

Screening the Nation: Wales and Landmark Television



**A programme of research by the University of Glamorgan
in collaboration with the BBC Trust and Audience Council
Wales**

BBC | **Cyngor Cynulleidfa Cymru**
Audience Council Wales

Introduction

The research, on which the study is based, attempted to find some answers to the following questions:

- What does it mean to say that a city, or a nation, is 'portrayed' (or not) in television drama, and why is this important?
- What sense do audiences in Wales make of the representation of Cardiff and south Wales in high-profile landmark television dramas such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*?
- In what ways might the answers to the above questions contribute to ongoing debates about 'the Nation' and the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) of Wales?

A subsidiary question was:

- To what degree, and in what ways, do audiences identify landmark drama produced in Wales with BBC Cymru Wales?

The project outline agreed with the BBC Audience Council Wales can be found in Appendix 1.

This study can be seen in the context of wide-ranging interest in the issue of 'representation' in the media generally and, in the light of its central importance to national life, the BBC in particular. The term 'representation', it should be noted, often becomes synonymous with words such as 'portrayal' and depiction.

Whilst the study attempts to touch upon the representation of 'communities' in the widest sense, time and resources have necessitated a focus on the idea of the 'nation'. In particular, the research team takes note of the Audience Council Priority for 2009/10, adopted by the BBC Trust in January 2009:

That the Trust should investigate ways in which the BBC might better portray the full diversity of the UK's nations and communities in the regions of England, across its Network services, significantly enhancing the cultural representation of the English regions, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

This in turn is reflected in the fourth of the BBC's six stated 'public purposes':

1. Sustaining citizenship and civil society;
2. Promoting education and learning;
3. Stimulating creativity and cultural excellence;
4. Representing the UK, its nations, regions and communities;
5. Bringing the UK to the world and the world to the UK;
6. In promoting its other purposes, helping to deliver to the public the benefit of emerging communications technologies.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/about/how_we_govern/agreement.pdf

During the course of the study, which of course focuses on the question of representing the UK nations, the interrelationship of this priority with a number of the others listed

above became more and more apparent. If strong, active citizenship and a robust civil society are obvious priorities for any democratic government, then the need for all communities to feel that they play a full part in the national conversation becomes pressing.

Equally, the BBC's historic role in education and its mission to represent the UK abroad in ways that can be completely trusted are fundamentally dependant on being able to embrace the concerns of the whole nation, and not just those parts that are closest to the traditional centres of power.

It is in the belief that questions of representation are of real importance that we approached this study and now present its findings and conclusions.

The study has Wales and its diverse communities at its core, though there is clear cross-reference to the question of representation across the UK and internationally.

Two recent BBC drama successes, *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*, are used as a means of understanding how the concentrated use of a particular location, in this case Cardiff, impacts both on the audience's relationship to the programme and the city/region in which it is set.

In turn, consideration is given to the overall impact on audiences in Wales - and more generally on representation - of the recent growth in network drama production originating in Cardiff.

The work also implicitly raises questions about the potential impact of television drama on the question of identity in other parts of the UK.

The study focuses on the work produced for the BBC network in Wales but, as is suggested above, it will seek to make useful comparisons with programmes produced for Wales-only audiences as well as work identified with other nations and regions.

It is worth re-emphasising that this study is very explicitly concerned with fictional representations and most particularly with television drama. The authors are acutely aware of the ways in which the boundaries between highly constructed fictions and other television forms can blur. 'Drama' is an inherent component of most television forms. However, in this instance we are concerned with fiction in its most accepted senses. A number of academic studies in recent times have drawn attention to the role that 'story' plays in the formation of national identities, and the study includes a brief discussion of some of these. The centrality of this idea to the work is represented by this brief quotation from a study of drama in Catalonia, a context that is often compared to Wales:

'A nation needs its own fiction. It is for this reason that many countries have used fictional narratives to create a self-image.'(Castelló 2007: 49)

The study closely involved the BBC Audience Council Wales, which provided invaluable advice and feedback as the research progressed. We hope that it provides the BBC Trust with research that investigates the complex relationship between television production, its locations and the impact on local, regional and national identity.

Outline Summary of Methodology

The following is an outline summary of the range of research methods used in order to form a picture of the 'screening' of Wales in the context of the recent success of 'landmark' television drama in the shape of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*. As will become clear below, whilst all the research methods used *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* as their focus, the study is also about the broader question of representation in relation to Wales and therefore consideration is given to a wider group of programmes, though in less depth.

Review of existing literature

The report contains a survey of existing research in the area of representation in relation to television and the specific instance of the nations and regions of the United Kingdom.

There is a reasonably extensive body of work from a variety of disciplines that examines the wider cultural impact of feature film production and television drama production on cities, nations and regions, not just in the UK but across the globe. There is also a relatively new concentration of interest in the representation and media economies of 'small nations'. The research team have a strong relationship to the Centre for the Study of Media and Culture in Small Nations at the University of Glamorgan and have been working with colleagues in a range of international contexts including Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, the Balkans and Canada.

There is also a review of research on the impact of landmark programmes made in comparable UK contexts. Examples here include BBC Northern Ireland's *Ballykissangel* (1996–2001) and BBC Scotland's *Monarch of the Glen* (2000–05) and *Hamish Macbeth* (1995–97).

Case studies

Although concerned with broad issues of representation and identity, the research used *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* as case studies. These high-profile BBC Wales drama series, which in different ways present and represent Cardiff and south Wales, provided the main focus for both the audience research and textual analysis.

Research with audiences

The study engaged with audiences in two main ways:

Online questionnaires: 206 respondents completed an online, bilingual survey about *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* which was designed to elicit information about the visibility of both series' connections to Wales (202 in English, 4 in Welsh).

Discussion/Focus groups: in order to gather opinion from a broad and diverse range of viewers, eight focus groups were conducted in and with a variety of communities across Wales, including school children, activity-orientated groups, a group from an ethnic minority in Cardiff, Welsh language groups, a group representing the gay, lesbian bi-

sexual and transgender communities and retired people. Each focus group discussion lasted between 60 and 75 mins; one had three participants, one four and the rest between five and eight.

Other field research

The researchers also sought the views of other interested parties (some of whom were also 'audiences'). Interviews were conducted with production and management personnel (although it was not the intention to provide a study of production contexts *per se*).

The views of members of the BBC Audience Council for Wales were sought as a key representative group.

Analysis of press coverage

An analysis was undertaken of press reports surrounding *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* in both the local and UK press. This was intended to examine how discourses surrounding landmark television and a sense of place or location were discussed within the wider context of the reception of the shows. Press reports from 2004-2008 were gathered, using an online search engine (Lexis Library) and the search terms '*Doctor Who*' and 'Cardiff' or 'Wales', and '*Torchwood*' and 'Cardiff' or 'Wales'.

Textual Analysis

Detailed analysis was conducted of key programmes along with a range of other relevant contextualising material. This included:

- An extended analysis of a representative range of programmes from the recent series of *Doctor Who* and all three series of *Torchwood* with particular reference to: representation of place, accent, character typology and genre.
- A brief analysis of a 'snap-shot' week of programming, March 14th-22nd 2009 to examine the presence of television produced in Wales in the schedules, along with a more specific consideration of portrayals of Wales within programmes screened during peak viewing times over this week.
- A brief analysis of a small number of other dramas (for example *Gavin and Stacey*) and related programming, such as idents and trailers, as key contextualising material in the evolution of widely circulating representations of Wales.
- A brief discussion of recent developments in local programming in the context of the success of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*.

Review of Existing Literature



'...nations are not naturally occurring phenomena but social phenomena that have to be made and remade' (Mooney and Williams, 2006: 611)

'...official concerns with 'Britishness' and social cohesion have magnified intensely since 9/11 and 7/7...'

Conference Report – Broadcasting Britishness? Identity, Diversity and the Role of National Identity. Said Business School, University of Oxford, 17 June 2008.

Introduction

The current literature on nationalism, the nation state and identity is extensive and emerges from a range of perspectives. Its growth has been particularly strong in the last two decades as a wide variety of factors affecting the stability of existing nation states has changed relations across the globe.

In the UK context, further impetus was given by the re-awakening of debates around devolution during the 1990's. Whilst this was particularly true of considerations of Irish, Scottish and Welsh identity, there has also been renewed interest in some quarters in various forms of English regional identity, sometimes very broadly defined, such as the interest in 'northern studies'.

To add to this complex web of influence there has also emerged a clear and insistent political agenda around what is often referred to as 'diversity' and the idea of Britishness as exemplified by, Gordon Brown's intervention, made when he was Chancellor¹. This agenda has frequently impacted on the concerns of those that write about the way that television represents and connects with the complexity of its contemporary British audience.

Whilst this research is primarily interested in one specific manifestation of the way that a single nation is represented, it is also informed by the complex web of ideas that have informed the way that 'the nation' is now considered and the equally complex thinking that surrounds the idea of representation and its impact.

What follows is a brief summary of the key headings under which relevant literature has appeared, together with signposts and representative quotations.

Nations and national identity

In terms of overarching contemporary approaches to the idea of the 'nation', Benedict Anderson's remains the most widespread and influential. In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983) he argues that national identity is primarily based on and maintained by the sharing of cultural practices. In a study of the power of screen fictions in the making of nationhood his work is, therefore, central.

Anderson's definition of the 'imagined' nature of nations is clearly very important to the thinking behind this study:

In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (1991: 5-6)

Anderson's ideas have been particularly influential on those looking to understand the role of fiction in the way that nations are defined. This is typified by a recent book that looks at the 'performance' of the UK in theatres and other less conventional venues:

Few people may ever read the legislation that constitutes them as citizens of a particular state...But most people will have a sense of a shared national identity through shared cultural practices...eating food, dressing, talking, listening to the radio, watching television ...celebrating holidays, participating in festivals and major sports events and so on. Through their cultural activities, people will

¹ Speech by the Prime Minister Rt. Hon Gordon Brown, 20 March 2008, accessible at <http://www.number10.gov.uk/output/Page14624.asp>; see also speech by Margaret Hodge, Minister of State for Culture, Creative Industries and Tourism, DCMS, on Britishness, Heritage and the Arts at an IPPR event at the National Gallery, 4 March 2008.

imagine their communities. And one of the ways they will do so is through performance...(Harvie: 2005, 2-3)

Intimately related to and drawing on Anderson's arguments is Michael Billig's idea of 'banal nationalism':

'an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life. Such habits include those of thinking and using language. To have a national identity is to possess ways of talking about nationhood' (Billig: 1995, 8)

Bhabha (1993), Said (1978), Spivak (1999) and others are representative of a concern with the construction of identity in specifically post-colonial contexts that have varying levels of relevance to Wales. Their positions, whilst complex and sometimes contradictory, are perhaps most famously exemplified by Said's framing of the idea of 'Orientalism', which has at its centre the discussion the power of language to create a people's identity. This can be usefully extended to all forms of fictional narration.

The existence of high profile academic journals devoted solely to the question of nations, nationalism and the nation state is evidence of the powerful contemporary relevance of these issues. Whilst this research is necessarily limited to the question of representation, it takes place in the context of debates within disciplines such as history, sociology, political science and economics and within internationally respected journals such as, for example, *Nations and Nationalism*, *The Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Wiley-Blackwell 1991-).

Screen Fictions and National/Regional Identity

There is currently a larger body of work on the relationship between cinema and national identity than there is on the related relationship involving television drama.

Hjort and Mackenzie's *Cinema and Nation* (2000) brings together a diverse collection of approaches to the central question of the relationship between cinema and the modern idea of the nation. Most raise important questions about the inherent instability of contemporary formulations of nation identity, though nearly all argue for the continuing usefulness of the term 'national cinema', albeit always with strong qualification. For example, Andrew Higson discusses John Hill's argument for a national cinema that is critical of outmoded notions of national identity:

'It is quite possible to conceive of a national cinema', he writes, 'which is none the less critical of inherited notions of national identity, which does not assume the existence of a unique, unchanging "national culture", and which is capable of dealing with social divisions and differences' (Hill 1992: 16). In other words to question tradition and to embrace cultural difference is not necessarily to reject altogether the idea of a national cinema that can speak eloquently to a multicultural audience' (Higson, 2000: 71)

There is, then, a strong contemporary interest in questioning received ideas of the national, and consequently in films that challenge outmoded approaches to both general notions of national identity and specific national identities themselves.

As well as general accounts of cinema and national identity there now exist a large number of surveys of national cinemas across the world including those closest to home, such as Duncan Petrie's *Screening Scotland* (2000) and Martin McLoone's *Irish Film, The Emergence of a Contemporary Cinema* (2000). Lance Pettit's *Screening Ireland* (2000) also has the virtue of looking at both cinema and television and asserts the absolute primacy of the moving image within contemporary debates about the construction of identity:

In *Screening Ireland*, I contend that film is now the pre-eminent medium through which Ireland both examines itself and projects its image to the wider world...In the past, images on Irish screens have been subjected to censorship by the state and church institutions, and the British media have 'screened' Ireland in seriously limiting ways, not just in the representation of political conflict in Northern Ireland. Today, however, Irish film-makers have and producers, television and satellite companies have unprecedented opportunities for the business of screening Ireland.

Implicitly Pettit's argument asserts the importance of control of the production of screen fictions, particularly by nations traditionally misrepresented, or underrepresented in popular screen media.

Of particular relevance to this study is the increasing body of work on representation and 'small nations', particularly the work on film and television fictions. Hijort and Petrie's *The Cinema of Small Nations* (2007) is particularly apt, though ironically it contains chapters on Ireland and Scotland but not Wales. Nevertheless, the arguments around the distinctiveness of screen cultures in small nations are of powerful importance. One of the editors is Danish, the other Scottish and it is therefore not surprising that their introductory arguments draw heavily on the relatively successful film industries of these two nations on the 'margins' of Europe.

In a collection that ranges fascinatingly across the globe from Denmark to Burkina Faso there are many insights of huge value to any study of the production of a Welsh screen identity. One from the chapter on Iceland is particularly vivid:

I watch the Pakistani news, mainly to see if they've included Iceland on their world map. The anchor is a ball of hair: hair all over Europe and Greenland. I wait for him to bend his head a little. Iceland isn't there. That's the deal with Iceland. Iceland is the kind of country that sometimes is there and sometimes isn't. (Helgason 2002:138) (Norofjord 2007: 43)

In contrast, the book also examines the case of New Zealand and, in particular, the controversial role that the filming of *The Lord of the Rings* in the country by the native New Zealander Peter Jackson has played in the recent construction of the country's screen identity. In Duncan Petrie's view the balance of the impact of such intensive Hollywood-style production has to be seen as positive: 'Whatever the wider concerns, Jackson has helped to keep New Zealand on the radar, engendering a sense of possibility and confidence in local filmmaking' (Petrie, 2007: 161).

Finally, in relation to cinema and back closer to home, Jonathan Murray revisits the relevance of devolution to contemporary Scottish cinema, nearly ten years after the political change itself. His conclusions have obvious resonance for Wales;

Yet perhaps over the early years of the 2000s the concept of 'devolution' has come to mean something different. It might now be more accurate to say that, both in terms of international working and co-production arrangements and the representational content of much contemporary local feature work, what Scottish cinema is devolving itself away from is the notion that it must automatically be framed and best understood within any framework of national specificity at all. (Murray, 2007: 90)

Although there are no comparable book-length studies of television fiction and national identity, a number of articles dealing with national or regional identity have examined the potentially powerful role of television fictions. An example from the late 1990's, concerned specifically with Australia, signalled something of a boom in such studies:

The ABA has succeeded with its Australian content rules in stimulating the production of drama which is recognizably Australian. The successful Australian programs like the top rating 1996 series "Blue Heelers," do exhibit a "sense of place" which is undoubtedly Australian in their rural, sunny and rustic settings. They typically also feature "Australian" values in their emphasis on matey egalitarianism. Regardless of occupation and wealth, the major characters are shown interacting without the kind of status hang-ups common to British society. Indeed, it is sometimes said that this is one of the reasons why Australian shows are so popular with British audiences.

The emphasis on these themes has prompted criticism from cultural commentators and ethnic intellectuals alike that Australian TV excludes much of the reality of Australia's urban cultural diversity. (Birrell, 1997)

Roger Birrell's article is interestingly concerned with strategic intervention on programme content and national identity, something of a clear relevance to current thinking on the British nations and regions, though at present the debate stops short of anything comparable to 'Australian content rules'.

More recently, Robin Nelson has focused usefully on the interplay of the local, regional, national and global in television drama in an article that asserts television fiction's centrality to the pressing contemporary debates on identity:

TV fictions have broad cultural significance. The circulation of stories has historically been a crucial means of cultural identification, and of articulating and negotiating our understanding of others and ourselves. Since television affords a major means of everyday story-telling in the contemporary world, TV fictions, as produced and distributed locally, regionally, nationally and globally, afford sites of identification and resistance, sites of negotiation of our place in a fast-changing world. Indeed, the key issue of contemporary television fictions in this respect would appear to be a tension between the global and the local. (Nelson, 2007: 5)

Nelson goes on to explore this tension and the examples that he sites could hardly be more apposite in relation to recent decisions about the location of key BBC network dramas:

The industry disposition is to be, if not always global, then at least transnational. But audience research worldwide suggests that viewers prefer local resonances in at least some of their television fictions, just as they do in their news and current affairs... It is evident that they choose in greater numbers to watch those programmes that afford local resonances over glossier products which, though similar in other respects, do not. Amongst hospital dramas, for example, the UK audience for the cinematic and much-hyped *ER* (Constant c Productions/Warner Bros. Television, 1994–) is some five million compared with the 15 million for the studio-constrained and slightly clunky, but home-grown *Casualty* (BBC1, 1986–). Putting the point of cultural difference in short, the Brits have ‘casualty departments’ in their hospitals where the Americans have ‘emergency rooms’.

(Nelson, 2007: 5)

The case of Catalan television drama and its role in ‘nation-building’ is examined by Enric Castelló in a study quoted in the Introduction, which employs a range of methods:

This article describes the role that fictional television series play in the process of nation building... The author studied the production of fiction on Catalan public television from 1994 to 2003, analysing content and documentation and carrying out in-depth interviews with scriptwriters and managers. The article points out how important cultural policy and production dynamics are in determining the kind of nation that is being represented (Castelló 2007: 49).

Similarly, in the context of Belgium, Alexander Dhoest, has worked extensively on the construction of Flemish identity within public service broadcasting. Dhoest’s work is of particular relevance to the Welsh context because of the analogous debates about language, relationships to larger neighbouring countries and questions of identity in contemporary Belgian society. Dhoest emphasises the centrality of nation-building to the way that Flemish TV drama was constructed, particularly by public service broadcasters. Interestingly, Dhoest also emphasises the role of the press in producing a discourse around a programme’s relationship to various forms of national identity, something which this report emphasises in relation to *Doctor Who/Torchwood* and Cardiff/Wales.

There are a number of instances of studies at the level of high profile individual, or ‘landmark’ programming that have an important relationship to this study in that they also examine the question of identity through a key case study. For example, Ruth Barton’s examination of *Ballykissangel* has a number of important parallels to this study, most obviously its concern with the interplay between ‘real’ worlds and those created not so much by the programme itself, but the subsequent reaction to it coupled with the deliberate use of its locations in tourist literature:

...it relates to an Ireland that never was and which does not exist now. *Ballykissangel* with its pretty country houses, litter-free streets, simple grocery shops, its unspoilt countryside (not a rusting car in sight) is pure confection. It is also increasingly a simulacrum in the Baudrillardian sense. Tourist buses travel not to Avoca but to Ballykissangel. (Barton, 2000: 423)

Another important dimension to the debate about the kind of nation that is being screened in the UK by the BBC is articulated clearly by Glen Creeber in a piece that took its lead from comments made by Greg Dyke when he was still BBC Director General:

...the British public service tradition—which prides itself on balance, impartiality, and creating a sense of nationhood—seems to be less able to reflect the racial and cultural mix of its viewers than a system that has always been based almost entirely on commercial forces. Recently, even Greg Dyke, the current director general of the BBC, attacked his own corporation for being, what he termed himself, “hideously white.” (Creeber, 2004: 32)

In the context of Dyke’s observations Creeber’s argument is an interesting provocation; namely that public service broadcasting has struggled to accurately reflect the full diversity of the UK population, perhaps even more than the commercial sector. Half a decade on it is therefore of huge significance that the BBC’s own stated public purposes prioritise the reflection of diversity so explicitly in terms of both devolution and the full range of other factors that have impacted on the make-up of the UK population.

Finally, a recent study brings together perspectives on the relationship between television and national identity in a variety of global contexts, though the majority of the chapters are concerned with Europe. *The Nation on Screen: Discourses of the National on Global Television* edited by Enric Castelló, Alexander Dhoest and Hugh O’Donnell is centrally concerned with what they call ‘the deliberate process of nation-formation, with representation as a key mechanism in the production of images and stories about the nation’ (Castelló et al 2009: 1).

In the context of this study, *The Nation on Screen* is important for its assertion of the continuing importance in people’s lives of the idea of the nation, ‘it is important to keep the impact of globalisation in perspective: many people—in fact most people—never leave their country, so nation and locality are still relevant today, and the flexibility of identities should not be exaggerated’ (2). Furthermore, despite the advent of a multi-channel, digital age, the editors of *Nation on Screen* re-assert the key role of public service broadcasters in ‘narrating the nation’: ‘public broadcasting in Europe was deliberately conceived as a national medium, and despite increased competition from commercial channels television continues to unite large (imagined) communities of viewers.’ (2)

For this study of Wales, the idea of ‘narrating the nation’, and the particular case of the location of ‘landmark television’ within a small, stateless nation, is central and it has been invaluable to review the work of others in analogous contexts.

Television Fictions and Cities

Although the relationship between television fictions and national identity remains relatively unexplored, there has been widespread discussion of the nature of the contemporary city across a number of disciplines, and the role of television drama in shaping the identity of the modern city figures in a number of recent articles.

Katie Milestone, for instance, has written of Manchester:

... contemporary representations of Manchester are bound up with references to traditional working-class culture, community and bleak, decaying industrial landscapes. Even in the age of the glossy, regenerated, 21st century Manchester, the images are still heavily imbued with ideas and images drawn from an earlier paradigm... this apparent nostalgia impacts on the contemporary identity of the city. (Milestone, 2008)

This provides a potentially fascinating comparison with ideas about the portrayal of Cardiff in recent television drama.

Will Brooker's 'Everywhere and nowhere: Vancouver, fan pilgrimage and the urban imaginary' (2007) is specifically concerned with the idea of 'pilgrimage' by dedicated fans in ways that have been echoed in Cardiff since the advent of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*. Moreover, the case of Vancouver has an even stronger affinity with that of Cardiff because the shows concerned (*Smallville* (CW 2001 -) *The X-Files* (Fox 1993 - 2002) and *Battlestar Galactica* (Sky 2003 -) are also strongly rooted in science-fiction. In a way that resonates with the situation of Cardiff, Brooker discusses the industrial and institutional reasons that gave rise to Vancouver's status as a kind of 'Hollywood North'. Among these are what he refers to as 'a perceived lack of identity' (427). In a telling comparison Brooker cites the work of the geographer, Edward Relph:

Relph's photographs show the same bleak uniformity in Toronto, Ontario, northern France and south Wales: endless subdivisions of identical houses...It becomes virtually impossible to tell one locality from another....

For Brooker, drawing on contemporary theories of urban geography, Vancouver's significance is as an 'all-purpose generic location', which is not any one city but, as he puts it, 'city-full'. Whilst *Torchwood* situates Cardiff in a very different way to this, there is an element of such a function with regard to *Doctor Who*.

Writing about a broad 'English regional culture', Stephen Hardy again uses Manchester as an exemplar of the difficulty of regional, as opposed to national identities in the British context:

Part of the problem ... is perhaps precisely a lack of cultural self-confidence. Scotland and Wales have no problem in appealing to cultural histories lasting a thousand years or more, nurtured over the last two hundred years by developments in modern nationalism. During the latter period, towns like Manchester have merely begun to come into being. (Hardy, 2004: 58)

For Hardy, the contribution of fiction, whether on the screen or on the printed page, is central to the diverse regional identities he sees as part of a healthy national culture:

The development of a genuinely regionalised Britain depends on the development of intra-regional and inter-regional cultures with sufficient confidence and self-critical ability to challenge the dominance of the global mega-cities. Various forms of cultural production, including the literary, can help to mount and maintain this kind of challenge and will require a sufficiently stimulating critical environment in which to do so. (59)

Wales, Screen Fictions and National Identity

Whilst the literature on Wales is not extensive there has been significant growth in recent years, some of it very recent and prompted specifically by the higher profile of television output emanating from Wales, including *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*. Also, of course, the hugely successful comedy series, *Gavin and Stacey* (BBC 2007 – 10), which, although not produced in Wales, is highly significant for any discussion of the contemporary representation of Welsh identity. Before discussing the very clear relevance of these, it is useful to reflect on some of the less recent work that provides the context for the current study.

Dave Berry's painstaking *Wales and Cinema: The First Hundred Years* is less concerned with representation per se than with chronicling the Welsh contribution to cinema (and television) history in ways that give the lie to those who would deny it significance. This was something humorously acknowledged by the eminent *Observer* film critic, Philip French in the late nineteen nineties:

If you thought Welsh cinema was a suitable subject for a book in the series of slim volumes that includes Dutch mountaineers and Belgian Comedians, you should have a look at David Berry's *Wales and Cinema: The First Hundred Years*. (French: 1999)

Berry's book is significant not so much because of what it has to say about the representation of Wales and the Welsh on screen, but because its very existence is a major contribution to tackling the significant problem of the invisibility of Wales in terms of the screen culture of the UK.

The later stages of Berry's work, which contains extensive discussion of the interrelation between the broadcasters and the film industry in the 1980's and 1990's, highlights both the significance (and limitations) of S4C for the future of Welsh visibility on screen and the comparative lack of interest of English language broadcasters in feature film production from Wales. At a time when Channel 4 was investing heavily in the UK film industry more broadly, Wales' 'invisibility' (as compared to, say, Scotland) is striking.

Steve Blandford's edited collection, *Wales on Screen* (which contains an essay by Berry on television drama) attempts something of an update of Berry's book, particularly in the light of the impact of devolution on the imperatives of Welsh screen culture. Published in 2000, it contains essays by both academics and industry practitioners and signals a desire to be rid of what many contributors see as outmoded questions of Welsh representation. Some even refer in various terms to what has come to be known as the 'burden of representation', whereby every product is seen principally in terms of the way it portrays the nation.

