Voices from the Museum: Qualitative Research Conducted in Europe's National Museums

Jocelyn Dodd, Ceri Jones,
Andy Sawyer & Maria-Anna Tseliou

EuNaMus Report No 6

eunamus

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
European Research Area
SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
Funded under Socio-economic Sciences & Humanities

Voices from the Museum:
Qualitative Research Conducted in Europe's National Museums

(EuNaMus Report No 6)

Jocelyn Dodd, Ceri Jones, Andy Sawyer & Maria-Anna Tseliou

Linköping University Interdisciplinary Studies, No. 17
Linköping University Electronic Press
Linköping, Sweden, 2012
Report series ISSN: 1650-9625
URL: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-85228

This report has been published thanks to the support of the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for Research - Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities theme (contract nr 244305 – Project European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen). The information and views set out in this report are those of the authors only and do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of the European Union.

Cover photo: National Museums of Scotland.

Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to the museum visitors who took part in interviews, individuals who took part in the focus groups, and to the researchers involved in collecting, analysing and writing up the qualitative data for each of the six national museums.

University of the Aegean, Department of Cultural and Technology and Communication, Greece
Alexandra Bounia
Alexandra Nikiforidou
Niki Nikonanou
Aggeliki Zoumpouli
Evi-Maria Pitsiava
Maroussa Tsakogianni

University of Tartu and the Estonian National Museum, Estonia
Pille Runnel
Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt
Ergo-Hart Västrik
Paavo Kroon
Agnes Aljas
Laura Jamsja
Taavi Tatsi
Anita Püsiäinen
Anna-Stina Kangro
Kaspar Jassa

Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, UK
Jocelyn Dodd
Ceri Jones
Andy Sawyer
Maria- Anna Tseliou

University of Tartu and the Latvian Open-Air Museum, Latvia
Linda Lotiņa
Toms Ķencis

Table of contents

Notes on authors

Jocelyn Dodd, Director of Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG) and Senior Research Fellow, School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, United Kingdom. As Director of RCMG, Jocelyn is responsible for the strategic direction and development of the research centre and the delivery of externally funded team based research. Research interests include the social role and responsibility of museums, learning and learning impact, disability representation, and how challenging contemporary issues can span both learning and social role of museums and other cultural organisations. Recent publications include *Re-presenting Disability: Activism and Agency in the Museum* (2010), with Richard Sandell and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (eds), Routledge, London and New York, and 'The Generic Learning Outcomes: A Conceptual Framework for Researching Learning in Informal Learning Environments' (2009), in Vavoula, G., Pachler, N., and Kukulska-Hulme, A. (Eds.) *Researching Mobile Learning: Frameworks, methods and research designs*. Peter Lang, Oxford.

Ceri Jones, Research Associate, Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, United Kingdom. With RCMG, she has collaborated on a number of research projects exploring the learning and social role and impact of museums and other cultural organisations. Her doctoral research, *An illusion that makes the past seem real: the potential of living history for developing the historical consciousness of young people* (Leicester 2011), drew on an interest in the learning impact of museums and historic sites on visitors and the ways in which they make meaning of the past.

Andrew Sawyer, Research Associate, School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, United Kingdom. As an historian he is interested in how heritage is exploited, especially using digital technologies and the techniques of display, to bring about change, in the context of nations and identities. As a member of the EuNaMus research team at the University of Leicester, he is researching the representation of polities and peoples in national museums in Europe.

Maria-Anna Tseliou, doctoral candidate in the School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester, United Kingdom. The provisional title of her thesis is *Subverting the (hetero)normative museum*. Her general research interests are minorities and human rights' representation in museums.

Conclusions: Museum Citizens, Qualitative Research

Photo: Simon Knell

Introduction

This working paper presents the findings of qualitative research carried out by three University research teams for Work Package 6 (WP6): Museum Citizens, part of the EuNaMus project (European national museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen) at six national museums:

- Estonian National Museum (Tartu);
- Latvian Open-Air Museum (Riga);
- National History Museum (Athens, Greece);
- German Historical Museum (Berlin);
- National Museum of Ireland (Collin's Barracks branch, Dublin);
- National Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh).

Funded by the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for Research – Socio-economic sciences and Humanities theme - EuNaMus is concerned with understanding how the national museum can best aid European cohesion and confront the social issues which test European stability and unity. Within this wider programme of research, WP6 built on contextual knowledge derived from previous work packages to examine visitor experiences at national museums: to explore the understanding and use of national museums by the public, to map

public understanding of the nation and Europe in the present and to explore how visitors use the past to construct national and European identities. An integral part of the research was to explore the responses of different groups to the national museum such as minority groups as well as different types of museum visitors (national and non-national).

Three University Research teams – the University of the Aegean in Greece, University of Tartu in Estonia, and University of Leicester in the UK – worked on WP6 collaboratively to plan, collect, analyse and interpret quantitative and qualitative data from nine national museums across Europe (the six museums listed above plus the National Museum of Catalonia, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam and Nordiska Museet, Stockholm) in response to the following specific research objectives (EuNaMus undated; Bounia 2010):

O6.1: To understand how national and European identities are perceived by museum visitors;
O6.2: To provide analyses related to the forms, narrative contents and political implications of communities situated within and around the museum;
O6.3: To focus on how national, ethnic, regional, local, personal etc. imagery is connected to the creation of national and civic identities within museums;
O6.4: To explore in qualitative terms and through different methodologies the impact of museum narratives which use the past particularly with regard to the idea of citizenship in Europe.

This working paper focuses on the findings of the qualitative research. Interviews with museum visitors were carried out at six national museums (Estonia, Latvia, Greece, Germany, Ireland, Scotland) and focus groups were carried out with minority groups at four national museums (Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Scotland) to explore the meanings that participants made from national museums and the relationship with their expressions of personal, national and European identity. The interviews and focus groups from each museum were analysed and written up by the University teams which carried out the research (see Acknowledgements) and returned to the University of Leicester team, who analysed and interpreted the data across the six museums. This paper presents the key findings and conclusions from this second stage, overall analysis of the qualitative data.

Images of nation and Europe: what shaped visitor responses?

WP6: Museum Citizens took the premise that the politics of nation-building through national museums involves visitors in two ways: by representing the national past (and present), museums act as sites of identity and citizenship construction, providing 'identity frames' through which visitors can reflect on and relate their own experiences to. On the other hand, visitors actively construct and produce their own understandings and meanings around nation and citizenship which in turn 'frame' their experience of the museum. The qualitative research supported this premise, revealing that visitors' ideas of nation and Europe are shaped in the national museum by the interplay between their personal 'frames of reference' (also known as *schema*) and the way in which the museum 'frames' national history and identity through its chosen discipline, content, displays, layout, and narrative, as well as additional factors such as its size, environment and building. Visitor responses are a 'co-construction' between the way in which they 'read' the

museum – the meanings that they take from it - and their own previous knowledge, ideas and perceptions.

Visitors and their personal frames of reference

With reference to ideas of nation and European citizenship, the research for WP6 showed the following personal frames of reference to be significant for visitors:

- Knowledge and understanding about the nation, national history;
- Contemporary context including political and social events;
- Previous experiences (for example) of other countries, other national museums;
- Life experiences;
- Reason or motivation for visiting the museum;
- Personal characteristics such as age, nationality, type of visitor (national or non-national);
- Expressions of identity (for example) strongly national, European, cosmopolitan, personal, identification as a minority.

General characteristics of visitors involved in the qualitative research: WP6 aimed to include a diverse range of visitors in the qualitative research, the only stipulation was that they were over 18 years of age and two-thirds of interviews had to be carried out with visitors from the nation represented in the national museum. However, the analysis of 166 visitors taking part in interviews showed that they tended to hold the following characteristics: they were White, educated to at least degree level (or above), held typically 'white collar' jobs (professional, managerial or administrative roles) and visited museums regularly. Generally, they were 'typical' museum visitors, with conventional views about the importance of the museum and national history / identity, with a few exceptions at each museum. Carrying out the focus groups with 22 participants from minority groups was critical therefore to reaching those who do not visit museums and whose voices are often silenced in museum displays and representations.

National identity was extremely important to the majority of visitors, it was critical for creating a sense of belonging to a defined community. National identity was also important to the majority of participants in the focus groups, however it was the attitudes of the majority community (at the worst, abusive, at the least, ignorant) which excluded them from feeling part of the nation. A few visitors and minority group participants rejected or negotiated their national identity for a more radical form of identity, such as European, cosmopolitan ('global spirit'), humanist or one based on religious (Buddhist) or political (anarchist) beliefs, however it was only one to two visitors at each museum. It should be made clear that the importance attached to national identity was not necessarily related to a narrow-minded or insular viewpoint. Visitors could be well travelled and accepting of difference but still invest the utmost importance to their national identity. Other forms of identity, such as European or religious, could be held alongside national identity without conflict. Generally, identity could be described as a series of layers which visitors used to describe themselves; some imposed a hierarchy upon these layers whilst others were more vague (it was not always a straightforward question to ask about visitors' identity). Variations in visitor responses to the identity question also depended on their personal characteristics and understanding of national identity, which was shaped by collective contemporary and historical contexts as well as by personal meaning and life experiences.

Age, life experience and position in the life-course seemed to be important in shaping visitor responses to questions of identity. Older visitors talked about the importance of museums in shaping identity and communicating the value of 'learning the lessons of history' to the younger generations; several grandparents talked about bringing their grandchildren to the museum and feeling proud to tell them the history. On the other hand, younger visitors were concerned that nations could become too engrossed in their history, which would prevent them looking to the present and future – it was useful to know about the past but it was not good to dwell too much on it. Significant and life-changing events often provoked deeper reflection on identity as the following two examples show:

Tanya, a visitor to the National Museum of Scotland in her early 30s, was becoming interested in her identity as she was about to become a mother for the first time. Although born in Scotland, her father was from Northern Ireland and Tanya did not consider herself Scottish but British. However, the reality of becoming a mother and the need to pass on her heritage to her (not yet born) daughter had made her think about who she was and what it meant to be 'Scottish.' She had come to the museum to think about these issues, made more urgent by the recent majority election result of the Scottish National Party, who have long campaigned for Scottish independence. It was an issue that Tanya had never really engaged with before and she had gone to the museum looking for answers.

The focus groups with minority group participants showed the extent to which displacement from country of origin can have a significant impact on identity. Rema, an older woman who had been forced to leave Kosovo for the UK in 1999, related the constant pain and suffering she had experienced as a result of having to leave her home by force. Coming to Scotland, a country where she did not speak the language, having to leave friends and family behind (except her young sons), Rema told us how she had to work hard, three times as hard, to find acceptance in the new community who viewed her as an outsider, and to keep her own culture and language alive. Rema has worked with museums in Glasgow to develop art and textile projects which bring many different cultures together, to celebrate similarity as well as difference, and showcase the impact that diverse cultures have had on Scottish society.

Patterns of difference in how the national museum was 'read' could also be seen in responses of **national and non-national visitors**, although it was not always a straightforward distinction between the two as might be expected. Nor were non-national visitors at a disadvantage when it came to 'reading' the national museum. Some non-national visitors lived, studied or worked (or had lived, studied or worked) in the nation, or they had a family connection (spouse, parents, grandparents, ancestors) which gave them an 'insider perspective.' On the other hand, some national visitors admitted that they had a limited knowledge of their 'own' national history. Non-national visitors could also draw on experiences from outside the nation and make comparisons with other contexts in order to understand the approach of the national museum.

The 'type' of national museum

Supporting the findings from previous EuNaMus research which suggests that national museums are a 'malleable technology' (Knell, Axelsson, Eilertsen, Myrivili, Porciani, Sawyer and Watson 2012: 2), WP6 found that it was important to take into account the 'type' of national museums when analysing visitor responses. The use of the term 'type' in this study denotes the different ways in which national museums have been developed, from their choice of discipline, layout and

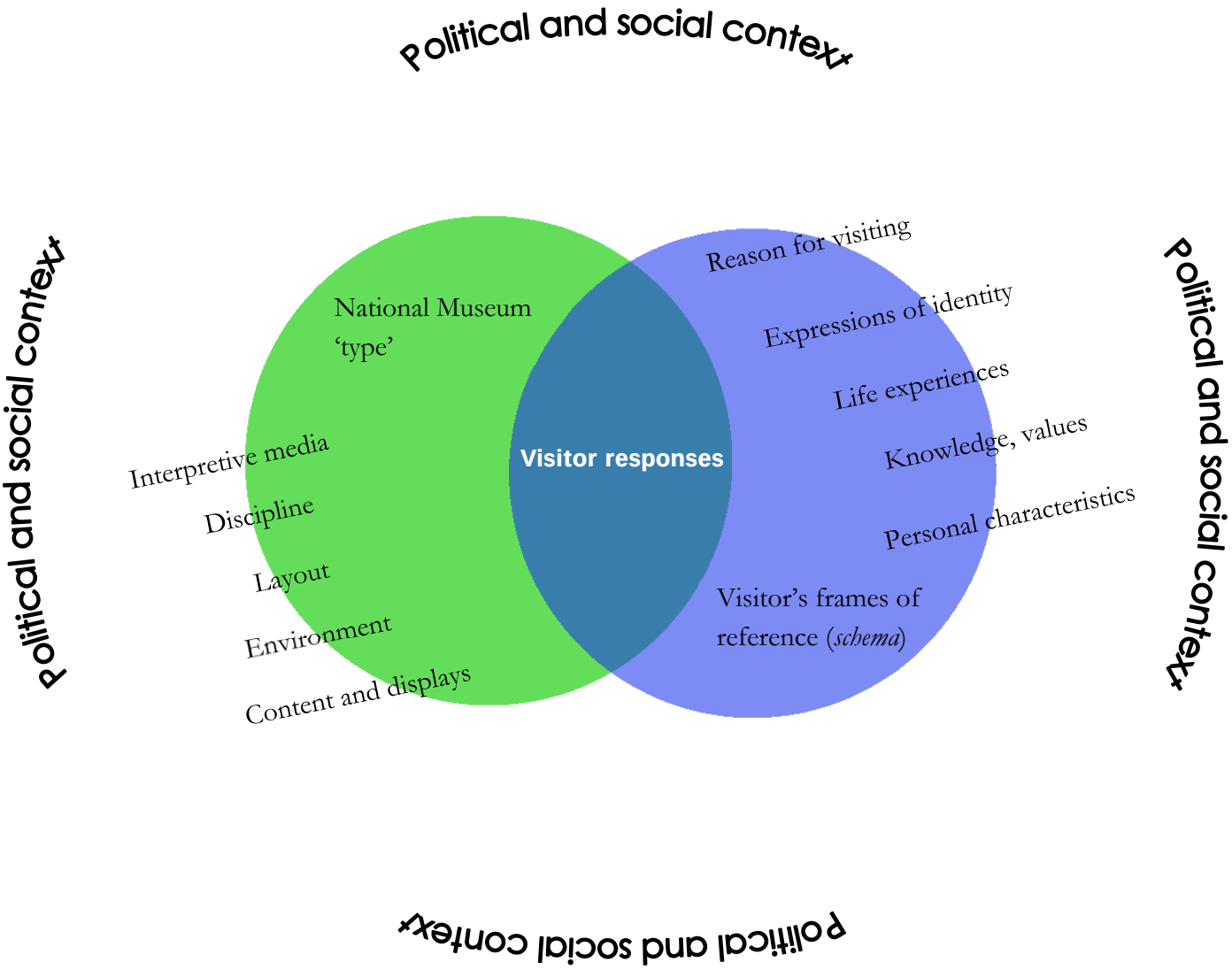
use of narrative, to the site itself, the size of the museum and its environment. Each of the six national museums were very different and there were few similarities in the way in which they addressed national identity and history. Therefore, when thinking about 'types' of national museum, the findings from WP6 suggest that it is necessary to take into account:

- Discipline (for example) history, ethnology, decorative arts, military history;
- Layout – size, visitor flow and orientation, number of exhibition spaces, thematic or chronological;
- Environment – building (modern, historical), open-air museum, city centre or other location;
- Content and displays – choices made over objects and narrative(s), thematic or chronological, objective voice, multiple perspectives etc;
- Interpretive media – how the information and content is presented to visitors, use of text, audio-visual, different media, digital technologies;
- The strength of the museum narrative and purpose – how 'prescriptive' national museums are about how they should be 'read' by visitors, how much prior knowledge is needed to understand the approach taken by the museum.

How visitors **used the national museum**, and their **reasons for visiting**, were important influences on visitor responses which could also be affected by the 'type' of museum. Very few visitors said that they had visited the museum to reflect on their national identity; instead, they were visiting with friends and family (26%), just passing by (14%) or visiting for a specific reason such as a temporary exhibition (14%). Around 11% of visitors said that they were on holiday or a tourist. Most visitors were therefore visiting for informal reasons and most expressed a sense of difficulty or challenge when asked by the researchers to think about their identity. Responses could also be affected by how much of the national museum the visitor had seen or how they had used it. Two key approaches were detected: smaller museums, such as those in Greece and Estonia, enabled visitors to look around the whole exhibition in one visit. In Greece, the clear narrative structure and ideological aims of the National History Museum were clearly reflected in visitors' answers. At the larger museums (Germany, Ireland, Scotland) visitors were much more selective in their approach. These museums invited less structured ways of looking and visitors were openly looking for objects and displays which were relevant to their own interests and experiences. These issues are fully explored in chapter four (*History, Identity and Nation in the National Museum).*

Drawing these findings together, Figure 1 provides a visual representation of the variables which were thought to be significant to visitor responses around national and European identity and citizenship. It is likely that other variables may be important and these are not meant as an exhaustive list.

Figure 1: Visitor responses as an interaction between visitors' personal frames of reference and the national museum 'type'



Key findings: Museum Citizens, Qualitative Research

Photo: National Museums of Scotland

National museums' role in shaping national identity

It emerged from the research that whilst some national (and non-national visitors) were able to make personal and collective identity connections to the national museum, these were dependent upon:

- The 'type' of museum;
- Visitor attitudes towards the role of the museum;
- Reason for visiting;
- Prior knowledge and understanding of the nation;
- Prior connections with the nation;
- Confidence using the museum.

For some (mostly) national visitors the national museum did have a significant role to play in shaping aspects of their national identity, with these visitors using the museum to think about or

reflect on aspects of their national identity. This was most prevalent in Greece and Ireland, where the respective national museums provided reassurance in a difficult political and social climate. Here, visitors were reflecting on their identity in response to external pressures. The national museum provided a space in which to place present-day problems in an historical context, to see the 'outcome' of historical struggles and problems and apply those 'lessons' to the present. In both contexts, the appealing narrative was that the nation had survived hardship before and it would survive current hardships. In Scotland too, some visitors were using the museum to reassess their national identity in a changing political climate, which had seen the election of a party that supported the independence of Scotland.

Other national visitors challenged the role of the museum in presenting national identity; rather the role of the museum was to present the history of the nation. In Scotland, for example, several national visitors commented that identity was too personal, too dynamic, even too complex to be on display in the museum. In Latvia and Estonia, the museums' focus on a particular view of national history founded in a nostalgic view of peasant and folk culture meant that visitors could make personal connections with the national past but this representation did not reflect the contemporary identity for the majority of visitors. In Germany, expressions of national identity were made problematic in light of the experiences of the twentieth century and visitors appeared to be forging a new, contemporary identity that focused on events since Reunification in the 1990s – which some visitors complained were not adequately represented in the museum.

A third response was those visitors for whom the museum did not reflect their history or identity. This included non-national visitors, who did not expect to see their identity in the museum. However, this absence from the museum was unacceptable for minority group participants who wanted to feel part of the nation but whose experiences and culture were excluded from the museum.

As this study will show it was not always possible to answer the question, how far were visitors' ideas about nation and Europe shaped by the national museum? In discussion with visitors it was not always possible to define clearly the boundaries between the ideas they 'read' from the museum and ideas they brought into the museum with them. Another way to look at this question, however, is to ask whether the six national museums challenged the ideas that visitors held about the nation and Europe. The answer to this is clearly no, the six national museums did not challenge visitors' ideas about the nation or Europe and, generally, visitors' ideas about the nation largely corresponded with what was presented in the six museums. Only a few visitors, and the minority group participants in the focus groups, noted that there was a divergence between what they considered to be important about the nation or Europe and how that was represented (or misrepresented) in the museum. These issues are explored fully in chapters four (*History, Identity and Nation in the National Museum*) and six (*Minority Group Issues*).

The role of the national museum: identity and history

A very positive finding for national museums was that most visitors and minority group participants – young and old, national and non-national, male and female – see national museums as having cultural and historical authority, and an important political role. Participants described national museums as having political gravitas, representing the nation and its history. They were a

symbol of national independence, and an important source of information about the nation and its history. Museums enabled the creation of a shared, collective identity, a place to understand 'who you are' and 'where you come from' (felt as well as learned) and shaping the ideas of present and the future citizens. Furthermore, the national museum was a showcase for the nation's treasures, to show what was important not only for the benefit of people within the nation but for visitors from outside. Very few visitors questioned the notion of the museum's authority, although some challenged the capacity of the specific museum to fulfil its role, and minority group participants challenged the museum over their absence. However, even those visitors who were not personally interested in museums or history did not deny the importance of the museum for the nation.

Visitors described the importance of knowing one's national history as part of national identity and the museum was an important source of information for that history. This 'didactic' role of the museum was important for explaining the history of the nation to visitors (from inside the nation and outside), for promoting the nation, and for educating its citizens so that they can learn from the 'lessons of the past.' This was a popular view with older visitors in particular, many of whom considered that it was the duty of the museum to 'teach' the younger generations about their history, a history that was in danger of being forgotten.

Museums provided a 'bridge' to the past through their displays of material culture and interpretive techniques which enabled an emotional or affective response to the question of national identity and history. This came out strongly in Estonia and Latvia – where it was felt that national reticence over collective expressions of identity could be expressed more effectively through art and culture – and in Greece, where an emotional response to the museum's displays was the explicit ideological project of its founders. Museums were places where visitors could seek a sense of continuity with the past, find their roots (or not if one was a minority group participant), and connect with their 'ancestors' from hundreds or thousands of years ago. For many visitors it was important for museums to preserve this past for future generations because it was in danger of being forgotten as societies change.

For the majority of visitors there was little desire to see the discussion of controversial or contested history in the national museum. Most visitors seemed to accept a positive, even celebratory concept of the nation in the museum , whilst only a minority of visitors, and participants in the focus groups, wanted the museum's perspective on national history to take account of the darker, difficult or contested issues. At the German Historical Museum, which does present the difficult history of twentieth century Germany in some depth, some visitors wanted a more positive approach to be taken based on contemporary events such as the Reunification in the 1990s.

Objects and narratives: what was significant to visitors?

Visitors were asked to think about the objects and narratives in the national museum which were of national and personal significance. For the majority of visitors it was not always straightforward to identify **objects of national significance**; personal connections were made with objects in all the national museums, except in Germany where visitors preferred to name historical periods of personal (and national) significance instead. This could be attributed to the approach taken by the museum (how objects were presented to the visitor), which highlighted the

importance of history over material culture. National connections were made most noticeably by visitors in Greece, where the museum encourages visitors to identify with the personal objects of the heroes of the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s. The museum was so successful at this that visitors talked about these objects as though they were relics. However, it was more difficult for visitors at the other five museums to identify objects of national importance; is it assumed by visitors that because they are in the national museum they are nationally significant *by virtue of being in the museum?* Therefore, visitors do not need to identify the national importance as that is made clear by the museum, leaving them to relate to the object on a personal level. Minority group participants struggled to find objects of relevance, highlighting their exclusion more generally from the national museum.

How visitors 'read' and defined what were the **significant national narratives** of the museum varied greatly depending on the 'type' of museum but with little consensus from visitors over the content of these narratives (rather than the general structure) it revealed how prior experiences and knowledge influence the experience of the museum. Referring back to the display of controversial or challenging history, most visitors 'read' the six museums very positively, suggesting that (on the whole) they celebrated the nation and its achievements. This was a contrast to how minority group participants 'read' the museum, which was largely one of silence, non-recognition and exclusion, in the past and present.

What is missing?

National and non-national, older and younger visitors struggled to think about what was missing from the museum. Most visitors assumed that the museum was complete and attempted to rationalise why some elements might be missing, for example:

- They were 'not experts' or not 'clever enough' to know what could be missing;
- They had not looked round the entire museum and so had not seen everything;
- The museum was necessarily selective and they did not expect it to show everything about the nation.

A small number of visitors suggested that both content and interpretive methods were missing from the museum (this was not always national visitors and some non-national visitors were very perceptive in their responses). Missing content included contemporary political and social events, specific minority groups, urbanisation and impact of urban life, the lives of 'ordinary people' and the working classes, and folk life. Some visitors requested that the museum could have a wider range of interpretive methods, particularly more interactive media. However, it needs to be stressed that this was a very small minority of visitors. The focus group with minority participants highlighted the extent to which the national museums were excluding the history and contribution of minority groups to the nation, and revealed a discernible dissonance between the majority of visitor's views and the views of minority groups.

Ideas of Europe

With the priority placed on national identity by most participants in the research, European identity or citizenship was another layer of identity which co-existed alongside, but very rarely superseding, national identity. Visitors revealed a range of attitudes towards European identity,

ranging from an integral part of identity to simply being born in Europe, and towards the European Union. In discussions, visitors did not always clearly distinguish between identity and citizenship, and Europe as a landmass as opposed to the European Union. However, they tended to express their sense of European identity and citizenship in two ways:

> **European identity**: a shared sense of belonging with other people in Europe based on place, cultural and/or historical similarities.
>
> **European citizenship**: a sense of belonging to the EU as a political community and general agreement with its policies (for example) of open borders, freedom of travel, and employment opportunities.

National museums did not appear to impact very much upon visitor perceptions of Europe, which tended to be shaped by a range of variables. Visitors' personal attachment to, and experience of, Europe was an important element in their attitudes towards Europe and the EU. Some of these attitudes appeared to be cultural, for example the scepticism towards the EU demonstrated by British visitors was a common feature across the museums. A small number of participants had a very strong sense of European identity, which could co-exist with national identity even if national identity was prioritised (these two identities did not have to be mutually exclusive). Most participants were ambivalent or uncertain about their European identity; for many, their national identity was dominant and European identity seemed to compete with this or was not 'felt' very strongly. The third group were openly sceptical or hostile towards Europe and the EU, considering that European identity was too abstract a concept (national identity was better understood, more 'real', more bounded), European culture was too diverse or too different to feel an affinity with, and several non-European visitors talked about having an international or global perspective which is outside of, or bigger than Europe. The national museum could be used to refine, reinforce or support these ideas but did not appear to actively *shape* views on Europe – the following variables appeared to be important:

Place in Europe: Visitors from nations on the periphery of Europe (Scotland, Ireland, Latvia, Estonia) tended to be more ambivalent towards Europe and the benefits of the EU. Those from Germany (close to the centre of Europe) and Greece (whose ancient civilisation was seen by visitors as the foundation of modern Western civilisation) appeared to feel more of an affinity with Europe and were more likely to highlight the importance of their European identity.

Contemporary political events: The economic crisis in Greece and Ireland affected visitor comments, for instance scepticism about the Euro, and growing confidence about independence in Scotland meant that 'European' could be a political affiliation, chosen instead of 'British.'

Visitor demographics: older visitors tended to be more critical of the EU, particularly older men from Britain and Ireland. Younger visitors were more likely to accept the EU and make use of its benefits such as the freedom to travel and work. There was little consensus from minority group participants over Europe; for some it created another barrier towards belonging (Sylvain) but it can also secure rights (Peter).

Having accounted for the variables which appeared to influence visitors' attitudes towards Europe, how did they describe what it meant to be European and part of the EU?

Cultural, social and historic unity: Visitors described how they were geographically part of Europe, joined together by culture, society and history. They described how similarities could be seen across Europe in terms of its laws, social values and rights, its art and handicrafts, its buildings and material culture. There was a 'way of being' that was reflected in a European mentality, a culture that was recognisably different to 'Others' who did not share those traits (such as people in the USA, China and India). However, Europe was also a very diverse place and some visitors felt a greater affinity with some parts of Europe compared to others.

Contemporary aspects of being European: Visitors described the positive aspects of living in the European Union. The social and economic policies of the EU provided open borders which enabled freedom of travel, opportunities for trade and employment. It had established a system of common values and rights for all European citizens (including immigrants), and ensured peace and security in contrast to the horrors of the previous century. Several visitors commented how the EU enabled a good standard of living, which had helped to bring countries like Ireland out of poverty.

Negative aspects, dissenting voices: In contrast to the positive aspects of being in Europe, some visitors suggested that the adoption of a European identity and the policies of the EU were a threat to national identity and distinctiveness. Open borders could be a threat as well as an opportunity and, in particular, the on-going economic crisis presented a threat to national sovereignty. For some visitors the notion of a European identity was too abstract or was imposed from above and meant very little to them. Euro-scepticism came especially from older, male, British and Irish participants who described how they were disillusioned by (perceived) bureaucracy and interference by the elite in Brussels and the domination of France and Germany in European affairs.

Representation of Europe in the national museum

With the majority of museum visitors placing a priority on their national identity, it was the role of the museum (in their opinion) to represent national history and identity. Whilst connections could be made with Europe – and some visitors identified that connections were made between the nation and Europe through the historical, political, cultural and economic spheres – few visitors were openly seeking these connections to be made. Some commented that they had not noticed any connections made between the nation and Europe because they had not been looking for them. Some visitors (national and non-national) would accept greater links being made with Europe if these were relevant to the history of the nation, placed it in a wider context, or enhanced or helped to explain national history or identity in greater detail. However, most visitors (national and non-national) were resistant to greater links being made with Europe in the national museum for several reasons:

- There was the anxiety that a greater focus on Europe would erode national identity or reduce the impact of the national story;
- National museums should be about distinctiveness, not about similarities with the rest of Europe;
- A small number of visitors were concerned that the EU would *force* museums to become more European in outlook or would become propaganda for the EU;

- Connections with other nations were stronger than with Europe, for example the Baltic nations share a history and culture with other, post-Soviet nations, and Ireland and Scotland have an international, rather than European, diaspora;
- Non-European visitors wanted international as well as European connections to be made;
- Links with Europe were too controversial to show in the museum (in the light of contemporary circumstances).

Generally, few visitors welcomed a greater focus on European history or identity in the national museum unless it enhanced what was already on display. Some visitors suggested that a separate museum could be built to explore the European dimension.

The experience of minority groups and the national museum

Collectively, minority groups form a substantial section of the European population however this research revealed that their experiences are absent from national museums and their lives and experiences are excluded from representations of national history and identity. This is despite minority groups being a constant presence in the history of all six nations.

Focus groups with minority groups were held at four of the case study museums, Estonia, Greece, Ireland and Scotland. Twenty-two people participated, some from Europe and some from outside of Europe, but all lived in the nation represented in the museum. The experiences of the minorities involved in the focus groups varied considerably, but together they shared many views about their identity and the role of national museums in providing representation and recognition. This contrasted with the views of museum visitors, most of whom seemed unaware of the existence or the need for the inclusion of minorities in the national museum.

Many people from minority groups do not visit museums; some had experience of working with museums (in Scotland and Ireland) but most were unaware of the connections that could be made between the museum and their lives. Walking around the museums participants saw elements of history and objects which had connections to their lives and culture, but even where museums did represent minority groups (Scotland) participants suggested that much more could be done to represent them as part of the nation's past, present and future. Because most minority participants had been excluded from the mainstream elements of society, they expected not to be represented in the national museum, and for many participants in the focus groups, this turned out to be the case.

Personal and national identity was especially complex and important to minorities because they were constantly negotiating their relationship with the dominant culture, which at worst abused them, at best represented them to a limited extent in the national museum. Most participants had a very strong sense of identity, based on specific roots, culture or ethic group, although these were rarely valued by the wider community. Many experienced exclusion and lack of understanding on a day-to-day basis in their lives. Some minorities found that their identity was 'between two worlds' and without acceptance from either of these 'worlds,' they could become even more isolated. European identity therefore could create another layer of exclusion for non-European minorities in this respect; however, as a citizen, the EU could provide essential rights such as right to remain in the nation if their child has a national passport (Ireland). The minority groups interviewed at the four museums wanted to be recognised and their contribution

to the nation (and to Europe) acknowledged publicly, including in national museums. Most of them agreed that national museums were significant institutions for presenting the real diversity of nations, conveying the lives and experiences of minority groups throughout history as well as in the present, and for passing on heritage and roots to younger generations. Participants wanted to be represented for who they are and be recognised for the contribution they make. They wanted to be able to take their families to the museum and show them that contribution.

A Call for Action

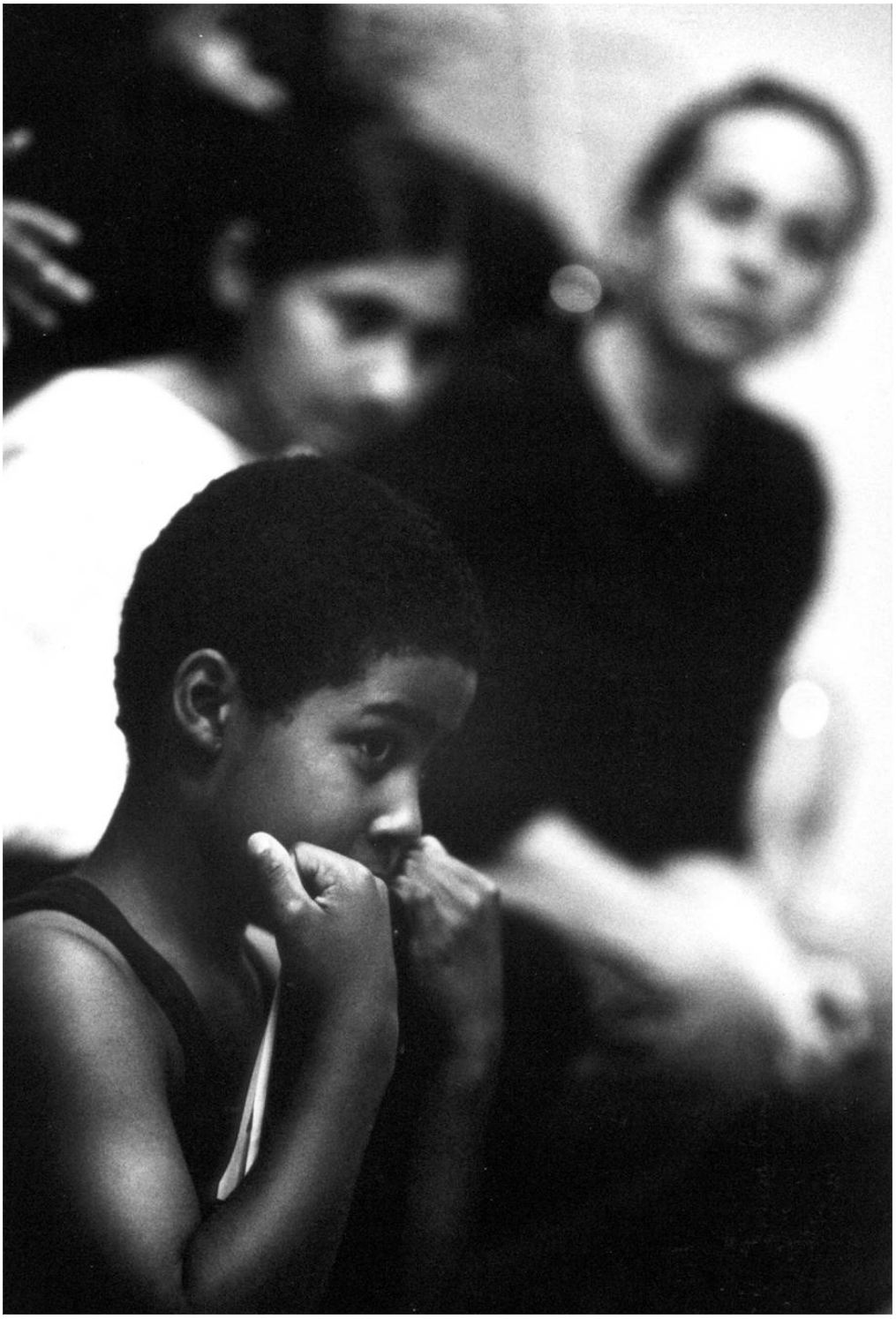


Photo: Julian Anderson

In the conclusion, we have highlighted the key findings from the qualitative research carried out with visitors and minority group participants at six national museums. However, what do these conclusions mean for national museums? Here, we outline what we think national museums should do to resolve some of the issues raised in the research, a call for action which will stimulate thinking about the role and purpose of national museums in the twenty-first century.

Evolving national and European identity

Visitors' personal and national identity was evolving and complex. How visitors defined their European identity and how it fitted in with other aspects of their identity could not be assumed. European identity could not simply be 'bolted on.' Visitors have a view on the nation and Europe prior to their museum visit, they use the museum to reinforce or support these existing views. However, the type of museum, its content, layout interpretation and mode of display, does have an impact on how these views are 'constructed.'

There is evidence that people feel European, but not as strongly as national identity. The political context of the research was critical for understanding visitor reflections on Europe and, specifically, the on-going economic crisis may have strengthened negative attitudes towards the EU.

A sense of belonging, the need to feel part of 'something bigger,' seemed to be an important part of national identity for most visitors and minority groups. National museums could support or reinforce a sense of belonging, but only for those who already belonged to the nation. Those participants who were excluded from the national story had a stronger need to feel a sense of belonging. The national museums in this study could do much more to represent, and reflect on, contemporary national issues and identities which would enable *everyone* in the nation to feel included.

- What is the purpose of the national museum in relation to national identities? How well do museums communicate that purpose?
- How tacit or explicit are the messages museums give visitors about national identity?
- Identity is complex, evolving, and dynamic. How much potential do national museums have to be part of this active open-ended process?

The inclusive national museum

Minority group participants wanted national museums to be more political, more conscious of the current context and to actively stop excluding them. Acknowledging diversity and multiculturalism in the museum can work towards creating more inclusive societies. Minorities are part of every European country; collectively they are a substantial section of the European population. They are subject to exclusion in multiple ways.

Minority issues are not generally significant to museum visitors, and they are not well represented in national museums. The way national and European identity is constructed by the majority is exclusive.

- Should national museums challenge the attitudes of the majority as well as including minorities?

- How far could national museums go in building more equitable and inclusive societies? How politically conscious are they about shaping the nation? Is it ethical for national museums to continue to passively exclude?

Can national museums shape visitors' thinking about the nation and Europe?

Visitors and minority groups had a view on the nation and its history, with varying levels of knowledge, understanding and expertise. However, there was a shared sense of continuity and community: individuals belong to a *nation* and this gives them a sense of commonality (even purpose) with the people they share the boundaries of that nation.

Visitors make meaning in the museums, both from the museum and from their prior knowledge experiences and values, and they will all do this in different ways. Whatever national museums do, visitors will co-construct ideas around the nation and identity.

- Museums are seen as authoritative institutions, they educate people about history– could they be more actively engaged in wider societal discussions about national and European identity, in the past, today, and in the future?

Whilst the museum's role in representing Europe appeared to be of limited value to visitors in this study, they are powerful places and could be used to engage visitors in the 'European story' (and whether there is one) and discussions about what it means to be European.

- How can museums engage citizens in European dialogue for the mutual understanding and a shared view on the past, present and future of Europe? Does the development of the EU, especially in preserving peace in Europe, present the foundations for developing a shared sense of belonging?
- Do national museums need to 'unpack' what being European means in the national context? Is there a difference between how it is framed as either 'identity' or 'citizenship?'
- How does the EU define citizenship? Would a sense of belonging that was multivalent and based on shared values, rights and responsibilities be wide ranging enough?

Dialogue for shared and mutual understanding

If museums are to address contemporary issues and identities, then providing opportunities for dialogue is critical. Visitors could be invited to reflect on, for example, what it means to be Irish in the twenty-first century or what it means to be a Russian speaker in Estonia. Multiple viewpoints would be represented.

By focusing on culture, values and sense of place, national museums are well placed to promote mutual understanding and a shared view on the past, present and future of Europe. However, this has to be done in a way that does not create new boundaries for exclusion.

Dialogue would enable museums to explore what terms such as 'diversity' mean in the European context. Evidence in this study shows that to visitors, diversity is a term that is used widely; however, in a European context it could refer simply to 'national diversity.' The EU has adopted the motto of 'United in Diversity' which means that 'via the EU, Europeans are united in working together for peace and prosperity, and that the many different cultures, traditions and languages in Europe are a positive asset for the continent,' (EU, 2012). In a human rights

context, diversity is a wide-ranging concept including age, gender, race, disability, sexuality, and religion. Real, shared mutual understanding can only be achieved through keeping diversity as open as possible. This open-ness to the concept needs to be shared by citizens and demonstrated in significant, valued institutions like museums.

Peter, a participant in the focus group in Ireland, referred to the role of the Irish state in perpetuating exclusion of minority groups and the promotion of an exclusive Irish identity. He pointed out how the government did not provide any model of an inclusive society or face up to the changing society of Ireland as it becomes more multicultural. Peter spoke of the power of the EU in forcing Ireland to confront its increasing diversity, for example by protecting the rights of immigrants with children who are born in Ireland and have Irish passports. More than other visitors, minority group participants like Peter recognised the power of the museum as a national symbol, they are influential and valued by their visitors. Visitors do notice the values that they are exuding, particularly when they are excluded.

- Can national museums do more to explore terms such as diversity and inclusion?

The value of museums to visitors and minority groups presents a real opportunity for national museums to contribute towards the creation of more open and equitable societies. Returning to the original aims of WP6: Museum Citizens, EuNaMus asks:

> How is the national museum seen from the citizen's perspective? Is it too imbued with establishment to be a reflection of the modern, diverse, nation? How do individuals use national museums to construct themselves, their nationalism and their European identities? Do they understand how museums construct 'Others' (in terms of ethnicity, social character, gender, age, etc) and how this impacts upon their sense of community? How do European citizens use museums to develop a sense of their European selves and a shared view on the past, present and future of Europe? (EuNaMus undated: 19).

