flock on the Great Orme, Llandudno in 2018; this is one of two traditional locations for the purpose, the other being Windsor Great Park.

From 10 a.m., parade participants move into previously allocated positions and the parade sergeant-major, a regular warrant officer of The Royal Welsh, makes only a few adjustments. The march to the War Memorial begins at 10.25 a.m., with the first division headed by the Goat-Major with Shenkin, and the Regimental Band and Corps of Drums of The Royal Welsh. The Goat-Major and Band wear Full Dress uniform (red jacket, dark blue trousers and helmet), the only soldiers in the event to do so; Shenkin wears a green coat, with gold piping and regimental crest. There is no set repertoire of marches, and none has associations with units present; all are in quick-time, and in 2011 and 2013, the Band played *The Welshmen*, an arrangement of well-known Welsh tunes.

Detachments parade in the conventional order of precedence for the armed forces, reflecting the age of their establishment, i.e. Royal Navy, Army (with its own order of precedence), and Royal Air Force. The first division is led by a Royal Naval Reserve (RNR) honour guard from HMS Cambria. It consists of a lieutenant with drawn sword,

and around sixteen ratings carrying rifles and bayonets; they are the only detachment bearing arms. All wear No. 1A Dress, which, for ratings, is the present-day version of the sailor suit; in 2013, the female lieutenant wore trousers, rather than skirt, which is customary when bearing arms. In 2012 and 2013 they were followed by a detachment of 1<sup>st</sup> The Queen's Dragoon Guards, a regular army unit. There are several local detachments of the Army Reserve, but the designation 'TA' is used subsequently as this was still the Territorial Army until 2014, i.e. within the main fieldwork period. They include 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion The Royal Welsh, Signals, Transport and Medical units; with the exception of a few regular officers and/or NCOs, these are all reservists. Detachments number between twenty-five and eighty, and the majority are male (around eighty-five to ninety-five percent). Most such figures are close approximations based on observations of several enactments.

Officers and senior NCOs in Army units usually wear No. 2 Service Dress (khaki suit), with medals, where appropriate; other ranks wear No. 8 Temperate Combat Dress (dark camouflage field jacket and trousers, khaki beret). The only detachment of the regular forces present annually is from the Royal Air Force station, fifteen miles outside Cardiff. They comprise a flight lieutenant, an RAF Regiment corporal and thirty airmen; these have all been male, albeit there is no obvious reason for this. All wear No. 1 Service dress (grey suit). A reserve unit, 614 (County of Glamorgan) Squadron, Royal Auxiliary Air Force was re-established 12 March 2014, exactly fifty-seven years after its disbandment, but has not yet paraded in the Service.

Typically, forty members of Cardiff Sea Cadet Corps (SCC) parade, two-thirds in No. 1A Dress. There are sixty from the Army Cadet Force (ACF), in No. 8 Temperate Combat Dress, and sixty ATC cadets, in No. 2 Service Working Dress (grey jumper and trousers/skirt). The University of Wales Officer Training Corps (OTC) has seventy-five, in No. 8 Temperate Combat Dress. These detachments are around sixty percent male, and broadly reflect the ethnic balance of the city (i.e. ninety-two percent white in the 2011 Census).

The military units are followed by small groups from the emergency services: South Wales Police, South Wales Fire and Rescue Service and Welsh Ambulance Service. St. John Ambulance follow, with around thirty-five cadets; they are the only organisation

which has regularly included three or four Muslim females. Most of the uniformed groups wear Poppies, on the jacket or cap.

The second division follows one hundred and fifty metres behind, led by the Canton Citadel Band of the Salvation Army, playing solemn, non-military marches. They are followed by between sixteen and twenty-two standards of veterans' organisations. Around thirty Royal British Legion Riders, most on motorcycles, and wearing typical biker clothes, with badges reflecting military and veteran interests, are followed by two hundred to two hundred and fifty veterans. Most are sixty-plus, wearing blazers with embroidered and metal badges, and beret or other service cap. There are a few aged thirty to thirty-five, generally in a suit, but veterans under thirty are uncommon. A majority wear a service, regimental, corps or association tie, and older veterans wear medals more frequently than younger ones. Virtually all are white and male. There are a few smaller groups including ten to fifteen Nepalese, some in traditional dress, with Ghurkha veterans wearing medals. This emphasises the point made regarding their engagement in the St. David's Day Parade. Guides have been the only other regular attendees. There is no representation from major public bodies, educational, civil and cultural organisations, or business and the voluntary sector.

The parade lasts around ten minutes, and most of those who watch the muster also watch it but without any response such as clapping or waving flags. Most then move to the War Memorial, where assembling for the central phase of the event, the religious Service itself, is simple (McPhail 1991, 153). There is little interchange with strangers, and personal space is respected. By 10.50 a.m., between fifteen hundred and two thousand have gathered at the War Memorial. The demography is essentially similar from year to year. The age range is from late teens onward, but few young children; around two thirds are female, and virtually all are white. A third wear black coat or jacket, and a third wear Poppies, but no other identifiers. Almost all men and the majority of women are bare-headed. There are some veterans often dressed similarly to those in the parade, with some under thirty. In 2010, one (presumed) widow wore the Elizabeth Cross, instituted in 2009 to recognise the families of armed forces personnel who died in conflicts.

Despite the various memorials in Alexandra Gardens, there is no general feeling of its being a dedicated sacred area. The War Memorial has permanent significance, but it is employed as a specifically sacred location only on Remembrance Sunday, by the

enactment of the Service itself and the presence of ‘symbolic icons’ (Santino 2009, 13). These include clergy vestments, flags and uniforms which have meanings conventionally appropriate to this type of activity, rather than the everyday (Abrahams 1985, 326; Rothenbuhler 1998, 16-17). The war dead are not named on the War Memorial, and there is a lack of Christian imagery; there was quite frequent opposition to this in the early 1920s, on the grounds of potential associations with Roman Catholicism (King 1998, 53).

At 10.40 a.m., the standards are marched in, and the Salvation Army Band usually plays Elgar’s *Nimrod*, often associated with solemn events; in 2014 it was replaced by Holst’s *Thaxted (I vow to thee, my country)*. At 10.50 a.m., a party of public figures holding high-level positions within various fields (subsequently ‘dignitaries’) walk in, rather than process formally. They include Her Majesty’s Lord Lieutenant of the County of South Glamorgan (subsequently ‘Lord Lieutenant’), Secretary of State for Wales, Presiding Officer and First Minister of the Assembly, Lord Mayor of Cardiff and the Leader of the Council, the Naval Regional Commander for Wales and Western Officer (commodore), Commander of 160 (Wales) Brigade (brigadier) and Air Officer (air commodore), and other political representatives. In 2010, there was a French civic representative, and, in 2011, a US Navy commander. Security is provided by eight or nine uniformed and plain-clothes police.

All actors are in a circle around the War Memorial, with a low rope barrier defining the space for formal activities. The Service itself begins at precisely 10.58 a.m., at which point all present become the congregation. The Order of Service used throughout the UK (Churches Together in Britain and Ireland, 2005) is printed in Welsh and English, but other than one hymn in Welsh and a choice for *The Lord’s Prayer*, there was no other use of the language within the Service itself until 2014, when the poem *Rhyfel (War)* by Ellis Humphrey Evans was read. Under the name Hedd Wyn, Evans was posthumously awarded the Bardic Chair at the 1917 National Eisteddfod of Wales. There is a bidding prayer by the Lord Mayor’s Honorary Chaplain, a Church in Wales priest, and prayers by representatives of other Christian denominations and the Jewish, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh faiths; in 2013, all their names were in the Order of Service. Part of Lawrence Binyon’s poem *For the Fallen* (English Association 1915, 26-27) is read, beginning, ‘They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old’; the final words, ‘We will remember them’, are repeated loudly, by virtually all. Apart from *The Lord’s Prayer*, a minority respond

as clearly to the later prayers, or sing out the generally well-known hymns (*O God, our help in ages past*, *Arglwydd arwain trwy'r anialwch*, the original Welsh version of *Guide me O thou great Redeemer*, and *Love divine*) and the National Anthems. *For the Fallen* is followed by *The Last Post*, sounded by a lone bugler, the firing of a single round from a field-gun by C (Glamorgan Yeomanry) Troop of 104 Regiment Royal Artillery (Volunteers) (subsequently '104 Regt RA (V)'), and the two-minute Silence, during which, the City Hall clock does not chime. The Silence is ended by a second firing and *Reveille*. Poppy wreaths are then laid by the Lord Lieutenant and other dignitaries, in order of precedence, veterans' groups, non-military national and local organisations, and a few individuals. Around ninety percent of wreaths are from the same sources every year. Further hymns and prayers follow, and the *Kohima Epitaph* is read: 'When you go home tell them of us and say, for your tomorrow we gave our today'. On completion of the Service, standards are marched off and the troops and others dismissed.

The parade reforms for a march-past at City Hall, with the field-gun immediately behind the honour guard in 2010 and 2011, but not present subsequently. The Lord Mayor's Scouts and Guides flank the saluting base, and the salute is taken by the Lord Mayor, with other dignitaries and veterans present. The bands play quick marches, The Royal Welsh quick march, *Men of Harlech*, is the only one linked to troops parading. Around ninety percent of those at the Service itself watch the march-past, and responses include clapping and cheering.

### **6.2.2 Royal British Legion Poppy Appeal**

This is the best-known publicly enacted institutional lore, the artificial red Poppy having been sold in shops, pubs, public offices and elsewhere since 1921 (Cannadine 1981, 225). Different groups sell them in the city's major shopping areas, each year, e.g. ATC cadets (2010), young people 20-25 (2011) and mainly south Asian males (2012). In 2009, twenty-six million Poppies were sold in the UK, raising £30 million (Elgenius 2011a, 129), and while this represents more than fifty percent of British adults, only around five percent have been observed wearing one in the city centre, other than at the Dedication of the Field of Remembrance and the Service of Remembrance. Since the mid-2000s, the Legion has had a stall in a shopping complex selling newer items including metal and adhesive paper Poppies, and notebooks and ballpoints all with the Poppy image. Promotion of the Poppy Appeal has increased substantially in recent years. Little

Remembrance Crosses (subsequently ‘Crosses’) made of plywood, with a Poppy at the centre and the words ‘In Remembrance’ below, were available less widely than Poppies, until an annual mailshot began in 2011. Since 2009 the Legion, Council and St. John’s Church (Cardiff’s central parish church) have displayed around six hundred larger Poppy decorations, and there have been prominent banners since 2010, with a Legion display van since 2011. Advertising hoardings, with overtly sentimental messages, appeared in substantial numbers, in 2013.

### **6.2.3 Field of Remembrance**

Since 2002, a Field of Remembrance has been laid out by the Legion, initially adjacent to the War Memorial, and in Cardiff Castle grounds since 2010. It is open for eleven days around Remembrance Sunday. Cardiff is one of three regular locations, the others being Westminster (since 1928) and Royal Wootton Bassett (2010); there are also up to three one-off locations, e.g. Belfast, Edinburgh and Gateshead in 2014. There is a ten-minute service of dedication led by the Lord Mayor’s Honorary Chaplain, on the first Wednesday in November. This includes a two-minute Silence, after which, national, civic and military dignitaries place Crosses. Being a working day, most of the audience (congregation is not wholly appropriate, in comparison with the Service of Remembrance) are over sixty with a male/female balance, and dress is generally plain or sombre. The usual attendance has been one hundred-plus, but around four hundred attended in 2014, possibly influenced by the First World War Centenary.

The Field has blocks of Crosses with small numbers of Jewish Stars, Muslim Crescents (lacking the Poppy and wording) and the secular equivalent (a slightly curved upright, with no obvious figurative or symbolic significance). Crosses etc. are set out in blocks, in the armed forces order of precedence, displaying the appropriate service or unit badge. There is a specific block for those who died in Afghanistan, which includes photographs of dead, and an area for civilian organisations and others. In 2011, there were around two thousand seven hundred Crosses etc., increasing to around fifteen thousand in 2012 and 2013, and subsequently around ten thousand (2014) and thirteen thousand (2105). Postcodes listed in 2011 and 2012 indicated that most were from the Cardiff area. More than ninety percent have handwritten messages, mainly from families, but several hundred have ‘For those who gave their lives’, ‘Unknown’ and similar. Most messages have two to four names, so around forty to fifty thousand people are engaged directly or

indirectly. Around twenty dedicated visitors attend at any one time; the demography is quite wide with noticeable numbers, most presumably tourists, from other parts of the UK and overseas. Most stay for fifteen to twenty minutes, and some take photographs. In 2013, the fifteen people present stood in silence, between the two field-gun firings, from the Service of Remembrance. St. John's Church has a smaller Field of Remembrance with service badges and some hundreds of Crosses.

#### **6.2.4 Festival of Remembrance**

Since 1981, a Festival of Remembrance has been organised by the Legion at St. David's Hall, a central concert venue, on a Saturday before Remembrance Sunday. With an audience of around two thousand, it includes elements of the Service of Remembrance, but being a priced (£10-25), indoor, evening event, has not been observed.

#### **6.2.5 Armistice Day events**

In 2012, Armistice Day coincided with Remembrance Sunday, but most years, it has limited recognition. In 2011, around twenty students (a balance of male and female) and two supervisors from the Military Preparation College, a civilian training organisation for young people, laid a wreath at the War Memorial. Five men and one couple were present, all over sixty-five, and all wore Poppies. In Castle Street, at 10.55 a.m., staff from a financial services company and a pub came out to the street shortly before 11 a.m.; they and ten members of the public stood for two minutes. In 2012, a team of four workmen stopped cutting paving and seventeen members of the public (eleven male, one under ten, and six female) stood while the Castle clock struck eleven. However, traffic always continues. In 2014, one hundred and fifty had gathered at the War Memorial, predominantly male aged over fifty; some veterans wore medals, but none wore customary veterans' dress (see later). All present stood in silence from just before 11 a.m. until two minutes after the City Hall clock chimes.

#### **6.2.6 Events at other war memorials**

Alexandra Gardens has other war memorials, but none has any regular formal event. On Remembrance Sunday 2011 and 2012, around twenty veterans, most wearing Brigade of Guards ties gathered at 10.20 a.m. at the Welsh National Falkland Memorial (erected



2007). One laid a Welsh Guards wreath, and all stood for a short period with heads bowed. In 2010, 2013 and 2014, a similar wreath had been placed at least a day before, so a potential new Remembrance Sunday tradition was not maintained. Small numbers of other wreaths, bouquets, sprays and Crosses are also laid there, before or on the Sunday. A few are laid at the rather secluded Cardiff Falkland Islands War Memorial (erected 1983), and two brass plaques (20 x 15 cm) with the name of a serviceman killed in this war are placed nearby. In 2013, a third plaque was noted, with the name of a seaman commemorated with wreaths and flowers at both Falkland memorials. Between twenty and fifty Crosses are placed in the lawns, adjacent to the Memorial. There was a Poppy wreath at the Spanish Civil War memorial in 2012 and 2013, with two Crosses in the latter year, and a wreath of white flowers at the Raoul Wallenberg memorial in 2012. A Second World War Polish memorial plaque outside the City Hall has annual flowers and Crosses.

#### **6.2.7 Seafarers Remembrance Services**

The Seafarers [sic] Remembrance Services are the only regular events at the Merchant Seafarers [sic] War Memorial, although sometimes held on the steps of the adjacent Senedd (the main Assembly building). The monument, combining the forms of broken hull and death mask commemorates seamen who died during the Second World War, and is Cardiff's only major monument specific to this war. Organised by the Merchant Navy Association, services take place on the Saturday in May nearest the monument's dedication date in 1997, and the day before Remembrance Sunday. Both follow the form of the Service of Remembrance in place in 1997, retained due to the organisers' preference for its format; this is an unusual example of reasoned objection to dynamism within an institutional lore. A similar rationale might be inferred from the lack of celebration of Merchant Navy Day (3 September), which in being instituted in 2000 is newer than the Cardiff event.

Between sixty and two hundred people take part, a high proportion being veterans of the Merchant Navy, with some ex-Royal Fleet Auxiliary. Most are white, male and over sixty; a majority wear blazers with appropriate badge, beret and medals. A party of veterans and sea cadets carry standards. Dignitaries including the Lord Lieutenant, First Minister, Lord Mayor or Leader of the Council, and Royal Navy officers sit as they arrive, with no formal recognition. The service is conducted by three Honorary Chaplains: a

Roman Catholic priest (Merchant Navy Association), and two Church in Wales priests (Mission to Seafarers and Assembly chaplain). From November 2013, there was formal input by a Nonconformist minister, rabbi and imam.

Most of the service is in English, with one reading in Welsh, one in Hebrew and one in English from the Koran; these are included in the Order of Service. Wreaths are placed by many of the dignitaries, and groups including HMS Cambria, Mission to Seamen, Royal Fleet Auxiliary Association, Cardiff Sea Cadets, Russian Convoys Association, Normandy Veterans Association and Butetown Residents, in addition to personal sprays, Crosses and Poppies. Music is provided by the Cardiff County and Vale of Glamorgan Youth Brass Band. None of the four well-known hymns is sung with any enthusiasm or volume. The standards are lowered at the start of *The Navy Hymn (Eternal Father strong to save)* and raised at the last verse. Usually, about ten of the attendees cross themselves at the subsequent blessing. The Service is often followed by *Fight the good fight*. There is no formal police presence at the event, although there are always police in the area outside the Senedd. The location attracts a mainly chance witness-audience, with thirty to sixty for at least part, and around twenty throughout.

#### **6.2.8 Dressing of the Aids Tree**

This is the only regular remembrance event which is not civil-military. World AIDS Day, 1 December was established in August 1987, and since 1994 a small group has assembled at a Memorial Tree in the Gorsedd Gardens, adjacent to the Civic Centre. It is the only regular permanent remembrance location not associated with war. There are secular readings and naming of some who have died and the Tree is then dressed with red ribbons and luggage tags, with verses and messages. The ribbons remain in place, but the tags wear away. The only public notice was in 2012, but the event was held earlier than advertised, and no enactment was observed. There are other HIV/AIDS awareness activities around the date, notably involving Terrence Higgins Trust and Cardiff University Students' Union, but most ribbon sellers seem to know little or nothing about the Tree event. In 2012, the Lord Mayor led a tree-planting event, in a park outside the city centre; this was organised by Daily Hope Foundation, an HIV/AIDS charity working in Africa.

### 6.2.9 Re-dedication of the Welsh National Falkland Memorial

This was the only one-off remembrance event recorded. The Welsh National Falkland Memorial (subsequently 'Falkland Memorial') is a five-ton rock from East Falkland, erected following fundraising activities by veterans of the South Atlantic Medal Association (subsequently 'SAMA(82)') and others, to commemorate the 1982 Falkland War. It was dedicated 30 September 2007, and a Re-dedication Service organised by SAMA(82) was held on Armed Forces Day 30 June 2012. By 9.15 a.m., around one hundred and twenty people, including veterans' families, were seated, and around eighty others standing; this last group increased to around two hundred and fifty. Around sixty percent were male, most having noticeably short haircuts. Most Falkland veterans wore suits, with more plain ties than regimental, and very few wore hats. Most wore the South Atlantic Medal, and a few the Gulf Medal 1990-1991. Around half had wives or partners, mostly wearing summer dresses, i.e. seasonal rather than solemn. Some older veterans had blazers but there were few metal badges. The Lord Lieutenant and several senior police officers were present, but no Assembly or Council representatives. Military figures included the general commanding the Special Air Service (SAS) during the conflict, the senior Army and RAF officers in Wales, a Welsh Guards colonel and five Parachute Regiment officers.

The service began at 9.45 a.m., with the dedication, and laying of five representative crosses in a field of remembrance, which had a cross for each of the British and Falkland Islanders killed. The Band of the Welsh Guards played Purcell's *When I am laid in earth* in this phase. Representatives of the SAS read their Regimental Poem (part of Flecker's *The Golden Journey to Samarkand*) and Collect. A blessing in Welsh was followed by a two-minute silence, using the Service of Remembrance form including field-gun; this was followed by the Kohima Epitaph, a prayer, National Anthems and a blessing. The *Lord's Prayer* was not included, and overall the service did not correspond closely to any other comparable activity. It was essentially a private event with no expectation or recognition of a witness-audience, although the Order of Service was freely available. There were two well-equipped amateur photographers and one unidentified camera crew.

After a short break, a parade formed up, headed by the Band, the standards of SAMA (82) Wales and the Korean War Veterans Association (commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the end of that conflict), and around seventy-five Falkland and Korea

veterans, mainly the former. Ten standards led seventy other veterans, and the parade marched past City Hall to the Armed Forces Day field display.

#### **6.2.10 Remembrance events outside the parameters of the study**

No new general remembrance ceremony was introduced after the Second World War, but some specific events have been commemorated, and two are currently maintained regularly. Holocaust Memorial Day was instituted 2001 and is held 27 January (liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, 1945). The main UK event was held in Cardiff in 2006, partly at the Wallenberg memorial, with subsequent enactments in the City Hall; in 2015, the event took place at Llandaff Cathedral. It is always well publicised and reported, and the public may attend by prior arrangement. Those attending include the First Minister or Presiding Officer of the Assembly, the Lord Mayor or Leader of the Council, and representatives of the city's Jewish community. On Hiroshima Day (remembering 6 August 1945), members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) float candles on Roath Park Lake, two miles from the City centre. In 2012, they commemorated the date at the National Eisteddfod of Wales in the Vale of Glamorgan, rather than Cardiff. The Nagasaki bombing (9 August 1945) is not commemorated.

From the mid-1950s to the mid-2000s, D-Day and VJ Day parades and services at St. John's Church were organised by the Normandy Veterans Association (NVA) and the Burma Star Association, respectively. Given the age of veterans and their declining numbers, informal gatherings replaced these, and the NVA disbanded formally in 2014. Until the mid-1990s, the Battle of Britain (1940) was celebrated 15 September, but this is generally less publicly recognised and events now tend to be in June; a fly-past by the RAF Battle of Britain Memorial Flight, 15 June 2011, was the only aerial activity recorded.

Since June 2006, the University Hospital of Wales Chaplaincy, supported by the Stillbirth and Neonatal Deaths Society (Sands), have organised an annual Babies Remembrance Service, at Cardiff Crematorium. In addition to religious input, people may place a pebble in a memory bowl. At a more general service before Christmas, people place tags on a tree; these are removed on 6 January, a rare public acknowledgment of and variation on taking down seasonal decorations on Twelfth Night. It is noticeable that no memorial

services for public figures or others were recorded, and given that there are relatively few churches in the city centre, it is understandable that no funerals were observed.

### **6.3 Recognition**

Most recognition events involve the armed forces. These include regular activities, such as Royal Salutes and Armed Forces Day, and occasional events including parades, Beating the Retreat and Royal Navy warship visits. Military veterans also have a central role in the Armed Forces Day field event. A few one-off events concerned with sporting achievement were also recorded.

#### **6.3.1 Royal Salutes**

Royal Salutes are fired annually at twelve UK locations, and since 1946 these have been on dates significant to the current monarch, and are the only regular events enacted in Cardiff directly associated with the Crown. There are now six, fired by 104 Regt RA (V), in the Castle grounds and, occasionally, Alexandra Gardens; the Queen's Birthday Salute, 21 April 2014, was in front of the City Hall, and from 2016, at least one event was held there or outside the Senedd. The format of the Salute itself is virtually identical from one instance to another, and the following refers to enactments in the Castle grounds. Three field guns are in place before the public are admitted at around 11.30 a.m.. Dignitaries are escorted to their seats by 11.40 a.m., when the Band marches in; this is usually The Royal Welsh, but the Prince of Wales Division played twice and the Royal Engineers once. The firing party is led by a RA captain with drawn sword and wearing a silver belt pouch of the Glamorgan Yeomanry, a nineteenth century antecedent volunteer unit. In addition to RA personnel, there are usually Royal Naval Reserve petty officers and ratings, and occasionally members of the Royal Marines Reserve. There is an inspection of the guns and the Band by the Lord Lieutenant, civic representative and the Commander of 160 (Wales) Brigade. The Royal Artillery's marches are played throughout this phase. A twenty-one-gun Salute is fired at noon, and this is followed immediately by the National Anthems. The civic representative takes the salute as the guns are driven out of the Castle or Gardens, and the Band marches off, to *The Grenadiers' March* and *Men of Harlech* (when The Royal Welsh), with *God Bless the Prince of Wales* on the Prince's birthday. The Queen's Birthday Salute 2015 was fired by the Royal Gibraltar Regiment and 104 Regt RA (V) fired the Salute in Gibraltar.

All military dignitaries, some other officers and NCOs, and the firing party wear No.1 Dress Uniform; No. 5 Desert Combat Dress has been worn by individual officers to emphasise recent deployment, this was quite common at other military activities until the withdrawal from Afghanistan. Most others wear No. 2 Service Dress or Temperate Combat Dress. These include signals and transport personnel, for whom Salutes and other military events such as Armed Forces Day provide opportunities to undertake their specific functions.

There is an audience of up to a thousand, of whom around three-quarters are aged fifty-five to seventy, with some families with young children. Most dress to suit the weather, very few flags are waved, and there are rarely any other identifiers; exceptions are a few servicemen in civilian dress and veterans. Most people stand throughout, and, of those sitting, a majority stand at appropriate points, e.g. salute and Anthems, but few men with hats remove them. The audience has no role other than to watch and respond as appropriate, and there is little need to interact with others.

### **6.3.2 Military parades**

2<sup>nd</sup> The Royal Welsh, the regular battalion historically linked to south Wales, paraded on the Saturday nearest St. David's Day, from 2007 until 26 February 2011. Homecoming parades took place until 2014, when combat troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan. These parades were undertaken by 2<sup>nd</sup> The Royal Welsh (30 April 2011), 1<sup>st</sup> The Queen's Dragoon Guards (2 June 2012), Welsh Guards (30 November 2012) and 203 (Welsh) Field Hospital, the only reserve unit recorded (21 April 2014). This last parade was unusual, in that the unit had earlier received the Freedom of the City of Cardiff and taken part in at the Queen's Birthday Salute. With this last exception, the format was similar for all parades, with numbers ranging from fifty to two hundred and fifty, using two main regular parade routes: most were from the Castle to near St. David's Hall, and some from Millennium Plaza near Central Station to the Castle. The Divisional or Regimental Band led the parade, but most music had no specific significance other than regimental quick marches played at the final public stage. Regimental Colours (standards) were carried by officers in No.1 or No.2 Dress and officers leading detachments carried a drawn sword, if in No.1 or No.2 Dress. The April 2011 parade by The Royal Welsh was the last in which all ranks wore No.1 Dress; subsequently, the majority wore No. 5 Desert Combat Dress, but continued to display 'bags of swank', the military term for swagger. In that

this was a particularly well-presented example of a military parade, and would have appeared so to anyone familiar with these, it provides a useful illustration of the potential of assess the aesthetics of an enactment with a degree of objectivity.

All of these parades received some media promotion beforehand and substantial press coverage afterwards, but witness-audiences were modest. Between fifty and a hundred, mostly families, gathered at musters, with around two hundred and fifty in Cardiff Castle and St. Mary Street. Most were over forty, with a few young children, and an equal balance of male and female. In general, identifiers were limited to a few Union Flags and Red Dragon flags. Crowd responses tended to be light clapping. Being on a Saturday, around a thousand saw the parade by 1st The Queen's Dragoon Guards, but these included campaigners with posters protesting against the potential loss of the regiment in a forthcoming Army reorganisation.

On 1 March 2015, four hundred members of 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Welsh Guards paraded through Roald Dahl Plass to the Senedd, on the centenary of the regiment's first mounting the King's Guard, shortly after their founding in 1915. A witness-audience of around seven hundred were present. The Queen presented new Colours to The Royal Welsh, 1 June 2015, on the only occasion recorded, when the whole regiment (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalions) paraded in Cardiff. In addition to a witness-audience of around three thousand along the route from the Castle to the Millennium Stadium, there was an audience of ten thousand at the event, which began with the awarding of the Freedom of the City of Cardiff to the regiment, a major and uncommon public event in its own right.

### **6.3.3 Armed Forces Day**

Armed Forces Day was instituted in 2009 as a more inclusive event to replace Veterans' Day, introduced in 2006. In 2010 (preceding the research period), the national UK event was held in Cardiff. In addition to its promotion as an important and spectacular event, it was the first public appearance in Cardiff by the Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall and attracted a witness-audience estimated at fifty to eighty thousand. From 2011, there has been a parade in the city centre and a later field event in Bute Park, adjacent to Cardiff Castle. In 2017 the event was held in Caerphilly (eight miles north), which provides a closely comparable parade route and field event venue. Although a state level event with activities throughout the UK there is no prescribed format.

The following considers observed enactments in Cardiff. Around a thousand take part in the parade; there is no rehearsal, but it is led by Council stewards (2011) or police (2012 and 2013). The first band is from the regular armed forces: Royal Air Force (2011), Welsh Guards (2012) and Royal Marines (2013). Other bands, later in the parade, have included The Royal Welsh (2011 and 2012), Army Cadet Force and Air Training Corps (2012 and 2013), Royal British Legion (2012), South Wales Police and a combined pipe and drum band (2013). The honour guard has comprised regular sailors from HMS Monmouth (2010 and 2013), HMS Dragon (2011) and/or reservists from HMS Cambria (2012 and 2013). In 2013, a detachment of regular soldiers from 2<sup>nd</sup> The Royal Welsh paraded in No.2 Dress Uniform, but most of the other service and cadet detachments are those at the Service of Remembrance, in similar numbers and uniforms. Over fifty standards led two hundred and fifty to three hundred veterans grouped in their associations; usually, fewer than ten are female. The salute is taken by the Lord Lieutenant flanked by other dignitaries. Bands play the quick march of their service or regiment as they pass.

In 2011 (on a drizzly day) there were around five hundred outside the Castle and in High Street, and in 2012 and 2013 (on sunny days) around a thousand. Typically, most are aged forty to sixty, with more women than men, and around ten percent are children. Few teenagers or young adults attend. There are usually fewer than twenty small Union Flags and Red Dragon flags, and occasional t-shirts with military imagery. There is some light clapping. Many in the crowd move to the field event, which also has a steady influx throughout the early afternoon, with around three thousand present at any one time.

The field event includes armed forces information and recruitment stands, with appropriate military equipment; regular, reserve, university and cadet units are represented. This is the only regular large-scale recruitment activity in the city, but street-based regular Army, and Royal Naval Reserve and TA events are held occasionally. Veterans' organisations and military charities have displays, and there are food and drink stalls and children's entertainments, including a bouncy castle in camouflage colours. There is a stage for military bands and local performers, and, in 2013, a display area for historical re-enactor groups. These included Roundhead Association (English Civil War), Hearts of Oak (Royal Navy, mid-eighteenth century to 1815) and 41<sup>st</sup> Regiment (an antecedent of The Royal Welsh, War of 1812). All wear replica uniforms, with weapons



and appropriate material forms, albeit none is linked officially to the service or regiment represented.