Whilst this desire for an end to stale debates about identity has not been completely satisfied, it is probably fair to say that *Wales on Screen* helped to move the question on in significant ways. Whilst once there was little but defensiveness, now there is more

likely to be a desire for new and surprising ways of discussing and defining what it means to make films and television drama in Wales and about Wales.

More recent work, for example Ruth McElroy on drama on S4C, is closer to the direct concerns of this study, particularly her account of work such as *Caerdydd*. The representation of a particular kind of contemporary Welsh identity in *Caerdydd* has clear links to the impact of *Torchwood* in particular:

...the export of Welsh fictions may work to contest the cultural and aesthetic judgements of viewers who have left Wales, unsettling their assumptions about S4C, and Welsh media and culture more broadly. High production value textual representations of the bi-cultural and highly mobile realities of many younger, middle-class Welsh people, offers an opportunity to create a new everydayness in Welsh programming, a value which S4C's more traditional fare rarely allows. (McElroy, 2006: 91)

On the other hand, McElroy is at pains to point out that 'Like much lifestyle television, *Caerdydd* is fascinated more by class than race' (ibid) drawing attention to a vital area for a broader discussion of the representation of the nation.

Whilst not strictly in the realm of fiction, a recent article by Bethany Klein and Clare Wardle makes fascinating use of the publicity surrounding the first *Big Brother* contestants to speak Welsh on the programme. Their work is centrally concerned with the use of on-line forums as a research tool and a number of the correspondents that they quote make very direct reference to the impact of seeing themselves, as they would see it, represented on a high profile show such as *Big Brother*:

I'm very proud of Glyn and Imogen for putting Wales on the map so to speak. Without them being in BB this thread wouldn't exist-so even with some derogatory remarks about Wales and its language and its people the fact that people are talking about Wales at all is a very good thing for Welsh awareness. Glyn and Imogen have helped to achieve that and from where I'm sitting- that has to be a very good thing. (Klein and Wardle, 2008: 14)

Klein and Wardle's article is also an important reminder that:

...the intersection between entertainment and politics is not limited to programming with explicitly political content or intentions, nor is it limited to scripted television. (Klein and Wardle, 2008: 14)

Most recently, work has begun to appear on *Gavin and Stacey* and the way that its enormous success and consequent high profile has raised questions about the representation of Wales on television (this will be discussed below).

It is beyond the scope of this study to review fully the extensive literature on Wales and representation in general. However, it is important to refer briefly and selectively to recent work on some of the broad questions about representation that impact on this study.

Postcolonial Wales, an edited collection by Jane Aaron and Christopher Williams (2005), raises the explicit issue of Wales' 'postcolonial' status and, in some of the essays, how this impacts on the representation of the nation to a wider world. Whilst the editors do not entirely agree themselves about the future of Wales as a nation, the collection that they assemble makes fruitful use of the impact on the 'idea of Wales' of its quasi-colonial status in relation to its large and powerful neighbour. This is the perspective that firmly links Wales to other small nations across the world, and particularly to those that remain stateless.

This study attempts to pay due regard to the idea of a Wales composed of a number of different 'communities' and the representational questions they pose for all creators of Welsh fictions. Glenn Jordan's essay in *Postcolonial Wales*, 'Immigrants and Minorities in Wales', builds upon other work by the same author as well as that by Charlotte Williams (2002, 2003), Neil Evans (2003), Paul O'Leary (2003) and others who have raised vital questions about representations of Wales that take little account of its ethnic diversity. Charlotte Williams sums up the relevance of this perspective for the present study most succinctly in her description of what she calls 'Poor old mixed-up Wales, somehow as mixed up as I was':

The Welsh and the English, the Welsh-speaking and the English-speaking, the proper Welsh and the not so proper Welsh, the insiders and the outsiders, the Italians, the Poles, the Irish, the Asians and the Africans and the likes of us, all fighting among ourselves for the right to call ourselves Welsh and most of us losing out to some very particular idea about who belongs and who doesn't. How would we ever make sense of it? (2002: 169)

Finally, although this study is concerned with fictional representation, we would be remiss not to draw attention to other kinds of portrayal of Wales in the post-devolutionary period. This has concentrated principally on news and the complex relationship between the coverage of British, UK, English and Welsh issues. However, as the authors of one of the more recent studies state clearly, news is also part of the 'construction' of a Welsh identity and the resultant 'narrative of the nation' has much to offer any study of more explicitly fictional narratives.

In this regard another piece of work for the BBC Trust is of central importance. The major study by Anthony King, *The BBC Trust Impartiality Report: BBC Network News And Current Affairs Coverage Of The Four UK Nations* contained a significant contribution by Cardiff University. More recently some of this work has been further analysed in more explicitly academic terms (Cushion et al, 2009). The final sentence of the latter is a clear expression both of the difficulties for the BBC in dealing with the idea of 'the nation' in a post-devolutionary context, but also of the potential richness of the stories that it might tell in embracing national diversity:

While shared experiences might be on the decline in a more global, multi-channel culture, for the BBC much of its purpose and its instinct is to reflect the nations collectively rather than individually. The BBC, in this sense, is stuck between a rock and a hard place*while the instinct might be to address commonalities in the UK, devolution forces us to consider abandoning the idea that there is one centre, one set of binding institutions. Understanding devolution requires, in this sense,

more than an appreciation of administrative technicalities, but a stretching of our concept of nationhood to embrace not singularity but difference. (16)

Wales and the case of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*

Whilst the specific literature on recent television drama is understandably not extensive, there have been a number of useful interventions by academics interested in the way that the setting of popular drama impacts on the identity of a city or region.

Matt Hills (*Cyfrwng: Media Wales Journal* (2006)) was one of the first to engage with the impact of *Doctor Who*'s new location in Wales, though his primary concern was with 'fans' and on-line fan communities in particular. However, one of Hills' main conclusions, that the setting of a programme is important in providing fans (from Cardiff and/or Wales more generally) with what he calls 'subcultural capital' within the transnational community, is a potentially important one to a study that seeks to understand the relationship between broadcast output and its setting.

Hills' article is also important for the broader challenge that it provides to the idea that *Doctor Who* is not seen as 'Welsh' by anybody except dedicated online fans. He places particular importance on the impact of press coverage and recorded industry perceptions of the programme. As an illustration, he quotes Greg Dyke's attack on the first of the new series for focusing on Cardiff: 'If I could land anywhere in the universe at any time, would I really go to Cardiff more than once?' (2006: 63)

Finally, Hill's article is a useful contribution to the discourse around the relevance of national identity in an era of on-line 'communities'. His analysis of the use made by fans of their Cardiff and Welsh identities and the access that this gave them to both the show's references and location visits suggests a much greater allegiance to national identity than some would have us believe.

Hills' quotations from the founder of 'Outpost Gallifrey' (the most popular US-based online *Doctor Who* fan site) illustrate a powerful desire by some to create transnational communities to supersede the national:

'So with that in mind, I'd like to say to everyone: no matter which country you belong to, you're welcome here...whether you join us, or another discussion forum, is your own choice; just do us a favour, and don't play the nation card. We're all *Doctor Who* fans; we're all in this together. (2006: 65)

However, the online traffic to the site defies such a plea and shows the national impulse to be powerful when identifying with the series. Though Hills' work is concerned with fans it is potentially of value to the more general concern with the importance (or otherwise) of a programme's location to larger questions of national identity.

Brett Mill's 2008 article for the *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 'My House was on *Torchwood*!: Media, place and identity' is still more relevant to this study as its specific focus is on the way that people make use of their identification with the places used in fictional television. Mills' primary concern is with *Torchwood*, though he makes

use of *Doctor Who* and the broader issues that he discusses are clearly of general relevance to this study.

The driving force behind Mills' work is similar to that determining the central case-study of this work. As Mills puts it:

'...BBC Cymru Wales has rarely produced television series with such a high impact and visibility as these and it's certainly the case that so many south Wales locations have not been seen so regularly and visibly on British national television before. The relationship between the series and Cardiff/ south Wales has been exploited by the city council, which has considered naming a new city-centre shopping mall '*Torchwood*'...and offered a *Doctor Who*-themed garden for the 2007 Chelsea Flower Show.' (2008: 380)

Mills quotes some examples of Russell T. Davies's very direct linking of his desire to write and make the series with a consciousness of Wales's lack of a presence on mainstream broadcast television. Perhaps most striking of these is Davies's characterisation of Wales as 'the unseen nation'.

Throughout the article Mills focuses on the pleasures of recognition when watching television drama and the impact that this has on how one sees a programme. Essentially, Mills sees programmes that are set in places that are meaningful to sections of their audiences as being part of the process of defining oneself and one's identity, including national identity. In Mills' analysis the location of a programme is of vital importance to its reception by an audience viewing in the place in which it is set. Of *Torchwood* he says '...I carried on watching it primarily because of its Welshness.' Mills' argument also extends to differentiating clearly between the impact of a programme's location on tourists and on those who live in a place or who identify a place as 'home'. Clearly, this is a complex question in Wales. To what extent those who live outside Cardiff, but in Wales, would identify *Doctor Who* or *Torchwood* as set in a place they call home is of some importance.

Mills raises interesting arguments concerning the idea of a place being 'consumed' in much the same way as television drama is received. This is then extended to the idea of people being 'fans' of a place just as they are fans of a programme. The argument is not confined to Cardiff and, in a twist that is potentially highly significant for broad questions of identity, Mills deconstructs what he calls his 'pride' in seeing Cardiff used for the two programmes, concluding that it has something to do with class as well as nation or region. Mills quotes from an exchange with a colleague who is assisting in the research that produced the article:

Tom: Is it like rooting for the underdog thing?

Brett: Yes, I think there is that. And that connects into some kind of class thing. And coming from the Midlands, there are ways that Birmingham and Cardiff are very, very similar, as in they're both big, important cities, but not very well known. That Birmingham never appears on television, or very rarely...But, yes, there is something about 'stuff you, London, and stuff you, England'. These programmes can be made here, in Cardiff, you know we don't have to go off to London to do it.

Mills therefore introduces the idea that a possible point of identification with the use of locations in *Doctor Who* or *Torchwood* is not simply Cardiff or Wales *per se*, but a sense of the marginal or outsider status brought about by the latter show's overt sense of place.

Finally, Mills' work connects with other critical writing on dramas that have created fictional spaces that become more 'real' than any actual physical location. This is based upon the idea of the *simulacra* – a place that through its representation achieves a kind of powerful reality for fans of the drama, something which in contemporary popular culture is almost certain to involve a powerful online presence.

The case of 'Ballykissangel' has already been referred to but what is interesting here is that Mills argues that a *simulacra* is being created in parallel to the 'real' Cardiff – a Cardiff that exists for viewers of the programmes. Unlike Ballykissangel, which was a fictional place using a real setting, *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* both retain the original name whilst creating a heightened, fictionalised 'Cardiff' (a recent example of this will be discussed in the section on *Torchwood* below).

Audience Research 1: Focus Groups

Whilst surveys are a useful research instrument for capturing a snapshot of audiences' attitudes and practices, they rarely offer in-depth answers to thought-provoking questions of how audiences evaluate and interpret the quality of the television representations they watch. Such 'how do...?' questions may be better explored through qualitative methods such as focus group interviewing. There is a considerable literature debating the best methods for understanding audiences' engagement with media texts (Abercrombie & Longhurst 1998; Brooker & Jermyn 2002; Nightingale & Ross 2003; Ruddock 2007) and television researchers have been at the vanguard of such methodological debates (Gillespie 1995; Gray 1992; Hill 2005; Hills 2002; Lull 1990; Morley 1980 & 1989; Press 1991; Seiter 1999; Tulloch 2000; Wood 2007).

Focus groups offer several benefits to the researcher interested in the interpretative and evaluative frameworks of television viewers. In a quite old but still highly influential study of the international popular drama, *Dallas*, Liebes and Katz argued that, 'by choosing the method of focus-group interviews...we were, in effect, operationalizing the assumption that the small-group discussion following the broadcast is a key to understanding the mediating process via which a program such as this enters into the culture' (Liebes and Katz cited in Hansen et al 1998: 261-2). Our focus groups were conducted in the light of this pertinent observation.

Focus group schedule

We conducted 8 focus groups between Spring-Autumn 2009. Given the tight timeframe, we sought to work with existing organisations to construct viable focus groups in which most participants would already have some level of familiarity with one another.

Focus groups had between 3-9 participants, with 1 or sometimes 2 researchers moderating discussion with the support of an agreed list of topics and questions to be used in as flexible, natural and consistent a way as possible. Where researchers were present, 1 researcher took a moderator role whilst the other acted as a technical and prompting support as required.

Every focus group participant received a printed informed consent form that outlined the purpose of our research (see Appendix 2). Groups conducted in schools had the consent of the headteacher.

Focus groups were transcribed and were analysed by more than one researcher.

Where appropriate, focus groups members were reimbursed for travel costs and time taken from other (usually work) activities to participate, but they were not given payment for project participation per se.

We designed an ice-breaking television scheduling exercise in which we asked participants to construct an invented ideal prime time (i.e. 6-10pm or earlier for young people) evening's television. We created a television schedule with empty slots where participants could insert the shows they would watch in that particular time slot. They

were free to include any programmes, including those which no longer air and which air on a range of different channels. Participants completed the schedule individually but subsequently circulated copies and shared their 'results'. Under our direction, all participants were invited to explain their schedule choices and why they placed certain programmes in specific slots. The aims of this exercise were to allow participants to discuss between themselves their television viewing preferences; to enable us and them to hear how they made judgements (personal or otherwise) about television programmes; and to give us a better understanding of participants' overall television viewing including but not limited to BBC Wales. In other words, whilst we were interested in whether *Doctor Who*, *Torchwood* or other Welsh-produced or BBC Wales shows were included, we recognise that audiences consume television across a range of broadcasters, platforms, and national contexts. Additionally, they may be unaware of when they are or are not watching BBC Wales or BBC network.

After this task we conducted a more typical focus group interview. Some groups, normally those involving younger people, used the screening of clips from episodes of *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* (if age appropriate). The focus groups typically lasted between 50-80 minutes.

Across the focus groups, we identified key themes and discourses which participants used when discussing representations of Wales, Cardiff and Welshness in *Doctor Who*, *Torchwood*, and beyond.

Composition of focus groups

Gender

Wherever possible, we aimed for mixed gender in all groups.

Age & generation

Because *Doctor Who* occupies a family-viewing slot and because *Torchwood* addresses more adult concerns, we were keen to talk with a range of age groups, including children and young people who may not be license-fee payers but who clearly are of interest to BBC Wales as future audiences and fee-payers. Two of our focus groups were conducted in schools, one with year 7 pupils in Cardiff and conducted through the medium of English, the other with sixth-form students in the south Wales valleys and conducted through the medium of Welsh.

Social diversity

Whilst we did not consistently ask participants to declare their occupation/status (especially difficult in the case of young people), we were mindful of trying to maintain social diversity in our project by not talking exclusively either to media élites or to professional people endowed with the cultural capital to reflect upon media and cultural policy. So, for example, our north Wales focus group comprised students and adults in their thirties and forties who were local authority workers at a range of administrative to professional levels. In west Wales the group contained white collar professionals, a teacher in training and a woman farmer.

Our group from the Caerphilly County Youth Theatre, based in Blackwood but with members from across the county/valleys communities, was mixed in terms of social

background, gender and age. The youth theatre recruits from 14-25, with members who are largely in full-time education or employment. This was reflected in the focus group, although one member was unemployed; the age range was 17-21.

Because it became apparent that the representation of sexual identities was a matter of lively debate in audience responses to *Torchwood* especially, we felt it important to address this directly with members of the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) community. One focus group was established through contacts in Cardiff LGBT groups.

Region

Partly in response to discussions with Audience Council Wales members, particular attention was paid to regional diversity. Indeed whilst we were interested to hear how audiences in Cardiff and the immediate area responded to seeing the city represented on screen, we also established one focus group each in the south Wales valleys, north Wales and west Wales respectively.

Language

Two of the seven focus groups were undertaken through the medium of Welsh. These were the groups conducted in a Welsh-medium south Wales valleys secondary school, and in North Wales. The sole Welsh-speaking researcher on the team conducted both these groups.

Ethnicity & nationality

Recognising the ethnically diverse nature of contemporary Wales and of Cardiff in particular, we organised one focus group in Butetown. This location is the scene of much of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*'s core dramatic activity and it is one of the longest-standing, most ethnically diverse parts of Wales. This group comprised Somali men in their 20s and 30s.

Fans

Both programmes have considerable fan bases. Fans may take on considerable promotional efforts (online and offline) in making shows known to others (see Andrejevic 2008). Consequently it has been important not to exclude this very active audience from our study, though we have been equally concerned not to allow the project to become merely a study of fan viewers. We ran one focus group comprising fans specifically, but elsewhere made clear that participants need not have strong feelings either in favour or against either programme in order to participate.



Focus Groups: Analysis

The 8 focus groups conducted for this report offer insights into how BBC Wales' audiences respond both to Welsh-produced television fictions and to representations of Wales and Welsh people on the BBC network more broadly. The nature and scope of Welsh productions matters to the Welsh audience, whether these appear on UK network or on BBC Wales alone. Based on our focus groups, we suggest that Welsh audiences have a tacit expectation that the BBC *should* 'represent the UK nations and regions' (BBC Charter 2006), and programmes such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* play an important part here, together with others such as *Scrum V*, *Belonging*, *High Hopes* and *Coal House*. Such programmes, taken as a whole, offer viewers an opportunity to see Wales on screen in a range of different genres and guises; they afford pleasure to the audience because seeing oneself represented on television matters to them. Good quality programmes garner audience appreciation when they succeed in representing Wales in a way that is credible (within the limits of the specific genre), well-produced, and avoiding simplistic, stereotypical images. However, there is a widespread view that the BBC, together with other broadcasters, does not consistently live up to this expectation, with television fiction remaining a London-centric phenomenon producing too many stereotypical images of Wales that lack conviction and appeal. The opportunity cost of failing to deliver on the charter promise to represent the nations and regions may be significant, and sees the BBC losing out on audience appreciation that has been gained elsewhere.

They need to remember that it (television) is for the public. We pay for it. It is up to ITV to put *X Factor* on ...ITV cannot afford to make something like *Belonging* and so on, so it is the BBC's place to do so.' (Male, Welsh-speaking viewer, north Wales)

How does the BBC represent Wales?

Whilst audiences recognise that the capital city is central to landmark productions such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* – and are often very appreciative of the fictional urban representations they offer – they are also critical of the BBC's (both network and BBC Wales) willingness adequately to portray the internal diversity of the nation. Wales may be a small country of approximately three million people, but it is not a homogenous entity; it possesses its own regional differences, its own social diversity, and its own multi-lingual realities. Whilst the mass-media have an important role to play in drawing the nation together – 'sustaining citizenship and civil society' as the 2006 charter puts it – they need also to recognise that internal differences matter to audiences whose own sense of identity and belonging is rarely reducible to being Welsh alone. Indeed for some of our focus group members, to talk of the representation of Wales, or more contentiously of 'Welshness' in any general sense is to ignore these differences. As one west Wales man commented:

'I'm really chuffed that it's made in Wales. The fact that it is made here, the fact that the studios are in Pontypridd I think it's absolutely brilliant. I think it is good for Wales and good for jobs, good for the economy and so on.' (Male viewer, LGBT Group)

I don't think you can stereotype Wales. Wales is 5, 10, 15 different areas all with their different political, geographic, economic...you know, I went to university in Liverpool, spent quite a bit of time in north Wales. They're far more aligned to Merseyside and Manchester and Cheshire than they are to Cardiff...And the same with mid-Wales.

For this speaker, the tendency when speaking of Wales to 'bundle' those differences 'into one stereotype' is itself part of the problem. Discussions over the representation of north Wales are instructive here and might usefully be read alongside

UK and specifically English debates regarding how the north and south of England are represented. For example, when we asked focus groups to provide us with an example of an English-language television character from north Wales, the vast majority struggled to do so. Even when they did manage to do so, they often pointed out the limited range of character types. Exclusion matters to audiences for diverse reasons but these included, in our research, a concern with what might be termed television's ambassadorial role. If one of the BBC's stated purposes is to 'bring the UK to the world and the world to the UK', then the following comment reveals the regret felt when one's own location is excluded from such a promise:

'It would be nice to get more characters from the north who are a bit lighter and lively...You never get characters like Stacey and Ness that come from the north.' Female Welsh-speaking viewer, north Wales.

People from England believe that it is only Cardiff that is nice but they haven't seen the rest of Wales, so they think that it's only Cardiff that's the thing. Maybe they don't know the north.' (Welsh-speaking girl, south Wales)

In this regard, the BBC – both network and BBC Wales – is perceived by a significant portion of its audiences as failing to represent significant parts of the country. This is especially regrettable given how even limited representations of the regions can gain positive comments and regional appreciation:

L: 'I only watched it (an episode of *Doctor Who*) because one of the boys was like, this is the Swansea episode, we've got to watch it! I think generally, not just *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*, but if there's something somewhere that's been filmed locally, you are interested in it. (west Wales group)

Representations need not be narrowly positive or adhere to the conventions of realism to be highly valued by viewers. Indeed, one of the main ways in which viewers who liked either or both *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* spoke of them was as mainstream, international successes, which delivered an image of Welsh diversity from within the programmes' own storyline. Without labouring at an overtly didactic role, these fantasy series were read as positive by their regular viewers because of the cultural work they undertake abroad in representing Wales to the rest of the world. As our survey results also suggest, being part of an international mainstream matters to viewers who do not want to exist solely within a perceived niche or ghetto of Welsh production.

'People in America watch *Doctor Who*. It is something more worldwide. I think there's a need to push this, that fact that the Welsh – never mind whether they are in Cardiff or the north – have a language of our own. There's a need for them to show this to the world.' Male, Welsh-speaking viewer, north Wales

If representing Wales in its entirety is important, so too is the need to see Wales as not being secondary to the rest of the UK. This perception emerged particularly strongly when discussing television scheduling. Referring especially to programmes made solely or primarily for Welsh audiences (e.g. *Belonging* and *Coal House*), viewers commented

critically on the sidelining of such shows into late night or Wales-only slots in the schedule. For example:

That's why I didn't watch *Belonging* as much as that, because it was rather late and it did not get as much attention. I took it that it was therefore not that good and so I didn't watch it. (Female, Welsh-speaking viewer, north Wales)

In the context of multi-channel, on-demand broadcasting across television and computer screens, there is a particular need to consider the message scheduling conveys to the audience, especially those segments of it that have never experienced a three-channel landscape. Young people especially are used to accessing ubiquitous global shows such as *Friends* on a casual basis. They contrast this with the effort required to access regional output, which seems far more ethereal in comparison. Such structural matters, and the promotional strategies employed by BBC Wales in addressing them, comprise an important element in representing the regions and nations, which the BBC should not overlook.

'There's too many one-off programmes. Maybe they are good but then that's all, it's finished.'
(Welsh-speaking schoolgirl, south Wales valleys).

Debating representation – what do audiences mean by positive portrayal?

One of the clearest messages to have come out of the focus groups was that positive portrayal is not reducible to good/bad role-models or stereotypes alone; the quality of television representations, the diversity of genre-based representations of Wales and life in Wales, and the range of different fictional and cultural identities being portrayed on screen all matter to viewers in different ways. Positive portrayals are not simply about characters on screen appearing like their real-life counterparts. This is important to stress because the discourse of stereotypes has often been limited to discussions of realism understood as verisimilitude; that is, they are often based on an assumption that the television world should resemble the real world in a directly corresponding fashion. Important though such arguments are they do not account for how in different genres, including fantasy, science-fiction and comedy, the generic rules operate differently. What is a negative, incredible, inauthentic representation in a social realist drama may be a wonderfully exciting, convincing representation in a sci-fi show. For example:

In *Torchwood* there was an episode where they go into the valleys and there's like this little community who eat people. So it show it's not all Cardiff; it's not just the big city, there are other places as well. (Male youth group member, south Wales valleys)

For some focus group participants, the argument about positive representations of Wales extends to other parts of the UK:

We get to [the] point where it doesn't really matter – where you will have a Welsh porter as well as a Welsh brain surgeon – so there's a whole mixture of people going on. I say this as an Englishman, so to have a bit more of a mixture

across all of England, not just southeast accents in programmes [would be good].
It's not all about London. (Male viewer, LGBT group)

Our lesbian, gay, bisexual and transsexual (LGBT) group were especially critical of how Welsh sexuality is represented on screen.

'I have a particular bugbear with the character, Daffyd, from *Little Britain*. I think it's a really poor representation of being Welsh and gay. He is the overly caricatured village idiot really, who doesn't realise everybody else around him is gay, that he is not the only gay in the village. It's not necessarily a positive role-model' (Male viewer, LGBT group)

The language of positive-portrayal offers a route for audiences to articulate critical evaluations of on-screen characterisation, but these are often more nuanced than good/bad role models alone. The representation of sexuality plays a significant part in the reception of *Torchwood* particularly. It exemplifies how good quality representations win audience favour. Discussing the most recent series screened over 5 consecutive nights in July 2009, respondents suggested that three different elements went into making the positive representation of Captain Jack and Ianto's relationship. These were:

- firstly the quality and tone of the representation;
- secondly, the mainstreaming of the relationship through its appearance in a prime-time programme's main storyline;
- and thirdly, through the synergy between the character and the actor's sexuality.

I really, really loved the Ianto and Captain Jack storyline and the death kiss. You know millions of people were watching the programme and the way that was dealt with was so good. (Male viewer, LGBT group)

I think it's been very good that he [John Barrowman] is a gay man and he's openly gay. I think he brings something else to it. (Male viewer, LGBT group)

Think again! How landmark productions shape audience perceptions of BBC nations and regions.

In our focus groups, debates about positive portrayal were not limited to fictional characters and narratives, but were instead central to the perception of BBC Wales as a producer of quality television fictions. Some viewers were especially sceptical of the BBC's motives in locating *Doctor Who* with BBC Wales. It was revealing to hear audiences' existing perceptions of regional broadcasters being challenged by the quality of BBC Wales' *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*. For example:

'I thought they were doing it just so they could dump it on Wales and then, if it didn't work, they could say, 'well it wasn't our responsibility?'"
(*Doctor Who* fan focus group member, Cardiff).