This report answers some of those questions. In response, national museums need to be more conscious of unheard voices and experiences and be aware that national and European identity is continually evolving, fluid and dynamic. The challenge for museums is to embrace these elements, and to become places of dialogue and inclusion which enhance national and European understanding. National museums are valued as important and authoritative institutions by their visitors, and museums need to harness this authority responsibly and proactively.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to the research study

This report focuses on the views of 166 national museum visitors and 22 invited participants from minority groups held at six national museums across Europe in 2011. These museums were:

- The Estonian National Museum, Tartu
- Latvian Open-Air Museum, near Riga
- German Historical Museum, Berlin
- National History Museum, Athens
- National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks branch), Dublin
- National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

The research took place in a specific context in Europe, in a fast changing political situation following the impact of a global financial crisis on European economies, which resulted in a sovereign debt crisis in Greece, Ireland and Portugal. Within this context, many questions were being asked of the EU and its policies, particularly as the repercussions of the crisis, such as the drive towards 'austerity' in government spending, decline in jobs (especially in the public sector) and cuts in working hours, state benefits and welfare, came to be felt in the lives of the nations' populations. Museums in Greece were particularly affected by the resulting social unrest and demonstrations in Athens against government cuts, which prolonged the period necessary for collecting the qualitative data due to a sharp decline in visitors. Table1 gives a timeline of when the data collection took place at the six national museums and some of the key events taking place at the time in Europe.

Table 1: Data collection at the six museums mapped against significant European events in the research period

	2010	2011											
	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
National Museum of Scotland interviews (pilot)													
Social unrest and demonstrations in Greece over government and EU response to debt crisis													
Sovereign debt crisis in Ireland - bailed out by the EU and IMF													
Estonia joins the Eurozone													
Scottish National Party wins majority in the Scottish Parliament elections													
National Museum of Scotland interviews and focus group													

National Museum of Ireland - interviews and focus group													
Estonian National Museum interviews and focus group													
Latvian Open-Air Museum interviews													
National History Museum (Athens) interviews and focus group													
German Historical Museum interviews													

The centrality of the visitor voice: new and innovative research into European national museums

This is new research with very few precedents, offering new insights and perspectives into how visitors across Europe express ideas of national identity, history and Europe:

> The distinguishing feature of WP6… is to gain some understanding of the citizen's values and perspectives and by these means understand the actual social relevance of, and possibilities for, representations of the past in museums (EuNaMus undated: 18).

Significantly, it includes the voice of minority group participants, an alternative perspective on the national museum which is very often absent in the visitor studies literature. Here, the visitor is the focus, a complement to the fine-grained academic research of the earlier EuNaMus work packages, and which shows the impact that national museums are having on their audiences. Along with the other work packages, this research can provide a powerful and holistic view of the national museum: how it is 'produced' and how it is received by its audiences (refer to EuNaMus *Annex 1 Final 091125* for details of the other work packages).

This research is situated in a specific time and place, the responses and experiences of visitors and minority group participants first in late 2010 (the pilot study) and then throughout the Summer, Autumn and Winter of 2011. The political, social and economic context was very particular to this time and framed visitor responses, however the themes which they discuss resonate across wider themes relevant to nation, identity, history and Europe, and the role that national museums can play in the development of these ideas. It is not only a novel approach for museum research, many visitors commented on the opportunity they had to express their views on topics which they might not otherwise discuss in their 'everyday life.' For example, some visitors remarked that they had not previously reflected on their national or European identity, and seemed pleased to have the opportunity to discuss these ideas.

Values underpinning this research follow the credibility attached to the voice of the museum visitor as established in visitor studies research in the museum field, and the importance of individual experiences in qualitative research more generally (e.g. sociology, education, psychology). As sites which construct representations of identity and citizenship, national

museums reflect particular ideologies, practices and ways of thinking (Pearce, 1992). Museums are necessarily selective, and have to make decisions, 'about what to display and what not to display and, more fundamentally, which general and specific themes, topics and messages the museum will attempt to convey through its exhibitions' (Liddiard, 2004: 15). However, these decisions and selections are rarely made clear to visitors, who are often regarded as 'passive consumers' of museum exhibitions and displays. Mark O'Neill of Glasgow Life (formerly of Glasgow Museums) coined the term 'good enough' visitor to describe how critics of museums often claim that museums have had to lower their intellectual standards (or 'dumb down') their displays and exhibitions to reach particular kinds of audiences. O'Neill uses the example of art museums, where critics of the more populist approach in Glasgow (which placed art within a social and historical context) seemed to suggest, 'that anyone who enjoyed these exhibitions is somehow not a "good enough" person to be in an art gallery' (O'Neill, 2002: 32). The museum (and the researcher) therefore may have a particular idea about what visitors should take from the exhibits and displays, however, visitors have their own agendas and motivations for visiting museums. Research suggests that visitors are active 'meaning makers' or 'knowledge-producers:' their responses are shaped by their prior knowledge and understanding of these issues, as well as associated ideas and assumptions that they (consciously and unconsciously) bring into the museum with them (see Falk and Dierking 1992, 2000; Hein 1998; Hooper-Greenhill 1992, 1994).

This research is innovative: it breaks new ground. Museum visitor research often focuses on visitor segmentation and motivation, or on the effectiveness of specific galleries or exhibitions. This research sets out to explore how visitors use museums in order to construct their own particular identities, their national identity and contribute these identities to the European dialogue for a mutual understanding and a shared view on the past, present and future of Europe.

A note on the use of the word *museum*

This working paper supports the view from EuNaMus that there is no one model for the national museum in Europe. *Crossing Borders: Connecting European Identities in Museums and Online* describes the national museum as a 'malleable technology… not a singular instrument to be adopted and applied but rather an institution that is made to bend to national and local needs' (Knell, Axelsson, Eilertsen, Myrivili, Porciani, Sawyer and Watson 2012: 2). Similarly, from the perspective of the visitor the museum is a flexible construct, encompassing all the elements which they encountered during their visit. This may include permanent and temporary exhibitions, lectures, events and other associated activities. As suggested in the research of Falk and Dierking (1992), every activity connected with the museum visit - from exploring the collections to the seemingly banal aspects such as travelling to and from the museum and buying a souvenir in the shop - are interconnected in visitors' minds. The activities that visitors take part in, the parts of the museum that they encounter, therefore, makes up the 'museum.'

The layout of this report

Work Package 6 *Museum Citizens* involved the collection of quantitative and qualitative data from nine case study museums. This report focuses on the six qualitative research case studies carried out and analysed by the three University research teams. This report presents the secondary

analysis of the research material in the following chapters (the primary analysis was prepared by the three research teams in six separate reports):

Conclusions and A Call for Action draw together the significant findings for the report and looks at the implications of these findings for national museums.

Chapter 1 - Introduction to the Research Study gives an overview of the research objectives and questions which framed the qualitative research, and brief details of the research methods used to collect the data.

Chapter 2 - Context for the Data Collection provides the context of national identity, history and museum development which are relevant to the six national museums. It provides the specific context for each of the six museums and the characteristics of the participants in the interviews and focus groups.

Chapter 3 - Visitors and their Identity explores how participants expressed their personal views of identity and the priority attached to national and European notions of citizenship.

Chapter 4 - History, Identity and Nation in the National Museum looks at the interplay between the participants and the themes of nation, identity and history in the museum. What was the role of the national museum from the participants' perspective? How did the national museum help participants to define their identity and what objects or narratives were important in this process? What was missing from the museum in the opinion of participants?

Chapter 5 - Ideas of Europe explores the ways in which Europe and European identity are discussed and articulated by research participants, highlighting cultural patterns across the six museums. What did the concept of 'Europe' and 'European identity' mean for participants in the research?

Chapter 6 - Minority Group Issues looks specifically at issues emerging from focus groups held at four national museums with participants from minority groups, whose voices are often absent from visitor studies.

The research process

This section gives an overview of the practical elements of the qualitative research design, which includes:

- The research questions and objectives;
- The reasons for choosing the six case study sites;
- Research methods used;
- Ethical issues and procedures;
- Data collection;
- Analysis and interpretation.

The research questions and objectives

The overall purpose of WP6 was to explore visitor experiences at national museums, paying particular attention to:

- public understanding of the nation and Europe in the present;
- how national museums contribute to the idea of the citizen in the nation and in Europe;
- how visitors use the past to construct national and European identities;

- how different groups respond to these ideas, taking into account various events and developments that have altered the perception of Europe.

The key constituents for the research were museum audiences to European national museums and minority groups living in European nations. Important issues for this work package included:

- whether and how European citizens understand the nation represented in the National museum;
- how visitors understand and appreciate representations of a common European identity;
- how visitors understand the museum construction of the "Other" (in terms of ethnicity, social character, gender, age, etc) and how this impacts upon their sense of community;
- how European citizens use museums in order to construct their own particular identities and contribute these identities to the European dialogue for a mutual understanding and a shared view on the past, present and future of Europe.

The research conducted for WP6 was framed by four, specific research objectives, which, for the purposes of clarity, were reshaped into four research questions. These are presented in Table 2 and will be referred to in the subsequent analysis chapters.

Table 2: Research objectives and questions for WP6 (EuNaMus undated: 35-36)

	Research objective	**Research question**
06.1	To understand how national and European identities are perceived by museum visitors	How do museums help people to understand national identity? • What other identities do museums help people to express?
06.2	To provide analyses related to the forms, narrative contents and political implications of communities situated within and around the museum	How does the museum help people to define their national identity? • Is there a particular object or story (narrative)? • Are the origin stories of different communities represented in the museum? • Is there a difference between official narratives and community / group narratives?
06.3	To focus on how national, ethnic, regional, local personal etc. imagery is connected to the creation of national and civic identities within museums	How do people prioritise their identities? • Does the museum reflect these priorities?
06.4	To explore in qualitative terms and through different methodologies the impact of museum narratives which use the past particularly with regard to the idea of citizenship in Europe	How does the museum narrative present the idea of European citizenship?

A qualitative research design

WP6 took a mixed methods approach to data generation: this report focuses on the qualitative research element. Qualitative research was expected to give in-depth data about the responses of museum audiences, and minority groups, to the themes of WP6. As Mason (2002) describes, qualitative research attempts to understand the interpretations and meanings that people make about the world and their experiences, as far as possible, from their perspective. Primarily it is concerned with how people experience their lives, how they describe their thoughts, feelings, action and behaviour. Most qualitative research starts from the premise that individuals and groups construct their own 'reality', that people are, 'conscious, purposive actors who have ideas about their world and attach meaning to what is going on around them. In particular, their behaviour depends crucially on those ideas and meanings' (Robson 2002: 24).

Qualitative researchers tend to take a holistic approach to the research issue or question by combining several methods to fully understand a situation, ensuring the inclusion of multiple perspectives and voices. In this way, researchers seek to understand the interconnection between different variables or elements of a phenomena or research interest. Qualitative research usually takes place 'in the field' or at the site of the phenomenon which researchers seek to understand, with the intention of them getting to know, as far as possible, the context within which their potential research participants operate.

There is an ethical dimension to qualitative research which places an emphasis on the inclusion of perspectives and voices that might otherwise be silenced, neglected or overlooked. For WP6 it was important to include the voices of museum audiences and minority groups and enable them to express their views freely in response to the research themes without judgement from the researchers, in order to understand as accurately as possible the connections that these different constituents make between identity, history and the national museum. In this light, throughout WP6 it was paramount that researchers paid attention to what visitors had to say about their experiences.

A workshop was held in the National Museum in Tartu, Estonia on 25 and 26 February 2011 as part of the early research process. During this workshop was discussed and finalised:

- The quantitative and qualitative methodologies of data collection;
- To agree the selection of case-studies;
- To create a community of practice amongst the three University research teams.

Choosing the case study sites

Nine museums across Europe were chosen as case study sites to carry out the research for WP6. Qualitative research was carried out at six of these museums. Table 3 shows the museums allocated to each of the University research teams. Quantitative data was collected at an additional three museums: the National Museum of Catalonia (Aegean); Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Leicester); and Nordiska Museet, Stockholm (Tartu).

Table 3: Finalised qualitative case studies

Aegean	Leicester	Tartu
National History Museum (Athens)	National Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh)	Estonian National Museum (Tartu)
German Historical Museum (Berlin)	National Museum of Ireland (Collin's Barracks branch, Dublin)	Latvian Open-Air Museum (Riga)

The case study museums were selected to give a range of museums across Europe. Other considerations included:

- Contextual information emerging from previous Work Packages 2 and 3;
- A geographical mix;
- Range of types of national museums;
- Practical issues such as language.

The National Museum of Scotland was chosen to be the site for a pilot of the research methods, which took place in December 2010. After this pilot, the data collection process was refined and several changes were made both to the content of the research protocol, and the logistics of data collection.

Research methods

Interviews were chosen as the principle research method for collecting data from European museum visitors. This enabled the meaning of visitor's comments to be probed and discussed further; also they were logistically practical and fitted in with museum visits. Focus groups were selected for minority groups, as participants were likely to be less confident and potentially intimidated by individual interviews. Focus groups also enabled specific issues emerging from the findings of the visitor research to be explored. Researchers used literature research, observation and reflection to ensure a thorough understanding of the research context.

Prior communication was made with museum staff in order to establish and facilitate the collection of data at each of the six national museums. This included the arrangement of a suitable research period, the use of the site for interviews and focus groups, and the potential contacts for minority groups. However, with the exception of the Estonian National Museum, no museum staff were involved in the actual collection and analysis of the data.

Interviews with museum visitors took place within the national museum within designated research periods. Researchers approached museum visitors as they entered, and as they exited, the national museum and asked if they would like to take part in an interview. For each case study site, the following targets for interviews were agreed between the University partners:

- A minimum of twenty and a maximum of thirty questionnaires would be carried out with museum visitors;
- The majority of interviews (two-thirds) would take place with national visitors to the museum, the remainder with visitors from outside the nation;
- Participants should be over eighteen years of age.

Interviews were semi-structured and questions were framed around the research questions for WP6 (see Appendix 1 for the interview protocol). Interviews lasted, on average, between 25-30 minutes and were digitally recorded for the purposes of accurate transcription. Researchers were advised to utilise a quiet space within the museum for that purpose. It was the task of researchers to ensure that they carried out interviews with as diverse a range of visitors as possible, within the framework established above. Some challenges to carrying out interviews included:

- Visitors who did not have the researcher's language as their first language;
- Lack of time or interest from visitors to be included within the research;
- Events outside the researchers' control - for example weather, social unrest and public holidays - which influenced the number and type of visitors to the museum during the research period.

The second element to the qualitative research was the capturing of minority group views on national museums, identity and European citizenship. Individuals from minority groups were identified with the assistance of the national museum and were recruited to participate in a focus group discussion. Tours of the national museum were provided beforehand to familiarise those participants who had not previously visited the museum. A suggested protocol for the focus groups (piloted at the National Museum of Scotland, see Appendix 1) was structured around themes emerging from the visitor interviews as well as the research questions and aims for WP6.

For each case study site, the following targets were agreed by the University partners:

- Each research team would carry out up to two focus groups with different minority groups (where possible);
- Each focus group would last a maximum of one hour;
- Participants over eighteen years of age, belonging to a recognised minority group, would be invited to take part.

Each University team carried out at least one focus group. Table 4 shows the focus groups that were carried out by each of the University research teams at the corresponding case study site.

Table 4: Focus groups carried out with minority groups for each case study site

University	Case study site	Minority group participants
Leicester	Edinburgh	British Minority Ethnic (BME)
	Dublin	Minority Ethnic and economic migrants
Aegean	Athens	Roma
Tartu	Estonia	Russian-language

Challenges to holding the focus groups included:

- A lack of precedents in holding focus groups with minority groups at the case study museums;
- Recruiting participants, especially when museums did not have established relationships with minority groups
- Establishing and maintaining contact with participants "at a distance."

For the purposes of analysis, researchers were encouraged to keep their own notes and observations of the process of data collection. Researchers were also asked to reflect on the interviews and focus groups which they had taken part in. The specific conditions for the data collection at each case study museum is elaborated upon in the second chapter in this report, *Context for the Data Collection.*

Ethical issues and procedures

When generating data, it was critical to ensure that all research was carried out fairly and ethically. Researchers for WP6 were given a clear, accountable framework of research ethics to operate within to ensure that the findings of the research were credible and reliable. The procedure included:

- Being professional at all times;
- Clearly communicating the purpose, and needs, of the research to participants;
- Ensuring that all activity was linked to the overall research purpose (for transparency);
- Ensuring that informed consent was obtained from all participants, and they were not pressured, coerced or manipulated into taking part;
- Using information sheets and consent forms to obtain and document informed consent from participants;
- Protecting participants and researchers from possible risk or danger;
- Taking care to understand the background of participants and to anticipate any issues with the research methods or the content of the questions so that any concerns would be addressed appropriately;
- Ensuring the confidentiality of research participants e.g. by not using full names or any information which could identify that visitor to a third party;
- Informing participants that they could withdraw from the research process if they changed their minds about their involvement.

To ensure confidentiality, participants are referred to by their first names only in this report. All EU FP7 projects undergo an ethics review process and the following guidelines from the EU provided a backdrop to the research:

- Pauwels, E. (2007) *Ethics for Researchers: Facilitating Research Excellence in FP7*, Brussels, European Commission, ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/fp7/docs/ethics-for-researchers.pdf
- http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ethics-ict_en.html
- http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ethics_en.html

A further model of ethical practice was the University of Leicester's Research Code of Conduct at http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice.

Analysis and interpretation

Once the data had been collected, it was the responsibility of the University research teams to prepare the first stage of the analysis and interpretation of the material. This involved:

- Transcription of all interviews and focus groups;
- Translation of interviews and focus groups into English (where appropriate);
- Analysis and interpretation of case study material;
- Writing up of analysis for the University of Leicester following a standard report template adapted from the pilot study with the National Museum of Scotland.

In their report to Leicester, the University research teams were asked to include along with their analysis, brief contextual information about:

- The national museum (case study site);
- The historical and political context for the nation;
- Ideas about national identity and how it might be perceived in popular culture.

A second workshop was held at the University of Leicester on 8 and 9 November 2011 as part of the process of analysis and interpretation to collectively analyse, and explore, the research material following themes identified in the first-stage analysis. This workshop resulted in detailed notes which were used in the second stage analysis of the research material. A preliminary version of the qualitative report was written by the University of Leicester research team in March 2012 (Jocelyn Dodd, Ceri Jones, Andy Sawyer, and Maria-Anna Tseliou) drawing on reports that were prepared for each of the case study sites. A conference 'Museum Citizens: National Museums and the European Citizen' held in Athens, April 25-27 2012 raised additional issues for the research team which were incorporated into this final working paper of July 2012.

CHAPTER 2

Context for the Data Collection

Photo: Andrew Sawyer

Introduction

A framing issue for WP6 was how different groups respond to the themes of national identity and European citizenship in national museums, taking into account various events and developments that have altered the perception of Europe (political, e.g. fall of the Eastern bloc; economic, e.g. challenging period for European countries; social, e.g. migration, population diversification, representation of different groups).

The history of the six case study sites – Estonia, Latvia, Greece, Germany, Ireland and Scotland – represent different locations in Europe and spheres of influence. From Ireland and Scotland at the very western edges of Europe, separated, even isolated, from the European mainland, to Germany at the very centre of Europe, both physically and historically. From Greece, the 'cradle' of European civilisation that lies on the border between East and West, to Latvia and Estonia in the Baltic region in the far North-Eastern reaches of Europe. Relevant to the development of national identity in these six nations has been the role of the national museum, their roots in the collecting activities of the ruling, upper or elite classes, which, upon independence, formed the basis of an emerging national collective consciousness. By embedding the national museums and their visitors in the wider historical context, it helps to highlight, even explain some of the differences in the ways that visitors express both personal and collective ideas of national identity at each of the six museums.

This chapter looks at the context for the qualitative data collection at each of the six case study museums. It provides an overview of the six nations which acted as the case studies for the qualitative research; their characteristics, an overview of the collective national consciousness, and the historical context in which the nations were formed. This includes an overview of the current political and social context at the time of the research, which is likely to have impacted upon the discussions of the visitors at each of the museums. Within that historical context is an overview of the development of national museums in each nation. This is followed by specific information about each of the six national museums and an overview of visitor characteristics. It takes into account that the audience for each museum had particular characteristics but that we can also draw some general characteristics from the data, which suggest some common or shared patterns of visiting museums across Europe. Contextual information will be given for each of the six national museum sites, describing the key features of the museum, the characteristics of those involved in interviews and focus groups.

National context: the six case study nations

The following section presents a brief overview of the historical context of the six nations involved in the qualitative research; amongst other references, it draws on the appropriate chapters of EuNaMus Report No. 1 (Aronsson and Elgenius 2011).

Estonia and Latvia: post-Soviet nations

Estonia and Latvia are relatively small countries in the Baltic region of North-Eastern Europe, post-Soviet nations which regained independence in 1991 following the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Republic of Latvia is bordered to the north by Estonia and to the south by Lithuania with a coastline on the Baltic Sea. It is made up of four historic regions - Kurzeme, Zemgale,

Latgale and Vidzeme - and the capital is Riga. Estonia borders onto the Baltic Sea to the West and North and the Gulf of Finland, bringing contact with Central Europe and Scandinavia. To the east, Lake Peipsi forms a natural border with Slav and Finnic territory. To the south, there is a land border with Latvia (Raun 2001). The historic division of the former Baltic provinces into two distinct areas in Estonia created the rivalry between the two cities of Tartu (formerly Dorpat) in the south of Estonia, the intellectual hub and location of the University of Tartu and Estonian National Museum, and Tallinn (formerly Reval) in the north, the capital city. Estonia is the smaller of the two countries with a population of 1,316,541 (Statistics Estonia 2012), compared to Latvia's population of 2,070,371 (Latvijas Statistika 2012). Their nearest, and largest, neighbour, Russia (by comparison) has a population of 138, 739, 892 (CIA 2012).

Historically, both countries have been dominated by others. In the thirteenth century, the Baltic Germans established their rule following crusades to 'Christianize' the region, followed by the vying for control of the area between Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Poland in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During this time, the Estonian and Latvian people were kept in a state of serfdom until their emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century. Independence from the Russian Empire after the First World War was disrupted by the illegal invasion of the Soviet Union in 1940, only to be occupied by the Nazis before their defeat by the Red Army in 1944. Reoccupied by Soviet Union, Estonia and Latvia did not regain their independence until the collapse of the USSR in the 1980s and the declaration of the Republics of Estonia and Latvia in 1991. During the occupation there was much disruption, repression and denial of the national identity, culture and self-determination of the Estonian and Latvian people, which has meant that the national, ethnic identity has looked to the peasant culture and 'folk memory' of the past for its inspiration. This is reflected in the collections of the Estonian National Museum and Latvian Open-Air Museum (see Kuutma 2011; Ķencis and Kuutma 2011).

Germany: at the centre of Europe

At the centre of Europe physically, Germany's recent history has also been at the centre of international events, which have left an indelible mark on the landscape and population movements of Europe (Smith 2011). One of the six founding nations in the moves towards European co-operation and enterprise after World War II, Germany is now one of Europe's most populated countries with a population of 81, 768, 000 (Statistische Ämter 2012).

In comparison with other Western European countries, Germany went through the process of national awakening and nation building rather belatedly and regional, communal, and even trans-national networks have contributed to the shaping of German identity (Aronsson and Bentz 2011). However, the experience of nation building in Germany suggests that 'although integrative in intent, nationalism was also a divisive force' (Smith 2011: 9), characterised by imperial and territorial ambitions in the nineteenth century. Combined with the national, political and ideological antagonisms of the twentieth century, this played a crucial role in the outburst of two World Wars. The aftermath of 1945, with Germany divided between the Soviet Union in the East and a federal government in the West, however saw, 'a rapid move from a historical culture dominated by pride in German culture and its societal manifestations, to one of repugnance and public guilt' (Aronsson and Bentz 2011: 330). It was not until the 1960s that Germany could start to confront its past (Smith 2011: 19) and German politics since Reunification in 1990 have been

determined by 'the urge not to repeat the mishaps of a strong national ideology' (Aronsson and Bentz 2011: 328). One consequence is an unprecedented reflexivity about nation, nationalism and national identity in Germany, although recent history remains, 'an object of unusually fierce and highly political conflicts over public memory' (Smith 2011: 17). Generally, however, Germany wants to be viewed as a tolerant nation, with its citizens displaying, 'a popular embrace of the civic work of a society that, for all its deficiencies, has become, according to historian H.W. Smith, tolerant of difference, sensitive to the disparities in life chances, and cognizant of its new role in Europe and the world' (Smith 2011: 21).

Greece: where East meets West

The Hellenic Republic, to give Greece its official name, is a parliamentary republic officially declared in 1832 after gaining independence from the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Greece consists of 13 regions and covers a landmass of 51,146 square miles, and in 2011 was estimated to have a population of 11, 309, 885 (Eurostat 2012). It is in South-East Europe, on the southern end of the Balkan Peninsula, strategically located between three continents; Europe, East Asia and Africa (across the sea to the south). To the north are the Balkan countries of Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria (Thomopoulos 2012).

The Greek nation has a heritage of Orthodox Christianity and Ottoman rule, and a pattern of historical development and society which has created a mixture of identities, including Balkan, Mediterranean and European (Clogg 2002, 1992). Gazi suggests that there are three distinct elements dominant in the Greek national consciousness: the connection with classical antiquity; the Byzantium legacy; and folk life, culture and tradition, all of which suggest an 'unbroken continuity of the nation down the centuries' (Gazi 2011: 363). These patterns of significance can be seen in Greek national history where it is suggested that the ancient Greek civilisation did not disappear, instead it continued, albeit in a different form. The strength of the idea of continuity with an ancient Hellenic past has never really been challenged, surviving the turbulence of the twentieth century, including WWI, WW2, and the Greek Civil War. The political and social context for Greek national identity is changing rapidly again with the economic problems of the Greek government and tension over the Euro, which has been felt severely in society with loss of jobs and decline in quality of life, leading to riots, social unrest and demonstrations against the government and EU.

Ireland and Scotland: island nations on the edge of Europe

Scotland and the Republic of Ireland, or Éire, are island nations on the edge of Europe, bordered on the West by the Atlantic Ocean. Scotland is the larger nation, with a population of 5,222,000 (Office for National Statistics 2011). Scotland is the only nation in this study that has not achieved full independence, being part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK), which has a total population of 62,262,000. Ireland's population currently stands at 4,581,269, with recent population increases having reversed the steady decline of previous decades (Am Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh 2011).

Ireland's history is one of colonisation, a contested history depending on the attitude towards the Viking, Anglo-Norman and British rulers. In particular, the more traditional national historiography sees Ireland as, 'subject to endless (mis)rule and interference by English powers'

(Sawyer 2011: 439), based on the notion of a Celtic 'golden age' which was disrupted by Viking and Anglo-Norman invasion and followed by the trauma and oppression of British rule until Ireland's independence in the twentieth century. However, this perspective often neglects Irish involvement in the British Empire and the development of a distinct Anglo-Irish culture (Sawyer 2011). Today, Ireland remains a largely Catholic country where the slow acceptance of secularisation and a more liberal approach exists at the same time as a desire for conservatism and a return to the 'certainties' of traditional Ireland. O'Mahony and Delanty describe Ireland as a society that is, 'accommodating itself if somewhat uneasily to social change whilst seeking to create a new cultural nation-code extending beyond existing institutional frameworks' (quoted in Sawyer 2011: 441). In particular, for a country known for its emigration around the world, Irish society is having to adapt to arrival of immigrants through its membership of the EU and global changes which affect local conditions. Emigration and the Irish diaspora are significant themes in Irish history. It is estimated (although contested) that there might be 70 million people of Irish descent around the world, and at least 3 million of these hold Irish passports. The arrival of immigrants *to* Ireland however has implications for its traditional narrative of Irish identity, coupled with more complex and nuanced approaches to its history since the 1930s, which have sought to understand the turbulent aftermath of the struggle for independence. However, it has been suggested that the Irish have deliberately cultivated (and continue to), a celebratory national identity, emphasising the rural landscape, Irish pubs and the 'Craic' above a more complex version of their history (Sawyer 2011). The recent global downturn and depression in the Irish economy, which experienced an inflated property boom or bubble, is likely to have a continuing impact on the Irish identity, in the reality of an increasingly multicultural society.

Nationalist Scottish historiography, like Ireland, emphasises the conflict between England and Scotland as the larger nation sought to dominate the smaller. Views of Scottish identity, however, are contested between a nation that lost its identity under British rule (whilst other smaller European nations were finding theirs) or that it retained its political identity, albeit a Scottish identity *within* Great Britain (Watson 2011: 751). After the Act of Union between Scotland and England in 1707, it is argued that Scotland 'suffered from what has been termed the "cultural cringe," an "inferiority complex" which it is claimed is the consequence of its cultural subordination to England' (McLean and Cooke 2003: 113). However, Watson (2011) suggests that many people in Scotland were satisfied and even took pride in their role in the British Empire and the industrial revolution. Whilst many of the outward symbols and structures of Scottish identity were repressed after a failed Jacobite Rebellion in1745, these symbols of Scottish identity were to re-emerge in the nineteenth century. Artists and writers glorified the landscape and people of Scotland, giving rise to the romantic 'Highland myth' and glossing over fundamental social and economic changes which removed many Scottish people from the land (Pringle 1988). This myth, however, endures and can be glimpsed in the rather stereotypical view of Scottish national identity, widely (and perhaps cynically) promoted by the tourist industry, which consists of, 'tartan, whiskey, castles, Bonnie Prince Charlie and Culloden, Highland mountain scenery, and the Braveheart factor of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce' (McLean and Cooke 2003: 114).

Support for an independent Scottish state has grown from the second half of the twentieth century. Watson (2011) suggests that 'Scottish exceptionalism' and civic nationalism are at the

foundation of calls for independence, implying that the Scots are different to the English and Welsh, having a distinctive language, history and culture, and common citizenship of that community. According to McLean and Cooke (2003) greater national, and political, assertiveness in Scotland can also be connected to a wider, global surge in nationalism. Calls for independence have so far culminated in the restoration of the Scottish Parliament in 1998, following a referendum under the New Labour government in 1997, and national elections in May 2011 returned the first majority government since the restoration of Parliament of the Scottish National Party under Alex Salmond, a party that campaigns for independence from the English government.

Historical context of European national museums: from colonialism and conflict to co-operation

Europe's history is marked by population movements, settlement, consolidation into communities, territorial control and conflict for power and influence on a local, regional, inter-state and (eventually) global level. Whilst the concept of the nation has existed for many centuries, it was not until the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the consolidation of people (nation) and government (state) became the dominant political organisation in Europe. The conditions for the development of the nation, although not inevitable, included rapid industrialisation and urbanisation from the eighteenth century, which stimulated the growth of an educated, literate 'middle class', bourgeoisie or intelligentsia, whose values and ideals came to articulate a form of national consciousness that proved a powerful force for both consolidation and expansion. The six countries of our study – Estonia, Latvia, Greece, Germany, Ireland and Scotland – developed in different contexts which shaped their expression of national identity, however by couching their histories in the context of Europe, wider social and political changes that helped to shape local, regional and national expressions of identity can also be highlighted. As with the previous section, the description here draws on EuNaMus Report No. 1 (Aronsson and Elgenius 2011) along with other references.

Economic and social development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the result of agricultural and industrial revolutions, brought about new internal divisions to the six European countries, but also gave greater impetus in the development towards national unification. These developments led to the beginnings of a massive population increases and shifts from the country to urban areas, which continued into the nineteenth century, and the emergence of a literate and wealthy, middle or bourgeoisie class, the catalyst for new values and ideals in the political, social and cultural spheres. The period was characterised by an increasingly global outlook by Western European nations such as Britain, France and Spain as they sought to extend their influence, fuelled by the acquisition of colonies overseas and the growth of the slave trade. However, this also led to widespread conflict in Europe. Not all those who inhabited the six countries shared in these developments equally. In particular, the Baltic region retained the traditional, feudal hierarchy of lands worked in exchange by peasants for service to the Baltic German landowners until the mid-nineteenth century, making it difficult for the native population to advance. Similarly in Ireland, life for most of the native population consisted of subsistence farming and poverty.

The emergence of a collective national consciousness in the six nations increasingly found its expression in the nineteenth century. The 'nation' itself was a concept that conflated two separate entities, the state and the nation. The state comprised the institutions and laws, the notion of citizenship defining the relationship between the individual and the state, as, 'an attachment to the state as the supreme focus of collective loyalty, identity and the common good' (Stapleton 2005: 152). The nation was the community of people who share common attributes such as language, history, folk culture, values, territory (Lowenthal 1998). The history of that community therefore often provided continuity for, what was, a relatively recent construction: 'The link with the distinctive pre-modern past serves to dignify the nation as well as explain its mores and character' (Smith 1992: 62). In the forms of nationalism that emerged in this period, most evidently in Germany, the state and the nation became inextricably entwined: 'they were destined for each other; that either without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy' (Gellner 2010: 68). The concept of the nation-state is fundamentally social and cultural, referring to, as Smith suggests, a 'cultural and political bond which unites in a community of prestige all those who share the same myths, memories, symbols and traditions' (Smith 1992: 61-62). Smith goes on to explain that through these symbols and traditions, the links with a community of origin are 'continually reshaped as popular "ethno-history," are re-forged and disseminated' (Smith 1992: 62). The histories of the six nations can show how national ideas and identities are shaped, changed and reinforced within a specific historical context.

That history begins in the early nineteenth century when The War of Independence (1821-1828) led to the emergence of the Greek state in 1830, with the support and protection of the 'Great Powers' (Britain, France and Russia). In the years between 1843 and the First World War, major attempts were made to reform the state, reorganise the economy and modernise its institutions, as different factions struggled for power of the new state. By contrast, the other five nations in this study obtained their independence much later (and Scotland remains part of the UK). Germany's development into a nation-state came at a time of empires: of international perspectives, territorial expansion and empire building by the 'Great Powers' of Europe (Smith 2011). The conditions of unification of Germany in 1871 had particular implications which contributed to the development of a particular *German national consciousness*, in particular the adoption of values which were inherently masculine, imbued with ideas of patriotism, war and male sacrifice (Aronsson and Bentz 2011: 330). Yet from 1870-1914 most Germans saw little revolution or conflict, experiencing the 'new national state as a framework for continual improvement in the material quality of life' (Smith 2011: 12). It was a period of German ascendancy in education, science and the arts.

The aftermath of the First World War saw national ambitions realised for Latvia, Estonia and Ireland. A 'National Awakening' in the Baltic region from the mid-nineteenth century onwards led to a growing interest in Estonian and Latvian ethnic identity, and the study of Baltic history, art, nature, technology, society, and culture in its own right. The emancipation of serfdom at the same time contributed to a burgeoning national consciousness. Eventually it became connected to political, as well as cultural, independence, as the Russian Empire came under pressure following the Revolutions in 1905 and 1917 (Kuutma 2011: 233). In 1918, the independent Republics of Estonia and Latvia were declared and consolidated in 1920. Similarly, in Ireland the end of the nineteenth century saw the 'Gaelic Revival,' which celebrated Ireland's Celtic past as a

golden age, felt in all aspects of culture, literature and art. This Revival became connected with movements towards independence as nationalist leaders adopted it as a glimpse of a 'real' or 'true' Ireland away from British interference. In Scotland too, the late nineteenth century saw increasing calls and agitation for political representation and 'Home Rule' (a Home Rule Bill was passed through Parliament in1914 but was dropped on the advent of war). The 'Easter Rising' of 24-30 April 1916 was a significant step towards a free Irish Republic, followed by the War of Independence (1919-1921), which was ended when the British agreed to an Irish Parliament, although demanding the north-east of Ireland remain separate in the subsequent Anglo-Irish Treaty. The establishment of a free Irish state was marked by the subsequent Civil War (1922-23) between those who supported and opposed the Treaty, which ended in a victory for the pro-Treaty side. However, the conflict led to a legacy of division and bitterness, which continues to be felt in Ireland today.

Defeated in the First World War, Germany however did not lose according to H.W. Smith, 'its historic sense that its real empire lay in the east, and that such an empire was based – so the assumption went – on the alleged cultural superiority of the Germans' (Smith 2011: 17). A period of liberal democracy under the Weimar Republic gave way to the National Socialist government in 1933, which quickly revived nationalist and imperialist ambitions. The Second World War had a profound impact on the six European nations in terms of the displacement of populations and social groups, transfers, expulsions and emigrations, and the costs of war, famine, disease, and the Holocaust. Heavy losses were inflicted on the economies of Europe, most of the infrastructure and industry was destroyed. The US Marshall Plan supported the rebuilding of a shattered Europe, but East Germany, Latvia and Estonia came under the influence of the Soviet Union. In the aftermath of 1945, Germany lost its sovereignty and its territorial and imperial ambitions, a significant shift compared to the aftermath of WWI.

In 1949, the Council of Europe was founded by ten European states (Belgium, Denmark, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom) to encourage co-operation and prevent another war in Europe. It came at a time of Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West. This was followed by economic co-operation when France, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands created the European Economic Community (EEC) or 'common market' in 1957: the UK and Ireland joined in 1973. Greece joined the EEC in 1981, following a new constitution in 1975 which restored republican democracy following a period of military government. For the Soviet nations, the thawing of the Cold War in the 1970s and Gorbachev's policy of *Glasnost* in the 1980s led to increasing dissident and civic movements in East Germany and the Baltic region calling for independence and democratic government. In particular the period between 1987 and 1991 has been dubbed the 'Singing Revolution' in Estonia for its non-violent methods of revolution, including the Baltic Way or Chain in 1989 which saw 2 million people in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania join hands to commemorate the illegal occupation by the Soviet Union (Kuttma 2011; Ķencis and Kuutma 2011). In 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, followed the reunification of Germany in 1990 and in 1991, Estonia and Latvia proclaimed their independence. Several years later, Scotland would regain some of its independence as a nation *within* Britain. In 1979, a referendum on Home Rule for Scotland had been rejected; however, a new referendum in September 1997 resulted in a 74.3%

majority in favour and the 1998 Scotland Act established the first independent Scottish parliament since 1707.

The twenty-first century has seen the co-operation of the European Community extended to a common currency, the Euro, and the admittance of new member states including Estonia and Latvia in 2004. However, by 2008 the impact of a global financial crisis triggered in the USA has been felt severely in Europe, particularly in Greece and Ireland, whose economies have suffered from rising government debt levels and have required 'bailouts' to prevent the collapse of member economies. In Greece, the impact has led to strikes, social unrest and demonstrations as the nation is asked to accept draconian austerity measures from the EU. In Ireland, where much of the recent building and employment boom was the result of EU funding, the collapse of several state banks had resulted in economic crisis. Many nations are also facing challenges as they become more pluralistic, multicultural societies, with migration both a legacy of the aftermath of the Second World War and EU policies which encourage economic migration. Europe is therefore a shifting context which continues to influence the expressions of national identity in the six nations.

Having examined the historical context of the six nations involved in the study, this section now turns to a discussion of the research participants at each of the six museums.

Six national museums: an overview of participant characteristics

Photo: Simon Knell

One hundred and eighty-eight (188) individuals and six national museums were involved in the qualitative research. The national museums were:

- The Estonian National Museum in Tartu, with its largely ethnographic collections of Estonian folk and peasant culture;
- The Latvian Open-Air Museum near Riga, with its ethnographic collections of Latvian buildings and folk culture;
- The German Historical Museum in Berlin covering the history of the German nation from prehistory to the reunification of Germany in the 1990s;
- The National History Museum in Athens which looks at the history of Greek Independence from the conflicts in the nineteenth century to the Second World War;
- The National Museum of Ireland and its Collins Barracks branch, covering collections of Decorative Arts and Irish military and political history;
- The National Museum of Scotland, which traces the history of the Scottish nation from prehistory to the present day.

One hundred and sixty-six (166) museum visitors agreed to take part in interviews during their visit to the national museum and twenty-two (22) participants were invited to take part in focus groups at four of the museums (Greece, Estonia, Ireland and Scotland). Of the one hundred and sixty-six (166) visitors selecting to take part in interviews, eighty-eight (88) visitors took part in individual interviews and seventy-eight (78) visitors were interviewed in pairs or small groups.

Table 5 shows the distribution of participants across the six case study sites (full data for each of the national museums are included in Appendix 2). Participants can be categorised as members of three distinct groups:

- Museum visitors born or living in the nation (national visitors);
- Museum visitors born and visiting from outside the nation (non-national visitors);
- Members of minority groups living in Estonia, Greece, Scotland and Ireland (minority group participants).

Table 5: Distribution of participants for each of the case study museums

Museum	Estonia	Latvia	Greece	Germany	Ireland	Scotland	Total
All Museum Visitors	25	20	29	25	28	39	166
National visitors	15	17	22	17	16	21	108
Non-national visitors	10	3	7	8	12	18	58
Minority groups	5	0	5	0	7	5	22

Visitor characteristics: national and non-national visitors

Researchers purposefully targeted two-thirds national visitors and one-third non-national visitors at each museum following the experience of the pilot study in Scotland. Of 166 participants in interviews, the majority (108, 65.1%) were either born in, identified with, or had dual citizenship

with, the nation represented by the national museum. Throughout this report, these visitors will be referred to as national visitors.

The remaining 58 (34.9%) museum visitors came from outside the nation, and are categorised as non-national visitors. Of the non-national visitors, 46 (79.3%) were from or were living in Europe, and 12 (20.7%) were from or living outside of Europe.

Note: There was not always a simple distinction between national and non-national visitors. Non-national visitors were not only 'tourists' visiting on holiday but some had family connections with the nation (e.g. husband or wife, grandparents, historical roots), had migrated for political or economic reasons, or were students residing in the nation whilst at college or University. Similarly, national visitors were not always resident in their place of birth and could be 'tourists' in their own nation, for example if they were living, working or studying elsewhere.

Table 6 provides a breakdown of the distribution of national and non-national visitors at the six national museums. The national museum with the highest proportion of national visitors taking part in interviews (relative to non-national visitors) was Latvia (85%), followed by Greece (76%), Germany (68%), Estonia (60%), Ireland (57%) and Scotland (54%).

Table 6: Distribution of national and non-national visitors across the six national museums

Museum	Estonia	Latvia	Greece	Germany	Ireland	Scotland
National visitors	15	17	22	17	16	21
Non-national visitors	10	3	7	8	12	18
Total	25	20	29	25	28	39

Non-national visitors came from other nations in Europe and from outside Europe. Table 7 shows that visitors from outside Europe took part in interviews in Ireland, Germany and Scotland. For the remaining three museums, all non-national visitors were from Europe.