The priced programme, which most people buy, lists the afternoon's activities, and includes the partly bilingual Order of Service for a Drumhead Service. Most activities are held in a large roped-off arena, with seating area for dignitaries and representatives of veterans' organisations. At the outset, the parade participants muster, with veterans' groups at the centre; the three service marches (*Heart of Oak*, *The Grenadiers' March*, *RAF March Past*) are played as the veterans enter. The Drumhead Service includes an Act of Remembrance, following the format of the Service of Remembrance without the field-guns. There are different hymns each year, and an Act of Confession and both National Anthems. In 2011 and 2013, around a thousand watched, and some sang the hymns, but with little enthusiasm; there were around five hundred in 2012, when it coincided with a rain shower. There is always light applause at the end. The service is followed by displays by marching bands, a motorcycle team, field-gun races and other displays, and ends with Beating the Retreat.

#### **6.3.4 Beating the Retreat**

Beating the Retreat is a stylised form of ending the military day, and until September 17, 2010, it had not been enacted since the last Cardiff Searchlight Tattoo, held at Cardiff Castle, 1969 to 1985. Since 2011, it has taken place regularly shortly before Armed Forces Day and at the field event, with occasional enactments at other times. The event 15 September 2011, in the Castle grounds, was typical. It had been advertised with posters and flyers and in the *South Wales Echo*. There was an Army recruitment caravan on the Castle Green, with the Goat Major and Shenkin, outside the nearby 'Goat Major' pub.

Thirty-five civilian guests included representatives of local organisations and veterans of the units involved. There were ten army officers, some presumed regular, as their cap badges were not local TA units. All officers and most other personnel were in No. 2 Service Dress. The Regimental Band of The Royal Welsh, and the Corps of Drums, Dyfed and Glamorgan Army Cadet Force, played military and popular music, in static and marching displays. The programme, for guests, but not the public, listed the music. 104 Regt RA (V) fired a round to mark the start and the end of the final phase, the playing of *Sunset*, which incorporates *The Last Post*, and the lowering of the Union Flag.

Around one hundred and twenty members of the public attended. The median age range was 45-65, with few children. There were four to six each, of South Asian, Chinese and Japanese ethnicity, visiting the event as part of an organised tour; their guide summarised the activities. There were no identifiers such as flags. Fewer than ten percent were recording with camera or mobile phone, and there was one video camera.

### **6.3.5 Royal Navy visits**

There are occasional visits by warships, particularly those with local connections. HMS Dragon visited, September 2010, and HMS Monmouth November 2010, when crew took part in the Seafarers Remembrance Service. The ship also visited June 2013, and crew participated in Armed Forces Day. The public can usually visit ships, and this is the most direct form of popular engagement with the armed forces. The NATO Summit in Newport (September 2014) saw a relatively large multinational force in the docks and Cardiff Roads, but limited public engagement.

### **6.3.6 Recognition of sporting achievements**

In 2012, two events were organised by the Assembly. The format of each was similar, with a reception and a public appearance by the athletes, at the Senedd. On 19 March 2012, more than eight thousand people celebrated the Wales rugby team's Grand Slam, in the Six Nations championship. They were aged evenly from around ten to forty and most were white. Around ten percent wore replica shirts and around five percent had small Red Dragon flags. On 14 September 2012, around three thousand celebrated Welsh athletes who had won medals at the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics. The age range was around ten to sixty-plus; most were white. All wore summer clothes, with a few waving Red Dragon and Union Flags. The earlier event ended with the Welsh National Anthem, and the later with both National Anthems. An essentially similar event, in 2014, recognising achievement at the recent Commonwealth Games, attracted a few hundred.

On 5 May 2013, following Cardiff City FC's promotion to the Premier League (football), there was a day of celebrations, including an open-top bus tour from Cardiff Castle to the Millennium Centre, for an outdoor reception by the Council and a firework display. There were around two thousand at the Castle, and crowds up to five deep to beyond St. Mary

Street; other areas were not observed, but the crowd/witness-audience was estimated at between ten and twenty-five thousand, by ITV and BBC News respectively. This was the largest crowd recorded for any procession, but there were media estimates of up to two hundred thousand, following Wales's Euro 2016 homecoming parade, although this was not observed. In addition to its being a celebratory spectacle, the event also shows a degree of identification as Cardiffian by many (mainly male) who never attend matches, but recognise the team as representing them and the city itself, in some way. While gathering and positioning appeared similar to other witness-audiences, there were greater levels of verbalisation and clapping. It was around ninety percent male, white, mainly aged twenty to fifty; there were relatively few children. Around a third wore Cardiff City replica shirts, evenly split between blue and red (an interesting balance, given the substantial antagonism against the recently introduced red shirt); the rest wore casual dress. There were relatively few commemorative flags, in blue or red, and no Red Dragon flags or other non-football imagery. An open-top tour is a rare event for most clubs, but is seen occasionally in the media, so the witness-audience could draw on latent knowledge of such events in choosing to attend.

## **6.4 Analysis of civil-military events**

### **6.4.1 Introduction**

Civil-military events are the most visible public expressions of British national identity recorded in the study, and their formality and regularity provide substantial observable straightforward data. Discussions with military personnel and veterans provided further, more detailed data on expressive and material forms. Changes of location notwithstanding, there is a high level of predictability in terms of future enactments and their compositional characteristics, and the likely forms within one-off activities. Much of the following deals with data from the Service of Remembrance, as many of the actors and their material and expressive forms are found in other civil-military events. These points summarise the extent to which such events illustrate constraints on cultural reproduction which are not found in other activities. That they can be readily considered in terms of practice theory demonstrates its wide-ranging validity and the specific proposals of Bronner and Oring.

#### **6.4.2 Occurrence**

Only Royal Salutes have fixed dates. The annual Service of Remembrance and Armed Forces Day, and biannual Seafarer Services have prescribed moveable dates. St. David's Day parades by 2<sup>nd</sup> The Royal Welsh (2007 to 2011) and homecoming parades no longer take place. One-off events are infrequent and rarely linked to specific dates.

#### **6.4.3 Location**

Other than the Welsh National War Memorial and Merchant Seafarers War Memorial, there are no major fixed locations with meaningful symbolic significance. Cardiff Castle is the most common location for Salutes, Beating the Retreat and one-off events; Armed Forces Day field event is held in the adjacent Cooper's Field. The conventional routes in the city centre are used for parades, with Cardiff Castle being a common start and/or end-point for military parades.

#### **6.4.4 Armed forces, veterans and dignitaries**

The armed forces are significantly different from any other organisations involved in public events, in that their institutional lore is complex and hierarchical. They epitomise 'symbolic codes which are...authoritatively designated and intrinsically valued' (Bird 1980, 19). Such codes are illustrated by the material forms in each of the three services, those of the Royal Navy and RAF displaying consistent patterns, with very limited variation, and the Army having substantial distinctions. The history of each corps and regiment is different, and details of uniform, regimental music, mascot, battle honours, events celebrated and general ethos are considered as unique and important. The significance of aggregate and precedent is fundamental, and parades provide opportunities for the material and expressive forms to be displayed and performed.

The Royal Welsh were observed most frequently and provide a useful example. The regiment was formed 1 March 2006 with the amalgamation of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, Royal Regiment of Wales and the Royal Welsh Regiment (the TA reserve unit, which incorporated RWF and RRW battalions in 1999). Their antecedents have long histories: the Royal Welch Fusiliers and South Wales Borderers date from 1689, the Welsh Regiment from 1719, and the Regimental Band is descended directly from the

Monmouthshire Regiment (1859). The amalgamation required cultural production at regimental level, to ensure that appropriate aspects of their different institutional lores, including history, traditions and pre-existing forms and imagery of the immediate and earlier antecedent regiments, continued to be displayed or enacted.

Wearing No. 1 Dress Uniform in formal activities, illustrates commonality across the armed forces, i.e. as thematic dress; the variations in the colours of these, e.g. red jackets associated with Guards regiments, blue with line infantry is stylistic. The changes and developments in regimentals illustrate dynamism, in what is essentially a conservative context, i.e. the long-established first level lore of antecedent regiments. Regimentals are compositional distinguishing details and illustrate the accretions that maintain, modify and re-invent regimental identities; as such, they show similarity if not equivalence to Bronner's 'artisanship' (2011, 43). The cap badge has the Three Feathers, from the Royal Regiment of Wales; this is one of many uses of a symbol of the Heir Apparent, which is only Welsh by association (Morgan 2007, 89). The stylised grenade lapel badge, is from the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and is common to all Fusilier regiments, but the Flash, three black ribbons worn from the back collar of No. 1 and 2 Dress, was unique to this regiment. Like all Army bands, The Royal Welsh wear Full Dress Uniform, a modified version of the form worn generally up to 1914. They have retained some black helmets (RWF) and some white (RRW), while the Corps of Drums wear black fusilier caps (busbies), and all retain the earlier appropriate regimental cap badges. The new Colours display Battle Honours and imagery from all of the antecedent regiments. The drums continued to show '2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion (V) Royal Welsh', referring to the previous TA Royal Welsh Regiment, until the presentation of Colours; the cost of repainting was met by several local authorities and other bodies. It is significant that the Band of The Royal Welsh, represents the Army and displays specific regimental lore to the public in Cardiff, more often than regular units, as the foregoing is all equally important to reservists.

The wearing of medals or medal ribbons is the only feature obligatory and common to all services. That many reserve personnel wear the Operational Service Medal for Afghanistan illustrates the present-day likelihood of service in conflicts zones. Medals illustrate a dynamic institutional lore, with many reservists of 203 (Welsh) Field Hospital wearing the Ebola Medal for Service in West Africa (awarded in 2014, only). The personal authenticity of reservists is presumed, but they are unique within the study in

being the only large-scale example of popular participation having obligation, based on an embedded collective identity, with characteristics of non-self-membership. Given this, it is reasonable to consider that serving as a reservist is qualitatively similar to part-time self-membership of any established group.

Unlike material forms, expressive forms tend to show commonalities across the services. Many are longstanding, and although the original rationales are no longer relevant to warfare, Barnes notes that they continue to develop teamwork and instil military identity (2001, 19). Many forms of drill date from the New Model Army (1645-1660), marching bands from Turkey and modern military spectacle from post-Revolution France (Elgenius 2011a, 151; Holmes 2011, 475). Whatever the event, military parades are practice informed by and adapted to the context but remain a specific example of universal form of procession. Royal Salutes and Beating the Retreat differ, in being rehearsed, and are individual special day customs.

As late Professor of Military Studies at Cranfield/Shrivenham and TA Brigadier, Holmes can be excused his use of ‘costume jewellery’ for badges of rank (2011, 48) and ‘tribal markings’ (2011, 439) for uniforms and Colours. Indeed, the correspondence of these institutional material and expressive forms with the materials of folklore is clear, e.g. uniform (costume and symbols), regimental marches (instrumental music), drill (gesture), and Colours (symbols); there is an element of drama in most activities. Modes of transmission are comparable to popular lore. The greater part is handing down, by word of mouth and customary example, e.g. drills. In addition to that displayed publicly, there is also a popular lore as in any established group, i.e. in-group lore, including initiation routines, jokes and slang (informal), and specific regimental mess traditions and anniversaries (formal) (Holmes 2011, 557-582). However, in stressing that all military traditions, whether public or private, formal or informal, are accretions that differentiate the essentially similar, by default he illustrates their folkloristic significance. The maintained, modified, re-invented and new traditions within relatively small and clearly identifiable groups present a rare example of a popular lore (e.g. regiment) within an institutional lore (the Army) which can be traced with some certainty. Given the centrality of military codes of behaviour (Holmes 2011, 48) as the basis for everything else the armed forces do, the comparison with Bronner’s standards, figures etc. as proving the authority and basis of an institution is striking.

There is comparable, but less complex and less formalised expression of many of the same genres, by veterans. Unlike reservists, military veterans have no prescribed commitment, and parade through a sense of duty rather than obligation, displaying self-membership. Although many may be engaged with service associations, they belong to an imagined community in terms of participation in a parade; Armed Forces Day and the Service are exceptional opportunities for communal embodiment on a large scale. The social, emotional and psychological value of this has been recognised as being as significant as the formal aspects (Marshall 2004, 42; Barron et al. 2008, 510). Although other activities might engender similar responses, the point has not been noted as directly in the literature.

The element of choice does not conflict with their expressing institutional lore, based on collective identity derived from military service, and popular lore deriving from their status as veterans. Institutional lore is illustrated most consistently in the formalisation of standards, on which the only variation is the name of individual branches. Some are directly derivative and consistent, e.g. the Royal Naval Association standard, based on the White Ensign. Army veterans' standards refer less directly, although consistent in using colours and images significant to a corps or regiment, often including a version of the appropriate cap badge, e.g. South Wales Borderers Association's Sphinx. Standards provide the only prescribed institutional lore displayed consistently, although blazer badges, which are modified versions of the service badge, are common. Other non-institutionalised derivative material forms include service, corps or regimental headwear; wearing medals is not obligatory and is more common among older veterans. Ex-officers' lounge suit and rolled umbrella reflects that of serving officers' civilian dress, from at least the 1950s, but the majority's blazer and slacks are the equivalent of smart informal dress from the 1950s to 1970s; there is no armed forces connection but reflects when around sixty-five percent of veterans served (Ministry of Defence 2017a, 3). Metal badges are common in other interest groups commonly associated with working-class origins, e.g. male voice choirs and brass bands. Many are fund-raisers for military charities and veterans' groups, and as a form of display they fall somewhere between folk art and folk symbols.

The mix of derivative institutional forms (direct use or adaptation of military institutional lore) and popular lore (conventional forms of dress and adornment) does not diminish the

significance that veterans attach to the former. It illustrates a dynamic and respectful approach to an essentially rigid lore, and to an extent, the coexistence of forms drawn directly on essentially the same basis, provides useful support for correspondence. An unusual point is that there is no meaningful handing over to others, as there is no reason to do so beyond simple expression of identity. In that veterans' blazer badges are modified versions of the appropriate service badge, there is also an element of direct continuity with the original provenance, and, as such, there are no issues of inauthenticity. This is a near-unique example of cultural reproduction whereby a popular lore draws on a highly formalised institutional lore. By their nature, all civil-military events present the lived-in world, in ways understood (if not necessarily clearly or deeply) and accepted by the majority of the population and are all first level lore.

No other institution's lore is as well recorded or displayed so frequently in public, as that of the armed forces, notably the Army, but there are cognate lores in state and local government (if not the newer Assembly), and the national cultural institutions. Annual ceremonies associated with the Lord Mayor are well documented on the Council website and publications, providing a particularly clear comparison. The simple black and white vestments of clergy are the only non-military forms likely to be recognised by most present, and the importance of dignitaries is illustrated by particularities of dress (primary genre). The Lord Mayor's frogged black coat, tricorn hat and chain of office (with substantial Welsh imagery) are distinctive and recognisable to most; the Lord Lieutenant's quasi-military uniform is not obviously distinctive from senior Army officers, and few will recognise the Sheriff as wearing court dress (tailcoat, lace cuffs and buckled shoes). Dignitaries' actions also illustrate differences of worth in their respective civil precedence, an element of institutional lore which is not commonly understood; at the wreath-laying, the Lord Lieutenant takes precedence as representative of the Crown, followed by representatives of government at various levels and then the military, whose own precedence is more readily observable. There are no expressive forms specific to dignitaries, and very little other civil institutional lore is observed. Rather, it is the presence of dignitaries in illustrating the social significance of activities which is important. It also provides opportunities for public engagement by representatives of the Council and Assembly and reflects the obligation of the civic leader (mayor etc.) of a major urban area to attend a small number of specific ceremonies, which include Remembrance Sunday, Battle of Britain Day, reviews of Troops and Royal Visits



(Waldram 1979, *passim*). That the Assembly has adopted the basic practice, but not instituted its own public activities also reflects the Council approach.

#### **6.4.5 Service of Remembrance**

The Service epitomises ritual forms of ceremonial and is more complex than any other activity recorded. It has had near-universally recognisable social significance for nearly a century and is the only civil-military event in which direct participation by the public is the norm. It is also the inspiration and/or source of several other civil-military events, and informs certain popular activities, notably in the use of temporary memorials. There are elements original to itself, a high level of civil institutional representation, and substantial direct popular participation by armed forces reservists and veterans.

The Order of Service is essentially Protestant liturgy drawing on Anglican forms, but does not directly employ the Book of Common Prayer. *The Lord's Prayer* and the final blessing contain direct reference to Christian belief; the prayers from other faiths address God, and while theologically questionable to some, tends to be accepted as appropriate in a multi-faith city. The noticeable absence of a Christian Creed or Act of Confession may also be an acknowledgment of this latter point. That the Order of Service is *sui generis* does not affect its first level authenticity as institutional lore.

The Service has two elements of authority, the social and the religious, neither of which has any local dimension. The consistent presence of the Monarch at the state event provides the highest possible social authority, but local organisation by the Royal British Legion provides vernacular authority, albeit with an element of popular acceptance of institutional authority. Although the armed forces play a major role in most civil-military events, their social authority derives from the state government, to which they are ultimately responsible. The precedence of the Lord Lieutenant illustrates this, as does the occasional police officer ahead of a parade. Both religious and social authority of the Service itself derive from its intention to be 'a tribute by the living to the dead' (Cannadine 1981, 219) and to deal with 'the need to express and resolve the emotional traumas caused by wars' (King 1998, 6). The focus on remembering the war dead (if not the reality of one's own death) causes all present to be directly engaged, and the liturgy and secular elements compress serious concepts and realities into contrasting dyads, such as war/peace, sacred/secular and death/eternal life (a fundamental tenet of Christianity

that civic religion tends not to stress). The most striking element of the Service itself is the wholly secular, but highly ritualesque, period of the Silence. The quasi-liturgical form of *For the Fallen* reflects versicle and response, and is clearly ritualesque. The bugle calls reflect customary usage, i.e. *The Last Post* sounded at the end of the military day and at funerals, and *Reveille* at start of day. The firing echoes the minute gun of military and state funerals, e.g. that of Lady Thatcher (17 April 2013). The significance of the specifics may not be fully appreciated, but it is a rare example of popular participation as a cerebral exercise, and people's stillness, silence and attention indicate emotional engagement. Nothing changes physically or socially, and given the peculiarity of the Silence, the experience is personal, but there is an element of communal resolution at *Reveille*. It can be considered as a secondary genre, and its various elements, other than the two-minute Silence itself, are primary military genres. The subsequent laying of wreaths, which is solemn but functional, rather than particularly moving.

The emphasis is on authority and the ready-made, but the infrequency of enactment provides an element of the emergent on each occasion, although within the constraints of the Order of Service there is little which compares to the performance of sales pitches or demonstration rally speeches. Given that fifty-eight percent of the population of Wales assert Christian belief and can be presumed to have some level of collective competence, there is handing down as confirmation rather than instruction, rather than enlightenment through handing over. Scripture is an institutional canon (if not necessarily considered as such), and even the less observant have some awareness of the basics of Christian liturgy and the better-known hymns, respectively cognate with prayers and vernacular songs in Dundes's materials. If not expressing strong communal religious values, this illustrates a popular lore ('banal Christianity', perhaps) within an institutional lore. The muted engagement with prayers and hymns does not undermine this comparison, as such reluctance to speak or sing out is commonplace throughout all types of public event. While it must be presumed that personal interpretation of the Service itself will vary, it is the only remembering event at which there is a strong likelihood of serious conceptualising of the event's significance beyond the ceremonial. There is no overt handing down of social messages, and although the Service itself is an event that models, and the established order is taken for granted, overall it is an event that presents the lived-in world, in emphasising enduring aspects of the social as much as the religious. Overall the event exemplifies a rite of conspicuous display as clearly as any, but the Service itself

illustrates Falassi's rite of passage. While concerned with the dead in wars, it is cognate with memorial services for individuals (an established institutional secondary genre) in both drawing on and being distanced from funeral practice as such. Uniquely in the institutional activities recorded, Remembrance Sunday can be considered a de facto national day celebrating a founding myth of the modern UK. It is also the only civil-military event in which all participants are validated publicly as members of a larger community, and despite substantially lower attendances since the move from Armistice Day it continues to engender the concept of sameness and oneness.

Audience and witness-audience numbers are relatively modest at all civil-military events, i.e. from a few hundred to the low thousands. Armed Forces Day 2010 and the presentation of new Colours to The Royal Welsh (2015) were anomalous, but explicable by unique circumstance, and relatively rare equivalents of mediaeval princely entries. In contrast, a city centre motorcade with the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh, during the 2012 Diamond Jubilee attracted a modest witness-audience, suggesting that simpler royal visits (usually one or two each year) seem commonplace. Other than veterans, there is no direct popular participation in the activities of the Armed Forces Day field event, but it is the only example of substantial direct public engagement with service personnel. There is limited direct popular participation at the Field of Remembrance dedication, but the forty to fifty thousand people represented by the Crosses etc. is quantitatively comparable to Cardiff's larger events. That people engage at one remove illustrates the impact of mailshots since 2011 but does not detract from latent knowledge underlying people's action.

There are two forms of civil-military events with direct antecedents. Royal Salutes became established in the early nineteenth century, with the present format established in 1946. Organised homecoming parades date from at the Boer War (1899-1902), due in part to local loyalties developed following the 1881 regimental reforms (Beavan 2009, 220-221). The Service of Remembrance (1919), Poppy Appeal (1922), Field of Remembrance (2002) and Armed Forces Day (2009) are dateable invented traditions. Beating the Retreat and Armed Forces Day field event are essentially tattoos, the former illustrates restoration, i.e. after a relatively long gap in Cardiff. However, they all present a narrative claiming authority for the significance of the event and of those making this declaration. The state-level significance of the events and institutional participants tends

to override any implication of a less than wholly valid direct continuity with the past (Connerton 1989, 48) and first-level status applies.

The Festival of Remembrance and Seafarers Services include authentic enactments of the Service itself, albeit reduced in scale, but this has also been the basis or source for a range of other activities. Some are derivative, e.g. Dedication of the Field of Remembrance which echoes the Service itself and the Drumhead Service. The former is a new invented tradition rather than a variant, but while lacking the status of national day, it is significant that placing Crosses etc. and visiting fulfil King's 'need to express and resolve the emotional traumas caused by wars' (1998, 6) for a greater number. In addition, those who visit subsequently provide a particularly good illustration of presence as the basic ritual action. Given its intention and the provenance of its source, it qualifies as first level.

The Drumhead Service is a long-established form, and the specific content does not affect its being first level. Significantly, it includes the Silence, which is now accepted as an expressive form (whether considered as secondary genre, ritual or trope) like hymns and prayers, and open to use in any appropriate context. Its quasi-theatrical nature is more evident at this event and one-off activities such as the Falkland Re-dedication and 2015 VE Day events. However, authentic forms do not necessarily imply or confirm the authenticity of an event; conversely, while organisation of themes, symbols etc. is important, the occasional 'pick and mix' of forms can be as highly coded and self-referential as the most formally structured civil-military event, and validated as shades of authenticity. The lack of typical Christian liturgy at the Re-dedication did not detract from the perceived aesthetics and provide a useful reminder of the lack of necessary purity and correctness in public enactments, exemplifying that authenticity is a function of the participant, i.e. the emic overrides the etic. Outside the study parameters, the adoption of silence at sporting events signaled by the referee's whistle, is also now commonplace (Foster and Woodthorpe 2012, 55), but is a clear example of third level popular lore, derived from first level institutional lore.

The make-up of the witness-audience/congregation tends to be comparable every year. There is a reasonable gender balance and wide age range (cf. the usually, middle-aged and older at Salutes and other school-day events) and specific embodiment is evident in the substantial numbers wearing dark clothes. Neither the relatively small attendances, e.g. around one percent of Cardiff's population at the Service, nor their transient nature

negates their presence as a popular expression of the social body of the city. Allowing for the specific engagement with the Service itself, popular participation displays consistent patterns of continuities and consistencies at all activities; actions are appropriate to the context, with proclivity rather than practice being the norm, although the repetition of social etiquettes illustrate a degree of stylised action, and there is little extended social interaction, and rarely issues of limited space. Although these events are emotionally livable and cognitively graspable for all participants, the extent of the latter and individual motivation informing attendance and subsequent interpretation may vary substantially.

Although military traditions are taken for granted as much as any popular or institutional lore, the significance of their material and expressive forms is less well understood by witness-audiences lacking the direct contact with the armed forces common to earlier generations. Holmes suggests one in seventy as having a close family member serving or having served (2011, xxvii), although the Ministry of Defence notes six percent of the population of Wales as veterans (2017a, 2). This does not deny a near-universal latent knowledge of basic points, given the amount of factual and fictional material in the media, but it is difficult to infer the extent to which institutional symbols are important as a statement of collective identity or ideological integrity. However, spectacle can be more accessible than any handing over matters of significance. Armed Forces Day field event is exceptional in that the programme has brief information on some military lore, and the programme of The Royal Welsh Colours ceremony explained some points of regimental lore, in detail.

There will be stronger resonance for families and friends of the direct actors. None of this implies that civil-military events have limited significance to others who attend; they are a public to whom the event matters. Despite the earlier caveat, they all show a degree of popular banal nationalism with an awareness that events are socially important, and that significance is attached to actors and their material and expressive forms. These events are rare examples of Santino's institutional context with at least some people unfamiliar with the activity. However, there are no issues of personal authenticity, as the institutional framework constrains engagement, and other than the Service, does not confirm or confer an identity. There may be a degree of identification with either or both, although there is rarely any strong expression of either national (Welsh) or state (British) identity, beyond

the straightforward, e.g. waving a Red Dragon flag or wearing a Poppy. That the established order is taken for granted applies to specifically military events as much as to the Service. They emphasise the armed forces as ‘an integral part of society as a whole’ (Ehrenreich 2007, 194), rather than illustrating a ‘militarisation of everyday life’, an opinion noted by Andrews and Leopold (2013, 64-65).

## **6.5 Commemoration**

The city centre and Cardiff Bay have at least two hundred public plaques. They range from brass panels on park benches, commemorating family members, to formal blue plaques. Following building redevelopments, the Council has repositioned older plaques and set up new ones, at the old town gates, sites of execution of martyrs and other historical locations. The most obvious plaques are on walls, pillars or plinths, but the majority are set in the ground. The Garden of Peace in the civic centre has the largest single assembly, but all central parks and gardens have numerous examples, many set at the base of memorial trees. There are around thirty commemorative statues dating from that of the Second Marquess of Bute (1853). Most are of civic and political figures e.g. David Lloyd George and the First Baron Aberdare. There are two military statues, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Tredegar who rode in the Light Brigade at Balaclava and Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Ninian Edward Crichton-Stuart, son of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Marquess of Bute, killed in the First World War. There are statues of two sportsmen, boxer Jim Driscoll and Sir Tasker Watkins, President of the Welsh Rugby Union 1993-2004. The latter is outside the Millennium Stadium, and while the plinth notes the citation of the VC awarded to Sir Tasker in 1944, his role as Deputy Chief Justice of England and Wales is not mentioned. A statue of Gareth Edwards (rugby) is situated in a major shopping mall.

### **6.5.1 Plaques**

In most cases, a plaque’s unveiling is the culmination of a group’s campaigning and fundraising, with little outside support, financial or otherwise. A few new plaques were recorded; a lack of pre-event promotion meant that no dedications were observed.

A memorial panel was unveiled at the Roman Catholic St. David’s Metropolitan Cathedral, 2 July 2010, commemorating the deaths of Italian internees when the SS Arandora Star was sunk in 1940. It is the only recent permanent memorial with Christian

content with two crosses and a female figure wearing a cross. Around five hundred attended including many from the south Wales Italian community who had undertaken fundraising. A Vigil Mass was held 2 July 2011 and an annual Memorial Mass is now held, i.e. an invented tradition within existing religious practice has been introduced and maintained.

A blue plaque was unveiled 2 September 2011, when the Council commemorated Jack Petersen, a British and Empire boxing champion in the 1930s and later involved in public service. Around ten were present at the site of his gym, including the Lord Mayor, Deputy Leader of the Council and members of the Petersen family.

There is a monument to Scott's polar expedition in Cardiff Bay (2007), and a permanent display commemorating the centenary of their leaving Cardiff was erected on the nearby barrage in 2010. This was one activity in a year-long series of events, an unusual form of commemoration in itself.

### **6.5.2 Statues**

The cost of a statue averages £70-100,000 and there is usually some public or commercial funding; they also need an appropriate location and planning permission. However, they differ from plaques only in scale rather than intention. The statue to Fred Keenor, Cardiff City's FA Cup-winning captain in 1927, was the only statue erected during the study following two years of public campaigning and fundraising by Cardiff City Supporters' Trust. This received substantial media attention, but only around five hundred fans joined members of the Keenor family at the unveiling at the club's ground, 10 November 2012, a match day.

### **6.5.3 Other physical memorials**

*The Abandoned Soldier* (2007), a statue recognising injured service personnel, was displayed at Cardiff Castle grounds, 11 February to 31 May 2011; the Royal British Legion's *Every Man Remembered* sculpture was outside their shop in St. Mary Street from 24 April to 3 May 2015. The latter was part of a four-year tour of the UK, and the period in Cardiff commemorated the centenary of the Gallipoli campaign.

On 4 June 2011, a headstone was unveiled at Cathays Cemetery (outside the study area) at the previously unmarked grave of a soldier who had fought at Rorke's Drift in the Zulu War (1879). Around twenty-five were present, including the Lord Mayor, two officers and the Goat-Major and Goat of The Royal Welsh, with re-enactors in late nineteenth century uniform and civilian dress.

As part of a UK-wide commemoration of local achievement in the London 2012 Olympics, a post-box opposite Cardiff Castle was painted gold to commemorate the gold medal won by cyclist Geraint Thomas.

An unusual subversion of a memorial form was set up by the local business owners in Cardiff Bay to commemorate a television character (Ianto Jones, in *Torchwood*) killed by the writers, in 2009. There is a large board mimicking a post-tragedy message-board, a form almost unknown in the UK. There are letters, cards and items linked to the character many of which are coffee-related, including sachets; some date from 2010, and many emphasise that Ianto was gay. There are also love-locks and other items unrelated to the character.

There are some mainly indoor activities which border on both commemoration and recognition. They include a temporary exhibition from the Jewish Military Museum, in Cardiff Castle, November 2010 to January 2011, and annual events such as Black History Month (established 1987) and LGBT History Month (2005).

## **6.6 Public grief**

The term 'grief' tends to be applied to the personal, often private, response of the bereaved, with 'mourning' considered a communal public action (Katz 2001, 267). However, tragic death or the passing of notable figures are often marked by responses similar to grief, because people 'want to do something' (Eyre 2001, 261). Given this, 'public grief' provides an appropriate term. It has strong resonance with Turner's comment on tribal societies deciding to perform rituals at times of crisis 'in the social life of the villages' (1995, 10), but in a very different context, i.e. a modern western urban setting, and often in response to unknown others. While public grief may continue for some weeks, individuals' actions are very rarely observed, but associated material forms provide tangible evidence.



Two formal events were organised during the main fieldwork period, providing an opportunity for direct popular participation. Following a mass killing of young people in Norway, 22 July 2011, a Book of Condolence was opened at the (deconsecrated) Norwegian Church in Cardiff Bay, and the Norwegian flag flown at half-mast. Although the death of Nelson Mandela, 5 December 2013, was anticipated, Red Dragon and Union flags were flown at half-mast on public buildings, and a Book of Condolence was opened at Cardiff City Hall.