I was a little bit apprehensive because normally – and this is not just the BBC but television in Wales – do something, it is normally cringeworthy. The programmes they normally do are like, *Best Pathways in Wales*, or *Best Trains in Wales*. You

cringe, but then you find that ITV Wales have no budget whatsoever. I was a little concerned in the beginning but I found that what the BBC were doing was going out to the regions more and doing more programmes outside London and I did have more confidence then. On the whole, they've done a really good job. (Male viewer, LGBT group).

Such reflections provide evidence of some viewers' grasp of the finance and policy of television production in Wales as a whole. This was echoed in our *Doctor Who* fans focus group. Here a Newport man described his first response to hearing that BBC Wales was doing a new series of a programme he cherished:

My mum phoned for our weekly catch-up and said, 'Have you heard they're making a new series of *Doctor Who*', and I went, 'Oh, that's good', and then she went, 'It's being made by BBC Wales', and I went 'oh bugger! Because you have to remember at that point Upper Boat didn't exist...and the idea of flagship drama being made at this industrial estate on the outskirts of Cardiff was laughable, to my mind. But they were capable and it was absolutely no problem at all, thank goodness.

A public service broadcaster such as the BBC needs to be aware of how the politics of the institution are perceived by viewers in the regions and nations if they are to change audiences' perceptions. Audiences' re-evaluation of broadcasters in the regions/nations appears to relate directly to the value that they attach to specific television productions.

The importance of place

Television has the capacity to represent a sense of place that is local, recognisable, everyday and spectacular.

Everydayness matters to many viewers who want to see their own turf being portrayed positively. However, this does not mean that viewers will be uncritical of televisual techniques for transforming actual locations into slick representations. Viewers use their own media literacy to adjudicate the quality of representations in relation to *both* fictional, genre-based criteria *and* in relation to their own social experience of real places.

Our focus groups provide evidence of audience pleasure in recognising familiar Welsh places on UK-wide television. We are especially struck by Cardiff schoolchildren's confidence about their own location being seen in the mainstream. Rather than being grateful for being represented, they often regard such depictions as being spectacular yet everyday as if they expected the BBC and other broadcasters to make Welsh locations routinely visible. is a significant finding amongst a group of young people who have only ever known Wales post-devolution.

Celebrity- and film-spotting, although exceptional events, are one

'*Torchwood* represents the Cardiff we know'

'I think it makes Cardiff cooler than it really is!

'It's almost like I can get a sense of heritage from *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* being filmed in Cardiff. It's like, 'Yes! I'm in the place with the Aliens", you feel like that.'

(Mixed gender youth group south Wales valleys).

'In *Tracey Beaker* they have an episode where they are at the park and every time I'm at the park I go, 'I've been there! I've sat there!

'I've played football there!'
(Cardiff school boy and girl)

way in which television is made integral to the rituals of everyday life. Many focus group members from Cardiff and south Wales recounted experiences of seeing filming in action and many more explained how they were conscious of it going on even if they did not personally witness the shoot. In this way, programmes like *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* were seen by many viewers to have helped put Cardiff 'on the map' in ways that audiences' appreciated both for its familiarity and for the perceived visibility it gave to the city across the UK and internationally. The question of whether these perceptions are actually borne out by empirical evidence is an important question beyond the scope of this report. Our emphasis instead is on the pervasive rhetoric we encountered of valuing BBC Wales' television production as a route to UK-wide image-making that matters.

'It really does advertise Cardiff well, like saying 'oh, do you want to go to that place because that was where *Doctor Who* was filmed.'
(Cardiff schoolgirl)

Cardiff passing as London? Debating the 'Welshness' of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*

As our questionnaire survey demonstrates, there is a high level of awareness that both *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* are BBC Wales productions. However, the production location is not the only way in which audiences form perceptions of television programmes' cultural and geographic affinities. These may lie in other elements including programmes' narratives, characters, and their fictional (as opposed to actual) locations. Whilst mindful of the culturally contingent and abstract nature of a concept such as 'Welshness', we nonetheless wanted to probe audiences' perceptions of these high impact programme's Welshness in order to capture alternative ways of understanding the relationship between television and contemporary cultural identities.

Significantly different evaluations were made of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*'s Welshness. The most consistent comment about *Doctor Who* was that it denied its Welsh location in all but a few episodes. For many focus group members this was problematic and elicited two related but distinct concerns. Firstly, the disavowal of location was seen to be a poor form of pretence, with attempts at passing Cardiff off as London being regarded as disingenuous and unnecessary. One of our Welsh-speaking focus group members from north Wales put it thus:

'If it's filmed in Wales like *Doctor Who*, why stick up London signs? It's filmed in Cardiff!'
(Male youth group members, south Wales valleys).

They tend to hide the fact that it is Cardiff, which is different from *Torchwood* where they say they are in Cardiff. But in *Doctor Who* they try and hide it all the time and they make it look like London. I wonder why they have to try and hide it all the time.

Secondly, the fictional casting of Cardiff as London was seen as a form of cultural misrepresentation. For example,

If you watch *Torchwood* or *Doctor Who*, it only shows the location. It doesn't show the culture and it doesn't show the people properly. In *Doctor Who*, lots of the time they are in Cardiff but they say they are in London all the time.

This judgement contrasted with participants' views of *Torchwood*, which was generally regarded as more confidently Welsh in its narrative, locations and characterisation. For instance, a male north Wales viewer commented that Cardiff was very important to the series:

They are there all the time, or most of the time. That is where the rift is, and Gwen is a Welsh woman. In *Doctor Who* usually there are no Welsh characters. They go to places – houses and places – in *Torchwood* then they meet with more Welsh people, and then it has more of an effect.

Realist verisimilitude is but one element in audiences' critical judgement. Narrative and genre conventions also play a vital part. This may be seen in the following debate between north Wales focus group members, where the first speaker uses *Doctor Who*'s narrative logic to argue for making Cardiff more visible, whilst another responds that it is the fictional setting of the narrative that demands a more global location:

Why don't they use Cardiff more? They've been there before because of the rift. So they've got reason to be there more often because something important is there.

In *Doctor Who* sometimes it is more about political situations and you wouldn't get the same effect if you said they had taken over the [Welsh] Assembly. If it weren't Parliament in London, it would have to be the White House.

Not all participants felt that Wales, Welsh life, or Welsh cultural identity should be a central element in BBC Wales' output. Indeed for some viewers, it was the rendering of Welsh places as visually appealing, urban locations that could in some ways be anywhere that best testified to the value of mainstreaming Welsh representations. Whilst for some, this may seem like a rejection of the specificity of Wales, for others it is precisely the capacity to stand for anywhere that liberates Welsh production from the burden of social realist representation. Without doubt, this is one of the most challenging and contentious areas of debate but it is clearly one in which audiences are engaged.

I'd like them to cease telling us at every available opportunity 'this is made by BBC Wales in Wales. Because we know.' (Fan focus group, Cardiff)

How does BBC Wales television sound to audiences in Wales?

Landmark BBC Wales productions such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* are important, but so are other BBC productions that represent Wales and Welsh life on the network. *Gavin and Stacey* stood out in our focus groups as an example of how audiences – largely unaware of the programme's Manchester production base – saw the sit-com as a credible, amusing, and authentic representation of a Wales they recognised. An important element in this recognition of the show's Welshness stemmed from the writing; dialogue – including styles of speech and accents – plays an important role in television viewers' perceptions of the BBC portrayals of the regions and nations.

'*Gavin and Stacey* represents Wales to the max'
'The accents and some of the sayings are actually used in Wales now'
'I think *Gavin and Stacey* works because it doesn't seem very stereotyped – the usual stereotype of living in the valleys shagging sheep'
(Mixed gender youth group south Wales valleys)

Focus group members drew our attention to the fate of characters' and actors' accents on BBC Wales' output. The absencing of accents that would commonly be heard in such locations is one of the ways in which a credible sense of place may be diminished. As one fan group member pointed out regarding *Doctor Who*, 'You never get a north Walian accent, most importantly even in Cardiff no-one seems to have a Cardiff accent!' Even more disconcerting to viewers was the anomalous way in which a character such as *Torchwood's* Rhys, is introduced to us as coming from the north, but does not sound so; 'Gwen's boyfriend is from the north originally too but that doesn't come across. There's no one northern, it is a southern thing'

Accents are a matter of dramatic credibility but they are also matters of cultural politics. This is evident in the following discussion of press coverage of Gwen's accent:

In the first series, I heard a lot of really negative stuff in the newspapers about Gwen because her Welsh accent was quite strong. Some quite horrible comments about her. I found it quite offensive really reading some of that in the paper because I thought it was mostly directed at her because she was really quite a strong Welsh character. (west Wales group)

The cultural politics of accents, how television sounds and not only appears, matters a great deal to many viewers in Wales. Diversity needs to be heard and not just seen on the television screen.

Audience Research 2: Questionnaires

Why use online questionnaires?

Although the majority of our audience data was collected via focus group interviews, we also sought to generate some broader and more statistical data on audience responses to portrayal of landmark television. Given our desire to attract a range of respondents from a wide geographical spread beyond Wales, the use of the Internet as a research tool held numerous advantages. Audience research has increasingly moved online to collect data as this offers the ease of conveniently and inexpensively recruiting participants from pre-existing and readily accessible online sites. Given our decision to utilise such spaces we were faced with a choice between collecting and analysing pre-existing audience postings discussing *Doctor Who*, *Torchwood* and wider issues of portrayal of Wales and Welshness or, instead, setting up an online questionnaire and directing potential participants to it for completion. Since our focus groups were likely to be the main source of qualitative data, we opted for the latter option and used an existing online survey service to create a professional-looking survey and to enable easy data collection. We offered the questionnaire bilingually and, although there is often a low response rate with general online questionnaires (Schondlauer *et al* 2002), we received 202 responses in English and 4 in Welsh (copies of the questionnaires can be found in Appendix 2). The use of a pre-existing online survey service allowed us to create a questionnaire that was easy to use and complete, and we hoped that this would encourage participants to take part.

We used a combination of open and closed questions to attempt a balance between useable statistical data generated by closed questions and more qualitative open questions. Open-ended questionnaires can be critiqued for being difficult to answer and process, having a low response rate, and enabling respondents to misinterpret ambiguous questions. However, whilst audience responses to open questions were necessarily limited by time and space available to respond, allowing participants to describe, for example, their encounters with the filming of *Doctor Who/Torchwood* or the stars of the show in their own words added a richness and depth to our understandings of these experiences.

Recruiting respondents

Although the research was concerned primarily with the ways in which Welsh viewers responded to landmark television and portrayal, the issue of how Wales was portrayed in shows such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* beyond the borders of the country was of interest to us. Indeed, questions surrounding the wider reputation and portrayal of Wales could only be fully answered by allowing non-Welsh viewers to respond. Thus, given the logistical limits of conducting focus groups on a UK-wide scale, the use of online questionnaires was an effective research tool for gauging opinion from those outside of Wales.

We sought to attract a wide range of participants beyond dedicated fans or viewers of the series, even though fans are the viewers most often researched via online methods (see Hills 2002:172-180). Thus, we were keen to post information about our online questionnaires to a range of websites in order to solicit respondents from different

locations and a variety of sections of the audience from devoted fans through to casual viewers. We posted requests for participants in the following locations: our Internal University mailing list, Wales Online, a general online media forum Digital Spy.co.uk, and the *Doctor Who* Forum. In many cases specific permission to post our requests on the site had to be obtained from the Webmaster or owner of the site, and we contacted the relevant individuals to explain our intentions and seek their permission to solicit respondents. Although it has been questioned whether single members can be presumed to speak for an entire online community (Reid 1996:170; Walther 2002:209) approaching forum administrators was crucial in granting the project greater legitimacy and, in some cases, was the only way to ensure permission to post on the site at all.

In addition to our specifically online requests for respondents, details about the project and questionnaire were also given on a press release issued by the University and in a subsequent letter printed on the letters pages of the South Wales Echo, a local south Wales newspaper. Although we wished to use the official BBC Wales site or the *Doctor Who* website we were, unfortunately, unable to secure this. This type of recruitment of participants is known as convenience sampling which arises from “uncontrolled instrument distribution or self-selection (that is, volunteering) into a survey” (Schonlau *et al*, 2002:xv).

Although our online survey yielded a large number of responses for a relatively small-scale research project such as this, we are aware of the limitations of online questionnaires as a research tool. Firstly, participants who choose to respond to online questionnaires are inherently self-selecting, and are likely to be more educated and middle-class respondents. This is due to the fact that such individuals are more likely to have access to the Internet and are also most likely to have the leisure time to participate in a questionnaire which demands some reflexivity and an engaged response. Secondly, although we gathered data on the gender, age range and location of online participants, we were unable to track individual responses to the questionnaire due to the configuration of our chosen online survey service. For example, we can see that 59.20% of respondents were male but we were unable to track how many of these responded to different questions in different ways. However, given our main research question of how audiences respond to the portrayal of Wales and Welshness in landmark television, the online survey has been invaluable in providing detailed statistical data on a range of relevant issues. Finally, we were conscious of ethical issues in audience research, taking measures to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of those referenced to avoid harm to participants (see Ess 2002). We obtained informed consent from those who responded to online questionnaires by providing them with information about our work and asking them to complete a standard ethics form in an online format. The anonymity granted by our online ethics procedures and information gathering programme means that all quotes from questionnaires are unattributed.

The questionnaire was available to complete online from February 2009 to May 2009. This allowed us to continue to collect responses during the period of publicity before the screening of a special episode of *Doctor Who*, ‘Planet of The Dead’, on Easter Sunday, 2009.

On-line questionnaires: results and analysis

Results from the English language questionnaires break down as follows:

Gender

Gender	Number of respondents	Percentage
Male	119	59.20
Female	82	40.80
Total	201	100

Age

Age	Number of respondents	Percentage
18 or under	21	10.50
19-29	48	24.00
30-39	60	30.00
40-49	52	26.00
50-59	13	6.50
60-69	4	2.00
70+	2	1.00
Total	200	100

Welsh/Location

	Number of respondents	Percentage
Welsh viewer living in Wales	40	19.90
Non-Welsh viewer living in Wales	34	16.92
Welsh viewer living outside of Wales	9	4.48
Non-Welsh viewer living outside of Wales	118	58.71
Total	201	100

Location (Wales)

Location	Number of respondents	Percentage
Cardiff	34	43.03
South Wales (not Cardiff)	35	44.30
North Wales	7	8.86
west Wales	3	3.79
mid Wales	0	0.00
Total	79	100

Location (non-Wales)

Location	Number of respondents	Percentage
England	106	87.60
Scotland	8	6.61
Isle of Man	2	1.65
USA	2	1.65
Canada	1	0.82
France	1	0.82
Gran Canaria	1	0.82
Total	121	

Connection to Wales (Outside Wales residents only)

Connection	Number of respondents	Percentage
Family in Wales	30	17.75
Previous resident in Wales	10	5.92
Friends in Wales	35	20.71
Other	15	8.88
N/A	79	46.75
Total	169	100

Welsh speaking

Welsh speaker?	Number of respondents	Percentage
Yes, fluent	7	3.50
Yes, learning	34	17.00
No	159	79.50
Total	200	100

Awareness of shows as Welsh

Awareness of <i>Doctor Who</i> as BBC Wales production	Number of respondents	Percentage
Very aware	149	74
Quite aware	26	13
Vaguely aware	6	12
Did not know	12	6
Total	193	100

Awareness of <i>Torchwood</i> as BBC Wales production	Number of respondents	Percentage
Very aware	168	86
Quite aware	16	8
Vaguely aware	5	2
Did not know	5	2
Total	194	100

Responses to this question indicate that the majority of respondents knew that both shows were BBC Wales productions with 74% of *Doctor Who* and 86% of *Torchwood* viewers being 'very aware' of this fact. *Torchwood* is slightly more likely to be recognised as a BBC Wales production, with 12% more respondents stating that they were 'very aware' that this was produced by BBC Wales.

**How did you know that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* were Welsh programmes?
Please tick all that apply.**

Doctor Who

	Number of respondents	Percentage
BBC Wales itself announcing it as a BBC Wales programme	95	53
End of programme credits	130	55
Press coverage	135	51
Word of mouth	73	53
Websites	78	49
Other	35	48
TOTAL		

Torchwood

	Number of respondents	Percentage
BBC Wales itself announcing it as a BBC Wales programme	82	46
End of programme credits	105	44
Press coverage	125	48
Word of mouth	63	46
Websites	80	50
Other	37	51
TOTAL		

Interestingly, the way in which most respondents knew that *Doctor Who* was a Welsh programme, produced by BBC Wales, was via press coverage with 135 respondents listing this. Second, was the end of programme credits, followed by BBC Wales' own announcements before the show aired, websites, and word of mouth. In terms of *Torchwood*, the pattern was the same. This suggests that, despite respondents feeling that *Torchwood* was more 'Welsh', the ways in which both shows are located as Welsh and as BBC products, are the same.

What makes the shows Welsh?

Doctor Who

	Number of respondents	Percentage
It is made by BBC Wales	99	46
It is filmed in Wales	102	45
It sets episodes in recognisable locations in Cardiff and south Wales	63	34
It uses some Welsh actors	42	28
Other	7	30

Torchwood

	Number of respondents	Percentage
It is made by BBC Wales	116	53
It is filmed in Wales	123	54
It sets episodes in recognisable locations in Cardiff and south Wales	122	65
It uses some Welsh actors	107	71
Other	16	69

The fact that both shows are filmed in Wales is the key way in which the questionnaire participants felt the shows were Welsh with 102 respondents indicating this in relation to *Doctor Who* and 123 regarding *Torchwood*. However, for *Doctor Who* the second most popular reason was the fact that the show is made by BBC Wales, whereas for *Torchwood* it is the fact that the show sets episodes in recognisable locations. This indicates that, when shows are set in local areas, this contributes significantly to the perception of them as 'Welsh', suggesting that seeing the area where one lives is important to many of these respondents. The fact that *Torchwood* is made by BBC Wales, however, was also important to respondents; in fact, this attracted more responses for *Torchwood* (116) than *Doctor Who* (99). Interestingly, however, the idea that using Welsh actors makes the shows Welsh was overwhelmingly more important to *Torchwood* viewers – 71% of them listed this in comparison to just 28% of responses for *Doctor Who*. This again indicates that *Torchwood's* more diegetic Welshness and use of Welsh actors positions it as more Welsh than *Doctor Who* which uses Cardiff to double for London and a range of other locations.

Importance of *Doctor Who* as Welsh

Importance	Number of respondents	Percentage
Very important	39	19.70
Quite important	27	13.64
Neither important nor important	28	14.14
Quite unimportant	20	10.10
Not important at all	84	42.42
Total	198	100

Importance of *Torchwood* as Welsh

Importance	Number of respondents	Percentage
Very important	46	23.59
Quite important	23	11.79
Neither important nor important	32	16.41
Quite unimportant	20	10.26
Not important at all	74	37.95
Total	195	100

Although when asked how important it was that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* were Welsh shows the majority of respondents claimed that it was not important at all, the number of people who felt that it was very important was higher for *Torchwood* (23.59%) than for *Doctor Who* (19.70%). This indicates that the fact that *Torchwood* is explicitly set in Wales might contribute to the way in which viewers judge how 'Welsh' the programmes are.

Do you spot recognisable locations whilst watching the shows?

	<i>Doctor Who</i>		<i>Torchwood</i>	
	No. of respondents	Percentage	No. of respondents	Percentage
Yes, often	53	27	86	45
Yes, sometimes	51	26	37	19
Yes, very occasionally	33	16	25	13
No, not very often	29	14	21	11
No, never	29	14	21	11

In terms of both *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*, the majority of respondents indicated that they did spot familiar locations when watching the shows although this is much higher for *Torchwood* (with 45%) than *Doctor Who* (with 27%). However, *Doctor Who* viewers were more likely to spot locations only sometimes (26% compared with *Torchwood's* 19%) and only occasionally (16% compared with *Torchwood's* 13%). These results again demonstrate how *Torchwood's* explicit setting in Cardiff might cause viewers to more easily recognise certain areas and landmarks whereas this only occurs sometimes for viewers of *Doctor Who*, given the way in which Cardiff often stands in for other locations.

Which locations do you tend to recognise?

	No. of respondents – <i>Doctor Who</i>	No. of respondents – <i>Torchwood</i>
Wales Millennium Centre	113	129
Senedd	78	73
Roald Dahl Plas	83	94
Queen Street	60	48
Millennium Stadium	60	61
St Mary's Street	45	37
Cardiff Castle	29	41
The Hayes	34	31
Civic Centre/City Hall	35	38
Own street/own home	10	11
Other	48	44

In terms of the locations which respondents often spotted, the Wales Millennium Centre was the most common, followed by Roald Dahl Plas in Cardiff Bay. This is unsurprising given that this is the diegetic setting for *Torchwood's* base and also the appearance of these locations in *Doctor Who* episodes 'Boom Town' and 'Last of the Time Lords'. The locations recognised tend to be fairly similar across both programmes, although when a specific episode showcases a location this influences the response rate (e.g. the use of Cardiff Castle in *Torchwood's* episode 'Exit Wounds' most likely contributes to the 41 participants' recognition of this site). Interestingly, a small number of respondents have spotted their own street or home in the shows, suggesting that pleasure can be gained,

not just from spotting large landmarks on-screen, but also that one's more specific and personal locale can also be seen by some viewers.

Does spotting recognisable locations add to the enjoyment of the programmes?

	No. of respondents	Percentage
Yes	111	61.33
No	46	25.41
Don't know	24	13.26
TOTAL	181	100

The overwhelming response here indicates that spotting locations which are familiar to viewers can be pleasurable, and that they might welcome future shows which provide this extra level of enjoyment.

Positive impact on Cardiff of both shows

Positive Impact	Number of respondents	Percentage
Strongly agree	106	53.00
Agree	61	30.50
Disagree	4	2.00
Strongly disagree	2	1.00
Unsure	27	13.50
Total	200	100

Positive impact on Wales of both shows

Positive Impact	Number of respondents	Percentage
Strongly agree	83	41.71
Agree	78	39.20
Disagree	7	3.52
Strongly disagree	2	1.01
Unsure	29	14.57
Total	199	100

The majority of respondents here felt that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* had a positive impact on Cardiff (with 53% agreeing) and also on Wales (with 41.71% agreeing). However, the positive impact on Cardiff is more than on Wales, with 106 respondents agreeing there had been a positive impact on Cardiff and 83 agreeing that this had extended to Wales as a whole. Even those who did not strongly agree, agreed to some extent with 30.50% agreeing regarding Cardiff and 39.20% agreeing regarding Wales. This indicates that, overall, respondents to the questionnaires felt that both shows had a positive impact on Cardiff and Wales. More specific responses to this question can be found below.

"Makes Cardiff look like LA!" – the positive impact of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* on Wales/Cardiff

In addition to these statistical results, some of the open questions also yielded detailed comments. These comments are indicative of the main ways in which respondents felt that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* had a positive impact on Wales/Cardiff.

Due to both shows being shown worldwide, Cardiff and Wales have been shown to many different cultures. It should put paid to the whole "Wales: is that in England?" remark. Wales and Cardiff have (especially in *Torchwood's* case) become much more well-known as a result of the shows being filmed here.

Not many programmes are filmed in Cardiff (especially that then get aired in England) and so in terms of merely highlighting the city that's positive. *Torchwood* in particular emphasises its setting in Cardiff (and makes it look pretty!) and present Cardiff as lively and exciting. Equally it's nice to hear Welsh accents which are rare or often associated with less than positive characters.

This comment suggests that audiences derive pleasure from visibility, that is, from seeing themselves and their experiences on network, rather than just local, television. Thus, it is not just that BBC Wales needs to produce and make good television for Wales, but that such programmes should appear on network and not be routinely confined to Wales.

I think the positive impacts both programmes have had is that they have steered audiences away from the stereotypes of Wales: be that male voice choirs, hills and sheep etc. There is more to Wales and Cardiff than as a country and a city they can provide filming locations just as good as London. People want to come visit Wales and Cardiff, maybe at first this could be just because of the programmes but once they are here they discover other aspects of the country and the city that they didn't know were here. I don't see any negative aspects.

Because location plays a very important part in a TV series or film and people identify with this as much as they do with the actors who play the characters they love. They associate the places with the series or film they see. Both children and adults want to see where the Doctor lands his TARDIS to refuel and where the Torchwood hub is etc. so they come to Cardiff. Cardiff is also very positively portrayed in *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* and so entice people to visit it, which is very good for the city.

For respondents the main issues were as follows:

1. They enjoyed seeing Cardiff portrayed on television in a positive light, for example, looking attractive and modern.
2. They felt it was important not only to see where they were from portrayed on-screen but also to hear local accents and see characters. This indicates the importance of the sounds of locality as well as the visual impact.
3. They assumed that the programmes had impacted upon tourism and the Welsh economy in a positive way.

4. They wanted modern Cardiff/Wales to be portrayed; that is, in terms beyond received stereotypes ('sheep, miners, and male voice choirs').
5. They applauded the wider industry context of the programmes, such as an increase in production and creativity more widely.
6. They felt that *Torchwood* more explicitly represented Wales/Cardiff due to its diegetic setting and use of Welsh characters and accents.
7. They wanted to see Welsh productions on network television, not just screened on BBC Wales

"The Welsh never shut up about this!": the negative impact of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* on Wales/Cardiff

However, whilst there were not a majority (only 11 out of 145 comments), some respondents were less positive about the impact of the shows on Wales and Cardiff. For those whose responses were negative, the main issue was that the shows 'could be set anywhere'. For example,

I think the show reflects well on Cardiff as a city, showing it to be a vibrant modern place to be. However, this could be any city in any country, so do not think the shows are connected to Wales as a country at all.

This comment suggests a duality in the portrayal of Wales on-screen. In contemporary television productions, Wales/Cardiff's ability to stand in for anywhere – to function as London in *Doctor Who*, for example – is seen as positive. In its ability to act as anywhere/nowhere, Wales moves away from seeming small-town, provincial or parochial and, somehow, more 'mature' and contemporary. However, the flip-side of this is that some aspects of Wales/Welshness get lost. In being able to be anywhere, location becomes homogenous, suggesting a potential loss of certain aspects of Welsh identity and culture for some viewers.

For others, the Cardiff represented in the shows is not actually what Cardiff is like in their experience and offers an overly positive and glamorised image of the city:

For primary school kids, it has given Wales a degree of hipness. For adults, *Torchwood* has raised (false?) awareness of Cardiff as a hip and vibrant city...relatives have been to visit it for the first time as a result of their love of *Torchwood* and found it much like any other provincial town: pedestrianised shopping precincts full of identikit chain stores and standing room only chain pubs full of yobs drunk on cheap drink promotions.