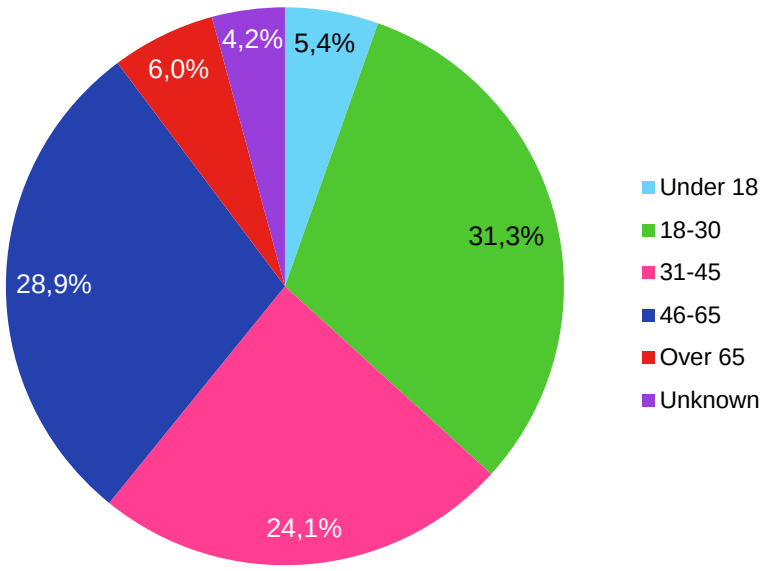
Table 7: National identity of non-national visitors at the six national museums

Museum	Estonia	Latvia	Greece	Germany	Ireland	Scotland
From Europe	10	3	7	5	4	17
From outside Europe	0	0	0	3	8	1
Total	10	3	7	8	12	18

Visitor characteristics: age and gender

More women took part in interviews than men 57.2% (95) women compared to 42.8% (71) men. The largest proportion of visitors were aged 18-30 years (52, 31.3%); most visitors were in the 'middle-age' bracket, and were aged between 31-65 (88, 53%). Figure 1 shows the distribution of age across all the interview participants.

Figure 1: Age distribution of interview participants

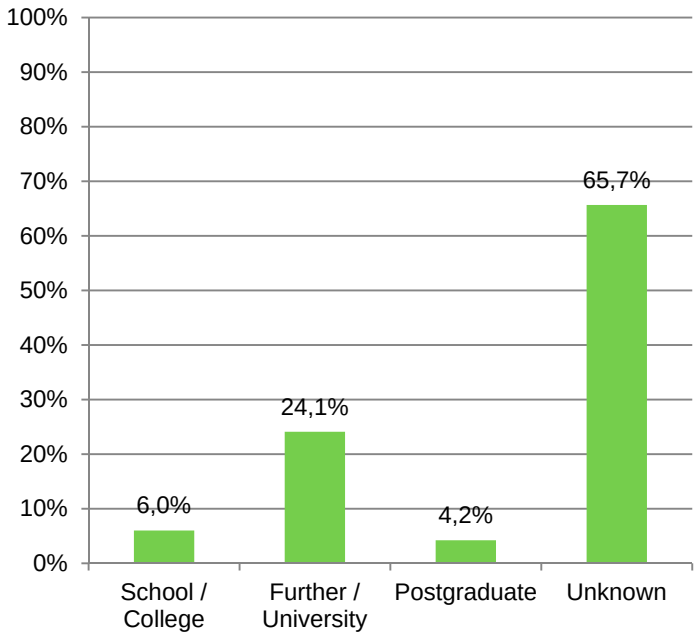


N=166

Visitor characteristics: education and employment

Researchers collected information from 128 (77.1%) visitors about their profession and education status. Fifty-seven participants (34.3%, 57), gave an indication of their education status, for which Figure 2 provides an overview. Of these, the largest proportion (40 out of the 57) of participants were educated to 'Higher' or University level (24.1% of the 166 visitors).

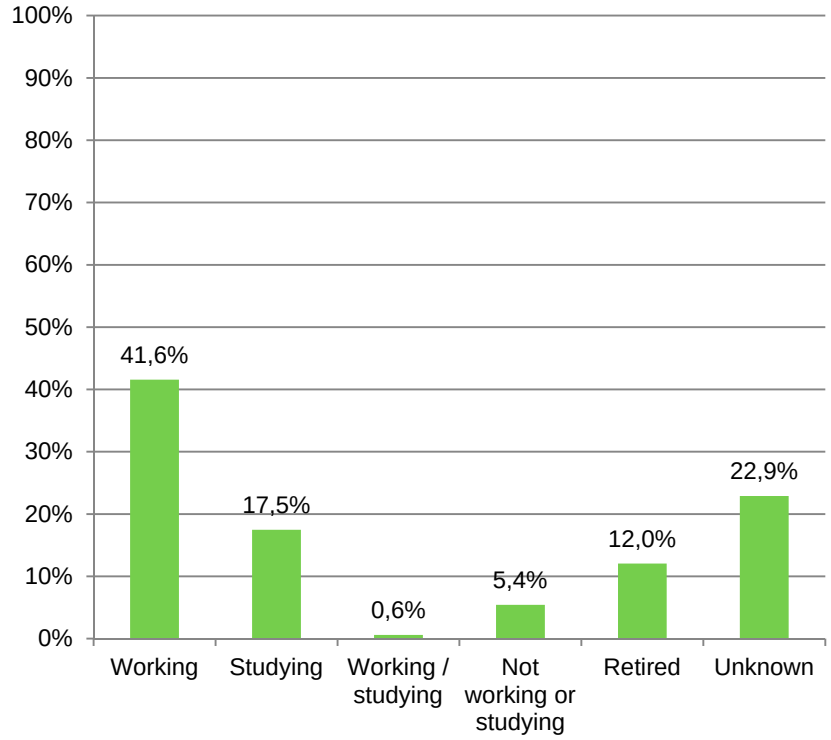
Figure 2: Education status of interview participants



N=166

Figure 3 gives an overview of the employment status of the166 participants. Most visitors were either working, or studying or both (59.6%). A further 12.0% of visitors were retired, and 5.4% of visitors were not working or studying (reasons given included homelessness, and youth group of young people not in employment or training due to particular challenges in their lives).

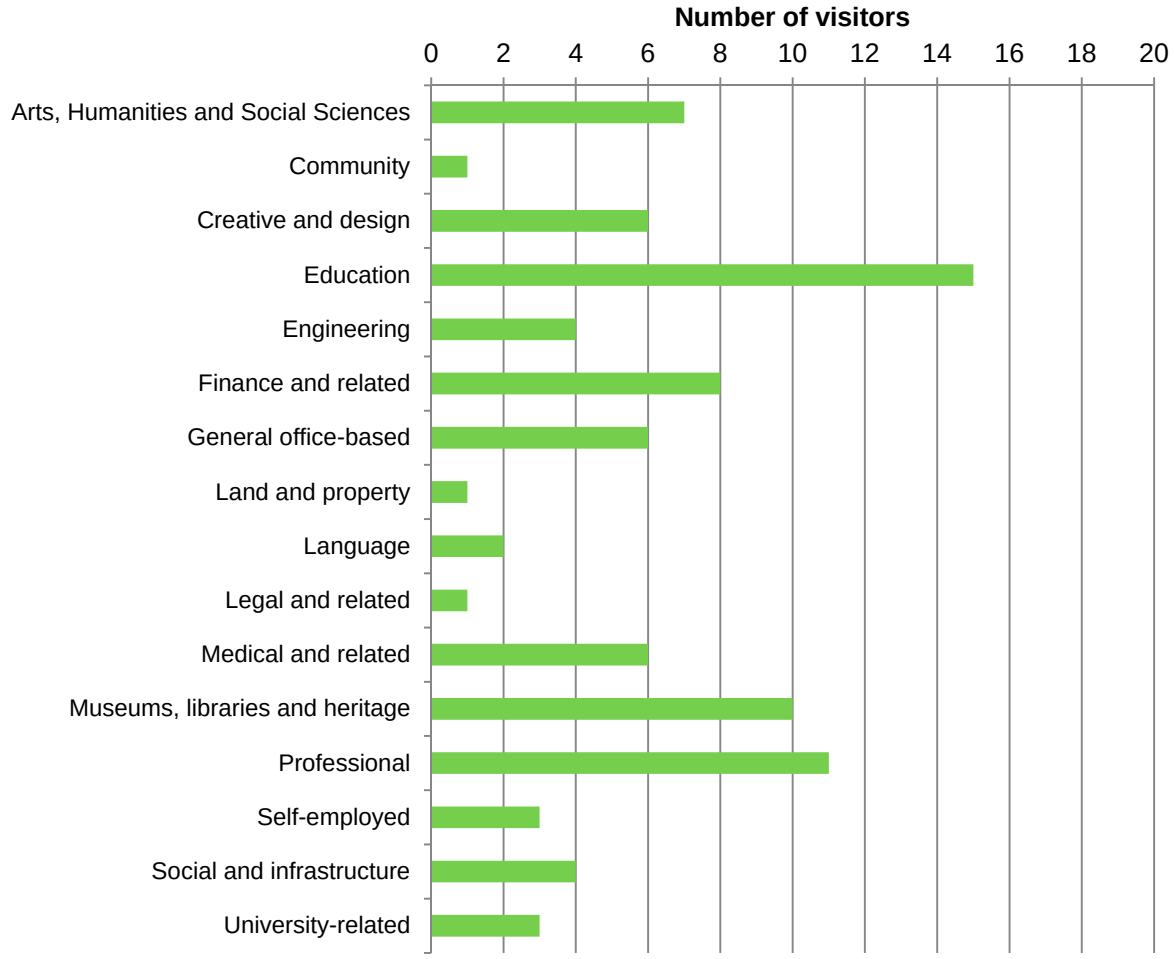
Figure 3: Employment status of interview participants



N=166

Eight-eight (88, 53.0%) visitors gave information about their profession and training. This information was coded into different categories (see Appendix 2, table A2.2 for how the jobs were categorised). Figure 4 shows that visitors represented a range of professions which were not dominant in one type of sector. The list of professions provided by visitors suggests that many more would need to have studied in further or higher education to work in their specific areas than suggested by Figure 2.

Figure 4: Types of employment reported by 88 visitors to the six museums



N=88

Visitor characteristics: Minority group participants

Representatives of minority groups were invited to take part in focus groups at four museums (Scotland, Ireland, Estonia and Greece), and 22 participants were involved. Of these participants, the majority (16) were woman and six (6) were men. A range of ages from 16 to over 65 was represented but participants (like museum visitors) tended to be middle-aged (16 participants were aged between 31-65). Thirteen (13) participants were born in Europe, and came from Romania, England, Kosovo, Estonia, and Greece. Nine (9) participants were born outside Europe in Russia, Pakistan, Africa (Senegal, Nigeria), Taiwan and Canada. Four of the focus group participants were studying at school or college, and two had been to University. One participant had studied at postgraduate level. Participants were working in a variety of jobs which are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Types of employment reported by minority group participants

Category	Job type
Community	New Communities Partnership (for immigrant groups) Race equality and social justice Social Services (City Council) Local authority (Roma)
Art, creative and design	Media (running a television programme) Government Art programmes Artist, musician and counsellor
Finance	Bank (retired)
Museums, libraries and heritage	Museum staff (x2)
Medical and related	Student Nurse
Legal and related	Trainee Solicitor
Law enforcement and security	Security
Hair and beauty	Beautician

Experiences of personal and national identity were very different depending on the personal circumstances, experiences and backgrounds of the participants, and they had very different attitudes towards integration and settlement. Individuals represented the following experiences of being a minority in Europe:

- Economic migrants who moved to take advantage of better living and working conditions;
- Immigrants who came to the nation for various reasons e.g. with their family, following a 'nomadic' lifestyle or travel, deciding to settle or returning to roots;
- Refugees who were forced to leave their country because of war, conflict or political circumstances;
- Minority groups within the nation, part of an ethnic and cultural minority e.g. Roma in Greece and Russian language speakers in Estonia.

The personal experiences of participants meant that similar backgrounds could be understood very differently.

Six national museums: detailed descriptions

The following section provides a brief overview of the six national museums involved in the qualitative research, drawing on information provided by previous EuNaMus work packages (Aronsson and Elgenius 2011) and the six separate reports produced by the three University research teams. Each museum is placed within its historical context to show the development of its contemporary exhibitions and displays. An account is given of the data collection process at each site and characteristics of the museum's visitors (full details of which are available in Appendix 2).

The Estonian National Museum

The Estonian National Museum is one of thirteen centrally controlled museums, governed by the Ministry of Culture. The history of museums in Estonia began under the Baltic Germans, whose collecting activities and establishment of learned societies formed the basis of museum collections and focus. In particular, ethnographic interests have dominated Estonian museum creation, both in terms of the national discourse, with folk heritage a substitute for high culture, and the impulse to preserve cultural and historical traditions. National identity was often supported by ethnographic material and evidence despite the different regimes. In the early twenty-first century, the Estonian National Museum is venerated as a 'memory institution', created as part of the movement towards independence and democratic government. It is located in several buildings in Tartu, including a former Railway Worker's Club of the Soviet period which displays the permanent exhibition.

The development of the Estonian National Museum was closely connected to issues of collective identity and memory and the aspiration towards an independent state. The roots of Estonian National Museums can be found in the aspirations of the ruling Baltic German elite who, under pressure from the Russian Empire, found themselves defending and questioning their ethnicity. In 1838, the Learned Estonian Society was founded with the aim of establishing an Estonian Museum, whose membership (unusual for the time) allowed intellectual Estonians to join. Collections of Estonian origin included poetic and narrative folklore, were inspired by similar activities in Finland. In 1908 the Museum Statutes written envisaged the display of collections of folklore, language, material artefacts, folk music and art, with a focus on the Estonian peasant culture, which was disappearing with the pressures of modernisation and urbanisation. In 1909 the *Eesti Rahva Muuseum* was inaugurated in Tartu and over the next seven years, volunteers collected ethnographic objects and documents, and museum activists sought to raise money for the initiative from talks, exhibitions and donations. Independence in 1918 gave the museum project a new impetus and stimulating a period of cultural advancement during the 'First National Awakening.' In the 1920s, the museum came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and the state assisted the museum in obtaining the Raadi Manor estate. In 1927, the permanent exhibition opened. However, the Second World War saw Estonia occupied by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, both of which had an impact on museum governance. Most of Raadi Manor was destroyed and the museum lost its dedicated facilities, to be replaced by a Soviet airfield. Museums were transferred to the state and reorganised in keeping with Soviet ideology. During the post-war Stalinist persecution, museum staff were forced to flee or resign and the topics that were suitable for ethnographic research and presentation were greatly limited to farm architecture, tools and traditional costume, all of which celebrated past peasant society and culture. In 1945 the museum moved in the former courthouse in Tartu, with considerably limited display facilities: it became an archive predominantly. Museums with ethnographic collections were relatively uncensored and during the 1960s - 80s, museum activity focused on the active collection of material culture (rather than research or publication), not only of ethnic Estonians but also for example the Finno-Ugric peoples, with regular annual expeditions to collect material.

With the Republic of Estonia restored in 1991 (the 'Second National Awakening') national museums once again changed their status and function. Museums struggled with economic

difficulties following the transition from the Soviet Union, however they have sought to transform themselves into modern institutions in light of the following aims:

- Support the sustainability of Estonian national identity and culture
- Develop and adapt Estonian culture to world culture
- Prevent the disappearance of the Estonian nation.

In 1988, the Estonian National Museum was restored and in 1994 moved into the former Railway Worker's Club. Engagement with audiences and the aspiration to build new facilities became the most important tasks, and a new permanent exhibition, *Estonia: Land, People, Culture*, opened. This represents the expression of Estonian national consciousness in a specific time and context, immediately after the 'Singing Revolution' and eventual independence. The display was meant to be temporary, and be replaced with a larger, more balanced (less didactic) display, however without new facilities provided for the museum it remains on permanent display fifteen years later.

Estonia: Land, People, Culture represents the ethnic identity of Estonia, primarily covering different areas of historical Estonian folk culture including everyday life (rural, agricultural, fishing), holidays and festivities (e.g. marriage). Collections are arranged in dioramas or reconstructed interiors. These range from life in a barn dwelling of the nineteenth century to the Soviet period of the twentieth century. Part of the exhibition explores the lifestyles and beliefs of past Estonian communities including use of rituals, worldview and the symbolism incorporated into religion and costume. Regional differences are shown in the folk culture, especially through costume. Some minority groups are shown such as the Coastal Swedes, who inhabited the western coast and islands between fourteenth century and 1944, and the Russian-speaking Old Believers who live in the Lake Peipsi region (Old Believers left the Russian Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century after liturgical reforms were introduced and fled to Estonia to escape persecution). Towards the end of the display there is a section on national identity in the context of the 'Singing Revolution', entitled 'To be Estonian Feels Proud and Good.' Few explicit references are made to the occupiers of Estonia, including the Baltic Germans. The exhibition includes a Baltic German manor interior with furniture from Raadi Manor to show an economic unit and styles in furniture history, however Baltic Germans are not given equal status with Estonian nationals (Kuutma 2011: 247).

In 1996, the Estonian government announced the intention to build three new cultural institutions, including the Estonian National Museum, and today (2012) the planning of the new museum facilities and new building continue. However, 'the national narrative presented in these museums mainly continues to bring forward the imaginary, based more on exclusions than inclusions, reflecting the historical traumas of ethnic Estonians' (Kuutma 2011: 234). These discrepancies are being addressed with the aim of a more inclusive narrative, 'in which Estonian could stand for a multitude of experience and expressions' (Ibid: 237). Presently, the temporary exhibitions and displays tackle subjects which are not contained in the present exhibition including world cultures, and modern Estonian society.

The research with museum visitors took place in the summer of 2011 at the Estonian National Museum. Most interviews were carried out in the café as a separate workshop room was not always available: this was not considered a problem by researchers as it was rarely crowded and

offered enough privacy for conversation. Estonia was the only case study where a member of the museum staff was involved with the research team, in the analysis of data and writing up of the report. Interviews were carried out by five pairs of researchers, each consisting of an ethnology student carrying out their first qualitative interviews and a senior researcher. These were:

- Ergo-Hart Västrik
- Paavo Kroon
- Agnes Aljas
- Laura Jamsja
- Taavi Tatsi
- Anita Püsiäinen
- Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt
- Anna-Stina Kangro

The teams varied in how many interviews were carried out by the senior researcher or student. Some differences in how the interviews were conducted can be explained by the interdisciplinary nature of the research team, whose interests included folklore, ethnology and communication. However, the themes of the interview protocol were followed closely. Interviews were conducted in three languages: the majority in Estonian, several in English and one in a mixture of English and French. Challenges encountered during the period by researchers included:

- Summer was a quiet time for visitors to the museum, especially local visitors, and some participants were invited to the museum by the researchers to discuss the issues.
- Some of the interview questions were perceived by interviewers to be difficult and they were overly cautious in asking them, leading to reserved responses from the museum visitors.
- It caused some difficulty conducting interviews in English because it was not visitors' first language.

Interviews were carried out with 25 visitors, 17 individually and 8 in pairs or small groups. Significantly more women (16) were involved in the interviews compared to the number of men (7). The age range of visitors was quite varied, with the youngest under the age of 18 and the oldest up to the age of 65. The majority of visitors were born in Estonia, including one young man with Estonian and Russian heritage, although not all of them still lived in Estonia (Ilona for instance was living in the UK). Ten visitors came from outside of Estonia and were all based on Europe, including France, Romania, the Netherlands and Belgium. It was the first visit for several participants (6) which included Estonian as well as non-Estonian visitors (6). Others visited more regularly, including Eva (who was originally from France but had lived in Estonia for many years) who said she had visited the museum over fifty times. Most visitors were aware of the permanent exhibition but were less aware of the temporary exhibitions, lectures and events, which tended to mentioned by the regular visitors. Most visitors were regular visitors to other museums, particularly tourists like Victor and Alexandru from Romania who enjoyed visiting museums in different countries to find out about the country and its history. Only one man, Ivo, said he did not regularly visit museums. Few visitors indicated their employment or education status voluntarily, although jobs that were mentioned included museum curator, historian, doctor,

teacher, and those trained as sociologist, and Eva who described herself as philologist, linguist and ethnologist.

Table 9: Key characteristics of visitors to the Estonian National Museum

Category	Number of visitors
Interview Type	
Individual interview	17
Group interview	8
Gender	
Male	9
Female	16
Age	
Under 18	3
18-30	8
31-45	5
46-65	5
Unknown	4
Nationality	
Estonian	15
Non-Estonian	10
Non-national visitors	
European	10
Employment	
Working	6
Studying	4
Retired	1
Unknown	14
Education	
School / College	2
Higher / University	5
Unknown	18

A focus group with 5 Russian-speakers, all women, was carried out in the early Autumn of 2011. The group, recruited through the social networks of the museum guides, all lived in Southern Estonia or Tartu, which distinguished them from the majority of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia, particularly in that they were aware of the Estonian National Museum and had visited it several times. The interview was prepared by Pille Runnel and carried out by Kaspar Jassa in Russian, with the assistance of Pille Runnel. The youngest participant was 24 years old and the oldest was 72 years. Three of the group were born in Estonia, and two of the older women were born in Russia, specifically Novgorod and Byelorussia. Two mentioned that they

had fathers in the Soviet military. One participant (Ljudmilla) was working as a teacher, the other's occupation and education details are unknown.

Table 10: Key characteristics of participants in the focus group, Estonian National Museum

Category	Number of participants
Gender	
Female	5
Age	
18-30	1
31-45	1
46-65	2
Over 65	1
Place of Birth	
Born in Europe	3
Born outside Europe	2
Employment	
Working	1
Unknown	4
Education	
Unknown	5

The interviews and focus group were recorded and transcribed. Initial analysis was carried out by the research team of Pille Runnel, Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt**,** Agnes Aljas, Kaspar Jassa, Taavi Tatsi, and Ergo-Hart Västrik, each focusing on one key aspect of the data. Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Pille Runnel summarised the findings and wrote the final report.

Latvian Open Air Museum

In 2009, there were eighty-three accredited museums in Latvia, thirty-six of which are owned by the state. The Latvian Open-Air Museum is the most popular museum with the general public. Located near Riga, the museum occupies a site of 87.66 hectares and displays 118 furnished buildings representing rural architecture and daily life from the late seventeenth to the twentieth century, grouped around the four historic regions of Latvia:

- Kurzeme (western Latvia, also known as Courland).
- Vidzeme (mid Latvia, incorporates parts of Livonia).
- Zemgale (southern Latvia, part of Courland 1795-1918).
- Latgale (eastern Latvia, traditionally Catholic).

The buildings include farmsteads of peasants, craftsmen and fishermen, and communal buildings such as churches and windmills. The majority of buildings have original or reconstructed interiors and household objects to reflect the daily life of the inhabitants. The exhibition reveals the rural lifestyles of the lower classes of both the majority and minority ethnic

populations. It does not include the daily life of the ruling class (Baltic Germans) and all Soviet additions were removed after independence in 1991. It is a living history museum and often holds fairs, festivals and events to introduce visitors to traditional Latvian culture. It is a large site, and includes forested territory near a lake which makes it suitable for walking and recreational activities. The museum has two affiliated branches in northern and western Latvia, and its employees have included renowned scholars in ethnographic fieldwork and research.

Early museum initiatives, like in Estonia, have their roots in the private collections of the ruling elite, which took an increasingly local, rather than universal, focus following the first 'National Awakening.' The open-air museum's development dates back to 1910 when the Riga Society of Architects, possibly inspired by an earlier visit to the museum at Skansen (one of the earliest living history museums, see Bäckström 2011), first discussed the foundation of an open-air museum to represent rural buildings of the Baltic provinces. However, the planned museum never materialised. In 1923, the government passed a law on the protection of ancient monuments with the establishment of a Monuments Board (Ministry of Education) to select and catalogue the monuments. This supported the revitalisation of the open-air museum. Architect, Peter Kundziņs was instrumental in developing the museum, which was founded to not only promote national ideas but was suggested to have significant research potential for the understanding of traditional culture. Kundziņs proposed the movement of homesteads and social buildings from each of the four regions of Latvia; reconstructed in the museum, they would be augmented with displays of household items and traditional dress. In 1928, land was granted for the museum and the first six buildings were in place and opened to visitors in 1932.

During the Second World War, museums were reorganised under German and Soviet occupation, although fieldwork and publishing continued and the museum remained popular with visitors. Returned to Soviet power in 1944, the museum was partly damaged during the war and part of the collection was evacuated to Germany as the Soviet troops advanced, and several staff members went into exile. However, the damage was put right in 1945 and the first new building was erected. The museum was protected by the newly installed Soviet regime and there were plans to develop an exhibition and models which would portray rural life during the Soviet period. However, these were never implemented. By the 1970s, around twenty per cent of the buildings represented other ethnic groups than the Latvian population. Collection of contemporary folk art increased, especially ceramics and textiles, and the museum gained international recognition, with open-air museums in Estonia, Ukraine, Georgia and Lithuania copying its example. Independence in 1991 saw changes being made to the displays, particularly the removal of exhibitions dedicated to Soviet 'sister republics', although retaining Latvian diversity. Since 2005 the museum has operated as a state agency. Several buildings have been reconstructed and one new farmstead introduced representing 1920s agrarian reform after the First World War.

Research was carried out at the Latvian Open-Air Museum by two researchers, Linda Lotiņa and Toms Ķencis, who initially analysed the data and wrote up the report. Twenty (20) visitors were interviewed by researchers, 17 individually and one small group of three. Slightly more woman than men took part in interviews, and the age of visitors ranged from 18-65 years. The majority of visitors (15) indicated that they were Latvian in origin: two visitors were born in Latvia but their national identity was Polish and Russian. Non-Latvian visitors (3) included two

Germans, one living in the Czech Republic, and a visitor who was originally from Georgia but was living in Germany with his Latvian wife and family. Twelve (12) visitors were working and 4 were studying, one was studying and working, and the last was retired. Two visitors did not state their employment or education. The kinds of professions indicated by visitors included, an office worker in Parliament, teacher, accountant, translator, DJ and journalist and tour guide. Five (5) visitors indicated that they were regular visitors to the museum or had visited previously. Others were visiting for the first time, had come with friends, or had come with a tourist group (as their guide). The researchers found it a challenging place to conduct research, and some visitors declined to take part, suggesting that the theme of national identity would be too emotional for them. Latvia is emerging from years of Soviet repression and the nation is continuing to deal with its legacy.

Table 11: Key characteristics of participants in interviews, Latvian Open Air Museum

Category	**Number of visitors**
Interview Type	
Individual interview	17
Group interview	3
Gender	
Male	8
Female	12
Age	
18-30	7
31-45	8
46-65	5
Nationality	
Latvian	17
Non-Latvian	3
Non-national visitors	
European	3
Employment	
Working	12
Studying	4
Working and studying	1
Retired	1
Unknown	2
Education	
School / College	4
Higher / University	9
Unknown	7

Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin

The German Historical Museum is the most recent of the German national museums, displaying the country's history from first century BC until the 1990s within a European context. Unlike many national museums, the museum attempts to follow and to interpret the complicated question of German national identity, avoiding simplified answers or the glorification of national history. The museum is located in the centre of Berlin on the main avenue, and is formed from two buildings. The former Prussian arsenal (or *Zeughaus*), built in the Baroque style between 1695 and 1730, hosts the permanent exhibition and is one of the oldest buildings to survive the Allied bombing of World War II. The adjacent granite and glass exhibition hall, designed by Pei-Bau, was opened in 2004 and hosts temporary exhibitions. It is connected to the older building by an underground passage and inner courtyard.

The museum is owned by the German state in a framework of national museums which was developed around the time of German unification in 1871 (the Second German Empire). A huge expansion in museum building in the following period (1900-1920) saw 210 museums built for new or existing collections. Under the Nazi cultural policy in the 1930s, there were plans to build a series of museums to celebrate their victory but these were never put into action. The post-war division of Germany led to clear differences in museum interpretation. The German Democratic Republic Museums (1949-1990) were dominated by Soviet ideology. In 1952, the Museum for German History opened in the *Zeughaus*, which had the aim of creating and transmitting a version of history based on historical materialism and Marxism which shaped national identity under the GDR. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the emphasis was placed on fine arts and performance rather than ethnic or national history. There was no national history museum although plans were developed for what later became the German Historical Museum in Berlin during the 1980s, when West German society became more ready to engage with the recent past. In 1980, the idea of a national museum was proposed following a successful temporary exhibition on German history, and in 1985, Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave his public support for a German Historical Museum. From the beginning the project was controversial, particularly how to present the darkest chapter in Germany's history (the Nazi state and World War II) in a museum context. In the early 1990s, reunification presented new opportunities and the state focused on modernising and democratising museums, and 'inscribing [the] Nazi and GDR as pasts contained within brackets' (Aronsson and Bentz 2011: 327). The *Zeughaus* became the site for a new national museum and a series of temporary exhibitions were held until the permanent exhibition opened in 2006.

The purpose of the museum is to display German history in a European and international context, providing a place for self-reflection - who the Germans are, where they come from and where they are going - as members of a worldwide civilisation. The permanent exhibition occupies the two main floors of the *Zeughaus*. The upper floor covers German history from the 1st century BC to the end of the First World War, which is divided into the following sections:

- Early cultures and the Middle Ages;
- Reformation and the Thirty Years' War;
- Supremacy and German dualism in Europe;
- From the French Revolution to the second German Empire;

- The German Empire and the First World War.

The ground floor deals with the so-called 'Small Twentieth Century' (Hobsbawm 1994) and covers the following periods:

- The Weimar Republic;
- The National-Socialist regime and the Second World War;
- Germany under Allied occupation;
- Divided Germany and Re-unification.

Over 8000 objects are used to support the perspectives presented in the museum and the area dedicated to each period corresponds to the number of the available artefacts and historical documentation. For example, the first section of the exhibition, which presents the era of the Roman-Germanic settlement to the Late Middle Ages is smaller than the next section of Renaissance and Reformation, which presents an much greater number of objects. The final room in the exhibition provides a space for thought and reflection, where 'history,' in the form of the latest news, is presented as it happens.

No master narrative is presented in the museum (following a post-modern and post-colonial perspective) and multiple perspectives are given to encourage visitors to engage with the complexity of history with its contradictions and discontinuities. For example, among the issues discussed are the everyday life of upper and lower classes, the relationship between the city and the country, violence and resistance, revolution and counter-revolution, and the era of imperialism. In addition, the various contemporary viewpoints and evaluations of historical events are often placed alongside each other in order to provide different perspectives on the same subject. The exhibition exposes the visitors to some general questions at the outset, regarding basic information about Germany and Germans (where is it, what unites them, who ruled, who obeyed, who resisted, what leads to war, how is peace made, what did people believed, how did they use to live, and so on). The exhibition though does not necessarily answer these questions: rather, it provides visitors with the opportunity to find their own interpretations, based on what they have seen (see Koschick 2008). The design of the museum supports a choice of routes around the museum, such as a chronological overview or an in-depth exploration, and a variety of media and interactive elements enable a broad or deep focus to visitor engagement. In addition, a series of 'milestones' – designed as illuminated *steles* [upright stone or slab] on a square base – provide orientation points in the exhibition space.

Qualitative research was carried out by researchers Niki Nikonanou and Aggeliki Zoumpouli from July 29th to August 14th 2011. Several challenges were reported in obtaining a sufficiently diverse sample of visitors. Firstly, it was challenging to recruit 'local' German visitors. It was the school holidays and many 'local' visitors were on their holidays or tended to visit at weekends ('local' visitors also tended to view the temporary exhibitions and the Pei-building has a separate entrance/exit which meant the research team could not easily come in contact with them). Berlin was a favourite holiday destination for Germans from other parts of the nation, which explains why almost half of the German visitors were living in other cities of Germany, and the museum attracted many non-national visitors. It was also challenging to reach women in the age group 30-45 and older visitors over the age of 65; women tended to visit the museum with small children to take part in educational activities (which made it difficult for them to participate) and older

visitors, mostly Germans, told researchers that they were very tired after seeing the whole museum and did not wish to participate.

Interviews took place with 25 visitors, 11 individuals (Martin, Stephan, Sebastian, Bernhard, Andrea, Lieselotte, Ulrich, Anna, Maria, Ulrike, Boris) and 7 pairs (Carsten and Kort, Harald and Vera, Jory and Jacob, Synthia and Lukas, Jamie and Geoff, Annie and Zen, Ron and Liz). Unlike the other museum case studies, there were as many men participating in the interviews as women. Generally, the museum does attract slightly more men than women: in the year 2010, 47.77% of visitors were women and 52.23% men (Deutsches Historisches Museum 2011). In terms of their age, most visitors represented the 'middle age' range from 31-65 (52.0%). According to the museum's visitor research, in 2010 26.29% of visitors came from Berlin, 38.62% from the rest of Germany and 35.09% from abroad (ibid). The majority of visitors participating in interviews were German 68.0% (17) compared to 32.0% (8) who were visiting from outside Germany. Of the German visitors, 9 (36.0%) were living in Berlin and eight in other cities of Germany (32.9%). Of the visitors from outside of Germany, five were from Europe (Netherlands, UK, Hungary) and three from outside of Europe (Canada and China). Germany is the only museum along with Scotland and Ireland that had participants from outside of Europe. Most participants stated that they visited museums regularly. Only 5 were not regular museum visitors. People visited as tourists, part of their work as a teacher or as a student. Many participants said that they liked to visit history museums, but also art museums and exhibitions, science museums, natural history museums and cultural history museums were mentioned. Eleven (11) participants were working (44%) and occupations mentioned include historian, museum staff, history teacher, graphic designer, engineer and working for a telecommunications company. A further 6 participants were studying, 2 were unemployed and one was retired.

Table 12: Key characteristics of participants in interviews, German Historical Museum

Category	Number of visitors
Interview Type	
Individual interview	11
Group interview	14
Gender	
Male	13
Female	12
Age	
Under 18	1
18-30	9
31-45	7
46-65	6
Over 65	2
Nationality	
German	17
Non-German	8
Non-national visitors	
European	5
Non-European	3
Employment	
Working	11
Studying	6
Not working or studying	2
Retired	1
Unknown	5
Education	
Higher / University	6
Unknown	19

The National Historical Museum, Athens

Archaeology museums (including classical and Byzantine periods) form the largest group of museums in Greece, followed by museums of folk culture. Alongside the museums which are controlled by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, there are three museums are not state owned but which hold collections of national importance and articulate notions of national identity. The National Historical Museum in Athens is one of these museums. Located in the centre of Athens, it is a private museum, funded by an endowment of The Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece and partially subsidised by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The museum and collections are managed by the Society, along with history and photography archives and a library.

Since the foundation of the nation state in 1830, proving that the Greeks were if not biologically but *culturally* related to the ancient past became essential. History, archaeology and folk studies were mobilised to this task which, rather than revival of the ancient past, placed an emphasis on establishing a continuity with it. In particular, classical monuments were 'ready-made' symbols of that identity and archaeology flourished, invested with national and political value. Cultural heritage has been closely tied to the development of national identity and has therefore been heavily dependent on state intervention, with private societies flourishing alongside. The Ethnological and History Society was founded in 1882 to collect, preserve, and present relics and documentary evidence of modern Greek history. Its aims were both national and historical, with the purpose of collecting:

> [H]istorical and ethnological written sources and material culture contributing to the illumination of the middle and late stages of Greek history, philology, folklore and language through the establishment of a museum and an archive that would encompass all foregoing monuments of *national life*.

Previously, intellectual circles in Greece had emphasised the importance of research in their endeavours, however the focus also on the public display of material was a new departure and therefore very significant. Furthermore, it was an early display of an interest in construction of a suitable narrative for *neo-Hellenism*, therefore incorporating the continuity of classical antiquity with the history of the late medieval period (Byzantine), the Ottoman occupation, and the early years of the Greek state. The ideology of religion and heroism were connected with the narrative of national history from its earliest exhibition in 1884. In particular, the museum emphasised the heroism of the leaders of the Revolution in the 1820s, taking special concern to collect personal objects that belonged to them, such as the weapons that they (and their enemies) used and blood-stained flags, all enhanced by individual portraits and paintings depicting scenes of the Revolution. These elements were combined into a sentimental nationalist narrative that emphasised the importance of these heroes to the nation. The Society were keen to create an emotional or affective reaction in visitors and were interested in the display of material culture so as to create that effect. Visitors were invited to offer their own objects for display, and 1100 objects were collected, which passed into the permanent collection of the museum.

In the 1960s, the museum was moved to its present-day location, the old Parliament building (*Palaia Vouli*) in the city centre of Athens. Completed in 1871 to French and Greek designs, Parliament met there from 1875-1935, before moving to the Old Palace. The Old Parliament is considered one of Athens' architectural treasures and outside the building is a statue of General Theodoros Koloktronis, one of the heroes of the War of Independence.

The permanent exhibition halls of the museum are situated on the ground floor of the Old Parliament building around the grandiose Assembly Hall, which is open to the public. The galleries present a linear narrative of Greek national history in strict chronological order (with a few exceptions) from the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453 by the Ottoman Empire to the Second World War: the museum's folk collection is displayed in four additional rooms. As visitors work their way around the museum, the display themes are (in order):

- Corridor 1 – The End of the Byzantium (1453 A.D.)
- Hall 2- The French Occupation – The Turkish Occupation (13^{th} -18^{th} centuries)

- Hall 3 – The Awakening of Greek National Conscience (1678 – 1821)
- Hall 4 – The Greek War of Independence, (1821-1827)
- Hall 5 –The Weapons of the Greek War of Independence
- Hall 6 - Greek Intellectuals in the West (14^{th}-15^{th} centuries)
- Corridor 7 – Episodes from the Greek War of Independence
- Corridor 8 - Philhellenism
- Corridor 9 – The Sea-Battles of the Greek War of Independence
- Hall 10 - The Establishment of the Modern Greek State (1830)
- Hall 11 – The Establishment the Parliamentary System and The Expanding of National Borders
- Hall 12 – The Balkan Wars (1912-1913)/ The First Word War (1914 – 1918)/ The Asia Minor War (1919 -1922)
- Hall 13 – The Second World War (1940 -1944)
- Corridor 14 – Memorabilia from the Reign of Kings Otto and George A
- Hall 15- The Folk Collection, Folk Costumes
- Hall 16 – The Folk Collection, Folk Costumes
- Hall 17 – The Folk Collection, Folk Costumes
- Hall 18 – Greek Society, (19^{th} century)

The mezzanine floor of the Assembly Hall is used for temporary exhibitions. At the time of the research there was a small temporary exhibition, four display cases presenting the history of the museum.

The Greek War of Independence is given the greatest emphasis in the museum's narrative. The story is told through a wide range of material, including the display of flags, weapons, paintings, engravings, the personal artefacts of historical figures, documents and photographs. The displays are rich with artefacts. There are introductory panels to the historic period, but there is little further interpretation and, aside from a 40-minute film on the function of the Old Parliament, there is no use of technology or multimedia. The effect is very traditional and 'old-fashioned' reflecting the nineteenth century aims of the museum's founders. Through the symbolic representation of the past through the display of national relics, the museum's purpose remains to evoke feelings of patriotism and provoke an emotional response to the heroic actions of those who achieved the liberation of the Greek people and the nation. The effect of this narrative is compounded by visitor movement around the museum. Visitors must enter the sequence of halls and corridors to the left of the reception desk, and will exit the museum on the right of the desk (the reception desk faces the entrance / exit of the museum building). The museum is relatively small and most visitors take about an hour to negotiate all its exhibition halls.

Interviews with museum visitors were carried out between 21 July and 7 October 2011, and a focus group with members of the Roma community was held on 11 December 2011. Research was carried out by Alexandra Bounia (AB), Alexandra Nikiforidou (AN) and Evi-Maria Pitsiava (EMP). All interviews were conducted by Alexandra Nikiforidou either in the Old Parliament Assembly Hall or within the exhibition halls. Researchers approached visitors as they exited the

permanent exhibition halls, and adopted a position close to the reception desk in order to monitor visitors as they entered and exited the museum.

The research period coincided with a time of great social upheaval in Greece - due to the tension brought about by the imminent default of the economy and the consequences of economic crisis – which created a number of challenges for researchers. Demonstrations and riots in the city centre of Athens made it very difficult for people to visit the museum on several occasions and there were many cancellations of reservations from tourists. Unofficial information provided by the museum staff suggested that whilst there is usually an increase in the number of tourists from abroad and other places in Greece during the summer months, there was a dramatic decrease in visitor rates in absolute numbers.Visitor numbers were therefore limited, falling to 50 per cent or less, which prolonged the research period. However, all the participants in the research seemed eager to participate in the interviews, and Greek visitors welcomed the opportunity to express themselves on matters of national concern:

> Thank you so much. It's not often that I have the opportunity to express myself. I wish things like [the visitor research] would happen all the time and I congratulate you on your initiative. I wish you the best outcome (Thodoris, Greek-Australian, aged 46-65).

Twenty-nine (29) visitors were interviewed between July and October 2011, 19 individually and 10 in pairs or small groups. Researchers found that where more than one person was involved in an interview, in five cases one participant was more dominant than the other (Pier, Eleni, Filippa, Marilena, Maria B). In the remaining five interviews, both participants participated equally, although there remained a 'dominant' speaker (Panagiota and Giorgos, Leonidas and Evangelia, Eugenie and Anicet, Konstantina and Nikos, Vassilis and Avgoustidis). Eighteen (18) interviews were conducted in Greek and 6 in English. There were slightly more women than men who agreed to be interviewed. Participants were aged from under 18 to over 65 years; however, they were slightly towards the younger or middle-age range with 19 (65.5%) visitors aged from under 18-45 years of age. The majority of visitors were Greek nationals or had dual-citizenship (75.9%, 22). All non-Greek visitors were from or living in Europe, coming from Denmark, Poland, Cyprus, Spain, Portugal, and France. The majority of visitors who gave their employment status were working (21, 72.4%). Types of jobs identified by visitors included general professional (11), high school teacher (4), archaeologist, museum director, shop-owner, and working in finance.

All visitors said that they were regular museum visitors. Reasons for visiting museums included when they are on holiday or in a new city or country. Some visited museums because of their profession (museum staff, teacher) and/or because of their interests in history and art. One older woman (Demetra) had a culture card which allowed her to visit museums and archaeological sites for free and which she was keen to make use of. Visitors also stated their interests in different types of museums, such as modern art museums, folk museums, archaeological, art and history museums, or progressive museums that use digital technology.