Three events of popular origin were recorded. In the week following the tragic death of Gary Speed, the Wales football manager, 27 November 2011, flowers, football shirts and flags, were placed at the Millennium Stadium, many attached to gates, but also at the statue of Sir Tasker Watkins. Media reports showed similar items at the Cardiff City and Leeds United stadiums. Two pink ribbons were noted on railings near St. John's Church (1 March and 10 April 2013). These were associated with a missing girl presumed by then to have been killed; the second ribbon had the child's name added; such ribbons were seen widely within thirty miles of her home in mid-Wales. Following the killing of a soldier in London in May 2013, an e-mail chain letter, 'The Protest of Flowers', asked people 'to place flowers, cards, placards, poems, all saying no to terrorism' at the local war memorial. A copy was attached to the western gate of the War Memorial, and two wreaths, four bouquets and a card were placed subsequently. In contrast, a combination of both institutional and popular responses followed terrorist killings in Paris, 13 November 2015. Public buildings were lit in the colours of the French Tricolour, for several nights, with people present at the Senedd, many holding lit candles, and there was both formal and informal observance of a minute silence at 11 a.m. 16 November.

Responses to sudden natural disasters and other large-scale crises are allied to public grief, in the widespread, often near-universal, attention paid to the problems or sorrows of strangers. However, these are expressions of common humanity, more than of grief, and engender reasoned and logical responses, rather than emotional ones. The aim is to be effective rather than demonstrative, and donating money is the most common action. There is little street-based activity, and virtually all money is raised online, e.g. around forty million pounds in a few weeks following both the Philippines typhoon (November 2013) and the Nepal earthquake (April 2015). It might be noted that the Poppy Appeal and the BBC's two major fundraising events, which are all highly organised and strongly

promoted, rather than appearing suddenly, each raise comparable levels of donations. There is occasionally large-scale direct action, e.g. Cardiff's Muslim community collecting resources to send or take to Pakistan in the wake of severe floods (August 2010).

## **6.7 Analysis of temporary memorials**

Temporary memorials may be associated with all four categories within remembering. There are two main forms: dedicated areas and items of significance. There are no overarching patterns of dedicated areas, but despite the variety of forms, items of significance illustrate substantial commonalities. There are two main basic forms, albeit with some overlap: those placed in dedicated areas and elsewhere, and those worn. Their placing can often be observed in civil-military events, which is not the case with family or other popular practices, although items usually remain in place for a short period and provide the evidence of a popular remembering enactment. Other than the activities of those selling certain items in public, worn forms do not usually have any observable enactment associated with them.

There is strong consistency in the forms of items of significance, but with some obvious exceptions such as Poppy and Aids Ribbon, most are transient forms with sectional importance. This may be within a pre-existing constituency, e.g. supporting an established body or cause, or related to a current and potentially time-limited situation. In either context, but more so in the latter, they present an unusual example of cultural reproduction of the use of a type of material form that is more often known about than practised.

### **6.7.1 Location and occurrence**

Dedicated areas include regular, fixed and temporary institutional and popular memorials, and irregular, almost wholly popular temporary sites. Location and occurrence are more obviously interdependent than in any other activity observed. There are relatively few fixed dedicated areas at which there is significant placing of items, and all are particularly associated with anticipated dates or periods of time: the Welsh National War Memorial and others in Alexandra Gardens, Merchant Seafarers War Memorial and Aids Tree. Some smaller memorials, e.g. plaques have limited placing, at appropriate dates, notably

the Remembrance period. The only regular temporary areas are during this time are the Field of Remembrance and St. John's Church. Both locations have pre-existing institutional significance, and this applies with the short-term *Abandoned Soldier* (Cardiff Castle) and *Every Man Remembered* (Royal British Legion shop). The last are also uncommon examples of temporary institutional memorials, within commemoration. While often linked to anniversaries, statues and commemorative exhibitions have no pattern of occurrence. Temporary popular areas as such are uncommon, the shrine at the stadium gates being the only recorded example. Ad hoc placing of various forms at sites considered appropriate is more common.

Although none compares with the Poppy, certain annually worn forms are commonly recorded, notably Marie Curie daffodils, in early spring, and red ribbons around World Aids Day. No other dedicated days or weeks are commonly known, and some forms, e.g. pink breast cancer awareness ribbons are quite prominent at any time. The general case is reaction to an immediate situation, which is a comparable but less-focussed response than performing rituals at times of crisis.

### **6.7.2 Form and transmission**

There are expressive acts involved in placing items of significance; this can be observed in a formal enactment, and inferred in other contexts, from the location and form of the items. The placing of Poppy wreaths at the Service is solemn and ritualesque, and while drawing on funeral practices, it is such a pervasive image that few are likely to think beyond the Poppy wreath in and of itself at the Service or in other civil-military contexts. Significantly, no other institutional placed item has been employed in such a way until the development of the Field of Remembrance. While the wreath is taken for granted, whatever the time of year, other Poppy forms are never employed in these contexts. Popular placing is rarely observed, but the significance is usually clear. Before and on Remembrance Sunday, Poppy and other wreaths, sprays and flowers are placed at the various War Memorials, mainly by families and veterans. This is adapted from placing flowers on graves, rather than echoing the Service; placing items near these Memorials is a less direct reflection. Many of the institutional Poppy wreaths and most popular placed forms are associated with groups or individuals known to, or directly linked to those involved. Despite the commodification of Poppy forms, the aggregate and precedence associated with it, as worn and placed form, is strong enough to embrace variants. This

also applies to photographs on Crosses etc. in the Field of Remembrance; although uncommon in the UK, it is longstanding and commonplace in parts of Europe.

The Aids Tree is the only permanent popular site with specific names included. Roadside shrines are an irregular exception, in usually consisting of bouquets from family and friends, on a verge or other suitable spot, some being maintained with a more permanent fixture recorded. They have been recorded worldwide since the late 1980s (Santino 2004, 367; Petersson 2009, 75), and have developed into a near-universally understood popular lore. Similar memorials at other sites associated with tragic death of prominent, but not personal known figures, can involve a local community or sectional group; this practice, and continuing 'ritual pilgrimage' (Foster and Woodthorpe 2012, 55) to the site itself or another appropriate location may date only from the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, in 1997 (Fox 2005, 178). The temporary shrine at the Millennium Stadium illustrates this, the location being appropriate as international football had been played there. Placing items on gates and around statues is the norm, as are replica football shirts and flowers in associated team colours; some messages on shirts and flags approached forms appropriate on a wreath to someone known. This approach is more likely in communal locations at which people can express indirect personal connection with a tragic death are; the personal nature of family settings such as roadside shrines tends to be respected. None of the items at the Millennium Stadium was new, indicating a decision to place something of personal importance and value; presuming some emotional attachment, this approaches both sacrifice and contagious magic, in directly associating the actor and the object of the action. The forms employed are those seen at funerals, including the football memorabilia at many sports fans' interment or cremation. Although such usages are away their original local context, they are not cultural appropriation; rather, they are modern uses of common, long-established mourning forms, combining as a form of folk art. In their association to the deceased, sporting memorabilia has echoes of the funerals of 'great men' (institutional lore). Other examples of placing in a communal site include Crematorium pebbles and tags, and signing a Book of Condolence, which is broadly comparable to adding to a shrine.

Some placed forms are more commonly recorded singly notably ribbons, the tying of which often expresses hope; yellow ribbons displayed in the hope that a loved-one will return are the best known. The form is now most commonly associated with a missing

person, who is often unknown to the majority wearing a ribbon, expressing the hope that they will be found. They are among the most common worn forms, and their use has expanded to indicating sympathy with a longstanding or current cause. Although essentially and recognisably folk symbols, the increasingly frequent institutional use of the ribbon image as logo illustrates commodification as third level lore. Coloured wristbands, common since the mid-2000s, are often cognate with ribbons, but also associated with activism; in this, they are near-equivalents of 1960s and 1970s campaigning badges. The sale of metal badges by charities has developed in recent years, with those supporting armed forces veterans being increasingly prominent.

Outside the study parameters, there are two linked forms which have relevance. Votive message slips and candles are now increasingly found and used in churches other than Roman Catholic and High Anglican; the specific religious significance in these contexts may not be known widely to others, but the basic idea of making a direct plea to God or a saint is understood near-universally (Hulse 1995, 37). There is some tenuous resonance in tying ribbons on the railings of St. John's Church, as a votive offering, and between candles and those floated by CND on Hiroshima Day, and those lit in various areas of Cardiff, following the Paris killings, in November 2015. The very limited response to a chain e-mail, following the killing of Fusilier Lee Rigby in London in May 2013 suggests that social media became increasingly important relatively recently in, the earliest example might be reasonably presumed, was the synchronised responses of both institutional and popular origin, to the Paris killings. Commemoration of subsequent killings, notably in Orlando, Florida, the murder of Jo Cox MP and killings in Nice (all June or July 2016), followed the same pattern of candle-light vigil. The associated lighting of public buildings in appropriate colours, e.g. the French flag can be considered as institutional adaptation of this popular lore.

Some activities have popular precedents, if not direct antecedents, but latent knowledge of these is probably very limited. The Poppy's direct source in McRae's First World War poem, *In Flanders Field* (Wavell 1981, 424/425) is rarely noted. Its earlier symbolising the Greek gods Hypnos (Sleep) and Morpheus (Dreams), and Christ's sacrifice and 'sleep of death' (Tresidder 2004, 395) is probably known to very few. Threads and ribbons have a long history as protective and curative charms (Roud 2003, 467), and yellow ribbons date to the sixteenth century, but became particularly prominent during the Vietnam War

(Santino 1992, 24-27). Crematorium pebbles and tags are comparable to, if not wholly cognate with, offerings at holy wells and rags at cloutie wells in Scotland and Ireland (Santino 2004, 365-366), and the more impersonal putting of stones on cairns or coins in wishing wells and fountains, or casual public donations. They exemplify Dundes's vernacular charm (1985, 3), having antecedents as votive, protective and curative location and offerings (Brown 1979, 9-10; Thomas 1991, 54; Roud 2003, 437-438). There is nothing approaching an established popular lore, and certainly, no survival of older vernacular religious or consistent 'belief and praxis' (Bowman 2004, 275); rather, these uses are taken for granted, including new invented traditions, whose origins can be established.

There are common elements in all uses of temporary memorials. Although not all are events as such, they exemplify rites of conspicuous display, with some, e.g. Cross etc. and Aids ribbon, near-rites of passage. The various forms model the lived-in world, but most involve a brief simple activity, and few have high levels of ritual or the ritualesque. They illustrate expressive rather than instrumental service to 'other domains of social experience beyond themselves' (Santino 2009, 11), and a degree of 'purging, healing and strengthening the community' (Friedrich 2000b, 5). While an emotional affect can be presumed, there is no inference any communal religious values, beyond expression of non-formalised vernacular religion informed by the specific 'geographical and cultural context in which belief and praxis occur' (Bowman 2004, 275). There is some commonality of intention between formal religious expression and folk belief, e.g. Poppy wreaths. Buying such badges is cognate with buying a Poppy or, say, a Marie Curie daffodil, in being a more positive action than spontaneous charitable giving. There is an element of sympathetic magic in wearing a form known to have particular associations, however recent. Significantly, worn forms are customarily placed over the heart, e.g. on the left lapel, although armed forces personnel often wear Poppies on their headwear. This avoids any overlap with medals or medal ribbons, neither of which can be considered as temporary memorials, as their being worn is appropriate only to those to whom they are awarded.

Overall, whether institutional and organised, or of immediate popular origin, temporary memorials illustrate the concept that the form of an event is likely to be informed by its intention. Their broad consistencies of form may be considered as illustrating first-level

lore, and, by inference, this applies to the associated enactments, authentic to those engaging with them. The scale of some uses suggests widespread awareness, rather than recognisable pre-existing constituencies, those involved with the Aids Tree and the football shrine being exceptions. Small worn objects, shrines and other expressions of popular grief are affective rather than effective, in making a point and potentially raising awareness. All illustrate conspicuous display, but material forms are overt but subtle whether worn or placed. In the latter case they are often anonymous, and although most wreaths at the Service of Remembrance show their source, most are anonymised at the time given the numbers involved. These are all situations with limited intention to achieve recognition or personal satisfaction as noted by Santino (2004, 367). Vigils differ on being direct real-time expressions, which by default involve direct conspicuous display of self. include

Other than major ceremonies and roadside shrines, associated practices express latent knowledge. Issues of handing down and over are not straightforward, and there can be elements of copying and a bandwagon affect. There is no suggestion of necessary common knowledge or recognition of the older cognate forms noted, or a distinction between the commemorative, in its broader sense, and the votive, i.e. supplicatory, rather than in fulfilling a vow. In terms of personal authenticity, it is impossible to assess the sincerity of those involved, but it is ungenerous to presume anything other, and there is empirical and theoretical support for this stance.

The 'Ianto Jones shrine' is of interest, as it mimics the form of a noticeboard with names of the dead or missing, photographs and other memorabilia, and handwritten messages of love or support after tragic events. These last are cognate with votive message slips, but not directed at God or a saint. The noticeboard form is rare in the UK but seen elsewhere, notably in the USA where the events following 9/11 provide a well-known model (Santino 2004, 367). All of the expected forms are present, some related to the character's personality and his sexuality. While some messages appear knowing, attachment to television characters may be strong; there is an echo of the Stadium shrine, some of the substantial overt gay content has serious as content. There are love-locks, some with names, and these may or may not be related to the original intention, as there are a few (presumed) genuine messages, related to personal grief. Most visitors observed seem to lack knowledge of its intention, but all respect it, as much as any site with genuine

religious significance. Indeed, whatever the purpose, temporary memorials are virtually always respected. It is obviously inauthentic, in commemorating a fictional character, but its use of folkloric forms suggests latent understanding, rather than accidental conforming to shrine practices, and is acceptably third level lore.

### **6.8 Issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff**

Certain state-level institutional events are enacted in Cardiff, owing to its status as capital city, most notably Royal Salutes and the Service of Remembrance. The city has more royal visits than anywhere else in Wales, and the Queen has regularly attended the official opening of the National Assembly for Wales. The city's status has influenced its location for regular new events, particularly the Field of Remembrance (one of three fixed sites) and Wales' main Armed Forces Day celebration and some one-off events, such as the Welsh Guards centenary parade and presentation of new Colours to The Royal Welsh (both 2015). In contrast, homecoming parades were held on a similar scale throughout Wales. Despite the range and importance of these activities, modest attendance at most civil-military events suggests a limited popular identification of the armed forces with Wales, despite the clear affiliation in the official or secondary names of Royal Navy ships and Army regiments, and the Welsh imagery displayed by the Welsh Guards and The Royal Welsh in particular.

Notwithstanding the consistent presence of representatives of state, nation and city, there have been no celebrations of common historical fate or triumphs, in relation to Cardiff qua Cardiff or Wales qua Wales. While an element of sameness and oneness, within the state and metaphysically, is evident at the Service, but ecstatic nationalism is noticeably absent.

### **6.9 Summary**

The theme is quite wide-ranging, and it is considered that virtually all remembering forms, likely to be enacted in a central urban setting have been recorded. The pragmatic choice of analysing civil-military events and temporary memorials is relevant to the theme overall. The former includes all the major formal events of both remembrance and recognition, and the relatively small number of sporting recognitions are dealt with in Chapter 4. That certain temporary memorials and types of these are particularly



prominent, whereas several forms of public grief were recorded on single occasions is not surprising, as there are relatively few events which present a need for such responses.

The main patterns of occurrence are a predictable calendar of longstanding and newer civil-military events, and popular activities associated with some of these, and the often less time-constrained temporary memorials. Patterns of form include the regular presence of certain actors at institutional events, notably dignitaries and armed forces. The latter illustrate the most overt display of institutional lore. The greater part of institutional lore illustrates practice, Christian liturgy at the Service being the main example of performance, albeit confirming rather than informing. The authenticity of civil-military events is confirmed in two ways: their relationship to recognisable and long-established institutional lores, with precedents and/or direct antecedents, and the underlying political authority. Apart from the proposition of the Service of Remembrance as a de facto national day, these events do not have the significance suggested by Elgenius, McCrone and McPherson or Skey.

The most significant direct popular participation in events of institutional origin is by reservists and veterans. The public's only major direct involvement is at the Service of Remembrance, the general case being as audience or witness-audience. The almost complete lack of representation from major public bodies, educational, civil and cultural organisations, or business and the voluntary sector in any remembering events is noticeable.

There are relatively few examples of commemoration or public grief, but there are well-defined patterns in the use of temporary memorials, i.e. placed and worn items of significance. While limited in number, they are within recognised old or newer traditions, and illustrate both institutional and popular lore.



## Chapter 7 – Conclusions

‘In this, the modern – or, we might say, postfestive – era, people still come together in large numbers from time to time, expecting an experience of unity, uplift, or, at least, diversion’

(Ehrenreich 2007, 181).

‘...some folkloristic reactions to the present tension between the visibility of the cultural and the elusiveness of the social’

(Noyes 2014, 15).

### 7.1 Introduction

Bocock writes that some liberals see public events and ceremonies as ‘unnecessary for mature, adult people’, as ‘their appeal is emotional, and not intellectual’ (1974, 21). In contrast four decades on, this study shows a ‘contemporary enthusiasm for the city...that exceeds or eludes the authorised practices of entrepreneurial governance’ (Bell 2009, 3/4) and illustrates the validity of events as being ‘cognitively graspable and emotionally livable’ (Handelman 1998, 16). While such enthusiasm illustrates Brewer’s pragmatics of demography, the entrepreneurial governance responsible for organising, framing or providing the context for of many activities shows that the pragmatics of economy and politics are a major factor. While diversion attracts greater numbers than other activities, the relative frequency of demonstrations and civil-military events, both expressing unity and often uplift, illustrates their importance.

Ehrenreich frames an underlying conclusion of the study: there is substantial direct and/or indirect popular participation in a wide range of public events and ceremonies. Her comment is not limited to activities which are recognisably traditional in themselves or employ traditional forms; rather, it provides an overarching frame to encompass the wide and increasing range of occasional and/or non-quotidian socialising activities, now present in any sizeable urban setting. Some are irregular or occasional, and others are predictable or relatively so, and there is a recognisable cultural calendar. In various ways, these mark a distinction between, inter alia, the ceremonial and the everyday, symbolic and real, ritual and non-ritual. Ehrenreich also notes the temporary nature of events, which are not only enacted from time to time, but in a time out of time.

This study's emphasis on fieldwork and observation illustrates Noyes's 'visibility of the cultural', i.e. what is seen to be done and by whom, and the analysis deals with 'the elusiveness of the social', i.e. interpreting the folkloristic significance of what is recorded. This chapter addresses each objective in turn in the context of the theoretical issues discussed in Chapter 3, with a final summary. It aims to avoid repetition of the details of the individual theme analyses as far as possible.

## **7.2 Objective 1**

'To develop a methodology for the recording and folkloristic interpretation of organised and non-organised public events and ceremonies'.

The methodology proved workable in terms of achieving the objectives of this study. The decision to adopt an observation approach in a part-time study provided a longer-term perspective, and the number and range of events observed or otherwise recorded supports the decision to employ observation as the central approach (See Appendix 1 – Timeline of events). It allows an opportunity to assess developments, including some of which could not have been anticipated at the outset, e.g. the introduction of new events, the loss of others and the reappearance of a few. Many events or forms of event were observed several times, and all of those recorded on a single occasion conform to activities known from previous experience and/or the literature. It is judged that the three themes include a very high proportion of all public events that took place in the city centre and Cardiff Bay, and that these represented the majority of all events. The exclusion of other activities did not distort the study's conclusions, as the major exclusions (noted below) illustrate substantial commonalities with study themes and topics.

Although formal interviews would have provided more qualitative data, informal conversations were necessary in many cases to obtain factual details on the groups involved and their expressive and material forms, particularly at demonstrations and civil-military events. This ties in with Sims and Stephens's comment on the observation approach as involving, listening and examining material objects (2011, 224); in line with their subsequent proposal, photographs were taken throughout, representative examples being included in Appendix 3.

The use of on-line sources was essential throughout. In terms of the events search, the continuing use of sources employed from the outset provided useful pre- and post-event information. It was fortuitous that WalesOnline published comprehensive content during the main study period, as it reduced this to major stories during 2015. This was anomalous as most of the official websites of events became increasingly detailed, although calendars and listings sites did not become more comprehensive. Overall, the nature and amount of material remained essentially similar other than for protesting, with few large demonstrations in the later stages of the main fieldwork period. The level of photographic material remained similar, but video material increased substantially; both provided useful supporting and confirmatory data, addressing Sims and Stephens's inclusion of seeking information on locations and fixed forms as an aspect of observation (2011, 224). While this expansion of video strengthens Atkinson and Coffey's proposal on its value as primary data evidence (2011, 80), the use of new media in promoting forthcoming activities remained narrowly focussed on those already interested, e.g. Radical Wales website. The relatively recent obvious widespread use of social media (late 2015) to inform and engage public activity was surprising.

Continuing library searches online and on shelves proved valuable in leading to material published during the study period, which included Bronner (2011 and 2012) and Oring (2013). These became essential sources to frame the study's emphasis on practice theory, supporting a sense at the outset that performance theory was not wholly applicable to public events and associated popular participation which are centred on communal knowledge and forms of expression, rather than requiring the expertise of a recognised tradition-bearer. Bronner's description of the 'cultural tradition, consideration of cognitive or unconscious sources of action, and explanatory reach' of practice (2012, 24) privileges it over performance which lacks 'social precedent' (2012, 32). Approaches to tradition from the practice standpoint build on this (Bronner 2011, 40-48; Oring 2013). Two sources supporting performance (Kapchan 2003 and Bauman 2014) were useful in illustrating Noyes's present tension, i.e. the continuing disjunction between the theoretical approaches. Several subsidiary sources have also been used throughout.

## **7.3 Objective 2**

‘To illustrate the nature and patterns of these activities and the associated popular participation’.

### **7.3.1 Introduction**

Ehrenreich’s comment that people still come together in large numbers implies continuity, but it is not limited to activities which are recognisably traditional in themselves or employ traditional forms. It provides an overarching frame to encompass the wide and increasing range of occasional and/or non-quotidian socialising activities, now present in any sizeable urban setting. However, that she notes unity, uplift and diversion recognises both their historical and current significance.

### **7.3.2 Patterns of occurrence**

There is consistency in the occurrence of some events, including most civil-military activities and a high proportion of socialising ones. Some activities are seasonal (e.g. Cardiff Festival, Winter Wonderland) or conventional (e.g. Six Nations rugby). Some events are linked to fixed dates (Royal Salutes, Saints’ Days and New Year’s Eve), moveable feasts of the Church (e.g. Palm Sunday) and moveable state-authorized or recognised dates (e.g. Bank Holidays, Remembrance Sunday). Geisler’s recognition of religious dates, as more publicly prominently than national ones (2009, 15) is valid. However, moveable feasts and Saints’ days are more often associated with secular socialising events, often with substantial levels of popular participation, e.g. St. David’s Day Parade and the pre-Christmas markets and fairs in Advent. While rarely named as such, Advent is exceptional in having abundant evidence of both religious and secular events. Otherwise, wholly Christian events are uncommon, since the Roman Catholic and Church-in-Wales Corpus Christi processions ended in the mid-1980s. The annual Stations of the Cross (Roman Catholic) during Lent and inter-denominational Palm Sunday are less prominent, although regular proselytisers and occasional choirs. Some one-off activities are linked to specific dates or periods; those of wider historical significance have emphasised events in the Second World War, and since 2014, the centenary of the First World War, which has developed its own calendar of events. The cancellation of Big Weekend and the introduction of Pride Cymru (both 2012), and the subsequent re-

emergence of the former (2017), as part of the latter, illustrate the inherent instability and dynamism of events. While losses and new events (notably the continuingly expansion of priced mostly music and arts festivals) illustrate an inherent instability and dynamism in public events, there is a recognisable cultural calendar, and its patterns is predictive of future similar enactments in most cases.

There are three major exclusions: street campaigning, charity walks and runs, and street races and sailing/boating with free public access. Street campaigning is well-established and has commonalities with protesting in its overt presentation of a strongly held opinion, whether political, religious or charitable. It has material elements of the protest march, i.e. banners and posters, combined with addressing a public as at rallies. The comparison is not exact in being aimed directly at the public present at the time, aiming to be affective rather than effective in persuading people of a political or religious viewpoint. In contrast, charity campaigning aims to do both, being effective through collecting donations. In this, it links to charity walks and runs, which have become an established invented tradition during the study period, including some regular events (e.g. supporting research in cancer, kidney and heart disease). Participants often wear campaign or event t-shirts or fancy-dress. This is also the case with street races, although most participants take it seriously. Along with sailing/power-boating, these races have expanded during the study period, and both now attract audiences and witness-audiences of up to tens of thousands, which exhibit aspects of sport crowds.

Hutton's comment that 'the rhythms of the British year are timeless and impose certain perpetual patterns upon calendar customs' (2001, 426) retains some validity. However, urban public events now take place within a setting which is profoundly different from the mainly rural and small community contexts considered by Hutton, Bushaway etc., and the term 'ritual year' which Hutton includes in his book's sub-title cannot be applied. Direct differences are shown by the lack of religious significance attached to Saints' Days and moveable feasts, the modest engagement with civil-military events, and the agricultural year's being marked by the invented traditions farmers' markets and food fairs.

However, the most influential factor is the availability of so many other opportunities. While many activities are comparable to these earlier forms, they are only part of a larger cultural calendar which includes many commercial events most of which are priced

annual socialising events outside the study parameters. The majority are music and arts festivals, e.g. Iris Prize (LGBT film, 2010), Vale of Glamorgan Festival (late 1960s, expanding into Cardiff venues 2012), Children's Literature Festival (2013) and Festival of the Voice (2016).

### **7.3.3 Patterns of location**

Although Cardiff exemplifies the concurrent development of the social and built public spheres in the later nineteenth century (Rogers 2004; Evans 1985, 374; Gunn 2007), the city had no one generally recognised large public space for communal purposes, until the early twenty-first century. Significantly, most fixed venues are relatively new or, in the case of stadiums, expanded or rebuilt within the past two decades. This changed physical contexts has further enhanced Cardiff's appeal in to locals and visitors in terms of opportunities for socialising, but also created more outdoor locations for demonstrations and civil-military activities. Cardiff Bay exemplifies the situation, with formal events such as the Assembly's sporting recognitions (2012 and 2014), and the Welsh Guards centenary parade (2015), and more frequently, demonstrations in front of the Senedd. A range of markets and fairs are held just beyond this in Roald Dahl Plass. There has been increased protesting at City Hall and Aneurin Bevan statue, but these sites have social, rather than folkloristic, significance; only the Old Welsh Office's historical associations for Welsh language campaigners are near-folkloric. Processional events tend to follow a relatively limited number of routes, using pedestrianised streets when possible. Ironically, some events in off-street locations such as Cardiff Castle (e.g. Royal Salutes and Mardi Gras) are public but not prominent.

Despite the physical limits of most pedestrianised areas and habitual routes, urban spaces inform and are reinterpreted by the people using them. The striking differences in, say, Royal Salutes and Tafwyl at Cardiff Castle illustrates that the temporary validation of spaces is a constant, from the prosaic, e.g. crush barriers and road closures, to making sacred, e.g. the Field of Remembrance. In general, even in less constrained settings, space is respected, whatever the activity, although the occasional unsuccessful procession through Queen Street streets illustrates that people can disrupt others' reinterpretation of space, and occasional jostling at a demonstration represents the limit.



The use of markers is common to most activities and range from simple signage to the trappings of a civil-military event. Flags are frequently used to define space and significant time. The Union Flag has formal precedence on government buildings, but the Red Dragon can be flown at the same height in Wales; constitutional convention, obliges the latter to be flown on St. David's Day and dates of Royal Salutes. Prominently flown flags of other appropriate nations provide a background to regular and one-off events, particularly at Cardiff Castle and in High Street. Such events include major rugby competitions, the biennial BBC Cardiff Singer of the World, London 2012 Olympics and 2014 NATO Conference. A new pattern, developing into an invented tradition since the late 2000s, is shown by sectional, sometimes time-limited, vertical banners defining specific areas, e.g. Castle Quarter and Cardiff University, and events including the biennial Artes Mundi Prize (contemporary art), 2014 BBC Folk Awards and 2015 First Ashes Test. Przybylska's term 'signalisation and identification of urban politics' (2017, 1) frames a survey of current practices in urban flag display, reflecting a widespread phenomenon. It is of social, more than folkloristic, significance that most banners display parity of Welsh and English, reflecting the general case of bilingual public signage since the 1990s. The reflection of equal status is a positive example of linguistic landscaping, an approach dealing with issues of parity in public written language (Ben-Rafael 2006, 8; Cenoz and Gorter 2006, 67).

#### **7.3.4 The pragmatics of demography, economy and politics**

Freely chosen communal popular participation is a constant throughout public events. Some regular activities are as anticipated as markers in the year, but with the array of other social opportunities their importance may be of a different order to that of past centuries. Whatever the case, there is a level of expectation based on an awareness of the contextual significance of the appropriate aggregate and precedence. The specifics within the themes illustrate all these points.

The numbers involved in sports crowds at major events present the highest level of popular participation in any activity, albeit in a largely non-organised context. The majority are not engaged directly in doing anything other than present by necessity, and most of the substantial minority wearing identifying dress do little else in the way of display or other expression of identity. There is some irony in that by doing little the mass are directly expressing a Welsh ethnic identity through the display of traditional national

forms and images, which most present would consider as typifying the essentially English-speaking culture of south-east Wales.

Crowds are spectacular, but the most common demographic pattern across the study is the presence of witness-audiences, some by choice and others by chance. Second to this is being part of an audience, and most adults participate in both at some time. However, their presence varies in importance, from the marginally relevant witness-audience for many protest marches to an essential one for Carnival, or from the anticipated but unnecessary audience at a Royal Salute to the essential at a Big Weekend concert. Some organised events require or expect people to stay throughout, e.g. static civil-military activities and demonstrations, but others anticipate churn with either relatively stable numbers, e.g. markets and fairs, or a spatially intermittent, transient witness-audience, e.g. parades.

Repeated instances and analogous activities tend to attract similar numbers with comparable demographics, illustrating a relationship between the public that matters and the activity, based on a resonance with its underlying popular or institutional lore. The extent of participants' awareness of these influences (cognitive or unconscious sources of action) cannot be assessed or readily inferred, but engagement of whatever level indicates some significance to them. In one sense, the cognitive includes consideration of the conscious intention of organisers, and their judgments on these issues; limited concern for demography other than as customers/consumers has been noted. In another, it refers to the understanding of and response to the intention of an event; the unconscious encompasses the un-thought extreme of practice, whether as awareness of the only reasonable thing to do or unawareness and following others' example. There are few events in which an unreflective lack of involvement is expected from a witness-audience; while there is no necessity for constant obligation and the context has limited bearing on the nature of engagement, there may be expressions of support, e.g. cheering and clapping, but no direct interaction with parade participants. Spectacle is the most significant reason for engagement as witness-audience, but some understanding of what is being handed over whether intentionally or otherwise can be presumed. That witness-audiences and audience are common is that processions are the most frequently observed form of direct popular participation.