Some respondents from outside of Wales feel that this is not an issue they are qualified to address:

No idea what impact they've had. I don't live in Wales and so don't see any news or other coverage local to Wales or Cardiff.

I have answered "unsure", as I don't think this is something that I would be able to appreciate. Someone from Cardiff/Wales would be able to say, but not me!

It is only important to local people. The majority of people viewing the programmes, are, from outside the filming location would not have any idea of where it is filmed.

For a very small number of respondents, the Welshness of the shows is unappealing or detracts from their enjoyment of the shows:

it should not matter it's the script and the narrative that matters. It must be handy to have decent locations on your door step and cheaper to make the most of it, but then aren't the audience going to get fed up of seeing the same old thing, especially since *Doctor Who* is supposed to be a time traveller how many times can he travel to locations in Cardiff and make it appear like he's in another time zone/place?

On the negative side, I'm sure I'm not alone in finding the unrelieved sound of Welsh accents irritating. The general 'in-your-face' Welshness of *Torchwood* rather detracted from the story and that's why I stopped watching it.

Although it is possible that these comments come from Welsh viewers, it seems most likely that such opinions come from those viewing *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* from outside Wales. The first comment feeds into ongoing debates over whether Cardiff as a location can successfully double for a range of other locations and whether this might be a limit placed upon the production of landmark television within Wales. The second comment is particularly interesting, given the opinions recorded in our focus group research in which Welsh viewers debated the issue of the Welshness of both programmes in an often highly nuanced, and accepting fashion.



Press Reporting on *Doctor Who*/*Torchwood* and Cardiff/Wales



This aspect of the research examined how discourses surrounding landmark television and a sense of place or location were articulated extra-textually, that is, not through the programmes themselves but within the tertiary materials which circulate around them. This seemed particularly crucial given the accusations that Wales and Welshness is hardly represented on-screen in the shows (see literature review) and that the apparent Welshness of *Doctor Who*, for example, was something more commonly alluded to in the press coverage of the show rather than in the programmes themselves (Hills, 2006:58).

To analyse this we gathered press reports from 2004-2008, using the Lexis Library search engine. Searches were conducted using the search terms '*Doctor Who*' and 'Cardiff' or 'Wales', and '*Torchwood*' and 'Cardiff' or 'Wales'. We searched in all UK based newspapers at both national and local level, given the potential impact of the local press on 'mak[ing] a regional/national programme into a collective 'must-see' event, in a multi-channel globalised age of television' (McElroy, 2009:97). It must be stated here that this is not intended to be a comparative and fully systematic analysis of press coverage. Rather, this aspect of the research seeks to offer an overview of popular

discourses informing stories which discussed *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* and Wales and/or Cardiff.

The over-view was undertaken by collection of relevant stories which were then read and sorted into six main categories. These categories were constructed based on the most dominant story types identified through the reading of the collated press articles and, as with all research which is dependent upon the creation of such categories, the allocation of stories into each category is necessarily subjective. Furthermore, where stories might fit into either into *Torchwood* or other story types, a decision was made regarding the main focus of the story and the article then labelled by this dominant focus. Thus, each individual story can only have been counted within one category.

The breakdown of stories and newspapers was as follows:

Year	No. of stories	south Wales Echo	Western Mail	Wales on Sunday	Other Welsh press	Non-Welsh Local Press	National Press
2004	19	5	10	1	0	3	0
2005	85	19	37	6	2	9	12
2006	63	23	26	5	0	1	8
2007	120	38	44	6	0	15	17
2008	159	58	54	2	4	15	26
TOTAL	446	143	173	20	6	43	63

These figures show that, excepting the year 2006, there was an increase in the number of press stories which discussed the terms *Doctor Who/Torchwood* and Wales/Cardiff over the period of analysis. Such an overall increase in press coverage is to be expected, given the shows' increasing popularity and cultural prominence. Furthermore, the local south Wales press was more likely to link *Doctor Who/Torchwood* to Wales/Cardiff in its stories, with the *Western Mail* most likely across all years (except 2008) to do so. The low number of stories in the *Wales on Sunday* can also partially be attributed to its status as a weekly newspaper, rather than a daily one. Again, excepting 2006, the reporting within the UK press has increased in the number of stories published, along with a similar increase by non-Welsh local press such as the *Liverpool Daily Post*. The higher level of stories in the local press can be partially attributed to the journalistic values of proximity and relevance; that is, by locating *Doctor Who/Torchwood* within their Welsh/Cardiff context, the stories surrounding them become more interesting to local readers. Indeed, 'Programmes live in the local press because they bring together the PR efforts of programme-makers and commissioners, with the local presses' own need to generate distinctively regional content that may foster a valuable sense of readerly attachment' (McElroy 2009: 98).

However, these figures cannot tell us much about the specific ways in which *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* and Wales/Cardiff were discussed in the press. Thus, to examine how the

press used the link between the shows and Wales/Cardiff, these stories were analysed in terms of themes in order to identify the major discourses employed.

Story themes

Stories which referenced the shows and the locations were analysed. These fell into six main areas.

1. Passing reference
2. Hooks
3. Filming & locations
4. Media industry
5. Tourism
6. Image & representation of Wales

The following table shows how many stories in each of these six categories were reported, and which newspapers covered each during the 2004-2008 period (for a year-by-year breakdown, please see below).

2004-2008

Newspaper	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	TOTAL
<i>Western Mail</i>	50	36	19	40	10	18	173
South Wales Echo	33	43	31	7	19	10	143
<i>Wales on Sunday</i>	7	5	3	1	3	1	20
Other Welsh Press	1	1	1	0	2	1	6
Non-Welsh local Press	24	3	2	4	6	4	43
National Press	30	9	3	4	6	11	63
TOTAL	145	97	59	56	46	45	448

In percentage terms, this breaks down into the following

Story type	Total no. of stories	Percentage
1. Passing reference	145	32%
2. Hooks	97	22%
3. Filming & locations	59	13%
4. Media industry	56	12.5%
5. Tourism	46	10%
6. Image & representation	45	10%

Type 1: Passing references

This refers to stories which merely referred to the shows being filmed in Cardiff (e.g. 'Doctor Who, currently being filmed in Cardiff, is one of the BBC's biggest successes').

Type 2: Hooks

General reports on aspects of the shows which mentioned their locations. Examples include reports on the launches of *Torchwood* and *The Sarah Jane Adventures*, David Tennant and Billie Piper turning on the Christmas lights in Cardiff, merchandise (for example, what toys will be popular at Xmas?), Russell T. Davies' honorary doctorates at Swansea and Cardiff, the appearance of a *Doctor Who* garden at the Chelsea Flower Show, how to make your own Tardis, John Barrowman's wedding, the closure of Cardiff outdoor market, reports of success at Welsh BAFTAs, and a *Doctor Who* conference at Cardiff University.

These types of stories also often used *Doctor Who/Torchwood* as a jumping-off point for contextualisation of an issue or to prompt reader recognition. For example,

How do you travel 5,500 years through Welsh history without catching a lift with *Doctor Who's* Tardis? Sign up for an archaeology tour that taps into landmarks left by early man through to his 20th century cousins (Aled Blake, *Western Mail*, June 29, 2005, Wednesday, 'MAKING TOURISTS DIG WALES' HISTORY, WITH A PASSION FOR THE PAST').

An historic street well known for its distinctive cobbles and sightings of *Doctor Who* baddies is to get a makeover. Local property firm Andton Investments is to catapult Womanby Street into the 21st Century by transforming a pub and a former hotel into a Brewery Quarter-style complex (Garry Holt, *South Wales Echo*, August 16, 2006, Wednesday, 'Historic street set for revamp').

"Welsh people should remain vigilant and not assume that they are immune from terrorist attack just because they live outside large metropolitan centres", a defence analyst warned last night. [...] "Within Wales, Cardiff is becoming increasingly internationally known through television programmes like Doctor Who and Torchwood. This means there are buildings in Cardiff that are recognised and symbolic" (Abbie Wightwick, *The Western Mail*, November 11, 2006, 'Terror expert warns Millennium Stadium and Assembly are possible targets').

Type 3: Filming & locations

Type 3 stories – regarding filming and locations – remained fairly steady in frequency and, as one might expect, were primarily restricted to local newspapers such as the *South Wales Echo* and *Western Mail*.

For example, reports mentioned filming in Cathays for the episode 'The Idiot's Lantern', the first sighting of Catherine Tate filming in the city, and numerous Christmas episodes. This category also includes stories which detailed the locations of filming (unless these were given in a more tourism-based story) as well as stories which dealt with the pleasures of spotting familiar locations on-screen.

'They're getting used to us in the city now,' said Russell T Davies, who now lives in a flat in Cardiff Bay, where he does most of his writing for *Doctor Who*. 'They barely blinked as we decked the city centre with tinsel and then, in true *Doctor Who* style, blew it up. Passers-by smiled and trudged through the fake snow.' (Rob Driscoll, '*Doctor Who*, a sinister Santa and an alien army invade our living rooms on Christmas Day', *Western Mail*, December 13, 2005).

'look, it's Queen's Arcade!' In how many living rooms across Wales was that shout echoed on Saturday night as *Doctor Who* returned to our screens, this time made in Wales? It was almost impossible to concentrate on what was going on in the programme because of the temptation to shout out every time you recognised a landmark. Although the first episode, featuring Christopher Eccleston as the Doctor and Billie Piper as his assistant Rose, was set in London, there were enough glimpses of Cardiff to know it had been filmed here. 'Ooh, there's a sale on in Howells', 'Isn't that Grangetown?' and 'I've eaten in that restaurant' were popular comments as I watched the show. (*Western Mail*, March 29, 2005, WHO? WHERE? IT WAS FAMILIAR TERRITORY FOR VIEWERS IN WALES, BY PAUL CAREY WESTERN MAIL).

The insistence of the local press in identifying filming locations or reporting on shooting for *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* demonstrates further the importance of proximity and relevance for readers. However, it might also indicate the ways in which the filming of the shows, and their locations in Cardiff, are drawn on and circulated by the press in order to maintain momentum, and help contribute to the creation of 'fan residents' of the shows (Hills forthcoming).

Type 4: Media production

The frequency of Type 4 stories (those related to the Welsh media industry more broadly) saw a marked increase. The high level of such stories in 2008 was primarily due to the announcement that the BBC planned to move production of many shows from London to the regions, in particular their decision to move production of *Casualty* from Bristol to Cardiff. For example, The *Western Mail* reports that 'These proposals also give us the strongest possible platform to increase BBC Wales' network production for the whole of the UK on the back of successes such as *This Land*, *Hidden Gardens* and *Painting the Weather* and the confidence shown in BBC Wales' drama department with productions like *Doctor Who*' (*Western Mail*, June 30, 2004, Wednesday, 'NEW BROOMS AT BBC SWEEP MORE RESOURCES INTO WALES').

Much of this coverage was related to *Gavin & Stacey* and whether there was a new wave of programmes being produced and made in Wales. For example, in one story *Gavin & Stacey* co-writer James Cordon comments, 'It's like a bit of a TV mafia down in Wales now, actually - so many people are filming there. Our trucks would turn up in Cardiff just as *Doctor Who*'s trucks pulled away, with *Torchwood*'s due in the day after.' (Alice Klein, The *Western Mail*, 'Welsh comedy leads the pack in hunt for television comedy prizes', December 5, 2007, Wednesday).

Stories also focused on the BBC's decision to move productions from London to the regions (*Casualty*'s move from Bristol to Cardiff), the increase in production through

shows such as *Merlin* (BBC 2008 -) and *Skellig* (BSkyB 2009) and the growth in Wales' creative and cultural sector. This category also includes examples of Wales and *Doctor Who/Torchwood* being used to illustrate issues in the Scottish media industry in the Scottish national press through drawing parallels between levels of production in the two nations.

Type 5: Tourism

Type 5 stories also increased between 2004 and 2008, most likely as a result of the impact of the shows on the tourist industry being felt in Cardiff's industry and tourism. These types of story featured in both local Welsh press and national newspapers. National stories tended to take the angle of travel features which followed reporters who visited Cardiff, whilst local stories were more likely to flag up the impact of tourism on the Welsh economy and industry. For example,

Doctor Who could help Cardiff become the centre of the universe for science fiction buffs around the world, following the sale of international TV rights. Shooting for the eagerly-anticipated new series continued in the capital this week, with dedicated websites excitedly trailing pictures of new aliens and blue-painted dwarves milling around the city centre's Cathays Park, and, according to experts, the city providing the backdrop to Christopher Eccleston's Doctor could soon benefit from a tourist boost (*Western Mail*, October 9, 2004, Saturday, 'TOURIST TIME TRAVELLERS ON THEIR WAY TO CARDIFF?').

Bosses at Wales Tourist Board are delighted with the exposure the award-winning programme gives the country. They believe it can help attract additional visitors to the area as well as give those living in Wales a boost when they see familiar locations beamed onto their TV screens. And, perhaps even more importantly, filming in Wales gives the economy a boost. 'Having a highly popular TV series like *Doctor Who* shot on locations in Cardiff and other parts of south Wales helps viewers in Wales feel that they live in a modern and attractive part of the UK,' said a spokesman for the Wales Tourist Board (*Western Mail*, December 24, 2005, Saturday 'Tourists follow in the footsteps of Doctor Who').

Some of these stories overlapped with type 2 stories ('hooks') which used quite tentative links with *Doctor Who/Torchwood* to promote the touristic attractions of Cardiff. One such example used a story about Billie Piper's then-husband Chris Evans' reluctance to join her in Cardiff as an excuse to provide a list of attractions the city can offer tourists or visitors.

Type 5 stories were often reports from travel sections on what to visit in Wales. Other examples include analysis of the benefits such increased tourism might bring. This also includes all references to the *Doctor Who* exhibition at the Red Dragon Centre in Cardiff Bay.

Type 6: Image and representation

Finally, type 6 stories were often concerned with how *Doctor Who/Torchwood* had impacted upon the wider reputation and image of Wales/Cardiff and how they

represented Wales. These types of story often contained elements of others (for example, tourism or industry) but the prevailing theme was how Wales was being perceived by the outside world.

The BBC Wales hit *Doctor Who* series, filmed here in Cardiff, has put the capital firmly on the map and shown that Wales can produce modern hit shows, not just traditional programmes about Welsh choirs and sheep farming (*South Wales Echo* editorial, December 29, 2005).

'We wondered whether Wales could be portrayed as modern and forward-looking and *Torchwood* is the answer. It's obviously Welsh and it's sexy, modern and fantastic' (Mark Thompson, quoted in Karen Price, *The Western Mail*, November 25, 2006, Saturday, 'BBC Wales praised for 'sexy and modern' programmes').

However, there remains a 'disparity between production (TV made in Wales) and portrayal (TV that depicts Wales, its people and landscape)', (Jachimiak and McElroy 2008: 82) and the issue of exactly how and what should be portrayed is a complex one. According to former BBC Chairman and ITV chief executive Michael Grade, one of the key aspects in *Doctor Who*'s success is its lack of political engagement with issues of Welshness. He applauds 'BBC Wales's carefree attitude to Welsh depictions in *Doctor Who*, he said: "The irony is that once you start relaxing about it, you can have fun with it - [*Doctor Who*] is fun and it's not trying to make some big political point.'" (*The Sunday Herald*, July 1, 2007, 'Grade: Scottish TV suffering from shortage of talent', By Steven Vass Media Correspondent). Similarly, cultural historian Peter Stead comments:

[Some people]were hoping some Welsh thing would come out of BBC Wales' drama department. Initially there was a sense of resentment that this outside thing had come in - what's Welsh about *Doctor Who*? But it's been liberating. It's taken us away from conventional forms, caused us to use imagination, to see that you can create really powerful drama that can be futuristic (Stead cited in Catherine Jones, 'Who loves ya, boyo?', *The Western Mail*, April 5, 2008).

However, in other stories issues of representation are more critical and the Welshness, or otherwise, of *Doctor Who* in particular is discussed. The most prominent example was the reporting of comments by BAFTA Cymru nominee, actor Richard Harrington, who claimed that *Doctor Who* "'doesn't reflect Wales. [...] It could have been made in Birmingham and it would not have looked any different," he said' (Sarah Manners, '*Doctor Who* could've been made in Birmingham'; 'Series doesn't reflect Wales', *South Wales Echo*, April 16, 2008). For others, the way in which Cardiff was represented as glamorous in *Torchwood* was at odds with the usual image of the city. One reviewer notes, 'Other minor irritations include the stupid pterodactyl flying round *Torchwood* HQ and so many shots of Cardiff's ring-road system you'd think it was a Florentine sunset' (Jim Shelley, *The Mirror*, November 21, 2006 Tuesday, 'SHELLEY VISION: YOU JUST WOOD NOT BELIEVE IT..').

It can be argued, of course, that *Torchwood*'s diegetic Welsh setting and use of Welsh actors means that it has a stronger and more firmly rooted Welsh identity than *Doctor Who*. However, debates over the version of Wales and Welshness that the show

represents also occur in press coverage. A particular point of controversy was BBC Wales Controller Menna Richards' claim that *Torchwood* 'didn't have a "male voice choir in sight or a miner in sight"'. Her comment prompted some complaint over the 'Wales' that was being portrayed on BBC Wales;

I was saddened and horrified to read the report of the launching of *Torchwood* in St David's Hotel that Menna Richards (Controller BBC Wales) was pleased that no male-voice choirs or miners would be seen - it would be 'all sex and sci-fi!' At last we have an explanation for the total absence of things cultural, literary, musical or indeed anything promoting Welsh history on the UK network. It's just not sexy! Things Welsh must be confined to the ghetto of BBC Wales Digital - and must not be given too much UK airtime! (Reader's letter, *Western Mail*, October 25, 2006).

Similarly, one Welsh reviewer asks 'have you noticed no-one speaks with a Cardiff accent in *Torchwood*? Has everyone who says 'Claaaaaaark's pie' been subsumed by the rift in time and space running down Cowbridge Road East?' (Carolyn Hitt, 2006, 'Tourists will find plenty of alien activity in Cardiff', *Western Mail*). Thus, even though *Torchwood* might portray Cardiff on-screen, issues over who exactly it is portraying continue to be debated.

Press reporting by type:

2004

Newspaper	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	TOTAL
<i>Western Mail</i>	5	0	1	2	2	0	10
South Wales Echo	2	0	3	0	0	0	5
<i>Wales on Sunday</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other Welsh Press	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Welsh local Press	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
UK Press	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	9	0	5	3	2	0	19

2005

Newspaper	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	TOTAL
<i>Western Mail</i>	10	11	6	3	2	5	37
South Wales Echo	4	6	5	1	2	1	19
<i>Wales on Sunday</i>	2	1	2	0	0	1	6
Other Welsh Press	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Non-Welsh local Press	7	0	1	0	0	1	9
UK Press	7	2	0	0	0	3	12
TOTAL	31	20	15	4	4	11	85

2006

Newspaper	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	TOTAL
<i>Western Mail</i>	3	3	6	7	2	5	26
South Wales Echo	1	6	7	0	6	3	23
<i>Wales on Sunday</i>	1	1	1	0	2	0	5
Other Welsh Press	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Welsh local Press	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK Press	0	2	0	0	1	5	8
TOTAL	6	12	14	7	11	13	63

2007

Newspaper	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	TOTAL
<i>Western Mail</i>	13	12	2	9	3	5	44
South Wales Echo	11	15	8	2	2	0	38
<i>Wales on Sunday</i>	3	3	0	0	0	0	6
Other Welsh Press	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Welsh local Press	5	1	0	3	4	2	15
UK Press	7	4	1	2	3	0	17
TOTAL	39	35	11	16	12	7	120

2008

Newspaper	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	TOTAL
<i>Western Mail</i>	19	10	4	17	1	3	54
South Wales Echo	15	16	8	4	9	6	58
<i>Wales on Sunday</i>	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Other Welsh Press	0	1	0	0	2	1	4
Non-Welsh local Press	10	2	0	0	2	1	15
UK Press	16	1	2	2	2	3	26
TOTAL	60	30	14	24	17	14	159

Textual Analysis – screening the nation in small screen fictions

Before the main act....

This research is concerned with drama, but Wales and Welshness are represented in other types of programme as well – news and current affairs, history programming, human interest documentaries, reality television, sport – and some of the same themes and issues raised around drama can be found here. As a way of acknowledging this, and of providing another contextualisation of the two case studies, we conducted an overview of the ways in which Wales was portrayed across genres and formats. This was done by selecting a single week – eight days to be precise – of programming for analysis². We have chosen not to present this analysis in detail to avoid diluting the report's main focus; however, some of its findings will be summarised here and in the discussion of *Gavin and Stacey*.

First of all, it is important to give a sense of just where and how one might find Wales portrayed on television, in addition to the Welsh-language output associated with S4C. In the week under discussion, news, politics and current affairs concerned with, and aimed at, Welsh audiences comprised almost 14 hours of airtime on the terrestrial channels. Both BBC and ITV had/have dedicated Welsh news bulletins, notably at the early-evening peak news viewing time of 6.30 and 6.00 pm respectively. There were also regular programmes concerned with Welsh politics and the affairs of the Wales Assembly Government: for example, *am.pm* (BBC 2 Tuesday and Wednesday), *The Politics Show* (BBC1 Sunday), *Dragon's Eye* (BBC, Thursday); *Wales This Week* (ITV, Thursday).

In addition to the coverage of both match days of the Six Nations (rugby) Championship (our choice of weeks was not entirely innocent), there was *Scrum V* (BBC1 both Sundays) a magazine programme devoted to discussion, interviews and human interest stories about rugby. Football fans could have seen Cardiff and Swansea football clubs in action on ITV's coverage of Championship football (Sunday). Additionally, sporting enthusiasts had *Great Welsh Sporting Moments* (BBC2 both Saturdays). Fans of Welsh comedy might have seen a portrayal of Welsh life and identity as seen through the lens of *High Hopes* (BBC1, Wednesday) and, in a familiar generic hybrid, *High Tackle*, a comedy/sports/quiz programme broadcast on Friday on BBC1 (neither of these programmes was networked).

Documentaries of different kinds on Welsh subjects, often with a historical focus, also featured in the schedules: BBC2 Wales' historical magazine *The Welsh Way of Life* (Tuesday), for example, or a documentary about engineering achievements, *When Wales Shook the World* (BBC2 Tuesday). There were also magazine programmes of different

² A large part of the output for the main terrestrial and related digital channels was recorded for the week 14-22 March and selectively viewed: BBC 1, 2 3 and 4; ITV1; C4; S4C; C5. Selection was guided by programme outlines on the web and in published listings (notably *Radio Times*). The aim was not to provide a detailed quantitative measurement of instances of portrayal but rather to indicate some of the ways that the themes of the research into drama were being echoed, and in some cases developed, in other programme categories. The analysis also focused primarily on English-language programming, for the purposes of comparison

kinds, for example ITV's arts and culture focused *The Wales Show* (Thursday) and *Changing Lives*, BBC's human interest documentary strand (Thursday).

It is also worth noting that Wales sometimes features in other kinds of programming, often by chance. David Dickinson's antique-focused *The Real Deal* (ITV Friday) came from Llandudno in the week under scrutiny, for example, and ITV's cookery programme *Taste the Nation* (Thursday) featured a contestant from Glamorgan. These are also opportunities to hear Welsh voices, to see Welsh landscapes and cityscapes, and such programmes often circulate familiar ideas of an 'idyllic' countryside, or historic castles and town centres that resonate with wider discourses about heritage.

No value judgement is made of these representations at this point, and it should be noted that viewers had a narrow range of drama to choose from (the choice of week would not have had much effect on this) and virtually nothing that dealt with either Welsh history or contemporary social issues in dramatic form.

Doctor Who* and *Torchwood

This section of the report uses close analysis of representative samples from *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* to suggest some of the ways that the programmes establish the relationship that they have to Cardiff and Wales explicitly or implicitly within the narrative and iconography of the programmes themselves. For the purposes of this research both series were viewed on a series of BBC box-sets published by BBC Worldwide (2009). All references to episodes will therefore refer to those editions and be rendered numerically by series and episodes (for example, the first episode in series one is 1.1).

The analysis that follows is organised differently for each programme to reflect the distinctive ways that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* represent Cardiff, Wales and Welshness: the questions asked of each are broadly similar, however, and were informed by the focus group research. In particular, the tension – if not contradiction – that can be found in some of the focus group responses between portrayal understood as offering a direct correspondence between familiar 'real places' and how they are represented and those same places as mediated by the conventions of genre. It was important to ask, therefore, in what ways do Cardiff and Wales stand 'for themselves' and in what ways are they 'everywhere and nowhere'?

Whilst the analysis itself is of key examples, the central conclusions are intended to apply to all the programmes in both series that had been aired at the point at which the report was written.

***Doctor Who* and Wales: Series 1-4, including 'specials' (BBC Cymru Wales 2005-9)**

This is an overview of the ways that Cardiff, Wales and Welshness are made use of in *Doctor Who* Series One – Four. In this case 'Series One – Four' is used to refer to the

version of *Doctor Who* re-launched in 2005, executive produced for BBC Wales by Russell T. Davies, Julie Gardner and Mal Young and produced by Phil Collinson.

The 'meaning' of Cardiff and south Wales locations

To begin with it is important to recognise that, for the most part, Cardiff and other parts of south Wales are used in the series to stand for other places, most frequently London, but also a number of other places including some in the fictional past and future and some in other 'worlds'. There are some important exceptions to this general rule where Cardiff or another part of Wales is used as a location in its own right and these are discussed separately below.

The diegetic use of Cardiff locations is very often barely disguised with clear signage, such as that on the Queen Street shopping centre in 'Rose' (1.1), being foregrounded. On other occasions locations are used that are relatively familiar, at least to UK audiences beyond south Wales. This latter category includes the Millennium Stadium (now particularly well known as the home of all UK major football events during the period when Wembley Stadium was being re-built).

There are also infrequent, though striking verbal references to Cardiff. As the programme moves through its four series these are frequently related to the city's strong associations with the *Doctor Who* spin-off series, *Torchwood*. In the latter, Cardiff appears constantly as 'itself' through its fictional use as the home of the *Torchwood* organisation at the heart of the show. These are often humorous in tone. For example, in 'Bad Wolf' (1.12) Captain Jack Harkness (John Barrowman) tells two robots dressed as reality show hosts Trinny and Susannah that he has bought his T-shirt in the Cardiff branch of Top Shop. Although *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* are clearly aimed at different audiences, the surrounding attention accorded to both makes it likely that a high percentage of their respective audiences will be aware of both programmes and their interlocking narrative relationship.