Table 13: Summary of visitor characteristics for interviews carried out at the National History Museum, Athens

Category	Number of visitors
Interview Type	
Individual interview	19
Group interview	10
Gender	
Male	13
Female	16
Age	
Under 18	1
18-30	10
31-45	8
46-65	7
Over 65	1
Unknown	2
Nationality	
Greek	22
Non-Greek	7
Non-national visitors	
European	7
Employment	
Working	21
Studying	5
Not working or studying	2
Retired	1
Education	
School / College	3
Higher / University	2
Postgraduate	3
Unknown	21

A focus group with members of Athens' Roma community was held in December 2011 after being postponed twice because of demonstrations in the city centre. It was held on a Sunday so that the participants could be there after their work. The museum did not have prior experience of focus group research or prior contact with the Roma community. However, the museum director and staff were keen to invite minority groups to the museum and hear their views. The researchers contacted the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, which had previous experience of working with the Roma community of Greece through the project *Roma Routes*. This enabled the researchers to contact representatives of the community, who in turn provided

the contacts for the focus group participants. The five participants, 2 men and 3 women, were members of the Roma community of Ag. Barbara. Ag. Barbara is a district in Athens where a large number of Roma people live and, in particular, the most assimilated Roma families. All five work as intermediaries between the less assimilated Roma communities, who live in camps, and the state. They have taken part in a six-month programme which trained 30 members of the Roma community to facilitate the integration of the community into Greek society. The group were familiar with museums, although they had not visited the National History Museum prior to the focus group.

Table 14: Key characteristics of participants in the focus group, National History Museum, Athens

Category	Number of participants
Gender	
Male	2
Female	3
Age	
18-30	2
31-45	2
46-65	1
Place of Birth	
Born in Europe	5
Employment	
Working	4
Working / studying	1
Education	
School / College	3
Unknown	2

National Museum of Ireland: Collins Barracks

Until the 1920s, Ireland was part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and museums in Ireland were developed in that context. An Anglo-Irish elite (the *Protestant Ascendancy*) – which was made up of wealthy landowners belonging to the Anglican church (the established church in the UK) and British in outlook - contributed to the development of distinctly Irish learned societies and institutions, including early museums. The 'Gaelic Revival' of the nineteenth century however, which celebrated Ireland's Celtic past as a 'golden age' and was associated with nationalism, became increasingly reflected in museum collections, for example the Archaeology Museum opened in the 1890s. When Ireland became a republic in 1922-1923, museums were largely neglected by the early nationalist governments in the light of pressing economic challenges. In addition, according to Fitzgibbon, without a tradition of patronage the arts became a luxury and the 'story of this period is one of official neglect' (quoted in Sawyer 2011: 450). It was not until the late twentieth century that government attitudes began to change due, in part, to changing understandings of Irish colonial and post-colonial history, EU

membership, economic growth, and a growing tourist industry. There was greater investment in national museums, and expansion enabled new approaches to display Ireland's history and new avenues for art. Pre-historic Celtic antiquities began to make room for displays on the Viking and Anglo-Norman contributions to Irish culture. Rather than acting as a reminder of Ireland's 'suffering' under British rule, museums increasingly came to symbolise 'a modern independent state with strong European links, increasingly at ease with its past' (Sawyer 2011: 456). More recently, there is a growing awareness that the Republic of Ireland - formed on the basis of a distinct cultural identity - now faces the challenge of a more pluralistic, multicultural society.

At the time of the research, The National Museum of Ireland was comprised of four branches. Three of these were in the capital, Dublin: Archaeology (in Kildare Street, in the centre of Dublin); the Natural History branch (in Merrion Street, also in the centre); and Decorative Arts and History (Collins Barracks, Benburb Street Dublin) where the EuNaMus research took place. The fourth branch of the National Museum is the Museum of Country Life, Turlough Park, County Mayo, around 240 km away from Dublin in the West of Ireland. The Decorative Arts and History branch opened in 1997, and is housed in a former eighteenth century army barracks, one of many built by the British. The building is significant in Irish history, not least because behind the museum are the graves of nationalists shot by the British in 1916 and in front, an open space known as 'Croppy Acre' is said to be the grave of rebels executed in the failed 1798 Rising (an early attempt to establish an Irish Republic, inspired by the French and American Revolutions). The buildings form a quadrangle round a large square, and this has shaped the design of the galleries. The museum covers the history of Ireland from c.1550 to the present day, together with collections of Decorative Arts. There is no established route around the museum, and visitors can explore the history or decorative arts collections quite separately, or together. The history galleries include 'Soldiers and Chiefs: the Irish at War at Home and Abroad since 1550' which opens with a room on the British Garrison in the eighteenth century. It then adopts a chronological approach starting around 1550, when England's Tudor dynasty was re-establishing British rule, portraying it as the end of Gaelic Ireland. Successive rooms take the story down to the present day, and include the Irish soldiers and sailors who served overseas in European and American conflicts, and in the service of the British Empire. It also covers the Anglo-Irish War (1919 – 21), and the Irish Civil War (1922 - 23), the First and Second World Wars, Irish service as peacekeepers with UN, and cooperation with the UK in dealing with terrorist threats. Another important gallery is 'The Easter Rising: Understanding 1916' which is located in a small room off the main galleries. The Decorative Arts section includes 'Irish Silver' ('the silversmith's craft from the early 17th century'), 'Airgead' (numismatics and currency), and exhibitions on furniture. Other key exhibitions are 'Eileen Gray' (an influential designer and architect) and the Albert Bender Exhibition of Asian art; both of these exhibits feature the collections of individuals who found success outside of Ireland. 'The Way We Wore' explores Irish fashion and jewellery. Collins Barracks also has space for temporary exhibits. An exhibition on Irish High Crosses (early Irish sculptures) was taking place at the time of the research. This featured plaster cast replicas of High Crosses from around Ireland and was located in a display area away from the main galleries. It is important to note that the Archaeology branch of the Museum covers pre-history until around 1550. This includes Celtic finds, the period of Norse settlement, and the Anglo-Norman domination. Visitors (especially those from Dublin) will often

have visited both. In addition, the Irish Museum of Modern Art (IMMA) and Kilmainham Gaol (which played such an important role in 1916) are also within walking distance.

Interviews were carried out with museum visitors in June 2011 and a focus group with invited participants was held on 13 October 2011. Jocelyn Dodd carried out the interviews and focus group. Jocelyn Dodd, Andy Sawyer and Ceri Jones analysed the results, and Andy Sawyer wrote up the initial analysis. The political context for the research was an economic crisis in Ireland, following the collapse of a boom or 'bubble' in (mainly) construction, property and real-estate, funded by money from Irish banks and overseas investments. The government ran into debt from bailing out the main national banks (Anglo Irish, Bank of Ireland and AIB), and Ireland had to be bailed by the EU and IMF (International Monetary Fund). An article by Michael Lewis in *Vanity Fair* suggests that unlike Greece, however, there has been relatively little anger from the Irish public directed at the banks or the government (Lewis 2011).

Twenty-eight (28) interviews with museum visitors were conducted by researchers, 11 individually and 17 in pairs or small groups. Visitors were recruited from the main entrance hall to the museum, or from the galleries, and were interviewed in a small education room given over for the purpose. Slightly more women (17, 60.7%) than men (11, 39.3%) took part in interviews. In terms of age, participants ranged from teenagers to retired people, although there were slightly more older visitors taking part in interviews, the majority were aged from 31-over 65 (64.3%, 18). Slightly more participants were from Ireland (16, 57.1%) than non-national visitors (12, 42.9%). Considering the Irish diaspora, Ireland had the highest number of non-European visitors compared to the other museums (8 participants), who came from Australia, US and Canada. A couple of Irish visitors were living outside of Ireland (Dorothy, Annette). Some of the non-national visitors had connections to Ireland, such as Irish ancestors (Helen, Orla, Shaun), or were studying in Dublin (Lauren, Marie, Alison, Justine, Marianne). Nine (32.1%) visitors reported that they were working, and a further 8 were studying (28.6%), including a group of US students completing an internship in Dublin as part of their course. Ireland had the most self-reported retired participants compared to the other case study museums (28.6%, 8). Professions reported by visitors (both working and retired) included lecturer, doctor, vet, nurse and factory work, secretary, radiographer and fashion designer. Other interviewees had left school and gone straight into employment. Three Irish visitors were working abroad, including one visitor, James, who was commuting from Dublin to the UK. Most visitors were frequent visitors to museums, except for Eamonn who associated museums with school trips. Many used museums when they were on holiday to get a sense of the place and its history and culture.

Table 15: Key characteristics of participants in interviews, National Museum of Ireland

Category	Number of visitors
Interview Type	
Individual interview	11
Group interview	17
Gender	
Male	11
Female	17
Age	
Under 18	1
18-30	9
31-45	4
46-65	9
Over 65	5
Nationality	
Irish	16
Non-Irish	12
Non-national visitors	
European	4
Non-European	8
Employment	
Working	9
Studying	8
Retired	8
Unknown	3
Education	
School / College	1
Higher / University	10
Postgraduate	1
Unknown	16

The 7 participants who took part in the focus group were recruited through National Museums Ireland and represented a range of minority groups in Ireland, including economic migrants who had come to Ireland for work or better quality of life, migrants who had settled in Ireland or come to Ireland with their families when they were children. Participants were originally from Romania (Madalina, Manuela, Vasile), Nigeria (Peter), Russia with Hungarian roots (Maria) and England with Hungarian roots (Natalie). Brina's background was complex: born in Canada to an Irish father and mother from Trinidad (with African and Chinese roots), she had come to live in Ireland at a young age. The different life experiences and roots of the participants shaped their responses to the focus group themes and encouraged a lively discussion.

Five of the group were working, professions included security, museum staff and working for the New Communities Partnership, that supports immigrants in Ireland; Manuela was still at school, and Peter was working and studying.

Table 16: Key characteristics of participants in the focus group, National Museums Ireland

Category	Number of participants
Gender	
Male	2
Female	4
Age	
Unknown	6
Place of Birth	
Born in Europe	3
Born outside Europe	3
Employment	
Working	4
Studying	1
Working / studying	1
Education	
School / College	1
University	2
Unknown	3

The National Museum of Scotland

The development of national museums in Scotland can be traced to the activities of the nobility and wealthy individuals rather than by government, following Enlightenment principles of collection, cataloguing and curation, and the desire to develop and promote a distinct idea of Scottish identity. These collections eventually formed the basis of Scottish museums, which in 1985 were amalgamated to form National Museums Scotland. This is a non-departmental government body funded by the Scottish government which cares for Scotland's national collections. Its collections are displayed across five museum sites:

- The National Museum of Scotland (formerly the Museum of Scotland and the Royal Scottish Museum);
- National War Museum, Edinburgh;
- National Museum of Flight, East Lothian;
- National Museum of Costume, Dumfries;
- National Museum of Rural Life, Kilbride.

The National Museum of Scotland is located in Edinburgh, the capital city and seat of the Scottish Parliament. It was built in the late-1990s adjacent to the nineteenth century Royal

Scottish Museum, which was closed for renovation during the research period (the Royal Museum was closed in 2006 and re-opened on 29 July 2011. In the first hour of opening, 6000 people went through the doors. This increased to 22,000 people for the first day and 100,000 people in its first week, an unprecedented number of visitors for the Museum). The National Museum of Scotland opened on 30 November 1998, an event that was both 'culturally and politically symbolic [for Scotland]' (McLean and Cooke 2003: 111). Not only did the Museum open on St Andrew's Day - Scotland's patron saint since the mid-tenth century - but it came less than a fortnight after the passing of the Scottish Parliament Act on 18 November 1998. This established the first independent Scottish Parliament since the Act of Union with England in 1707 (which created the kingdom of Great Britain), following a referendum in 1997 where the majority of Scottish people demonstrated their support for devolution from England. Opening in-between the passing of the Act and the new parliament's first meeting on 12 May 1999, the National Museum of Scotland firmly established itself a symbol of the new, independent Scottish nation.

The National Museum tells the story of Scotland from its origins in pre-history to the social and economic conditions of the present-day, with galleries spread across six floors. As its website describes, the museum displays a wealth of material culture, from the famous Lewis Chessmen made in the twelfth century to the Formula 1 racing car driven by Scottish champion Jackie Stewart in the 1970s:

> From Iron Age trumpets to bionic hands, each object tells its own tale about life in Scotland. Come face to face with iconic historic artefacts, learn how Scottish scientific and technological innovation has helped shape the modern world and see how the lives of everyday Scots have changed through the centuries (National Museum of Scotland 2011).

The six galleries present the history and development of Scotland in chronological order, arranged into six thematic sections. There is no 'fixed' route around the museum and visitors may explore the galleries in their own, preferred order:

- *Beginnings*, which explores the evolution of the Scottish landscape, flora and fauna in the first 3 billon years of Scotland's history;
- *Early People*, which contains collections of the material culture of the earliest people that lived in Scotland including Picts, Scots and Romans;
- *Kingdom of the Scots*, which covers the period from the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320 to 1707 when Scotland was an independent nation;
- *Scotland Transformed* details the history of Scotland as part of Britain (the Act of Union with England and Wales was made in 1707) and the huge social, industrial and technological upheavals that happened in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries;
- *Industry and Empire* explores life in nineteenth century Scotland, the emigration of Scottish people all over the world and the trade links of the growing British Empire;
- *Scotland: A Changing Nation* opened in 2008 to tell the story of Scotland from the First World War to the present-day, focusing 'on the changes in economics and industry, everyday life and culture, Scottish emigration, power and protest, and Scotland today' (Fuchs and Deutschbein 2008).

Two periods of data collection were carried out at National Museum Scotland, one in December 2010 to test the qualitative research protocol, and a second period of data collection in May 2011. Research was carried out both times by Jocelyn Dodd, Andy Sawyer and Ceri Jones: all three researchers carried out interviews for the pilot study. In the second research period, the interviews were carried out by Jocelyn Dodd. A focus group was held at the museum in July 2011 with participants invited from ethnic minority groups living in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The focus group was arranged and chaired by Jocelyn Dodd, with the support of Ceri Jones.

The opportunity for interviews in the pilot period (December) was made challenging by poor weather conditions and snow: the museum was closed because of the weather and visitor numbers decreased substantially. Interviews largely took place with tourists and visitors to Scotland. In the second period of data collection, efforts were focused on obtaining interviews with Scottish nationals. The protocol for the interviews was changed between the pilot study and the second study in May: the key themes were kept the same, however some changes were made to the order of the questions and some of the content of the questions to reflect challenges posed during the pilot study. These changes were not felt to be detrimental to the content of the interviews during both periods of data collection, and both sets of visitor interviews covered similar topic themes. Visitors were recruited from the main entrance hall to the museum and from the galleries. Researchers had at their disposal a lecture room at the back of the lower gallery to conduct interviews, although several interviews were also conducted in the lower gallery to enable more than one interview to take place at a time.

In total, 24 interviews (a mixture of 11 group and 13 individual) were held with 39 participants (23 visitors interviewed in December 2010 and16 visitors interviewed in May 2011). Slightly more women (22, 53.4%) took part in interviews compared to men (17, 43.6%). In terms of age, a range of visitors were sought out from teenagers to older people: most visitors who were interviewed fell into the 'middle age' range bracket from 31-65 (24, 61.5%). Scottish identity was complex considering its position *within* Great Britain. Participants categorised as national included those who identified as Scottish or those who were born in Scotland and identified as British. The majority of participants therefore fitted into this category (21, 53.8%). Non-national visitors came from England, Northern Ireland, Slovakia, Catalan and Sicily. One visitor (Sarah) came from outside Europe (Canada) but had ancestral connections to Scotland. Ten (10) visitors stated that they were working, 2 were studying, 5 were not working or studying (because of homelessness, difficult lives and post-University) and 8 visitors were retired. Occupations stated by working and retired visitors included academic librarian, engineer, working in a bank (x2), youth worker, stockbroker, textiles, and teacher (history, science, maths). Most visitors were regular visitors to museums (21 visitors) and a further 6 visitors were more occasional visitors, tending to visit museums only when they were on holiday (10 visitors did not state their museum visiting habits).

Table 17: Summary of visitor characteristics, National Museum of Scotland

Category	Number of visitors
Interview Type	
Individual interview	13
Group interview	26
Gender	
Male	17
Female	22
Age	
Under 18	3
18-30	9
31-45	8
46-65	16
Over 65	2
Unknown	1
Nationality	
Scottish	21
Non-Scottish	18
Non-national visitors	
European	17
Non-European	1
Employment	
Working	10
Studying	2
Not working or studying	5
Retired	8
Unknown	14
Education	
Higher / University	8
Postgraduate	3
Unknown	28

The focus group was held with 5 participants who had been invited from Edinburgh (3) and Glasgow (2) using a range of contacts. Some had previous experience working on museums projects, particularly the participants from Glasgow. Participants were mainly from outside Europe, from Senegal (Sylvain), Taiwan (May) and Pakistan (Khalida, Iqbal), and one participant (Rema) was from Kosovo. All of them had lived in Scotland for at least 20 years or more, several had families and children with their spouses coming from England or Scotland. With the exception of Rema, who was a refugee, participants had chosen to come and live in Scotland for

different (not always identified) reasons. Most of the group were working in a range of professions including for the City Council in Glasgow, as a counsellor and one participant was retired after working in a bank for many years. They all had very different experiences of acceptance into Scottish society and there was a lively discussion about how the museum might represent minority groups more effectively.

Table 18: Key characteristics of participants in the focus group

Category	**Number of participants**
Gender	
Male	2
Female	3
Age	
31-45	2
46-65	3
Place of Birth	
Born in Europe	1
Born outside Europe	4
Employment	
Working	3
Not working or studying	1
Unknown	1
Education	
Postgraduate	1
Unknown	4

Conclusion

Photo: Andrew Sawyer

In this descriptive section was presented the historical context for the six nations - including the development of national museums - and the six national museums involved in this study. Details were provided of the research carried out at each site in 2010 and 2011 and the characteristics of participants who agreed to take part in interviews and focus groups at each of the museums. The next chapter describes in greater depth the findings of the research, starting with the relationship between museum visitors, focus group participants and their identity.

CHAPTER 3

Visitors and their identity

Introduction

This chapter looks at how visitors to the six museums and participants in the four focus groups defined their personal identity and how they constructed ideas of the collective, national identity, what it meant to be Scottish, Estonian, Greek and so on. It looks at the way in which visitors construct their identity from particular 'identity markers,' the adoption of national identity and those who adopt a more radical, non-national notion of identity such as European or 'global citizen.' It also defines the 'identity markers' which visitors connect with collective ideas of national identity, which are presented by visitors as specific to that nation but from which can be seen patterns across the six museums. Two of the research questions for WP6 focused on the nature of national identity and its expression by museum visitors and minority groups. These were:

- How do museums help people to understand national identity? What other identities do museums help people to express?
- How do people prioritise their identities? Does the museum reflect these priorities?

This section focuses on the ways in which participants express their identities, establishing the context for the next section which explores how these concepts of identity are played out in the national museums.

It was not always easy for participants to discuss their identity

Reporting on the way in which visitors defined their sense of identity, it became clear from most of the national museum sites that visitors often struggled to express their identity in words or define it for researchers. Reasons included national identity being complex (Scotland), too emotional to explain (Latvia), related to a social structure and difficult history which militated against the formation of a strong national identity (Germany) or present-day economic and social issues which prompted soul-searching about identity amongst visitors (Greece). Visitors commented that identity was not something that they thought about in the everyday (Kenneth M, National Museum of Scotland). Some seemed to be caught 'off guard' or felt self-conscious when asked to talk a little bit about who they were (Thodoris, Vassilis, Ioannis, Alexia, Eugenie, National History Museum, Athens). Some admitted they had never 'sat down and thought about it' (Alan, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), British, aged 76). In the German Historical Museum, several visitors (Boris, Harald and Vera, Martin, Stephan, Ulrich) found it difficult to express what it meant to be German and to speak about general German characteristics, considering the difficult nature of German national identity and the legacy of World War II. For some identity was too emotional to explain (Baiba, Latvian Open Air Museum, Latvian, aged 55) or would take much more thought:

> What can I say, this is really difficult. Difficult and general. And we haven't constructed an answer, inside us. And we have to do that now? (Eleni, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 31-45).

At the National Museum of Ireland, it was the younger Irish visitors who appeared to be more uncertain when articulating their identity. Sinead (Irish, aged 28) said 'Irish' but was unclear beyond that: 'Gosh. I don't know. I don't like… or dislike being Irish'. By contrast, most of the older Irish visitors were very eloquent, strong and confident when discussing their identity.

Chambers (1994) highlights the tension between the popular conception of identity as something stable, and the reality that it is always in the process of *becoming*:

> [O]ur sense of our selves is also a labour of the imagination, a fiction, a particular story that makes sense. We imagine ourselves to be whole, to be complete, to have a full identity and certainly not to be open and fragmented (Chambers 1994: 25).

The difficulty that some people had in discussing their identity may also have been because of the wider political context, which for Greece, Scotland and Ireland in particular was changing all the time during the research period. This was causing people to reassess their identity in the light of changing political and social situations (for instance Tanya and William at the National Museum of Scotland, various visitors to the National History Museum in Athens).

How did participants express their national identity?

National identity emerged as a significant element in many of the visitors' conceptions of their personal identity. There was sometimes a distinction made between the conception of the nation as place or as a community of people, however the idea of 'national identity' remained a useful concept when defining selfhood. This may have been because of the nature of the research project, which was introduced to visitors as about national and European identity, however participants who did not define themselves by their national identity were in the minority. This section looks at how participants described their sense of national identity – was it relatively straightforward or more problematic?

Singular concept of national identity

The traditional concept of a collective national identity, according to Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999), assumes that an individual belongs to a wider collective and certain claims are made on that person because of their membership:

> [P]eople belong to a solid, unchanging, intrinsic collective unit because of a specific history which they supposedly have in common and that as a consequence they feel obliged to act and react as a group when they are threatened (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart 1999: 11).

For the majority of visitors to the six national museums in this study (national and non-national), their identity was shaped in reference to a singular place or community. Many described their national identity by reference to the nation in which they had been born. For some visitors it was something given, taken for granted even. Their national identity was their primary identity because it 'just is' (Henry and Linda, visitors to National Museum of Ireland) or 'just was there' (various visitors, Estonian National Museum).

> I guess when you ask me that question, the first thing I think is English. That's the only kind of thing that springs to mind when you say 'what's my identity?' (Bethany, National Museum of Scotland, English, aged 30).

> I have just born here. It is my motherland, it is my language, cultural belonging (Andis, Latvian Open Air Museum, Latvian, aged 40).

> Simplest thing to say is that I am Estonian, because I speak Estonian, have been raised here and I behave like Estonian (Helen, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 18-30).

> Basically, I didn't say it [Greek] because it goes without saying, because we were talking... It would be the first thing (Anna, Greek, aged 31-45).

> You know you're Scottish, so you're always going to be Scottish. I think once you've lived in another place for a long time, and slowly it goes, but you're always going to know (Young person from the Canongate Youth group, Scottish, aged 16-17)

For many non-national visitors to the six museums, national identity was the first explanation they gave when asked about their identity:

> I do define me Portuguese, in spirit and soul (Javier, National History Museum, Athens, Portuguese, aged 18-30).

An identity under siege? Greek visitors to the National History Museum in Athens

In Greece, several national visitors questioned their national identity (Eleni, Anna, Victoria, Evangelia), a direct response, perhaps, to the current situation in Greece. Visitors appeared to be finding it difficult to reconcile their ideas of national identity with what was happening to Greece in the present and were trying to 'save face.' Eleni (Greek, aged 31-45) talked about her conflicting emotions around national identity:

> Sometimes I have these patriotic feelings, sometimes, again, feelings of shame. It's not just one, there are many, all mixed up. What does it mean to be Greek? If I go someplace else and show my identity card I will try to promote the good face, the old face of Greeks and prove that I am not the 'culprit' that everybody sees in the new face of Greeks.

Anna (Greek, aged 31-45) commented that it was 'a curse' to be Greek at that time, and Evangelia (Greek, aged 31-45) explained how she was '*really* sorry that this country is being wasted, because it really is being wasted. Because, it's one of the best countries on planet earth. And it's us Greeks who live here that are to be blamed, not the immigrants; it's not their fault at all.' Despite the problems however, Victoria (Greek, aged 46-65) declared that she continued to 'have patriotic feelings' and admitted, 'Sometimes, more than I should.'

National identity in Germany

Germany's history and evolution as a state, have promoted a focus on regional identity through the 'Länder' rather than at the national level. The relative difficulties with which Germans express their national self-identification appear to be related to their relationship with the past, mainly with WWII and, more generally with a concern for nationalistic tendencies. As Martin (German, aged 46-65) explained the regional identity in Germany was stronger 'because of the difficult and complicated history the several regions have developed their own identity.' Furthermore the diversity of those regions made it difficult for some visitors to construct a single collective national consciousness (Anna, Bernhard, Boris, Harald, Sebastian, Ulrich, Ulrike). Only one German visitor (Synthia) explicitly stated her identity as national. Other German visitors hesitated to define themselves as Germans or to accept the German identity because of the history of nationalism in Germany (Anna, Liselotte, Boris, Martin, Vera and Maria). Lieselotte (German, aged over 65) did not only root her rejection of national identity in the past, but also in the present, and her fear of a return to the 1930s:

> I don't find anymore many things to identify myself with Germany... They don't forbid anything... and then it will be again too late. Leave a few to cry 'Turks out'! Then we'll have again the same.

The national identity that emerged amongst many visitors, therefore, was one which was forged in the present situation rather than looking to the past. Its key event was the Reunification in the 1990s, a period for which Germans could be proud. The representative characteristics of the German nation were those of the state, which provided peace, democracy, freedom, welfare, and economic prosperity.

Complex identity: the British Isles

With Scotland as part of the United Kingdom, visitors to the National Museum of Scotland reflected the complexity of identity in the British Isles with some choosing to define themselves as British, English or Scottish, or European. Whilst the visitor cohort included participants from across the British Isles, in terms of national identity, the research revealed that it was not a simple case of visitors regarding themselves as 'British.' The following identities were given by participants in the interviews:

- Scottish (17)
- British (born in Scotland) (3)
- *Global spirit* (born in Scotland) (1)
- British (born in England) (4)
- English (3)
- British or English with Scottish ancestry (3)
- Northern Irish (1)

Not all visitors who were born in Scotland defined themselves as Scottish, reflecting that national identity can be a personal choice. Two visitors to the National Museum of Scotland (Tanya, Julia) had parents that were not Scottish (Northern Irish and Russian respectively) and this gave them the sense that an overarching identity such as British was more compatible with their 'mixed' heritage. However, for those who were 'British' there was an awareness that the situation was changing in Scotland, and nationalism was becoming more prevalent: 'I think they've now got much more of an identity than they used to since devolution' (Apricot, British, aged 22). This was reflected in some visitors choosing a Scottish identity over a British identity, evident in the second phase of the research following the landslide election of the Scottish National Party to the Scottish Parliament. Several visitors were keen to identify as Scottish, not or *never* as British (Lesley, Kenneth S, Christine). Political changes were leading to conceptions of identity shifting: in particular William (British, aged 55) and Tanya (British, aged 32) – both born in Scotland but identifying as British - were thinking more purposefully about their Scottish identity following changes in Scotland's status as a nation.

Hybrid national identities

Holding a single national identity did not exclude the recognition that identity can be complex in reality. Chris, an English (non-national) visitor to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), talked about that whilst he was 'not ashamed to be an English man or an English person', he was:

> [M]indful of my own heritage, my own cultural ties are wide and deep in a European context… in terms of my own heritage, I can trace my lineage back to North Africa and Russia. So I'm a very broad European… it's kind of like a pan-European view of the world.

Thirteen of the participants taking part in interviews and focus groups had a complex relationship with national identity that cannot be explained in singular terms. Here, the connection to a place, home or community of people was more complex and based on multiple (two or more) points of connection, for example:

- The heritage of parents or grandparents (historic roots);
- Dual citizenship;
- Migrants who had settled in a new country for various reasons.

Table 19 gives an example of visitors and focus group participants who can be described as holding hybrid national identities (this table only includes participants who defined their identity

as hybrid. It excludes for example those who live somewhere other than they were born but describe themselves as having a single identity – for example Khalida and May, participants in the focus group at the National Museum of Scotland - and participants with more radical non-national identities, who are included in the following section).

Table 19: Examples of visitors with hybrid national identities

Museum	Name	Identity
National History Museum in Athens	Alexia	Greek Swiss
German Historical Museum	Annie	Hungarian, Armenian
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Brina	Born in Canada, father from Ireland and mother from Trinidad (with African and Chinese roots)
Estonian National Museum	Eva	French with Portuguese, and Italian roots, lives in Estonia
National History Museum in Athens	Ioannis	Greek Australian
National Museum of Scotland	Iqbal	Born in Pakistan, lives in Scotland
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Manuela	Born in Romania, lives in Ireland
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Maria	Russian with Hungarian roots, lives in Ireland
Estonian National Museum	Mark	Russian-speaking in Estonia with Ukrainian and Mordovian roots
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Natalie	English with Hungarian roots
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Peter	Born in Nigeria, lives in Ireland
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Shaun	Australian Celt with Irish, Scottish roots
National History Museum in Athens	Thodoris	Greek Australian

How participants experienced their hybrid sense of identity was very personal. Some were comfortable with their dual identity and often it resulted in a much broader view of national identity. Sometimes it combined with feelings of exclusion, lack of acceptance and/or recognition of difference by the majority. A sense of belonging for those with hybrid identities appeared to depend on how 'at home' that person felt in their respective country. Iqbal, Peter and Eva all felt at home respectively in Scotland, Ireland, and Estonia, feeling comfortable with their position in the community:

> Looking at it from the other point, I am proud to say that I'm an Irish, because I look at it from the point of view [as] "a home away from home", and I think by now I am a person

> of two homes (Peter, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Nigerian in Ireland, aged 40s).

For others, they did not feel 'at home' in one place, they experienced life 'in-between' two (or more) worlds as something difficult, even problematic. As Chambers (1994) elaborates:

> To come from elsewhere, from "there" and not "here," and hence to be simultaneously "inside" and "outside" the situation at hand, is to live at the intersections of histories and memories… Cut off from the homelands of tradition, experiencing a constantly challenged identity, the stranger is perpetually required to make herself at home in an interminable discussion between a scattered historical inheritance and a heterogeneous present (Chambers 1994: 6).

Sometimes it was the lack of acceptance by the wider community, or the questioning of their identity, rather than the concept of a hybrid national identity itself, which caused tension or difficulties (Mark, Demetra, Brina, Maria, Manuela). Many described how they were made to feel different or excluded:

> Let's say that I have difficulties in placing myself, because when moving in Russian speaking community, I am Estonian and among Estonians I am Russian, like in-between all the time… among Russians I am Estonian, as I speak very good Estonian, relatively speaking (Mark, Estonian National Museum, Estonian/Russian, aged 27).

> I am not friends with Irish people really. Just like with more international, because even up to this day, even if you live long here, they're still like asking you where are you from (Manuela, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Romanian/Irish, aged 16).

Acceptance was, however, not only a problem for those with a hybrid identity. Khalida (aged 30s) defined herself as Scottish but because she originally came from Pakistan, she was not accepted by the wider community because of the colour of her skin:

> Although I feel I'm Scottish as much as anyone else but I don't look Scottish so I don't get accepted as Scottish and I don't feel Scottish although I want to be Scottish.

Demetra (National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged over 65) was Greek but had lived and worked in Germany for most of her life. She found it difficult to be accepted by either community:

> Well, in Germany we are foreigners and here [*Greece*] we are even more foreigners. Here we are the "Germans" and in Germany we are simply foreigners, because there, even if you become a citizen, you are always a foreigner.

Radical (non-national) identities

A minority of museum visitors and participants in the focus groups rejected the nation as the primary basis for identity, instead they adopted another primary identity based on being European, a global citizen, an individual or political identity.

A few participants primarily identified as European. The reasons for prioritising European identity rested on the personal value placed on membership of the EU or feeling a strong identification with the notion of a wider European culture and values which transcended national feeling. It was mainly national visitors to museums in Greece and Germany who highlighted their 'European-ness,' for example 7 visitors to the National History Museum in Athens embraced their European identity, considering it almost equal to the national or high in their estimation (Maria B, Elizabeth, Eugenie, Nikos A, Vassilis, and Konstantinos, all Greek; Elizabeth, Polish):

> I like belonging to the European Union, to be European (Maria B, Greek, aged 46-65).

At the German Historical Museum two German visitors (Ulrike, Sebastian) indicated that European was their primary identity, and a further 6 German visitors (Lukas, Vera, Harald, Sebastian, Bernhard and Kort) defined themselves as Europeans, without any conflict with their German or local identity:

> I characterize myself a European citizen, simultaneously influenced by extra-European affairs... I feel like I'm somewhere in between (Ulrike, German, aged 18-30).

Cosmopolitan values were held by a very small number of visitors to the six museums, linked to the idea that humans are global citizens, who should be treated the same rather than judged by (culturally constructed) national attributes. Often connected to this perspective was the appeal for global responsibility, or global justice, rather than a focus on immediate or local communities (see Fine 2007; Brown and Held 2010). For at least one visitor from each case study site, there was the recognition that the wider world had an impact on identity, not just local conditions. An appeal to the universality of being a human was often an appeal to a broader concept of identity than national (Anna, Germany; Konstantina and Nikos, Greece). These visitors described their identity variously as global spirit (Scotland) or world citizen (Latvia, Germany). The implication was that they were not tied to any specific territory; often they were well-travelled or worked around the world (Shona) held religious or spiritual beliefs that emphasised a common humanity (Orla), were young professionals, or were well educated (Anna).

Orla: the impact of a cosmopolitan identity on her experience of the museum

Orla (aged 44), an Irish visitor to the National Museum of Ireland, was born in Dublin but had moved to Australia, where she was a medical doctor. When asked to define her identity she immediately said Buddhist. Orla (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) Irish, aged 44) connected her cosmopolitanism to her Buddhist views. Asked about identity, Orla said:

> Globalisation ... that's the way the world is going... I like to celebrate differences, but I also like to celebrate sameness and common humanity.

Orla described the importance that she placed on 'commonality' and 'unification', which she contrasted to how in the world there was, 'too much going [*on*] about differences and segregation.' Whilst she liked to 'celebrate differences,' she emphasised the need for 'celebrating sameness and the humanity in everybody.' How did that world view impact on her perspective of the National Museum at Collins Barracks? Her immediate reaction to the museum was to feel proud that her father had been commemorated in the exhibition; he had worked for the national museum in Kildare Street and supported the development of the Collins Barracks branch. Orla noted the importance of Irish history to the museum, and commented that she had not appreciated before the 'beautiful sophistication and the spirituality of the country' before looking at the High Crosses exhibition and Irish material culture, including the '[*Ardagh*] chalice, the beautiful silversmithing and... metalwork.' In contrast, Orla had not enjoyed the history galleries of the museum, commenting that 'I found that I didn't want to see any more of that. I find that a bit depressing really... it's about segregation, separation, division, and I don't really like to dwell on that.' These comments are directly linked to her previous comments about her belief in a shared humanity, a reality that was not borne out in Irish history. Her dislike of the word nation was connected to the belief that it led to division, not integration.

Not all appeals to a common humanity, however, identified a cosmopolitan instinct. For one visitor to the National History Museum in Athens, Leonidas (Greek, aged 31-45), it stemmed

from a sense of frustration at the current political and social events, as well as disclosing a hint of xenophobic attitude towards the "Other":

> I'd say that I am trying to be a human being. Today, it's harder being a human being than being Greek. It doesn't mean anything to me [being Greek]. Whoever wants to, comes, stays for five years in Greece, and acquires citizenship.

Other forms of primary identity which shaped participants' world views included political beliefs: Stephan (German Historical Museum, German, aged 31-45), who identified as an anarchist, acknowledged that whilst there was an identity and culture in the regions of Germany, and across Europe, he rejected the idea of, 'something essentially German… I don't believe in the existence of a German culture.' The former Soviet Union provided a sense of identity for Kakhaber (Latvian Open-Air Museum, Georgian, aged 40), who suggested that post-Soviet nations have a common identity, or 'togetherness,' that is different to the rest of Europe:

> For Latvians the situation is similar like with us Georgians. Maybe Latvians are Europeans. But they are not such Europeans like Germans for now. They are different somehow. There was the Soviet Union earlier.

For Vasile, Peter, Sylvain and Boris, identity was a very individual thing, defined by who you are and what you do:

> Mostly I identify myself with what I'm doing. With the people I like. With things that happen in my life (Boris, German Historical Museum, German, aged 31-45).

Sylvain (National Museum of Scotland, aged 30-40), who was born in Senegal to parents with different roots, did not feel tied down to a specific land or place. He saw identity as very personal and trying to categorise it was not helpful in his opinion:

> I was born from a mixed background, my mother and father came from two different places… I was born in a place they were not from… I find it very difficult to define any identity... it's not something that is very fixed.

Two participants of the focus group at the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Vasile (European, aged 50s) and Peter (Nigerian in Ireland, aged 40s), also saw identity as a very individual concept.

Personal identity

National identity was not the only way in which visitors and participants in the focus groups described their identity and they often held multiple identities. As Anthony Smith (1991) suggests, the 'self is composed of multiple identities and roles – familial, territorial, class, religious, ethnic and gender' (Smith 1991: 4). These personal, professional, civic and other identities can reinforce national identity or sit alongside it, or they may exist together in tension (Smith 1992). Most visitors were comfortable with this 'layering' of identity, however others found it hard to pin down their identity because they were aware that it is multiple, contingent (fluid), or dependent on circumstances which can change. It was mostly younger visitors (often well-educated and well-travelled) who were aware of their identity fluctuating and changing in light of circumstances (various visitors, Latvian Open-Air Museum; Tanya, National Museum of Scotland; Lauren, Marie and Alison, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks). On the other hand, other visitors were very clear about who they were:

> I am very concretely European, not a world citizen. Thus I consider myself having a very clear identity… I am aware of my race and my colour. Whether it also means that it is important to me, but I am aware of it. I am Estonian, European, white, Caucasian race and heterosexual (Kuldar, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 44).

Layers of identity: How do people prioritise their identities?

As previously stated, national identity was often the primary identification used by visitors when asked about their identity. Other visitors, however, offered a range of ideas attached to identity that seemed to prioritise different aspects of themselves. It is difficult to establish any clear pattern or consensus to these priorities beyond the majority tendency to put the national first.

> I suppose apart from my nationality I'm a wife and a mother, I think before being a teacher or anything else… If somebody said to me that would be how I would describe myself (Gail, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 53)

However, there are some examples where the national was not the first element of identity that sprung to mind:

> First it comes to my mind that I am me. But that doesn't go, very selfish, isn't it? I am a mother, I am a musician, I am Tartu-an, I am Estonian. I think I am Tartu-an first and Estonian second. And a woman! That I almost forgot, it is so self-evident (Anneli, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 31-45).

Personal identity markers

When people discussed their identity, they associated various ideas or 'identity markers' with that identity, patterns of which emerged from across the six case studies. These were:

- Nationality
- Where people live
- Region
- Heritage, roots
- Gender
- Religion
- Language
- Education
- Employment or profession
- Role in the family
- Personal characteristics
- Interests

Nationality was a significant identity marker for most visitors. Alternatively, where people **lived** could be significant to their sense of identity, which was not always the same as their place of birth:

> There's a real pride in saying to people I live in Scotland, I live in Edinburgh and I tell them about what it's like (Sylvain, National Museum of Scotland, born in Senegal, aged 30-40).

Sebastian, Ulrich and Carsten, visitors to the German Historical Museum, considered the city of Berlin as crucial for their identity, although they grew up in other regions of Germany:

> I would characterize myself as a Berliner with North-German roots (Carsten, German, aged 31-45).

Regional identity was also mentioned by several visitors, although this was mainly expressed by visitors to the German Historical Museum. Here 11 of the 25 visitors (Harald, Maria, Kort, Andrea, Ulrich, Martin, Stephan, Sebastian, Ulrich, Carsten and one unidentified visitor) placed significance on their regional identity. For example, Andrea (German, aged 18-30) was born in East Germany and her choice of identity was based on her family's history in that region:

> Well, I come from East Germany, that's where I was born. Also, my family was raised there… maybe it is my family's identity that is dominant… when I look at photos from GDR and those from West Germany, then… well those do not interest me that much, because they seem somehow distinct for me.

Regional identity was also important for 8 visitors to the National Museum of Ireland, (Tommy, Bronagh, Pidelma, Dorothy, Harry, Lauren, Marie and Alison) and 4 visitors to the Estonian National Museum (Anneli, Silvi, Tom and Lore):

> I am South-Estonian. Yes, I identify myself as South-Estonian, Otepää-an… My roots are from Otepää. The issue of roots is important (Silvi, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 30s)

At the Latvian Open-Air Museum, regional identity tended to be subordinated to national identity, however there was one exception for Iveta P. (Latvian, aged 30), who gave priority to her identity as someone from Latgale. This region of Latvia sees itself differently from the rest of Latvia, firstly in religion, which is Catholic rather than Protestant, and in its history. Iveta P also identifies cultural and social traits that are distinctive to Latgale:

> I strongly feel like a Latgallian. I identify myself more with this group and not so much with Latvians. I even separate that it is not the same. The membership of family and responsibility about the things is the highest value of Latgallian. Not only the things you do, not only yourself are important but that great responsibility about family members, also about society which you are part of and place where you live. I think this is the issue that does not fit with the average Latvian.

The next set of identity markers were suggested by relatively few visitors across the six museums. Family and community backgrounds, the notion of **heritage and roots**, could contribute to the shaping of identity. Gail (National Museum of Scotland), Maria (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)) and Victoria (National History Museum, Athens) talked about the importance of their family background for forming their sense of identity:

> [B]eing from a very working-class, hard-working background, yet of people that had enormous respect for education and changing your future, the future of your children, through education (Gail, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 53).

A few visitors identified themselves through their **gender**: three visitors in Greece (Maria A, Thodoris, John), Kuldar in Estonia and Bethany in Scotland. Two visitors expressed **religion** as an important part of their identity:

> I am Christian, thus I say that "he, who vaunts, should vaunt about the Holy Father," well, one should have more this kind of humbleness and silent-ness (Eve, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, age unknown).

> For me personally my religion is very important in defining my identity. I think it's more important that I am an Orthodox Christian in the sense that I could more easily be part of a group with other Christians than with Greek citizens that are not Christians (Vassilis, National History Museum, Athens, Greek, aged 18-30).

Language was of personal importance to visitors to the Estonian National Museum: Cecile (French, aged 30s) in particular talked about the importance of knowing that the French language connected her with many other people around the world:

> It means sharing a certain... a common set of values and knowledge with a large group of people. It means sharing a common education with fifty-five million people, it means sharing a language with… all the people who speak French. Not only in France but in other countries. It means having common reference.