Despite expanding commercial activities, particularly retail outlets, the economic benefits of markets and fairs, of all types and origin, are clear from their increasing numbers and frequency. Some activities within Cardiff Festival and winter events attract tens of thousands, and street-based spending is an important aspect. Indeed, political and economic intention centre on business rather than consumer issues (Sassatelli 2011, 12; Andrews and Leopold 2013, 2). However, attendances do not validate an event's intention, even with recognisable pre-existing constituencies. Around one percent of Cardiff's population attend the Service of Remembrance, but the wide demography represents reasonably the social body of the city; figures are similar at most civil-military events. The Service is the only civil-military event allowing direct popular participation, but across the themes, the number of activities likely to attract any individual is limited. There has something more than resonance with an activity; there must be motivation influenced by obligation, or strong communal or personal interest, rather than novelty or idle curiosity. Popular participation in demonstrations has been noted, but socialising has the greatest number and variety of events in which people engage in ways other than as audience or witness-audience. There are direct actors without whom an enactment could not take place, e.g. demonstrations and St. David's Day Parade; there are others, which would be diminished, e.g. civil-military activities involving reservists. The engagement need not involve adopting a formal role; it might be an exaggerated expression of quotidian behaviour, e.g. customer at a food fair. Fewer people undertake individual action, intending to achieve recognition or personal satisfaction (Santino 2004, 367); public grief provides the widest range of opportunities.

Other ethnic identities are all but absent, but as long-established communities, including Chinese, West Indian and Somali, and newer immigrants are well represented among Saturday shoppers, economic issues do not seem to be the underlying reason. Syson and Wood comment on different 'value systems, norms, and socialization patterns' (2006, 246), and most events have precedents or antecedents predating Cardiff's demographic changes, and which resonate more with the majority white population. Some are exclusively or near-exclusively white by default, e.g. reflecting membership of certain trade unions or publicly identifying as LGBT. In addition, cultural and religious events are mainly celebrated in residential areas, although activities during Chinese New Year, Diwali (Hindus, Sikhs and Jains) and to a lesser extent Eid el-Fitr might be in evidence in the city centre or Cardiff Bay. In recent years, the first two have received substantial

media coverage, notably dance performance and lights/fireworks respectively, but community websites show that there far more activities within all ethnic groups than street-based spectacles might suggest.

There are political judgements on the economic benefits of events supported by the Assembly and Council, including those organised by the latter, and high costs led to the loss of several popular events between 2010 and 2013. The absence of any Assembly (national) event is understandable, given its emphasis on running a new political structure; the lack of Council (civic) events is less understandable, as many comparable cities have some formal declarative events. It perhaps illustrates a perceived lack of need, within a broader lack of institutional interest noted under objective 4. In contrast, the major civil-military events are state-centred and overtly political, in confirming the constitutional status quo. The enactment of Royal Salutes and the Wales National Service of Remembrance also overtly confirm the political significance of Wales and Cardiff as capital city.

In contrast to the lack of formal Assembly and Council events, both Senedd and City Hall have become recognised locations for demonstrations since devolution, although not all events at the former are linked to its responsibilities. While some demonstrations are politically non-partisan, the majority whether overtly or implicitly, but while minority left-wing parties are often involved, there is very little engagement by major political parties or individual elected members. This is the general case across the themes, but more noticeable at demonstrations given the nature of the activity.

### **7.4 Objective 3**

‘To determine the extent to which these activities illustrate issues of folkloristic significance’.

#### **7.4.1 Introduction**

It must be stressed that in their approaches to practice theory, neither Bronner nor Oring addresses institutional lore as considered in this study, other than tangentially. However, their critiques of performance theory, particularly Ben-Amos’s seven strands of tradition, open up a wider and more flexible approach to interpretation which allows interpretation

of both types of lore on the same basis. Oring is more direct in his support, and Bronner addresses the issue indirectly in his eight senses of tradition, in which contrast with and potential replacement for the seven strands can be taken as implicit in the parallel terminology. Bronner's emphasis on aggregate and precedence is applicable across the themes as it can address the folkloric per se and other events and forms of event to which tradition or traditional are commonly applied. However, Bronner and Oring do not offer an all-encompassing analytical framework. Falassi (1987b) and Handelman (1998) categorise types of event; neither distinguishes between popular and institutional activities, and the latter emphasises his intention to deal with both. Other disciplines also provide terms which are useful for delineating aggregates and patterns. These include several which deal with protesting (McPhail 1991; Tarrow 1995; Tilly 1995); Gilman's 'conventions' based on political rallies (2009, 3) is equally useful, and the close comparability of her topic to protesting supports the foregoing. Santino's 'public that matters' (2009, 11), and summaries of social interaction from McPhail (1991) highlight commonalities in popular participation. Taken together they provide what might be termed a general theoretical toolkit for the study.

In observation, the visibility of the cultural is central, but it is underpinned by background information, and taken together they provide the data which is addressed by Bronner's interpretation approach. Precedent is an important aspect of background and includes comparable previous activities, historical context of events and their component elements, broader current cultural practices and norms. Such information may be drawn from previously observed events, promotional materials, the media, published studies and the researcher's own knowledge and experience. These are aspects of Bronner's 'social precedent' (2012, 32) and contribute to the 'cultural tradition' and 'cognitive or unconscious sources of action' which he considers as central aspects of practice theory (2012, 24).

The basic issues of occurrence, location, demography and the pragmatics of politics, economy and demography have been considered under Objective 1, and subsequent reference builds on this. The observable includes actions, and material and expressive forms which are central elements of the aggregate of any lore. Recording and categorising these and other elements with the narratives is not reification as suggested within performance (Kapchan 2003, 122; Bauman 2014, 113) but formal summarising of what

has been interpreted as having been enacted. Given the substantial amount of background information on many events, the acceptance of publics that matter, and that the broad intentions of virtually every type of event are known, analysis can suggest if not necessarily confirm underlying social principles, showing that Bronner's distinctions of interpretation and explanation are not mutually exclusive.

Neither background nor the observed can address all issues of the social, but participants understand the significance of overarching and collective popular lore impacting on them and employ and adapt these according to the context. This builds on the performance itself and personal experience, and while accepting that people will frequently take for granted what has been 'around for a while' (Oring 2013, 31), a wholly unreflective response is unlikely.

As such, awareness of intention can often be presumed, e.g. engaging in or with, say, conspicuous display (any overt expression of identity, e.g. St. David's Day or Armed Forces Day parades), conspicuous consumption (Food Fair or Christmas market), or rite of passage (Pride Cymru or Service of Remembrance). This allows some inferences to be made on values, attitudes etc. but it does deny that the etic status of interpretation is qualitatively different from an emic understanding of underlying tacit or conscious knowledge, and intention underlying and informing an enactment. The extent to which any intention might be recognised or be open to articulation by participants will vary, e.g. ritual as effecting social realities might not be described as such, although the essence could be understood.

Most data is qualitative, and the patterns of form and content, occurrence, demography and location can often be clear. Comparison of events across themes can be less straightforward, but patterns tend to emerge readily. Some data is quantifiable, and although not quantitative to any meaningful extent, assessments of absolute numbers and percentages have been noted where appropriate. Observation generates a great deal of data, and examples such as Lawrence (1987) Kugelmass (1991) show that detailed summaries of demography, and material and expressive forms can be useful in determining and comparing patterns.

The following addresses cultural reproduction and the generalisable patterns that it illustrates across the study. Repeating the caveat that they are interlinked, discrete topics

are considered in turn: identity, precedence, aggregate, transmission and authenticity. The specifics in theme chapters are not readdressed in any detail, and references to particular events or types of event do not presume anything fundamental which has not been covered earlier.

### **7.4.2 Identity**

Whatever theoretical approach is employed, the concept of collective identity has remained central to folklore (Bauman 1972, 32; Oring 1994, 212-213). Billig proposes that British identity is natural to possess and to remember (1995, 37), and the area of Balsom's still relevant British Wales includes Cardiff. Given these points, the overarching nature of British identity is an appropriate starting point.

Bradley's suggestion of parliamentary union, Monarchy, Empire and Protestantism as 'historic pillars of British identity' (2007, 9) has some resonance within this study. Devolution has led to the first all-Wales political body, and the importance of this has been illustrated in various ways. Despite occasional significant issues between Cardiff Bay and Westminster, parliamentary union remains central to the UK's constitutional system. While the debate on Brexit since 2016 illustrates the importance attached to this system (and provides a rare example of fervent political rhetoric) there has been virtually no reference to this in demonstrations in Cardiff, and little in the street campaigning of smaller left-wing parties. This does not deny strong public interest, but it is more often debated in other settings. A similar case applies to the Monarchy, although sometime reaching beyond strong public interest in the level of media coverage. However, most royal visits attract modest numbers and the exceptions are noticeable: Armed Forces Day 2010 and the visit by Prince Harry and his fiancée in 2018. The appeal of novelty in these occasions, i.e. new partners of princes, is probably more relevant than any monarchical upsurge. Royal Salutes are enacted in recognition of the Monarch, but neither the activity nor the presence of the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Queen are likely to be taken as direct engagement. Less direct expressions through street parties or similar on significant occasions tend to be in residential areas. The Empire is only relevant to the study tangentially, in terms of the very limited extent engagement with events by members of expanding and occasionally newer communities from countries within the Commonwealth (see 7.3.4). The essentially Protestant nature of the non-denominational Order of Service for the Service of Remembrance illustrates that this is the most common

form of religious practice found within events. As a rule, ministers of the disestablished Church in Wales have a comparable role to those of the established Church of England in State and other public activities.

However, there is rarely any strong evidence of the above in most public expressions of British civic identity in Cardiff, which are essentially limited to civil-military events, i.e. institutional forms relating to bodies established by the state, notably the Monarchy, various levels of government and the armed forces. Most of the events with which they are associated are also state level, e.g. Royal Salutes and the Service of Remembrance. However, the presence of state and state-level banal nationalism in the broader public context is more observable to the vast majority of the public who do not engage with civil-military events.

Direct popular participation in these events is usually limited to reservists, although veterans have become more involved with the expansion of activities in the period of Remembrance and Armed Forces Day. The Service of Remembrance allows the only direct popular participation, wholly by choice. Street parties and big-screen gatherings for Royal events aside, opportunities to display British civic or ethnic identity are uncommon. The relatively infrequent appearance of the Union Flag in audiences and witness-audiences, does not compare with the widespread and varied use of the Red Dragon. As striking, in comparison to national team supporters, are the limited Team GB identifiers in for 2012 Olympic football. This suggests a lack of how to apply tacit knowledge to new public contexts, the widespread awareness of the tropes, images etc. of British lore, notwithstanding.

Unlike British identity, Welsh identity is pervasive and often prominent, although not necessarily so. While comparison with the more overt public uses of overarching Welsh lore illustrates greater levels of engagement with certain elements, many of the same topics as noted for British lore are absent. In Cardiff, most public expressions of Welsh identity remain essentially ethnic with strong emphasis on the traditional national forms and images considered by Morgan (2007). While British Wales remains a recognisable presence, in the past three decades spoken Welsh has become more than the 'tangible presence' noted by Lovering (2006, 188). The city's 'social detachment from much of the rest of Wales' (Lovering 2006, 180) has always been exaggerated, and changing social and political climates have produced an increasing focus on broader Wales and Welsh



concerns, in the media. Wales is no longer ‘a nation without a state’ (Housley 2009, 197) and acknowledgement of Welsh civic identity has increased (Tilley et al. 2004, 154) but the lack of Assembly or Council-led civic activities to complement state-level civil-military events is striking.

Clearly, there is no single collective Welsh identity or one consistent public that matters. More than one collective identity might be expressed at the same time, e.g. Welshness and rugby supporter; one might predominate in one context and be secondary in another, e.g. Welsh speaker and participant in St. David’s Day Parade. These examples also show that there are differing understandings and expressions of the ‘same’ collective identity, rather than conforming to a universally agreed ideological integrity. The issue of Welsh identity illustrates that this is more than a matter of demography, and the pragmatics of politics are significant in that overarching state and national identities can have influence throughout and are central to some events.

Whatever the developments of recent decades, British and Welsh identities (however defined and expressed) are intrinsic, and no others are as pervasive. Expressions of near-permanently embedded identities, notably class and occupation, are most evident in certain demonstrations. Membership of some permanent, or relatively permanent, groups can be as embedded, e.g. university students or ‘traditional’ sports supporters (Giulianotti 2002, 31). Some narrow event-specific collective identities display a degree of stability, e.g. those attending the Service of Remembrance and rugby crowds are similar from one instance to another. Such cases do not negate the general issue and significance of imagined community. Audiences and witness-audiences also illustrate identity, but usually with a lower level of display; rugby crowds as an audience in waiting do not negate this, as that is not their role pre-match.

However, Brewer’s comment on ‘different audiences for the same traditions’ (1994, 8) is significant, if taken to encompass participants more broadly. Giulianotti’s traditional supporters, consumer fans, followers and flâneurs (2002, 34, 38) is, perhaps, the clearest example of different participants with varying levels of commitment to a collective identity, but protesting is another area in which a distinction can be made, i.e. those with experience, pre-existing identity and/or engagement with a specific cause and an inexperienced, often majority, rank and file. Unfortunately, such distinctions can rarely be categorised as neatly, and it is usually difficult to assess who of those present fall

within any one group. People can also adopt different roles at the same event, e.g. supporter and consumer pre-match.

It is accepted that those at many of those at events can belong to recognisable imagined communities, but there is also ample evidence of overlapping networks and temporary situations, in which this may not be an obvious factor. The permanence of groups, in terms of the event itself, varies. Some activities involve temporary self-membership of group with no pre-existence, e.g. a rugby crowd or Pride Cymru. Others illustrate this, and also long-term, engaged self-membership of similar groups, e.g. political activists at demonstrations and reservists in civil-military events. This does not negate Dundes's case for one common feature; it is simply more transient, in some situations. People participate because they find significance, whether serious or trivial, in an activity. Unity and uplift are important features in, say, communal or personal remembrance, sectional protest or socialising parades, but diversion attracts the greatest numbers, with its 'promise of sensory satisfaction and thrilling strangeness' to appease 'the insatiable and promiscuous human appetite for wonder' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 72). There can be acceptance, ranging from obligation (armed forces) to duty (veterans, committed protesters), communal interest (St. David's Day Parade, Pride Cymru, rugby crowds), perceived self-interest (rank and file protesters) and more trivial personal interest (funfair, food fair, market). Of the motivations for attendance, and given the numbers involved, the foregoing, which are centred on knowing enjoyment, can be inferred to be a major factor.

### **7.4.3 Precedence**

The broad comparability of the modern and earlier cultural calendars and the recognition of precedents and occasionally antecedents of events illustrate cultural reproduction. This confirms Handelman's proposal on the 'broad parameters of likelihood' of 'certain operations being accomplished through certain forms of public event' (1998, 7). The broad commonalities of events as describable entities are categorised by Falassi (1987b, 4-6), Handelman (1998, 22-62) and Santino (2009, 11), but issues of transmissibility tend to be secondary. Their approaches do not provide a coherent analytical framework, but in addressing popular and institutional activities equally, make available a set of terms to illustrate comparable intention, whether direct, e.g. Royal Salute and Beating the Retreat, or less obvious, e.g. wearing an identifying ribbon and placing a Cross near the War Memorial. In Handelman's terms, most events present the lived-in world of a sectional

group, rather than the wider community, and in overtly expressing identity, a high proportion of these exemplify Falassi's rite of conspicuous display (e.g. rugby crowds, all processions, civil-military events). Others that present include markets and fairs (conspicuous consumption and exchange). It is noticeable that most of these involve diversion as central to some, possibly the majority present as audience or witness-audience. In opposing a status quo, demonstrations are rites of reversal, although also presenting the world of protesters. Civil-military activities are rites of ritual drama, their ritual and ritualesque elements modelling the ideals of Christianity and the constitutional status quo. Exceptionally, and in distinctly differing ways, the Service of Remembrance and homecoming parades are rites of passage. Only Handelman distinguishes festival and ritual, and gives examples of modern events, but these are significant aspects of the generalisable patterns recognised. Meaningful rites of passage are absent, and the few competitions (road races, sailing) are outside the study parameters.

Santino's tripartite division (2004, 365) applies best to conspicuous display, and many activities are not as clear-cut as he proposes. For example, Big Weekend and Royal Salutes are enacted before an audience, but the latter is an institutional context, and its specifics could be unfamiliar to some present. Protest marches generally attract an unpredictable spectatorship, i.e. witness-audience, whereas socialising and civil-military parades attract this category, but mainly an audience. These distinctions apply to popular and institutional lore, but his separate acknowledgment of a public intending to achieve recognition (Santino 2004, 367) applies to any activity in which the public directly express identity. Some are also in the other categories, but thus public includes rugby crowds, and street performers and pedlars.

At the level of events themselves, cultural reproduction is illustrated by the identification of precedents and continuities, the consistency of material and expressive forms, and the constancy of their use, i.e. the visible and otherwise known aspects of aggregate. The main theory employed for protesting provides a useful model, using social science terminology appropriate to folkloristics, is applicable to all themes; it has not been applied across the theme chapters, given the chosen order. Tarrow (1995, 91) and Tilly (1995, 26) comment on an empirically limited set of options which are learned and acted out within a recognisable group. McPhail's use of 'available pieces, parts, skills, devices or ingredients' (1991, 131) enhances the essentially similar to typical definitions of folklore

noted earlier (3.3 Concepts of folklore and tradition). In being as near as can be to value-neutral, these terms are equally applicable to any institutional lore, i.e. not only protesting as proposed in Chapter 5. Gilman's term 'convention' and its distinctions of 'thematic, stylistic, and compositional elements' (2009, 3) is equally value-neutral and applicable.

The foregoing presents etic understandings and is useful in delimiting the boundaries of what has folkloristic significance, within what is recorded. The observation approach is clearly limited in directly gathering emic understandings, although as suggested earlier, participants' awareness and thus attitudes can often be presumed.

#### **7.4.4 Aggregate**

The nature, significance and relationship of product and process is the central area of dispute between the two main theoretical approaches and in supporting practice, Bronner stresses that 'the aggregate (and precedence) of folk behaviour' are central to this approach (2012, 23). He summarises folk culture as the 'socially constructed frames or registers in which people invoke and enact tradition' (Bronner 2011, 9), which 'does not carry the rule of law, although it implies authority' (Bronner 2011, 11). At public events, an aggregate of lore is illustrated by the display of identity through material and expressive forms. How material and expressive forms are used illustrates the degree of agency accepted within the practice approach and Cohen's proposal that 'symbols do not so much express meaning as give us the capacity to make meaning' (1985, 15). The overt, often demonstrative, display of dress is the most prominent illustration of both Gilman and Cohen; the commonalities provide an illustration of the correspondence of popular and institutional lore, and several other material forms also do this. The use of primary material genres can be central to an enactment, and the narratives illustrate the extent to which they can provide substantial data of folkloristic and, often, broader cultural significance. Dundes's categories include very few material genres, i.e. folk costume, folk art and symbols; with symbols taken to include signs, images, colours and sounds, these encompass what is found in the events recorded, which have recognisable significance.

Importantly, allowing for differing levels of understanding and interpretation, many forms have permanent symbolic significance, in that they always indicate or allude to an underlying matter. Such forms can be symbols in themselves, e.g. Red Dragon flag, or part of another form, e.g. an established logo. The generally accepted set of Welsh

identifiers, including Red Dragon, daffodil and leek are employed extensively. Most other forms have narrower use, with some being essentially intrinsic to a recognisable group. These can express identity (LGBT dress or Cymdeithas yr Iaith badge), authority (e.g. organisational logo or established uniform) and intention (e.g. Poppy or wristband).

However, while such visible elements are central to a group's lore, but can still need the support of background information, whether from common awareness or specific research. The extensive and pervasive presence of Welsh identifiers, for which common awareness is the most significant background information, provides a useful baseline as their form and content are paralleled within other sectional interests, both popular and institutional. This reiterates the validity and solidity of genres, themes and motifs, contradicting Kapchan's implication that genres delineate categories of action (1995, 482) and Ben-Amos's view that 'there are no narratives only narrations' (1984, 123). The communal nature of events is also a clear contradiction to his emphasis on folklore as 'artistic communication in small groups' (Ben-Amos's 1972, 13). The interaction of small groups within events does not invalidate this.

In any event employing Welsh identifiers, whether of popular or institutional origin there is an underlying canon of reputation, order, authority and basis, i.e. the essential characteristics of what the study takes from Bronner (2011, 45) as defining institutional lore. In this context, there is no institutional lore per se; the canon draws on expressions of a broad Welsh ethnic identity and that of south-east Wales, and is informed by linguistic, social, political and commercial/industrial histories and structures. However, the coexistence of some forms as both institutional and popular lore, does not provide support for the presumption of correspondence.

The common Welsh identifiers are substantially those considered by Morgan from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (2007). Some Welsh imagery is privileged, e.g. Red Dragon, daffodil, leek, while some is secondary, e.g. harp, and some virtually ignored, e.g. bard and goat. As real forms, there are occasional street musicians playing a harp, and the frequent appearance of the Regimental Goat of The Royal Welsh have been noted. There are few consistent accretions from the past twenty years, notably rugby-related forms and sheep. However, people's familiarity with Welsh images and forms is not based on an embedded awareness of their historical or folkloric roots, but this does not deny the widespread understanding of the cultural significance of material and expressive

forms, and a degree of encoding by the user and decoding as well as an interested observer. Given this, the lack of meaningful reference to Welsh history, folktales and folk belief, or the interplay of such forms noted by Garlough (2011, 341) and more modern ‘film, popular song and fashion’ (Edensor 2002, 82) is noticeable. Within the allied commercial heritage industry, Roman and Victorian Days, Jousts and re-enactments illustrate Garlough, but given the widespread fictional reworking of folktales and folk belief (often in the present) and the resonance of music, sport and visual media in other public contexts, notably advertising, there is some conservatism in public events. Overall, precedence and consistency of forms and images illustrate a canon, although their adaptability demonstrates repertoire equally well. As such, it refutes the performance theory contention that the concept of canon is no more than valid than that of tradition (Ben-Amos 1984, 105-106; Bauman 2014, 113).

The most flexible form and image is the Red Dragon. Unlike certain canonical forms or images which have near-constant specific significance, whatever the context, e.g. Union Flag, *Hen Wlad fy Nhadau* and Poppy, the Red Dragon flag is the most used, adapted and misused form recorded. This illustrates the ‘self-referential qualities of national symbols’ (Elgenius 2011a, 186), and its capacity to make meaning includes being flown in formal institutional settings, but many political institutional use employ adaptations, e.g. the Colours of The Royal Welsh, logo of public bodies (including Assembly and Council) and cultural organisations, e.g. Royal Welsh Show. Distinction as Welsh organised labour, rather than popular banal nationalism per se, underlies use of the image and/or the flag’s colours on trade union banners. Comparable distinction might be presumed for the occasional Pink Dragon at Pride Cymru. However, the often-casual use illustrates its lack of association with any social, political or sectional interests. Emotional attachment illustrates popular banal nationalism at most, and there is no sense of its being ‘sacral...[as]...part of everyday life’, as Billig notes for American *Stars and Stripes*. The Red Dragon flag is the most used, adapted and misused form recorded and this is taken for granted, and contextual nuance and significance often recognised. Economic interest drives the common display of the flag at markets and fairs, emphasising the Welsh provenance of merchandise, which may also use image or colours.

Until the early twenty-first century, the most common flags were the Union Flag, Red Dragon, armed forces Colours and veterans’ standards; the development of promotional

flags has been noted, and there is a comparable increase as direct group identifiers. The LGBT Rainbow Flag is a near-unique example of a non-institutional flag gaining international understanding of its significance, within and without its associated sectional community. As its compositional form (thin rainbow stripes) format is applicable without modification, its use on any material form can express LGBT identity or support to it. No other sectional flags have comparable resonance. Those of trade unions will have less emotional impact on the previously unengaged majority at a demonstration; colours and images of organisational logos seen on office notice-boards are recognisable but not significant, compared with earlier union banners. While identifying groups within and without, and showing the range of organisations, flags will have no observable intrinsic resonance to observers. However, these developments and new institutional and commercial form directly illustrates correspondence of form and broad intention across distinctly different popular and institutional lores.

The two most recognisable Welsh forms after the Red Dragon are traditional costume and replica rugby shirts. Dress and adornment provide the most obvious illustration of aggregate and precedence, and the thematic, stylistic and compositional. While the image is common on tourist souvenirs, and simplified costume is worn by schoolgirls on St. David's Day, the form is seen almost exclusively on St. David's Day and Gŵyl Ifan; the latter and Tafwyl include other cognate women's and men's dress. The pervasiveness of the image, if not the actual, provides an aggregate, and the continuous presence illustrate precedence. Ironically, Morgan notes the disappearance of the source forms relatively soon after Lady Llanover's promotion of the form (2007, 81). As identifying dress, traditional costume is thematic, the tall black hat is stylistic, and other materials and patterns as compositional. In being invented and drawing on original sources, both traditional and dance dress are typical of many European nations. Replica shirts have traceable historical continuity from simpler forms, notably rosettes and bobble hats; the distinct break between essentially popular and commercial forms licensed by the WRU does not negate this continuity. Nor do cognate forms in other sports and other countries negate the vernacular authority given to each sports' version (cf. other European traditional dress). As identifying dress, they are thematic, as shirts they are stylistic, and the colour and Three Feathers badge are compositional. The mass of shirts observed illustrates aggregate, the continuing use for nearly two decades shows precedence, as does

the colour: red in Welsh rugby since 1881 (Cole and Farmer 2007, 56/56) and now common to all sports.

Despite their very different historical provenances, as constructed and formally instituted invented traditions both address the same issue: identifying dress ‘unified within and differentiable without’ (Noyes 2003, 7). They demonstrate that dress and adornment ‘radiates significance and instantiates differences of worth’ (Charlesworth 2009, 267), i.e. declaring identity, underlying lore and/or event-specific intention, roles and relative status. Taking identifying dress as thematic, the stylistic includes replica shirt, t-shirt and uniform, whose respective compositional elements include Welsh imagery, demonstration-specific slogan and regimentals. Folkloristic significance can be evident at all levels, although the thematic and stylistic are more often functional, with the compositional illustrating the greatest use of overarching or theme-related images within and across themes. The extent to which Charlesworth’s radiation resonates will vary; significance may be recognised by wearers and observers, although the former will generally have greater awareness of this and associated background knowledge. Among forms frequently observed, the embedded institutional lore of the armed forces and the popular lore of transient stag and hen parties illustrate such significance equally clearly. Whatever the case, the prominence of Falassi’s conspicuous display, and the innate centrality of dress to this often provide the clearest illustrations of folkloristic significance, both directly and by inference.

Whereas dress is often prescribed, conventional or the only reasonable thing to do, wearing a small form other than Poppy illustrates the last of these. They are the most common adornment, their use is open to anyone and whatever their form or intention, they can be considered as a single primary material genre. In thematic terms, they are small, worn and removable; in stylistic terms, there are limited basic forms, notably artificial flower, ribbon, wristband and badge. Compositional elements are simple, and recognisable through association. Some have the same widely recognised traditional significance in all contexts, notably Welsh forms, such as daffodil and (now often artificial) leek. The Poppy is the only institutional form with near-universal recognition; the sectional Marie Curie daffodil and Aids ribbon are the only comparisons, whose significance is widely known. While all small worn forms are declarative, the significance of ribbons is most recognisable, in being votive (as supplicatory) for a missing person or



equally specific cause. In their intention of raising public awareness of their significance, they have an element of sympathetic magic, and illustrate expressive service to ‘other domains of social experience beyond themselves’ (Santino 2009, 11). Other than the institutional use of Poppies on military uniforms, small worn forms are essentially a popular form. Placed items of significance are comparable in form, but the most prominent are the institutional Poppy and Cross etc., although these are employed in both institutional and popular contexts.

It is clear from the foregoing that the approaches of Tarrow, Tilly and McPhail, and Gilman apply to all the forms considered, whether within popular lore or institutional lore. However, except for National Anthems and some songs and hymns, the consistent predominance of material over expressive forms is striking. None of the most common primary expressive genres, e.g. instrumental music, songs, chants and speech, illustrates any meaningful pattern across the themes, and there is little which could illustrate the correspondence of lores. Instrumental music is an element of many events, but is integral and significant only to a minority, most notably, civil-military events: Service and regimental marches, *Nimrod* or *Thaxted* at the Service, and *Sunset* at Beating the Retreat being the most regular. Music and/or singing are important elements at others, e.g. Beating the Retreat, Big Weekend and Tafwyl; more often it is incidental, e.g. at Food and Harbour Festivals. Other than events where it features prominently, there is little traditional Welsh music, and Kinney’s comment that ‘Welsh traditional music is one of the many threads running through the life and culture of Wales’ (2011, 228) rings hollow in terms of public events, with virtually no attempt to ‘evoke geographical place for the listener’ (Matheson 2008, 61). As with instrumental music, most singing is observed, rather than undertaken by the public, and a near absence of what Gammon terms ‘vernacular songs’ of any type or provenance, learned ‘through tradition and example’ (2008, 3), which reflects the decline in opportunities for communal singing (WalesOnline 2006). This can be considered as a recognised canon that has been lost in terms of popular expression.

While thematic, stylistic, and compositional all apply to primary genres, secondary genres are more often thematic, and paralleling Handelman, certain events tend to employ certain secondary genres, which in turn, tend to employ the same primary genres, and may also include one or more other secondary genres. The balance and specific nature of these

genres will vary, but there are often closely comparable, commonalities of form and intention. Some types of event are secondary genres in themselves, in addition to being major forms or special day customs. Processional form is the only such secondary genre employed within all themes, as it can be employed ‘to celebrate and commemorate, to protest and contest, to display and convey messages and meanings on a variety of levels’ (Bowman 2004, 273). That the specifics vary substantially, from the highly formal to the unorganised, and that it can be of popular or institutional origin does not affect this. Although they are more variable in content, fairs and fair-like events (e.g. Food Fair, Mardi Gras and Armed Forces Day field event) are the only other common comparable example. They are exceptional, in that most secondary genres are specific, or nearly so, to a particular theme, e.g. Christian liturgy, picket or fair. Although non-organised, sport crowds are a secondary genre in terms of being a major form; they also employ a wide range of intrinsic (e.g. replica shirts, inflatables) and extrinsic primary genres (e.g. Red Dragon flags). Although clearly not a secondary genre, the common features of witness-audiences across the study are more consistent than either processions or fairs.

The Service of Remembrance is the paradigm for public events but is not wholly original; it is cognate with, and uses established institutional forms employed within, memorial services for publicly distinguished individuals. It employs several extrinsic secondary genres (notably military procedures and Christian liturgy) and one intrinsic (Silence). The event is the source of, or informs, other activities. The Field of Remembrance (new) has adapted the form of the Service, and the Armed Forces Day Drumhead Service (new) and the Falkland Memorial Re-dedication (one-off) employ some of its intrinsic elements. The wider use of the Silence has been noted. Although drawing substantially on the practices of organised labour, protesting lacks a specific paradigm, but employs the same basic, intrinsic ‘repertoires of contention’ (Tilly 1995, 26), i.e. secondary genres including march, rally, picket and boycott (McPhail 1991, 137). Given the nature of protesting, there is no use or adaptation of these forms in other contexts; the point applies to primary genres, and whether of popular or institutional origin, and involving established or transient groups, demonstrations tend to be quite comparable in overall form and content.

The concept of ecotype as the form of a universal folkloric theme or motif established or adapted within a locality or group is important, but there are often closely comparable, commonalities of form and intention, within and across themes. In repeated or

comparable contexts, these tend to conform to recognisable forms, and in not being novel or substantially so, the reproduction of both popular and institutional lore in transmission allows all events to be analysed in the same terms.