The impact of verbal references to Cardiff and *Torchwood* can be read as constant reinforcement of *Doctor Who*'s strong relationship to the place in which it has been shot over a five year period. Even if the streets of Cardiff are there to represent London, there are constant reminders of the city's presence in the cross references. When this is linked to both the press coverage and enormous online presence of *Doctor Who* and its relationship to Cardiff locations, a picture emerges in which Cardiff is clearly recognisable to a very wide-range of its audience as the 'home' of this major international television event. Whilst the instances of the highly recognisable use of Cardiff in Series One-Four are far too numerous to discuss in detail it is worth discussing briefly some of the ways that the city is positioned and a sense of what that could mean for its wider representational strategies.

To begin with, apart from the exceptional case of 'Boom Town' discussed separately below, Cardiff is not generally used in a way that trades upon its image as an ultra modern city orientated around media, shopping, entertainment and sport. Whilst there is a case for this being the focus for *Torchwood*, *Doctor Who*'s use of Cardiff locations is more reliant on the availability of a variety of architectural styles within a comparatively small area. This does not entirely exclude the use of the more recent emergence of a

contemporary city skyline in Cardiff, but there are much more frequent uses of the Edwardian areas of the city centre and suburban residential streets. As Matt Hills has observed this makes the contemporary version of *Doctor Who*'s use of Cardiff much closer to incarnations of the programme from the 1960s and 70s:

Rather than dealing centrally with surreal, strange and alien 'elsewheres' outside "the normal world"....this version of *Who* currently places the alien within the (sub)urban. It shares this template with previous late-sixties and early seventies eras of the programme, which "drew on the SF discourse of the empirical present interrupted suddenly ... by alien invaders". (Hills 2006: 71)

This vision of a *Doctor Who* landscape dominated by the ordinary as a back drop for the extraordinary is borne out by a selection of the locations across the series: the pre-renovation Fitzalan High School ('School Re-Union'), the Gas Board building in Churchill Way ('Partners in Crime'), St Isan Road, Heath ('Turn Left') and Nant Fawr Road in Cyncoed Cardiff used numerous times including the exterior of Donna Noble's house throughout Series 4.

The extent to which these 'ordinary' locations have become part of the way that local audiences have identified *Doctor Who* as Welsh is borne out by the extensive internet 'tracking' and discussion of locations. The most extensive of the many sites involved in this kind of activity is a self-styled 'fan-site' - <http://www.doctorwholocations.net/> - but, as Matt Hill's has pointed out the BBC itself has used its own web-sites as one of the means by which it has established a relationship with its local audience (though of course audiences from outside the area have access to these as well). One section of the BBC Wales South East local site invited viewers to register their spotting of film crews and logged the results for others to see.

(<http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southeast/sites/doctorwho/pages/sightings.shtml>)

The results demonstrate that this has at least some of the desired effect of encouraging a sense of local ownership of the show:

Sharon Squires, Cardiff now living in Scotland

I was watching old tapes of *Doctor Who* featuring Christopher Eccleston the other week and was absolutely stunned to see my old flat from when I lived in Cardiff. I called my son down who is a huge *Doctor Who* fan. I told him that was the flat he was born in. He didn't believe me until I showed him a photo of it. He was so proud. I know Cardiff very well and it's fantastic to see and recognise different locations I know so well.

Claire Oliver from the Rhondda

My husband and I saw them filming in Cardiff Bay outside the Assembly building back in February this year. Captain Jack was excitedly talking to the Doctor then saluting him and running away. It was really interesting to watch all that was going on. It really made my day and cheered me up as I'd just been to a hospital appointment. I must say that John Barrowman is even more gorgeous in the flesh.

Becky Stone, Cardiff

I saw David Tennant in Cardiff city centre while he and Catherine Tate filmed the

2006 Xmas show. I watched them filming, chatted to both David and Catherine and got their autographs. I also got a photo with David, who was such a nice man and very friendly. He took time to talk to everyone and he made me laugh and smile a lot - I love him!

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southeast/sites/doctorwho/pages/sightings.shtml>

(Accessed July 2009)

It is perhaps this interplay between local people's sense of the ordinary (suburban streets) being used as locations for a global phenomenon, which in turn brings people from across the world to Cardiff, that is at the heart of the way that the relationship between the programme and its Welsh audience is positioned.

There are other dimensions to the way that Cardiff and south Wales are used in *Doctor Who* that are worth briefly discussing. The first of these is the extensive use made of the well-preserved Edwardian architecture of the city centre, noted above, and its civic buildings. Across all four series of *Doctor Who*, use is made both of the shopping centre around the Hayes in Cardiff, which contains late Victorian and Edwardian architecture, and the Edwardian Civic Centre, including the National Museum of Wales, the Temple of Peace, Cardiff University and County Hall. Given the high profile created around *Doctor Who*'s Welsh 'home', the use of such locations can be read in terms of the overall status of the city. When juxtaposed with the predominantly modern image of the city presented in *Torchwood*, the presence of a range of 'imposing' buildings presents a picture of a city with the kind of variety of architecture generally associated with somewhere larger. This, in turn, is in keeping with an official rhetoric that stresses Cardiff's 'capital' status in a 'European' context as exemplified by these extracts from the 'Cardiff & Co' web site.

Cardiff is loved by its residents; a 2006 EU Urban Audit Perceptions survey revealed Cardiff residents believe Cardiff is one of Europe's best places to live and work.

The city has changed beyond recognition over the past decade. We have one of the most exciting waterfront developments in Europe thanks to the £2.4 billion regeneration of Cardiff Bay with the iconic Wales Millennium Centre and the Sir Richard Rogers designed Senedd – the seat of Welsh Government. Capital investments in our hotels have exceeded £50 million and the city will soon have one of the best retail facilities in Europe at the £650 million St David's 2 Shopping Centre.

<http://whycardiff.com/Play-Your-Part/My-Cardiff.html> (Accessed July 2009)

This is of course not to suggest any conscious promotional function to the use of such locations in *Doctor Who*, but rather to suggest a mutually reinforcing relationship between Wales's promotion of itself in the post-devolutionary era and an internationally successful television brand. The fact that Victorian/Edwardian Cardiff in *Doctor Who* most frequently stands for somewhere else becomes less important because of the way that the 'brand' has worked through *Torchwood* and through both the official and unofficial prominence given to the use of locations in surrounding publicity. This has made the programme's identification with Cardiff and Wales very prominent indeed, particularly with Welsh residents, but also further afield. The programme's extensive use of official

buildings can therefore be read as an important element in the way that *Doctor Who* has come to be identified not only with the current success of BBC Cymru Wales in attracting network productions, but also with the changing perception of Cardiff and Wales and the ways that they are understood in the wider UK and internationally.

By contrast, it is interesting to note the importance placed on an entirely different dimension to the Welsh landscape by the *Doctor Who* design team. For them, one of the key advantages of south Wales as a base was undoubtedly the post-industrial landscape and its rich potential within the science-fiction genre. This is borne out by all the series since 2005, which frequently extract powerful images from ex-industrial sites across south Wales. What is significant is that these are rarely used to signify dereliction, but more often a more poetic vision of a post-industrial landscape treated with some affection.

There are two clear exceptions to the above: in two very different episodes the setting of the story is Cardiff and in both cases different characteristics of the city are key elements of the narrative.

'The Unquiet Dead'

'The Unquiet Dead' (1.3) is set in Cardiff during Victorian times. Ironically, the production team found that because so little of Victorian Cardiff had survived Swansea had to be used for much of the location work. This was no doubt hugely enjoyable for the Swansea-born Russell T. Davies (for those not resident in Wales, the two cities conduct an often less-than-friendly rivalry separated by 40 miles of the M4 motorway).

This episode is given the full BBC 'heritage' drama treatment with elaborate period detail in the costumes and settings. The episode's Welshness is also layered on quite thickly and self-consciously through the use of stereotypically Welsh names, accents and characterisation from a range of familiar stylistic tropes, most prominently 'Gwyneth' the timid Welsh serving girl (see below). At the start of the episode the Doctor promises Rose a trip to Naples. Quite quickly, he realises he has landed somewhere else and he tells Rose they are in Cardiff. The underwhelmed tone of her response is, one suspects, part of a thread running through the series that gently mocks the Anglo centric antipathy towards Wales and the Welsh that Rose casually reveals. Their exchange runs like this:

Doctor:	[Looking at the newspaper he has bought] I've got the flight wrong.
Rose:	I don't care
Doctor:	It's 1869, not 1860
Rose:	I don't care
Doctor:	It's not Naples, its Cardiff
Rose:	[Looking somewhat deflated] Right.

'The Unquiet Dead' is important in the establishing of Cardiff and Wales at the heart of the *Doctor Who/Torchwood* 'world' as conceived by Russell T. Davies in that it contains the first mention of the 'rift' that runs through the Welsh capital, which is to recur a number of times in *Doctor Who* and become a key element of *Torchwood*. In addition, the actress who plays the central role of Gwyneth in 'The Unquiet Dead' is Eve Myles, subsequently cast as Gwen, one of the central figures in *Torchwood*.

The early exchange quoted above sets up a long running vein of cod postcolonial humour in which Wales, the Welsh and Cardiff are seen in dismissive terms only for the narrative to reveal a place where the most urgent and exciting events in the Universe are to take place.

'The Unquiet Dead' has Charles Dickens (Simon Callow) in a central role and the episode's opening section has the feel of a Dickensian ghost story; gas lamps inexplicably flicker, snow falls on Christmas Eve and ghosts terrify superstitious people. The episode is shot under lights that accentuate the sepia-tinted sense of Victoriana that we might expect from a Dickens dramatisation. Of course, what follows is the radical disruption of what initially has the appearance of a relatively cosy ghost story told by the fire. It is slowly revealed that the 'ghosts' are part of an alien race called 'Gelths' who are seeking to exploit the 'rift' to gain access to human bodies and regenerate their own species.

Throughout the episode, the character of Gwyneth is seen to embody two radically opposing characteristics: on the one hand, she is the epitome of the unsophisticated girl from provincial Wales who discusses school, boys and the 'big wide world' with Rose accompanied by wide-eyed wonderment. On the other, she becomes, by the end of the episode, the girl whose heroism has saved the human race from extinction by 'sealing' the rift at the cost of her own life.

To an extent, this reading of Gwyneth's story parallels the way that the episode represents the fictional Cardiff. At the start, a somewhat jaded Dickens prepares unenthusiastically for his one-man show at the theatre in the city. This, along with Rose's reaction quoted above, creates the sense of a place that no traveller really wants to end up in on Christmas Eve. Again, by the end, we realise we have spent time in a place that houses a key location in the time/space continuum. Dickens realises this too, as the last scene has him restored to a state of intellectual curiosity and good humour. He tells the Doctor and Rose that he has become complacent, thinking he had seen everything worth seeing. His experiences with the Doctor and Rose (in Cardiff, of course) have made him realise that he is only at the beginning of his journey and that the world possesses far more than one lifetime can ever begin to understand.

It would be wrong to overstate the importance of Cardiff and a more generalised Welshness in 'The Unquiet Dead'. However, the location and strong 'non-metropolitan' identity are foregrounded strongly visually as well as being mentioned a number of times in the dialogue. They are part of the narrative frame work of an episode that is fundamentally about an unsung heroine whose life becomes hugely significant in defiance of the imprisonment of her class, gender and national/regional identity. It can perhaps be seen as the gentle introduction of a thematic strand that will be picked up most explicitly in this series by Episode 11, 'Boom Town', and in a much more sustained way by *Torchwood*.

'Boom Town'

'Boom Town' (1.11) is far and away the episode in which Cardiff and Wales appear most explicitly within the diegetic frame in Series One. It is also the episode that most explicitly sets up the future *Torchwood* by showing the 'rift's' contemporary location underneath Roald Dahl Plass in Cardiff Bay. Its contemporary Welsh location is signalled from the first frame as a 'government nuclear advisor' addresses someone outside the frame in a strong accent that is unmistakeably from south-east Wales. In fact the actor is William Thomas, well-known to Welsh audiences as a regular character in the regional drama *Belonging* (BBC 1999 – 2009) and later to make appearances in as Gwen's father in *Torchwood*.

This opening conversation concerns the safety of a planned new nuclear power station which we later learn is to be built in the centre of Cardiff. At one point, the advisor is heard to suggest that the planned project is so obviously unsafe that 'It is almost as if it is intended that this city should be wiped off the map'. This, added to the almost farcical idea that Cardiff Castle is to be demolished to make way for the nuclear plant, establishes the key thematic concern of the episode as far as the representation of Wales is concerned– namely the comic depiction of colonial insensitivity.

A little later in the episode, after it is revealed that the Mayor of Cardiff and chief supporter of the project, Margaret Blaine is actually a Slitheen, Rose is incredulous as to how a nuclear project as dangerous as this could ever have got near being officially sanctioned. The exchange between Rose and Margaret is again close to the heart of the episode's satirical exploration of the survival of colonial attitudes in the contemporary UK context:

Rose: Didn't anyone notice? Isn't there someone in London checking this sort of stuff?

Margaret: We're in Cardiff. London doesn't care. The south Wales coast could fall into the sea and they wouldn't notice. Oh...I sound like a Welshman. God help me, I've gone native.

One is reminded, albeit in comic mode, of the speech in the House of Commons in 1966 by Gwynfor Evans, MP for Carmarthen, after the disaster at Aberfan when a coal tip collapsed, killing 160, 114 of them children: 'let us suppose that such a monstrous mountain had been built above Hampstead or Eton where the children of the men of power and wealth are at school...' (Parker 2000: 86). If this seems to be about a Wales before devolution where such abominations could happen without attracting the attention of an Assembly Government, much of the episode tends to foreground a more confident Cardiff, now an established destination for tourists.

The city is not, however, seen simply as a homogenised destination, but rather one that celebrates its sense of difference. Early on in the episode, Mickey, Rose's erstwhile boyfriend, arrives at Cardiff Central station having been summoned by Rose to bring her passport. As he gets off the train there is an intercutting between his slightly bemused

face and the Welsh language signage on the platform. To reinforce the point, we also only hear the Welsh language half of the station announcer's incantation of the train's destinations over the tannoy. Mickey looks confused enough to have travelled in time and space rather than on the 12.40 from Paddington.

This is a rare, if not unique, reference to language in *Doctor Who*. As the Tardis careers through time and space, across galaxies and to planets that have since become just dying stars the one common factor is that everyone speaks English (even if it is in a funny accent). It takes an early twenty-first century day trip to Cardiff to discover another language. The point is not developed in the rest of the episode, and to some extent the moment can be dismissed as a humorous Russell T. Davies aside. However, it has the clear affect of drawing much stronger attention to the specifics of place than is usual in an Earth-bound *Doctor Who*. This acts as a precursor to the visual homage paid to contemporary Cardiff by much of the programme's action.

In contrast to the dark story of Margaret, the lost Slitheen, condemned to wander the Universe because she is under sentence of death on her own planet, Cardiff Bay is consistently set up as a site of pleasure and enjoyment. The Doctor calls it the 'safest place on earth' and there are a number of references to having a good time, both verbal and visual. As a precursor to the often lavish visual treatment given to Cardiff in *Torchwood*, Cardiff Bay and its waterfront bars and restaurants are here lit and shot at night in ways that do indeed remind us of much more traditionally fashionable places.

Cardiff is represented as firmly Welsh through the use of the language, central to the fate of the Universe through its position on the 'rift', but also a place where smart galaxy-hopping travellers can stop for while and enjoy themselves. If this were not enough, the episode is also fairly high on the innuendo count. To take just one example, as the Doctor, Rose, Mickey and Jack emerge from the Tardis in a mood to enjoy a sunny day out in Cardiff Bay the following conversation ensues:

Mickey: That old lady's staring.

Captain Jack: She's probably wondering what four people can do inside a small wooden box!

Mickey: What are you the Captain of? The innuendo squad?

If the central thrust of the narrative in 'Boom Town' is dark and introspective, its setting is unfailingly glamorous and a place designed for pleasure. It is also a site of difference as evidenced by the use of the Welsh language and reinforced in the episode's final frame, which sees the Tardis 'disappear' against the dramatic frontage of the Wales Millennium Centre. As the time machine takes the Doctor, Rose and Captain Jack on to their next adventure, it is momentarily superimposed against the bilingual poetry that is cut out of the enormous bronze frontage of the building:

Creu Gwir fel Gwydr o Ffwrnais Awen

(Translation – Creating truth, like glass, from inspiration's furnace)

In These Stones Horizons Sing

It is an ending that reminds us of the hopeful, visionary dimension to *Doctor Who* and it is one that is in keeping with an episode that ends with the idea that even the worst of us is worthy of attention and a second chance. If all this grew only from the bars and restaurants of Cardiff Bay there would perhaps be a sense of bathos, but the final image is more powerful and reminds us perhaps of a wider Welsh identity that has chosen to put a young female's poet's vision at the forefront of its contemporary bilingual identity.



***Torchwood* and Wales: Series 1-3, (BBC Cymru/Wales 2007 -)**

Torchwood, as even the casual viewer of the series probably knows, is an anagram of *Doctor Who*, and was conceived by its makers as a post-watershed 'adult' drama series that would share its precursor's science fiction generic origins. To date, there have been three series, the first two consisting of thirteen episodes and the third of five. The first series was transmitted in 2006-07 on BBC3 and HD, the second on BBC2 and HD in 2008 and the third in nightly instalments from July 6 – 10 2009 on BBC1 and HD. The creative team behind *Torchwood* included Julie Gardner and Russell T Davies as executive producers for BBC Wales – the driving force behind the revival of *Doctor Who* – with Richard Stokes as producer of series one and two and Peter Bennett of series three. Davies was both the originator of the series and its initial, though not exclusive, writer. Conceived as a sister programme to *Doctor Who*, *Torchwood* shared characters and plot lines with it (see above), notably Captain Jack Harkness (John Barrowman). Strictly speaking, *Torchwood* was not a 'spin-off' from *Doctor Who*, since the commission, from the Controller of BBC3 to Davies to write a post-watershed science fiction series for the Channel, came at about the same time as *Doctor Who* was revived in 2005. It has, therefore, its own identity and momentum – and its own relationship to its Welsh setting.

Torchwood is a shadowy and secretive organisation 'outside the Government, beyond the Police' (Davies: 2008) that exists to battle with aliens and save the human race. Its base – the Hub – is in Cardiff, hidden in an underground location beneath Millennium Square, in the heart of Cardiff's Bay area. Developing a conceit embedded in episodes of *Doctor Who* (see above), Cardiff is located on a 'rift' in the space-time continuum, which makes the city a magnet for interlopers from other worlds. Unlike in *Doctor Who*, however, the Welsh capital does not stand in for anywhere else – and certainly not London – but is very much itself, its spatial geography and iconic locations anchoring the detailed sense of time and place that *Torchwood* establishes.

Although the premise of *Torchwood* is drawn from science fiction, it is equally informed by a strong sense of realism, rooted in contemporary life. For Russell T Davies, the series' visual and aural realism is related to a realism of representation and theme: *Torchwood* is about 'us now... western people in twenty-first century cities' with stories that are 'out there in the real world. We go to clubland, the country... we meet really ordinary people whose lives are becoming extraordinary' (Davies 2008). This means that *Torchwood* is 'really set in Cardiff. The real laws of physics apply. If they [the characters] are shot, they will be hurt. They go home, they have tea. They once went to school, they have lovers' (ibid). Or as Julie Gardner said, the series is 'earth-based, realistic, adult drama' (Gardner 2008), catching at a sense of realism that suggests a 'dark' and 'edgy' subject matter.

Cardiff is not the subject of active *investigation*, as it might be if it were the location of a social realist drama concerned with the representation of contemporary issues, but it is undoubtedly *present* visually throughout the series, in various ways for different audiences, which becomes a form of investigation in itself. There is, as the analysis of the focus group and online questionnaire results indicate, a pleasure for local audiences in recognising familiar places, and this has been the subject of both press and online comment, which extends beyond the city. The website devoted to documenting locations

in *Doctor Who* mentioned above has a parallel site that fulfils the same function for *Torchwood* (<http://www.Torchwoodlocations.com>).

It contains a forum, in which, amongst other things, fans exchange information and visitors to Cardiff can ask for advice on what to look out for.

Torchwood is seen by many beyond Wales and the series contains other visual pleasures. In particular, *Torchwood* offers Cardiff as spectacle, its architecture and other landmarks filmed in a way that invites admiration. Cardiff City Council links the city's attractions directly to the appeal of the series:

The city of Cardiff is undoubtedly one of the biggest stars of the BBC series *Torchwood*.

The exciting drama shows how photogenic and cinematic Cardiff really is, with its tall towers, imposing structures and totally unique architecture.

Showcasing some of the city's most striking and impressive landmarks, *Torchwood* allows the TV viewing public to see Cardiff in all its glory.

(http://www.cardiff.gov.uk/content.asp?nav=2868,2969&parent_directory_id=2865&id=4024)

The webpage concludes with a reference to a comment made by Menna Richards, BBC Wales' Director, that *Torchwood* is Russell T Davies' 'love letter to Cardiff'.

Cardiff is also portrayed in ways that evoke not so much historical representation of the city as other cities in other television dramas. This is a form of 'internationalisation', which has been commented on in the press and exploited as a way of attracting tourism. Visit Cardiff, the official visitor's website for Cardiff, headlines its web pages on *Torchwood* with an approving quote from John Barrowman:

"When you see Cardiff on film, it looks like LA - it looks amazing. I think a lot of people are going to want to come here, not just because of *Torchwood* but because it's such a great place - it's buzzing every single day and it's beautiful" ³.

<http://www.visitcardiff.com/Torchwood.html> last accessed 7/12/09

This is one of the ways in which the series links to contemporary, and especially US, television drama, and is commented on humorously in the first episode, 'Everything Changes'. In the course of a conversation between Gwen Cooper (Eve Myles) and her PC colleague Andy (Tom Price), the latter compares *Torchwood* to *CSI*, the internationally successful US franchise about police forensic science teams: 'can you imagine it?' he observes, '*CSI Cardiff* - I'd like to see that'³.

The Cardiff that is most often on display is not the Edwardian Cardiff exploited in *Doctor Who*, still less the estates or suburbs, but rather the more contemporary parts of the city, its bars, clubs, shops, offices, the Bay area and recognisable buildings - the Wales Millennium Centre (WMC), the Wales Millennium Stadium, the Altolusso apartment block.

³ All quotations from the series come from the two-series DVD box set from BBC Worldwide, 2008.

Scenes are sometimes filmed in a way that allows viewers to locate the action in relation to these landmarks (see below).

The series makes extensive use of aerial photography and tracking shots of Cardiff, filmed both during the day and at night. There is, for example, a repeated aerial shot of the city, the camera swooping in from the Bristol Channel across the Bay, with the WMC and Senedd in the foreground. This strategy draws attention to the shape of the city, its contours and symmetry, with its recognisable features (for local audiences) subsumed into the generic features of the contemporary, postmodern city and to a degree making it anonymous. This is not always a negative thing, however, since no matter how familiar viewers might be with Cardiff, aerial photography offers a view of the city that is not normally available, and there is a pleasure in seeing a familiar place rendered, spectacularly, in an unfamiliar way.

'Everything Changes' and 'Day One': setting and character

A brief, indicative analysis of the use of space and place in 1:1 and 1:2, 'Everything Changes' and 'Day One' of *Torchwood*, gives a sense of how the series portrays the city and draws it into its stories. Opening episodes of a series are particularly important since they aim to establish both the main thematic concerns and visual style.

A large part of both episodes is set around the Bay area. Some of this is underground in the *Torchwood* Hub, but Millennium Square is also an important location, with the WMC visually prominent (as it is in the episodes of *Doctor Who* discussed above). Indeed, the final scene in 1:1 concludes with a conversation between Jack and Gwen on its roof. This is very much the 'new' Cardiff, and both distinguish the city, identifying it to viewers beyond Wales, and connect it to other iconic, contemporary city locations.

Much of the action in 1:1 is shot at night, which adds mystery to both the story and the city and links it to dramatic genres, the police thriller in particular, on which the narrative frequently draws. The aerial shot of the city at night noted above is used three times in 1:1 and twice in 1:2. This pattern is repeated in relation to the sister shot of the city in daylight, and from 1:2 onwards this shot becomes part of the credit sequence. These shots are paralleled by sequences that are set on the road network, mostly at night (four in each episode). Like the urban spaces generally, the roads on which the team travel in these episodes tend to be generic and anonymous, with dual carriageways and roundabouts in evidence. Elsewhere, Cardiff's pubs and club are on view, locating the action in a type of space, generally one of leisure than of work, rather than a particular location.

The narrative of 1:2 concerns Carys (Sarah Gregory), who is possessed by an alien 'gas' that feeds off orgasms. The narrative takes us into Carys' home, an 'ordinary' terrace in Riverside made recognisable by the presence of the Wales Millennium Stadium frequently located in the background. Such excursions into the older, more working-class parts of Cardiff are relatively unusual, although they do occur in other episodes (notably in series three) and relate to the way that *Torchwood* populates its narrative with recognisable characters and situations (see below).

The tracking aerial panoramas and long shots of the city fulfil another function, becoming part of the visual language of *Torchwood* in other ways. In particular, they are components of the 'punctuation' of the series, separating one part of the narrative from another, signalling a change of focus, or of mood, or indicating the passage of time. Similar use is made of the recurrent shot of Jack Harkness on the roof of the Altolusso apartment block. In representing cityscapes in this way, *Torchwood* is connecting once more to US television drama, in which there is a similar use of the urban environment. *CSI Miami*, for example, punctuates its stories with shots of the sun-drenched coast and waterfronts of the city, filmed largely during the day, whilst the originator of the franchise, *CSI*, makes similar use of the recognisable iconography of Las Vegas, shot this time, suitably, mostly at night.

The Welshness of *Torchwood* is also registered through its characters, who may be divided into three types: the main protagonists (the *Torchwood* team); other recurring characters who come from beyond the team yet are important to the series identity and appear frequently in it (Gwen's partner and then husband Rhys, played by Kai Owen, and her colleague Andy); and characters who are brought into each episode and are related to particular storylines. The distinction between the first two of these has become blurred as *Torchwood* has moved through its three series, with Rhys becoming a de facto member of the team in series three. To take the last two categories first, the key non-*Torchwood* series characters are Welsh (as distinct from characters who simply appear in more than one episode, such as Captain John Hart (James Marsters)); and the changing cast of characters central to each episode are also largely Welsh. In this sense, Wales and Welsh people provide the narrative core of the series, providing a range of types and individuals and sometimes, as in series three, a set of attitudes and values that are signalled, representationally, as Welsh.