For Georgia and Anna, visitors to the National History Museum in Athens, their **education** was an important part of their identity as a University graduate (Anna) and someone who was about to start their post-graduate research (Georgia). **Employment or profession** was important to some visitors. Bethany (National Museum of Scotland, English, aged 30) described herself as a 'woman doing science.' Victoria (National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 46-65) explained how as a teacher 'our profession defines us… my role is to transmit some things that I know well or that I am interested in or that I examined closer, in the best way that I can.' Four visitors to the German Historical Museum (Liz and Ron, Jamie and Geoff) coming from English-speaking countries (Britain, Canada) presented themselves as 'middle-class professionals.' The **role in the family** was mentioned by a few visitors, women and men, such as Jimmy (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) Irish, aged 67) who said he was 'very much a family man' when questioned about identity. William (National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 55) described himself as a father and carer for his wife.

A looser category was particular **personal characteristics** that participants used to describe themselves. These included people who feel misplaced or displaced in society:

> [S]omebody that is a little bit misplaced (Ernests, Latvian Open Air Museum, Latvian, aged 33-37)

> I was born here [Estonia], and I love my country. And I'd love to come back at some point. And buy a *talu* [farmstead] somewhere, I don't know, on an island. And maybe weave the fabrics and just like listen to birdsing. That'd be lovely. But maybe it's because I have a stressful job (Ilona, Estonian National Museum, Estonian woman living in the UK).

> Yes, how do I see myself? I feel like a worker, ready to create things, to offer things. That's how I feel. As part of a big beehive, I feel like a worker that has to do things… And I am not always able to do (Eleni, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 31-45).

People who are interested in the world or other cultures:

> I am somebody who is willing, willing to discover as much things as possible in the world (Eugenie, National History Museum in Athens, French, aged 31-45).

> I am somebody who is willing, willing to discover as much things as possible in the world. I 'm very curious about, the world we live in, and the world as it used to be before, as well as about other people who live in other continents, or countries. And about other people who lived in other times (Eugenie, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 31-45).

> As a traveller, I find it important. I don't think you should just go to other places without learning more about them, about how they are now and how they got that way (Jamie, German Historical Museum, Canadian, aged 31).

People who regard themselves as liberal minded:

> I grew up in Athens in a family who did not have a strict ideological orientation… I've always liked history and research and the years I've lived in England and the people from other countries that I met made me think whether everything that we take for granted in our culture is in fact to be taken for granted. Religion, the history that we learn and all that (Nikos A, National History Museum, Athens, Greek, aged 18-30).

> Well I would define my identity as fairly liberal, open, nationalistic, not at the expense of having an open mind on matters (Ciaran, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 67).

Lastly, some people defined themselves by their **interests**. This included Victoria (National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 46-65) who liked art, theatre and music, Margaret (National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 50-60) who was an Elvis Presley fan, and Nektaria (National History Museum in Athens, aged under 18) who liked writing poetry about freedom, 'life in general, about death, the meanings of life.'

Almost all visitors to the six national museums mentioned their interest in museums, not only national museums but art, history (including folk and cultural), science and natural history museums. Table 20 shows the number of visitors to each site who described themselves as regular or occasional visitors to museums.

Table 20: Visitor interest in museums at the six national museums

Museum	Regular visitors to museums	Occasional visitors to museums
Estonian National Museum	24 visitors	1 visitor (Ivo)
Latvian Open-Air Museum	5 visitors	
German Historical Museum	17 visitors	5 visitors
National History Museum, Athens	All visitors	
National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)	Most visitors	1 visitor (Eamonn)
National Museum of Scotland	21 visitors	6 visitors

The construction of national identity in the national museum

Having looked at how visitors and focus group participants at the six national museums described their personal identity, we can conclude the following:

- Visitors can be categorised as national (coming from the nation in which the national museum is located) and non-national (from outside the nation in which the national museum is located). However, there is not always a simple distinction between the two categories.
- Personal identity is constructed in different ways, however some shared characteristics can be identified across the six museums such as the importance of national identity.

- Some visitors describe multiple aspects of their identity, which draw on seemingly "common" markers such as heritage, region, personal characteristics and interests.
- Museum visiting is another important characteristic amongst visitors although few explicitly describe it as part of their identity.
- Identity was straightforward for some visitors, however for others it was more challenging to define or describe.

This section looks more deeply at how national identity is articulated by visitors in the national museum, in response to the following questions:

- How do visitors define what it means to be Estonian, Latvian, Greek, German Scottish and Irish? What patterns can be seen across the six museums when describing collective national consciousness?
- What is the nature of national identity? Are visitors confident about their national identity? What can have an impact on the strength of national identity?
- How do visitors think about and describe the impact of national identity? Are there negative and positive impacts?

It was evident from the interviews that although visitors were in the national museum, their ideas about national identity came from their prior knowledge and assumptions about the nation as well as from the museum exhibitions and displays. This knowledge was different depending on the visitor's connection to the nation – reflecting their national or non-national status - but there was not always a straightforward difference between national and non-national conceptions of identity. Thinking about how national identity is conceived in Europe, A. D. Smith (1992) distinguishes between an Eastern, or Ethnic, and a Western model of the nation. The Western model of nation is founded on:

- The centrality of the national territory or homeland;
- A common system of laws and state institutions;
- The legal equality of citizens in a political community;
- A mass civic culture.

The Eastern model, on the other hand, is founded on:

- The importance of ethnic descent and belonging by birth (ethnicity in the European context needs to be distinguished from *race*, groups which are held to 'possess unique hereditary biological traits that allegedly determine the mental attributes of the group,' (Smith 1991: 21));
- The survival (or revival) of popular or folk culture, including language, customs, traditions.

Elements of both these models were reflected in the conceptions of national identity discussed in the six national museums: indeed Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999) note the problems of using these models precisely. It also highlights the lack of a standard model and approach in national museums, referring back to the EuNaMus definition of a national museum as a 'malleable technology.' The Western model seemed stronger in the discussions of visitors at the German Historical Museum, whilst the Eastern model applied more to visitor discussions in Latvia and Estonia. The comments of visitors to museums in Greece, Scotland and Ireland fell somewhere between the two models. Some expressions of national identity, particularly by the

more patriotic Scottish and Irish visitors, were rooted in the notion of a cultural and linguistic identity with a recognisable 'homeland.' Unlike Latvia and Estonia, however, the attempt at creating a Scottish and Irish identity based on folk culture and ethnography was not strong in the museums. Neither was this the case in the Greek museum, where the foremost narrative was of history, albeit represented in a sentimental and romantic manner.

Collective identity markers

In each museum, visitors were asked to define the collective national identity of that nation: their conception of Estonian-ness, Latvian-ness, Greek-ness, German-ness, Irish-ness, and Scottish-ness. From the discussions of visitors to the six national museums have been identified a set of 'collective identity markers' which (similarly to the personal identity markers described in the previous section) establish distinct patterns in the way that participants talk about national identity. Many of these 'markers' are presented as specific and even exceptional to a particular collective national identity, however it can be seen that many of the markers are similar across Europe, although they might be felt more strongly in some countries compared to others. These markers are:

- Specific cultural traits, 'essence' or 'spirit'
- Religion
- Language
- Values – civic (state) or nation (people)
- Place, belonging, homeland
- European or global impact, diaspora
- Heritage, origin, roots
- People who have struggled against the 'Other'
- Culture and traditions

These elements may be timeless or non-specific, be relevant to the museum context or reveal that the visitor is drawing on wider associations and ideas of national identity. Some visitors found the process more challenging than others (particularly for some non-national visitors) and in Germany where the strength of regional identity made it difficult to identify common national characteristics. In the following sections, each 'collective identity marker' will be described and a selection of comments from visitors which be used to illustrate each theme. An indication of the strength of the discussion for each museum will be suggested were this is possible.

Cultural traits, 'essence' or 'spirit': Visitors described commonly for each of the six collective identities a selection of cultural traits which could be associated with them. It was implied that for each nation, these traits were specific or exceptional to the people living in that nation. This attitude towards **uniqueness** is a distinctive feature of national identity according to Sharon MacDonald (1997) who highlights the idea of *Excessive Individuation* (coined by Charles Taylor). This suggests that individuals, nations, groups, and communities all have their own distinctive culture or identity. Connected to these views are notions of 'authenticity' and 'purity,' and the concern that change can threaten this distinctiveness. Additionally, multiple or dual identities can be viewed suspiciously. This helps to explain some of the tendencies, which will be explored later in the section on the *Impact of National Identity* towards the exclusion and lack of

acceptance to those individuals who do not fit the national ideal. National (Kenneth M, Kenneth S, Mailyn) and non-national (Ian, Sue and Sheila, Alison, Bethany, Giovanni and Mario) visitors to the National Museum of Scotland discussed the idea of the Scots being a distinct people, with specific characteristics, culture and traditions. They were 'a people apart… separate from the English or the Welsh' (Giovanni and Mario, Sicilian, both aged 30s). Another non-national visitor, Ian (National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 50), suggested that the independence and distinctiveness of Scotland was a feature that could be traced back through history in the museum's displays:

> I think it's a very fiery independence that's probably always been there. I mean just looking on here really at the history of the Roman aspect of it. The Romans never defeated north of the wall really. So there's that element of, you know, the Scots trying to, not replicate it, but retain that element of we are different.

Alison (British, aged 63) commented that despite the distinctiveness of the Scots it was 'quite contentious' as to whether it represents a specific ethnicity. However, speaking as a non-national visitor (albeit half-Scottish) she admitted that 'I don't know. I suppose it is. I mean I find it difficult to say because [of] not being 100% [Scottish].' Cultural traits, essence or spirit could also be seen in the personal characteristics that visitors associated with particular national identities. These have been summarised in Table 21 and broadly categorised into the following types in the narrative:

- Hard-working, serious, strong;
- Resilience, endures hardship;
- Feeling towards others, community;
- Negative characteristics.

Hardworking, serious, strong: One set of characteristics identified by mainly national visitors described or suggested the national character was hard-working (Estonia, Latvia, Germany, Ireland, Scotland), serious, reserved (Germany, Estonia) or strong (Germany, Scotland). Associations with these ideas included the evidence of industry and skill seen in the displays and material culture of the museum, such as those described by Baiba (Latvian, aged 55), 'Beautiful things, beautiful articles, every smallest detail present and evidence that it was very important for the Latvians of that time.' In Germany and Estonia, the psychological traits associated with hard-work included being reserved, stoic and serious. Estonian visitors described the 'cold nerve' of their nature, however as Aljona (aged 20-23) pointed out, they "warm up" once you get to know an Estonian better:

> I would say that Estonians are generally very silent and they are cold, but once you get to know a person, they warm up... this kind of silent nation, but good ones. That are not very tempered compared to the others.

Historical events could be used to support these traits. For example one unidentified Estonian visitor to the Estonian National Museum considered that the ability for Estonians to think and act rationally was supported by the Singing Revolution, when 'we managed to become independent again without war… if it were some hot-tempered sons of the southern countries, there would have been a major amount of uproaring.' Some cultural traits resembled stereotypes or clichés, for example comments made about the German character by national (Andrea, Anna,

Lukas, Ulrich) and non-national visitors (Liz and Ron, Jamie, Annie) to the German Historical Museum, such as coherence, sense of time, credibility, order, discipline, assiduity, and assurance.

Table 21: 'Cultural traits' suggested by visitors at each of the six national museums

Estonia	Latvia	Greece	Germany	Ireland	Scotland
Clarity in speaking	Belonging	Hospitality	law-abiding	hard times	anti-English
respect for language and culture	ancestors	Close family ties	order	endurance	fiery independence
closed	character	Optimism	cleanliness	confident	a people apart
cold nerve (nerves of steel)	blood	Generosity	well-organised	laid-back	resilience
silent	roots	Kindness	confident	insular	strong people
lack of temper	hard-working	willingness to help	admire power, authority	racism	reliable
warm up once get to know them	toughness	Filotimo (sense of honour and pride)	strong	open to new ideas	thrifty
good ones	respect for nature	Wittiness	stoic	generous	perseverance
thinks rationally before acting (not emotional)	aestheticism	resourcefulness	serious	soft-hearted	unpretentious
reserved	Know how to have a good time (know-how of feasting)	Resilience	restrained	nice	down to earth
serious	spitefulness	Unity	introspective	friendly	hard-working
hard-working	envy	Intrigues	self-critical	popular	adaptable
responsibility	impudence	passions	complaining	outward – looking	open-hearted
unpredictable	Skill in making, craftsmanship	internal conflicts	coming to terms with the past	can-do attitude	Friendly
secrecy		indecisiveness		community	community
harsh life		Individualism		sociable	humorous
		indifference		Eccentric	welcoming
		wrong choices		Sense of humour	aggressive
					divisive
					territorial

Resilience, endurance of hardships: The resilience of character formed through the endurance of hardships were traits associated with the Greek and the Irish, coincidentally two nations that were at the time of the research going through economic and social turmoil. Greek visitors to the National History Museum in Athens highlighted the 'resourcefulness' of the Greeks and their 'ability to survive and to find 'ways out' of difficult situations' (Konstantinos, Greek, aged 31-45). Marilena and Thodoris mentioned the 'resilience' of the Greeks, their ability to 'endure constant changes in the political situation and other difficult situations' (Marilena, Greek, aged 46-65). All three visitors found examples of these traits in the museum displays. At the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), direct connections were made with the museum by national visitors, who highlighted the hard times and oppression that the Irish had endured in the past, and used it to argue that the current financial crises were surmountable:

> Compare the famine to where we are today. Compare all of those dreadful things and see where we've come to. There's a view out there that this recession is the best thing that ever happened to the country. It's brought people back down to earth and give them a sense of values that they had lost with the young people (Tommy, Irish, aged 65).

These were also cultural traits associated with Scotland by national and non-national visitors, linked to the harshness of life in the past, the unpredictable climate and the land.

Feeling towards others: ideals of community, friendliness, willingness to help, sociability, and family ties were associated with people in Greece, Ireland and Scotland, mainly by national visitors. Tom (National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 60) spoke of his 'deeper friendship and loyalty for my clan chief and his family' (Tom, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 60). Anna and Eleni, Greek visitors to the National History Museum, highlighted the Greek sense of honour, or pride, known as 'Filotimo.' The Irish and the Latvians were credited with knowing how to have a good time (Irish *Craic* and Latvians '*know-how of feasting*'). Piret-Klea (Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 30s) suggested that the reserved nature of the Estonians meant that they tended to express their sentiments collectively and on special occasions such as the national Song Festival: 'Because Estonians are so reserved and closed and when we gather to celebrate song or dance festival, we feel, we belong to a same nation.'

Negative characteristics: National visitors were more open to being self-deprecating and negative about the common indicators of national identity. At the German Historical Museum, visitors mentioned the German's love of authority and power (Annie), inability to make decisions (Sebastian) and propensity to complain all the time (Lieselotte). Latvians were associated with spitefulness, envy, and impudence. Greeks were suggested to hold many negative traits, including the propensity towards conflict, indecisiveness, indifference, intrigues and passions (Thodoris, Eleni, Konstantinos, Maria A). Some traits were seen in the history displays of the National History Museum, however others were reflections on the contemporary situation: 'Greeks have to reach "rock bottom" in order to take action' (Konstantinos, Greek, aged 31-45). In contrast to the friendly, outgoing nature of the Irish, and the community-mindedness of the Scottish, in both countries there was an acknowledgement by national visitors (and one non-national) of racism and the difficulties of integration experienced by those from outside the community. Visitors to National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Linda (Irish, aged 50), and Jimmy (Irish, aged 67), both sensed a more recent, racist element in the Irish character, particularly towards immigrants: 'I don't think it's the "hundred thousand welcomes"' (Linda, referring to a popular

Gaelic saying). Una (Irish, aged 31) considered that 'It's easy to have a reputation as a friendly nation when you don't have to deal with people from other countries or other backgrounds coming in'. The leader of Canongate Youth group (Northern Irish, aged 32) had lived in Scotland for several years and pointed out that Scottish people could be territorial: 'It's funny because Edinburgh's culturally diverse, but it's not really. In many ways it's really backwards.' Internal conflicts could also be problematic for the development of a positive Greek, Irish and Scottish identity:

> It also disappointed me some, because, we Greeks do that, we do great and then we turn on each other's throats. We can do without that lack of unity. We can be very united, fight a common struggle, succeed and then we start destroying everything because of our internal disputes (Maria B, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 46-65).

National (Amanda and Mailyn, Lesley, William) and non-national visitors (Alison, Susan and Sheila) to the National Museum of Scotland pointed out examples of division and conflict in Scottish history, including sectarianism and regional divisions. Binge drinking and football also suggested an uglier side to Scottish culture.

Religion: A few national visitors in Latvia, Greece, Ireland and Germany highlighted the importance of religion to the historical development of national identity.

> It is belonging to the Christian European culture where more or less united understanding about good and evil dominates, where is more or less united models of socially accepted behaviour, where is more or less united comprehension about democracy (Zane, Latvian Open Air Museum, Latvian, aged 30-35).

The dominance of the Catholic Church in Ireland was mentioned by several national visitors (Jimmy, Annette, Dorothy, Majeela). Not all visitors were comfortable with this, and Dorothy (Irish, aged 72) thought that religion was becoming less significant for younger people. Geoff (aged 31), a Canadian visitor to the German Historical Museum was surprised to see in the museum that religion was an important element in the construction of national identity in Germany: 'I always think of Germany to be a rather secular country as opposed to France or Spain.'

Language: Whilst language was a common marker of national identity across all museums, language was more significant to (mainly) national visitors in Estonia, Greece and Ireland. Language could reflect or shape cultural traits (e.g. reserve in Estonia, confidence in Ireland) and created a sense of community formed from its speakers. In Greece, language provided continuity with the ancient past, literary tradition and philosophers, and acted as a tool for unity for several national visitors (Vassilis, Maria A, Eleni, Alexia, Anna, Nikos A, Thodoris):

> For me, it means [being Greek is] something very complicated and deep. It means, the language, the way you express yourself is very different from one language to another, and this creates a different type of communication/ contact among people speaking the same language (Maria A, Greek, aged 18-30).

For Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), language was important but so were *ways of speaking*, meaning the Craic (wider meaning of being with friends, family), storytelling, literary tradition, tone, manner, how language is used, and love of words. Few Irish visitors spoke Gaelic but they were all in favour of keeping it. Both national and non-national visitors mentioned language in Germany and Scotland. Martin (German Historical Museum,

German, aged 46-65) referred to the cultural characteristics of the Germano-phone and not just German world. Two British visitors (Liz and Ron) mentioned language as a key characteristic of German identity. In Scotland, national and non-national visitors remarked on the identifiable accent, the different words used (Susan and Sheila), and the language of Gaelic (Shona, Tom).

The importance of language to the Estonian national identity

Speaking the Estonian language was considered a relevant and significant identity marker to Estonian visitors to the National Museum, part of their identity, but also the national identity more generally (Saima, Helen, Anneli, Egle, Kaia-Lissa, Liliane). Language was mentioned separately, or as part of the culture in general, by Eva, who had lived in Estonia for many years although she was not originally born there: 'to deserve one's nation and to be an honourable Estonian… [*means*] to respect one's language and culture' (Eva, European, aged 55). Two Estonian visitors, Mark and Anneli, debated the link between the language and the Estonian character or mentality. Mark, whose identity was Estonian and Russian, compared the way of speaking in Estonia, which he described as explicit and 'indifferent' in style, to the Russian way of speaking, which he described as emotional and ambiguous. Caught between the two identities, he tried to find a balance between two very different means of expression:

> Estonian language is very explicit, monotonous, for example, if one says that you should go to the store, it is a clear, single message. But in Russian you can say it in this way and that way. You may say it very politely; you may say it very angrily. You have to understand this context. I do have this problem that I do have to get the emotion out of a sentence. Maybe, what makes one Estonian is this clarity (Mark, Estonian/Russian, aged 27).

Anneli too made a link between language and its connection with the Estonian mentality, using the example that the Estonian language is not gendered, and 'there is no difference already in the language, but things are things and humans are humans and then they are men or women, but there is no very clear difference' (Anneli, Estonian, aged 31-45).

Values, civic (state) and people (nation): Participants noted the common social and cultural values attached to national identity, whether this tended to be imbued in an ethnic or national community of people (Estonia, Latvia, Greece, Scotland, Ireland) or in the civic, state structures (Germany; to a lesser extent, Greece and Scotland). Civic or state values included peace, democracy, freedom, welfare, education and economic prosperity. These were particularly associated with the German state by nine national visitors to the German Historical Museum (Boris, Carsten and Kort, Synthia and Lukas, Stephan, Vera, Maria, Sebastian):

> I would also add the social achievements of the German state. I believe that in Germany, there may be a lot of unemployed, many people live in poverty lines… but there is a welfare system for our health and for our old age. And this I consider to be a model (Vera, German Historical Museum, German, aged 46-65).

The state's provision of education was important to two Greek visitors (Georgia, Leonidas), and Scottish visitors to the National Museum of Scotland mentioned that the state in Scotland was more communally focused than that of England. In Estonia and Latvia, ethnic and national identity tended to overlap, there was no conception of national identity primarily as a civic identity. In Greece too, although the civic role of the state was mentioned, the role of the people in maintaining Greek values was more common in the discussions of national visitors. This was particularly noticeable in visitor comments about the decline of Greek identity in the present. National visitors to museums in Scotland and Ireland also talked extensively about the values

imbued in the nation's people. The importance of family relationships and helping the community were noted, particularly as a means of coming together because of poverty: 'it's probably community that's come out of poverty. We've never had an easy history and there's an interdependency that is required' (James, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) Irish, aged 30s). In Ireland, the term *Craic* was used by Irish visitors to describe the importance of getting together with friends, usually in a pub, simply to talk (Orla, Jimmy):

> [I]t's grand over in the other countries, but they come back for the *craic* you know. That's one big thing now. You'll never beat the *craic* here… if you come back, the first thing you do, go out with the people like, you know (Bronagh, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 18).

Place and homeland: Visitor comments about place and homeland can be divided broadly into three categories. Firstly there is the importance of the landscape, environment, natural resources and climate to the shaping of national character, which came out most strongly in Scotland (and was noted by national and non-national visitors). Secondly, place can refer to the nation's position in Europe or the world, which can have an impact on national identity (see subsequent section on 'European or Global impact, diaspora'). Lastly, the concept of nation as homeland, to which is attached a strong, even romantic, sense of belonging, was highlighted by national visitors in Greece, Scotland and Estonia. The importance of landscape, climate and the environment to the shaping of national character came out very strongly in Scotland (see vignette below), but also in Greece, Latvia and Estonia. At the Latvian Open-Air Museum, national visitors stressed the Latvian's respect for nature and importance of the surrounding environment in shaping their national character. The park-like environment of the museum may have inspired, or reinforced, such comments. Similarly, at the Estonian National Museum, two visitors suggested that the 'beauty and softness of [*the*] country' and the connection to nature was very important to Estonians (Lore, from Belgium but had studied in Estonia; unidentified visitor). The changeable climate and the harshness of the land was also noted as an influence on Estonian character (Galina, Ljudmilla, Russian-speaking participants in the focus group). The landscape of Greece was a significant element of national identity and pride because of its uniqueness and variety according to four national visitors to the National History Museum (Anna, Maria A, Alexia, Leonidas). Greek's position between the East and West was also regarded as important in shaping their identity (Maria A, Eugenie):

> I feel that I have in mind an attractive blend about Greece and national identity that I like a lot. I love the fact that it is between [the] East [and] the West. And I think that is very charming and everyone can develop it in any direction they want, and decide what they want to keep and what to throw away. And I think this is one of the best elements of Greek identity (Maria A, Greek, aged 18-30).

National visitors in Ireland or Germany rarely mentioned landscape as an element of their identity. The Irish landscape was only mentioned in connection with the Celtic past, such as the pre-historic sites of New Grange (Pidelma) or Tara (Dorothy), and the vagaries of the climate (wind and rain) was mentioned by Bronagh. Only Annette (Irish, aged 50s) who was living in England, talked about how she missed the mountains: 'And like the stunningly beautiful, like the west of Ireland… I mean Hull is pretty not beautiful and there's no mountains. So you do get a hankering for mountains.'

Scotland: landscape, place, belonging

The importance of the land to the Scottish sense of self came out very strongly in responses from national and non-national visitors at the National Museum of Scotland. The beauty of the landscape was a common theme amongst visitors (Brian, Bethany, Jim and Margaret, Kenneth S, Christine, Tanya, Dorothy). The landscape was regarded as unique and very varied with its mountains, wildlife, and coastline (Christine, Scottish, aged 50s), and 'its breathtaking views, its natural wonders' (Tanya, Scottish, aged 32). Participants talked about the range of contrasts between the low lying Orkney islands, the rolling border country and the highlands (Dorothy, Jim and Margaret). It was not only the natural environment that was so important to Scottish identity but also its built heritage, its well-preserved castles and historic buildings (Christine, Vladimir, Sue and Sheila, Jim), and its iconic buildings and structures - 'the bridges across the Forth and the Tay because they're engineering masterpieces' (Lesley, Scottish, aged 47).

The land was what gave Scotland its distinctive products, traditions and symbols; it was a source of abundant natural resources: the pure water used to make whiskey (Bethany, Giovanni and Mario); the tweed, whiskeys and crafting, emerging from the landscape – 'it's about producing something from the land and what they've got' (Bethany, English, aged 30). Natural resources such as oil were seen as very valuable – it 'signifies wealth' (Brian, English, aged 50s) - but also a source of political tension in the current climate, particularly Scotland's control over its oil reserves (Lesley and Gail). Several non-national visitors connected the nature of the landscape and climate to the distinctive characteristics of Scottish people. For example, their hardiness came from the climate (Giovanni and Mario, Sicilian), or as Alison (British, born in England) described, 'standing up to the weather. It's standing up to isolated living.' Bethany (English) also reflected on the remoteness of Scotland in building character: 'Just kind of the further north you go, it can be quite difficult to live… their ability to kind of live quite harmoniously there or so it seems.'

Scottish visitors strongly expressed their sense of belonging to place and homeland (Dorothy, Ross, Gail, Kenneth M, and Tom). Being Scottish was often connected with being born in Scotland: as Ross (Scottish, aged 20-30) described the national identity in Scotland as, 'a very specific sense that you're Scottish and you're from this island whereas for other parts of the world it's more everybody's in a melting pot… with Scotland it's more about being from Scotland.' For Dorothy (Scottish, aged 64), a strong connection to the land and its people gave her a sense of continuity: 'it's just nice to look back and think of all these generations, thousands and thousands of years of people that have lived on the same land here… It just makes you, I think, quite proud to be part of that, to be descended from that.'

European or global impact, diaspora: The European, or global, impact of the nation was cited as an important element in the shaping of national identity in Ireland, Scotland, Greece and Germany (to a lesser extent). The notion of a diaspora was also important in Ireland and Scotland. By contrast, the shaping of Latvian and Estonian identity seemed much more insular, focused on the specific characteristics of those countries rather than exploring their impact more widely. Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) referenced the country's relationship with the wider world through the notion of *Irish people all over the world*, the Irish diaspora (Una, Pidelma, Ciaran). James (Irish, aged 30s) gave the most evocative explanation of this tendency with his perspective on Irish pubs/bars:

> [D]efinitely, you plug into a community. My brother, when he used to work in New York, could go down to the local Irish pub and get his cheque cashed there… The Irish pubs abroad, they're like embassies. But it's true… if I was in New York and I needed help or advice, if you went to an Irish pub, you'll at least find someone who can say well you need to talk to Tony in the corner there.

The notion of diaspora was also noted by national and non-national visitors to the National Museum of Scotland who described being Scottish as a community which extends beyond the country itself and includes those who have Scottish heritage (Bethany, Tom, Mario). Tom

(Scottish, aged 60) talked about the diaspora in terms of an extended family. It was acknowledged that many people were forced to leave Scotland and Ireland because of past hardships – the Irish Famine, Highland Clearances in Scotland – and there was an expectation that people would want to return after being away. Tom talked about how emigrants from America would return to Scotland after three or four generations, and, 'every one of them tells you the same thing, you know, it's a feeling of belonging, of being home.' Dorothy (National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 64), who had lived in England and Wales, described how her roots kept pulling her back to Scotland: 'You feel at home amongst your people. And it's not that you necessarily have to stay there, but you definitely feel that you belong there.' However, Annette (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) Irish, aged 50s) had tried to return to Ireland after a lifetime in the UK and found it had not worked: her home and her friends were in England. In Germany and Greece, there was a very limited idea of a diaspora; one German visitor mentioned a community of German speakers across the world (Martin). Non-national visitors from France (Cecile, Estonian National Museum) and Portugal (Javier, National History Museum in Athens) also mentioned the feeling of belonging to a wider global community based on language. The notion of the Greek diaspora in Asia Minor was part of the roots of Ioannis and members of the Greek Roma community. Several nations were regarded as having a significant impact on the European and global stage. Visitors to the National History Museum in Athens highlighted the impact that Greece has had on the roots of European, even Western civilization (Avgoustidis, Eugenie).

> Because, the whole European culture was based on the Greek ancient history… And all Europe was emerged from Greek civilization (Eugenie, French, aged 31-45).

For a small country, Scotland was regarded as having a significant impact on the world. National visitors mentioned the medical advances, science and engineering (Gail), politics and religion (Jim), and philosophy (Amanda); to innovations in agriculture and industry and the spread of these ideas across the globe (Kenneth M). Scottish visitors also talked about the large number of inventors, engineers and scientists that had been Scottish, and whose ideas were seen as having changed the world (Lesley and Gail, Tanya, Ken, Kenneth M, Christine, Kenneth S): 'From such a little pin-dot of a country really… [*the Scottish have*] sort of gone out across the globe' (Christine, Scottish, aged 50s). Eight visitors to the German Historical Museum talked about the achievements of Germany in the sciences, philosophy and culture which had a wider impact on Europe and the world (Andrea, Ulrike, Maria, Ulrich, Ron and Liz, Annie and Zhen). Two Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Ciaran, Linda), mentioned the contribution of Irish people to the world's art and culture:

> I mean if you look at the likes of the James Joyce, Samuel Beckett, it appeared that they didn't get it in Ireland. They had to go away too and it's only, well not now, but as soon as they've got fame away (Linda, Irish, aged 50).

The global impact of a nation was not always seen as positive: Lieselotte (German Historical Museum, German, aged over 65) expressed her inability to speak positively about Germany and added the danger of a repetition of history:

> First of all, we have to be ashamed, when we read about what we've done to the world. What we created with Nazism. This is inconceivable… Now is also a difficult period and everything can happen again.

On the contrary, Anna (German, aged 18-30) considered that 'coming to terms with the past' was a German characteristic.

Heritage, origins, roots: Heritage, origins and roots were significant aspects for shaping national identities for visitors to most museums, except for Germany. Personal history was more important for visitors to the German Historical Museum rather than the role of history for providing collective roots and heritage, which was remembered for different reasons.

National visitors to the National History Museum in Athens considered that the nation's heritage and long past, with its roots in ancient times, were critical to Greek national identity (Anna, Konstantinos, Nektaria, Vassilis, Nikos A, Thodoris, Eleni, Ioannis):

> But generally speaking… it means that we have a long history behind us, compared to other nations of the Earth... I think it's us, the Chinese, the Jews, not that many nations have such long history (Anna, Greek, aged 31-45).

> History is what weighs on us. That's what I believe (Konstantinos, Greek, aged 31-45).

For some Greek visitors, not only did the past define what it meant to be Greek but in the current social and political context, Greek heritage was the only positive aspect left of the Greek nation (Maria A, Konstantina, Nikos B). This notion is explored further in the section on *History and Identity*.

Heritage and origins was important to some Irish visitors, for example the Celtic past (Pidelma, Dorothy, Tommy and Kieran). Scottish's Celtic past was also important for Scottish visitors to the National Museum of Scotland (Christine, Dorothy, Kenneth S). Scotland's Celtic roots meant to Kenneth M (British (born in Scotland), aged 47), that the Scottish had a different way of doing things to England: 'It may come from a long way back and the sort of Celtic approach is probably a bit different from the Anglo-Saxon approach if you go right back to looking at things.'

Estonia and Latvia: folk culture, heritage and roots

Heritage and roots were deemed important to Latvian and Estonian notions of nationhood, highlighted by the museums' focus on folk culture and memory. In Latvia, associations were made with identity through terms such as belonging, ancestors, character, blood and roots. Visitors who lived (or had lived) in Estonia talked about the importance that Estonians attached to their heritage, blood identity and ethnic roots (Mark, Saima, Lore, Cecile, Eva, Silvi, Eve):

> What I learned when I came here, that being Estonian finally is a question of blood. Although it is disappearing, when compared to the beginning of 1990s (Eva, European, aged 55).

> Because, how should I put it, a person from another nationality, who has born here and who respects one's roots very much, well, the one is not Estonian. I can imagine that Estonian is one who is born here and respects one's story (Silvi, Estonian, aged 30s).

> Being Estonian is connected to country/earth, traditions and roots. I respect my ancestors memories and culture (Eve, Estonian).

Another non-national visitor who had lived in Estonia as a student, Lore (Belgian, aged 20s) described how her Estonian host family from 7 years ago were very proud of the traditional handicraft and vernacular architecture. Cecile (Estonian National Museum, French, age 30s), whose husband was Estonian, considered that the retaining of ethnic clothing and ways of living that continued into the present were examples of the importance attached to Estonian heritage:

> They're very proud of their agricultural background, that's something important and that's something that they are nurturing very much.

For Ilona, a member of the new Estonian diaspora living in the UK, her connection to the homeland was retained by knowing how to make, and wear, clothing in the traditional way:

> I've got like all the, like the woollen jumpers and stuff. And I've got for example like a *kirivöö* [traditional belt], which I wear to work sometimes, because it perfectly matches the suit. And people look at me like I'm a little bit odd! But yeah, so little things from home.

People who have struggled against the 'Other': The emphasis on the struggle for independence as part of a collective national identity often came from a history of oppression or struggle against the 'Other,' usually a larger political unit which threatened to deny or alter the expression of national identity and culture. Each nation involved in the research had a recognisable 'Other' with which visitors identified (the exception is Germany who in recent history acted as an oppressor in Europe), however the extent to which visitors discussed the notion of struggle in response to the museum varied considerably:

- Estonia and Latvia –Baltic Germans, Russian Empire, Soviet Union;
- Greece – Ottoman Empire;
- Ireland – Britain/England;
- Scotland – England.

In Estonia and Latvia, few visitors explored the relationship with their historic or more recent oppressors as a feature of collective national identity. It was implied in characteristics such as 'resilience,' and some Estonian visitors (unidentified) suggested that the emergence of the independent state and their survival throughout the struggles of history was something for Estonians to be proud about. However, others were supportive of the limited reference in both museums to the Soviet / Russian / Baltic German 'Other.' The importance of a struggle against

oppression in the shaping of national character came out strongly in Greece, and to a lesser extent in Ireland and Scotland. National visitors (Nikos A, Konstantina and Nikos, Nektaria, Vassilis, Thodoris, Maria B, Victoria), and a few non-national visitors (Panagiota and Giorgos, Elizabeth) to the National History Museum in Athens considered that the idea of 'Greekness' was best represented in the through their struggle for freedom against the Ottoman Empire during the War of Independence.

Photo: Sheila Watson

Consistent with the idea of struggle were notions of bravery, heroic actions, sacrifice and pride. The ability and the will to fight and unite against the enemy were common denominators in Greek national discourse for all historical periods, notions that were strengthened, even shaped, by the approach of the museum:

> What we went through, for me at least, the fact that there were people so 'brave with so much faith in God, which personally, I think it helped them… Enough to give them strength to continue the fight. For me all these people are true heroes. Now if this coincides with being Greek, what can I say (Konstantina and Nikos, both Greek, aged 18-30).

> It definitely transmits messages, it takes you to that period, to the way people lived, which was basically to fight to get rid of the oppressor… I believe in patriotism. I believe in unity against danger. I believe in the younger generation, I don't believe these elements are

> gone. I believe in continuity, it's in our DNA, against danger we are firstly Greeks (Victoria, Greek, aged 46-65).

In Ireland, the emphasis for Irish visitors was less on the struggle against the British than the importance of freedom to national identity. For Henry (Irish, aged 71), the desire for independence and the ability to decide one's own affairs was central to Irish identity: 'it's a history of wanting to be who we are, and not to be confused with anyone else, and to have the right to make our own decisions.' He drew attention to Ireland's role in the Second World War (known as 'The Emergency') when it remained neutral:

> And that was the first time in our history that we could make our own decision and not to be part of the European madness of war and mayhem.

Majeela (aged 40-50), an Irish visitor to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), alluded to the national desire for liberty and freedom influencing the Irish impact on the world:

> The Irish people always tended to go for the downtrodden and freedom seemed to be a big thing, part of the Irish. We're always looking for freedom, for either Ireland or for whatever country they were in. Whether it be America, Argentina, Austria. You name it, there was an Irishman in the middle somewhere fighting for the underdog.

The 'colonisation' of Scotland by the English was a feature of Scottishness for some national visitors to the National Museum of Scotland (Tom, Lesley and Gail): they considered Scotland had not been given sufficient recognition because it had been dominated by England, or Scottish identity had been denied for the generation after the Second World War. Recognition for Scotland and its achievements, and its struggles and hardships like the Highland Clearances, was therefore important for these visitors. This was a contrast to those visitors who identified as British (born in Scotland and England) who reflected on the Scottish animosity towards England as divisive (Susan and Sheila, Tanya, Mary and Julia).

Culture and traditions: The importance of cultural traditions to collective identity came out strongly in Estonia and Scotland, weakly in Germany, and did not come out at all in Greece, Ireland or Latvia. In Estonia, non-national visitors who had experience of living in Estonia or family connections pointed out the tangible and intangible aspects of Estonian heritage that were important to national identity (Lore, Liliane). These included song and dance festivals, everyday wooden tools, and ethnic or folk clothing. Traditional dispositions such as remembering their heritage through stories, folklore and oral literature, the attachment to the rural lifestyle and landscape, and the renovation of vernacular architecture were all seen as significant to the Estonian character.

Photo: Simon Knell

Kuldar (Estonian, aged 44) suggested that the sales of folk objects must mean something to people in the present, despite some impracticality in the twenty-first century, otherwise they would go out of business quickly:

> It would be impossible to sell rubber boots with ethnographic patterns, if it did not communicate [to] people, and all such kind of ethnic junk [*nodi ja pudipadi*]. Why the hell should we buy a butter knife made of juniper bush, which is difficult to maintain, which loses its aesthetic qualities in the dishwasher? You might take one made of plastic, metal or some other material… but still they are being produced, used, and they have a market share.

Similarly in Scotland, a distinctive aspect of Scottish identity mentioned by non-national visitors was the notion that its identity is rooted in tangible things, recognisable symbols and things which are identifiably Scottish (Sue and Sheila, Ian). Ian (British, aged 50) described it as 'a sense of identity that they can hold onto, and display, and carry round, and use for themselves.' He did not consider that any other nation in the UK had such an identity. There was specific food and drink which was Scottish (Sue and Sheila, Christine, Canongate Youth Group). However, to some visitors (national and non-national visitors) these cultural forms were promulgating a Scottish stereotype or Scottish "tat," which was promoted purely for economic reasons.

Patterns of visitor discussions for each 'collective identity marker'

Table 22 provides a (tentative) overview of the above visitor discussions around the collective identity markers. It gives an impression of the relative strength of each theme for each of the six national museums, based on the number of visitors who discussed the theme.

Table 22: Patterns of visitor discussions for each 'collective identity marker'

Collective identity marker	Estonia	Latvia	Greece	Germany	Ireland	Scotland
Cultural traits, 'essence' or 'spirit'						
Religion						
Language						
Civic (state) values						
National (people) values						
Place, belonging, homeland						
European or global impact, diaspora						
Heritage, origin, roots						
People who have struggled against the 'Other'						
Culture and traditions						

KEY	
	Significant theme, discussed by 10 or more visitor comments
	Less significant theme, discussed by 5-10 visitors
	Few comments made, discussed by 1-5 visitors
	Not discussed

Having looked now at the significant elements which visitors used to construct collective ideas of national identity across the six museums, the next section looks at the *nature* of national identity. As we have seen earlier, national identity was mentioned as primary part of identity for most visitors: however, taking an overview, how strong were notions of collective identity across the six museums? Were visitors confident about their identity, or was it under pressure as a result of external circumstances?

The nature of national identity

National and non-national visitors articulated the nature of national identity, in terms of its strength and confidence. This varied greatly, and differences can be attributed to whether visitors came from an inside (e.g. national visitors, those who have lived in the nation or have family connections) or external perspective (e.g. non-national visitors on holiday, casual visitor to the museum). Similarly, contemporary and historical events and contexts could create pressures that led to the questioning of identity, and the research indicated that there was not always one unified response to these situations from visitors.

Confident national identities were identified in Estonia but less so in Latvia despite having similar histories of Soviet repression. National identity in Estonia was taken for granted and

defined almost exclusively by a distinctive ethnicity. There was little 'soul-searching' about what it meant to be Estonian. In contrast, for Latvian visitors there was a wide spectrum of emotional attitudes towards the national identity issue. In two cases, (both unidentified national visitors), identity had little emotion attached to it, meaning only a reference in a passport for one Latvian visitor or shaped by family attitudes from their membership of the Communist Party. At the other extreme was the Latvian visitor whose particularly sensitive and emotional attitude towards national identity was related to their family's difficult experience under the repressive Soviet regime. The more negative characteristics highlighted by Latvian visitors were suggested by researchers to be, 'reflections of negativity processes in society in Latvia' and were a contrast to the positive attributes discussed by non-national visitors.

In Germany, the comments of national visitors reflected the pressure of twentieth century history and deep anxiety over extreme nationalism. German visitors often discussed regional or city-based identity more confidently than their national identity. On the other hand, in Greece, many visitors were looking back to the past to define the collective national identity, in response to a present which was messy and complex. However, in general most Greek visitors expressed a strong sense of *being Greek* which, when prompted, they elaborated on in an in-depth, philosophical manner. Irish visitors were much more confident about their national identity compared to Greek visitors despite both countries facing economic crisis and political upheaval. They demonstrated a confident and secure sense of identity. There was almost no need to articulate what being Irish meant, and Irish visitors were very comfortable with who they were.

National identity in Scotland was clearly changing in the light of recent political events (for example the landslide election of the Scottish National Party to the Scottish Parliament in May 2011) and there seemed to be a need for visitors to explain Scottish identity in the light of these changes (Alison, Apricot, Paul, Sarah, Ian, Bethany, Brian). Whilst most Scottish visitors to the National Museum of Scotland were confident about their Scottish national identity, the comments of non-national visitors suggested that this confidence was misplaced. Whilst Scottish identity was suggested to be stronger than English identity, three British visitors interpreted this assertiveness as a sign of insecurity and discomfort with their status within Britain (Brian, Apricot, Mary):

> [The strength of Scottish identity] made me wonder whether there's a slight insecurity about national identity and where it fitted in, in the spectrum, because they are British, they have got close connections with England, but yet they also want their own independent dimension. And I think there's that sort of rivalry that you notice quite a lot in Scotland (Apricot, British, aged 22).