A comparison of two lores, that of the Army (embedded, institutional and essentially limited to those directly engaged) and Welshness (intrinsic, popular and institutional lore, and pervasive) and is useful for this. In what is essentially a social history of the British soldier, Holmes deals in some detail with regimental history and loyalty, uniforms and colours, and military music (2011, 363-405, 439-453, 473-494), much of which relevant to the public face of the modern British Army. He considers some aspects of Army in-group lore; other ranks are dealt with throughout and officers and NCOs in separate chapters (Holmes 2011, 557-575, 576-582), but much of the emphasis is on historical matters. In contrast, Harnden's study of the Welsh Guards in Afghanistan is typical of factual studies, and although touching on comparable issues, it is more concerned with the infantry in conflicts (2011). Holmes terms the latter the Army's 'functional structure...the attitudes and expectations concerned with carrying out military tasks'. He also defines 'formal command structures', centred on Army hierarchy, and 'informal command structures', the specifics and peculiarities of operating within, say, a battalion (2011, 582), and it is within the last of these that the in-group lores are enacted and adapted.

Taken together, these sources present a useful overview of a British institution on which much has been written. The media's substantial coverage of the last point in recent years adds to the background information in the vast and continually expanding studies of the armed forces. Whether serious or popular, they are often detailed and the nature of the informal within the context of the formal and functional is often evident; in-group lore is most common in memoirs and fictionalised equivalents. However, given the likely limited direct experience of most researchers considering institutional lore within the armed forces, this is a context in which Geertz's concern with background becomes particularly understandable. This does not deny widespread common knowledge of at least the basic nature, forms and functions of the armed services.

Most civil-military events present a lived-in world through conspicuous display of material and expressive forms associated with the formal structure: the services are recognisable by uniform, precedence is shown by place in a parade, service and corps or

regimental marches are played at appropriate points. While the formal is essentially similar in the other services, the informal is not paralleled by comparable small group identity, as they are more transient than a soldier's permanent corps or regimental loyalty. Observable data demonstrates some formal commonalities across the services and elements of difference in the formal particularities of Army units; it has been noted that the latter, e.g. details on uniforms originate at corps and regimental level, and considered in the study as a popular lore, but only the most obvious form or image, e.g. one showing association with Wales, might be immediately recognised. There is limited display of the informal and even less of the functional at parades etc. although those staffing recruitment and displays of current military equipment at Armed Forces Day field event have opportunities to discuss and or display both in less structured contexts. Equipment displayed is out of the context for which it is intended, any associated reference is likely to be general or oblique, although intention might be obvious to most. It has to be accepted that what is observed is a partial or enhanced with background knowledge is partial institutional lore, but it provides a canon of military lore if not the canon.

While both are prescribed 'in texts and identified as scripture, canon, pantheon, reputation, or order' (Bronner 2011, 45), both the military canon and Christian liturgy are adaptable to context, although their essentials remain constant. This is readily observable at Armed Forces Day field event and one-off activities such as the Falkland Memorial Re-dedication. i.e. the basis of the study's definition of institutional lore.

That there is more readily available background knowledge on the armed forces, which is accessible to the non-expert and relevant to the study, than any other institution. The formality of 'the liturgical idiom...of Christianized civic religion' (Grimes 2006, 75) is not balanced by the informal in any comparable way. In addition, government authorities at all levels, cultural institutions and major commercial interests have little if any relevant background information. However, the informal and the in-group can be presumed for these as much as the armed forces; that it is less obvious does not deny Oring's viewpoint.

Conscious awareness of its traditional, i.e. established and recognised nature, underlies enactment of an institutional canon, but while seemingly close to Oring's criticism of artifice, within performance, as it is not necessarily utterly replicable. While recognising that they are significantly different from any other organisations involved in public events, the armed forces provide the best examples of institutional canon. Their

institutional lore is complex and hierarchical, and the structured formality of civil-military events providing clear examples of practice, as the contextual details are trivial in comparison to what is constant. Regular and reserve military personnel, and most dignitaries are embodied in pre-existing institutional roles. The display of uniforms and standards, and enactment of drills and other military procedures provide one of the best example of strictly defined and applied explicit knowledge. The invented tradition of Armed Forces Day illustrates this; the military canon is represented and handing over to witness-audience and attendees, in ways appropriate to its intentions. Canon is more than repertoire but can be applied as such and also illustrate Oring's acceptance of the invented as cultural reproduction, e.g. the Field of Remembrance and the one-off events such as the Falkland Memorial Re-dedication. The less structured form of the latter, notably in its use of liturgy, does not deny an element of common awareness and acceptance of set forms. However flexible their employment, there is a sense of authority not attached to the any concept of repertoire.

A comparison with Welsh identity might suggest civic approximating to formal, ethnic to informal, and functional to the various activities in which Welshness is expressed. The noted lack of Cardiff and all-Wales civic public activities has been noted, so there is no evidence for the first approximation. The second is more straightforward. St. David's Day Parade shares the commonalities of any processional form with a homecoming parade, including organised group movement from one point to another or return to the start, and conspicuous display of material and expressive identifiers, notably dress and music. Similarly, Tafwyl and Armed Forces Day employ many essential features of a fair, including a dedicated space, placed identifiers, food and drink, event related merchandise, exhibitions and activities of interest and music. Anyone with a reasonable understanding of the armed forces would appreciate the nature and content of a parade and the field event. In contrast, most people in Cardiff would understand and often identify with much of St. David's Day Parade, but the majority who are not Welsh speakers could have limited direct engagement in Tafwyl. The broad commonalities of form, the use of value neutral-terms such as parts and pieces for component elements, and the common use of the distinctions of thematic etc. combine to illustrate the central generalisable pattern of aggregate. Combined with the consistency of form and content which demonstrates a generalisable pattern of precedence, this provides the basis for considering commonalities within transmission.

#### 7.4.5 Transmission

Bronner's handing down and handing over imply aggregate and precedence, and the generalisable pattern of the former illustrates the latter. The repetitiveness of handing down might be more prescribed for institutional lore, but the intention and forms of transmission are comparable with popular lore. In transmitting essential elements of the aggregate, handing down involves prescription and emphasis on precedence, i.e. authority and the ready-made. It is reasonable to presume that this is within a context in which recipients have some pre-existing understanding of the cultural significance of the process. It has generally occurred elsewhere and the details of this and the formality of instruction cannot be known in most cases; reservists, congregation at the Service and participants in Carnival are clear examples. The military canon (formalised within its constitutional functions) and teaching an understanding of Christian liturgy (based on scripture, *per se*) will emphasise the didactic. In contrast, the choreography of Carnival is specific to each enactment and requires handing down of new material in the run-up. In all three contexts, this handing down would be recent for a minority. When observed at events, handing down can be *ab initio* or build on the already taught, and tacit and/or latent knowledge, and received as such depending on each recipient's prior understanding. The practical aspects of a procession (order, pace etc.) are relevant for a popular parade involving the inexperienced and/or infrequently engaged, e.g. St. David's Day Parade, Pride Cymru and many demonstrations. These activities involve initial handing down by word of mouth and subsequent customary example, whether formally or following others' example. These are useful illustrations of discourse naming, the socialising events involving adoption 'by masses of individuals' and demonstrations by an authority 'legitimizing an opinion' (Gencarella 2009, 175). In contrast the limited instructions by the parade sergeant-major before the Service of Remembrance shows the experience of armed forces personnel, cadets and veterans, i.e. they do pre-exist rhetorical expression.

Handing down 'valued material' (Bronner 2011, 40-41) is less evident, with prescribed Christian liturgy and the more flexible rhetoric at demonstration rallies being regular exceptional. There is handing down as confirmation to the aware in the former, and explanation to the less aware in the latter; both involve a central actor with recognisable

skills, dealing with ideas rather than practicalities, and the form of handing down is unusual in being comparable to handing over.

Handing down by customary example can be informal, e.g. a less committed rugby supporter might buy a replica shirt because others do. The direct commercial influence is probably less than in football where variants are significant regular products. However, large-scale display of a variant rugby headwear can lead to copycatting, and media coverage tends to include supporter images. More broadly, Jarman's 'cognitive value of reading, listening, or observing' as a means of 'encoding social memory' (1997, 8) can be considered a handing down. The relatively recent increased use of social media in synchronising public grief has led to a recognisable invented popular tradition of placing and carrying lighted candles in appropriate public spaces. When at institutional buildings may be lit in e.g. the colours of the French national flag after killings in Paris and Nice. This presents a cognate institutional invented tradition, although using a form associated with celebration, *son et lumière* and comparable events. Media coverage of both hands down to a wider audience, and in becoming a form known from being seen (on screen not the street), the popular practice is comparable to observed roadside shrines, but centred on process more than placed items, as lit candles are more temporary. Given the process of handing down, there is even less likelihood of widespread awareness of the older cognate forms noted in Chapter 6. However, while copycatting and a bandwagon affect seem evident, it is ungenerous to presume a lack of sincerity in those involved.

Handing over is generally not as prescribed as handing down (liturgy being an unusual exception), and while the arguments for performance can be strong in cases which have a skilled central actor, e.g. at a demonstration, the earlier consideration of the flexibility of practice remains valid. It should be recognised that in most enactments, directed purposeful extemporised speech by an individual, the most obvious medium presented as illustrating performance, is not a substantial or significant element. Handing over by the overt display of material and expressive forms, in which imagery and the written/printed word imply or present a message is the norm. Their form may or may not be creative, but Bronner's comment on the centrality of agency and reflexivity in practice theory applies: 'much of the drama or purpose of repetitive practices is the identification, negotiation, and questioning of governing norms' (Bronner 2012, 33). One might presume that Bronner's use of 'drama' is a deliberately ironic reference to performance theory.

#### 7.4.6 Authenticity

In a useful expansion of shades of authenticity, Bronner writes that ‘by invoking tradition, one offers a pattern that can be repeated, altered, adapted, and indeed broken’ (2001, 11). The validity of this depends on accepting the recognisable provenance of an aggregate of lore closely associated with a group as being distinct and authentic to them, and associated awareness of precedence. Oring’s proposal that ‘invented, revived, or reformulated’ traditions have validity only when informed by the same forces as genuine ones (2013, 38-39) accepts the creation of aggregate, which by definition would lack continuity, but could claim precedence in existing lore or by invoking Handelman’s likelihood of form reflecting intention. Oring’s contention also allows for concept of shades of authenticity and interpretation applying Warshaver’s categories. Oring and Handelman illustrate a reality that is not shown by the typical definitions of folklore given in Chapter 3, in which Toelken’s acceptance of altering ‘features, contents, meanings, styles, performance, and usage’ (1996, 40) might allow for misuse but does not seem to encompass breaking any patterns of lore. The narrative summaries in the theme chapters provide examples, both deliberate and unconscious.

In that the study’s use of popular lore includes examples of folklore as it is understood in both common and folkloristic terms, it is straightforward to accept its authenticity. The total sum of knowledge etc. of a group can achieve ‘vernacular authority’, derived from ‘tradition as an authorizing force’ (Howard 2013, 73), even when the tradition is relatively recent. There is little evidence of the reintroduction of events; Butetown Festival’s resumption in 2014, after a twenty-year gap, is a rare example of Boissevain’s revitalisation (1992b, 10). The general case is ‘intensification of processes already active’ in the twenty-first century (Quinn 2005, 238). Given the foregoing, Warshaver’s first level applies almost by default to many events of popular origin. This does not imply conferring vernacular authority on the obviously faux but accepts that authenticity can be ‘a function of the participant, not the event’ (Ravenscroft and Gilchrist 2009, 39), and illustrates Gencarella’s self-naming ‘by masses of individuals’ (2009, 175). Any indications of seeking novelty, idle curiosity, mimicry or playful deviance imply the temporary assuming of a new role. Within socialising, in particular, the invented, modernised or commercialised are taken for granted, but the consistent element of choice removes any consideration as the only reasonable thing to do or believe. Given the



foregoing, Warshaver's first level applies almost by default to many events of popular origin.

Most events of institutional origin employ forms which have become stylised, if not formalised, and have longstanding historical provenance and established authority, linked to the state or nation, or more diffuse grouping, such as organised labour. Civil-military events are authentic by their underlying authority, and although protesting has inherent elements of subversion, a faux demonstration is not a likely occurrence. The same applies to certain derivative forms, such as veterans' dress, which draws on both service antecedents and customary forms of quotidian dress. While there are also opportunities for badly organised and enacted activities, such issues do not influence authenticity.

Such actions provide a useful reminder of the lack of any necessary purity and correctness in any enactment, however closely associated with a particular lore. As with copycatting it is difficult to assess the sincerity of those involved, but this is presumed in the majority of cases in the study. If appearing to those involved as the only reasonable thing to do, categorisation as first level lore has been a near-default. This applies to institutional canons, which imply conscious awareness of established and recognised tradition, enactment is not necessarily replication; indeed, this suggests Oring's criticism of artifice, within performance. The invented tradition of Armed Forces Day illustrates this. Various aspects of the military canon are represented and handed over, in ways appropriate to its intentions. The use of the Silence, as at the Field of Remembrance and the Falkland Memorial Re-dedication, illustrates Oring's comment on the validity of the invented. Such actions exemplify shades of authenticity but are not 'cultural appropriation' (Wells 1994, 54): they are 'culture away from its original local context' (Newall 1987, 131), although the authenticity of an enactment is not necessarily based on the authenticity of its generic components.

There are few clear examples of second level in which is defined as being 'when this folklore becomes the object of knowledge of a professionally cultured substantive rationality' leading to its 'material reconstitution by folkloristic praxis' (Warshaver 1991, 220-221). There are no popular traditions peculiar to Cardiff or the immediate area (cf. Padstow 'Obby 'Oss) or types of activity (cf. Cotswold Morris). There are comparable forms, but they are uncommon and out of context: the Mari Lwyd on St. David's Day is two or three or months late and has no recent local antecedents. The study and public

presentation of traditional dance (e.g. Gŵyl Ifan and Tafwyl) is the only regular example, being social dance reconstructed as display.

The limited examples of second level lore have been noted, but third level presents a significant issue, in that certain groups consistently employ conscious misuse or subversion, but within an overall enactment which is recognisably first level. The employment of Welsh imagery provides frequent examples of 'abstract reconceptualization' and 'denotative reconstitution' (Warshaver 1991, 220), although repetition of some forms suggests their being taken for granted, rather than being reconceptualised and reconstituted every time. There are occasionally striking one-off examples, e.g. the 'Edwardian' rugby team, but third level does not imply any necessary degree of creativity and the emergent. Pride Cymru's night-time dress in daylight is culture away from its original local context, while Carnival's traditional Caribbean forms show playful imitation of popular motifs by another social class.

Wells's folklorism or pseudo-tradition (1994, 54-55) could be applied to some expressions of Welshness in St. David's Day Parade and rugby crowds and the hyperbole and blatant imagery attached to local products in Food Fair. These events provide opportunities for cultural and heritage tourism, illustrating the sometimes-close relationship of these with popular and institutional lore. Indeed, modifying traditions to appeal to a perceived market or implying association with traditional ideas and values are aspects of both fields.

Events that model the lived-in world put forward a symbolic formalised or idealised illustration, but are no more authentic than events that present, which imply social authority as the basis of their authenticity. Events that re-present lack the commonly accepted certainty of those that present, but do not necessarily oppose an institutional status quo, but imply belief in the validity of sectional authority. Bendix, Newall and Wells are similarly concerned with enactments, rather than their component elements. This does not deny that events emerge and are enacted within generic bounds, or that primary material genres are usually the most readily observable elements.

There are specific issues of authenticity in markets, fairs and funfairs, which provide opportunities for people to engage with the lore appropriate to the ludic context, rather than their own lore. There is a popular acceptance of these events as traditional,

communal activities, and a near-universal latent or tacit knowledge of their compositional characteristics, although there is little evidence of sales pitches as noted by Kapchan (2003, 124-126) and Bauman (2014, 103-106). This engenders responses based on social precedent; in being an exaggeration of the quotidian, it is conscious behaviour more than proclivity. In addition, Cashman suggests that engagement with such older forms, even in modern versions, has an element of nostalgia, in 'revaluating the present through contrast with the past' (2006, 137). Nostalgia involves both another context and another self; these may be an authentic past (Welsh rugby's 1970s 'Golden Age' has been a consistent presence), or another realm of reality, e.g. idealised modernity (food fair) or antiquity. The last is often found in the heritage industry (outside the study parameters, but a related field) calling up a British past (e.g. Joust, Victorian Day), with the use of 'traditional concepts, forms and symbols...[creating]...an association with traditional ideas and values'' (Wells 1994, 54).

Interpreting personal authenticity, and its underlying influences, motivations and intentions is not straightforward, but broad presumptions can be made. Inferences may be made through common knowledge and/or previous experience, e.g. rugby crowds or fairgoers, or recorded self-identifying by participants expressing associations, overtly or implicitly. Pre-existing identity is not always significant, and there are cases in which the enactment is more important. The Service of Remembrance requires limited personal interpretation and exemplifies activities which 'may be accepted in a manner which takes them for granted as the only reasonable thing to do or believe' (Gailey 1989, 143). People can distinguish between traditional or formal events and those which are obviously commercial and/or cater to the widespread popular interest in history and heritage etc., and engage in seeking 'novelty and experience' (Kugelmass 1991, 444) and 'sensory satisfaction and thrilling strangeness' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 72), 'mimicry/simulation' Schechner (2006, 93-94), or contrastingly, nostalgia (Cashman 2006, 137). While an awareness that 'elites use folklore strategically to generate support for themselves and their policies' (Fine and O'Neill 2010, 150) is presumably unusual, many people are discriminating enough to spot the more overt 'manipulation and exploitation by...the mass media and popular culture' (Strinati 2004, 8).

## **7.5 Objective 4**

‘To consider the extent to which the recorded data and subsequent analysis illustrates issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff’.

### **7.5.1 Introduction**

The social and folkloristic significance of this objective was not obvious at the outset of this study, in particular the pervasive influence of Welsh identities and the widespread of traditional expressive and material forms and images. The political context in Cardiff is unique in that the enactment of many public activities is informed by its being the capital city of Wales and seat of the National Assembly for Wales. In focussing on the period 2010 to 2013, and to a lesser extent the few following years, the nature of the activities considered within this study are influenced by both longstanding and more recently developed political, cultural and social contexts within the city and Wales, as a whole. In particular, with the development of the Assembly and the presence of many of the nation’s cultural institutions, Cardiff is increasingly the focus of Wales and Welsh activities in many respects.

### **7.5.2 Issues particular to Wales**

The competing assessments of vibrant or weak civil society have been noted, but as the first elected institution within an all-Wales context, the Assembly is making its own history and Cardiff *is* now at the heart of this. The common use of ‘Cardiff Bay’ for the Assembly and its activities (cf. ‘Westminster’) illustrates Billig’s comment that national identity is regularly reinforced by politicians, the media and others (1995, 95). Evans argues that that ‘the legitimacy’ of the Assembly has increased Welsh identification (2007, 124), and while there has been a consistent identification as Welsh, rather than British, of around sixty percent (Heath et al. 2007, 11), claiming civic identity as primary rose from twenty-three to thirty-two percent, between 1998 and 2003 (Tilley et al. 2004, 154). Significantly, the now common use of ‘the people of Wales’ by the media and public bodies provides a more inclusive term than ‘the Welsh people’. However, this both helps and blurs the issues; while the latter term is essentially ethnic and the former essentially civic, ‘the people of Wales’ can allow for self-identification in either way. The extent to which such identities underlie and/or inform popular participation has been noted above.

Cardiff has no formal institutional events which specifically celebrate Wales or Cardiff as such. While the latter can be explained by Cardiff's rapid expansion without concomitant municipal ceremony, the lack of a longstanding national political structure does not obviate the potential for new forms of public celebration at either Council or Assembly level. Although having had Council support, St. David's Day Parade is a recognition of ethnic more than civic identity. Its introduction, in the mid-2000s owes more to the coincidence of various social, cultural and sporting developments, and a widespread acceptance of the appellation 'Cool Cymru', than it owes to political developments. The parade can be considered as delivering a strong positive message, i.e. that Wales does not have the vulnerable nationhood which requires institutionalised national day activities (Elgenius 2011a, 193). It also presents banal and superficial identification, comparable to celebrating national sporting success, which itself stands in place of historical, political, religious or social myths strong enough to resonate in any meaningful way. Rather, it is, substantially, a reiteration of the attitudes and actions of an English-speaking majority, whose personal and collective identity is not threatened.

The reluctance of some participants to be too demonstrative suggests a deliberate avoidance of presenting old-fashioned and possibly embarrassing images of Wales and the Welsh. Given that the event has a serious intention, the employment of traditional Welsh dress, more usually associated with schoolchildren, and the display of Red Dragon flags, with the rugby crowd connotations, could be seen to trivialise the activity. Indeed, a decade ago, the organiser of the National Eisteddfod claimed the traditional Welsh costume presented a negative image of Wales as a backward-looking country (Wightwick 2007). The response from those working with younger schoolchildren was that it was as popular as ever, and this is still the case in predominantly English-speaking south-east Wales.

There are still strong associations with Hill's 'institutional symbols' (2002, 14) and other cultural organisations. The Royal Welsh Show and National Eisteddfod receive media coverage on a par with rugby and football, which have their most significant actual presence in Cardiff. Rugby supporters also illustrate the continuing significance (both positive and less so) of the established national forms and images, many of which are longstanding, dealt with by Morgan (2007). Given the massive media coverage,

attendances at major games and the whole gamut of supporter dress and adornment, the appeal of Johnes's argument that Welsh rugby is 'a perfect vehicle through which collective ideals of nationhood can be expressed' (2005, 109) is understandable. This pre-echoes Van Reekum's comment on the heartfelt and even passionate expression of national identity at sporting events (2012, 585). However, the widely accepted and broadly valid generalisation that rugby is a south Wales sport and football a north Wales one provides an equally attractive example of Mason's fault-lines of geography. Given the continuing reasonable validity of the three-Wales model, fault-lines of both geography and language are shown by the paucity of groups and organisations associated with the Welsh language, at the St. David's Day Parade. This illustrates a conscious intention to avoid association particularly with the material trappings of popular banal nationalism, an attitude also found in the near lack of such forms at Welsh language events. Their limited significance in relation to the language and a more general disassociation is part of a recognisable and widespread reluctance to link any concepts of folklore and tradition with the Welsh language or any directly associated cultural activities, which Wood notes as 'ethnic markers in certain areas of Welsh cultural life' (1997, 93).

That folklore is love spoons and Welsh dolls for tourists, and irrelevant to the vitality of the language and associated culture, has not been ameliorated by a broadening since Wood reviewed the topic (1997); craft fair merchandise often emphasises Welsh materials (notably coal and slate), generic Celtic imagery (particularly on jewellery and ceramics), historic and current photographs, and written Welsh (particularly names on children's clothes) with popular Welsh names on them. The argument needs to be balanced by the common view in south-east Wales, that the National Eisteddfod is centred on Bards and clog-dancing, and that it is Welsh-speakers (north Walians by implication) who are enthusiastic about folklore. Tafwyl is important in this context. In celebrating the vibrancy of the Welsh language in Cardiff, it includes modern forms which can be considered to have folkloristic significance, e.g. songs, some with a political message (Wyn 2006). Its popular origin reflects the increasing size of the city's Welsh-speaking community, and for a regular Welsh language invented tradition to have become embedded in the annual cultural calendar would have been considered very unusual a generation ago.

These issues are within the context of a constant tension about language and identity. There is a reluctance to accept that traditions are not ‘monolithic sentiments that belong to a bygone era, but rather have multiple meanings and manifest themselves in many different ways’ (Crawford 2004, 30). This might be informed by lingering worries about Porter’s comment on traditional Welsh identifiers as an English construct by which the ‘outlandishness’ of others helps define Englishness (2001, 101).

### **7.5.3 Issues particular to Cardiff**

There is no hierarchy of Welshness and ‘Cardiffness’, in that there is little overt expression of the latter. Evans’s comment on the lack of a ‘Cardiff-consciousness’ in the 1930s (1985, 352-353) still has some resonance. While recognising commonalities across the south-east coastal area, many Cardiffians identify as different to those from ‘the Valleys’ north of the city, where they ‘know’ that they are considered as stuck-up city-slickers. Roderique-Davies et al. illustrate this in the general antipathy towards Cardiff Blues (2008, 200-201). There are no similarly strong feelings with regard to the rest of Wales.

There has been a consistent lack of institutional recognition of the city’s particular nineteenth and twenty-century history and heritage; indeed, Kompotis suggests deliberate avoidance of ‘thoughtless references’ to industrial heritage, which might undermine the city’s economic agenda (2006, 178-179). Such institutional attitudes are matched by widespread popular indifference to Cardiff identity, beyond the ironic or flippant, e.g. ‘I loves [sic] the ’Diff’ has appeared in a wide range of commercial and popular material forms, although ‘the ’Diff’ is a mid-2000s invention and has no popular spoken currency. The city is seen as a ‘consumable product’ rather than a ‘tourist site...mythical meaning’ (Voase 1999, 289). There have been institutional developments, e.g. the Millennium Centre (2006), so named as less elitist than the original ‘Cardiff Opera House’ and Cardiff Story Museum (opened 2011); the Council proposed (January 2015) to establish a Cardiff Heritage Trust to manage the Museum, Cardiff Castle, Mansion House and Norwegian Church. Some central areas have been named, e.g. Cardiff Castle Quarter. These recent acknowledgments of the social and economic value of the city’s past, contrasts strongly with an emphasis on venues for sport and what Lovering calls ‘the play economy’, including bars and clubs (2006, 182). Typically, the Millennium Stadium (Principality Stadium from the 2015-16 season), promotes its present, but hardly recognises its location

as being Cardiff Arms Park, one of the world's most iconic sporting venues. Somewhat ironically, the protests by Cardiff City and Cardiff Blues supporters are the only two activities of any sort, in which substantial numbers engaged directly in the expression of a tradition-based Cardiffian identity. Indeed, their two clubs and their supporters provided the only large-scale examples of the presentation of unifying narratives of traditions and history (Burstyn 1998, 18; Boyle and Haynes 2002, 200). The Cardiff City slogan 'History-Identity-Pride' could apply equally well to celebratory events, were they to be established by public authorities.

The issue of Cardiff as part of British Wales has changed since Balsom (1985). In addition to the changed balance of civic and ethnic identification, a specific issue of language politics is illustrated within events and their physical context. There has been increasing expression of Welsh identity since the 1990s, including the emergence of a strong Welsh-speaking presence, substantially young professionals. Permanent bilingual public signage has been taken for granted, since the 1990s, and treating Welsh and English equally is now required by law. Such positive linguistic landscaping is not always the case with temporary equivalents. Public institutions tend to ensure parity, as do the institutional and commercial vertical banners noted, but there is a general tendency for English to predominate, or be the only language, in less institutionalised contexts. Other permanent and temporary resources vary in their use. Websites and promotional materials are often bilingual, but programmes and demonstration posters less so. Although patchy, when Welsh is used on flags and permanent banners, usually at demonstrations, it is a positive statement of a commitment to use of the language; a frequent concurrent lack of ephemeral Welsh or bilingual materials suggests a need to improve.

However balanced the linguistic landscaping, there is no necessary similar use of spoken Welsh. Eight percent of the city's population are fluent Welsh speakers, including many educated in local Welsh-medium schools, and others drawn from throughout of Wales, at least in part, by employment opportunities linked to developments in the formal status and institutional use of the language. However, the sole or predominant use of Welsh is the norm at activities at which the majority is known or presumed to speak the language, such as the S4C rally. The only regular events with substantially Welsh-speaking audiences or witness-audiences are Gŵyl Ifan and Tafwyl, and the St. David's Day Parade muster to a lesser extent. Although rugby internationals attract Welsh speakers,



particularly from south-west Wales, the language is not used substantially; this is explicable, in that few groups observed seem wholly bilingual. More surprisingly, the explicit or implied national status of some civil-military events, does not reflect parity of use. Most events are English language activities, or essentially so, and a lack of spoken Welsh would not necessarily be noticed, but it must be presumed that deliberate discrimination is unlikely. Welsh is heard as formal input at a minority of events, and usually to a limited extent. In addition, there are no set or generally accepted protocols for its use. Most commonly, a few words or sentences begin and end the input, often with immediate translation; there may be alternate Welsh and English, usually in that order.

There are several main issues of economics, which influence and/or are influenced by public events; socialising is particularly significant, including activities outside the parameters. Cardiff's location, catchment area and fixed and temporary venues are central, in attracting locals and visitors, to events of all types. There is a framework of Council organised, or otherwise supported, activities, and regular and one-off events organised by cultural and commercial bodies. The range and frequency of these activities reflect potential and actual commercial benefits; this applies as much to many free events, such as funfairs, markets and fairs. The increased commodification associated with popular events, e.g. replica shirts and other sports merchandise is now taken for granted, but seventy percent do not wear replica rugby shirts, and 'victory is never total' (Butsch 2002, 72). Some events are large-scale high-profile events', and of international interest, such as sporting fixtures in addition to the regular programme, e.g. one-day and full cricket Test Matches (from 2010) London Olympics football (2012), Rugby World Cup (2015). The continuing development of new regular niche events, often art or music festivals, is also significant. However, the economic reality of high costs can lead to cancelling, e.g. WOW on the Waterfront (last enactment 2010) and Big Weekend (2011), or moving elsewhere, e.g. Wales Rally GB (2012). In contrast, significant dates can lead to surprising levels of expenditure and activity. 'City of the Unexpected' (17/18 September 2016), a celebration of the centenary of Roald Dahl's birth in Cardiff, involved hundreds of professional and amateur performers, First Minister, Lord Mayor and the largest crowds in the city for a non-sporting event since the Pope's visit in 1982.

## 7.6 Summary

Providing an overview of public events and ceremonies in a modern urban context and its associated popular participation is of interest per se, and also in terms of how such activities reflect, illustrate or employ traditional forms of communal activity. The methodology adopted for this study proved to be practical for these purposes, as observing events offers a valid approach to interpreting the folkloristic significance of the activities and their component elements, and the associated popular participation. An advantage of undertaking fieldwork over several years is the opportunity to observe a substantial number of events across several areas of activity; virtually all forms of event enacted within the three themes were observed, many on several occasions. In assessing the broad picture of what is happening and how people are engaging, the breadth of data obtained is more relevant than the depth which could be gained from concentrated study of a smaller number. Given the underlying intention of this study, informal discussion with participants on factual details provided as much information as was needed.

This study also deals with a specific place and a particular time. Cardiff's location, readily-defined catchment area and status as capital city influence the level and nature of public events and ceremonies, but the city has undergone a period of change since the late 1990s. A conjunction of influences to around 2010 has had impacts with few direct equivalents elsewhere in the UK, notably the political changes following devolution and the establishment of the Assembly in the newly-developed Cardiff Bay. As capital city, Cardiff has long been appropriate location for major civil-military events. It is one of twelve UK locations for Royal Salutes and has held the Welsh National Service of Remembrance since 1928; the more recent Field of Remembrance (2002) is one of only three, and the major Armed Forces Day event for Wales has been held in the city most years since 2009. The development of the city's sporting stadiums between 1999 and 2009 has attracted major national and international competitions, in addition to a greater number of large-scale concerts. New public spaces have provided settings for events across the themes, but given the foregoing, it is significant that major new developments such as Armed Forces Day are unusual, and there is greater evidence of Quinn's 'intensification of processes already active' in the twenty-first century (2005, 238).