The *Torchwood* team is self-consciously cosmopolitan, led by an American, Jack Harkness (John Barrowman), with an English medic, Owen Harper (Burn Gorman) and a Japanese computer expert, Tashiko Sato (Naoko Mori). The original team also included Suzie Costello (Indira Varma), who is killed off early in series one and is an English actor of Indian descent. Alongside them are characters who are clearly Welsh, Ianto Jones (Gareth David-Lloyd) and Gwen Cooper. Significantly, both Ianto and Gwen occupy a privileged position in the series premise. Ianto takes care of 'administration' for *Torchwood* (although by series three team roles are no longer separated in this way). Gareth David-Lloyd has said that Ianto is 'the one with his feet most on the ground. He says the type of things maybe that audience members at home would say in the situations the team are thrown into' (David-Lloyd 2008).

However, the role of audience representative is most obviously filled by Gwen Cooper, and this is embedded in the series in different ways. It is Gwen who provides consistent access to the world beyond the Hub. This is partly through her relationship with other recurring series characters, such as Rhys and Andy, and also her role in accessing local knowledge when required to further the plot. It is also because, from the beginning, *Torchwood* encourages us to see events through her eyes.

Gwen's privileged position is revealed in 1:1, when the series adopts the narrative device of using the arrival of a new member of the team as a means of providing essential background information for the audience. The opening of the episode, and thus of the whole series, creates both a strong sense of genre and establishes its Cardiff setting as

the norm for the series. A body is discovered in an alley next to a multi-storey car park. On duty and in uniform, Gwen arrives as the area is sealed off. Visually, the scene is dominated by the fluorescent yellow of the police and the white protective suits of the forensic team. Although the specific location is anonymous, the accents are south Walian and the Welsh word for police, 'Heddlu', is in evidence. (This is an example of the way that incidental detail helps to establish the world of *Torchwood* as Welsh, irrespective of its generic codes). It is night and it is raining very heavily, evoking the cinematic conventions of film noir thrillers. Through Gwen's questioning we learn that *Torchwood* have ordered the scene to be cleared, establishing the power and secretive nature of the organisation. Into this, the team enter as outsiders, arriving in their black SUV, silhouetted by the glare of headlights and speaking in a variety of accents; it is the first time the viewer has heard non-Welsh voices on the screen. Gwen refuses to leave the scene and watches from a vantage point in the car park as the corpse is revived using a gauntleted 'hand' with unexplained powers. From this point on, the episode is concerned with the ways in which Gwen tracks *Torchwood* down, enters its secret lair and becomes a member of the team. As *Torchwood* is revealed to Gwen, it is revealed to the audience as well, and she becomes the viewer's point of access to the series' narrative conceits.

Gwen Cooper, as played by Eve Myles, is a complex character who offers a very contemporary take on the role of female protagonist. As a young policewoman, she may be read in terms of other fictional representations of women in the police force, which are sometimes less than progressive (the Kudos/BBC Wales time-travelling cop show, *Life on Mars* (2006-07) offers an ironic take on this tradition in its knowing reference to 1970s sexist attitudes towards female officers, often reflected directly in police dramas of the period). Gwen is called upon to display a range of attributes, including resourcefulness, quick thinking, skill with weapons, physical and emotional strength, and is as active in the narrative as any of her male colleagues. However, she is also allowed to reveal a range of qualities that are often seen as 'female' – vulnerability, sensitivity and the display of emotion. The research with audiences discussed above indicates that viewers respond to positive role models, and have a sophisticated understanding of what this might mean. Gwen Cooper/Eve Myles certainly offers a rich and compelling source of recognition and identification.

These attributions are underpinned by, and are a constituent part of, Gwen's Welshness. This is referred to playfully in 1.1: Captain Jack explains the powers of the hand to a sceptical Gwen, and concludes 'That is so Welsh – I show you something fantastic and you find fault with it'. Elsewhere, Gwen's Welshness is largely assumed rather than commented upon, and is rooted in the setting and narrative. It is also very evident in her voice and accent. Indeed, regional and national identities are often revealed and reinforced through accents. *Torchwood* presents the viewer with a full range of south Wales' voices, although for most viewers these would not appear to be tied to specific locations. As we have seen, audiences like to hear and see people from their own region, and accent – which embodies rhythm, intonation, pitch and timbre – is an important way in which identity is recognised and accessed.

Accent is also a way in which the social class of a speaker is made known, in fiction and in life. In this context, it is largely through voice, accent and vocal delivery that class is woven into the fabric of the series. These assume a particular importance in *Torchwood* since the visual identifiers of class identity, and the class inflection given to national identity, environment in particular, are marginalised. It has been argued (see, for

example, Harvey 2000) that the postmodern city effaces social class, wiping out the history of class distinction and identity along with its old industrial architecture. It might be argued that this has been the fate of Cardiff as it appears in *Torchwood*. There is a tension between the appeal that the series both reflects and constructs of Cardiff as an international capital and of its history as a predominantly working-class industrial city. The choice of the Bay area as a key location is particularly apposite in this context, since it is through the docks that the raw materials of coal and steel, on which the wealth of Cardiff rested, was exported to the rest of the world. *Torchwood's* plot lines rarely acknowledge or engage with this history, or the identities that are bound tightly to it, even when the stories take the viewer into the communities beyond the generic spaces of the city. The Riverside locations used in 1:2 discussed above are an example of this. This may be seen as a consequence not so much of the negligence of the creative team as of the limitations imposed by the science fiction genre that shapes the realism of the setting.

Additionally, it might be argued that the absence of traditional notions of Welshness as defined in relation to social class leaves a space for other kinds of identity to emerge. One of the ways in which *Torchwood* can be seen as an adult drama is in its treatment of sexuality and sexual orientation. The series is explicit about such matters, and one of its central romantic relationships is a homosexual one between Jack and Ianto, which has been valued by audiences (see the analysis of focus group discussions above and online websites such as www.afterelton.com). Indeed, the reaction to Ianto's death in episode four of series three exceeded that which greeted the deaths of Owen and Tashiko, and some of this was critical of the programme makers and related to his status as a representative figure. Members of the LGBT community argued that the death of one of the few openly gay characters on mainstream television was regrettable, reinforcing the stereotype of gay-as-victim, whilst others argued that it signalled a 'coming of age' with gay characters treated as a heterosexual one would have been⁴.

Series Three: 'Children of Earth'

The 456 [the aliens in 'Children of Earth'] is like a really, really angry Valley girl on a Saturday night who can't get a taxi home and it's starting to rain (Eve Myles 2009)

Series three provides a different take on questions of social class, and on *Torchwood's* previous narrative structure. Stretched across five consecutive nights in July 2009 instead of appearing as thirteen separate episodes, the series was conceived as a television 'event', and was heavily publicised. It also had its own title, 'Children of Earth' and a single narrative arc. As Russell T Davies noted, it was conceived as 'bigger, darker bolder' than its predecessors. It was the first series to run without Owen Harper and Tashiko Sato, who died at the end of series two. For these reasons, 'Children of Earth' broke with the narrative patterns established in the first two series.

⁴ For a summary of some of the arguments see Polina Skibinskaya 'Death By "*Torchwood*": Captain Jack, Ianto Jones, And The Rise Of The Queer Superhero' at <http://www.afterelton.com/TV/2009/10/death-Torchwood-queer-visibility> last accessed on 7/12/09; also Davies' counter to his critics at <http://www.afterelton.com/TV/2009/7/russeltdavies>

The story has been summarised by the producer Peter Bennett in an interview:

It's different to every other year. It's not a story about spaceships, but it's about a government that did a deal with aliens back in the '60s, and they're now dealing with the consequences of that deal when the sins of their past come back to haunt them.

<http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/tv/s8/Torchwood/tubetalk/a138616/2009-tv-preview-Torchwood-returns.html> (last accessed December 4 2009).

The deal referred to here is one in which aliens, known as the 456, were allowed to abduct a group of children for their own use. They return in the present, but this time they want one in ten children from across the world: the alternative is total destruction and the annihilation of the human race. The series is a form of 'holocaust narrative', imagining a global catastrophe of unimaginable suffering and exploring guilt, responsibility, appeasement and resistance. It also implicates Jack, who was complicit in the betrayal of the initial group of children, and who is required to sacrifice his own grandson in the denouement of 3.5. The series establishes the British Government, and beyond it the governments of the world, as the main agents of betrayal, willing to compromise with the aliens and organise, by subterfuge, the abduction of the children. The plan involves the elimination of the *Torchwood* team and the destruction of the Hub, which is blown up in 3.2. Ianto is amongst many killed later by an alien poison, unleashed as punishment for prevarication.

Unlike previous series, much of the action takes place outside Wales, mainly in London. However, Wales, and specifically Cardiff, is portrayed rather differently in this series, not so much as a location but rather metonymically 'standing in' for a set of values and attitudes. The series as a whole pits *Torchwood* against the UK government. At one level, this is represented as an opposition between Cardiff and London. It is London, the home of government and of the alien presence, which is the source of betrayal, and the place where appeasement is planned and executed. Cardiff, in contrast, is the source of resistance. Also, space is given to a part of Cardiff that has not been in evidence before, a post-war working-class housing estate (in reality, in and around Rupert Brooke Drive, Newport). Class is made an issue, since the Government's plan is to target schools that will provide the children for abduction, and it is suggested by the Prime Minister (Nicholas Farrell) that it would be an opportunity to get rid of 'undesirables' and protect the children of the middle-classes.

The viewer is taken there via a plot-line that focuses on Ianto's family, especially his sister Rhiannon (Katy Wix) and her husband Johnny (Rhodri Lewis). They run an informal crèche, and are persuaded by Gwen not to let the children go to school on the day of the proposed cull. The army are sent to round up all those targeted, and the children are spirited away by Gwen and Rhiannon (although they are eventually tracked down). Johnny and a group of hastily-assembled locals fight back against the army, and although they are eventually defeated, their actions are represented as necessary and heroic. It is clear that they act out of a desire to protect their community, and not just themselves, offering the only example that is portrayed in the series of resistance to the government's actions. Welshness in this series of *Torchwood* is linked, therefore, to the

values of solidarity and collective action that underpin these actions, often associated with the traditional working-class.

Spaces beyond Cardiff

Torchwood may focus primarily on Cardiff, but other parts of south Wales are represented as well. These include Merthyr Tydfil, whose Old Town Hall provides the external shots of the Ritz Cinema in 'Captain Jack Harkness', 1:12 (the interior shots are of the Westgate Hotel, Newport); Flat Holm island ('Adrift', 2:11); and the Brecon Beacons ('Countryside', 1:6). However, these are not represented as themselves, but are rather backdrops to the narrative; generally speaking, the further away the action gets from Cardiff in series one and two, the more anonymous the locations become, and the more viewer responses to them are likely to be mediated through generic conventions.

'Countryside' provides a particularly good example of how non-specific spaces are integrated into the genre of the narrative. Although *Torchwood* is rooted in science fiction, it was always the intention that it would be able to play with other genres. As Davies notes '*Torchwood* is a chance to tell ... a different type of story every week' (Davies 2008), and each series taken as a whole shows a hybridity of form. Whilst some episodes evoke the world of a film-noir thriller, or a romance, 'Countryside' is set firmly in the world of the horror film. The episode concerns the disappearance of travellers in the vicinity of a remote village, Brynblaidd, in the Brecon Beacons (in reality, Penwylyt). As the plot develops, it emerges that they are victims – as, very nearly, are the *Torchwood* team – of a community of cannibals who 'harvest' their human food every ten years. From the opening sequence, in which a lone female traveller breaks down at night and is taken from her car by an unseen abductor, the world of the horror genre is established. In this world, the *Torchwood* team, urban to the core, are 'out of place', and the dialogue draws attention to this: 'I hate the countryside' says Owen 'Why would anyone want to live out here?' The country is constructed as a place of danger, the 'unknown', in which the normal rules do not apply, and the team are initially outwitted and picked off, one-by-one, in a way that references the narrative patterns of many contemporary horror films. As the title suggests with its mis-spelling of 'side', the Brecons are associated with murder and death. In this way, they have become subsumed entirely into the requirements of the genre, their remoteness and beauty redefined in terms of a dangerous and unknowable 'other'.

It is Cardiff that stands at the centre of *Torchwood*, literally and metaphorically, even when the action is elsewhere. The series provides an example of a city always 'present' even within the fantastical narrative worlds of science fiction in a way that promotes and redefines it imaginatively for local, national, UK-wide and international audiences.

Coda: Cardiff as simulacrum

In the review of relevant literature above, we noted that Brett Mills had argued that *Torchwood* had created a form of simulacrum, after Baudrillard – a version of Cardiff that existed independently of, yet interconnected with, the 'real' city. Recent, very striking evidence of such a phenomenon and its impact on both on the population of Wales and those that view it from outside came in 2009 after the screening of the third series of

Torchwood in July. A key moment in the series depicted the death of one of the series main characters, Ianto Jones (see above). In the weeks following 'Ianto's death' an impromptu shrine appeared in Cardiff Bay on the site that appears in the programme as the entrance to the *Torchwood* Hub. This shrine grew to a significant size and was composed both of sincere fan tributes and more self-reflexive playful messages and mementos. Contributions of both kinds were from all over the world, further reinforcing the programmes impact and reach.



Shrine to Ianto Jones, Cardiff Bay, September 2009



BBC Cymru Wales – Local drama developments



The central dilemmas around both the issue of representation and the enduring legacy of internationally successful television such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* for BBC Cymru Wales are encapsulated in the commissioning of the new drama series for BBC One Wales (and the UK-wide HD channel) *Crash*.

The strategy for the commission involved using Red Planet Pictures to make the series in Wales. Red Planet is the company set up by one of the best known writers in British television, Tony Jordan, therefore bringing a certain pre-production credibility and consequent media attention. Such a strategy has immediate and obvious dangers. 'Local' drama production has frequently been seen as a means of encouraging and nurturing the local talent and production base in Wales. The BBC ended the last major local drama series, *Belonging*, in 2009 which in itself disappointed some of the local production community. This in turn was compounded by the decision to commission a non-Welsh company to make what many saw as the replacement for *Belonging*, *Crash*.

Jordan has always sought to re-assure people about the relationship between *Crash* and the development of Welsh talent, emphasising its nurturing of the local talent base: 'what I wanted to do was make a really good show in Wales with a Welsh cast and crew that is set in Wales – and then have everyone else watch it' (Jordan 2009). Jordan further enthuses about the talent base in Wales, using statistics to support the argument that Wales has a growing reputation as a credible base for television drama production: 'The talent base in Wales is phenomenal – actors, writers, crew and right across the board. *Crash* uses around 85% of local talent and the atmosphere around the shoot has been much better for it' (ibid). Furthermore Jordan has displayed an awareness, in interviews at least, of some of the key issues around representation that have the potential to impact upon any new series for a Wales-only audience: 'The series had to be about Wales in 2009, and not about other people's preconceptions of Wales.' 'So it wasn't to be about rolling hills and people of the valley – we wanted something that was young and sexy and contemporary and showed Wales in a true light.'

The term 'sexy' has become something of a shorthand in any discussion of 'success' in television production and represents something of a dilemma, particularly for those responsible for non-networked drama that must necessarily connect very closely with its audience. On the one hand, the understandable desire to make such programmes as 'good' as any made for the network (not least because they may end being shown there) and, on the other, the need to engage with local stories, dialogue and issues that may not always translate well. For some, the ubiquitous 'sexy' can simply mean that a programme uses a bland, universal shorthand: '*Crash* is post-watershed telly-by-numbers and seems to have been written by a focus group. It will probably be a roaring success.' (Parker 2009: 149)

Such scepticism has been by no means universal and both audience viewing figures and some reviewers have been more positive about the power of *Crash* to be part of BBC Wales's attempt to build upon the *Doctor Who/Torchwood* legacy: 'Let's face it, regional programmes don't always feel like "must-see" TV. However, watching the first episode of *Crash!* I was taken aback by its confidence, its slickness, its heart and humour, it's cool soundtrack and most of all by a masterly twist of the quill that left me eager to see episode two immediately.' (Allen 2009)

It is not the function of this report to assess the merits and demerits of *Crash* and besides there have so far been only six episodes screened. What is of interest though is its value in considering the role of Wales-only drama in questions about 'screening the nation'. Whilst the outward symbolism of bringing in an established London-based broadcaster to produce a programme for the local audience did not necessarily bode well, there is some evidence of a strategy designed to increase the experience and credibility of local talent, whilst also having some sense of the developing national narrative. Whether such a strategy will work with both audiences and the local production community remains a question for future investigation.

Wales, identity and *Gavin and Stacey*

The inclusion of a brief discussion of the hugely successful BBC situation comedy, *Gavin and Stacey* (2007-10) in this report is because of its huge popularity with audiences in and beyond Wales and therefore the very wide circulation of the representations of Wales that it offers. Furthermore we would argue that, together with *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*, it has formed a 'critical mass' of new kinds of representations of Wales on network television that are potentially highly significant in the long-term. When BBC Director-General Mark Thompson discussed the success of *Torchwood* it seems clear to us that such remarks were undoubtedly shaped not by one successful drama series in isolation, but by the cumulative impact of a range of internationally successful programmes all associated with one of the UK regions hitherto unrepresented in high profile or 'landmark' television:

'We wondered whether Wales could be portrayed as modern and forward-looking and *Torchwood* is the answer. It's obviously Welsh and it's sexy, modern and fantastic.' (Thompson quoted in Price 2006).

Gavin and Stacey is of course not made by BBC Cymru Wales, or indeed by a Welsh independent company, but by Baby Cow the Manchester-based company established by Steve Coogan and Henry Normal and associated with a range of popular comedy shows on the BBC, including *The Mighty Boosh* (2004-8), *Nighty Night* (2004-6) and *The Keith Barrett Show* (2004-5).

There is a case for saying that the production outside Wales of what became a mainstream BBC comedy hit featuring a strong cast of Welsh characters is stronger testimony to a changing representational landscape than if the show had been produced in Wales itself. As will be discussed briefly below, it is almost a commonplace to suggest that the dominant mode of representing Wales and the Welsh in comedy on British television has been as the butt of jokes, usually centring on the character being a bit

'slow' or in Welsh idiom, 'twp'. For a major non-Welsh company with something of a reputation for innovation to produce something with, we would argue, a radically different approach is of some significance.

However the shift in representation contained in *Gavin and Stacey* has not been universally accepted. In two recent articles, both appearing in *Cyfrwng*, the Media Wales Journal, in 2009, *Gavin and Stacey* was discussed in ways that made it central to the evolution of the representation of Wales and Welshness on British television. However, whilst one of the articles reads *Gavin and Stacey* more or less positively from the perspective of its presentation of Welsh identity, the other sees it, in part at least, as stuck in a representational past.

Brett Mills (2009) analyses a number of key characters from recent situation comedy in terms of their perpetuation of a stereotype that is focused on a lack of sophistication and intellectual inadequacy (for example, characters in the popular BBC comedies *My Family* (BBC 2000 -) and *Coupling* (BBC 2002-04)). For Mills, *Gavin and Stacey* does little to change this 'default' position. His argument focuses on the episodes in Series two of the programme when Stacey goes to live in Gavin's home in Essex. These he analyses as positioning Stacey as 'from Wales' rather than Welsh and therefore conforming to what he sees as a representational norm:

...the comic structure of sitcom is one which continues to require a basic consensus of standards and boundaries' from which incongruity can be marked. It is clear in the examples stated in this article that such standards are one which present 'Englishness' as a norm and the boundaries which comic characters cross are often those which separate England from Wales. (Mills 2009: 55)

Mills' argument is coloured by his assessment of the origins of this ideological Anglo-centrism in the programme's English production context. He offers the work of the Wales-based comedy writer Boyd Clack as a counter example, and the conclusion he draws is that Clack's comedy series, particularly the most recent, *High Hopes* (BBC 1999-2008), have not been given a network airing because they are seen as somewhat archaic and unlikely to 'travel' (either into the rest of the UK or internationally). Set firmly in what could be seen as unreconstructed south Wales' valleys communities, they seem a long way from the 'new Wales' of *Torchwood*.

For Mills the confining of *High Hopes* and other similar work to local programming represents a lost opportunity for the BBC in its quest to meet one of its greatest contemporary challenges, outlined by one of its National Trustees as, '...to find effective responses to the changing constitutional map of the UK as devolution takes deeper root in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and regionalism rises up the agenda in England' (Johnston 2008: 16). Instead, Mills argues, the BBC's comedy output perpetuates a situation in which England is allowed to position Wales as the rather slow and stupid neighbour in a pattern repeated across the world in popular comedic traditions. Against this, we wish to argue that *Gavin and Stacey* has changed the situation rather more than Mills suggests, and that, added to the rest of the critical mass of popular television originating in Wales, some kind of shift is underway in the way that Wales and Welshness is represented on BBC television.

The 'reach' of *Gavin and Stacey* has been remarkable, as the second *Cyfrwng* article, by John Jewell, makes clear: the programme is reportedly popular with figures as diverse as *Guardian* leader writers, Olympic athletes and Prime Minister, David Cameron (Jewell, 2009: 61-2). Jewell quotes Rob Brydon, one of the leading actors in *Gavin and Stacey*, on the way that the show appears to be riding a wave of pro-Welsh feeling:

What it's done is create a version of Wales that's palatable to everyone, something which I don't think anyone's managed before. Along with that, *Doctor Who*, *Torchwood* and winning the Grand Slam, I don't think there's ever been a better time to be Welsh since the mid-1970s. (Jewell, 2009: 62)

For Jewell, one of *Gavin and Stacey* innovations is its use of a central female character:

Large and masculine, sexual and feminine, Nessa's Welshness is overt and tangible, with her upper arm decorated with a tattoo of a Welsh dragon. It can be reasonably argued that Nessa is a breakthrough character in British situation comedy history – here is a woman who is unconventionally attractive, sexually voracious and clearly independent of any male influence. (63)

Considering that the character of Nessa is played by Ruth Jones, also one of the two co-writers of the series, Mills' point about the control of the series and therefore the mode of representation being in non-Welsh hands begins to look unconvincing.

In fact, as Jewell goes on to argue, the vision of Wales and Welshness presented in *Gavin and Stacey* is highly complex, despite its generic reliance on stock characters and broad definitions of regional and national identity. One of the characteristics of the show that has been identified again and again by reviewers is its warmth and lack of cynicism. This doesn't however mean that it is anodyne or pretends that powerful divisions and prejudices are not part of British culture. As the two families in *Gavin and Stacey* discuss their off-springs' wedding plans there is a startling boiling over of latent antagonism. Gavin's mother Pam (Alison Steadman) calls Stacey's mother Gwen (Melanie Walters) a 'leek-munching sheep-shagger' whilst Gwen in turn fears that if they marry in Essex her daughter will end up tottering down the aisle wearing 'A mini skirt and white stilettos'. What is crucial is that this exchange takes place against a background of what might be called affectionate curiosity that develops out of an initial mutual suspicion. In this context the holding of ludicrous prejudices becomes the ultimate joke, not the cruelty of the prejudice itself.

Jewell concludes that the popularity of the series both inside and outside Wales is partly based on the show's ability to surprise, to trade in the clichés of the genre whilst continually subverting it, and to use warmth and generosity in place of cynicism and comedic aggression. The effect upon the representation of Wales and Welshness in such a popular show has the potential to be wide-ranging:

It could be argued that Rob Brydon made a very perceptive point when he said that *Gavin and Stacey* had created a version of Wales palatable to everyone. On the one hand we have the presence of recognizable stock signifiers of popular culture such as the uncomplicated and decent Welshman (Bryn), the steady homemaker (Gwen) and the solid community base (Barry Island). On the other

we have Stacey, Nessa and Jason – products of the post-industrial, post-feminist Wales, people at ease with their sexuality and their nationality. (73)

It is possibly no accident that two of the highest profile shows under review here have a degree of complexity about sexual identity at their heart. Both *Torchwood* and *Gavin and Stacey* not only contain positive, attractive gay characters at their heart they also exhibit the freedom to be playful about sexual identity. In the case of *Gavin and Stacey* this takes the form of the cod-mystery of Uncle Bryn's fishing trip with his openly gay nephew, Jason. Through the character of Uncle Bryn (Rob Brydon), the archetypal comic Welshman in some ways (though treated with far more warmth and affection than usual), the audience is repeatedly teased with the possibility that his true sexual identity emerged on the said fishing trip. With witty nods to cinematic tales of self-discovery on trips to the heart of darkness this minor sub-plot adds a layer of complexity to *Gavin and Stacey* that is part of the programme's distinctiveness and strength. Jason's thoroughly relaxed out gay character is the present, Uncle Bryn's the affectionately satirised past. The playwright and director Edward Thomas's comments on Welsh culture were frequently quoted at the time of the devolution referendum for what was seen as their challenge to Welsh culture to grow up a little and respond to possibilities inherent in a new Wales:

Old Wales is dead. The Wales of stereotype, leeks, daffodils, look-you-now boyo rugby supporters singing Max Boyce songs in three-part harmony while phoning mam to tell her they'll be home for tea and Welsh cakes has gone... So where does it leave us? Free to make up, re-invent, redefine our own versions of Wales, all three million definitions if necessary, because the Wales I know is bilingual, multicultural, pro-European, messed up, screwed up and ludicrously represented in the British press... So old Wales is dead and new Wales is already a possibility, an eclectic self-defined Wales with attitude. (Quoted in Roms 1998: 186)

It is possible to suggest that *Gavin and Stacey* represents one manifestation of the emergence of 'attitude' which, despite Mills' anxiety about the programme's origins, is very much self-defined.

Coda: the Comic Relief single

Attitude of a similar kind was to be found in the appearance of two of *Gavin and Stacey*'s main Welsh actors/characters, Ruth Jones/Nessa and Rob Brydon/Uncle Bryn, as the performers of the annual Comic Relief single. Comic Relief has become a recognizable fixture in the television schedules, like other high-profile events in support of charity such as Children in Need. Like the latter, Comic Relief has become ritualised, filling an entire evening's viewing (at least) on BBC1 with recurrent and expected features that aim to create anticipation amongst its large audience. The Comic Relief single is an important element in the overall programme, a source of a certain amount of mystery and wider comment in the press (what will it be? Who will sing it?) as well as raising money directly through sales. The single was performed as part of *Let's Dance for Comic Relief* (BBC1 Saturday 14 March), which included the final of a four-part series, in which celebrities recreated famous dance routines and competed for the public vote and that of a studio panel.