Three visitors born in Scotland, but who identified as British, also suggested that they were wary of a confident Scottish national identity that was based on what they suggested was the myth of English oppression (Tanya, William, Julia).

Scotland was the only nation in the study that had not yet achieved full independence

The need for Scottish visitors to assert their national identity should be seen in the context of Scotland as a nation *within* Britain. As noted previously in this section, there were political motivations for visitors defining themselves as Scottish rather than British – some reflected that they would *never* call themselves British. Despite these strong feelings, however, there were varying degrees of support for an independent Scotland. Only one Scottish visitor, Margaret (aged 50-60), was openly for Scotland becoming independent from the rest of Britain but she was not actively campaigning 'for the Scottish cause. [It is] just a passive thing.' Other Scottish visitors expressed the desire for the relationship between England and Scotland to be loosened or reconfigured along more equitable lines for Scotland, with Scotland as part of a confederacy (Tom, Scottish, aged 60) or as Ken (Scottish, aged 80) called it, 'a United States of solutions. Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales, each with their own government, but contributing to a national state government.'

The impact of displacement on national identity

Whether by choice or by the force of circumstances, visitors and participants in the focus groups described how displacement could have a significant impact on national identity. It was strongly connected with the need to keep traditions and culture alive in their new community. History not only provided an origin story to explain their difference but also provided roots or an anchor between the different 'homes.'

At a basic level, displacement could make people more aware of their national identity. Dorothy, Bethany and Annette only became aware of their identity as (respectively) Scottish, English and Irish when they lived elsewhere:

> I never thought about it much till I was living in England… I felt it as difference and I felt it in terms of the way people speak and the way people interact with each other. And I was so used to, in Ireland, people automatically talking to each other at bus stops (Annette, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 50s).

Displacement had a strong impact on the identity of the focus group participants in Scotland and Ireland. Rema (National Museum of Scotland, Kosovo) described the pain and struggle of coming to a new country as a refugee, and Natalie (National Museum of Ireland, English/Hungarian) contrasted her experiences in contemporary Ireland with how her father in the 1950s had changed his name to fit into English society (see chapter six, *Minority Group Issues,* for more discussion). However, moving to a different nation did not always confer a new identity. Brian (National Museum of Scotland, English, aged 50s) explained that whilst he took an interest in the local community, he was very much an Englishman in Scotland:

> I'm very protective as far as Scotland's concerned, you know, living in Scotland. So I take an interest in the local community. I don't belong to any societies, but I'm very keen to know what's going on and I want what's best for the local community, but I don't see myself as Scottish.

Several visitors (national and non-national) to the National Museum of Scotland were interested in the lives of those who had been displaced through emigration or forced migration, their discussions provoked by the displays in the *Industry and Empire* gallery (Tom, Christine, Shona and Alisa, and Paul and Jeanette). It was suggested by some visitors (Alison, Ross, Mary, Sarah) that those who had moved away from Scotland to the New World were often seen as having a

stronger attachment to the symbols and rituals of being Scottish, for instance the people of Nova Scotia in Canada

The impact of national identity

Following on from the discussion of the nature of national identity, another significant finding of the research is how visitors articulated the impact of national identity. For many visitors national identity was positive in its impact, bringing people together and stimulating pride in the nation, its people, history and achievements. Pride in national identity was seen as 'natural' for national visitors who were confident in their identity such as Tom (Scottish, aged 60): 'everybody should be proud of their homeland, whether we're English, Turkish, Scottish.' However, it was also clear to some visitors that national identity could have a negative impact because of its 'exclusive' nature, fostering aggression and hatred towards others and making it difficult for immigrants to settle within the community. Stereotypes could also create tension between authentic and popular representations of a nation.

Positive impact: pride

There was a sense of pride for national visitors in Estonia, Greece, and Ireland for what their respective nations had achieved in the past, particularly the gaining of national independence. When asked about what Estonians should be proud about, national visitors suggested the emergence of the independent state and their survival throughout the struggles of history. This was similar in Ireland, where the pride felt by the Irish for their history was emphasised in the comments of older Irish visitors (Ciaran, Tommy) and perceived by non-national visitors (Lauren, Alison and Marie from the USA):

> I'd be very proud of our country. I'd be proud of our race. I'd be proud of our contribution to world affairs and I would inwardly recognise that while the country at the moment is in difficulties, we'll rise again (Ciaran, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 67).

> I think the people are really embedded in their history of… the struggles that they had to go through (Lauren, Alison and Marie, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) USA, aged 20s).

Similarly, the pride that Greek visitors felt for their nation was focused around history and heritage, either the ancient Greek past or the War of Independence in the nineteenth century. Pride was hardly mentioned in respect of the present, towards which many visitors expressed disillusionment. The social and political conditions encouraged a 'return to the past' in order to find what was significant about the Greek nation for both Greek and non-national visitors (Thodoris, Eleni, Nikos A, Avgoustidis, Filippa, Eugenie):

> The only thing that comes into mind is that it's not by accident that it created a civilization that left its mark on a global level and this doesn't mean that I believe other civilizations are minor. Ancient classic civilization influenced global civilization and still does, until today. I am happy to be a descendant of the Greeks that created this. That's what I am thinking (Avgoustidis, Greek, aged 18-30).

For national visitors to the German Historical Museum, the pride in the German nation was rooted in the present, the achievements of the state and Germany's contemporary role in the

world (Boris, Carsten and Kort, Synthia and Lukas, Stephan, Vera, Maria, Sebastian, Anna, Ulrike):

> [I'm proud] that we are a liberal country, with very high quality of life and high standards of living, in comparison to many other European countries (Carsten, German, aged 31-45).

Other reasons for Germans to be proud of their nation cited by visitors included:

- The German character e.g. '[We have become] people who make a stand' (Stephan, German, aged 31-45);
- Reunification in the 1990s (Ulrich, Martin,);
- Ability in football (Boris, Harald);
- Success in manufacturing, industry and science(Andrea, Ulrike, Maria, Ulrich);
- German culture (Vera, Lieselotte, Annie, Zhen).

Non-national visitors also perceived that Germans could find pride in Reunification (Liz and Ron), manufacturing, industry and science (Ron and Liz, Annie, Zhen) and their culture (Annie, Zhen).

Visitors to the National Museum of Scotland (national and non-national) referred to the pride and confidence in being Scottish. To non-national visitors (Alison, Paul, Susan and Sheila, Mary), the Scottish were described as having a, 'very close identity, very proud' (Paul, British, aged 50-60), or 'very patriotic and quite close-knit' (Susan and Sheila, British, aged 60s and 50s). Scottish visitors were proud of their history and had a deep sense of belonging rooted in the land and traditions (Dorothy, Christine, Lesley, Gail, Kenneth S, Ken, Tom). As an explanation, they drew attention to its 'colourful' history (Dorothy) and the hardships that people had endured in the past (Dorothy, Bethany, Gail). Tanya and Tom placed an importance on Scottish self-rule and independence in engendering notions of pride, and other visitors highlighted Scottish contributions to the arts, politics, science, engineering, industry, and sport (Kenneth M, Brian, Amanda, Jim and Margaret, William).

An ambiguous response to national identity

A minority of national and non-national visitors in Scotland and Ireland, and national visitors in Latvia, Greece and Germany had a more ambiguous response to the impact of national identity. For some, pride in national identity was not a response to internal feelings but was encouraged by the reaction of others:

> It's because you're constantly getting reminded that you're Scottish, when they hear your different accent they're like 'Where are you [from]? Scotland? Wow!'… So I think you've always got that reminder basically (Young person, Canongate Youth Group, Scottish, aged 16-17).

The pressure of political, economic and social contexts, whether historical (Germany, Latvia, Scotland) or in the present (Greece, Ireland) could lead visitors to question *why* individuals should feel pride in their national identity:

> I wouldn't go as far as to say I was very proud of being a Scot because there are some things that we've nothing to be proud about… Well like our role in the British Empire, you know' (Jim, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 50-60).

> You've got very strong patriotism here because many of Scots, all people in the UK, are proud to be born here. I really don't care where I was born because like I said, I didn't get anything from my country. From my government, nothing, you know, so it's different (Vladimir, National Museum of Scotland, Slovakian, aged 30s).

Lack of pride in Latvia amongst national visitors

Researchers at the Latvian Open-Air Museum were surprised at the *seeming lack of pride* that Latvian visitors felt in their identity. Non-national visitors were much more positive towards Latvian culture and they more often mentioned the word pride to describe the Latvian culture. As noted previously, this disposition could be the result of Latvians going through a process of questioning their national identity.

The creation of **national stereotypes or myths** could create a tension between authentic representations of national identity and ones which obscured the reality. This was prominent in Scotland where visitors contrasted the stereotypical representation of Scotland aimed at tourists, consisting of bagpipes, heather, highlands and the Loch Ness monster, with the notion of a 'real' and authentic Scotland. Popular images associated with Scotland mentioned by national and non-national visitors included: whiskey, bagpipes, haggis, Loch Ness, tartan, kilts and sporran, the Highlands, Mary Queen of Scots, and sheep-farming (Apricot, Vladimir, Bethany, Lordes and Ivana, Amanda and Mailyn, Ian, Tom, Canongate Youth Group, Jeanette and Paul). Only one pair of non-national visitors from Catalan seemed unaware that this popular view of Scotland was stereotypical (Lordes and Ivana), for the rest of the visitors the images promoted were variously described as 'Scottish tat' or 'tartan stuff.' The problem, visitors explained, with this view of Scotland is that it provides a very limited perspective on the nation, as British visitor, Ian (born in England, aged 50) suggested:

> Well I think Sir Walter Scott did the Scots a real disservice with all the tartan stuff… Because when you go into any area in Scotland, you know, you're flooded with tartan and shortbread… which isn't really the heritage of Scotland.

Ian considered that the Scottish had an ambiguous relationship with national stereotypes; although they were sceptical they also enjoyed and celebrated them. The Scottish visitors in this study, however, were resigned to the existence of stereotypes rather than celebrating them, as Lesley and Gail (Scottish, aged 47 and 53) implied: 'I mean don't knock tourism at all cos it brings a lot of money into the city, but it's not who we are. No. And it is not who we ever were.' Scotland seemed to be the only country where this issue emerged. In Ireland (as in Latvia, Estonia, Greece and Germany) there seemed to be no tension between Irish identity and some presumed stereotypical view. Non-national visitors, for example, regarded the Irish as 'absurdly friendly' (Lauren, Marie, Allison, US, aged 20s).

Negative impact: exclusion, aggression, hatred

In contrast with national pride, national identity was recognised by a minority of visitors as a divisive force that could result in, at one end of the spectrum, in unrealistic stereotypes, or at the other end lead to the exclusion of, or aggression and hatred towards, those who were not of the nation or labelled as 'Other.' These were not only negative for the people to whom the hatred

was focused but was also seen to be damaging for the collective national consciousness. For example, focusing on the negative aspects of the past could lead to bitterness, which held nations back from progressing, and moving on. In the European context, several visitors identified the Second World War as an example of the horrible extremes to which nationalism could be taken.

Exclusion: The divisiveness of national identity and its propensity to set one group against others was highlighted by a small minority of visitors to museums in Scotland, Ireland and Greece. Orla (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 44) was suspicious of the nation as a concept because of its associations with extreme nationalism:

> I hate the word nation. It reminds me of Nazis. So to me the word nation really resonates poorly with me… Even nation-building, when they start using those terms, it starts to go in a funny direction. It's not about celebrating your culture. It doesn't go in that direction.

Maria A (National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 18-30) questioned the value of (Greek) national identity, not only because there was 'something violent in its creation' but she did not agree with the concept of the nation being unique, 'because it is something very dangerous and it includes tendencies to dominate and prevail over other nations.' Hints of suspicion and negativity towards the 'Other' was implied in the comments of 3 visitors talking about the seeming threat to the majority from the minority (Brian, Leonidas, Victoria):

> [Being Greek] means an obligation to carry on from the ancient Greeks. It's in our DNA, a "load" that we carry and that we should promote. We shouldn't forget this and be completely distorted by multicultural societies (Victoria, National History Museum, Greek, aged 46-65).

Exclusion was a reality for minority group participants in the focus groups because they did not belong to the accepted national identity or community, whether because of their language, colour of their skin, different culture or way of living. See chapter six, *Minority Group Issues,* for further discussion.

Aggression and hatred: Extreme forms of nationalism were associated in visitors' mind with hatred and aggression, often towards the 'Other.' Vladimir (National Museum of Scotland, Slovakian, aged 30s) talked about the less friendly welcome he had from the authorities in Scotland because of his situation as a homeless man from Slovakia. For him there was a thin line between nationalism and racism: 'I don't mind patriots, but there is very small step to racism.' Hatred and bitterness directed towards the 'Other' were often based on specific readings of history. There was a concern from a minority of Irish and Scottish visitors that dwelling on the injustice and oppression of British rule fostered only bitterness and an aggressive, divisive national identity. For these visitors, there was a need to respect the past but not allow it to shape contemporary notions of identity:

> I think you have to be aware of your past, but not let it kind of dominate your current thinking… Think of Ireland [and] sectarianism, Rangers and Celtic (Amanda and Mailyn, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish).

> [It is] a real complex, you know, a ridiculous one in my view… [that] we're some sort of downtrodden part of Britain that has been cheated (Tanya, National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 32).

> I'm afraid that the history I learnt in school wasn't a history of the world. It was definitely a history of Ireland written to promote the Irish Republic and the Republican people,

> rather than an honest history… we only heard about the Black and Tans [*British troops*] and what they did, which was also quite vicious. It was one-sided (Jimmy, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) Irish, aged 67).

Several visitors to the National Museum of Scotland (Alison, Canongate Youth Group, Tanya, Julia, Susan, Sheila) discussed the negative impact of strong nationalism, such as the anti-English sentiment which persisted. These comments suggested some of the difficulty for Ireland and Scotland to come to terms with their colonial past.

Conclusions

National identity is prioritised by most visitors as their primary identity marker: most visitors responded to the question of their identity with the national, although many visitors after that expressed the multiple facets of their identity.

Visitors define their identities very personally although patterns could be distinguished across the six national museums, particularly the importance placed on national identity. Two main categories were distinguished in how visitors articulated their national identity:

- Single national identity (but with other identities co-existing alongside, including European);
- Hybrid national identity (dual identity or citizenship, two or more heritage roots).

A minority of visitors articulated their primary identity in radical ways, placing an emphasis on, for example, European and cosmopolitan ideals. These visitors might still have strong a respect for their history and roots, but in a broader sense, that they did not need to belong to one place. Hybrid and radical identities, whilst resulting in a broader sense of identity, could also create confusion and discomfort when there was nowhere to set down roots. Often this was exemplified by the attitudes of the new national community who would not always accept those who were different. Consequently, some participants had experienced exclusion, racism and/or prejudice, and national visitors in Ireland and Scotland drew attention to the territorial nature of nationalism.

Differences in the responses of national and non-national visitors were detected in response to questions of defining national identity (what does it mean to be Scottish, Irish, Estonian, Latvian, Greek or German?). National visitors were much more confident about describing their identity than non-national visitors, except in Latvia where (surprisingly for researchers) non-national visitors were much more positive than Latvian visitors about national identity. In Scotland, non-national visitors were also more likely to be sceptical about the confidence of Scottish national identity, particularly those visitors born in England who suggested that the confidence may co-exist with feelings of insecurity (particularly considering that Scotland is not an independent nation). Non-national visitors were not, as might be expected, more likely to draw on cultural stereotypes to describe national identity, possibly because they often drew on prior knowledge or connections to the nation, or drew on the representations provided by the museum. There was only one instance at the National Museum of Scotland where non-national visitors were actively seeking out popular representations of Scotland in the museum, and were surprised when they could not find them (Lourdes and Ivana, from Catalonia, aged 20-30 years).

National identity can be both positive and negative, not inherently so but when it is connected to a sense of superiority and/or inferiority of the 'Other,' or a sense of bitterness or hatred

towards an 'oppressor' (whether in the present or in history) it can lead to (visitors explain) a *negative* national identity.

Despite the supposition that nationalities are distinctive, there were many similarities in the designation of collective identity traits across the six case studies, in particular notions of resilience, hard-working, friendliness and community. However, the extent to which the national museum was involved in shaping these notions of national identity was varied and it was not always possible to distinguish these ideas from the prior knowledge and frames of reference that visitors brought into the museum with them.

Having explored the ways in which visitors articulate their sense of identity, the next chapter looks at how these expressions of identity played out in response to the national museum, including the role of the national museum, its content, objects and narratives.

CHAPTER 4

History, Identity and Nation in the National Museum

Photo: National Museum of Scotland

Preziosi (2011) suggests that the role of the national museum is to make real the abstract idea of national identity. He describes how through their collections of material culture and the organisation of these collections into narratives or themes significant for the nation:

> …great national museums exist precisely in order to foster and perpetuate the belief in the truth of abstractions such as national identity, character, mentality, or ethnicity (Preziosi 2011: 63).

The effect is to render national identity as 'natural' or something that exists outside of the museum, which the museum is merely representing back to the visitor. However, as Prezisoi contends, in reality these ideas of nation, history and identity are 'co-constructed and co-evolving' (ibid: 61) between the museum and the visitor.

This chapter takes the view that national identity in the museum is co-constructed between the museum and the participants in the research. Participants' ideas of history, identity and nation were emerging and evolving in response to the museum, to external social and political contexts, and their own prior ideas and understanding. Here, we explore the intersection between participants' frames of reference - the notions of national and personal identity presented in the previous chapter *Visitors and their Identity* - the representation of history, identity and nation in the six national museums, and the impact this had on participant expressions of national identity. In turn, we highlight where these frames of reference were shaped by visitor attributes such as age, and their status as a national or non-national visitor. The discussion is contained within six sections:

- Why and how visitors use the museum; what visitor motivations and routes around the museum can contribute to understanding their views on national identity and history;
- If, and to what extent, national museums shape or reinforce national identity;
- The authoritative role of national museums in presenting national history and identity;
- The fundamental role of history in visitor discussions of national identity;
- The use of material culture and historical narratives to represent national identity and history;
- What is missing from the national museum.

In the conclusion these ideas are drawn together to present an overview of how participants' expressions of identity intersect with the way in which the specific museum represents national history and identity. The relevant research questions for this chapter were:

- How does the museum help people to define their national identity?
- Is there a particular object or story (narrative)?
- Are the origin stories of different communities represented in the museum?
- Is there a difference between official narratives and community / group narratives?

Other issues from WP6 of importance to this topic include:

- How visitors use the past to construct national and European identities;
- Whether and how European citizens understand the nation represented in the National museum;
- How visitors understand the museum construction of the 'Other' (in terms of ethnicity, social character, gender, age, etc) and how this impacts upon their sense of community.

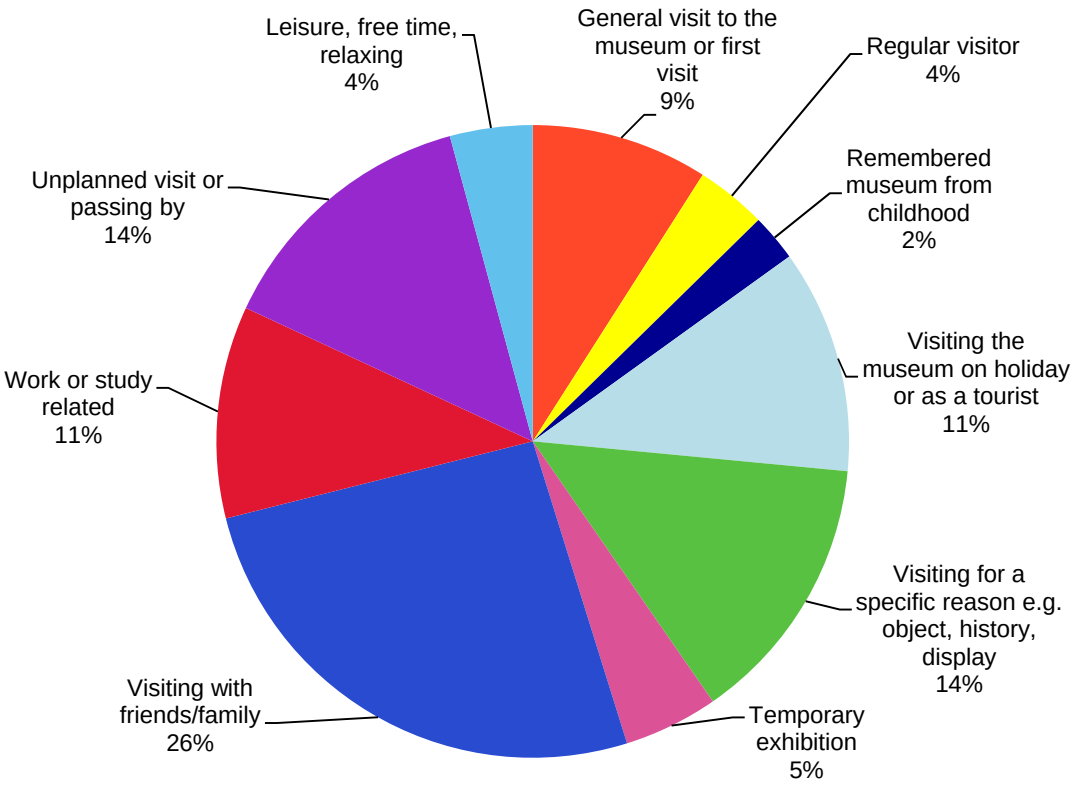
Performing their identity in the museum: why and how visitors use the national museum

What motivated national and non-national visitors to make the visit to the museum? Very few visitors told researchers that they had specially visited the museum to find out about their national or European identity. There were other reasons which framed their visit. Although the way in which the museum is constructed can support particular ways of using it (the Open-Air Museum is very different from the National History Museum in Athens for instance), the ideas, interests and knowledge which visitors bring into the museum are equally important when discussing their responses to the national museums.

Motivation for visiting the museum

Visitors' reasons for visiting the national museum varied. Figure 5 provides an overview of the primary reasons given by visitors after they have been analysed into specific categories (visitors may have more than one reason for visiting but these were not always reported so the primary reason was used. See Appendix 3 for a full breakdown of visitor motivations by each museum). Twenty six per cent (26%, 43) of visitors were visiting the museum with friends or family, for example Demetra (National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged over 65) was showing the museum to her god-son who was visiting from Germany and studying history. Fourteen per cent (14%, 23) of visitors identified a specific reason for visiting the national museum. This included finding out about history (7 visitors), seeing a specific exhibit, display or collection (9 visitors) or a temporary exhibition (8 visitors). For instance, Tommy and Ciaran were visiting the National Museum of Ireland together to see the skeleton of a horse which had fought in the Crimean War (Tommy was a retired vet), and to see an object which Ciaran had donated to the museum (a Thompson sub-machine gun). Filippa, a visitor to the National History Museum in Athens, wanted to see the Old Parliament building which housed the museum and to find out about modern Greek history.

Figure 5: Motivation for visiting the six national museums



N=166

Fourteen per cent of visitors (14%, 23) suggested that the visit to the museum had been unplanned or had been prompted by another reason. Six visitors had been passing by in the area and decided to enter the museum. Some had come to see one element of the museum – such as the shop (Dorothy, National Museum of Scotland) or architecture of the museum building (Henry, National Museum of Ireland), or to find out some information (Brian, National Museum of Scotland) – and had ended up staying to look round the exhibitions. Four visitors to the National Museum of Scotland in December had their flights cancelled because of the snow and decided to visit the museum; wet weather also prompted 3 participants to visit the German Historical Museum.

For 18 visitors (11%) the visit to the museum was related to their work or their studies, for example Mark visited the Estonian National Museum to find out about the vernacular architecture of Estonia. Fifteen visitors were making a general visit to the museum (no strong reason was given) or it was their first visit (9%). A few visitors remembered the museum from their childhood and were visiting again (2%, 4) or described themselves as regular visitors to the particular museum (4%, 6), including Eva (Estonian National Museum) who said she had been to the museum over 50 times.

Nineteen visitors (11%, 19) identified themselves as a tourist or visitor to the country. Some described their intentions to find out about the history of that country, for some it was part of their 'itinerary' whilst they were visiting the particular city, or they used museum visits to get a sense of the place they were visiting. Some of these visitors took a fairly random course through

the museum following their own interests. Seven visitors (4%) said that free time or the need to relax prompted their visit to the museum, particularly at the Latvian Open Air Museum with its park-like environment (6 visitors).

Whilst there were considerably more national visitors in the sample compared to non-national visitors, some patterns were distinguished in the motivation to visit by these types of visitor. Perhaps to be expected, more non-national visitors visited the national museum as a tourist or on holiday (14 non-national compared to 5 national visitors). However, not all non-national visitors were straightforward 'tourists.' Eva in Estonia (European, aged 55) was a regular visitor to the Estonian National Museum, and four non-national visitors were visiting the museum for work or study reasons. For almost equal numbers of national (22) and non-national (21) visitors the visit to the museum was a social event, as they indicated the primary reason for visiting the national museum was to come with their friends and family.

How visitors used the museum

How visitors used the six national museums was determined by a combination of the layout of the museum, its size, the motivation for their visit and their personal preferences. Three modes of use have been identified from visitor discussions of how they used the museum, and from researchers' observations on site:

- Structured, systematic approach to the whole museum;
- Combination of browsing the displays and focusing on points of interest;
- Unstructured or random course through the museum.

Visitors might switch from one mode to another, or modify their use of the museum throughout their visit, and the types therefore serve only as basic identifiers of visitor movement.

Structured, systematic approach to the whole museum: Visitors who approached the national museum in a structured and systematic way followed the exhibitions in sequence from start to finish. In Estonia, Germany and Greece, the majority of visitors visited the museum in this manner. At the German Historical Museum thirteen visitors (52%) said that they had visited the entire permanent exhibition; national visitors (Andrea, Boris, Carsten, Cort, Harald and Vera, Maria, Sebastian, Ulrike) and non-national visitors (Jory and Jacob, Jamie and Geoff). The National History Museum in Athens was a relatively small museum and most visitors took a little more than an hour to walk through all the exhibition halls. All of the participants therefore were able to visit the entire museum prior to interview. Visitors had also completed the permanent exhibition at the National Museum of Estonia in one visit; it was the experience of temporary exhibitions, activities and lectures where the visitor experience differed between first-time and regular visitors to the museum. Very few visitors to the national museums in Ireland, Scotland and Latvia took a systematic approach to visiting the museum, which was as much to do with the layout and size of the museum as their motivation for visiting (see next section). Only one Canadian visitor (Harry, who had Scottish ancestry) claimed to have seen everything at the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks). Five visitors at the National Museum of Scotland were working their way systematically around the exhibitions: non-national visitors from England (Ian) and Sicily (Mario and Giovanni), an English man living in Scotland (Brian), and one Scottish visitor (Kenneth M). It is noticeable that these are all men.

Combination of browsing and focusing on points of interest: These visitors may have planned some elements of their visit (for example 14% of visitors came to look at a particular exhibition or display) but also roamed the museum or exhibition looking for items that interested them. Borrowing from Guy Claxton, when visitors were roaming the museum they used a *floodlight attention*, very open, broad, taking everything in, until they saw something which interested them, then they switched to the *spotlight attention*, which is focused, narrow and in-depth (Claxton 2001). Visitors often used their prior knowledge, personal context and interests to focus on what they looked at, but also how they approached and interpreted the exhibits. The layout of both the National Museum of Scotland and National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) made it difficult for the museums to impose a visitor route. At both sites, the majority of visitors took a random route, tempered by their own interests, 'browsing' the museum. In Scotland, most visitors looked at the museum in a serendipitous way: they looked for the themes and topics which interested them, concentrated on a specific gallery, or had a general wander around the museum until they saw something interesting. For example, Alison came to look at the temporary exhibition and picked one or two additional areas to visit. For Vladimir, who was homeless, the museum was a more interesting place than the library where he could follow up his interests in coins, models of ships and cars. In Ireland, visitors could decide to focus either on the History or Decorative Arts collections. For some visitors these two museums were confusing in that they lacked a central guiding narrative, especially for visitors who wanted a more logical 'flow' to their experience or of the history (Marie, Pidelma, National Museum of Ireland; Julia and Mary, National Museum of Scotland). However, this layout also gave visitors the freedom to focus on their own interests, 'and ignore the things that don't necessarily appeal to you' (Mary, National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 20). Some visitors commented that they tended to focus on the 'more interesting' aspects of the museum because the museum was too large to look round in its entirety (Kenneth S, Ross, National Museum of Scotland). In addition, where admission was free, visitors did not feel pressured to see the whole museum because they could come back (Jeanette and Paul, National Museum of Scotland). A small number of visitors to the German Historical Museum used the museum in this way (8 visitors). Unlike the majority of visitors to the German Historical Museum, these visitors chose to look at only a part of the permanent exhibition, and, based on their personal interests, they looked at the more recent history galleries from1870 onwards, which are mostly on the ground floor.

Unstructured, random course through the museum: These visitors did not have a plan to their visit but just enjoyed browsing the museum displays. They were (often) national visitors who were passing by the museum and decided to go in, or who were involved in another activity and had some free time to look round the museum. Several visitors to the National Museum of Scotland were using the museum in this manner, for instance Dorothy (Scottish, aged 64) had popped into the museum shop to buy a present and then decided to have a look at the exhibitions. She described using the museum in a random way, viewing it, 'a bit like a library, a reference section that you actually can look at artefacts from history.' As with the previous type, visitor context and personal interest openly shaped the decisions they made in the museum and how they interpreted the displays. The park-like environment of the Latvian Open Air Museum meant that visitors (who were mainly from Latvia) tended to use it in a very free and unstructured way. The museum covers circa eighty-seven hectares and consists of a large forested territory

next to a lake. It is particularly suitable for walking and other recreational or entertainment activities. Reasons for visiting given by visitors included 'taking a walk' (Andis, Latvian, aged 40), relaxing or spending their free time at the museum. When asked about interesting objects or parts of museum, different visitors treated the museum as unity whilst others pointed to specific objects that were interesting to them personally suggesting that there was the potential to have many different kinds of experience at the museum.

Reading the museum: differences between national and non-national visitors

The ways in which visitors approached, or 'read', the displays at the six national museums revealed, as might be expected, some general differences between national and non-national visitors. Some non-national visitors were very aware, and consequently self-reflective, about the potential disadvantage that they might have in understanding the museum when coming from an outside perspective. They had different frames of reference and prior knowledge / understanding to national visitors. For example, visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) were aware that the museum was a complex text and would be interpreted differently by different people. Chris (English, aged 34) noted that he could read the British Museum because he is English and brought a sense of his own culture to it, but accepted that he might not be able to understand some parts of the National Museum as well as someone from Ireland. By contrast, Ciaran (Irish, aged 67) was a member of the local history society, and knew the museum and what it had in storage, and read it in that way. Not all visitors were aware of this difference however: two non-national visitors to the National Museum of Scotland did not realise that their ideas of Scottish identity and nation were based on popular stereotypes, and were therefore surprised when its symbols (e.g. kilts, bagpipes) were not represented in the museum.

Where museums told a strong historical narrative, such in Germany and Greece, there was a much closer relationship between how the museum was read by national and non-national visitors. However, where museums lacked a strong narrative (Estonia, Latvia, Ireland and Scotland) visitors were much more reliant on their own personal interests and expressions of identity. Generally, it was national visitors or non-national visitors with a connection to the nation in Estonia, Latvia, Ireland and Scotland who were able to locate a collective sense of identity from the displays. Scottish visitors to the National Museum of Scotland like Dorothy (aged 64) and Tom (aged 60) found specific objects that were relevant to their Scottish identity, for example Tom mentioned: 'There is a stone here… It forms part of our clan crest… It's a stone for the fireplace one of our clan seats.' Those who did not have a strong prior connection or interest to the nation struggled more with the question of locating national identity in the museum. Less confident non-national visitors such as Susan and Sheila (both British) at the National Museum of Scotland related the displays to their home context, looking for displays on rural agriculture and animals. Their response to the museum's presentation of Scottish history was partly driven by their limited knowledge of both Scottish and English history:

> I think their history is probably a lot more interesting than our history… They seem to have a lot of history. I don't know half of this, but I've never been to Scotland before.

Equally, there were national visitors who were unfamiliar with their nation's history, for example younger Scottish visitors including Tanya (aged 32) and members of the Canongate Youth Group (aged 16-17) considered that they knew very little about Scottish history. For another visitor to

the National Museum of Scotland, Paul (aged 50-60), who was born in England, it was 'poignant' to learn about the history of Scotland because, 'my ancestors are Scottish.' This was in contrast to his wife Jeanette, who had no Scottish connection and found it hard to connect with the museum emotionally or personally.

The Estonian National Museum was slightly different in that visitors 'read' its contribution to national identity from a different perspective depending on whether they were first time visitors to the museum or regular visitors. Most of the first-time and non-national visitors regarded the permanent exhibition as the core of the museum experience. Regular visitors (Saima and Silvi from Estonia, and one woman, Eva, who had lived in Estonia for many years) however were aware of the various temporary exhibitions, activities and lectures which added another dimension to their experience. Silvi (Estonian, aged 30s) for instance suggested that regular attendance, along with visiting the temporary exhibitions, gave her, 'a secure view' of Estonian national issues. Another person (unidentified) discussed that 'one can't learn about being Estonian' at the permanent exhibition, but it is possible to obtain a better picture in conjunction with the temporary exhibitions if the museum is visited regularly.

The role of the national museum: the visitor perspective

Key questions for WP6 were: 'Do museums shape and/or reinforce national identity?' and 'Does the museum reflect visitor priorities?' As discussed in the previous chapter, *Visitors and their Identity*, national identity was a priority for most visitors (national and non-national) across the six museums. How did that correspond to their discussions about the role of the museum in relation to national identity? Evidence from visitors suggested that there was a spectrum of responses across the six museums. At one end of the spectrum was the assertion by mostly national, and some non-national, visitors that the six national museums did have a role in shaping or reinforcing national and/or personal identity. In the second category were (mainly national) visitors who challenged the idea that the museum represented national identity; rather, they argued, it represented national history. Identity was too dynamic, too difficult to pin down to be on display in the museum. The third category were those who did not see their identity or history reflected in the museum, which was a response from (mainly) non-national visitors and the participants in the focus groups. Whilst both non-national visitors and minority groups might not expect to see their identity and history displayed in the museum, their reaction to this exclusion was quite different. Figure 6 summarises this spectrum as a diagram and the rest of the section outlines the positions along it in greater depth.

Figure 6: Spectrum of responses to the national museum's role in shaping identity

The national museum shapes or reinforces identity	The national museum reflects national history but not national identity	Identity and history absent from the national museum

The museum shapes or reinforces identity

At one end of the spectrum were (mainly national) visitors at the National History Museum in Athens, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) and the National Museum of Scotland who considered that the national museum had played a role in reinforcing, if not shaping, their sense of national identity. This tended to be in response to external pressures, which had led to some 'soul-searching' or the need for reassurance on the part of visitors. The Estonian National Museum and Latvian Open-Air Museum also had an impact on the identity of their visitors; however, these museums had a more considerable impact on personal, as opposed to national, identity.

Reflecting on identity: reassurance in an uncertain world: From the comments of visitors to the National History Museum in Athens, the role of the national museum in reinforcing, if not shaping, notions of national identity was significant. To some extent, this was a response to external pressures. In an uncertain political and social context, the museum provided a historical context in which visitors could locate notions of Greek national identity, make comparisons, or reflect on what was happening in the present. The narrative of the War of Independence and the struggle of the Greek people for freedom cast the present-day political situation, and the future of Greece, in a very particular light. There was a consensus from Greek visitors that the National History Museum created a sense of Greek identity that could be read from the displays and exhibitions (Maria B, Konstantinos, Georgia, Anna, Nektaria, Eleni, Victoria, Alexia, Ioannis, Leonidas, Elizabeth, Thodoris, Filippa, Konstantina and Nikos). It shaped and reinforced the notions of identity held by visitors, although the way in which visitors read, used and articulated the museum in relation to identity did vary. For some, the national museum was a means to reassess the Greek national identity in the light of contemporary political and social problems, or it provided an opportunity to look nostalgically back on a period when the Greek nation had succeeded in overcoming its difficulties. For other visitors it gave them the reassurance that the Greeks had been through difficult times before and they would survive. Non-national visitors from Cyprus, Panagiota and Giorgos, who shared a history with Greece, and Elizabeth, a visitor from Poland, (aged 46-65), were also able to draw on the museum exhibitions to develop their notions of Greek identity. However, as Elizabeth pointed out this was not to say that it was the only perspective on Greek identity:

> For the state, yes [*it is important*]. Yes, it's a kind of, education. For the Greek people, but also information for foreigners. I don't know whether it is [*important*] in their reality but in history it is the most important thing. I think that for Greek state, the history museum, can play this role… to maintain *an* aspect of national identity. It's not all aspects of Greek identity.

Whilst Ireland shared a difficult political and social situation with Greece, few Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) discussed its importance for shaping or reinforcing national identity (Henry, Sinead, Eamonn, Pidelma). Whilst some visitors suggested that the museum accurately reflected aspects of national identity, such as the importance of the struggle for independence to the Irish national sense of self, others suggested that key events in history were missing, such as the Irish Famine. It was therefore difficult to assess the extent which the museum reinforced or simply reflected Irish views of the nation. The museum's impact was not as strong as in Greece: this may have been because the Irish were generally confident in

their sense of identity, particularly the older Irish visitors. They did not need the same reassurance. In addition, the museum in Ireland was laid out very differently to the National History Museum in Athens, which had a clear ideological project to equate the heroism of the Greek War of Independence with Greek national identity or spirit. However, for Sinead (Irish, aged 28), the museum reaffirmed her identity and restored her pride in being Irish at a difficult time:

> And you see all the stuff going on in the world at the moment where people are rebelling and different things. And you forget all that happened here… It's kind of depressing now when you look at it and people just seem to have lost any ability to complain or do anything and just accept the way they're being pushed around. It's been inspiring coming here and seeing that sort of thing and remembering. It gives you a bit of pride I think in Ireland as well in a way.

Changes in the political climate in Scotland had also provoked a couple of visitors to the National Museum of Scotland to reflect on their national identity. Both Tanya (British, aged 32) and William (British, aged 55) had been born in Scotland but never considered themselves Scottish. The museum had provoked reflection and thinking about their identity, which was not always possible in their everyday lives. This process had already started before visiting the museum, however the museum continued that process, especially for William who commented:

> I think a lot of the stuff here you would overlook, forget about or just not know about. Even my journey today, you know, it has made me think about Scottishness a bit more than I did when I came in. Even this time, and I have been here many times before.

Tanya directly connected the content and representation of Scottish identity with her burgeoning sense of 'Scottishness':

> [It] shows the pride I think that the vast majority of Scots have in their nationality. It shows the role of Scots over the years… and the role of the very many inventors that have come from Scotland. So I think that highlights that very well to people from outside Scotland, to tourists as well as to people who are Scottish who don't really stop to think about these things. Like myself.

Non-national visitors and the 'reading' of Scottish identity

There was a clear distinction between the responses of Scottish, British and non-national visitors towards the museum and its relationship with Scottish identity. It tended to be the British and non-national visitors who considered that the museum did have a role to play in shaping national identity, and could detect elements of Scottish nationalism in the displays (Ian, Alison, Mary, Susan and Sheila, Apricot, Vladimir). This 'nationalism' was described by Ian (British, aged 50) as a positive, even celebratory, *bias* towards Scotland in the displays, as opposed to the museum taking an objective perspective:

> [T]here's still that aspect of I think reinforcing the national identity of Scotland, rather than being an independent sort of, you know, historic display or demonstration… you can tell it was done by a Scots person… Whereas I suppose if it was a British museum, it's very independent, very different in that respect… If they were displaying the same things, they will be done in the third person probably and detached from that. Politically correct I suppose. Whereas here they're not bothered by that. This is Scotland, this is the Museum of Scotland.

Personal engagement - but does it reflect contemporary identity?: Museums in Latvia and Estonia presented the folk or peasant lifestyle of both nations, with a small display on the more recent history in Estonia. Visitors to these two museums were able to make many personal connections with the material culture on display, to search for their ancestors and/or their roots. The two museums created historical interest by preserving a way of life that was disappearing. However, when it came to shaping or reinforcing their contemporary, collective national identity, the museums appeared to play a much more limited role. In both museums, this appeared to correspond with visitor comments about the nature of the museum as a *memory institution* as opposed to a living, dynamic representation of contemporary Estonian national identity. Generally, the museums in Latvia and Estonia acted as a reminder of the past, to show how things used to be, and preserve a culture that was disappearing. Visitors to the museums in Estonia and Latvia tended to respond to the objects in very personal ways; they recognised things which they had at home or remembered in childhood, something which they had personally used or which their parents had used. These objects served as markers of a familiar way of life and often prompted nostalgia or longing for how things used to be:

> Lately, it has mostly given information about how good we are in handicraft, that, oh, we are so good in doing everything, that we are damn good in doing everything, it's like doing something out of nothing. It makes you feel very proud (Ester, Estonian, aged 46-65).

Visitors contested the extent to which these museums reinforced, or even shaped, national identity in the present. On the one hand, some national visitors demonstrated the desire for, or at least, an acceptance of folk or popular history as a basis for exploring national identity in the present (Inese, Andis, Alise, Latvian Open Air Museum).

> 'For me it is more interest about my own identity and how it is influencing me. Also how well [*do*] I fit in the place where I live? Simply personal interest about my origins(Alise, Latvian Open Air Museum, Latvian speaking Russian of mixed origin, aged 21-23).

Others were more forthright about the role of the museum in representing Latvian history, but not Latvian identity:

> It [*the museum*] does not show what it means to be Latvian. It rather shows how inhabitants of Latvia spent their days hundreds of years ago. There are many things in the exposition dated back before the time when the notion "Latvian" appeared (Ernests, Latvian Open-Air Museum, Latvian, aged 33-37).

Similarly, in Estonia visitors debated the role of the museum in constructing national identity. Two visitors to the Estonian National Museum (Ragnar, Eva) considered that at present the exhibition showed only the "technical" aspects of being Estonian (what people do, what people wear, how people live). They considered that it would be much harder to convey the spiritual or affective aspects of national identity, the 'soul' of the nation, which was currently missing from the exhibition:

> [H]ere actually a very technical way of being Estonian is displayed, I mean what kind of houses we had, what kind of clothes, but it does not go along to show who Estonians are as a nation… that it has been displayed, what they have done physically with their own tools, but perhaps not with the soul. That the soul-side is lacking a bit (Ragnar, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 25).