The narratives present a representative sample of events recorded, and several generalisable patterns can be discerned from the data. The most significant is that such

patterns are strongly predictive of the likely characteristics of future similar enactments. The two most straightforward generalisations are that events remain a constant in the public sphere and that they attract the public, sometimes in large numbers. There are predictable annual calendars of socialising and civil-military events, with some regular activities being anticipated in themselves and as markers in a recognisable cultural calendar. With the continuing expanding array of other social opportunities, their importance is of a different order to those of past centuries (the recognisable, if contentiously termed 'ritual year'), but popular engagement reflects an awareness of their place in the social round. While not representing a communal year in which the majority of the population engages, the recognition of precedents and occasionally antecedents of events within and without the cultural calendar provides an illustration of cultural reproduction.

Both regular and other events and types of event have their own recognisable patterns, in terms of form, demography, and location or routes. While their scale and specifics vary substantially, patterns of form show strong consistency in activities of both popular and institutional origin. In terms of demography, socialising attracts the greatest numbers, but across all activities, there is an overwhelmingly greater level of engagement by the city's white population than from any section of Cardiff's eight percent minority ethnic population. The contextual significance throughout is the very limited engagement of any individuals or groups from within Cardiff's minority ethnic communities, across the themes. This applies to long-established and more recently established or expanded communities. The greater historical and cultural significance of certain ceremonies to the white majority has been noted in relation to particular activities. These include events which display long-standing British and/or Welsh identities, e.g. St. David's Day Parade and civil-military activities. Many large demonstrations involve groups which are historically or currently more likely to be drawn from the majority population. The occasional demonstrations involving a specific minority group concerned with an issue of significance to their community does not negate the point. Beyond this last point, there are no discernible patterns in the level of engagement of ethnic minorities. While the lack of folkloristic significance can be explained, there are social issues in the general lack of engagement in activities which should not be exclusive by historical or cultural association.

Most of the foregoing involves comparison of data, and while this is relevant to interpreting folkloristic and broader significance, a degree of judgement and inference is also required. The broad commonalities categorised by Falassi (1987b, 4-6), Handelman (1998, 22-62) and Santino (2009, 11) provide a set of terms to illustrate comparable intention, and Falassi also considers forms of event. Other disciplines provide useful terms on form and content, such as McPhail's 'pieces, parts, skills, devices or ingredients' (1991, 131) and Gilman's 'conventions' with the distinction of thematic, stylistic and compositional (2009, 3). In being value-neutral (as much as any definitions can be), these terms are equally applicable to both popular and institutional lore, reflecting a general lack of distinction between the two in other disciplines. The extent to which material forms (notably dress) are readily comparable across themes, the commonalities of assembly and processional forms, and the essential similarity of witness-audiences are all regularly observable.

However, the early historical emphasis on endangered rural customs, and their significance to the romantic and nationalist views of ethnicity have continued to influence folkloristic theory; having performance and practice as distinct and oppositional approaches is a major issue. That performance theory developed as a more applicable approach to the historical and cultural contexts of the USA should not by necessity invalidate pre-existing European methods, the contexts of which are explicable by and applicable through practice theory. Bronner's emphasis on the advantage of the explanatory reach of practice theory in having social precedence and in considering cognitive or unconscious sources of action and analysing generalisable cultural patterns is central to the consideration of public events. These are communal activities in which events and types of event are repeated, and individuals within groups either draw on an established popular lore or engage with a recognised institutional lore. Repetition of activities also involves repetition of material and expressive forms, and authority and the ready-made are more evident than creativity and the emergent. While accepting the habitual based on aggregate and precedent, practice theory stresses the centrality of reflexivity, and this provides an alternative process to explain creativity and the emergent. Bronner's inclusion of process as handing down and handing over, fills a gap in Ben-Amos's seven strands of tradition, but this does not deny the usefulness of the performance approach, if not its whole theoretical basis, in describing certain actions in

which there is a central performer and an audience, even when these are not Ben-Amos's 'small groups' (1972, 13).

While Bronner does not address institutional lore as such, his definitions of tradition (2011, 40-48) illustrate reproduction in transmission of both popular and institutional lore, although he does not employ these terms. Taken in conjunction with Falassi, McPhail and others, his senses of tradition allow for recognisable degrees of correspondence. Presuming collective identity as a constant factor, any group's communal knowledge, understandings etc. will relate to this; background information, observation and inference can provide some of the specifics. Deliberate enactment or display of lore as a describable entity (aggregate) and repetition of this (precedent) is common to all groups. Forms of transmissions, handing down and handing over, will vary in detail and the former might not be observed, but the intention and often the form are essentially similar: to transmit something of significance within or without the group. However, this does not provide an all-encompassing theoretical base, and the issues need to be considered further within specifically folkloristic terms. The concurrent popular and institutional nature of protesting might be an appropriate baseline or model for this, and there are other areas illustrating an intrinsic fluidity. For example, the repetitive nature of organised popular activities, such as St. David's Day Parade and their relative constancy of form, demography etc. show a level of institutionalisation, while military veterans enact a popular lore drawing on and adapting a strictly institutional one.

The significance of issues particular to Wales and/or Cardiff are substantial, in both social and folkloristic terms. The concept of 'Cool Cymru' and the inclusive term 'people of Wales' may appear trivial but show a more general degree of confidence in identification with the nation, without any language considerations. The stronger acknowledgement of Welsh civic identity has almost certainly been an outcome of the former; less directly the more overt expressions of identity centred on the Welsh language are linked to increasing numbers of Welsh-speakers. However, Mason's fault-lines of identity (2004, 23) are significant, and the Welsh identities shown in most public events, whether that of the majority English-speaking British Wales or the increasing numbers of Welsh-speakers, are essentially ethnic. Trossett's 'bro' and 'milltir sgwar' (1999, 169-170) remain more relevant than any larger expression of Welsh civic identity; this is compounded by the lack of any regular Council or Assembly public events. The significance of 'institutional

symbols' (Hill 2002, 14) and other cultural, sporting and sectional organisations remains stronger in most forms of popular participation.

The Welsh identity associated with British Wales draws on traditional Welsh material forms, but has little direct reference to the Welsh language (one of Balsom's central points) or Welsh expressive forms in either language. The lack of a canon of such forms, particularly music and song known, does not compare well with Scotland and the Republic of Ireland (Matheson 2008, 61); in these other Celtic nations, these are known or known about even by those with no direct interest. The antagonism towards vernacular music and song by some professional musicians perceived by Kinney (2011, 220), and the limited academic interest in folklore as a relevant present-day discipline in Wales are not the cause of this situation, but can be considered as within a broadly related set of attitudes. The unease (at best) that can surround the use of traditional Welsh identifiers suggests a degree of anxiety that that Wales has a folklore in the present-day, and that accepting this would undermine the vitality and relevance of the language and associated culture.

The overall conclusion is that public events still 'make a splash in our lives' (Turner and Mc Arthur 1990, 84). Whether popular or institutional, serious or trivial, they continue to include highly visible expressions of longstanding folkloric behaviour within the broader cultural context of the twenty-first century.

## Bibliography

Abell, J. et al. 2007. Who ate all the pride? Patriotic sentiment and English national football support. *Nations and Nationalism* 13, pp. 97-116.

Abrahams, R. D. 1968. Introductory remarks to a rhetorical theory of folklore. *Journal of American Folklore* 81(320), pp. 143-158.

Abrahams, R.D. 1972. Personal power and social restraint in the definition of folklore. In: Paredes A. and Bauman, R. eds. 1972. *Toward new perspectives in folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 16-30.

Abrahams, R. D. 1977. Toward an enactment-centered theory of folklore. In: Bascom W. ed. 1977. *Frontiers of Folklore*, Colorado: Westview Press, pp.79-120.

Abrahams, R. D. 1985. Pragmatism and a folklore of experience. *Western Folklore* 44(4), pp. 324-332.

Abrahams, R. D. 1987. An American vocabulary of celebrations. In: Falassi, A. ed. *Time out of time – essays on the festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 173-183.

Abrahams, R. D. 1993. Phantoms of romantic nationalism in folkloristics. *Journal of American Folklore* 106(419), pp. 3-37.

Alexander, J. C. et al. eds. 2006. *Social performance – symbolic action, cultural pragmatics and ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andrews, D. 1996. Sport and the masculine hegemony of the modern nation: Welsh rugby, culture and society, 1890 – 1914. In: Nauright, J. and Chandler, J. L. *Making men: rugby and masculine identity*. London: Frank Cass, pp. 50-69.

Andrews, H. and Leopold, T. 2013. *Events and the social sciences*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Argyle, M. 1996. *The social psychology of leisure*. London: Penguin.

Atkinson, P. and Coffey, A. 2011. Analysing documentary realities. In: Silverman, D. *Qualitative Research* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Sage, pp. 77-92.

Bailey, D. 2016. Hard evidence: this is the age of dissent – and there's much more to come. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/profiles/david-j-bailey-149555> [Accessed 21 January 2016].

Bakhtin, M. 1984. *Rabelais and his world*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Balsom, D. 1985. The three-Wales model. In: Osmond J. ed. *The national question again*. Llandysul: Gomer Press, pp. 1-17.

- Barnes, B. 2001. Practice as collective action. In: Schatzki, T. et al. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge, pp. 17-28.
- Barron, D. S. et al. 2008. Social integration, a sense of belonging and the Cenotaph Service: old soldiers reminisce about remembrance. *Aging & Mental Health* 12(4), pp. 509-516.
- Bascom, W. R. 1955. Verbal art. *Journal of American Folklore* 68(269), pp. 245-252.
- Bauman, R. 1972a. Introduction. In: Paredes A. and Bauman, R. eds. 1972. *Toward new perspectives in folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. xi-xv.
- Bauman, R. 1972b. Differential identity and the social base of folklore. In: Paredes A. and Bauman, R. eds. 1972. *Toward new perspectives in folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 31-41.
- Bauman, R. 1977. *Verbal Art as Performance*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.
- Bauman, R. ed. 1992a. *Folklore, cultural performances and popular entertainments: a communications-centered handbook*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bauman, R. 1992b. Performance. In: Bauman, R. ed. *Folklore, cultural performances and popular entertainments: a communications-centered handbook*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 41-49.
- Bauman, R. 2002. Disciplinarity, reflexivity and power in verbal art as performance, in *Journal of American Folklore* 115(455) pp. 92-98.
- Bauman, R. 2014. Performance. In: Bendix, R. and Hasan-Rokem, G. eds. *A Companion to Folklore*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 94-118.
- Baycroft, T. and Hopkin, D. eds. 2012. *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Bechhofer, F and McCrone, D. 2013. Imagining the nation: symbols of national culture in England and Scotland. *Ethnicities* 13(5), pp. 544-564.
- Bell, C. 1992. *Ritual theory, ritual practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, D. 2009. Winter wonderlands: public outdoor ice rinks, entrepreneurial display and festive socialities in UK cities. *Leisure Studies* 28(1), pp. 3-18.
- Ben-Amos, D. 1972. Toward a definition of folklore in context. In: Paredes A. and Bauman, R. eds. 1972. *Toward new perspectives in folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 1-15.
- Ben-Amos, D. 1984. The seven strands of tradition: varieties in its meaning in American folklore studies. *Journal of Folklore Research* 21(2/3), pp. 97-131.



- Ben-Rafael, E. et al. 2006. Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: the case of Israel. In: Gorter D. *Linguistic landscape – a new approach to multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 7-31.
- Bendix, R. 1997. *In search of authenticity*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bendix, R. and Hasan-Rokem, G. eds. 2014. *A companion to folklore*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Best, S. 2004. *A whim set in concrete – the campaign to stop the Cardiff Bay Barrage*. Bridgend: Seren.
- Billig, M. 1995. *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bird, F. 1980. The contemporary ritual milieu. In: Browne, R. B. *Rituals and ceremonies in Popular Culture*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, pp. 19-35.
- Blank, T. J. and Howard, R. G. 2013. *Tradition in the twenty-first century*. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Bocock, R. 1974. *Ritual in industrial society*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Boissevain, J. ed. 1992a. *Revitalizing European rituals*. London: Routledge.
- Boissevain, J. 1992b. Introduction – revitalizing European rituals. In: Boissevain *Revitalizing European rituals*, pp. 1-19.
- Borsay, P. 2006. *A history of leisure – the British experience since 1500*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bowman, M, 2004. Procession and possession in Glastonbury: continuity, change and the manipulation of tradition. *Folklore* 115(3), pp. 273-285.
- Boyes, G. (2010). *The imagined village*, Leeds: No Masters Co-operative Limited.
- Boyle, R. and Haynes, R. 2000. *Power play: sport the media and popular culture*. Harlow: Longman.
- Bradley, I. 2007. *Believing in Britain – The Spiritual Identity of Britishness*, Oxford: Lion.
- Braid, D. 1996. Personal narrative and experiential meaning. *Journal of American Folklore* 109(431), pp. 5-30.
- Brewer, T. 1994. The marketing of tradition. *Folklore in Use* 2, pp. 1-11.
- Briggs, C. L. 2012. What we should have learned from Américo Paredes: the politics of communicability and the making of folkloristics. *Journal of American Folklore* 125(495) pp. 91-112.

- Bromley, R. et al. 2003. Disaggregating the space-time layers of city-centre activities and their users. *Environment and Planning A* 35, pp. 1831-1851.
- Bronner, S. J. 2000. The meanings of tradition: an introduction. *Western Folklore* 59(2), pp. 87-104.
- Bronner, S. J. 2006. Folk logic: interpretation and explanation in folkloristics. *Western Folklore* 65(4), pp. 401-433.
- Bronner, S. J. 2007. *The meaning of folklore – the analytical essays of Alan Dundes*. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Bronner, S. J. 2011. *Explaining traditions – folk behavior in modern culture*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Bronner, S. J. 2012. Practice theory in folklore and folklife studies. *Folklore* 123(1), pp. 23-47.
- Brown, F. 2001. *Fairground strollers and show folk*. Taunton: Ronda Books.
- Brown, T. 1979. *The fate of the dead*. Ipswich: D. S. Brewer.
- Browne, R. B. 1980. *Rituals and ceremonies in Popular Culture*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press.
- Brunvand, J. H. 1978. *The study of American folklore: an introduction*. New York: Norton.
- Bryant, C. G. A. 2006. *The nations of Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burke, P. 2009. *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Burstyn, V. 1999. *The rites of men: manhood, politics, and the culture of sport*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bushaway, B. 2011. *By rite – custom, ceremony and community in England 1700-1880*. London: Breviary Stuff Publications.
- Butsch, R. 2002. Considering resistance and incorporation. *Leisure Sciences* 23, pp. 71-79.
- Cameron, D. K. 1998. *The English fair*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited
- Cannadine, D. 1981. War and death, grief and mourning in modern Britain. In: Whaley J. ed. *Mirrors of mortality – studies in the social history of death*. London: Europa Publications, pp. 187-241.
- Cannadine, D. 2007. The context, performance and meaning of ritual: the British monarchy and the ‘invention of tradition’, c. 1820-1977. In: Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 101-164.

- Cashman, R. 2006. Critical nostalgia and material culture in Northern Ireland. *Journal of American Folklore* 119(472), pp. 137-161.
- Çela, A. et al. 2007. Local food festivals in Northeast Iowa communities: a visitor and economic impact study. *Managing Leisure* 12, pp. 171-186.
- Cenoz, J. and Gorter, D. 2006. Linguistic landscape and minority languages. In: Gorter, D. ed. *Linguistic landscape – a new approach to multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 67-80.
- Chaney, D. 1983. A symbolic mirror of ourselves: civic ritual in mass society. *Media Culture & Society* 5(119), pp. 119-135.
- Cloke, P (1996). Cultural change and conflict in rural Wales: competing constructs of identity, *Environment and Planning A* (30) pp. 463-480.
- Cohen, A. P. 1985. *The symbolic construction of community*. Chichester: Ellis Horwood.
- Cole, R. and Farmer, S. 2007. *The Wales rugby miscellany*. London: Vision Sports Publishing.
- Collins, H. M. 2001. What is tacit knowledge? In: Schatzki, T. et al. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge, pp. 107-119.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How societies remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coppin, R. 1968. Remembrance Sunday. *Theology* 68(55), pp. 525-530.
- Coulter, J. 2001. Human practices and the observability of the ‘macro-social’. In: Schatzki, T. et al. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge, pp. 29-41.
- Crawford, G. 2004. *Consuming sport: fans, sport and culture*. London: Routledge.
- Davies, C. A. and Jones, S. 2003. *Welsh communities: new ethnographic perspectives*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Davies, G. T. 2002. *The capital, culture and the nation – National Eisteddfod lecture 2002*. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Davies, J. 1992. *Hanes Cymru*, London: Penguin.
- Davies, S. 2007. *The Mabinogion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Day, G. et al. 2000. Evaluating the ‘New Politics’: civil society and the National Assembly for Wales. *Public Policy and Administration* 15(2), pp. 25-37.
- Del Giudice, L. and Porter, G. eds. 2001. *Imagined states – nationalism, utopia and longing in oral cultures*. Logan: Utah State University Press.

- Dewis, A. 2014. *Carnival performance aesthetics: Trinidad carnival and art-making in the diaspora*. PhD thesis, Cardiff University.
- Dundes, A. 1965. *The study of folklore*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Dundes, A. 1980. *Interpreting folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Edensor, T. 2002. *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Edwards, R. 2006. 'Every day, when I wake up, I thank the Lord I'm Welsh': reading the markers of Welsh identity in 1990s pop music. *Contemporary Wales* 19, pp. 142-160.
- Ehrenreich, B. 2007. *Dancing in the streets – a history of collective joy*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Elgenius, G. 2005. *Expressions of nationhood: national symbols and ceremonies in contemporary Europe*. PhD thesis, University of London.
- Elgenius, G. 2011a. *Symbols of nations and nationalism: celebrating nationhood*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Elgenius, G. 2011b. The politics of recognition: symbols, nation building and rival nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism* 17(2), pp. 396-418.
- Evans, D. 2007. How far across the border do you have to be to be considered Welsh? – National identification at a regional level. *Contemporary Wales* 20, pp. 123-143.
- Evans, G. E. 1973. *Where beards wag all*. Newton Abbot: Country Book Club.
- Evans, N 1985. The Welsh Victorian city: the middle class and civic and national consciousness in Cardiff, 1850-1914. *Welsh History Review* 12(3), pp. 350-387.
- Everett, S. 2008. Beyond the visual gaze? The pursuit of an embodied experience through food tourism. *Tourist Studies* 8(3), pp. 337-358.
- Eyre, A. 2001. Post-disaster rituals. In: Hockey, J. et al. eds. *Grief, mourning and death ritual*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 257-266.
- Eyerman, R. 2006. Performing opposition or, how social movements move. In: Alexander, J. C. et al. eds. *Social performance – symbolic action, cultural pragmatics and ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 193-217.
- Falassi, A. 1987a. *Time out of time – essays on the festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Falassi, A. 1987b. Festival: definition and morphology. In: Falassi, A. *Time out of time – essays on the festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 1-10.

- Feintuck, B. ed. (2003). *Eight words for the study of expressive culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Fine, G. A. and O'Neill, B. 2010. Policy legends and folk lists: traditional beliefs in the public sphere. *Journal of American Folklore* 123(488), pp. 150-180.
- Foley, M. and McPherson, G. 2007. Glasgow's Winter Festival: can cultural leadership serve the common good? *Managing Leisure* 12, pp. 143-156.
- Foster, L. and Woodthorpe, K. 2012. A golden silence? Acts of remembrance and commemoration at UK football games. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 36, pp. 50-67.
- Fournier, L. S. 2009. The embodiment of social life: bodylore and the Kirkwall ba' game (Orkney, Scotland). *Folklore* 120(2), pp. 194-212.
- Fox, K. 2005. *Watching the English*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Freeman, M. 2007. Lady Llanover and the Welsh costume prints. *The National Library of Wales Journal XXXIV*(2), pp. 235-251.
- Friedrich, K. ed. 2000a. *Festive culture in Germany and Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century*. Lewiston N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Friedrich, K. 2000b. 'Introduction', in Friedrich, K. *Festive culture in Germany and Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century*. Lewiston N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, pp. 1-16.
- Gabbert, L. 2007. Situating the local by inventing the global: community festival and social change. *Western Folklore* 66(3/4), pp. 259-281.
- Gaffney A. 1998. *Aftermath – remembering the Great War in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Gailey, A. 1989. The nature of tradition. *Folklore* 100(2), pp. 143-161.
- Gammon, V. 2008. *Desire, drink and death in English folk and vernacular song, 1600-1900*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Garlough, C. 2011. Folklore and performing political protest: calls of conscience at the 2011 Wisconsin labor riots. *Western Folklore* 70(3/4), pp. 337-370.
- Gaskell, G. and Benewick, R. eds. 1987a. *The crowd in contemporary Britain*. London: Sage Publications.
- Gaskell, G. and Benewick, R. 1987b. The crowd in context. In: Gaskell, G. and Benewick, R. eds. *The crowd in contemporary Britain*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 1-18.
- Geertz, C. 1993. *The interpretation of cultures*. London: Fontana.

- Geisler M. 2009 The calendar conundrum: national days as unstable signifiers. In: McCrone D. and McPherson G. eds. 2009. *National days: constructing and mobilising national identity*, pp. 10-25.
- Gencarella, S. O. 2009. Constituting folklore: a case for critical folklore studies. *Journal of American Folklore* 122(484), pp.172-197.
- Georges, R. A. and Jones, M. O. 1995. *Folkloristics – an introduction*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Gillespie, A. 1987. Folk festival and festival folk. In: Falassi, A. *Time out of time – essays on the festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 152-170.
- Gilman, L. 2009. Genre, agency, and meaning in the analysis of complex performances: the case of a Malawian political rally. *Journal of American Folklore* 122(485), pp. 335-362.
- Giorgi, L. 2011. Between tradition, vision and imagination – the public sphere of literature festivals. In: Giorgi, L. et al. *Festivals and the cultural public sphere*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 29-44.
- Giorgi, L. et al. 2011. *Festivals and the cultural public sphere*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Giulianotti, R. 2002. Supporters, followers, fans and flâneurs: a taxonomy of spectator identities in football. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26(1), pp. 25-46.
- Glassie, H. 2003. Tradition. In: Feintuch B. *Eight words for the study of expressive culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 176-197.
- Gleeson, B. 2006. Desocializing space: the decline of the public realm in Western Sydney. *Social and Cultural Geography* 7(1), pp. 19-34.
- Goffman, E. 1966. *Behavior in public places*. New York: The Free Press.
- Gorter, D. ed. 2006. *Linguistic landscape – a new approach to multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Griffin, E. 2005. *England's revelry – a history of popular sports and pastimes 1660-1830*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grimes, R. L 2006. *Rite out of place – ritual, media, and the arts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Groom, N. 2013. *The seasons – an elegy for the passing of the year*. London: Atlantic Books.
- Gunn, S. 2007. *The public culture of the Victorian middle class – ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Haesly, R. 2005. Identifying Scotland and Wales: types of Scottish and Welsh national identities. *Nations and Nationalism* 11, pp. 243-263.
- Handelman, D. 1998. *Models and mirrors: towards an anthropology of public events*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Handler, R. and Linnekin, J. 1984. Tradition, Genuine or Spurious. *Journal of American Folklore* 97(385), pp. 273-290.
- Hannant, S. 2011. *Mummers, maypoles and milkmaids – a journey through the English ritual year*. London: Merrell Publishers.
- Harnden T. 2011. *Dead men risen*. London: Quercus.
- Heath, A. et al. 2007. Who do we think we are? The decline of traditional social identities. In: Park, A. et al. eds. *British Social Attitudes: The 23rd report*. London: Sage Publications Limited, pp. 1-34.
- Hede, A-M. and Rentschler, R. 2007. Mentoring volunteer festival managers: evaluation of a pilot scheme in regional Australia. *Managing Leisure* 12, pp. 157-170.
- Hedetoft, U. 1995. *Signs of nations – studies in the political semiotics of self and other in contemporary European nationalism*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing.
- Hill, J. 2002 *Sport leisure and culture in twentieth century Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Hobsbawm, E. 2007a. Introduction: inventing traditions. In: Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-14.
- Hobsbawm, E. 2007b. Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In: Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 263-307.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds. 2007. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hockey, J. et al. eds. 2001. *Grief, mourning and death ritual*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Hodgson, L. 2005. 'Citizenship, civil society and community in Wales', in *Contemporary Wales* 18 (2005), pp. 91-105.
- Holmes, R. (2011). *Soldiers*. London: Harper Press.
- Hooper, A. and Punter, J. eds. 2006. *Capital Cardiff 1975-2020*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Housley, W., Moles, K. and Smith, R. (2009) Identity, brand or citizenship? The case of post-devolution Wales, in *Contemporary Wales* 22 (2009), pp. 196-210.

Howard, S. 2001. Riotous community: crowds, politics and society in Wales, c. 1700-1840. *Welsh History Review* 20(4), pp. 656-686.

Howard, R. G. 2013. Vernacular authority; critically engaging 'tradition'. In: Blank, T. J. and Howard, R. G. *Tradition in the twenty-first century*. Logan: Utah State University Press, pp. 72-99.

Howe, C. Z. 1991. Considerations when using phenomenology in leisure inquiry: Beliefs, methods, and analysis in naturalistic research. *Leisure Studies* 10(1), pp. 49-62.

Hufford, M. 1995. Context. *Journal of American Folklore* 108(430), pp. 528-549.

Hughes, H. L. 2006. Gay and lesbian festivals: tourism in the change from politics to party. In: Picard, D. and Robinson, M. eds. *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 238-254.

Hulse, T. G. 1995. A modern votive deposit at a north Wales holy well. *Folklore* 106(1), pp. 31-42.

Hutton, R. 1994. *The rise and fall of Merry England – the ritual year 1400-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hutton, R. 2001. *The stations of the sun – a history of the ritual year in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huws, D. 2011. Foreword. In: Kinney, P. *Welsh traditional music*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. vii-viii.

Hymes, D. 1972. The contribution of folklore to sociolinguistic research. In: Paredes A. and Bauman, R. eds. 1972. *Toward new perspectives in folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 42-50.

Jarman, N. 1997. *Material conflicts – parades and visual displays in Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Berg.

Jarvie, G. 2007. Sport, social change and the public intellectual. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 42, pp. 411-424.

Jenkins, G. H. 2000. *The Welsh language and its social domains 1801-1911*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Johnston, L. 2007. Mobilizing pride/shame: lesbians, tourism and parades. *Social & Cultural Geography* 8(1), pp. 29-45.

Jones, G. E. and Smith, D. eds. 2000. *The people of Wales*. Llandysul: Gomer.

Jones, M. E. 2010. I've been thinking and worrying. *Dawns*, 2010, pp. 25-28.

Jones, R. M. 1992. Beyond identity? The reconstruction of the Welsh. *The Journal of British Studies* 31, pp. 30-357.



- Jones, S. 2003. Supporting the team, sustaining the community: gender and rugby in a former mining village. In: Davies, C. A. and Jones, S. *Welsh communities: new ethnographic perspectives*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 27-48.
- Kapchan, D. A 1995. Performance. *Journal of American Folklore* 108(430), pp. 479-508.
- Kapchan, D. A 2003. Performance. In: Feintuch B. *Eight words for the study of expressive culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 121-145.
- Katz, J. 2001. Conclusion. In: Hockey, J. et al. eds. *Grief, mourning and death ritual*. Buckingham: Open University Press, pp. 267 – 273.
- Kinney, P. 2011. *Welsh traditional music*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 1998. *Destination culture – tourism, museums and heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kompotis, P. 2006. Marketing the city of Cardiff: is the Dragon white and middle-class? *Contemporary Wales* 18, pp. 167-190.
- Kugelmass, J. 1991. Wishes come true: designing the Greenwich Village Halloween parade. *Journal of American Folklore* 104(414), pp. 443-465.
- Lawrence, D. L. (1987). Rule of misrule: notes on the Doo Dah Parade in Pasadena. In: Falassi, A. ed. *Time out of time – essays on the festival*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 123-136.
- Leerssen, J. 2006. Nationalism and the cultivation of culture. *Nations and Nationalism* 12(4), pp. 559–578.
- Leerssen, J. 2015. The nation and the city: urban festivals and cultural mobilisation. In: *Nations and Nationalism* 21(1), pp. 2-20.
- Lindquist, D. C. 2006. ‘Locating’ the nation: football game day and American dreams. *Journal of American Folklore* 119(474), pp. 444-488.
- Lloyd, A.L. 2008. *Folk song in England*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Lovering, J. 2006. The cultural transformation of Cardiff. In: Hooper, A. and Punter, J. eds. *Capital Cardiff 1975-2020*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 1-16.
- Marshall, D. 2004. Making sense of remembrance. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5(1), pp. 37-54.
- Mason, Rh. 2004. Nation building at the Museum of Welsh Life. *Museum and Society* 2(1), pp. 18-34.
- Matheson C. M. 2008. Consumers, music, emotion and authenticity: a study of Celtic music festival consumers. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 6(1), pp. 57-74.

- McCrone D. 2009. Scotland days: evolving nation and icons. In: McCrone D. and McPherson G. eds. 2009. *National days: constructing and mobilising national identity*, pp. 26-40.
- McCrone D. and McPherson G. eds. 2009a. *National days: constructing and mobilising national identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McCrone D. and McPherson G. 2009b. Introduction: In: McCrone D. and McPherson G. eds. 2009. *National days: constructing and mobilising national identity*, pp. 1-9.
- McGowan, M. 2000. Foreword. In: Friedrich, K. *Festive culture in Germany and Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century*. Lewiston N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, pp. ix-xiv.
- McPhail, C. 1991. *The myth of the madding crowd*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Mechling, J. 1997. Folklore and the civil sphere: the 1997 Archer Taylor Memorial Lecture. *Western Folklore* 56(2), pp. 113-137.
- Ministry of Defence (2017). Annual Population Survey: UK Armed Forces Veterans residing in Great Britain. London: Ministry of Defence.
- Morgan, P. 2007. From a death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the Romantic Period. In: Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-100.
- Moscovici, S. 1985. *The age of the crowd – a historical treatise on mass psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Munt, S. R. and O'Donnell, K. 2007. Pride and prejudice – legalizing compulsory heterosexuality in New York's annual St. Patrick's Day parades. *Space and Culture* 10(1), pp. 94-114.
- Nauright, J. and Chandler, J. L. 1996. *Making men: rugby and masculine identity*. London: Frank Cass.
- Newall, V. J. 1987. The adaptation of folklore and tradition (folklorismus). *Folklore* 98(2), pp. 131-151.
- Noyes, D. 2003. Group. In: Feintuch B. *Eight words for the study of expressive culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 7-41.
- Noyes, D. 2014. The social base of folklore. In: Bendix, R. and Hasan-Rokem, G. eds. *A Companion to Folklore*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 13-39.
- O'Leary, P. 2012. *Claiming the streets*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Oring, E. 1994. The arts, artifacts, and artifices of identity. *Journal of American Folklore* 107(424), pp. 211-233.