The single, '(Barry) Islands in the Stream', was a cover version of a 1983 hit written by the Bee Gees (the Gibbs brothers) and recorded initially as a country song by Kenny Rogers and Dolly Parton. The 'Barry' epithet was added to draw attention to the pun with Barry Island, the main setting for *Gavin and Stacey*. The song had been sung, impromptu, in an episode of the series. Significantly, Jones and Brydon were performing in character as Vanessa Jenkins and Bryn West from the series, and the performance on Comic Relief drew attention to this, as well as to the country-and-western framing of the song's initial outing (they performed in cowboy outfits). The 'Welshness' of the performance was amplified by the appearance of Tom Jones on stage to accompany the latter stages of the song, thus connecting two generations of Welsh performers who have achieved popular success. Indeed, the linking of Welshness with national and international success is one of the key sources of pleasure for Welsh audiences.

The connection with Barry, with the country roots of the song and with different generations of Welsh success is explored further in the nine-minute video that accompanied the single, also released as part of the Comic Relief event (and available on Youtube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RAE1YyDm66A>). The video, with credits that use Jones' and Brydon's character names and reference traditional westerns, begins in Barry, includes a cameo from the Bee Gee's Robin Gibbs, and moves to Los Angeles, where Nessa and Bryn, in cowboy outfits, are in the finals of the World Karaoke Championship. The video contains iconic highway and desert imagery, and brings Tom Jones into the story as the hapless couple's rescuer after their car breaks down. It is suggested, comically, that Jones and Nessa have a troubled past relationship that neither wants to discuss. Their performance, in which they are introduced as coming 'all the way from Wales, England', does not go well until Tom Jones joins them on stage, after which they are triumphant winners of the competition. This short narrative, therefore, explicitly dramatises the motif of success, presenting Welsh characters and performers as 'winners'.

Both the performance and the video served to reinforce goodwill felt towards *Gavin and Stacey* and celebrate the connection between Wales and popular success. Rather than introducing any new elements into the mix, they assume this connection in their audience. In this way, the performance of the Comic Relief single indicates a new stage in the increasing visibility of *Gavin and Stacey* in the schedules, shifting characters, and the social and cultural experience they represent, into new contexts. It is a strategy of reinforcement, and one of the consequences of high-profile 'event' programming is that there are now new ways of circulating the iconic features of a successful programme. Further research needs to be done on the implications of this, since once characters are removed from the dramatic context in which they are framed the meanings attached to them alter; in the case of '(Barry) Islands in the Stream', Welshness is connected, playfully and humorously, to 'success' without the need to define further what this might mean.



“They wouldn’t set a drama in Newcastle and people it with Cockneys would they?”: the case of *Framed*.

Whilst the majority of this report has been positive about the overall position of representation and portrayal in relation to Wales, there remain anxieties amongst the audience which the recent BBC 1 production of the single drama *Framed* exemplified very well.

As our audience research (discussed above) indicates, the viewers in Wales outside the urban south-east are positive about the increased profile brought to BBC Cymru Wales by the internationally successful drama that has been produced in the country in the last decade. However, there is an unmistakeable desire to see BBC Cymru Wales using this success to broaden the scope of its representation of the whole Welsh nation.

Unsurprisingly, this was a sentiment expressed most clearly by people living in the north of Wales, so it was particularly unfortunate that the one major television drama in the English language in recent memory to be set there contained elements that were almost certain to cause some difficulty.

It should, of course, be emphasised at the outset that *Framed* was not a BBC Cymru Wales programme, but one produced from London. *Framed* attracted considerable criticism from Welsh communities, much of it directed at the show’s use of vaguely south Walian accents in a drama so firmly set in an ex-slate mining community in the north of the country: Angharad Clwyd of the Welsh Language Society said: “It’s typical of the BBC’s laziness that they used a south Wales accent in an area with such a strong North Walian accent. They wouldn’t set a drama in Newcastle and people it with Cockneys would they?” whilst the same article quoted a viewer quite clear that the defects in the programme were the product of sloppy research and an enduring very generalised view of what it means to be Welsh: ‘A viewer commented on the BBC’s website: “The research for this show must have been no more than watching an episode of Gavin & Stacey and How Green Was My Valley.” (Evans 2009)

One of the clear outcomes of the current research is that audiences regard representation in a much more sophisticated way than discussion of ‘quotas’ and the like would suggest. However, the case of *Framed* demonstrates both how relatively simple it is to establish a sense of ownership of the BBC in audiences, but also how easy it is to alienate sections of the audience by thoughtless decision-making which seems to reveal a narrowness in the Corporation’s view of its audience. Put simply, the number of television representations of Wales from outside Cardiff and the south east of the country is very small. It is therefore particularly important to represent these areas appropriately if the BBC wishes to present itself as an organisation that understands the diversity of the UK and the rich possibilities that this brings.

In the context of this research the presence of Eve Myles in a leading role in *Framed* was somewhat ironic, given the actress’s role in *Torchwood*, which exemplified the idea of local Welsh talent being given opportunity to shine in work with an international profile. The casting drew even more attention to the apparent lack of awareness of the north

Wales context, given Myles close association with the south Wales Valleys. Through no fault of her own Myles had been turned into all-purpose Welsh casting.

In terms of representation, it would be wrong to exaggerate the problem of one programme, and the film sides with its Welsh characters in other ways. The rather sweet story tends to highlight the positive values of small rural communities in juxtaposition with Trevor Eve's rather pompous portrayal of a member of the London arts establishment. However, *Framed* represents a lost opportunity: a strong family story from a well-known writer set in north Wales. It is hard, however, not to see this also as a lost opportunity for the BBC to develop a positive relationship with a part of its audience that rarely sees its own stories on any kind of screen. What makes the episode more significant than it might otherwise be is the sheer scarcity of representations of Wales beyond its metropolitan borders.



Branding BBC Wales

BBC Wales' brand appreciation is especially significant in the context of the recent BBC concern with its coverage of the nations and regions. Therefore, creating idents, the segments between programmes that identify the transmission as being from one particular part of the BBC network, for one of the BBC's nations and regions poses particular challenges and opportunities. One key challenge for BBC Wales is how best to cultivate a distinct identity whilst retaining the value of the wider BBC brand.

Distinctly local creative opportunities were interestingly described in the following way by one senior BBC staff member concerned with branding: 'the advantage I've got over other people in the BBC, especially my network colleagues, is I can say 'We want Wales to win'. That's a really significant thing and you know you can't underestimate how good that is to be able to say... once you've got that you've got so much stuff you can do because I haven't got to be impartial anymore.'⁵

National sporting events have become the bedrock of BBC Wales' promos and idents since 1999, most especially the now annual series that accompanies the Six Nations Rugby each winter/spring. A common theme uniting them is sporting nationalism, both in the sense of sport's function as a place of legitimated competitive national spirit, and as a definition of Welshness as distinct from the other UK nations. Branding here is less about promoting as informing, and more about connecting. Harnessing wider national events and discourses to the BBC Wales brand becomes central. Importantly, in evaluating the success of these promos, it is the work they do for BBC Wales' public support that is key. For public service broadcasters, branding entails the cultivation and maintenance of audience appreciation rather than just consumption in terms of viewing figures per se.

Recent BBC Cymru Wales programmes such as *Life on Mars* (Kudos for BBC Wales), *Doctor Who*, and *Torchwood* have achieved UK and international acclaim from critics and audiences alike. However, ensuring that viewers are aware that these are specifically BBC Wales' commissions and/or productions requires specific branding efforts if they are not to disappear under the wider brand identity of the BBC. BBC Cymru Wales idents and promos often work hard to help audiences make this connection. For example, the strap line of a *Torchwood* trailer was 'Made in Wales by BBC Wales.' The aim here was both to raise brand awareness and to cement an affective relationship with the Welsh audience through constructing shared patriotic sentiment. Branding BBC Wales, then, may also entail putting Wales on the map. The problem, however, is that such promos currently appear only in Wales itself, with the generic programme promos for shows like *Doctor Who* being made in London. BBC Wales' capacity to brand its own identity is, therefore, limited by the central power of London and the BBC network.

If programmes provide specific spaces for branding activity, then promos and idents are themselves also becoming more programme-like. A cross-over between marketing and artistic activity is a hallmark of post-convergence television. As we intimated above, the promotional material from BBC Cymru Wales has frequently taken on a life of its own,

⁵ All quotations from BBC production staff come from interviews conducted by the project team unless otherwise stated.

sometimes exhibiting the kind of 'quality' associated with drama production. As the television audience becomes more and more used to the consumption of short-form drama from a variety of sources it is possible that this will be seen as part of a long-term, more widespread trend. Currently, however, BBC Wales deploys such strategies in a way that is not replicated elsewhere on British television.

What follows is an analysis of key examples of these short-form dramas produced by BBC Cymru Wales and an attempt to draw some tentative conclusions about what they have to tell us regarding the complex relationship between three kinds of identity: of the BBC centrally, of the Corporation in one of its nations and regions, and of Wales itself.

To begin with, as discussed briefly above, BBC Cymru Wales' best known promotional material is overwhelmingly concerned with sport, notably - this being Wales - with rugby union. To the casual observer then, it would seem that a very traditional, highly masculine view of Wales is being re-cycled and reinforced by the public service broadcaster. Whilst there is an element of truth in this, we would like to argue that the dramatic treatment of sporting encounters is far from traditional and works in certain respects to modify not only the way that the sport is positioned in relation to the Welsh audience, but also as a significant contributor to new ways of viewing Welsh national identity.

One of the longest running 'sagas' produced by BBC Cymru Wales Marketing and Promotions Department concerns a group of young twenty-something amiable 'slackers', the self-styled 'Scrum 4' (a long-running BBC Cymru Wales rugby highlights and comment show is called 'Scrum 5'). The group feature in a series of mini-dramas set around their efforts to watch Wales' Six Nations encounters and also to be caught by the BBC cameras at the ground. The identity of the group is a long way from the traditional image of rugby. Not only is the most extrovert and funny member of the group a woman, the men are all of an appearance that makes it highly unlikely that have been involved in the business end of a rugby match. Their clothes, hairstyle and the 'flat' they live in all mark them down as amiable post-students, in love with the event of a Welsh rugby union international rather than the finer points of a sport identified with raw physical power, fitness and controlled aggression.

Clever intercutting with match day footage shows the four characters in and around the Wales Millennium Stadium, in their seats just behind the Wales substitutes bench and appearing on the big screen as they are caught on camera, the ultimate prize. 'Scrum 4' takes a very playful attitude to traditional displays of Welsh national identity. Their efforts to get on television involve the acquisition of giant leeks and daffodils which further enhances their slightly 'geeky' images when worn. There is little sense of the national emblem being worn as part of any chest beating, but rather as high kitsch. The overall effect is of a rugby international as something which is enormously enjoyable, something to be enjoyed communally (with the help of BBC Cymru Wales, of course) but not to be taken too seriously in any traditional sense.

Having said this, 'the match' is definitely positioned as something that should never be missed, whatever the spirit in which you consume its spectacle. One comic, though slightly haunting, drama has a young man wandering around a giant supermarket which, to his surprise is deserted. When he finally gets to the one till open the two young women attending quickly find an excuse to go and consult the supervisor leaving the

man alone at the till with 'All by Myself' (Celine Dion – 1996) playing mournfully over the tannoy. The cut to the tiny manager's office reveals it to be packed with staff crowded around a television watching Wales playing rugby.

On the one hand, the comic message is clear – to 'belong' in Wales you have to buy into the all-encompassing mythology of rugby and the fortunes of the national team being at the heart of the nation. On the other, the iconography has changed radically and 'the match' has become much more of an inclusive event which is, to some extent, liberating because of its power to release us all from the everyday concerns. Particularly striking is the emphasis on the occasion's power to overcome gender divisions. The women serving in the supermarket display an eagerness to join in the sense of 'escape' as strongly as anyone.

This latter point is particularly pertinent as one of the potential difficulties with the very popular BBC ident taken as whole is their relationship to sexual politics. In this respect the 2009 Six Nations running story is particularly relevant. At one level, the mini-drama is a beautifully realised combination of nostalgia and knowing postmodern irony. Set in the bar of 'Aberpandy' rugby club, the conceit of the story revolves around wall-hung pictures and certain other inanimate objects coming to life after closing time, accompanied by music that enhances the sense of the fantastical. The bar looks as though it has changed little for decades and much of the pleasure of the ident works through the recognition of iconic items from pubs and bars of the past – fading portraits both of club heroes and famous Welshmen (Sir Tom Jones for example). Central to the story is a display card for peanuts behind the bar of the sort that slowly reveals a picture of a woman as each packet of nuts is sold.

In the darkened bar over the fairy tale music a deep male voice is heard celebrating the arrival of a new 'nuts girl' for the 'Five Nations'. A younger voice corrects him – it is the Six Nations now. The voices are then seen to belong to older and younger characters from the portraits behind the bar. As the 'nuts girl' herself enters the conversation the miniature lifeboat-man on the bar introduces everyone including 'Kazia' a girl on a calendar advertising a local haulage firm who turns out to have a strong Eastern European accent, but is clearly as 'at home' in Aberpandy as any of the other characters. The atmosphere is welcoming and convivial until the girl asks where she is: when told it is a rugby club she exclaims – 'What rugby? Like Jonny Wilkinson...' The mention of the quintessential Englishman causes all the portraits to come alive in a montage of comic appalled nationalism across the decades. They recover when the portrait of the club chairmen re-assures her that they will soon have her supporting Wales.

It is a lovingly created piece of work with enormous attention to period detail and subtle comic timing. The faintest twitch of an eyebrow from Sir Tom Jones is all that is needed to convey his view of Jonny Wilkinson. Its overall effect is of a place that has been left behind by the bars and clubs that dominate today's social scene, but which is viewed nostalgically and with the utmost affection by both young and old. However, the minute-long drama is also highly conscious of a contemporary media literate audience with its animation of still images and referencing of key devices from advertising and other forms of popular culture.

At the heart of the mini-drama is an absolute staple of old-fashioned, albeit relatively low-key, pub sexism in the form of the 'nuts girl'. It is possible to argue that the use

made of such a trope works firmly against its original intention. It becomes part of a deliberate positioning of the whole environment as something outmoded and left behind by the present, through connected to it by the nationally unifying effect of 'the match'. Above all, this is a place of warmth that welcomes outsiders and enjoys a particular brand of humour that is unafraid of a little fun at the expense of Welsh national identity.

Perhaps the apotheosis of this approach is found in one the most ambitious of all the idents and a rare example of one not based upon national sporting identity. Made in 2008, the mini-'epic' was really a trailer for the whole range of BBC Cymru Wales services 'television, radio and on-line' (and in both languages) as the tag line goes. What is of particular relevance here is the rich mixture of 'old' and 'new' versions of Wales, the latter in the form of the voice and appearance of the (Scottish) actor David Tennant who was of course playing the lead in BBC Wales' highly successful revival of *Doctor Who*.

The ident takes the form of a pan-Wales journey on a 'normal' working day. With Tennant's voice as a guide we see a variety of 'characters' going about their work and leisure routines, in each case enhanced by a BBC Cymru Wales service. Even where there is trouble or inconvenience (for example a traffic diversion signalled by BBC Wales' online service) the tone is informal and congenial. There is a clear sense of a large national community united by a diverse, modern and relaxed BBC Cymru Wales. The images emphasise that the BBC serves the whole of the nation and not just the urban south-east where it has its main Wales' base. We see, for example, farmers in the west, antique shop and garage owners in the north, holidaying actresses in a tepee and a lovesick teenager in Cardiff, all of whom have their day brightened in some way by BBC Cymru Wales services in either Welsh or English. When we have finished the tour, which takes just over one minute, David Tennant himself appears on screen with the interior of the Tardis in the background saying 'Meanwhile, back at the BBC Wales studios near Pontypridd, I'm about to save the world'.

Tennant's concluding line is the real pay-off. It reminds viewers that their BBC Cymru Wales has been behind one of UK television's major international successes of recent times, whilst at the same time connecting this touch of glamour with the working lives of Welsh people across the nation. It therefore presents a strong combination of change and new possibilities alongside the reassuring certainties of more traditional forms of Welsh life. Weather, travel, music and remote locations all remain intrinsic to the nation, but the BBC is part of those things now, and this means being intimately connected to the internet, 24-hours rolling news and digital radio.

We suspect that, for audiences, the popularity and success of BBC Cymru Wales idents are the results of the overwhelmingly humorous and good-natured tone of the mini-narratives that is at their heart. However, they are inescapably also part of a multi-faceted shift in the representation of Wales, particularly on television, but also across all forms of arts and culture in the period since devolution. The art historian Peter Lord is one of many who have placed a post colonial perspective at the heart of his analysis of this shift:

It has often been alleged that a national consciousness heavily conditioned by the needs of differentiation from a dominant neighbour is a characteristic Welsh weakness. As a result of the political and economic decline of that neighbour, a complementary growth in our own self-confidence, and a wider change in

perceptions of nationality, it is the hope of many at the beginning of the twenty-first century that this essentially colonised state of mind may at last be transcended. (2000, p. 9)

Ironically the BBC Wales idents discussed above do feature 'the needs of differentiation from a dominant neighbour' relatively frequently. What is new is the self-reflexive, comic tone in which such differentiation takes place. Even within this framework it is possible we believe to detect a shift during the last decade. In 1999 BBC Wales broadcast one of the simplest of the idents featuring Kelly Jones, the lead singer of The Stereophonics busking in a London street before an England vs. Wales rugby international. Wales were having a poor season and Jones's voice is heard singing defiantly:

Got beat by the Irish, beat by the Scots
The French are a struggle, but you're the ones we want
As long as we beat the English we don't care

The whole thing is done with a smile on the face, but not only is there no escaping the pre-occupation with the English, it is central to the conceit. A decade on in Aberpandy Rugby Club, the humour is more complex, subtle and self-reflexive and the English are reduced to a bit-part aside. Admittedly, this is due in part to a lengthy period in which the Welsh international team has outperformed their English rivals. However, when looked at alongside examples such as the David Tennant film discussed above and the significance of its relationship to a successful period for network drama in Wales, there is clear evidence of a shift in the way that BBC Cymru Wales thinks about and represents the nation it serves. The repetition of such representations and their style, wit and evident popularity become part of the complex ways in which national identity is constructed by television.



Key Findings and Conclusions

What do the viewers think? Audiences and BBC Wales Cymru

- The vast majority of those surveyed had a high level of awareness that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* were produced in Wales, by BBC Cymru Wales (74% and 86% respectively).
- The nature and scope of Welsh productions matters to the Welsh audience, whether these appear on UK network or on BBC Wales alone. Good quality programmes garner audience appreciation when they succeed in representing Wales in a way that is credible (within the limits of the specific genre), well-produced, and avoids simplistic, stereotypical images.
- Viewers have a tacit expectation that the BBC *should* 'represent the UK nations and regions' (BBC Charter 2006). However, there is a widespread view that the BBC, with other broadcasters, does not consistently live up to this expectation, with television fiction remaining a London-centric phenomenon producing too many stereotypical images of Wales that lack conviction and appeal.

'They need to remember that it (television) is for the public. We pay for it. It is up to ITV to put *X Factor* on ...ITV cannot afford to make something like *Belonging* and so on, so it is the BBC's place to do so.' (Male, Welsh-speaking viewer, north Wales focus group)

- A public service broadcaster such as the BBC needs to be aware of how the politics of the institution are perceived by viewers in the regions and nations if they are to change audiences' perceptions. Audiences' re-evaluation of broadcasters in the regions/nations appears to add significantly to the value they attach to specific television productions.
- There is also a sense, both implicit and explicit, from the audience research that the images of Wales that are represented should be broad and inclusive. There is little evidence to support the idea of 'Welshness' as a single and monolithic entity, and a great deal that shows awareness and acceptance of a range of possibilities and identities. Illustrative of this, was the generally positive reaction to the representation of a Welsh gay man in *Torchwood* in contrast to the use of the character of 'Daffyd', in *Little Britain*.
- Some viewers, especially those in the focus group from an ethnic minority population, think that Wales is under-represented on the BBC and television generally. This group were clear about their allegiance to Wales as well as to their ethnic community, and felt often 'doubly marginalised' by the absence of both from the screen.

'We feel strongly Welsh ... to be honest, I don't see much about Wales. We are massively under-represented on the BBC. That's my feeling ... In

terms of an ethnic minority, I feel even more under-represented – a double under-representation’ (Male member of ethnic minority focus group)

- One of the BBC’s stated purposes is to ‘bring the UK to the world and the world to the UK’. Consequently BBC television enjoys an ambassadorial role, which, when seen to be undertaken successfully, engenders viewers’ pleasure and support. Being part of an international mainstream matters to those viewers who do not want to exist solely within a perceived niche or ghetto of Welsh production.

‘People in America watch *Doctor Who*. It is something more worldwide. I think there’s a need to push this, that fact that the Welsh – never mind whether they are in Cardiff or the north – have a language of our own. There’s a need for them to show this to the world.’ (Male, Welsh-speaking viewer, north Wales focus group)

- Structural matters, including scheduling, trailers, and promotional programme strategies employed by BBC Wales comprise an important element in representing the regions and nations. Young people especially are used to accessing ubiquitous global shows such as *Friends* on a casual basis. They contrast this with the effort required to access regional output, which seem far more ephemeral in comparison.

‘There’s too many one-off programmes. Maybe they are good but then that’s all, it’s finished.’ (Welsh-speaking schoolgirl, south Wales valleys focus group).

- Diversity needs to be heard, not just seen, on the television screen. Accents are a matter both of dramatic credibility and of cultural politics.

‘You never get a North Walian accent, most importantly even in Cardiff no-one seems to have a Cardiff accent!’ (Male, fan focus group, Cardiff talking of *Doctor Who*)

- Younger viewers in the capital expect the BBC and other broadcasters to make Welsh locations routinely visible. They enjoy celebrity and film-shoot spotting as special but common events. Their confidence in taking Welsh representations on UK television for granted suggests more work is needed better to understand the first generation of post-devolution digital TV viewers in Wales.

‘In *Tracey Beaker* they have an episode where they are at the park and every time I’m at the park I go, ‘I’ve been there! I’ve sat there!’, ‘I’ve played football there!’
(school boy and girl, Cardiff school focus group)

- There is a high-level of awareness that recent successes in Wales are leading to the establishment of a drama production centre in Cardiff, with the result that long-standing staples of network programming, such as *Casualty* and *Crimewatch*, are to be produced there.

- The use of idents and trailers in Wales in ways that are interesting, attractive and help build on a relationship with local audiences is at a level that would not appear to be found currently elsewhere in the UK. Indeed, the cross-referencing between idents and trailers and the high-profile success of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* is part of building a new kind of relationship with the local audience.

The Significance of the Success of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*

- A key pleasure that audiences in Wales derived from *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* was their status as mainstream, international successes that could also be connected to the places in which they lived and recognised on screen.

'I think it makes Cardiff cooler than it really is!

'It's almost like I can get a sense of heritage from *Dr Who* and *Torchwood* being filmed in Cardiff. It's like, 'Yes! I'm in the place with the Aliens', you feel like that.'

(Mixed gender youth group south Wales valleys).

- In the case of *Torchwood* in particular, the representation of the urban spaces of Cardiff in similarly filmic ways to cities around the world is a source of considerable pleasure to local audiences and is used by tourism agencies seeking to brand the city.

'When you see Cardiff on film, it looks like LA - it looks amazing.' (John Barrowman, <http://www.visitcardiff.com/Torchwood.html>)

- As well as images of recognisable places the use of significant sounds in the narrative landscape were also cited as important. These included accents and dialects in particular, but also the occasional appearance of the Welsh language. In *Torchwood*, class and class distinctions are made knowable largely through voices and accents.

'*Torchwood* represents the Cardiff we know' (Mixed gender youth group south Wales valleys).

- For a significant number of audience members the high profile success of programmes being produced in Wales but not appearing particularly Welsh in their pre-occupations was a positive thing. It was seen as contributing to a lifting of what some refer to as the 'burden of representation' that tends to afflict minority cultures.
- 'Genre' is an important factor in the way that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* are able to represent and relate to Wales and Welsh audiences. The science-fiction and fantasy elements mean that the programmes are liberated from the usual questions about realism and authenticity when discussing representation. Wales instead can become a place of possibility and fantasy.

- Conversely, a sense of realism of place is also important to both series. Whilst Cardiff often stands in for other cities in *Doctor Who*, including London, it is very much itself in *Torchwood*. However, it is often the contemporary, postmodern city that is shown, the Bay area and the Altalusso tower for example, with the city's history and complex ethnic and social identities sometimes effaced (*Torchwood* series 3, 'Children of Earth' is a partial exception to this).
- Although primarily science fiction, *Torchwood* in particular owes a debt to other genres, and this hybridity connects it to high-profile international successes such as *Lost*, *The Wire* or *CSI*.

Press Coverage

- As the popularity and cultural relevance of both shows increased, so did their coverage in both local and UK press. The shows were most commonly mentioned in conjunction with Cardiff in stories which simply informed the reader of the show's filming location, in phrases such as '*Doctor Who*, currently being filmed in Cardiff'. Of 448 stories, 145 fell into this category; a percentage of 32%.
- Local newspapers were more likely than UK or non-Welsh regional papers to use *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* as a 'hook' to hang stories which were otherwise only tentatively related. This indicates the importance of local proximity and relevance in using shows that local readers would be familiar with in order to inform them about stories on issues such as local history, science, or other Cardiff-specific events.

"How do you travel 5,500 years through Welsh history without catching a lift with Doctor Who's Tardis? Sign up for an archaeology tour that taps into landmarks left by early man through to his 20th century cousins" (Aled Blake, 'MAKING TOURISTS DIG WALES' HISTORY, WITH A PASSION FOR THE PAST' Western Mail, June 29, 2005).

- The local press was also more likely to relate *Torchwood* and *Doctor Who* to stories around their impact on local media industries and production, tourism or to issues of location and the pleasure of spotting familiar places on television. This demonstrates the ways in which the local press were keen to use the programmes to present Wales/Cardiff in a positive light, demonstrating the constructive ways in which their status as 'Welsh' productions contributes to wider industrial and economic sectors.

"look, it's Queen's Arcade!' In how many living rooms across Wales was that shout echoed on Saturday night as Doctor Who returned to our screens, this time made in Wales? It was almost impossible to concentrate on what was going on in the programme because of the temptation to shout out every time you recognised a landmark. (Paul Carey, 'WHO?