On the other hand, Ester (Estonian, aged 46-65), considered that there was currently too much emphasis on 'Estonian-ness' in the museum:

> [I]t is so difficult to be Estonian, I have not understood it well… Yes, I have thought that if I had the opportunity to say it, then I think that Estonian-ness is emphasised too much. I like modesty.'

It was difficult for non-national visitors (and Eva had lived in Estonia for many years) to understand what the representation of the past and culture in the museum meant to contemporary Estonians:

> I think that the museum does not display very much, what does it mean to be Estonian. Or at least not very explicitly. I think that what is displayed, is rather, what is important to Estonians and what being Estonian is for the Estonians' (Eva, Estonian National Museum, European, aged 55).

To conclude therefore, whilst some (mainly national) visitors were able to make personal (and national identity) connections with museums in Estonia and Latvia, the ability to 'read' or construct notions of the wider collective consciousness of either nation was made much more problematic by the focus and content of the two museums. The tension referred to here between contemporary notions of national identity, and historical notions of identity, is expanded on in the next section which looks at the comments of visitors who suggested that the national museum had a greater focus on national history, rather than identity.

The national museum represents national history but not identity

Taking the position that the museum represented national *history* rather than identity were national visitors to the National Museum of Scotland, and both national and non-national visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) and German Historical Museum. Some visitors to the Estonian and Latvian museums also raised this point. It was not only that these museums did not give a satisfactory understanding of what it meant to be German, Irish or Scottish in a contemporary setting, some visitors challenged the idea that national identity could be represented at all in the museum.

As suggested in chapter three, *Visitors and their Identity*, some German visitors were forging a new national identity based on the events of the 1990s. For many of these visitors, the characteristics that were chosen as representative of this new national identity were missing from the German Historical Museum or not displayed in a satisfactory manner. Many of the local or regional differences and particularities which were important to German visitors and the more recent history of the reunification in the 1990s onwards were felt to be absent from the German Historical Museum (Harald, Martin, Vera, Synthia, Boris, Sebastian, Kort, Ulrich). Boris (German, aged 31-45) was concerned that this would not enable visitors, in particular non-national visitors, to obtain a proper grasp of what it means to be German:

> I believe that someone coming from abroad will not be able to say after his visit "well, now I know why Germans feel this way" or "I know how Germany is." Because this is the question, what is actually German. And the museum doesn't answer… Because what could answer to this question, namely timeliness and contemporary history are either poorly displayed or not at all.

The ambivalent manner in which the museum presented German identity meant that visitors could read it in (at least) two different ways, according to Sebastian (German, aged 18-30), one quite positive for Germany, and the other quite negative:

> One derives from history, when we say, OK, these are the Germans. I don't know if this is good, because it could mean that we can again get paranoid… The other point is to say OK, this is the way they present their history. They might have gained a certain intellectual level of reflexivity.

These two different readings of German identity could be discerned in the comments of national visitors. Lieselotte (German, aged over 65) was pessimistic that the lessons of history would lead only to repetition of the same, whereas Boris (German, aged 31-45) and Anna (German, aged 18-30) suggested that the recent history of Germany showed how the national focus had changed:

> I believe that the most important time in contemporary history is in any case the Fall of the [Berlin] Wall. Because there were so much emotion and so many people were mobilized. The country has changed its whole way of thinking (Boris, German, aged 31-45).

At the National Museum of Scotland there was a clear difference between the response of Scottish visitors to the museum when compared with British and non-national visitors (see above). Visitors who identified as Scottish were far more likely to question the possibility of representing Scottish national identity in the museum (Lesley and Gail), and they did not agree that the museum showed strong elements of Scottish nationalism (Ken). Lesley and Gail (Scottish, aged 47 and 53) were clear that the museum was about national history not Scottish identity. They considered that it would be too complex to show Scottish identity in the museum. Not only is identity very subjective but it is also constantly evolving in response to contemporary contexts:

> What it means to be Scottish or what it means to be Scottish is a very current thing and, you know, I'm not sure the museum does that. I'm not sure if that's the place of a museum, because the museum is there to tell the history of a nation rather than what it means to be Scottish today, because at different times in Scottish history, what it means to be Scotland meant completely different things… So to actually say what makes you Scottish, I don't know if you could ever write that in a word or a sentence or an essay (Lesley, Scottish, aged 47).

> [T]hat would be such a transient, fluctuating, changing thing, I think, what others perceive us as (Gail, Scottish, aged 53).

Where identity and history were absent from the museum

It has been suggested that museums can be a 'safe' or neutral space in which to reflect on questions of identity (Rounds 2006), however, one of the visitors to the National Museum of Scotland questioned that notion: 'perhaps you might end up losing your identity a bit going to a museum, and also thinking actually on the grand scheme of things, what's my place?' (Apricot, British, aged 22). This notion of being challenged by, or having notions of identity questioned by, the museum was far more applicable to the two groups considered in this section, whose own identity and history was otherwise absent from the museum. Whilst neither group expected to see their identity and history represented in the museum, for minority groups who belonged to, and

lived in, the nation, the absence of their identity and history reflected wider concerns about exclusion and denial of acceptance into society.

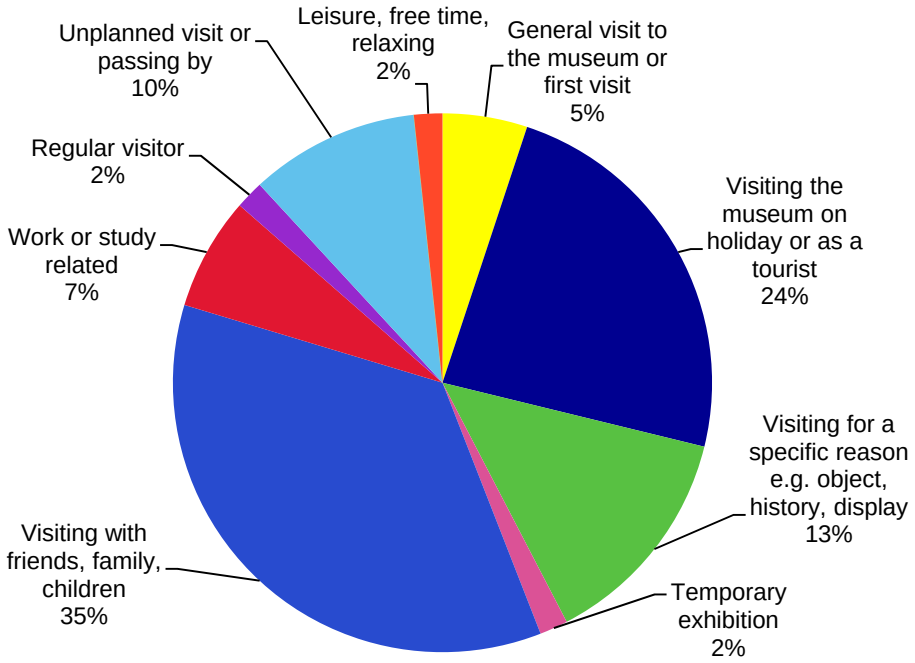
Non-national visitors: The response of non-national visitors to the national museum and their *perceived absence* in the national museum depended on a number of variables including:

- Motivation for visiting the museum;
- Prior knowledge of and interest in the nation represented in the museum;
- Prior connections (e.g. family, work, study, heritage) with the nation represented in the museum;
- Confidence in using the museum.

This meant that some non-national visitors may have felt a sense of belonging to the nation represented in the national museum, however their responses were, on the whole, quite different to the minority group participants. The *absence* of 'one's own' history and identity in the museum was not always a concern for non-national visitors. Figure 7 (below) provides an overview of the primary reasons given by non-national visitors for visiting the six national museums and shows that relatively few non-national visitors described themselves as tourists or first time visitors to the six national museums (14, 24%). Some non-national visitors had prior knowledge of, interest in, or connections with the nation represented by the national museum, which provided 'frames of reference' through which to 'read' the national museum. The differences between national and non-national visitors was most striking at the National Museum of Scotland as to whether the museum represents Scottish identity or history. Some non-national visitors found their prior conceptions of national identity and history confirmed or challenged by the museum. However, not all non-national visitors were able to connect with the museum's representation of identity and history. Chris (aged 34), an English visitor to the National Museum of Ireland, was aware that whilst he could not expect to 'read' the museum in the same way as someone from Ireland, the museum gave him very little sense of 'what being Irish is about':

> They give you a vague sketch. And here the pieces are very interesting, but they don't necessarily tell me the story of Ireland.

Figure 7: Primary reason given by non-national visitors for visiting the six national museums



N=59

Less confident users of museums also struggled to make sense of the national museum: Susan and Sheila, and Jeanette and Paul, English visitors to the National Museum of Scotland, tended to relate the museum's displays to what they knew, searching for subjects and objects they recognised such as social history (this was not behaviour that was unique to non-national visitors). Jeanette explained that the challenge for her of visiting a museum that was outside her own national perspective was the lack of affective connection:

> A lot of it is very interesting, it does tell you a lot, but I don't think there's a connection… It's like if you go to a gallery and you look at paintings and after a while you just, you have an overdose of culture, don't you, and you get to the point where you think you've seen one, you've seen them all. You get fed up.

The external perspective that non-national visitors brought to the museum however, could be one strategy by which they 'made sense' of the national museum. They were able to place the national story in a wider context and to see, for instance, relationships or parallels with their own nation, with Europe, or globally. Non-national visitors to the Latvian Open-Air Museum and Estonian National Museum, for example, highlighted the similarities in rural and folk lifestyles that could be found across Europe. Cecile (French, aged 30s), who was married to an Estonian, reflected on the veneration that Estonians appeared to have for heritage, tradition and for nature, which was very different to Western Europe. Helmut (aged 65), a German visitor to the Latvian Open-Air Museum was able to use his experiences to place what he saw in the museum within a wider Baltic context:

> When I compare the three museums, in Tallinn and in Lithuania, I see that agricultural look of culture of the farmers and of fishermen, but I can see that in three countries and I cannot say that it is typical Latvian and that is typical Estonian or so. But it is the culture

> of this area around the sea, around the Baltic sea; and wooden culture is not only Baltic thing, it goes from here to Vladivostok, everywhere you go.

Minority group participants: Whilst minority group participants considered themselves part of the nation represented in the national museum, they did not find their identity or history represented in the museum (National History Museum, National Museum of Ireland) or, if they did, it was very limited (National Museum of Scotland) or misrepresented (Estonian National Museum). See chapter six, *Minority Group Issues,* for further discussion of this issue.

The role of the museum: presenting an authoritative view on national identity and history

Increasing evidence suggests that many people view museums as authoritative places to learn about the past (Rosenzweig and Thelan 1998). Histories in museums are produced by experts (Walsh 1992) and the public who visit museums want to do so in the 'faith that they can rely on the professionals to present to them some approach to an accurate picture of the past "as it really was"' (Fulbrook 2002: 18). Research carried out with the America public found that people 'put more trust in history museums and historic sites than in any other sources for exploring the past' (Rosenzweig and Thelan 1998: 105) and Fiona Cameron found that museum visitors accepted the authoritative role of the museum, particularly in the case of difficult or contentious issues. Visitors often wanted museums to adopt the 'role of moral protector… in setting moral standards, offering moral certainty' (Cameron 2007: 336).

The evidence from visitor interviews at the six national museums reinforced the contention that national museums were highly valued by museum visitors for their authoritative and trusted 'voice' on national identity and history (although, as the previous c revealed, the national museum's representation of national history was accepted by the majority of visitors whereas the role of the museum in representing national identity was contested by some national visitors). Very few visitors challenged the concept of the national museum, to the majority it was absolutely vital that a nation had a museum to represent 'what and who it was' to its people and the outside world. Only a very small minority of visitors challenged this assumption, on the grounds of a specific national museum's failure to represent national identity and history adequately (the German Historical Museum). This section explores the basis for these viewpoints in greater depth.

National museums have real gravitas

It was clear from the comments of national and non-national visitors across the six national museums that these types of museums have a real gravitas because they **represent the nation and its history** (Leonidas, Elizabeth, Panagiota and Giorgos (National History Museum, Athens; Lukas, German Historical Museum; Henry, Bronagh, Sinead, National Museum of Ireland). The association between museums and "truth" meant that they could provide **reassurance** for visitors, from an individual perspective or in response to societal-wide changes. Although not originally from Estonia, Eva (European, aged 55) was a regular visitor to the Estonian National Museum, European,) and described it as, 'my own [homely] place.' For Greek visitors to the National History Museum in Athens, the museum provided the reassurance of a 'glorious' past

which demonstrated the Greek nation's survival at times of great struggle, which could be juxtaposed against the social, political and economic problems in the present:

> I am proud for all this. For the whole thing here. All these things are important. That they are still around and we have found them and exhibit them like this (Konstantina and Nikos B, National History Museum, both Greek, aged 18-30).

In Ireland, the museum also provided reassurance for Irish visitors that the nation had been through hard times before and would survive the current economic crisis.

In Scotland and Ireland the museum was a **symbol of national independence,** 'as important as language' (Tommy and Ciaran, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), both Irish, aged 65 and 67). Harry (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Canadian aged over 60) said that, 'I don't think I've ever heard of a nation that didn't have a museum, that was truly a nation.' Alison, Amanda and Mailyn, visitors to the National Museum of Scotland, expressed similar sentiments. This was an especially pertinent issue for Scotland asserting its independence within the UK:

> Because you have to have a national museum, and you have to have it in your capital city, and you have to have a building with fine architecture, on a good key location, with good regular changing exhibitions… Scotland is its own nation. It's not like it's the British Museum Edinburgh branch, you know, that really must not be. You've got to have a Scottish National Museum… it just puts you on the map. Puts you up there. Puts you up there with the British Museum (Alison, National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 63).

For Scotland the museum was as important as having 'your own parliament' (Alison, Tom, Amanda and Mailyn), a 'symbol the same as the Castle, the Parliament buildings now' (Tom, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 60). The connection between the museum and the state was not as important to other European visitors, although one visitor to the Estonian National Museum (unidentified) likened the museum to one of the 'limbs' of the state along with the police and health insurance.

The museum could bring the nation together through the **creation of a shared, collective identity**, defining who the people of a nation are and what they share: 'I think in order for a group of people to consider themselves to be a nation, they need to have a number of things in common. A feeling that certain things are normally done in particular ways' (Kenneth S, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 68). This was important to some German visitors, where there is, 'a very ambivalent relationship with their national identity' (Maria, German Historical Museum, German, aged 31-45). For Harry (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Canadian aged over 60) the museum was a unique institution which was used to build nations:

> It's one of the indicators of nationhood that you recognise that you have an experience which is shared, a heritage which informs the present. That there's a reason why we do things the way we do and the museum helps explain both to us and to others why we do those things.

National identity was not only 'read' and understood through the displays, it could also be 'felt', suggesting the potential for an affective (as well as cognitive) connection to national identity. The representation of popular folk culture at the Latvian Open-Air Museum was a space for Inese (Latvian, aged 30-35) through songs and dance to, 'feel and understand that Latvian-ness in the communication with others or even without words.'

Some visitors described the national museum as a **showcase for the nation**, somewhere to display its treasures and represent significant historical and (in some cases) contemporary events. As Ian (National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 55) explained:

> [I]t's like going into your home and having a glass cabinet with all your jewellery, you know, your silverware or your best crockery. It's like saying… that's what we've achieved, that's where we are… it's displaying your cultural wares.

As a showcase for the nation, the museum was important for national and non-national visitors alike: 'It's symbolic, but also for tourism it's important, to bring in tourists, because they're coming here to see our history most of the time' (Eamonn, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 30).

An authoritative voice on the past

National museums were seen as having an **authoritative voice** on national history, connected to its display and interpretation, its objective voice and comprehensiveness. Most visitors to the six museums considered that the museum would give what Ron (German Historical Museum in Berlin, British, aged 55-65) called 'a correct impression of German history to the average German visitor.' In Scotland, visitors contrasted the exaggeration and stereotypes perpetuated by the tourist and commercial outlets of Scottish history in comparison with the national museum which did not present 'tartan and bagpipes' (Ian, Giovanni and Mario, Lesley and Gail, National Museum of Scotland). As Alison (British, aged 63) commented, the museum presented Scotland's history, 'very academically, very professionally, and I think it represents a Scotland that people should know about, not what people expect to know about.' The scope of the history represented in museums in German and Scotland was described by several visitors as **comprehensive** (Ross, Brian, Kenneth S, National Museum of Scotland; Kort, Harald, Ulrike, Maria, German Historical Museum; Ioannis, Eleni, National History Museum). It was assumed that everything important about national history would be in the museum, for example Tanya (National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 32) who described herself as not, 'that hot on Scottish history,' would, 'take it as read that everyone's in there', e.g. that everything she needed to know about Scottish history would be in the museum.

At the German Historical Museum, an authoritative voice was equated with being **objective** or balanced in tone, being **free of patriotism** and representing multiple perspectives. Nine visitors commented favourably on this approach taken by the museum, which they considered was suitable for the challenging and sensitive history it sought to portray:

> It's not everything 'bright' and 'glorious', the negative aspects are also displayed. Especially concerning the Third Reich or the period of GDR… not everything was super back then (Maria, German, aged 31-45).

> Well, the museum doesn't show at all great pride in how big the country is, or how they overcome things, or what their heroes are, or what battles they won… I think it's sensible that they don't *per se* make a big show and be proud of their nation… I think it's really good… that I cannot sense any pride anywhere because I have been to national museums where I did see that and as a consequence I didn't believe what it said anymore (Jory, German Historical Museum, Dutch, aged 18-30).

Visitors noticed when the museum's voice appeared to them to be less neutral and objective, even one-dimensional or biased. In Scotland, non-national visitors and those who identified as

English were more likely to detect, or draw attention to, elements of Scottish nationalism in the displays, compared to national visitors. However, at least one visitor, Tanya (British, aged 32), rationalised that it might be her *reading* nationalism into the display, as she suggested, 'overall I'd say they've [*the museum*] endeavoured very hard to be fair.' At least one national visitor to the National History Museum in Athens, Maria A (Greek, aged 18-30) was concerned about the lack of objectivity she interpreted in the displays:

> I would be afraid of someone who visits this exhibition and then he says, "The Greeks were awesome, excellent fighters, they beat everyone," I mean, I think history needs a more careful approach.

As suggested above in Jory's comment (German Historical Museum) for these visitors overt nationalism was not something to accept but to be wary or sceptical about.

Few participants questioned the role of the national museum

The clear consensus came from visitors (national and non-national) across the six museums that national museums were significant, even essential, to a nation. Some may have criticised specific museums or questioned their content (see the section on *What is Missing?* for more detail), however only two visitors to the German Historical Museum overtly challenged the need for the national museum (Boris, Stephan). They did not challenge the concept of the museum itself but the role of the German Historical Museum in representing German identity and history. Both suggested that there were other museums which presented Germany's identity and history better; for example Stephan (German, aged 31-45) considered that a series of smaller museums was just as effective as attempting to convey Germany's story in one museum:

> We have many local museums for the different periods. It is not important to the state that there is a museum for the whole of German history. Because this would be very weak, very small, too little. It doesn't fulfil its intentions… It would have to be ten times bigger to give an overview of German history… and it shouldn't have a linear narrative but rather it should include all the questions: what would have happened if things had developed differently, to present the ruptures in history.

Agreeing that a national museum was important, even necessary, for the nation did not always correspond with a *personal interest* in national identity and history. For example, for a group of Scottish young people aged 16-17 years visiting the National Museum of Scotland, being Scottish was not something to necessarily be proud about. One young person described it as, 'Just being in this world.' These young people had very specific needs, faced many challenges in their lives, and were not in employment, school or training because of their experiences. The group aimed to provide them with a flexible service to help the young people to access training and education. Most of them had been disengaged from learning history at school; one young person explained that, 'I just never listened.' On a personal level history was not important: 'well it's boring to me, I don't know why.' However, when asked about the importance of history and the national museum, the group could appreciate that it was necessary to national identity: 'because it's where you come from… and where you stand.' One group member, Joe, explained that he had heard that the museum was, 'important to Scotland but it's not exactly important to me.' However, he went on to say that it was good to know that the museum was there in case someone like him needed it in the future; 'It's just reassuring to have it but not important to know it.' If he did need

to know about Scottish history, he 'can just go to the museum and find it all.' The idea that national museums were significant to the nation – both for defining who/what the nation is and for representing its history - was a powerful one that was relevant across all visitor responses (and as demonstrated later, also to participants in the minority groups).

History and the national museum

The emergence of the European nation-states in the 18th and 19th centuries stimulated the development of national history (Berger and Lorenz 2008), guided by the belief in the importance of a common understanding of the past which would unite its citizens (Symcox and Wilschut 2009). History education and national heritage provided the means by which to convey these ideas to the wider population (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge 2005). Today, all European nations have a national school or education system and history is an important part of that education, a narrative with the intention of making sense of the nation's past for the purposes of identity (Rüsen 2004). Attitudes towards the past are therefore shaped socially and culturally and Lowenthal (1998) has identified several elements common to national histories that are mobilised in the pursuit of national consolidation and fostering of unity:

- A precedence and antiquity which can be traced back along an ancient lineage;
- Continuity and coherence;
- A past of heroism and sacrifice;
- Family and communal bonds;
- A sense of fealty and stewardship.

This section will explore how visitors to the six case study museums articulated ideas about history and its relationship with identity and nation. As with other concepts such as nation and Europe, it is not always possible to define exactly what visitors mean by *history*. Nora (2011) suggests that heritage, identity and memory are three terms which have different meanings but which have been used interchangeably with history. Furthermore, the six national museums took a very different approach to history, from the chronological, narrative history at the German history Museum, to the deceptively 'timeless' popular, folk histories which are the focus of the Estonian and Latvian museums.

Four key themes were identified from the discussions of visitors about how national museums use history, heritage and memory to shape or support national identity:

- **The museum's didactic role**: is to promote national identity, and educate citizens and visitors about the nation's history. Connected with this role as 'educator' is the opportunity to 'learn from the lessons of the past' with national history providing the example or precedent for the present or future society.
- **The museum creates a bridge to the past**: it encourages emotional and affective connection with the past through its collections, displays and activities, to 'bring the past to life' or being people in the present closer to the past.
- **The museum provides continuity and roots**: through history, the museum reveals the foundations of the nation and its people, their origins, where the nation has come from and (potentially) where it is going.

- **Museums preserve history and identity**: an important role of the museum is to safeguard the nation's history and collect it together in one place for the benefit of future generations, against the fear of loss or 'forgetting' in wider society.

The ability of the national museum to fulfil these four roles is supported by the authority invested in national museums by the majority of visitors. Furthermore, it becomes clear from visitor comments that many are interested in history and heritage and see it as a fundamental part of their personal as well as their national identity: the remainder of this section looks at how history plays a role in identity formation and some of the challenges that this presents.

The didactic role of the national museum

Visitors discussed the importance of the national museum in promoting ideas of national identity and national history to the benefit of people in the nation. It was described as an educative, almost a moral, purpose to ensure that national values and histories are transmitted to the (mainly younger) generations and to visitors to the nation, with the connected idea that it was important to learn from 'the lessons of the past.' The importance of this didactic role was often in response to a threat to the nation or national identity, as Henry (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged 71) commented: 'when people's identity are under threat… then they start to think of who they are.' This was seen at the National History Museum in Athens, where several visitors used the museum displays to construct a positive vision of the Greek nation:

> It's the period closest to us and I think it's important like other periods are important for Greece. It's just that at this time we almost vanished. And a few people, without money, without anything managed to make a Greek state (Ioannis, Greek, aged 31-45).

Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) discussed the importance of the museum for conveying the significant events in Irish history. Older visitors considered that the1916 Uprising and War of Independence in Irish history should be reflected in the museum's display as a separate exhibit or monument (Dorothy, aged 72, Jimmy, aged 67, Henry aged 71). An understanding of the nation's seminal historical moments - what Lowenthal (1998) calls 'a past of heroism and sacrifice' – appeared to be important for developing pride in national identity. In Greece, many national visitors declared their pride in their national identity in response to the 'heroic' history portrayed in the National History Museum:

> I am proud to be a Greek… Yes, I am from Crete and I feel proud for its struggles and for everything and that my roots are from there (Maria B, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, 46-65).

At the National Museum of Scotland, those who demonstrated the most pride in their Scottish identity were visitors who identified as Scottish (as opposed to British) and who were interested in the history, as this group member from the Canongate Youth Group alluded to:

> [I]t comes out in the whole Scottish being proud and that… you ask them why are they proud and they don't really know… well if you know a bit about the history you can say we did this in such and such time (Young woman, Canongate Youth Group, Scottish, aged 31).

Museums with their displays of national history could help contemporary society to learn from the **lessons of the past.** The belief that the past is a source of precedent, examples of conduct and moral behaviour for action and understanding in the present (see Rüsen 2004) was a popular

one with visitors in Germany (Ulrike, Jory, Bernhard, Zhen, Lieselotte), Ireland (Jimmy), Greece (Nektaria, Thodoris), Latvia (Signija) and Estonia (Pieter).

> History is always like a mirror, you need to learn from history so you can get the idea of how to make things better (Zhen, German Historical Museum in Berlin, Chinese, aged 18-30).
>
> Mainly because … if one looks at their history he will see some mistakes of the past and so won't repeat them. He will see the weaknesses of those people and won't do the same thing. He will try to improve oneself. Not just for himself, as a human being, but for the whole community, his country (Nektaria, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged under 18).
>
> I think we must always be reminded of our past. I think we blamed England for an awful lot of things, but I think museums show you that we had our own problems, even to go right back now. I'm talking going right back to the high kings of Ireland (Jimmy, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks, Irish, aged 67).

For national visitors in Greece (Demetra, Alexia), Germany (Kort) and Scotland (Alisa, Christine, Kenneth M) who considered that they had not learned much national history in school (or had not enjoyed what they had learnt), the museum could give them a more comprehensive or alternative perspective on national history. Demetra was pleased to learn about the 'history of the revolution and less about the politics of it'; Kort complained that he belonged, 'to a generation that during school we were taught only about Nazism. I believe it is very important for the Germans, at least for my generation, to look at something else too.' This was possible in the German Historical Museum. For Tom, the National Museum of Scotland was an opportunity to instil pride in Scottish identity, which he considered had been denied to the older generations who had learnt British history.

Creates a bridge to the past

Photo: Simon Knell

One of the roles of the national museum articulated by visitors was its ability to 'create a bridge to the past,' described as an emotional or affective connection to the past forged through collections and displays, an immersive environment (such as the Latvian Open-Air Museum) or through activities and events. Museum objects are often described as having 'a charisma that stems from an awareness that it is a tangible link with the past' (Fairley 1977: 2), a special 'quality which moves and excites us… the "power of the real thing"' (Pearce 1994: 20). Rosenzweig and Thelan (1998) describe how coming into contact with artefacts, museum visitors often feel that 'they were experiencing a moment from the past almost as it had originally been experienced' (Rosenzweig and Thelan 1998: 106). For some visitors (in Greece, Scotland, Estonia and Latvia) the collections and displays at the museums provided 'the power of the real thing,' giving them a better understanding of how people lived and experienced their lives in the past:

> It gives you a feel for what their homes were like… You can begin to imagine how they live… So brings all these things to life… because you know they handled it. They've touched it. They've treasured it (Dorothy, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, 64 years old).

Some connections with objects promoted **remembrances of, or nostalgia for, the past** especially where connections were made with childhood. This was predominantly in the national museums of Estonia and Latvia, which it can be argued were established to promote and prompt this way of thinking, to generate nostalgia and desire to preserve the traditional customs and ways of living. However, there were also examples of similar connections made in Greece and Scotland:

> I can place on the same level that my grandfather or some other ancestor has lived in similar conditions. It is a little bit romantic maybe (Andis, Latvia Open Air Museum, Latvian, 40 years old).

> In general the museum touches me, because it is all those things we read about in our schoolbooks, when we were little children. And now you see them… In front of you! (Panagiota and Giorgos, National History Museum in Athens, both Greek Cypriot).

Provides continuity and roots

Photo: Simon Knell

A critical role for the national museum according to visitors was providing evidence of the nation's continuity through time and its roots or origins in the past. This corresponds with two of Lowenthal's necessary elements for national history: precedence and antiquity, and continuity and coherence. Placing the nation within its historical context of origins and roots was important for all six museums, however each museum differed as to the historical time period that they covered. The way in which the six national museums situate the nation within particular chronological boundaries can be compared with the actual, historical emergence of the six modern nations, which are comparatively recent phenomena (broadly, the emergence of the modern nation in Europe can be tentatively attributed to the eighteenth century, although national sentiments were expressed in countries prior to this period):

- In Estonia, independence was claimed in 1918, lost during the Second World War, and regained in 1994 - the bulk of the museum displays represent the agricultural or peasant lifestyle in the nineteenth century;
- In Germany, the current political system was established in the 1940s, with East Germany (the former DDR) being absorbed from 1990 – the museum displays start in 100 AD and end in the modern day state.
- In Greece, the modern state was recognised in 1830 – the museum begins in the 13th century with the Byzantine Empire and ends in the 1940s;
- In Ireland, the southern part of the island gained self-rule in 1922 as the Irish Free State – the museum's collections span Irish history from the 1550s to the present;

- In Latvia, independence was claimed in 1918, lost during the Second World War, and regained in 1994 – the museum represents the agricultural or peasant lifestyle from the end of the 17th century to the early 1940s;
- In Scotland, a devolved administration was established in 1998 and the country remains part of the UK – the museum has the broadest chronological boundaries, situating the development of Scotland in prehistory (3.4 million years ago) and ending in the present-day.

Table 23 shows the historical periods covered by each of the museums, which further reinforces the 'malleable' nature of the national museum concept. Each of the six museums has a very different starting point and end point for its national 'story.'

Table 23: Historical time period covered by the six national museums

European periods	**Geological time**	**Pre-history**	**Classical**	**Medieval**	**Early Modern**	**Late Modern**	**Contemp-orary**
Dates	Pre-Cambrian Super eon	? -> 500BC	500 BC - 500 AD	500 AD -> 1500	1500 -> 1800	1800 -> 1945	1945 - present
Estonia						18th c. ... 1990s	
Germany				100 AD ..... Present			
Greece					13th c. 1940s		
Ireland						1550s ..... Present	
Latvia						End 17th c.1940s	
Scotland	3.4 million years ago..... Present						

Few visitors challenged these chronological boundaries and instead, reflected on the importance of knowing the nation's roots and origins in order to understand its history. This concern was relevant to visitors in Estonia (Galina, Eve), Germany (Andrea, Kort, Geoff, Zhen), Scotland (Shona, Apricot, Ross, Jim, Kenneth S), Greece (Ioannis – see vignette below for more about Greece), and Ireland (Ciaran). A typical response was that of Andrea (German Historical Museum in Berlin, German, aged 18-30): 'It is very important for all humans to know where they come from, what is their origins… who they are.' Being European often meant being part of a very old, even ancient, history that could be contrasted with "newer" countries such as America, with the implication that European culture was founded on the stability and surety of a long past:

> I think it means being part of a larger cultural heritage. I certainly feel much more a kin and related to the Europeans than I do to the New World countries, because I think of the depth of culture that we have here that is missing in the New World countries (Lesley, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, 47 years old).

The value placed on continuity and roots was also visible in the comments of the minority groups, particularly the Roma community in Greece. They were keen to make clear that – in contrast to recent immigrants from Albania and Eastern Europe - they have been residents on Greek soil for ten centuries and they are part of the nation's history:

> The immigration issue is something that Greek society has been facing during the last 20 years. The Roma community is around since the 10th century (Kostas, aged 40-45).

National visitors to the National History Museum in Athens confirmed the importance of the ancient Greek civilisation to national identity in the present, conferring pride but also the duty and responsibility of 'living up to' that past. The political context – riots and economic crisis, the fall of government – gave a sense of urgency for some Greek visitors. Three visitors (Konstantina, Nikos B, Avgoustidis) suggested that Greeks should turn to the past for inspiration, to remind the people of who they are:

> This our history. If you don't have history… you don't have a country. We are finished. The way we have become we don't have a country. Let's at least learn some history, search our history and find something to build on, and maybe things get better. No question about it. If all these go, we're done (Konstantina and Nikos B, National History Museum in Athens, both Greek, both 18-30).

Visitors varied as to which periods of Greek history were crucial to the construction of national identity. Maria A (Greek, aged 18-30) pessimistically considered that the ancient past was all that was left of value to the Greek nation: 'The civilization, naturally, the ancient civilization, because today … it's a mess.' However, at least five national visitors valued the contribution that more recent history could make to the construction of national identity, which, from their perspective, would be more relevant and useful to contemporary Greeks:

> This is a different chapter in Greek history. And I am glad it exists [*the museum*]… And especially now with the crisis, it might become even more important than in the previous years. And tourists should realize that the Greek nation is more related with this era than with the Antiquity and the Byzantium (Alexia, National History Museum in Athens, Greek/Swiss, aged 18-30).

It is clear from the discussions of visitors that many think that history shapes identity and, as a result, creates a sense of 'who we are.' The importance attached to roots and heritage as part of personal identity further supports this view, such as this comment by Ilona about the Estonian National Museum: 'It's definitely [*an*] important part of getting to know who you are. And getting to know your roots.' For two visitors, knowledge of history could also play a role in shaping the future (Kenneth M, National Museum of Scotland; Lieselotte, German Historical Museum, Berlin).

The preservation of national history, culture and traditions

Photo: Sheila Watson

The fourth theme in relation to history was the importance of the national museum for preserving national history, culture and traditions. In turn, this was thought to help develop national sentiment, helping people to understand where they have come from. The impulse to preserve and pass on national heritage and identity was strong for many participants, in the focus groups as well as the interviews, and **remembering the past was likened to a responsibility or duty**:

> And the story is always important, everyone should know the history of the nationality or the district where he lives, it is even necessary (Eugenia, focus group participant, Estonian National Museum, Russian, aged 72).

It was important to pass national history and identity through the younger generations, and some older visitors commented on the importance of bringing young people to the museum for that purpose. Henry and Jimmy, two older, Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland, had brought their grandchildren to the museum to teach them about their national history:

> I handed it on to my children and I've handed it on to my grandchildren, because I bring my children to museums and I bring them to places of interest, because they know where all the leaders of our country are buried, they've been at their graves. But I'm a happy Grandpa because I give them that and then we go off and we have fun (Henry, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, 71 years old).

It seemed that several visitors had internalised the importance of the museum for preserving the past to educate future generations (Brian, Vladimir, Tanya, National Museum of Scotland; Pieter, Estonian National Museum; Maria B, National History Museum):

> If someone is a good parent, he or she brings children to the museum to learn them something… It is important if you want to have a good future generation' (Vladimir, National Museum of Scotland, Slovakian, 30-40 years old).

In Estonia and Latvia, the role of museum in remembering culture and tradition was heightened by the **loss of traditional channels for passing down national history and identity**. Usually, national visitors explained, children would have learnt about history and tradition from their grandparents. However, the museum had assumed a greater importance for preserving these traditions, and enriching the knowledge of future generations, since more and more grandparents were living in the towns:

> The grandmothers have given the sense of Latvian-ness for girls and boys in the childhood… the sense that I am Latvian, that I will have to work all my life time and that my life depends on work (Iveta G, Latvian Open-Air Museum, Latvian, aged 40-45).

> Well [*the museum*] is important. A place where to come and recall the past… Another thing is come with your grandmother and she recalls the things she has been through. Nowadays children do not have so much these places, where you really go to the countryside, visit your granny. All grandmothers live in the town now (Piret-Klea, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 30s).

Preserving this traditional, and disappearing, way of life (which included the use of tools and building methods) was not only important in an historical but also in an ecological sense for a small number of national visitors. With green lifestyles and more environmentally-friendly forms of living becoming necessary, two visitors to the Estonian National Museum reflected on how older ways of life could present more sustainable, greener ways of life for a present that was in danger of losing that understanding (Mark, Helen):

> How people coped in the beginning and now, as we have reached certain level and we have lost this… we have to return to what we had. Museums are made for teaching people to survive in a more simple ways in life (Mark, Estonian National Museum, Estonian / Russian, aged 27).

One Irish visitor expressed similar sentiments. Annette (National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), Irish, aged over 50) commented that the museum could be a good place to show the continuity of craftsmanship in Ireland, 'hopefully keeping alive those traditions, you know, that have been left to wither.' There was a similar concern expressed by some visitors that unless people were encouraged to visit museums, the collective national history and identity was in danger of being lost through lack of interest or 'forgetting:'

> They are very important, and I believe that this is how it should be done, to give emphasis to such museums, meaning encourage people to visit such museums. This is important in order to preserve this identity, the national identity that we must have (Panagiota & Giorgos, National History Museum in Athens, Greek Cypriot).

Museums could act as a storehouse or archive of that which was deemed important enough for the nation to keep, what *should* be remembered. Inese, a national visitor to the Latvian Open Air Museum, suggested museums played an important role in keeping history alive and making it appealing and 'real' for visitors, potentially sparking and engaging their interest:

> If cultural traditions are not "translated" correctly or if it is misunderstood, than it provokes come kind of rejection. I believe many people say they hate traditional things but actually they have not experienced it [in a] genuine way, rather they have some kind of

> formal and rigid experience. If they taste the traditions merrily and lively, not rigidly, then it can develop a person a lot and it can turn into [a] crucial part of identity (Inese, Latvian Open Air Museum, Latvian, aged 30-35).

Within this context, some visitors were concerned that the national museums they visited were not busy enough (Ulrich, German Historical Museum; Javier, National History Museum). Others were concerned that the general public were not interested enough in history (Lieselotte, Synthia, German Historical Museum; Anna, National History Museum) and that national history was not taught enough in schools (Kenneth M, National Museum of Scotland).

Role of history in personal identity formation

Whilst the dominant theme from visitors was that it was important to preserve the national past and display it in the national museum, *personal interest* in history was far more varied. As suggested previously, personal interest in national history and identity was not necessary to support the consensus that the national museum was important to the nation. Similarly, a personal interest in history was not seemingly necessary in order to support the role of the museum in representing the nation's history.

For some visitors history was a part of everyday life, and they came into contact with it through a number of sources including the family, community, and school. The role of the family in connection to history has been addressed in some of the sections above, for example the role of the parents or grandparents in teaching children about their history, origins and heritage. National visitors and participants in the focus groups talked about the importance of passing on their heritage to their children and grandchildren (Tanya, Christine, Iqbal, Rema, Sylvain, National Museum of Scotland; Jimmy, Henry, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks); Demetra, National History Museum). Other visitors had brought their friends and family to the museum to show them something about the history of the nation or their roots (this included national visitors and non-national visitors who otherwise had a connection to the nation through their family, work, or study e.g. Tom and Lore, Helen, Estonian National Museum; Kakhaber, Latvian Open Air Museum). Visitors also mentioned learning about their past from family members (Eamonn, National Museums Ireland; Christine, Lesley, National Museum of Scotland; Cecile, Estonian National Museum, Victoria, National History Museum). An interest in local history (Kenneth M, Gail, National Museum of Scotland) and the historic environment (Tom, Brian, National Museum of Scotland; Maria A, National History Museum) were also important to some visitors' conceptions of national identity.

> I consider Greek identity all those images I have for Greece, which I miss when I am not in Greece. I mean, the Acropolis, the archaeological sites, the colours, the blue of the sky, all these for me is Greek identity (Maria A, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 18-30).

They were a minority but some visitors expressed the *lack* of importance or the problems that history can create when forming identity. For visitors such as Javier, Maria and Vera, and the young people of the Canongate Youth Group, history **was not relevant to everyday life**. Whilst some historians stress the importance of knowing the past for the creation of identity (Marwick 2001), from a different perspective the past can be, 'a burden and a form of control' (Molyneaux

1994: 10). For some visitors there was a concern that history could become a burden, could hold people back, or could lead to contested forms of national identity.

Controversial or contested history

For some visitors, history was **too painful, emotive or contested** to be addressed in the museum. As Georgia, a young visitor to the National History Museum (Greek, aged 18-30) noted, 'Truth hurts, because we have an ideal version of the past in our heads.' Whilst many visitors to the National Museum of Scotland were proud of their Scottish identity, Jim (Scottish, aged 50-60) went against the grain, saying that whilst he regarded himself as Scottish it was not an identity he was proud of because of (amongst other things) Scotland's involvement in the British Empire. In Germany, attitudes amongst national visitors towards the most controversial aspects of national history, the Second World War and Nazism, were very different according to the individual. On the one hand, some visitors suggested that Germany needed to move on from the focus on this period. Lukas (German, aged under 18) considered that he had learnt enough about it at school, whereas Sebastian (German, aged 18-30) continued to have his interest provoked by this same period. Boris (German, aged 31-45) referred to the more relaxed attitude towards the Nazi past from the younger generations, who looked to the Reunification of Germany as their key historical moment, and Kort (German, aged 31-45) reflected on the generations that concerned themselves 'too much' with coming to terms with the Nazi past.

Photo: Andrew Sawyer

British colonialism and the impact on Irish identity

The history of British oppression in Ireland was a feature of Irish national identity, whether expressed in a humorous, sanguine or angry way by Irish visitors. There appeared to be a divide between the generations and their treatment of this history between visitors to the National Museum of Ireland. Older Irish visitors seemed more keen to emphasise the importance of the 1916 Uprising and war for independence against Britain, although only one visitor, Dorothy (Irish, 72 years old) admitted that she had a 'deep resentment' against the British. From the other visitors although they joked about 'blaming the British' there was a sense that what was important to them was the recognition of Irish struggle and independence. Other visitors, however, disputed the need to make the history of the struggle, the main emphasis of Irish national history. Linda (National Museum Ireland, Irish, 50 years) who worked at Collins Barracks in Visitor Services did not deny the importance of knowing about the past but questioned *the focus* and *impact* of that interest:

> It's part of who we are and as I said before, by all accounts, read it and take it in. But that's it. Just move on from it then.

Younger visitors like Bronagh (Irish, aged 18) valued the role of these events as inspiring to today's generations – 'They fought for like the generations to come and how we could have a better life and kind of stood up for themselves. And it is really inspiring because look at us now' - however James (Irish, aged over 30), like Linda, was clear that in acknowledging the event, it was also time to move on:

> [T]here's this wonderful honour, I don't take it away from them, of the 1916 leaders, but… You'd like time to have moved on where yes you acknowledge the fact… [But] it would be nice just to maybe just round off the edges a little bit.