- Oring, E. 2006. Missing Theory. *Western Folklore*, 65(4), pp. 455-465.
- Oring, E, 2013. Thinking through tradition. In: Blank, T. J. and Howard, R. G. *Tradition in the twenty-first century*. Logan: Utah State University Press, pp. 22-48.
- Osmond, J. ed. 1985. *The national question again*. Llandysul: Gomer Press.
- Owen, T. M. 1985. *Whatever happened to Welsh folk customs?* London: The Folklore Society.
- Paredes, A. and Bauman, R. eds. 1972. *Toward new perspectives in folklore*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Park, A. et al. 2004. *British social attitudes: The 21st report*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Park, A. et al. eds. 2007. *British social attitudes: The 23rd report*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Paterson, L. and Jones, R. 1999. Does civil society drive constitutional change? In: Taylor, B and Thomson K. eds. *Scotland and Wales: nations again?* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 169-197.
- Percy, T. 1906[1765]. *Reliques of ancient English poetry*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Petersson, A. 2009. Swedish offerkast and recent roadside memorials. *Folklore*, 120(1), pp. 75-91.
- Picard, D. and Robinson, M. eds. 2006a. *Festivals, tourism and social change*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Picard, D. and Robinson, M. 2006b. Remaking worlds: festivals, tourism and change. In: Picard, D. and Robinson, M. eds. *Festivals, tourism and social change*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications, pp. 1-31.
- Pope, R. 1998. *Building Jerusalem – nonconformity, labour and the social question in Wales, 1906-1939*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Porter, G. 2001. ‘Who talks of my nation’ – the role of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in constructing ‘Englishness’. In: Del Giudice, L. and Porter, G. eds. *Imagined states – nationalism, utopia and longing in oral cultures*. Logan: Utah State University Press, pp. 101-135.
- Przybylska, L. (2017). *Flags in the city: the case of Gdynia*. Abingdon: Routledge International Journal of Cultural Policy.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2017.1408606>. Accessed 16 December 2017.

- Punter, J. 2006. A city centre for a European capital? In: Hooper, A. and Punter, J. eds. *Capital Cardiff 1975-2020*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 97-121.
- Quinn, B. 2005. Changing festival places: insights from Galway. *Social & Cultural Geography* 6(2), pp. 237-252.
- Rappaport, R. A. 1992. Ritual. In: Bauman, R. ed. *Folklore, cultural performances and popular entertainments: a communications-centered handbook*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 249-260.
- Ravenscroft, N. and Gilchrist, P. 2009. Spaces of transgression: governance, discipline and reworking the carnivalesque. *Leisure Studies* 28(1), pp. 35-49.
- Robertson, M. et al. 2007. Events and festivals: current trends and issues. *Managing Leisure* 12, pp. 99-101.
- Roderique-Davies, G. et al. 2008. New teams, old enemies? A study of social identification in Welsh rugby supporters. *Contemporary Wales* 21, pp. 187-206.
- Rogers, B. 2004. The rise of the public – public buildings, public spaces and the public realm. *New Economy* 11(2), pp. 114-119.
- Roper, J. 2012. England – the land without folklore. In: Baycroft, T. and Hopkin, D. eds. *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 227-253.
- Rothenbuhler, E. W. 1998. *Ritual communicating from everyday conversation to mediated ceremony*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Roud, S. 2003. *The Penguin guide to the superstitions of Britain and Ireland*. London: Penguin.
- Roud, S. 2006. *The English year*. London: Penguin.
- Santino, J. 1992. Yellow ribbons and seasonal flags: the folk assemblage of war. *Journal of American Folklore* 105(415), pp. 19-33.
- Santino, J. 2004. Performative commemoratives, the personal, and the public: spontaneous shrines, emergent ritual, and the field of folklore. *Journal of American Folklore* 117(466), pp. 363-372.
- Santino, J. 2009. The ritualesque: festival, politics, and popular culture. *Western Folklore* 68(1), pp. 9-26.
- Sassatelli, M. 2011. Urban festivals and the cultural public sphere. In: Giorgi, L. et al. *Festivals and the cultural public sphere*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 12-28.
- Schatzki, T. R. 2001. Introduction – practice theory. In: Schatzki, T. et al. 2001. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge pp. 1-14.

- Schatzki, T. et al. 2001. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge.
- Schechner, R. 2006. *Performance studies – an introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Schoemaker, G. H. c.1990. *The emergence of folklore in everyday life: a field guide and sourcebook*. Bloomington: Trickster Press.
- Scully, R. and Wyn Jones, R. (2012). Still three Wales? Social location and electoral behaviour in contemporary Wales. *Electoral Studies* 31, pp. 656-667.
- Sharpe, E. K. 2008. Festivals and social change: intersections of pleasure and politics at a community music festival. *Leisure Sciences* 30, pp. 217–234.
- Silverman, D. 2011. *Qualitative Research* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Sage.
- Sims, M. C. and Stephens, M. 2005. *Living folklore: an introduction to the study of people and their traditions*. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Skey M. 2009. ‘We wanna show em’ who we are’: national events in England. In: McCrone D. and McPherson G. eds. 2009. *National days: constructing and mobilising national identity*, pp. 41-46.
- Skey, M. 2011. *National belonging and everyday life: the significance of nationhood in an uncertain world*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sklar, D. 1994. Can bodylore be brought to its senses? *Journal of American Folklore* 107(423), pp. 9-22.
- Smith, R. J. 1971. The structure of esthetic response. *Journal of American Folklore* 84(331) pp. 68-79.
- Stevens, C. 2005. The survival of tradition or national icon? *Folk Life*, 43(1), pp. 56-70.
- Stoeltje, B. J. et al. 1999. The self in ‘fieldwork’: a methodological concern. *Journal of American Folklore* 112(444), pp. 158-182.
- Strinati, D. 2004. *An introduction to theories of popular culture*. London: Routledge.
- Swidler, A. 2001. What anchors cultural practices. In: Schatzki, T. et al. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge, pp. 74-92.
- Syson, F. and Wood, E. H. 2006. Local authority arts events and the South Asian community: unmet needs – a UK case study. *Managing Leisure* 11, pp. 245–258.
- Tarrow, S. 1995. Cycles of collective action. In: Traugott, M. ed. *Repertoires and cycles of collective action*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, pp. 89-115.
- Taylor B. and Thomson K. eds. 1999. *Scotland and Wales: nations again?* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

- Thévenot, L. 2001. Pragmatic regimes governing the engagement with the world. In: Schatzki, T. et al. *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. London: Routledge, pp. 56-73.
- Thomas, K. 1991. *Religion and the decline of magic*. London: Penguin.
- Thompson, E.P. 1993. *Customs in common*. London: Penguin.
- Tilly, C. 1995. Contentious repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834. In: Traugott, M. ed. 1995. *Repertoires and cycles of collective action*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.  
pp. 15-42.
- Tilley, J. et al. 2004. Dimensions of British identity. In: Park, A. et al. 2004. *British social attitudes: The 21st report*. London: Sage Publications Limited, pp. 148-167.
- Toelken, B. 1996. *The dynamics of folklore*. Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Traugott, M. ed. 1995. *Repertoires and cycles of collective action*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Tresidder, J. ed. 2004. *The complete dictionary of symbols*. London: Duncan Baird Publishers.
- Trosset, C. 1993. *Welshness performed – Welsh concepts of person and society*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Turner, R. and McArthur P. H. 1990. Cultural performances: public display events and festival. In: Schoemaker G. H. c.1990. *The Emergence of folklore in everyday life: a field guide and sourcebook*. Bloomington: Trickster Press, pp. 83-93.
- Turner, V. 1982. *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play*. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Turner, V. 1995. *The ritual process – structure and anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- UK Government. 2006 *The Music Manifesto*. London: Department for Education and Skills and Department for Culture, Media and Sport.
- Waddington, D. et al. 1987. Flashpoints of public disorder. In: Gaskell, G. and Benewick, R. eds. *The crowd in contemporary Britain*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 155-199.
- WalesOnline 2006. Music Manifesto [Online]. Cardiff: WalesOnline. Available at: <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/lost-generation-traditional-welsh-songs-230675> [Accessed 10 December 2011].
- Warshaver, G. E. 1991. On postmodern folklore. *Western Folklore* 5(3), pp. 219-229.

Wells, K. 2007. The material and visual cultures of cities. *Space and Culture* 10(2), pp. 136-144.

Wells, P. A. 1994. The marketing of tradition: a new approach. *Folklore in Use* 2, pp. 53-58.

Whaley J. ed. 1981. *Mirrors of mortality – studies in the social history of death*. London: Europa Publications.

Wightwick, A. 2007. 'Drop traditional costume' call [Online]. Cardiff: WalesOnline. Available at: <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/drop-traditional-costume-call-2269298> [Accessed 4 May 2012].

Williams, G. A. 1985. *When was Wales? A history of the Welsh*. London: Penguin.

Williams, K. 2010. Cardiff is UK's second most musical city. [Online]. Cardiff: WalesOnline. Available at: <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/cardiff-uks-second-most-musical-1929255> [Accessed 15 January 2012].

Williams, M. A. 2000. 'In the Wars': Wales 1914-1945. In: Jones, G. E. and Smith, D. eds. *The People of Wales*. Llandysul: Gomer, pp. 179-206.

Wingfield, C. and Gosden, C. 2012. An imperialist folklore? Establishing the Folk-Lore Society in London. In: Baycroft, T. and Hopkin, D. eds. *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 256-274.

Wyn, H. 2006. *Ble wyt ti rhwng?*, Talybont: Y Lolfa.

Wood, J. 1997. Perceptions of the past in Welsh folklore studies. *Folklore* 108, pp. 93-102.

Zipes, J. 2012. *Fairy tales and the art of subversion*. Abingdon Routledge.

### **Welsh and local popular magazines:**

*Golwg* (Welsh current affairs magazine)

*Taplas* (folk music magazine; ceased publication late 2014)

*Big Issue Cymru* (useful for listings of forthcoming events)

*Buzz* (free -useful for listings of forthcoming events)

*City Life* (free)

*Capital Times* (free newsletter)

*Y Dinesedd* (priced newsletter)

### **Listings sites:**

<http://www.alt.cardiff.ac.uk>

<http://www.britevents.com/whats-on/glamorgan/cardiff>

<http://cardiffonline.net/tourist-info>

<http://www.itchycardiff.co.uk>

<http://www.thebestof.co.uk/local/cardiff/events>

<http://www.visitcardiff.com/events>  
<http://www.viewcardiff.co.uk>  
<http://www.whats-on-in-cardiff.co.uk>  
<http://www.woic.co.uk>  
<http://www.afterdark.co/Cardiff>  
<http://mediawalesphotos.newsprints.co.uk/>  
<http://www.afterdark.co/Cardiff>  
<http://www.cambriamagazine.com/>  
<http://www.buzzmag.co.uk/>  
<http://allevents.in/Cardiff>  
<http://www.craftfairs-wales.co.uk/>

**DVDs:**

*A Run for Your Money* (DVD; Director Charles Frennd, 1949)

*Live at Treorchy* (CD; Max Boyce 1974)

*Grand Slam* (DVD; Director 1978).



## **Appendix 1 – Timeline of events**

The tables list events recorded within the main period of fieldwork. For clarity, they are listed under the three themes, and include some events not mentioned in the narratives. Attendance figures are recorded for certain events within protesting, to illustrate the range of support. Those in bold (207, i.e. roughly half of those recorded) were observed.

197 **socialising** events were recorded, of which 100 were observed. The most commonly observed events were crowds for major sport fixtures (38), i.e. around a fifth of all activities seen, broken down as follows:

- Autumn rugby internationals (14)
- 2012 London Olympics football (8)
- Non-international rugby matches, e.g. Heineken Cup Final (3)
- England international cricket matches (3)
- Road races – crowd and event observed (3)
- Wales international football (2)
- British Speedway Grand Prix (2)
- Wales Rally GB - crowd and event observed (1)
- Non-international rugby league matches (1)
- Sailing (1)

The other sizeable numbers within socialising were for markets (12) and parades (11). There were seven fairs, five concerts and three funfairs. There were 27 one-off activities.

126 **protesting** events were recorded, of which 53 were observed, broken down as follows:

- Rally (25)
- Picket – not directly linked to any of the above (10)
- Rally and march (6)
- Cycle ride (3)
- March (2)
- Petition (2)
- Occupation (2)
- Range of events (1)
- Concert (1)
- Institutional flag display (1)

94 **remembering** events were recorded, of which 54 were observed, broken down as follows:

- Royal Salute (9)
- Seafarers Remembrance Service (6)

Military parade (6)  
 Service of Remembrance (4)  
 Armistice Day (4)  
 Armed Forces Day (3)  
 World Aids Day (3)  
 Poppy Appeal Launch (2)  
 Field of Remembrance (2)  
 National Falkland Memorial service (2)  
 Beating the Retreat (2)  
 Royal Navy ship visits (2)  
 Abandoned Soldier etc. (1)\_  
 Jewish Museum Exhibition (1)  
 Cardiff Story opening (1)  
 Seafarers Awareness Week (1)  
 Norwegian Church victim respects (1)  
 Speed shrine (1)  
 Lord Mayor's Service (1)  
 Royal Jubilee visit (1)  
 International Women's Day (1)

### **Socialising**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Form</b>
<b>2010</b>			
1-2 July	The Tempest	Cardiff Castle	Open-air theatre
<b>7-10 July</b>	<b>Craft Folk market</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Market</b>
<b>9-11 July</b>	<b>International Food and Drink Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Fair/market</b>
<b>10 July</b>	<b>British Speedway Grand Prix</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>23-24 July</b>	<b>WOW On the Waterfront</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Display/concerts</b>
23 July	Community Cycling Event	City centre	Cycle ride
25 July	Red Dragon Family Festival	Cardiff Bay	Family activities
25 July	Blysh Festival	Cardiff Bay venues	Concerts

<b>30 July – 1 August</b>	<b>Admiral Big Weekend</b>	<b>Civic Centre</b>	<b>Funfair/concerts</b>
<b>31 July</b>	<b>Mas</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Parade/concert</b>
8 August	Cardiff Multicultural Mela	Cardiff Bay	Concert/market
14 August	Grand Medieval Melee	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
14-15 August	Right Royal Picnic	Cardiff Castle	Charity event
15 August	Classic Motorboat and Car Rally	Cardiff Bay	Vehicle and boat display
<b>28-30 August</b>	<b>Harbour Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Market/display</b>
<b>4 September</b>	<b>Wales LGBT Mardi Gras</b>	<b>Bute Park</b>	<b>Fair/concert</b>
<b>5-7 September</b>	<b>England – Pakistan cricket</b>	<b>Swalec Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
9 September	Victorian Festival	Cardiff Bay	Historical display
11 September	Victorian Day	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
<b>11 September</b>	<b>Safer Cardiff Festival</b>	<b>City Hall lawn</b>	<b>Display/exhibition</b>
22-24 September	Breakin' the Bay	Cardiff Bay venues	Concerts
25 September	Great British Cheese Festival	Cardiff Castle	Market
29 September	Shirley Bassey	Millennium Stadium	Concert crowd
2 October	Festival of Cardiff Community Arts	St. David's Hall	Music, art
6-9 October	Iris Prize Festival	City Centre venues	Film festival
9 October	Monster Jam	Millennium Stadium	Event crowd
20-22 October	Sŵn Festival	Cardiff Bay venues	Concerts

25-30 October	BayLit10	Cardiff Bay venues	Literary festival
30 October	Zombie Crawl	City Centre	Parade
<b>5 November</b>	<b>Diwali</b>	<b>Various</b>	<b>Religious festival</b>
<b>6 November</b>	<b>Wales – Australia rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>6 November</b>	<b>Sparks in the Park</b>	<b>Bute Park</b>	<b>Fireworks</b>
<b>10 November</b>	<b>Christmas Lights switch-on</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Start of commercial Christmas activities</b>
<b>10-13 November</b>	<b>Wales Rally GB</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Car rally</b>
<b>10 November – 23 December</b>	<b>Christmas Market</b>	<b>St. John Street</b>	<b>Market</b>
<b>10 November – 3 January</b>	<b>Winter Wonderland</b>	<b>City Hall lawn and Gorsedd Gardens</b>	<b>Funfair</b>
<b>13 November</b>	<b>Wales – South Africa rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
14 November	Gwdihw Market	Gwdihw Café, City Centre	Market
<b>18 November – 23 December</b>	<b>Christmas Market</b>	<b>Castle Quarter</b>	<b>Market</b>
<b>19 November</b>	<b>Wales – Fiji rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>19 November</b>	<b>Children in Need</b>	<b>Various</b>	<b>Charity event</b>
<b>24 November</b>	<b>Safer Wales</b>	<b>Castle Quarter</b>	<b>Exhibition</b>
27 November	Wales – New Zealand rugby	Millennium Stadium	Sport crowd

9 December	Victorian Christmas tours	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
14 December	Victorian Christmas tours	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
31 December – 1 January	Calennig	Cardiff Castle	Concert/fireworks

<b>2011</b>			
13 January	John Lewis flashmob	City Centre	Dance
30 January	Lord Mayor's Show	St. David's Hall	Civil charity event
<b>3-4 February</b>	<b>Chinese New Year</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Dance and music</b>
<b>4 February</b>	<b>Wales – England rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
16 February	Red Nose Day lighting	Cardiff Bay	Floodlighting public buildings
<b>26 February</b>	<b>Millennium rugby league</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>1 March</b>	<b>St. David's Day Parade</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Institutional/ popular parade</b>
8-13 March	Breaking the Waves Festival	Cardiff Bay	Concerts
<b>12 March</b>	<b>Wales – Ireland rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>17 March</b>	<b>Paddy Parade</b>	<b>City Centre pubs</b>	<b>Institutional pub crawl</b>
<b>26 March</b>	<b>Wales – England football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>8-10 April</b>	<b>RHS Show</b>	<b>Bute Park</b>	<b>Flower show</b>
20 April	Easter bonnet workshop 10.30	Cardiff Castle	Family activities
22 April	Easter egg trail	National Museum of Wales	Family activities

23 April	Egg rolling, egg decorating workshop	Cardiff Castle	Family activities
<b>29 April</b>	<b>Royal wedding Big Screen</b>	<b>St. David's Hall</b>	<b>Audience</b>
30 April	Nos Galan Mai	Millennium Centre	Dance/concert
30 April – 1 May	Butetown Bay Jazz	Millennium Centre	Concerts
14-15 May	Romans Return	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
<b>18 May</b>	<b>Riverside Market</b>	<b>High Street</b>	<b>Market</b>
<b>21 May</b>	<b>Heineken Cup Final (rugby)</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>26 May</b>	<b>England – Sri Lanka cricket</b>	<b>Swalec Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>4 June</b>	<b>Wales – Barbarians rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
4-5 June	Cardiff Yacht Club Regatta	Cardiff Bay	Water-sport
5 June	The Big Lunch	City Centre	Charity event
10-11 June	Cardiff New Brass Festival	City Centre and Cardiff Bay	Concerts
11-12 June	Cardiff Bay Yacht Club Regatta	Cardiff Bay	Water-sport
<b>13-25 June</b>	<b>Tafwyl</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Welsh cultural events</b>
<b>14-15 June</b>	<b>Take That</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Concert crowd</b>
<b>17-19 June</b>	<b>Gŵyl Ifan</b>	<b>City Centre and Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Parade and dance display</b>
18-19 June	Joust	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
18-19 June	Canoe Slalom	International Sports Village, Cardiff Bay	Canoeing
21-26 June	Glamorgan University art exhibition	Butetown History and Arts Centre	Art
25-26 June	Topper Nationals	Cardiff Bay	Water-sport

25 June	World Smurf Day	International Sports Village, Cardiff Bay	Family activities
30 June – 2 July	A Midsummer Night's Dream	Cardiff Castle	Open-air theatre
3 July	Cross Keys Silver Band	Cardiff Castle	Concert
3 July	White Water Raft Challenge	International Sports Village, Cardiff Bay	Water- sport
5-31 July	Blysh Festival	Cardiff Bay	Concerts
<b>8-10 July</b>	<b>International Food and Drink Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Fair/market</b>
17 July	Cardiff Multicultural Mela	Cardiff Bay	Concert/market
<b>31 July – 14 August</b>	<b>Craft Folk market</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Market</b>
31 July	Fantasy and Fairytale Picnic	Cardiff Castle	Family activities
4 August	Riverside Market	High Street	Market
<b>5-7 August</b>	<b>Admiral Big Weekend</b>	<b>Civic Centre</b>	<b>Funfair/concerts</b>
<b>6 August</b>	<b>Cardiff Carnival</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Parade/concert</b>
6-7 August	Water-skiing, European Cup	Cardiff Bay	Water-sport
6-7 August	Welsh Canoe Polo Championships	Cardiff Bay	Water-sport
7 August	Cross Keys Silver Band	Cardiff Castle	Music
<b>13 August</b>	<b>Wales – England rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
13-14 August	Grande Medieval M��lee	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
14 August	Classic Motor Boat Rally	Cardiff Bay	Boat display
<b>20 August</b>	<b>Wales – Argentina rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>27-29 August</b>	<b>Harbour Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Market/display</b>

<b>27-29 August</b>	<b>Welsh Optimist Championships</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Water-sport</b>
27-30 August	Balloon Festival	City Centre	Hot-air balloons
3 September	Cardiff International Paddle Festival	International Sports Village, Cardiff Bay	Water-sport
3 September	Wales LGBT Mardi Gras	City Centre	Fair/concert
4 September	Cross Keys Silver Band	Cardiff Castle	Music
6 September	STS Tenacious visit	International Sports Village, Cardiff Bay	Sailing ship visit
13 September	Roald Dahl Day	Cardiff Bay	Family activities
24-25 September	Great British Cheese Festival	Cardiff Castle	Food fair
8 October	Michael Jackson tribute	Millennium Stadium	Concert crowd
14 October	Zippos Circus	Cardiff Bay	Circus
15 October	Wales – France rugby Big Screen	Millennium Stadium	Sport crowd
<b>16 October</b>	<b>Cardiff Half Marathon</b>	<b>City Centre and Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Road race</b>
27-28 October	Halloween mask making workshop	Quayside, Cardiff Bay	Family activities
30 October	Ghoulish Face Painting	Cardiff Bay	Family activities
17-20 November	On the road to Christmas	Roald Dahl Plass, Cardiff Bay	Market
17 November	Beaujolais Day	Norwegian Church Arts Centre	Wine event
<b>3 December</b>	<b>Wales – Australia rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>4 December</b>	<b>Funfair</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Funfair</b>
31 December	Calennig	Cardiff Castle	Concert/fireworks



<b>2012</b>			
<b>12 February</b>	<b>Wales – Scotland rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>1 March</b>	<b>St. David’s Day Parade</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Institutional/popular parade</b>
<b>10 March</b>	<b>Wales – Italy rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>17 March</b>	<b>Wales – France rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
19 March	Wales rugby Grand Slam celebration	Senedd	Sport recognition
<b>24-25 March</b>	<b>Doctor Who Convention (attendees in street)</b>	<b>Millennium Centre</b>	<b>Fan event</b>
<b>25 May</b>	<b>Olympic Flame procession</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>One-off event crowd</b>
25 May	Olympic Flame Concert	Cardiff Castle	Concert
<b>2 June</b>	<b>Wales – Barbarians rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
3 June	Big Lunch	St. Mary Street	Queen’s Diamond Jubilee celebration
<b>22-24 June</b>	<b>Gŵyl Ifan</b>	<b>City Centre and Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Parade and dance display</b>
<b>23 June</b>	<b>Tafwyl Fair</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Fair/music</b>
<b>6-8 July</b>	<b>International Food and Drink Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Fair/market</b>
<b>15 July</b>	<b>Cardiff Multicultural Mela</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Concert/market</b>
<b>25 July</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>26 July</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>28 July</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>

<b>31 July</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>1 August</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>3 August</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>4 August</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>10 August</b>	<b>London Olympics football</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
18-19 August	Grand Medieval Melee	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
24 August	England – South Africa One-day cricket	Swalec Stadium	Sport crowd
<b>25 August</b>	<b>British Speedway Grand Prix</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>25 August</b>	<b>Friends Life t20 Finals Day</b>	<b>Swalec Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
27 August	Paralympic Flame Festival	Cardiff Bay	Sport display
<b>31 August – 2 September</b>	<b>Harbour Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Market/display</b>
<b>1 September</b>	<b>Pride Parade</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Popular parade</b>
<b>1 September</b>	<b>Wales LGBT Mardi Gras</b>	<b>Bute Park</b>	<b>Fair/concert</b>
<b>7 September</b>	<b>Wales – Belgium 2014 World Cup football qualifier</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
14 September	Welsh London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics athletes' celebration	Senedd	Sport recognition
4-7 October	Cardiff Music Festival	City Centre and Cardiff Bay	Music

<b>12 October</b>	<b>Wales – Scotland 2014 World Cup football qualifier</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
3 November	Sparks in the Park	Bute Park	Fireworks
<b>10 November</b>	<b>Wales – Argentina rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>15 November</b>	<b>Step into Christmas</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Market/display</b>
<b>16 November</b>	<b>Wales – Samoa rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>22 November – 6 January</b>	<b>Winter Wonderland</b>	<b>City Hall lawn and Gorsedd Gardens</b>	<b>Funfair</b>
<b>24 November</b>	<b>Wales – New Zealand rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>1 December</b>	<b>Wales – Australia rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>7-9 December</b>	<b>Christmas Market</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Market</b>
31 December-1 January	Calennig	Cardiff Castle	Concert/fireworks

<b>2013</b>			
<b>2 February</b>	<b>Wales – Ireland rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>1 March</b>	<b>St. David’s Day Parade</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Institutional/popular parade</b>
<b>16 March</b>	<b>Wales – England rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
29-31 March	Wales goes pop	City Centre and Cardiff Bay	Concerts
5-31 May	Gwanwyn Festival	City Centre and Cardiff Bay	Older people’s activities

19 May	Victorian Festival	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
6 June	Cardiff Multicultural Mela	Cardiff Bay	Concert/market
<b>10 June</b>	<b>Rhianna</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Concert crowd</b>
12 June	Bon Jovi	Cardiff City Stadium	Concert crowd
14-30 June	Cardiff Cycle Festival	City Centre and Cardiff Bay	Cycling
<b>14-16 June</b>	<b>One Planet Cardiff Festival</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Green activities</b>
<b>14-21 June</b>	<b>Tafwyl</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Welsh cultural events</b>
<b>15 June</b>	<b>Cardiff Vegetarian Festival</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Market/display</b>
<b>15 June</b>	<b>Tafwyl Fair</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Fair/music</b>
<b>22-24 June</b>	<b>Gŵyl Ifan</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Parade and dance display</b>
22-23 June	Joust	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
<b>12-14 July</b>	<b>International Food and Drink Festival</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Fair/market</b>
19 July – 4 August	Blysh Festival	Cardiff Bay	Music
<b>23 July</b>	<b>Bruce Springsteen</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Concert crowd</b>
<b>10 August</b>	<b>Cardiff Carnival</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Parade/concert</b>
10 August	Grand Medieval Melee	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
23-25 August	Harbour Festival	Cardiff Bay	Market/display
23-25 August	Hub Festival	City Centre pubs/clubs	Concerts
<b>31 August</b>	<b>Pride Parade</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Popular parade</b>
31 August	Wales LGBT Mardi Gras	Millennium Stadium	Fair/concert

31 August – 1 September	Battle Royale	Cardiff Castle	Historical display
28-29 September	Great British Cheese Festival	Cardiff Castle	Market
<b>6 October</b>	<b>Cardiff Half Marathon</b>	<b>City Centre and Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Road race</b>
17-10 October	Sŵn Festival	City Centre pubs/clubs	
<b>9 November</b>	<b>Wales – South Africa rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>14 November</b>	<b>Step into Christmas</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Market/display</b>
<b>16 November</b>	<b>Wales – Argentina rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>22 November</b>	<b>Wales – Tonga rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>
<b>30 November</b>	<b>Wales – Australia rugby</b>	<b>Millennium Stadium</b>	<b>Sport crowd</b>

### Protesting

Date	Event	Location	Form
<b>2010</b>			
<b>3 July</b>	Somalilanders independence march	Temple of Peace	Rally
<b>10 July</b>	<b>Muslims protest – ‘anti-Islam laws’</b>	<b>Queen Street</b>	<b>Rally</b>
<b>22 July</b>	<b>School closure protest</b>	<b>Senedd</b>	<b>Rally/petition</b>
<b>31 July</b>	Splott incinerator protest	Star Centre	Rally (70+)
<b>12 August</b>	Hooters Bar protest	Working Street	Rally (5)
<b>24 August</b>	<b>Splott incinerator protest</b>	<b>Queen Street</b>	<b>Rally</b>
<b>24 September</b>	Cardiff Against the Cuts launch	Transport House	Meeting

<b>25 September</b>	Security at Senedd for Armenian exhibition	Senedd	Meeting
<b>30 September</b>	<b>Student fees protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally/picket (32)</b>
<b>10 October</b>	<b>Kings Cross petition</b>	<b>Kings Cross</b>	<b>Petition</b>
<b>10 October</b>	<b>Anti-abortion protest</b>	<b>Cardiff University</b>	<b>Leafletting</b>
<b>13 October</b>	<b>Splott incinerator protest</b>	<b>Senedd</b>	<b>Rally</b>
<b>18-26 October</b>	<b>Burma Solidarity Week</b>	<b>Cardiff University</b>	<b>Various</b>
<b>20 October</b>	<b>Government cuts protest</b>	<b>Aneurin Bevan statue</b>	<b>Rally (50+)</b>
<b>21 October</b>	Afghan War meeting	Cardiff University	Meeting
<b>21 October</b>	Folk Against Fascism	Promised Land bar	Concert
<b>25 October</b>	<b>Government cuts protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally (300)</b>
28 October	Afghan War meeting	Cardiff University	Meeting
<b>6 November</b>	<b>S4C protest</b>	<b>Old Welsh Office</b>	<b>Rally (1500)</b>
<b>24 November</b>	<b>Student fees protest</b>	<b>Cardiff University – Queen Street – Cardiff University</b>	<b>March (200)</b>
<b>26 November</b>	Candlelight vigil – women living with violence	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
<b>30 November</b>	<b>Carnival against the Cuts</b>	<b>Aneurin Bevan statue</b>	<b>Rally (100)</b>
<b>13 December</b>	<b>Student fees protest</b>	<b>Cardiff University</b>	<b>Meeting</b>
14 December	UWIC students protest	UWIC Llandaff campus	March (200)
<b>18 December</b>	<b>UK Uncut</b>	<b>Top Shop, Queen Street</b>	<b>Picket</b>

<b>2011</b>			
<b>15 January</b>	<b>Right to Work Campaign</b>	<b>Barclays Bank, Queen Street</b>	<b>Picket</b>
31 January	S4C protest	BBC Llandaff	Occupation (25)
2 February	Folk Against Fascism Night	Gwdihw bar	Concert
8 February	<b>Government cuts protest</b>	<b>Aneurin Bevan statue</b>	<b>Rally (25)</b>
9 February	<b>Language right court case protest</b>	<b>Cardiff Magistrates Court</b>	<b>Rally (10)</b>
17 February	Robin Hood Tax protest	Queen Street	Occupation
19 February	<b>Glangwili Hospital closure</b>	<b>Senedd</b>	<b>Rally</b>
24 February	<b>Cardiff Against the Cuts protest</b>	<b>Cardiff University</b>	<b>Rally/picket (15)</b>
24 February	<b>Cardiff County Council cuts protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally/picket</b>
<b>24 February</b>	<b>Anti-Gaddafi protest</b>	<b>Aneurin Bevan statue</b>	<b>Rally (100)</b>
25 February	Anti-Gaddafi protest	Senedd	Rally (100)
25 February	Kings Cross pub petition	Kings Cross	Petition
25 February	Student sleepout	Gorsedd Gardens	Sleepout
<b>4 March</b>	<b>Liberal Party Conference picket</b>	<b>Angel Hotel</b>	<b>Picket</b>
<b>5 March</b>	<b>Government cuts protest</b>	<b>City Hall to Sophia Gardens</b>	<b>March/rally (1500)</b>
<b>18 March</b>	<b>University staff strike</b>	<b>Cardiff University</b>	<b>Picket</b>
22 March	Lost pension protest	Senedd	Rally
28 March	Benefit concert for Palestine	Buffalo Bar	Concert