WHERE? IT WAS FAMILIAR TERRITORY FOR VIEWERS IN WALES' Western Mail, March 29, 2005).

- Overwhelmingly, the reports which linked *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* and Cardiff/Wales were positive, highlighting the impact on industry, media, tourism and economy.

"perhaps even more importantly, filming in Wales gives the economy a boost. 'Having a highly popular TV series like *Doctor Who* shot on locations in Cardiff and other parts of south Wales helps viewers in Wales feel that they live in a modern and attractive part of the UK,' said a spokesman for the Wales Tourist Board" ('Tourists follow in the footsteps of *Doctor Who*' Western Mail, December 24, 2004).

- The only stories with negative slants were those which reported on debates over representation of Wales and whether *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* were 'Welsh'. However, these usually involved second-hand reporting of comments made by others (e.g. Greg Dyke, Richard Harrington) and the press reporting overall contained little derision or negativity towards Wales or Cardiff:

Doctor Who "doesn't reflect Wales".[...] "It could have been made in Birmingham and it would not have looked any different," he said" (Actor Richard Harrington quoted in Sarah Manners, 'Dr Who could've been made in Birmingham'; 'Series doesn't reflect Wales' south Wales Echo, April 16, 2008).

- Issues of portrayal and how Wales is represented in television programmes such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* are reflected in press coverage of the shows. Such debates are linked to wider issues over Wales' portrayal and tensions between traditional representations and contemporary productions which seek to move away from stereotypical and traditional images of Wales:

"I was saddened and horrified to read the report of the launching of *Torchwood* in St David's Hotel that Menna Richards (Controller BBC Wales) was pleased that no male-voice choirs or miners would be seen - it would be 'all sex and sci-fi!' At last we have an explanation for the total absence of things cultural, literary, musical or indeed anything promoting Welsh history on the UK network. It's just not sexy! Things Welsh must be confined to the ghetto of BBC Wales Digital - and must not be given too much UK airtime!" (Reader's letter, Western Mail, October 25, 2006).

- The press coverage is central to the strong link that has formed in the minds of audiences, shaping their views and responses to the positive impact that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* have had on the reputation and representation of Wales.

Longer-term impact and sustainability

- As mentioned above there was a reasonably high-level awareness of the plans to bring more drama production to Wales and to create a 'drama village' in Cardiff.
- Some issues were raised about the longer term benefits to Wales of an increase in the production base in Cardiff and its ability to impact upon and nurture a local pool of talent.
- The formation of a 'critical mass' of success which includes representations of the nation not actually produced by BBC Wales such as *Gavin and Stacey* as well as *Doctor Who*, *Torchwood*, *The Sarah Jane Adventures* and *Merlin* has not only greatly enhanced the status of Wales as a production centre it has also challenged traditional representations of the nations in quite fundamental ways. This is significantly different from the kind of impact that can be achieved by a single programme or series.

Remaining Issues and Questions

- There remain questions about the visibility of Welsh stories outside Wales.
- There is a degree of political concern, indicated by the focus groups and press analysis, over the amount and nature of specifically Welsh content on BBC network television, despite the increase in success and prestige brought by programmes such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*.
- There were a number of references made by members of focus groups to the loss of local programming such as *Belonging* which was seen as closer to the idea of what is meant by the representation of specifically Welsh stories.
- The full spectrum of ways to identify as 'Welsh' should be given careful attention.
- Audience members from the north and west of Wales and members from ethnic minorities enjoyed and identified with the success of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* but hoped that the success and confidence that they have brought would eventually be reflected through strong contemporary representations of other Welsh identities.
- With regard to the above, the recent BBC production of *Framed* a drama set in north Wales was not a cause for optimism. It failed to reflect the very distinctive sounds and dialects of north Wales and indicated a somewhat careless attitude to the nuances of national identity.
- Specifically Welsh-speaking audience members from across the country were generally positive and appreciative of the success of programmes such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* but expressed anxiety that the only representations of Welsh-speaking in a modern contemporary context were on S4C and therefore little seen outside Wales.

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Appendix 1

Screening the Nation: Wales and Landmark Television

A proposed programme of research by the University of Glamorgan in collaboration with the BBC Trust and the BBC Audience Council for Wales

Introduction

This study can be seen in the context of wide-ranging interest in the issue of 'representation' in the media generally and, in the light of its central importance to national life, the BBC in particular. The term 'representation', it should be noted, often becomes synonymous with words such as 'portrayal' and depiction.

Whilst the study will attempt to touch upon the representation of 'communities' in the widest sense, time and resources will necessitate particular focus on the idea of the 'nation'. In particular the research team takes particular note of the Audience Council Priority for 2009/10, adopted by the BBC Trust in January 2009:

That the Trust should investigate ways in which the BBC might better portray the full diversity of the UK's nations and communities in the regions of England, across its Network services, significantly enhancing the cultural representation of the English regions, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The study will have Wales and its diverse communities at its core, though there will be clear cross-reference to the question of representation across the UK and internationally.

In order to provide depth to the study it will use the case of the two recent BBC drama successes, *Dr Who* and *Torchwood* as a means of attempting to understand how the concentrated use of a particular location, in this case Cardiff, impacts both on the audience's relationship to the programme and the city/region in which it is set.

In turn, consideration will be given to the overall impact on the city of Cardiff and the different, though related, impact on Wales of the recent growth in network drama production originating in Cardiff.

The work will also implicitly raise important questions about the potential impact of television drama on the question of identity in other parts of the UK, including the comparatively neglected area of English regional identity.

The study will focus on the work produced for the BBC network in Wales but, as is suggested above, it will seek to make useful comparisons with programmes produced for Wales-only audiences as well as work strongly identified with other nations and regions.

It will also seek to actively involve the BBC Audience Council for Wales in aspects of the study which will provide the BBC Trust with research that investigates the complex relationship between television production, its locations and the impact on local, regional and national identity.

Methodology

1. Literature review

The work will start with a brief survey of existing research on the area. The function of this is to clearly establish the state of existing thinking around both the broader issues of representation in relation to television and the specific instance of the nations and regions of the United Kingdom

There is a reasonably extensive body of work from a variety of disciplines that examines the wider cultural impact of feature film production and television drama production on cities, nations and regions, not just in the UK but across the globe.

There is also a relatively new concentration of interest in the representation and media economies of 'small nations'. The research team have a strong relationship to the Centre for the Study of Media and Culture in Small Nations at the University of Glamorgan and have been working with colleagues in a range of international contexts including Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, the Balkans and Canada.

Some of the relevant studies are narrow in scope and concerned almost exclusively with tourism. Others take a much broader view and are part of a body of wide-ranging speculative research about the role of the creative industries in the contemporary city and the role that fictional representations play in the production of national and regional identity. We may also want to consider work on brands and promotional culture. A representative list of current work is appended at the end of this short paper.

There would also be a review of work around the impact of comparable programmes made in comparable contexts. Examples here might include BBC Northern Ireland's *Ballykissangel*, BBC Scotland's *Monarch of the Glen* and *Hamish Macbeth*, feature film production such as *Braveheart* and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy and work on programmes with a strong English regional focus such as *The Street* or *Clocking Off*.

Here it is worth noting an already apparent difference which may well make the production of *Dr Who* in Cardiff far more significant than the examples above, namely the fact that the reliance on a set of fairly reductive national characteristics is absent and replaced by a more contemporary and ambitious use of the city. This may well make comparisons with Russell T. Davies other work such as *Queer as Folk* in Manchester extremely relevant.

The study would also seek to make comparisons with the impact of a range of programmes that have been broadcast exclusively in Wales. These would include BBC programmes such as the long-running drama series *Belonging* as well as programmes shown on S4C such as *Caerdydd* or *Y Pris*, both of which have sought, in very different ways, to re-shape traditional representations of Cardiff, other regions of Wales or the Welsh nation in general. The latter examples would of course raise questions about the Welsh language and its evolving role in shaping the identity of Wales.

Where appropriate the study may also make comparisons with the cultural impact of work beyond the confines of fictional representation. This may include, for example, *Cardiff Singer of the World* or certain kinds of sports coverage.

2. Qualitative analysis

A variety of research methods are being employed to form the fullest possible picture of the impact of the programmes from a range of key perspectives. These include:

- The use of online questionnaires to include the views of a very wide range of respondents in every sense
- The use of audience discussion/focus groups. In order to gather opinion from a broad and diverse range of viewers these will include the use of a variety of communities including schools, activity-orientated groups, Welsh language groups, retired people and so on.
- Interviews and discussion groups involving key stakeholders – WAG, Cardiff City Council, Wales Tourist Board, Retailers and Caterers. This research would seek to establish the more direct impact of the programmes in terms of the way that a city is 'branded' by those responsible for selling it to the wider world. It would also seek evidence of any direct relationship between the programmes and the use of key facilities and amenities.
- As an extension of the above the study will seek the direct views of the BBC Audience Council for Wales as key representative group.
- Analysis of press articles featuring discussion of Cardiff/Wales and Doctor Who since 2004 (when the announcement of the return of Doctor Who was made). These press articles will be analysed with priority given to themes such as tourism, portrayal of nations and cities, and debates surrounding the media, especially the BBC, more broadly.
- Interviews with key creative personnel.
- An analysis of a 'snap-shot' week of programming to examine the presence of television produced in Wales, along with more specific analysis of portrayals of Wales within programmes screened during peak viewing times over this week.

- The use of detailed textual analysis by the research team to examine the representational impact of the key programmes in the case-study. Work on this has already begun, focusing on the creative use made of a particular location by the two long-running series. For the purposes of illustration the representation of Cardiff as a city in *Torchwood* represents a clear departure in terms of representations of Wales that are more traditionally available to a national and international audience. Insights gained here will also interact with the work done with the audience focus and discussion groups.
- An analysis of the impact of factors such as genre on the representation of a specific location. This might include the way that conventional science fiction 'rules' are either maintained or broken by the two programmes and how this affects the way that the city is represented.

Appendix 2

This Appendix contains documents connected to the audience research.

Online Questionnaire

Thank you very much for agreeing to help us in our research on 'Landmark TV drama from BBC Wales'. By participating in this research you are indicating that you have read and understood our ethics statement and that you accept what your replies will be used for.

This project attempts to assess the impact that *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood* have had on the way that people understand Cardiff as a city and, to some extent, Wales as a nation. Your responses will assist the researchers in making that assessment.

The project also links to the wider aim of contributing to an understanding of the ways that the BBC reflects the whole of the UK in its programming.

We look forward to reading your replies very soon!

About You

1. Are you male or female?

- a. Male ____
- b. Female ____

2. How old are you?

- a.) under 18
- b.) 19-29
- c.) 30-39
- d.) 40-49
- e.) 50-59
- f.) 60-69
- g.) 70+
- h.) Prefer not to say

3. What is your occupation? _____

4. Which of the following best describes you?

- a. Welsh viewer living in Wales ____
- b. Non-Welsh viewer living in Wales ____
- c. Welsh viewer living outside of Wales ____
- d. Non-Welsh viewer living outside of Wales ____

5. If you live in Wales, in which area do you live?

Cardiff
south Wales (not Cardiff)
north Wales
west Wales
mid Wales

6. If you live outside of Wales, where do you live?

7. If you live outside of Wales, do you have any connection to Wales?

8. If you live outside of the UK, how do you access *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood*?

Download
Watch online (iplayer)
Watch on local television channel
Borrow from friends
DVD

9. If you live in Cardiff, can you give examples of when you have visited any sites related to *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood*?

10. If you do NOT live in Cardiff, have you ever visited the city?

Yes
No

11. If you have visited, how much of a role did *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* play in your decision to visit the city?

Very influential
Slightly influential
Somewhat influential
Not influential at all
Can't remember

12. Are you a Welsh speaker?

Yes, I am a fluent speaker
Yes, I am learner/have some limited Welsh
No

13. Do you consider your self to be a:

- a) fan of *Doctor Who*
- b) a regular viewer of *Doctor Who* (I have watched almost all episodes)
- c) an occasional viewer of *Doctor Who* (I have watched several episodes)
- d) a very occasional viewer of *Doctor Who* (I have watched one or two episodes)
- e) I don't watch *Doctor Who*

14. Which of the following have you watched or used?

Doctor Who Confidential

Official BBC website for *Doctor Who*

Unofficial websites for *Doctor Who*

Episodes of *Doctor Who* on iPlayer

Episodes of *Doctor Who* on DVD

15. Do you consider yourself to be a:

- a) fan of *Torchwood*
- b) a regular viewer of *Torchwood* (I have watched almost all episodes)
- c) an occasional viewer of *Torchwood* (I have watched several episodes)
- d) a very occasional viewer of *Torchwood* (I have watched one or two episodes)
- e) I don't watch *Torchwood*

16. Which of the following have you watched or used?

Torchwood Declassified

Official BBC website for *Torchwood*

Unofficial websites for *Torchwood*

Episodes of *Torchwood* on iPlayer

Episodes of *Torchwood* on DVD

About you and the programmes

1) How aware were you that *Doctor Who* was a BBC Wales production when you started watching?

- a) Very aware
- b) Quite aware
- c) Vaguely aware it was BBC Wales
- d) I did not know it was BBC Wales

2) If you answered a, b or c, can you tell us how you knew *Doctor Who* was a BBC Wales production? If you want to tick more than one box, please rank in order of importance with 1 indicating most important and 6 least important.

- a) BBC Wales itself announcing *Doctor Who* as a BBC Wales programme
- b) End of programme credits
- c) Press coverage
- d) Word of mouth
- e) Websites
- f) Other (please specify)

3) How aware were you that *Torchwood* was a BBC Wales production when you started watching?

- a) Very aware
- b) Quite aware
- c) Vaguely aware it was BBC Wales
- d) I did not know it was BBC Wales

4) If you answered a, b or c, can you tell us how you knew *Torchwood* was a BBC Wales production? If you want to tick more than one box, please rank in order of importance with 1 indicating most important and 6 least important.

- g) BBC Wales itself announcing *Torchwood* as a BBC Wales programme
- h) End of programme credits
- i) Press coverage
- j) Word of mouth
- k) Websites
- l) Other (please specify)

5) How far do you agree with the statement that *Doctor Who* is a Welsh programme'?

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Disagree
- d) Unsure
- e) Other comments.....

6) What makes *Doctor Who* a Welsh programme (please go on to 5 if you ticked c above):

- a) It is made by BBC Wales
- b) It is filmed in Wales
- c) It sets episodes in recognisable locations in Cardiff and south Wales
- d) It uses some Welsh actors
- e) Other.....

7) If you ticked 'c' for question 3, why do you think *Dr Who* is not a Welsh programme?

8) How far do you agree with the statement that *Torchwood* is a Welsh programme'?

- f) Strongly agree
- g) Agree
- h) Disagree
- i) Unsure
- j) Other comments.....

9) What makes *Torchwood* a Welsh programme (please go on to 5 if you ticked c above):

- f) It is made by BBC Wales
- g) It is filmed in Wales
- h) It sets episodes in recognisable locations in Cardiff and south Wales
- i) It uses some Welsh actors

j) Other.....

10) If you ticked 'c' for question 3, why do you think *Torchwood* is not a Welsh programme?

11) On the grades below, how important is it to you that *Doctor Who* is a BBC Wales production?

1 = Very important 4= Not at all important

12) If you ticked 1, 2 or 3 to (6) above, please explain why it is important to you that *Doctor Who* is a 'Welsh' programme.

13) On the grades below, how important is it to you that *Torchwood* is a BBC Wales production?

1 = Very important 4= Not at all important

14) If you ticked 1, 2 or 3 to (6) above, please explain why it is important to you that *Torchwood* is a 'Welsh' programme.

15) If you watch *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* do you spot locations in Cardiff that you recognise?

Doctor Who

Torchwood

- a) Yes, often
- b) Yes, sometimes
- c) Yes, very occasionally
- d) No, not very often
- e) No, never

16) If you answered yes above, which locations do tend to you recognise in *Doctor Who*? You may tick more than one box.

Wales Millennium Centre
Senedd (Welsh Assembly Building)
Roald Dahl Plas
Queen Street
Millennium Stadium
St Mary's Street
Cardiff Castle.
The Hayes
Civic Centre/City Hall
Own street/own home
Other (please specify)...

17) If you answered yes above, which locations do tend to you recognise in *Torchwood*? You may tick more than one box.

Wales Millennium Centre
Senedd (Welsh Assembly Building)
Roald Dahl Plas
Queen Street
Millennium Stadium
St Mary's Street
Cardiff Castle.
The Hayes
Civic Centre/City Hall
Own street/own home
Other (please specify)...

18) If you do spot locations, does it add to your enjoyment of the programmes?

Yes, a great deal
Yes, a little
No, not at all

19. If it does add to your enjoyment of the programme, can you explain how?

20. Have you ever seen *Doctor Who* or *Torchwood* being filmed? If so, please describe it for us....

21. Have you ever met any of the actors/writers and so on from *Doctor Who* or *Torchwood*. If so, please tell us about this...

22) How strongly do you agree/disagree that *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* has made a positive impact on Cardiff?

- a) Strongly agree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Unsure
- Other comments?.....

23) How strongly do you agree/disagree that *Doctor Who* and/or *Torchwood* have made a positive impact on Wales?

- a) Strongly agree
 - b) Agree
 - c) Disagree
 - d) Strongly disagree
 - e) Unsure
- Other comments?.....

24) If you think that *Dr Who* and/or *Torchwood* have had any negative impact on Cardiff, can you please explain why?

25) If you think that *Dr Who* and/or *Torchwood* have had any negative impact on Wales, can you please explain why?

26) Would you be willing to take part in further audience research on BBC Wales programmes such as *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*? This may include answering some further questions via email or attending a focus group interview.

- a. Yes ____
- b. No ____

If so, please give your contact email address here

Informed consent form (offline – schools)

I agree to allow the children in my care to participate in research into audience responses to the representations of Cardiff and Wales in landmark television on BBC Wales. I understand that their participation involves taking part in a group session which involves watching clips from episodes of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*, and then engaging in a discussion about the programme and related issues.

I agree to their responses and the findings of this research forming part of the researcher's written academic work and publications on this subject.

I understand that the children's anonymity is assured through the use of pseudonyms in research analysis and in publications and presentation of this research.

By consenting to their participation in this research I am indicating that I understand and accept the following --

- Anonymous extracts and quotes from their responses may be included in research publications such as journals, books or any other media, or may be presented orally at academic conferences. They may also be included in a report presented to BBC Wales and the BBC Audience Council.
- The children's participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- They may withdraw participation without explanation at any point in the carrying out and writing up of the research.
- Their identity will be kept anonymous in the printed research and all identifying information will be changed to protect them.
- They will be assigned a pseudonym which will remain constant throughout the research.
- They are under no obligation to answer any questions they do not wish to, and may omit answering without explanation.
- Further information about the research is available at my/their request.

If I have any ethical questions about the project I can contact Professor Steve Blandford [sblandfo@glam.ac.uk] at the Cardiff School of Creative & Cultural Industries, AtRIUM, University of Glamorgan, Adam Street, Cardiff, CF24 2FN

Name of participant _____
Date _____
Signature _____

Name of researcher _____
Date _____
Signature _____

Ffurflen Cydsyniad Gwybodus (all-lein - ysgolion)

Rwy'n cytuno i ganiatáu i blant sydd dan fy ngofal gymryd rhan mewn ymchwil ymateb cynulleidfa am y modd y caiff Caerdydd a Chymru eu cynrychioli ar deledu nodedig ar BBC Wales. Rwy'n gwybod y bydd hyn yn golygu eu bod i yn cymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliad grŵp ffocws sy'n golygu gwylio clipiau o benodau *Doctor Who* a *Torchwood*, ac yna ymuno mewn trafodaeth am y rhaglenni a materion perthynol.

Cytunaf y gall eu hymatebion a chasgliadau'r ymchwil fod yn rhan o waith ysgrifenedig academiaidd a chyhoeddiadau'r ymchwilydd ar y testun hwn.

Rwyf wedi cael sicrwydd ar ran y plant bod y cyfan yn mynd i fod yn ddiennw oherwydd bod ffugenwau'n cael eu defnyddio ar gyfer dadansoddi'r ymchwil ac mewn cyhoeddiadau a chyflwyniadau am yr ymchwil.

Drwy gymryd rhan yn yr ymchwil rwy'n dynodi fy mod yn deall ac yn derbyn y pwyntiau canlynol: -

- Y gall detholiadau a dyfyniadau o blith fy ymatebion gael eu cynnwys mewn cyhoeddiadau ymchwil megis cyfnodolion, llyfrau neu unrhyw gyfrwng arall, neu gael eu cyflwyno'n llafar mewn cynadleddau academiaidd. Hwyrach y byddan nhw hefyd yn cael eu cyflwyno mewn adroddiad a gyflwynir i BBC Wales ac i Gyngor Cynulleidfa'r BBC.
- Bod cyfraniad y plant i'r ymchwil hwn yn gwbl wirfoddol.
- Mae'n bosib iddyn nhw dynnu'n ôl ar unrhyw adeg heb roi eglurhad yn ystod cyflawni'r gwaith ymchwil neu yn ystod ei ysgrifennu.
- Ni fydd modd iddyn nhw gael eu hadnabod drwy'r ymchwil fydd yn cael ei gyhoeddi a bydd unrhyw wybodaeth fyddai'n dadlennu pwy ydyn nhw'n cael ei newid i'w hamddiffyn.
- Fe fyddan nhw'n cael ffugenwau fydd yn aros yn ddigyfnewid drwy gydol yr ymchwil.
- Nid oes unrhyw orfodaeth arnyn nhw i ateb unrhyw gwestiwn nad ydyn nhw'n dymuno ei ateb, a gallan nhw ddewis peidio ateb heb gynnig eglurhad.
- Bydd rhagor o wybodaeth am yr ymchwil ar gael os gofynnaf amdano.

Os bydd gen i gwestiwn moesegol am y prosiect gallaf gysylltu â'r Athro Steve Blandford [sblandfo@glam.ac.uk] yn Ysgol Diwydiannau Creadigol & Diwylliannol Caerdydd, AtRIUM, Prifysgol Morgannwg, Adam Street, Caerdydd, CF24 2FN

Enw'r un sy'n cymryd rhan _____
Dyddiad _____
Llofnod _____

Enw'r Ymchwilydd _____
Dyddiad _____
Llofnod _____

Informed consent form (offline)

I agree to participate in research into audience responses to the representations of Cardiff and Wales in landmark television on BBC Wales. I understand that my participation involves taking part in a focus group interview which involves watching clips from episodes of *Doctor Who* and *Torchwood*, and then engaging in a discussion about the programme and related issues.

I agree to my responses and the findings of this research forming part of the researcher's written academic work and publications on this subject.

I understand that anonymity is assured through the use of pseudonyms in research analysis and in publications and presentation of this research.

By participating in this research I am indicating that I understand and accept the following --

- Anonymous extracts and quotes from my responses may be included in research publications such as journals, books or any other media, or may be presented orally at academic conferences. They may also be included in a report presented to BBC Wales and the BBC Audience Council.
- My participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- I may withdraw participation without explanation at any point in the carrying out and writing up of the research.
- My identity will be kept anonymous in the printed research and all identifying information will be changed to protect me.
- I will be assigned a pseudonym which will remain constant throughout the research.
- I am under no obligation to answer any questions I do not wish to, and may omit answering without explanation.
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Name of participant _____
Date _____
Signature _____

Name of researcher _____
Date _____
Signature _____

Ffurflen Cydsyniad Gwybodus (all-lein)

Rwy'n cytuno i gymryd rhan mewn ymchwil ymateb cynulleidfa am y modd y caiff Caerdydd a Chymru eu cynrychioli ar deledu nodedig ar BBC Wales. Rwy'n gwybod y bydd hyn yn golygu fy mod i'n cymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliad grŵp ffocws sy'n golygu gwylio clipiau o benodau *Doctor Who* a *Torchwood*, ac yna ymuno mewn trafodaeth am y rhaglenni a materion perthynol.

Cytunaf y gall fy ymatebion a chasgliadau'r ymchwil fod yn rhan o waith ysgrifenedig academiaidd a chyhoeddiadau'r ymchwilydd ar y testun hwn.

Rwyf wedi cael sicrwydd bod y cyfan yn mynd i fod yn ddiennw oherwydd bod ffugenwau'n cael eu defnyddio ar gyfer dadansoddi'r ymchwil ac mewn cyhoeddiadau a chyflwyniadau am yr ymchwil.

Drwy gymryd rhan yn yr ymchwil rwy'n dynodi fy mod yn deall ac yn derbyn y pwyntiau canlynol: -

- Y gall detholiadau a dyfyniadau o blith fy ymatebion gael eu cynnwys mewn cyhoeddiadau ymchwil megis cyfnodolion, llyfrau neu unrhyw gyfrwng arall, neu gael eu cyflwyno'n llafar mewn cynadleddau academiaidd. Hwyrach y byddan nhw hefyd yn cael eu cyflwyno mewn adroddiad a gyflwynir i BBC Wales ac i Gyngor Cynulleidfa'r BBC.
- Bod fy ngyfraniad i'r ymchwil hwn yn gwbl wirfoddol.
- Mae'n bosib i mi dynnu'n ôl ar unrhyw adeg heb roi eglurhad yn ystod cyflawni'r gwaith ymchwil neu yn ystod ei ysgrifennu.
- Ni fydd modd i mi gael fy adnabod drwy'r ymchwil fydd yn cael ei gyhoeddi a bydd unrhyw wybodaeth fyddai'n dadlennu pwy ydw i yn cael ei newid i'm hamddiffyn.
- Byddaf yn cael ffugenw fydd yn aros yn ddigyfnawid drwy gydol yr ymchwil.
- Nid oes unrhyw orfodaeth arnaf i ateb unrhyw gwestiwn nad wyf yn dymuno ei ateb, a gallaf ddewis peidio ateb heb gynnig eglurhad.
- Bydd rhagor o wybodaeth am yr ymchwil ar gael os gofynnaf amdano.

Os bydd gen i gwestiwn moesegol am y prosiect gallaf gysylltu â'r Athro Steve Blandford [sblandfo@glam.ac.uk] yn Ysgol Diwydiannau Creadigol & Diwylliannol Caerdydd, AtRIUM, Prifysgol Morgannwg, Adam Street, Caerdydd, CF24 2FN

Enw'r un sy'n cymryd rhan _____
Dyddiad _____
Llofnod _____

Enw'r Ymchwilydd _____
Dyddiad _____
Llofnod _____