<b>2 April</b>	<b>Cycle protest – Cardiff Critical Mass</b>	<b>Start at National Museum</b>	<b>Cycle ride (15)</b>
10 April	Cycle protest – Cardiff Critical Mass	Cowbridge Road	Cycle ride
1 May	Yes to AV	Cardiff Bay	Canvass
<b>7 May</b>	<b>Million Marijuana March</b>	<b>City Hall-St. Mary Street-City Hall</b>	<b>Rally/march</b>
<b>11 May</b>	<b>International Day Against Homophobia</b>	<b>City Hall etc.</b>	<b>Institutional flag display</b>
13 May	Congolese Community protest	City Hall to Senedd	March
28 May	UK Uncut	Top Shop, Queen Street	Picket
2 June	Cardiff Against the Cuts meeting	Transport House	Meeting
4 June	Slut Walk	City Hall	March (50)
<b>4-11 June</b>	<b>Real Democracy camp</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
7 June	Cardiff Bay Republican Day	Mischiefs café-bar	Meeting
<b>11 June</b>	<b>World Naked Bike Ride</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Cycle ride</b>
<b>30 June</b>	<b>Public sector strike</b>	<b>Sophia Gardens-Old Welsh Office</b>	<b>Rally and march (700)</b>
5 July	Blimp protest	Cardiff Bay	Rally
7 July	Solidarity with S4C protestors	Cardiff Magistrates Court	Rally (100+)
6 August	Cardiff Bay Republican Day	Senedd	Rally
6 September	Lobby Against NHS Cuts	County Hall	Rally
5 October	Teachers strike	No action in city centre or Senedd	None recorded
18 October	Pro-life Day of Silent Solidarity	No action in city centre or Cardiff Bay	None recorded



20 October	Government cuts protest	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
<b>21 October</b>	<b>All Wales Demonstration Against Education Cuts</b>	<b>Senedd</b>	<b>Rally</b>
<b>22 October</b>	<b>Hardest Hit</b>	<b>City Hall – St. Mary Street – Hayes – City Hall</b>	<b>Rally/march (300)</b>
22 October	All Wales Student Assembly	Cardiff University	Rally
26 October	Teachers' strike	No action in city centre or Cardiff Bay	None recorded
<b>10 November</b>	<b>Occupy Cardiff protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally</b>
<b>11 November</b>	<b>Occupy Cardiff protest</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle green</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
14 November	HMF promotion in schools protest	Senedd	Rally
30 November	UK Uncut	Queen Street	Occupation
<b>30 November</b>	<b>Cardiff Against the Cuts</b>	<b>City Hall – Sophia Gardens</b>	<b>Rally/march (3000)</b>

<b>2012</b>			
8 February	Occupy Cardiff protest	Cardiff Magistrates Court	Rally
19 March	NHS Bill vigil	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally (167 invited on Facebook; 24 confirmed)
1 May	Cardiff Mayday Anarchist Picnic	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
5 May	May Day March and Rally	Callaghan Square – Temple of Peace	March/rally (500+)
10 May	Public sector strike		Pickets
31 May	Remploy protest		Rally/march

<b>9 June</b>	<b>World Naked Bike Ride</b>	<b>Civic Centre – St. Mary Street – Hayes – Civic Centre</b>	<b>Cycle ride</b>
<b>14 June</b>	<b>Breed Specific Legislation [dogs] protest</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle – Aneurin Bevan statue</b>	<b>Rally</b>
<b>25 July</b>	<b>Austerity Olympics</b>	<b>Working Street</b>	<b>Rally/march</b>
<b>25 July</b>	<b>Olympics corporate takeover protest</b>	<b>Outside Holiday Inn</b>	<b>Rally</b>
26 July	Solidarity with Cardiff homeless	City Hall and Gorsedd Gardens	Rally (60+)
10 August	‘Prisonfare’ protest	HM Prison Cardiff	Rally
29 August	ATOS protest	Aneurin Bevan statue	Mass die-in (100+)
<b>22 September</b>	<b>Muslims protest against anti-Islam film</b>	<b>Aneurin Bevan statue</b>	<b>Rally</b>
12 October	Police Privatisation protest	City Hall	Meeting
<b>16 October</b>	<b>Trident submarine protest</b>	<b>Senedd</b>	<b>Rally</b>
14 November	Socialist Student Protest	Cardiff University	Rally
17-18 November	‘Gaza, stop the massacre’ protest	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
29 November	Reclaim the Night	City Centre	March (300)
8 December	UK Uncut	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally

<b>2013</b>			
12 January	‘Say no to Scapegoating of claimants’	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
<b>31 January</b>	<b>Cardiff Riding School protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally</b>
8 February	Touch Trust protest	County Hall	Rally

16 February	Iraq War ten-year anniversary	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
<b>23 February</b>	<b>Pro-Choice Cardiff Protest</b>	<b>BPAS St. Mary Street</b>	<b>Picket and opposing rally</b>
<b>28 February</b>	<b>Cardiff County Council cuts protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally (200)</b>
<b>1 March</b>	<b>Animal rights protest</b>	<b>'Lush', Queen Street</b>	<b>Picket</b>
<b>2 March</b>	<b>Animal rights protest</b>	<b>Cardiff University</b>	<b>Picket</b>
<b>2 March</b>	<b>Pro-Choice Cardiff Protest</b>	<b>BPAS St. Mary Street</b>	<b>Picket and opposing rally</b>
9 March	Pro-Choice Cardiff Protest	BPAS St. Mary Street	Picket and opposing rally
<b>16 March</b>	<b>Pro-Choice Cardiff Protest</b>	<b>BPAS St. Mary Street</b>	<b>Picket and opposing rally</b>
19-20 March	UKBA arrest protest	Cardiff Magistrates Court	Rally
20 March	Budget day protest and party	Cardiff Castle green and Cayo Arms	Rally and meeting
23 March	Unite the Resistance Wales	Cardiff University	Meeting
23 March	Pro-Choice Cardiff Protest	BPAS St. Mary Street	Picket and opposing rally
28 March	School closure protest	Senedd	Rally
<b>30 March</b>	<b>Animal rights protest</b>	<b>WH Smith, bookmakers, fur retailers</b>	<b>Picket</b>
<b>30 March</b>	<b>Bedroom tax protest</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Rally</b>
16 April	Frack Free Wales protest	Senedd	Rally 200
17 April	Baroness Thatcher funeral protest	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
21 April	Bedroom tax protest	Lib-Dem Conference, Holland House hotel	Rally
26 April	School closure protest	City Hall	Rally (30+)

<b>4 May</b>	<b>Million Marijuana March</b>	<b>Civic Centre – Senedd-Hamadryad Park</b>	<b>March (1000+)</b>
4 May	May Day March and Rally	Callaghan Square – Temple of Peace	Rally/march
11 May	Anti-blacklisting protest	Queen Street	Rally/march
26 May	Cardiff City FC fans protest	City Centre	March (300+)
21 June	Tamil cricket protest	Swalec Stadium	Rally
27 June	PCS demonstration	Senedd	Rally
5 July	NHS 65th anniversary protest	Aneurin Bevan statue	Rally
2-23 August	Police Station occupation	Canton	Occupation
14 August	Squat	Rumpoles pub	Squat
22 August	Leisure Services cuts	City Hall	Rally
24 August	Bedroom Tax sleep-out	City Centre	Sleep-out
31 August	Syria war protest	City Centre	March

### Remembering

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Form</b>
<b>2010</b>			
29 June – 5 July	Wales Refugee Week	Various	Various
2 July	Arandora Star plaque dedication	St. David's Cathedral (RC)	Commemoration
3 July	Somali Independence Day	City centre	Parade
15 August	VJ Day	St. John's Church	Parade
<b>10 September</b>	<b>HMS Dragon visit</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Public visits and parade</b>

<b>17 September</b>	<b>Beating the Retreat</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>11 November</b>	<b>Armistice Day</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial and City Centre</b>	<b>Popular remembrance</b>
<b>12-17 November</b>	<b>HMS Monmouth visit</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Public visits and parade</b>
<b>13 November</b>	<b>Seafarers Remembrance Service</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Institutional Remembrance</b>
<b>14 November</b>	<b>Service of Remembrance</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial</b>	<b>Institutional Remembrance</b>
<b>24 November – 30 January</b>	<b>Jewish Museum Exhibition</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Exhibition</b>
<b>1 December</b>	<b>World Aids Day</b>		<b>Popular remembrance – various</b>
<b>5 December</b>	<b>Bereavement service</b>	<b>Cardiff Crematorium</b>	<b>Popular remembrance</b>

<b>2011</b>			
<b>27 January</b>	<b>National Holocaust Day</b>	<b>City Hall</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>6 February</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>12 February –31 May</b>	<b>Abandoned Soldier</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Temporary statue</b>
<b>25-27 February</b>	<b>The Royal Welsh Regiment – Changing of the Guard</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>26 February</b>	<b>Royal Welsh Regiment parade</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade</b>
<b>1 March</b>	<b>Lord Mayor's Service</b>	<b>St. John's Church</b>	<b>Civil-military religious event</b>

1 March	Pierhead Building anniversary	Cardiff Bay	Commemoration
<b>1 April</b>	<b>Cardiff Story opening</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Royal visit – civil event</b>
<b>21 April</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
23 April	Cardiff City mark of respect	Cardiff City Stadium	Public grief
<b>30 April</b>	<b>RWR Homecoming</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade</b>
6 May	RLC Homecoming	City Centre	Military parade
10 May	Jubilee tree planting	City Centre	Commemoration
20 May	Lord Mayor installation	City Hall	Civil ceremony
<b>21 May</b>	<b>Seafarers Remembrance Service</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>2 June</b>	<b>1QDG Homecoming</b>	<b>Civic Centre</b>	<b>Military parade</b>
<b>2 June</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
2 June	Poppy Appeal fun run	City Centre	Charity event
5 June	Rorke’s Drift Memorial	Cathays Cemetery	Institutional/ popular remembrance
<b>6-12 June</b>	<b>Seafarers Awareness Week</b>	<b>Various</b>	<b>Recognition</b>
<b>10 June</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
15 June	Battle of Britain flight	Cardiff Bay	Military display
16 June	Scott anniversary	Cardiff Bay	Commemoration
<b>24 June</b>	<b>Falklands War 30th Anniversary event</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Institutional/ popular remembrance</b>
<b>25 June</b>	<b>Armed Forces Day</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade/display</b>
30 June	Scott memorial plaque	Cardiff Bay	Commemoration
2 July	Arandora Star service	St. David’s Cathedral (RC)	Commemoration
7 July	Help for Heroes Charity event	City Centre	Charity event

7 July	Senedd opening	Senedd	Civil ceremony
<b>25 July</b>	<b>Norwegian Church victim respects</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Public grief</b>
2 September	Jack Petersen plaque	City Centre	Commemoration
<b>15 September</b>	<b>Beating Retreat</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>27 October</b>	<b>Poppy Appeal launch</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Charity event</b>
<b>9-19 November</b>	<b>Field of Remembrance</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>11 November</b>	<b>Armistice Day</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial and City Centre</b>	<b>Popular remembrance</b>
<b>12 November</b>	<b>Seafarers Remembrance Service</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>13 November</b>	<b>Service of Remembrance</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>14 November</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>27 November-12 December</b>	<b>Gary Speed memorial</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Public grief</b>
<b>30 November</b>	<b>Welsh Guards Homecoming</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade</b>
<b>1 December</b>	<b>World Aids Day</b>	<b>Various</b>	<b>Popular remembrance – various</b>
5 December	Nelson Mandela remembrance	Various	Various

<b>2012</b>			
27 January	National Holocaust Day	City Hall	Institutional remembrance
6 February	Royal Salute	Cardiff Castle	Military display

<b>1 March</b>	<b>Lord Mayor's Service</b>	<b>St. John's Church</b>	<b>Civil-military religious event</b>
<b>16 April</b>	<b>Royal Jubilee visit</b>	<b>City Centre and Llandaff Cathedral</b>	<b>Royal visit</b>
<b>21 April</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>24 May</b>	<b>Seafarers Remembrance Service</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>2 June</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>2 June</b>	<b>1QDG Homecoming</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade</b>
10 June	Royal Salute	Cardiff Castle	Military display
<b>16 June</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
17 June	Crematorium Memorial Day	Cardiff Crematorium	Popular remembrance
24 June	Babies Memorial Service	Cardiff Crematorium	Popular remembrance
<b>30 June</b>	<b>National Falkland Memorial Re-dedication</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Institutional/popular remembrance</b>
<b>30 June</b>	<b>Armed Forces Day</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade/display</b>
7 July	Poppy Run	City Centre	Charity event
22 September	RBL concert	St. David's Hall	Charity event
<b>24 October</b>	<b>Poppy Appeal Launch</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Charity event</b>
3 November	Festival of Remembrance	St. David's Hall	Popular remembrance
<b>7-17 November</b>	<b>Field of Remembrance</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>10 November</b>	<b>Seafarers Remembrance Service</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
10 November	Fred Keenor statue unveiling	Cardiff City Stadium	Commemoration
<b>11 November</b>	<b>Service of Remembrance</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>



<b>11 November</b>	<b>Armistice Day</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Popular remembrance</b>
14 November	Royal Salute	Cardiff Castle	Military display
<b>1 December</b>	<b>World Aids Day</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Popular remembrance – various</b>

<b>2013</b>			
1 January	Lord Mayor's Show	St. David's Hall	Civil charity event
27 January	National Holocaust Day	City Hall	Institutional remembrance
6 February	Royal Salute	Cardiff Castle	Military display
1 March	Lord Mayor's Service	St. John's Church	Civil-military religious event
<b>8 March</b>	<b>International Women's Day</b>	<b>Various</b>	<b>Various</b>
<b>22 April</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
<b>25 May</b>	<b>Seafarers Remembrance Service</b>	<b>Cardiff Bay</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
3 June	Royal Salute	Cardiff Castle	Military display
10 June	Royal Salute	Cardiff Castle	Military display
<b>29 June</b>	<b>Armed Forces Day</b>	<b>City Centre</b>	<b>Military parade/display</b>
<b>9 November</b>	<b>Service of Remembrance</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial</b>	<b>Institutional remembrance</b>
<b>11 November</b>	<b>Armistice Day</b>	<b>Welsh National War Memorial and City Centre</b>	<b>Popular remembrance</b>
<b>14 November</b>	<b>Royal Salute</b>	<b>Cardiff Castle</b>	<b>Military display</b>
01 December	World Aids Day	City Centre	Popular remembrance – various

**New regular events introduced in the study period:**

Field of Remembrance at Cardiff Castle (2010)  
Cardiff Fashion Week (2012)  
Extreme Sailing (2012)  
Hub music festival (2012)  
Pride Cymru (2012)  
Step in Christmas (2012)  
Tafwyl Fair (2012)  
Cardiff Children's Literature Festival (2013)

**Events etc. lost or changed in the study period;**

WOW on the Waterfront (2010)  
Big Weekend: ended (2011)  
Wales Rally GB: moved to Llandudno (2013)  
2<sup>nd</sup> The Royal Welsh: stood down (2014)  
Millennium Stadium: name change to Principality Stadium (2015)

**New regular events introduced in the study period:**

Field of Remembrance at Cardiff Castle (2010)  
Cardiff Fashion Week (2012)  
Extreme Sailing (2012)  
Hub music festival (2012)  
Pride Cymru (2012)  
Step in Christmas (2012)  
Tafwyl Fair (2012)  
Cardiff Children's Literature Festival (2013)

**Events etc. lost or changed in the study period;**

WOW on the Waterfront (2010)  
Big Weekend: ended (2011)  
Wales Rally GB: moved to Llandudno (2013)  
2<sup>nd</sup> The Royal Welsh: stood down (2014)  
Millennium Stadium: name change to Principality Stadium (2015)

## Appendix 2 – Comparative table of genres

Main categories are taken from Dundes's 'materials of folklore' (1965, 3). Those in brackets are from other sources, or distinctions appropriate to the study. The list is not comprehensive, but intended to summarise useful comparisons. Where appropriate, genres are separated into comparable forms; most are indirect comparisons rather than cognate or paralleling the other lore. Some examples are included under more than one heading. A few outside the study parameters are included for comparative purposes. Blanks indicate that a heading is not appropriate to one of the forms of lore, rather than not having been observed.

### Secondary genres

These illustrate Dundes's major forms such as festivals and special day (or holiday) customs' (1965, 3). Falassi's 'rites' (1987b, 4-6), Handelman's approaches to 'the lived-in world' (1998, 49) and other sources addressing form are not included.

	<b>Popular lore</b>	<b>Institutional lore</b>
<b>Procession</b>		
	St. David's Day Parade Pride Cymru Protest	Civil-military - Remembrance Service Military - homecoming
<b>Temporary gathering<sup>1</sup></b>		
<b>Remembering</b>	Public grief vigils Remembrance event (e.g. Dressing Aids Tree, Falkland Memorial Re- dedication)	Audience - Remembrance Service - Royal Salute - Beating the Retreat
<b>Protesting</b>	Not formally established - rally - picket - blockade - occupation	Formally established, e.g. trade union - rally - picket
<b>Socialising</b>	Crowds - sport - concert	Audience - sporting recognition

<b>Funfair</b>		
	n/a	Big Weekend Rides - at fair - in City Centre - Mardi Gras after-party
<b>Fair</b>		
	Tafwyl Mardi Gras	Armed Forces Day field event Harbour Festival
<b>Market</b>		
	Farmers' Continental Flea	Food Fair Harbour Festival Craft

### Primary material genres

	<b>Popular lore</b>	<b>Institutional lore</b>
<b>Costume</b>		
<b>[Authentic]</b>	Replica sport shirt T-shirt - protesting imagery/wording - military imagery	Civic dress - Lord Lieutenant - Sheriff - Lord Mayor Military uniform - Full dress - No.1 dress - No. 2 service dress - Temperate combat dress - No. 5 desert combat dress. Clergy vestments Veterans' dress
<b>[Mimicry]</b>	Historical re-enactor dress 'Girlie' at Pride Cymru (LGBT)	Fancy dress Stroller
<b>[Parody]</b>	Welsh male dress (simulacrum of Scottish forms) Red Dragon clothing Fancy dress Complex dressing up (e.g. 'Edwardian English' rugby team)	n/a

	Cross-dressing (e.g. Dame Wales, drag queen)	
<b>Art</b>	All physical forms have elements of art	
	Bodily adornment - face stencilling - face painting - hair colouring	n/a
<b>Symbol <sup>2</sup></b>	Welsh imagery - privileged (e.g. Red Dragon, daffodil, leek) - secondary (e.g. harp)	
	Flag - Union Flag - Red Dragon - trade union - LGBT Rainbow Banners - trade union - protest group - other group self-identification - banner of the Welsh Princes - Sacred Heart of Jesus (unique example of popular use of religious imagery)	Flag - Service ensign (RN, RAF) - Army corps and regimental colours - veterans (RN and RAF direct adaptation of service ensign; Army derivative from associated colours and imagery) Poppy Poppy wreath
	Small worn form - artificial flower (including Poppy) - ribbon - wristband - metal souvenir badge - sticker	Small worn form - medal - service, regimental, corps or veterans' association tie - Poppy
	Fixed form - plaque - statue - tree Placed forms - flowers - Poppy wreath - Poppy - Cross etc. - candle - love-lock	Fixed form - memorial (as location of event) Placed form - Poppy wreath - Cross etc.

<b>Non-symbolic imagery</b>		
	Photograph (e.g. politician on protest poster)	Photograph (Field of Remembrance)
<b>[Written form]</b>		
<b>[Identifier]</b>	Written Welsh Written Welsh/English	Written Welsh Written Welsh/English
<b>[Slogan]</b>	On poster and t-shirts (e.g. protest and Pride Cymru)	Cardiff Council promotion (all forms)
<b>[Joke]</b>	On poster, t-shirt and on/as other material form (all infrequent)	Strollers' material form
<b>Light</b>	Public grief vigil Candles – votive Christmas	Lighting public building (e.g. public grief)

### Primary expressive genres

	<b>Popular lore</b>	<b>Institutional lore</b>
<b>Instrumental music</b>	National anthems Popular Hymns Funfair ride Unrelated rhythmic in procession	Service, corps and regimental march National anthems Hymn Solemn, e.g. <i>Nimrod</i> Unrelated rhythmic in processions
<b>Song</b>	National anthems Popular Hymn Folk (traditional and modern) Protest Informal communal	National anthems Hymn
<b>Speech [and Verbalisation generally]</b>		
<b>Formal</b>	Protest speech	Liturgy Protest speech
<b>Chant</b>	Protesting Pride Cymru	Protesting
<b>Insult</b>	Protesting	Protesting
<b>Vendors' cry</b>	Funfair barker Match-day pedlar etc. Market	
<b>Dance</b>	Welsh folk dance Other ethnic Modern	

<b>Drama</b>	Nativity play (outside parameters, associated with pre-Christmas socialising)	Civil-military ceremonial
<b>Gesture</b>		Military drill
<b>Game including links to [Play]<sup>3</sup></b>		
<b>[Competition]</b>		Direct popular participation in half-marathon, 10k charity runs (outside parameters)
<b>[Mimicry/simulation]</b>		
<b>[Dizziness]</b>	Funfair ride	
<b>Belief</b>		
<b>Prayer</b>	Public grief vigils	Liturgy
<b>Charm</b>	Wearing and placing of appropriate material forms noted above	
<b>Ideology</b>	Left-wing rhetoric	

### Primary genres underlying identity

	<b>Popular lore</b>	<b>Institutional lore</b>
<b>Myths<sup>4</sup></b>	Red Dragon flag St. David's flag	Red Dragon flag St. David's flag Banner of the Welsh Princes 'Giants of Wales'
<b>Legends</b>		
<b>Tales</b>		

### Notes

1. McPhail's 'temporary gathering' (1991, passim) is a useful term for static events which do not involve any significant temporary structures. It does not have any inherent positive or negative associations, but certain locations do so, illustrating Eyerman's 'public place...with symbolic significance' (2006, 197). The latter include fixed dedicated area (e.g. Aids Tree and war memorial), and temporary dedicated area (e.g. shrine and Field of Remembrance).
2. 'Symbol' is taken to include signs, images, colours and sounds, which have recognisable significance.

3. From Schechner (2006, 9- 94).
4. Myth, legend and tale tend to have vague boundaries within popular understanding, and in of public events, they can often be conflated within the broad category of folklore, history and heritage.



### **Appendix 3 – Illustrations**

In line with Sims and Stephens's comment that the observation approach involves examining material objects (2011, 224), photographs were taken at all types of event throughout the main fieldwork period. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, they were intended to capture some of the specifics of an event as a unique enactment, irrespective of whether it was an instance of a repeated activity, example of a commonly observed type of activity or a one-off. Secondly, it allowed more detailed assessment of the material forms employed and comparison with other instances or examples of similar enactments. Such comparison can illustrate the extent to which any one form is employed within certain activities and themes, and across themes. It also shows changes, adaptation and occasional loss of forms. In supporting the study's theoretical approaches, photographs provide clear visual data on the distinction and nature of thematic, stylistic and compositional elements within generic conventions (Gilman 2009, 3).

The photographs taken were complemented by data from video and photographic websites. Comparison of personal and website photographs highlights the essential similarity of their subject matter, supporting Atkinson and Coffey's proposal that such websites can be considered as sources of primary data evidence (2011, 80).

The photographs within the Appendix are a representative selection rather than a comprehensive summary of material forms and some typical witness-audiences etc.

Photographs are presented to illustrate particular points, rather than necessarily with others from the same event.

Whether the central intention is conspicuous display or not, this is a frequent feature of many events.

### **Conspicuous display**

The generic conventions throughout are costume, art and symbol (using Dundes's list of materials of folklore). Taken together, rugby supporters provide an illustration which is broadly adaptable throughout: their dress is thematic, replica shirts are stylistic, and the daffodil and Red Dragon headgear are compositional.

**This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.**

**This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.**

### **Wales – Ireland Six Nations rugby international 2 February 2013**

Typical Six Nations dress. Forms include daffodil headgear (homemade, and pre-dating commercial forms), inflatable daffodil, replica shirts, worn Red Dragon flag and hat employing its image.



### **Wales – South Africa autumn rugby international 9 November 2013**

Less conspicuous dress at Autumn internationals. In most cases, top-coats cover identifiers such as replica shirts. Other than one SA shirt and two yellow wigs, the only identifiers are a few flags.



**Wales – England Six Nations rugby international 4 February 2011: ‘Edwardian rugby players’**

This is an atypical approach to complex dress, although use of traditional English forms is more common than the equivalents among any other visiting supporters.



**Heineken Cup final 21 May 2011: ‘Cowboys on horseback’**

Worn inflatables are uncommon, particularly in groups. The ‘cowboys’ had just passed behind the Seafarers Memorial Service, and all had removed their hats as they did so.



**St. David's Day Parade 1 March 2013**

Traditional Welsh and dance dress, and 'Shirley Bassey' giant.



**Gŵyl Ifan 23 June 2012**

Cadi Ha maypole and the procession to the City Hall lawns.



## Carnival

Elizabethan figures in 2011 ('Dr. Dee') and dancers in 2013 (no specific theme). The amount of work involved in producing the larger figures and the spectacular nature of costumes is clear.



This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

### **Pride Cymru 16 August 2014**

The use of Welsh on banner, posters and t-shirts is more balanced than at most activities. Leather near-uniform is one of several conventional forms of LGBT dress observed regularly.



**This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.**

**This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.**

### **Public sector strike 30 June 2011**

This picket line shows trade union flags and hi-vis waistcoats and includes one of the of 'Greyhounds Against the Cauts'. The poster in the ground is campaign-specific. The bilingual poster is generic rather than campaign or event-specific.



**The Royal Welsh 26 February 2011 St. David's Day Parade**

Goat-Major, Goat and Band wearing Ceremonial Dress, colour party in No.1 Dress.



**1 Queens Dragoon Guards Homecoming Parade 2 June 2012**

Ceremonial Dress (red), No. 1 Dress (blue) and No. 5 Desert Combat Dress.

\* \* \*

## Banners and flags



### St. David's Day Parade 1 March 2013

The prominence of St. David's flag is noticeable, as are the uncommonly observed banners of Owain Glyndwr (lions rampant) and Llewelyn the Great (lions passant guardant). The faux Welsh 'cilt' is prominent in the top photograph, but the general lack of identifying dress is common throughout the event.

This image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

### Public sector strikes 30 June 2011

Typical trade union branch banner, Unison national flags and campaign-specific posters.



### Million Marijuana March 7 May 2011

The same banner is carried each year. The overall lack of identifiers, such as stylised marijuana leaves or green dress is noticeable, in keeping with organisers' intentions.



**Armed Forces Day 25 June 2011**

Veterans' standards, including those of the Royal British Legion service, corps and regimental associations. Veterans' standard-bearers tend to wear black or dark blue.



**Seafarers Remembrance Service 24 May 2012**

Fewer standards are employed than by military veterans, reflecting the narrower range of those involved. They include those of HMS Cambria, Mission to Seamen, Royal Fleet Auxiliary Association and other Merchant Navy veterans' associations.



Bilingual Promotional banners used regularly. The St. David's Day banner is around during February and early March, and the Caerdydd and equivalent English language form throughout the year.



Bilingual humour for England – Australia cricket test match 8 July 2015. This was one of several posters around the city centre, stressing the novelty of test cricket in Cardiff by using Welsh.

## Cardiff Council promotional banners and posters

### Posters



The second image has been removed by the author for copyright reasons.

### Pride Cymru 16 August 2014

Topical, but not campaign or event- specific poster, and generic national poster.



### Student fees 24 November 2010

Home-made poster with 'F\*\*k Fees' handouts added, and picket with national campaign-specific posters.





**1<sup>st</sup> Queen's Dragoon Guards demonstration 2 June 2012**

Tied in with the regimental Homecoming Parade.



**Cardiff City supporters' poster**

Uncommon popular use of a commercially printed poster on a permanent billboard.

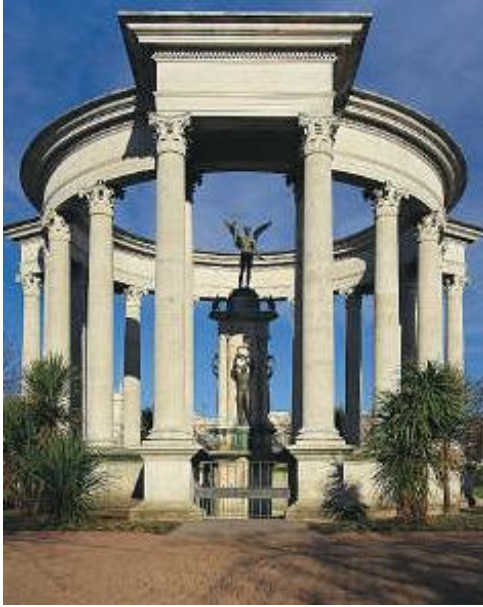


### **Animal right demonstration 1 – 2 March 2013**

Uncommon example of a poster on a vehicle and a homemade poster with conventional anti-animal testing image. The latter is also a good example of masking/disguise.

\* \* \*

## Memorials



**Welsh National War Memorial**



**Welsh National Falkland Memorial**



**Merchant Seafarers War Memorial 21 May 2012**



**Field of Remembrance 11 November 2012**



**National Service of Remembrance for Wales 11 November 2012**

An unusual combination of identifying dress (Royal British Legion Bikers) and worn item of significance, i.e. the stylised Poppy wreath and phrase. The Red Dragon illustrates ethnic identity.



**Aids tree and ribbon – 3 December 2012**



**Temporary memorial 15 June 2013**

Illustrating the limited response to an e-mail chain letter, ‘The Protest of Flowers’, supporting the contention that social media became increasingly important in mobilising expressions of popular grief from 2015.



**Ianto Jones shrine 14 September 2013**

\* \* \*

## Demography



**Chance audience for Big Screen broadcast of London Olympics 25 July 2012**



**Cardiff International Food and Drink Festival 13 July 2013**

Illustrating a demographic profile, mainly age thirty to fifty.



### **Anti-fascist demonstration 5 June 2010**

This involved around three hundred anti-fascist protesters who later confronted around a hundred-plus anti-immigrant demonstrators. It had the largest police presence (five hundred) for any protest in Cardiff.



### **Nick Clegg demonstration 30 September 2010**

Fewer than twenty protesters took part outside a well-publicised meeting; there was a similar number of police.





### **1QDG Homecoming Parade 2 June 2012**

Typical witness-audience with a demographic profile, predominantly late middle-age and older, with some children. Various civil and military dignitaries are present.