Objects and narratives: their role in the expression of identity

This section looks at how museum visitors responded to the objects on display and the narratives represented in the displays and exhibitions at the six national museums. How visitors articulated their understandings of these different themes can be read in conjunction with their personal and national 'identity frames' (see chapter three, *Visitors and their Identity*), how visitors used the museum (section on the *Role of the national museum*) and the layout and representation of the nation in the six museums (section on *Six national museums: detailed descriptions*). Patterns could be discerned in how visitors made these objects meaningful in light of their identity (formed from their personal frames of reference), particularly between national and non-national visitors. In the following sections we highlight how these patterns emerged within the context of the six museums.

Objects

In looking at how visitors used objects on display and in the museum collections to make connections with identity, three key themes were identified from the six museums:

- National and non-national visitors who made **personal connections** with the objects on display (objects of personal significance);
- National (and much smaller numbers of non-national) visitors who made **national connections** with the objects on display (objects of national significance);
- National and non-national visitors who were **not able to make connections with specific objects** (objects with no personal or national significance).

The relevance found in museum objects also varied in each of the six national museums. Table 24 provides an overview of the six museums which highlights the general responses of visitors at each site. These were quite distinctive and related to the distinctive collections of each museum.

Table 24: Overview of visitor responses to objects at each national museum

Museum	Visitor response to objects
Estonia	General comments rather than specific objects Personal links e.g. to objects from childhood Links to ancestors or 'fore-fathers' Everyday or domestic objects Show diversity in a small country
Latvia	To understand how ancestors lived and what their houses looked like Regional interest in objects Aesthetic interest in church
Germany	Limited connection to museum objects to prevent romanticising difficult past Tended to see the past in terms of historical periods and themes
Greece	Objects were significant Relics, symbols – even human remains Familiarity with personal objects of great heroes, everyone is taught

Museum	Visitor response to objects
	the same history in school Personal and emotional link – objects held and used by heroes and ancestors Non-Greeks preferred costume displays
Ireland	Limited connection with particular objects of national interest Personal interest Reminded of objects from other branches of the national museum in connection with the national story
Scotland	Personal connections, prior interest e.g. aesthetic, historical, relevant to experience Few national objects – Lewis Chessmen mentioned National symbols tended to be tourist stereotypes e.g. bagpipes, tartan Personal and emotional response to objects associated with Scottish ancestors

ty

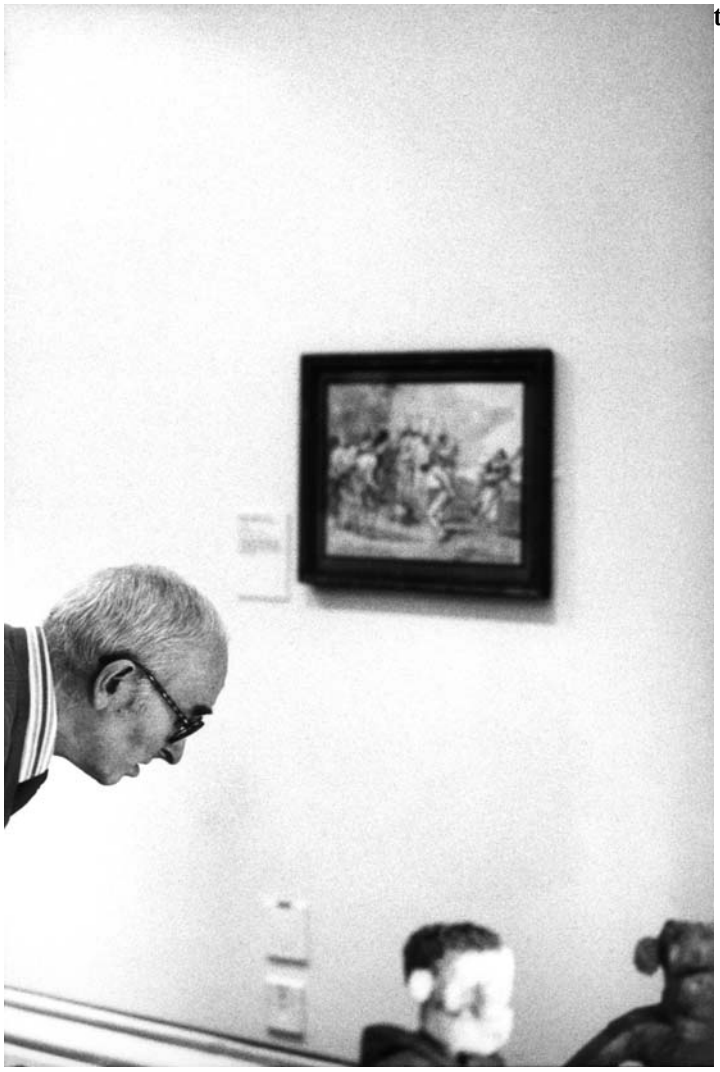


Photo: Julian Anderson

Visitors in this category (both national and non-national) made connections with an object primarily because of its personal, rather than national, interest. These objects may have been represented as part of their national heritage by virtue of their location in the museum, and therefore did have national relevance, but the way in which visitors made connections was through the personal.

National visitors to the Estonian National Museum and Latvian Open-Air Museum tended to make personal, rather than national, connections to the material on display. The museums reflected the folk or peasant lifestyle of the older generations (rather than contemporary Estonian or Latvian identity) and tended to prompt nostalgia or remembrance for an object (even a building) that the visitor or their family had once owned or used. One national visitor (unidentified, possibly Eve) mentioned meeting her memories from her lost childhood in the museum. National visitors in Latvia also found specific objects to be personally meaningful to them because it signified their belonging to a particular region or prompted feelings of nostalgia (Andis, Signija):

> In the part of Vidzeme, I liked the house of new farmer because it was so similar to my father's home and I had very warm and pleasant memories (Signija, Lativan, aged 18).

Visitors to museums in Ireland, Scotland and, to a lesser extent, Greece made personal connections when choosing objects of interest. Objects of personal interest to visitors in Ireland included the Eileen Gray collection and furniture (Annette), modern art (Chris), skeleton of a horse that fought in the Crimea (Tommy, who was a retired vet), and coins (Eamonn). For some visitors it was the **personal stories behind the objects** which made them interesting. Three visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) pointed out objects and reflected an interest in the stories behind them (Una, Marie, Helen):

> I think it's more the personal stories, you know, there's a scarf and it was worn by a man who died in the Somme and, you know, and that was his life. But this is something that he wore. It makes it a lot more real (Una, Irish, aged 31).

> Personally I'm imagining. When you look at those High Crosses and you're thinking about those stone masons and telling their, how you told the story of the bible through those carvings. Where did those craftsmen come from? How did the develop that system of telling those stories on those crosses? (Helen, Australian, aged 50).

At the National Museum of Scotland, objects were chosen from the perspective of personal interest and experiences: what had caught visitors' eyes in the galleries, unique or surprising objects, or objects with an aesthetic value. As a list, the objects make an eclectic selection: tweed, Woolworths Homemaker 50's crockery (Bethany), a harp that belonged to Mary Queen of Scots (Julia), Celtic stones and carvings (Sue and Sheila, Brian), Roman lion found in the river Alland (Dorothy), ornaments and dishes from bygone times (Margaret), religious objects (Jim), and Jackie Stewart's racing car and helmet (Paul). In Greece, visitors choose paintings of historic figures and historical scenes for their aesthetic qualities as well as for the historical content (Nikos A, Nektaria, Maria B, Georgia) and communicated their interest in the weapons on display (Panagiota and Giorgos, Maria B's son, Marilena, Thodoris) for their aesthetic and material qualities, as well as being different to modern weapons. Other objects of personal interest included maps (Alexia), flags (Victoria), and ethnic costumes (Javier, Eugenie).

Museum objects of significance to national identity

The National History Museum in Athens had the largest impact on national and non-national visitors in using material culture to convey meanings about a collective national consciousness, connected to a narrative of heroic sacrifice in the struggle for independence. In this way, the museum appeared to fulfil the ideological tendencies of the curators (see section on *Six national Museums: detailed descriptions*). As Konstantinos (Greek, aged 31-45) noted, these objects held meaning for visitors because they 'bear their history, their discourse, they carry everything.' Visitors showed strong preferences for items that once belonged to historical figures or heroes of the War of Independence (Panagiota, Giorgos, Anna, Nikos A, Vassilis, Konstantinos, Thodoris, Eugenie, Marilena, Ioannis). Visitors venerated certain objects as relics, such as the preserved heart of Kanaris (prominent figure in the War of Independence and Prime Minister of Greece). Such objects held an 'emotional value' (Vassilis, Greek, aged 18-30) because of what they symbolised in the nation's history:

> It's so moving, Kanaris' heart. Who knows that Kanaris' heart is here? (Konstantinos, Greek, aged 31-45).
>
> What caught my attention are the objects associated with the eminent figures of Greek history, Kolokotronis, Karaiskakis, Lord Byron, their personal items (Nikos A, Greek, aged 18-30).

Whilst national visitors to the museum in Greece responded enthusiastically to the 'iconic' objects in the National History Museum – the personal objects of the heroes of the War of Independence – there appeared to be no similar object or set of objects from the other five national museums. The most iconic objects in the National Museum of Scotland (2012) according to its website are the Lewis Chessmen, which describes the set of figures as 'iconic objects' and Scotland's most famous archaeological find (in 1831). However, of thirty-nine interviews, only four visitors mentioned these objects (Amanda and Mailyn, Alison, Kenneth S, Apricot). Alison (British, aged 63) described them as 'the sort of thing that people coming from abroad for example will think what's famous about Scotland.' Kenneth S (Scottish, aged 68) considered that they were important for Scotland because 'they describe one strand of Scotland's history in that they relate to the Viking strand of things, which is important particularly in the Northern and Western isles.' They are also contested objects over their local or national significance (Alison, Kenneth S). Apricot (British, aged 22) questioned the role that historical objects like the Lewis Chessmen would play in shaping national identity 'because there's so much exposure to them':

> I can't work out what impact they would actually have on an individual in terms of how they think about themselves. Whether they'd have a feeling of pride, whether it would even be perceivable or measurable?

Apricot was more interested in the objects that shaped people in the present 'and whether the objects in the past shaped people's identities previously. I think almost the modern objects that encapsulate our identity, it would be interesting to do a study on those and work out what they are.' Generally, visitors to museums in Estonia, Latvia, Scotland and Ireland struggled to name particular objects of national significance in the museum. At the National Museum of Scotland,

this response from Alison (British, aged 63) was typical: 'I just can't remember… because to me this museum merges into the one next door, and I can't remember.'

Two older visitors from Scotland and one from Ireland (Dorothy, Kenneth S, Annette) used museum objects to create their own personal sense of national identity, not one which seemed to be framed by the museum's intentions (such as in Greece). Dorothy (Scottish, aged 64) felt an emotional engagement with particular objects which represented the communities of people living in Scotland for thousands of years. In particular, the 'Westray Wife,' a prehistoric representation of a human figure which had been found in the Orkneys (the earliest carving of a human form to have been found in Scotland and the earliest depiction of a face found in the United Kingdom), connected her family (who lived on Westray) with a very long Scottish heritage: 'just when you think I've lived there and that was found in that spot, it just brings it home and it's just quite fascinating.' Similarly Annette (Irish, aged over 50) was developing her own Irish identity based on a rejection of the politics and instead on the material culture. Having lived and worked in England for many years, Annette seemed to be rediscovering her Irish identity and important to her was the realisation of the craftsmanship and skill of Irish artisans, past and present. It was something that she wanted to learn more about:

> I like the art and craft stuff and William Morris… that art is useful and beautiful… That's what attracts me, everyday objects being beautiful. And I'd love to know how much more of that was going on. Because sometimes you'll listen to the Antiques Roadshow and they say...it's Irish silver. You think I know nothing about Irish silver, you know, absolutely nothing.

Museum buildings could be valued for their aesthetic qualities but were also symbolic of the nation. For Greek visitors, the museum symbolised when the country 'had its own Parliament' (Maria B, Georgia, Nikos A). In Germany the building seemed less important to visitors, perhaps because as Martin (German, aged 46-65) complained, the removal of key features made it difficult to understand what the building had been used for prior to it becoming a museum:

> I find it a little bit sad that the cannons have been removed, because how can an interested visitor understand now what this building used to be in the past?

The British built Collins Barracks as an army barracks during their occupation of Ireland, and several Irish visitors (Linda, Ciaran, Henry, Pidelma, Sinead) and one Canadian visitor with Irish ancestry (Harry) recognised the national importance of the barracks for Ireland. The 'beautiful buildings' (Linda, Irish, aged 50) were something which these visitors were proud of, along with other buildings such as the General Post Office (which played a prominent role in the 1916 Uprising) also built during British rule. Two British visitors to the National Museum of Scotland remarked on their interest in the architecture and materials of the building itself (Bethany, Paul), however, for Scottish visitors the building was more important symbol of nationhood, as important as the Scottish Parliament close by (Tom, Alison, Amanda and Mailyn).

Museum objects which have limited to no connection with personal or national identity

For national and non-national visitors to the German Historical Museum, limited connections were made with the objects on display. Researchers considered that in the case of German history, the narrative of political and historical events overshadowed the role that material culture can play in illuminating the past. The objects therefore only 'spoke' from the perspective of that

history, which was identified by the researchers as a direct feature of the museum's layout and interpretation. Rather than highlight objects, national and non-national visitors to this museum highlighted particular historical themes or periods that they had found to be significant in the exhibitions. The choice of these themes acted like the role of objects in the discussions of other visitors, and included:

- Roman civilization (Anna)
- Christianity and Germany (Geoff)
- Medieval history (Maria, Carsten, Vera)
- The Enlightenment (Ulrike)
- The Fall of Berlin's War and Reunification (Andrea, Bernhard)
- Militarism (Ron)
- The influence of Prussia (Kort).

Generally, however, most participants revealed an interest in the modern history of Germany, the periods of the nineteenth and twentieth century:

- The beginnings of the 20th century, with the rise of the labour movement (Andrea)
- The First World War (Maria, Lukas)
- The Second World War (Maria, Andrea, Lieselotte, Martin, Synthia)
- 19th century to the present (Harald)
- WWI to the present (Ulrike, Jory and Jacob)
- Cold War to the present (Andrea, Harald and Vera)

Some Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) were similarly reluctant to discuss the objects in the museum's collections as significant to their national identity. Instead, they chose objects that were on display in other museums or more general symbols such as the 'national flag' (Henry, Tommy, Ciaran). Eight national visitors to the museum singled out Celtic items (Linda, Ciaran, Helen, Pidelma, Jimmy, Linda, Tommy, Annette) as significant to Irish national identity:

- The Book of Kells kept at Trinity College (Una, Jimmy and Pidelma);
- Irish High Crosses - replicas on display at Collins Barracks (Linda, Ciaran, Helen and Pidelma);
- The Ardagh Chalice kept at the Archaeology branch in Kildare Street (Tommy, Linda and Orla);
- The Faddan More Psalter kept at Kildare Street (Ciaran);
- The Tara Brooch kept at Kildare Street (Linda);
- Prehistoric gold artefacts kept at Kildare Street and Irish Museum of Modern Art (Annette).

This suggests that for Irish visitors, the Celtic 'golden age' is an important element of Irish national identity, similar to the importance of the ancient Greek past to national visitors at the National History Museum despite both histories being outside of the remit of these particular museums ('Celtic' refers to a diverse pre-Roman tribal culture in Europe. A modern form of their language is still spoken in Ireland, with variants in Scotland and the Isle of Mann referred to as

Gaelic. Gaelic is also used more broadly as a cultural definition. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the 'Gaelic Revival' in sports and literature was aligned with the movement for Irish independence).

Minority group experiences of material culture

Highlighting their exclusion from the museum, participants in the four focus groups (Scotland, Ireland, Estonia, Greece) rarely found objects in the museum which were relevant to their experiences or identity. However, participants recognised the power of material culture to tell stories about the nation and the people within it, however at present they are excluded from all representation in the national museum. See chapter six, *Minority Group Issues,* for further discussion of minority group experiences.

Narratives

How the national museum constructed the narratives of national history and identity did have an impact on how the museums were 'read' and internalised by their visitors. However, the differences reflected in visitor comments (with the museum and with other visitors) suggested that visitor impressions of museum narratives were forged from a co-construction between their experience of the museum and their own personal 'frames of reference' (which potentially included prior knowledge, ideas and experiences). As stated in the *Introduction,* the term 'museum' refers to how it is experienced by visitors, which may have included the whole site, or only part of the permanent galleries. National visitors did not always have an advantage over non-national visitors in their responses to this question. Knowledge and understanding of national history, contemporary politics and society may have enhanced visitor's ability to 'read' the museum, however this understanding varied across national visitors, and some non-national visitors had links with the nation which may have given more of an 'insider' perspective. Furthermore, it was quite a challenging question to ask visitors (for example how they interpreted the word 'narrative') and some struggled to give a coherent or meaningful answer.

Table 25 (below) provides an insight into the most common response from visitors to the question of narrative at each of the six national museums, juxtaposed with a short description of the museum based on the contextual information from Chapter 3. Overall, visitors reported a very 'positive' reading of the museum narrative – a narrative which celebrated the nation, charted its struggle for, and eventual, freedom – except for the German Historical Museum, which presented a much more complex history. Visitors to Scotland and Ireland struggled to identify a strong narrative from either museum. These findings will be explored in greater depth in the next sections. In order to make comparisons across the six museums, the findings are presented in three categories:

- The lack of a strong, unifying narrative across the museum;
- A narrative which is more past-orientated than present;
- Visitors who identified a narrative that was relevant to contemporary national identity, history or both.

Table 25: Overview of visitor responses to national museum narratives

Museum	Narrative presented by museum	Response from visitors
Estonia	History of Estonia beginning in the 18th century and to the present Focus on ways of life and folk or peasant culture Recent history portrays the independence of Estonia from the Soviet Union and represents ways of living up to 1990s	Not a glorious past but intimate, everyday How people survived despite hardships
Latvia	Focus on the peasant or folk culture of the 17th-19th centuries: buildings, way of life, handicrafts, costumes	Tribute to ancestors and their hard work, relationship with the land, core values
Germany	Narrative of German history from its early history to the present day Depoliticised, neutral, with no attempt to glory in or romanticise the past	No glory in the past Difficult history Themes and chronological periods more common response
Greece	Sentimental and romanticised national history narrative from the 19th century to the Second World War	Celebratory, positive, relevant Glory of the past – sentimental nationalism of the 19th century
Ireland	Decorative arts collections show progression and changes in fashion over time Military history galleries show conflict as central to Ireland and its struggle for freedom; now involved in peace keeping missions around the world	Lack of narrative in the museum for most visitors that was relevant to national identity: for a few older Irish visitors the focus was on the struggle for independence
Scotland	The development of Scotland from its prehistoric beginnings to the modern nation in the 20th century.	Little consensus from visitors except telling the story of Scotland – when prompted could express ideas around the narratives such as the 'golden age', enemy of the Scots, and origins

The lack of a strong, unifying narrative

Most visitors to the National Museum of Scotland and National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) struggled to suggest a strong unifying national narrative across the museum or read the museum in this way. At the National Museum of Ireland, visitors had a mixed view of the role of the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) in describing Ireland. Irish visitors referred to individual stories rather than one unifying narrative in connection with the different objects (Sinead, Una). Themes such as suffering, conflict and independence were important to other national visitors. Chris (aged 34), a visitor from England, questioned the possibility of describing the story of Ireland in one museum. He observed that it would be challenging either to 'to bring together lots of different ideas to tell a coherent story', or to tell 'maybe one main thread of a story, be it from the uprising in terms of the formation of the modern state or the separation of

Northern Ireland.' Some visitors were not particularly engaged with national history and focused more on their own personal interests: Annette (Irish, aged over 50) initially said when asked what the most important stories about Ireland were in the museum, 'I don't know. I haven't paid that much attention.'

When (national and non-national) visitors to the National Museum of Scotland were asked to describe the important stories which defined Scotland in the museum, not all visitors found it possible to identify a coherent narrative: it was not until comparing the replies across the interviews that trends began to emerge. This initial hesitation appeared to be connected to the layout of the museum, which did not encourage visitors to take a specific path through the museum that would enable them to read and respond to an identifiable narrative. Several visitors (Julia, Mary, Shona, Alison) described the museum as hard to navigate, and suggested they obtained 'fragments' of a history rather than a coherent story of events connected logically in time:

> [I]t does seem… very thematic… and they tend to be sort of next to each other without any sense of where you're going and because it's such a strange laid out gallery… with ante-rooms off… you're not quite sure where you are in time (Mary, British aged 20).

Another reason given by visitors was that they had not looked round the museum sufficiently to make a judgement (Kenneth M).

A narrative which is more past-orientated than present

In Estonia and Latvia, the narratives of the museums appeared to construct a 'timeless' past of folk and peasant culture, which represented the 'authentic' ethnic community of these nations. Both national museums were (narrowly) focused on portraying the lifestyles of very particular ethnic and social class groupings. Visitors reflected that the stories told by the Latvian Open-Air Museum were about the authentic Latvian home, the relationship between Latvians, the land and nature, about hard work, the agricultural culture and traditional lifestyles. Visitors commented that it was more about experiencing this lifestyle than 'reading' a narrative about it. For Latvian visitors, the importance of the narrative for national identity depended on whether the museum represented Latvian history or 'true' Latvian identity. For some, this representation of the past was very positive, even if idealised, and romanticised. For others, the narrative mostly emphasised the harshness of life: Inese (Latvian, aged 30-35) for example, suggested that the past was not a place she wished to return:

> That heritage of [the] open air museum is such that at the end of the day I am always glad that I live in the twenty-first century. I do not enjoy that very much

Neither museum told the national story in the form of a chronological narrative, apart from a small display in the Estonian National Museum. This told the story of independence from the Soviet Union, ending in 1994 (when the permanent exhibition opened). However, most visitors to the Estonian National Museum (although it is unclear whether these were national or non-national visitors) were satisfied with the approach taken by the museum. They were pleased that the museum was not confrontational, and that the stories of Estonia's struggles and enemies were either not explicitly there or were there only through a very 'open' interpretation.

National narratives with contemporary relevance

The majority of visitors in Greece and Germany, and smaller numbers of visitors to the other four museums, suggested that the museum narratives they identified had contemporary political and social relevance. This was particularly strong in Greece, where the ideological project of the museum – to justify and glorify the actions of the major players in the Greek War of Independence – appeared to be supported by visitor comments. The notion of struggle as an element of national identity was very much to the fore in national and non-national visitor comments (Konstantina and Nikos, Panagiota and Giorgos, Thodoris, Elizabeth, Filippa, Demetra, Maria A, Javier, Vassilis).

> It is clear, the fight for freedom. It is very intense, it stems from all the exhibits of the museum (Panagiota and Giorgos, Greek Cypriots).

For Greek visitors, the museum also reflected internally held opinions and ideas of the national history, and the narrative seemed to reinforce and even 'build on' these (Panagiota and Giorgos, Anna, Konstantina and Nikos B, Ioannis, Thodoris, Demetra, Maria, Eleni, Vassilis).

A small number of visitors to national museums in Ireland, Scotland, Latvia and Estonia identified the existence of a national narrative that had contemporary relevance. Two older visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Harry, Henry) suggested that the museum was telling the story of Ireland, one dominated by conflict. In Estonia and Latvia, a minority of visitors identified that the museum was telling the story of a disappearing lifestyle, one which had important lessons to teach society in the present. The skilled craftsmanship involved in folk culture led these visitors to reflect on the apparent decline and loss of these skills in the present-day, and the need to revive traditional culture and customs to enable more ecological and sustainable ways of living.

Six visitors to the National Museum of Scotland (Kenneth M, Kenneth S, Lesley, Gail, Tanya, Bethany) identified what they suggested to be an important national narrative emerging from the museum. This was the story of Scotland's development as a nation, as Tanya (British, aged 32) described it, 'Scotland from start to finish.' For Bethany, the story was about Scottish identity and 'the Scottish being a community… or that the identity remains even when you're not in Scotland.' Other ideas about the national narrative were based on the prior knowledge of visitors. Shona's (Global spirit, aged 30-40) ideas about the 'rise and fall' of nations was applied more generally to Scottish history, as was Apricot's (British, aged 22) views on the transience of cultures which she expected to see in the museum:

> In a way you sort of feel as if they're meant to be a way of showing how cultures are built up, but I end up with a feeling of transience when I go into one. I think they also teach you about the great achievements of some people, but also about the anonymous in artefacts like coins.

Despite finding it difficult to identify the stories of Scotland when asked directly, through the interviews visitors did identify some common themes which contribute to a national story of great events performed by exceptional men and romantic women which will be expanded upon in a later section on *National figures*.

For visitors to the German Historical Museum, change in Germany over time was the most common narrative thread identified in the museum, with visitors commenting that the museum presented a comprehensive summary of the history of Germany (Andrea, Anna, Bernhard,

Carsten and Kort, Harald, Martin, Stephan, Ulrich). Kort (German, aged 31-45) for example described how a visitor 'can see the huge changes Germany has experienced during the last 1,500 years.' Visitors discussed how this comprehensive history was relevant in the present, for example Ron (British, aged 55-65) discussed how the focus on militarism through history showed how the collective consciousness of a nation could change over time:

> [I]f you look in the museum you see the militarism is the key feature of Germany, right from Frederic the Great's time [*in*] 1740 up to 1945 when they learned that militarism wasn't such a good idea. And from 1945 they had a different attitude towards militarism. But it just shows you that there isn't an in-built characteristic of a people like that, it could change depending on experience.

However, some visitors felt that the museum was telling a far more 'ambiguous' narrative of Germany: for example, as reported earlier, Sebastian (German, 18-30) considered that one on the hand the museum could be 'read' positively as Germany coming to terms with its past. On the other, it could be read negatively as a warning that the same elements were present in Germany, as other visitors such as Lieselotte seemed to fear (German, aged over 65). National visitors reflected on the importance of the history of Reunification in the 1990s for defining contemporary German identity, rather than the darker history of the mid-twentieth century.

Important stories of the nation

Whilst visitors struggled to identify narratives they had seen within the museum, some were able to answer when asked to respond to a series of prompts during the interviews. These prompts asked visitors to think about museum narratives in response to four themes (not all the research teams used these prompts in the interviews, which seem to have been used mainly in Greece, Germany, Ireland and Scotland):

- Origins;
- 'Golden Age;'
- Conflict / Enemies;
- World impact.

Origins: Visitors who were asked to define the 'origins' of the nation represented in the national museum often presented many different time frames, and generally there was a lack of consensus. However, a common theme was that many disparate groups of people had come together at an unknown point in the distant past (Scotland, Germany). Other visitors tried to place the origins of the nation in a specific period. Eleven national visitors at the German Historical Museum (Ulrike, Kort, Vera, Maria, Bernhard, Lieselotte, Stephan, Martin, Ulrich, Synthia and Lukas) suggested an historical period in which they believed were the origins of Germany ranging from 500-100 B.C. (Ulrike) as the earliest suggestion, to the post-war period (Synthia and Lukas). Visitors in Scotland also tried to be specific, suggesting the early middle ages (Mario and Giovanni, Ivana and Lordes, Vladimir), 900 – 1707 (Kenneth M) and Kenneth S suggested there had been several stages to Scotland's development.

'Golden Age:' The importance of the present to many visitors in Germany meant that Germany's golden age was suggested to be in the late twentieth or twenty-first century. Five visitors (Kort, Harald, Lieselotte, Zhen, Annie) associated it with the state's commitment to peace and the health of its citizens. Two visitors mentioned the fall of the Berlin Wall (Ulrich,

Boris), and three visitors (Jamie, Geoff, Carsten) suggested the early twentieth century and Weimar Republic. Four additional visitors chose other moments from German history to represent the "Golden Age" including the industrial revolution (Andrea); the period 1794-1805 (Anna); the era of the Holy Roman Emperor Kaiser Friedrich II HohenStaufer in the early 13th century (Bernhard) and the Bronze Age (Stephan). Visitors' ideas about when Scotland's 'golden moment' took place ranged from prehistory (Apricot), the Middle Ages (Dorothy, Susan and Sheila), Act of Union in 1707 (Brian) to the present (Bethany). Four visitors also suggested periods or points in Scotland's history which represented Scotland at its most weakest or vulnerable position, the opposite to a 'golden moment.' These included the Act of Union (Tom, William) the conditions which led to emigration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Paul and Jeanette) and Scotland's role in the British Empire (Jim).

Conflict / Enemies: Narratives of conflict with a particular enemy were identified in Greece, Ireland and Scotland. It has been well established that in Greece, visitors highlighted the importance of struggle to the national narrative, and the stories of those individuals (Greek and European) that contributed to the liberation of the nation and the shaping of the state. Mostly older visitors in Ireland (Tommy, Linda, Dorothy, Harry, Henry) communicated a similar story, of struggle against the British before independence was won. The English were clearly identified as the 'enemy' of Scotland (Dorothy, Mario and Giovanni, Vladimir, Susan and Sheila) although attitudes varied as to whether Scotland still felt 'oppressed' by England. Tom (Scottish aged 60) for instance still saw the Act of Union in 1707 as a betrayal, Julia (Scottish, aged 20-30) commented how 'a lot of Scottish people get wound up about Scottish identity and how through war, you know, the Scottish beat the English.' However, at least one visitor in Ireland (Jimmy) and two in Scotland (Ken, Susan and Sheila) noted that internal divisions were equally important in igniting conflicts in both nations. There was little direct response to conflict or enemies in Estonia and Latvia, as suggested earlier visitors were pleased that the museum did not address these topics. However, Victor and Alexandru (both Romanian, aged 21) mentioned that for them the story in the Estonian National Museum represented 'the phoenix-like culture of rebirth after hardships.'

World impact: The last theme covered in narratives was the nation's impact on the world. Visitors in Greece referred to the impact on European, even Western civilisation, from the continuity with the ancient Greek civilisation. In Germany, the history of the First and Second World War was one of international significance, placing Germany at the centre of world affairs. Visitors in Ireland and Scotland considered that their respective nations had an international impact, as part of the British Empire and Commonwealth (Eamonn), and through patterns of emigration which have established a diaspora across the world. In particular, (mostly) national visitors presented Scotland as a small country which had a big impact on the world through inventions and achievements in science, medicine, arts, engineering and industry (Alison, Tanya, Paul, Kenneth M, Bethany, Kenneth S).

National figures

Photo: Ceri Jones

An additional category of responses that emerged through asking visitors about significant objects and narratives were named individuals that were viewed by visitors to be important to the national story. These emerged through interviews at three history museums (Greece, Ireland and Scotland), whereas no significant figures or individuals were reported by visitors to museums in Germany, Estonia and Latvia.

Key national figures mentioned by Greek visitors were 'the great Revolutionaries of 1821' (Georgia) the '1821 heroes' (Demetra), or The 'Philhellenes' (Anna, Nektaria, Maria B, Vassilis, Thodoris, Georgia, Konstantina and Nikos, Ioannis, Maria A) who supported Greece. They were predominantly military, naval or political figures. These figures were often referenced in direct connection to the museum displays and collections:

- Kolokotronis, field marshal and leader of the War of Independence (1770-1843) (Konstantinos, Nikos A, Victoria);
- Karaiskakis, brigand (*klepht*) and military commander during the War of Independence (c.1780-1827) (Nikos A, Thodoris);
- Lord Byron, Anglo-Scottish nobleman and poet, who supported the Greek War of Independence and died at Missolonghi (1788-1824) (Anna, Nektaria, Nikos A, Vassilis, Ioannis);
- Kanaris, fire ship captain during the War of Independence, later admiral and Prime Minister of Greece (c.1793-1877) (Konstantinos, Thodoris);

- Manto Mavrogenous, who contributed her fortune to supporting the War of Independence including providing ships, equipment and weapons (1796-1848) (Panagiota & Giorgos);
- Miaoulis, admiral and politician who commanded naval forces during the War of Independence (1768-1835) (Panagiota & Giorgos).

Only one national figure mentioned did not fight in the War of Independence but in the first Balkan Wars of the early twentieth century:

- Pavlos Melas, officer of the Hellenic Army who participated in the Greek struggle for Macedonia in the early twentieth century (1870-1904) (Konstantina and Nikos B).

Visitors to the museum also mentioned members of the monarchy for a variety of reasons, including Demetra and Konstantinos who suggested that the monarchy was of little interest to modern Greeks:

- King Konstantinos, King of Greece from 1913-1917 and 1920-1922 (Demetra);
- King George A, King of Greece from 1863-1913 (Konstantina and Nikos B);
- Kings Otto, first king of Greece from 1832-1863, and George, a prince of Denmark who replaced Otto (Konstantinos).

By contrast, exceptional individuals from a much wider range of backgrounds and historical periods - including military leaders, inventors and explorers - peopled Scottish history. Some visitors directly referred to the, 'key people in Scottish history who've done great things' (Alison, British, aged 63), whilst other visitors merely named individuals who they felt were an important part of Scottish national history. Unlike in Greece, it was not always clear whether these historical figures appeared in the museum's displays:

- Scottish monarchs - Robert the Bruce (1306-1329), popularly seen as the hero who reclaimed Scotland as an independent nation from the English, and James VI, who united the kingdoms of Scotland, England, Wales and Ireland in the 'Union of the Crowns' (1603).
- Military leaders - William Wallace or 'Braveheart', (died 1305), a Scottish knight and landowner who was prominent in the wars of Scottish independence, and Charles Edward Stuart, or 'Bonnie Prince Charlie,' the leader of an unsuccessful attempt in 1745 to restore the exiled Stuart line to the throne of Britain.
- Inventors - Alexander Graham Bell (telephone) and John Logie Baird (television).
- Literary and arts - Robert Burns (poet and lyricist, who wrote in Scots dialect as well as in English) and Robert Louis Stevenson (novelist, poet, essayist and travel writer, best known for *Treasure Island*).
- Architecture - Robert Adam (neoclassical architect, interior designer and furniture designer).
- Industry, science and engineering - James Watt (inventor and mechanical engineer whose developments in steam engine technology helped to drive the Industrial Revolution).
- Medicine - James Simpson (doctor who discovered chloroform could be used as an anaesthetic), Alexander Fleming (biologist and pharmacologist who discovered the antibiotic penicillin) and Joseph Lister (surgeon and pioneer of antiseptic surgery).
- Explorers - David Livingstone (medical missionary and explorer in Africa).

The only woman mentioned by visitors was Mary, Queen of Scots (Queen of Scotland from her birth in 1542 to 1567 when she was forced to abdicate in favour of her son, James VI. Her life is known for many dramatic episodes including three disastrous marriages and religious turmoil in Scotland between Catholics and Protestants). As a historical figure, Mary, Queen of Scots was the best known, to men and women, young and old alike:

> When I look at a museum I normally look at the Mary Queen of Scots stuff. I never really figured out why but that was like basically the only history I was ever taught at school and because that was the only real history thing I ever learned I sort of cling on to that so it's good to have lots of Mary Queen of Scots stuff lying around (Joe, Scottish, Canongate Youth Group, aged 16-17).

Not all visitors were positive about this attachment to historical figures. Brian, an English visitor who lived in Scotland, was critical of what he saw as a 'glorified' history based on national figures like Rob Roy McGregor [a Scottish outlaw and folk hero of the early eighteenth century] and Robert the Bruce. Whilst he agreed that history was of great importance to the Scots, in his opinion they did not understand their history properly.

Irish visitors (and a smaller number of non-national visitors) named specific individuals who they felt were important to the development of the nation. These included individuals from the worlds of art, culture and fashion design, as well as 'heroes' from the 1916 Easter Rising and struggle for independence:

Arts, culture, design:

- Designers - Eileen Grey, Irish furniture designer, architect, and pioneer of the 'Modern Movement' (1878-1976) (Linda, Majeela) and Sibyl Connolly, Irish-Welsh fashion designer (1921-1998), (Ciaran).
- Novelists, poets, playwrights - James Joyce (Irish novelist and poet, 1882-1941) and Samuel Beckett (Irish novelist, playwright, theatre director and poet, 1906-1989)(Linda).
- Artist - Francis Bacon (Irish-born artist 1909-1992)(Chris).
- Patron of the arts - Albert B. Bender (Irish-born patron of the arts from San Francisco 1866-1941, whose collections are owned by the National Museum of Ireland)(Majeela).

Political figures:

- Éamon de Valera (leader of Ireland's struggle for independence and later head of state, 1882-1975), Michael Collins (Irish revolutionary and political leader who was shot and killed during the Civil War, 1890-1922) (Jimmy).
- Frederick Boland (Irish diplomat and first Irish ambassador to the United Nations, president of the General Assembly of the UN in 1960 (1904-1985)(Henry).
- Dr Cathleen Lyn (Irish Sinn Féin politician, activist and medical doctor, 1874-1955) (Majeela).

What is missing?

When visitors were asked to think about what was missing from the national museum, most found it very difficult to answer the question, which included national and non-national visitors.

Their responses were rarely critical and researchers often had to probe and prompt visitors by asking further questions. Two themes were identified from visitor responses:

- Most visitors thought the museum was complete, made allowances for the museums or tried to rationalise why elements in the museum might be missing.
- There was limited consensus on what is missing in the museums; visitors mentioned objects, minority groups, themes, narratives, display and interpretation as issues.

Visitors rationalised why things were missing

In many museums, including Germany (Bernhard, Carsten, Maria, Ron and Liz) and Greece (Eleni, Konstantina and Nikos, Victoria) visitors thought that the museum was complete: 'I didn't detect something that was really missing' (Carsten, German Historical Museum, German, aged 31-45). When thinking about content or interpretation that was missing, visitors rationalised why this might be the case. They presented the view that they were not experts, not knowledgeable enough, or not qualified to make that judgement. Orla (Irish, aged 44) commented about the National Museum of Ireland that 'I'm sure you could find something that isn't there if you were an expert.' Several visitors in Scotland (Dorothy, Amanda and Mailyn, Christine, Alison) said that they had not seen enough of the museum to comment: 'I think because we've only seen such a wee bit, I don't know what's not here' (Christine, Scottish, aged 50s). British and English visitors did not know enough about the history (Brian, Tanya), and some visitors did not think they were clever enough to have an opinion (Paul and Jeanette, Susan and Sheila, Tom): 'We're not great intellects I have to say' (Susan and Sheila, British, aged 60s and 50s).

Other visitors accepted that museums had to be selective, and in some cases were aware of the specific constraints faced by the national museum. In Estonia, visitors pointed out that some of the stories that were missing in the museum (such as stories of conflict and confrontation) were not relevant or even appropriate. The permanent exhibition was small, dating back to independence in 1994 and was due, ultimately, to be replaced. Criticisms of the Latvian Open-Air Museum could be rationalised against the conventions of the museum's display or narrative, where the exclusion of the urban and non-ethnic historical ruling class can be related to the dominant state ideology at the time of the museum's establishment and the disciplinary conventions of the open-air museum type. In Ireland, missing histories could be justified with reference to sections of history being shown at other branches of the national museum. Each national museum could only do so much and there were bound to be gaps, as Jeanette and Paul (National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 50-60) remarked: 'you're only skimming the surface aren't you?'

Content missing

For those visitors (national and non-national) who considered that the six national museums were missing particular content there was little consensus over what this might be. Visitors used their knowledge and understanding of the nation (past and present) to make suggestions, also basing their ideas on their perceptions of what should be in the national museum. Non-national visitors were not always disadvantaged by a lack of knowledge or connection with the nation to make their own suggestions: particularly in Ireland, two non-national visitors Chris (English) and

Harry (Canadian) were extremely perceptive in their responses. Very few visitors specified **missing objects**. Objects in Greece included the flag raised by Bishop Germanos at the start of the Greek War of Independence (Panagiota and Giorgos) and a greater variety of ethnic costume (Maria B). Interestingly in Scotland there were some objects which visitors did not mind were missing, that of stereotypical objects in Scottish culture such as bagpipes and tartan.' One visitor suggested that there were limited references to Germany's art and culture in the German Historical Museum (Vera), and some visitors mentioned missing historical figures who they considered important to the national story such as Bouboulina in Greece (Greek naval commander and heroine of the War of Independence). Christine (National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 50s) thought that the national character of Scotland was absent in the museum: 'there's nothing about like the humour or anything.' There was some limited support for the **inclusion of minority groups** which were identified as missing. From their perspective, minority groups were very aware that the museums had very few objects relevant to their lives and cultures. The Roma could see many opportunities to add to the collections with items important to the Roma community, including costume. In Ireland and Scotland, participants wanted to see their own cultures shown in the museum, along with their lives and experiences, for example from Asia (Khalida, Iqbal, National Museum of Scotland) and Africa (Peter, National Museum of Ireland; Sylvain, National Museum of Scotland). See chapter six, *Minority Group Issues,* for the discussion.

The next category of missing content is much looser, divided into themes, events or narratives from national history which visitors considered were missing from the museum. The impact of **urbanisation or urban life** was missing from museums in Ireland (Jimmy and Linda), Scotland (Amanda, Mailyn and Ken) and Estonia. The lives and experiences of the common, ordinary or working class people were missing in Germany (Vera and Sebastian) and Scotland (Jeannette and Paul, Christine, Lesley and Gail). Lesley and Gail, for instance, wanted to see more about the life of migrants in their new countries or the experiences of those involved in the Highland Clearances. **Trade and commerce** was a theme that visitors did not think was adequately covered at the National Museum of Ireland (Harry) or German Historical Museum (Andrea, Synthia):

> I expected to see more about trade, and commerce, and railways, and canals, and the museum is completely silent on the growth of the Irish economy or the decline of the Irish economy (Harry, Canadian, aged over 60).

Contemporary events more generally were also missing at these two museums:

> Especially contemporary events, like the Fall of the [Berlin] Wall... there is at the edge a small piece of the wall and that's it. I believe that someone can say so much more (Boris, German Historical Museum, German, aged 31-45).

> [T]hey may well say there things are interesting but they don't tell me anything about twenty-first century Ireland, either in terms of social issues, economic issues, being in a wider European context (Chris, National Museum of Ireland, English, aged 34).

Some aspects of **folk life and religion** were missing in the Estonian National Museum as was the **suffering** of the nation which one Estonian visitor thought was critical to national identity (Ragnar). Other missing elements of life included 'rites of passage', language and oral heritage, burial customs and magic, music and song. In Latvia, music was also identified as missing, which

was allied to suggestions for workshops and activities (this may link to the significance of the Singing Revolution in the Baltic States in the late 80s and early 90s).

Mainly national visitors drew attention to **missing narratives** in the six museums. These included the role of the Baltic Germans in developing Estonia. In Germany, visitors wanted to see more about resistance to the Third Reich (Harald), Adenauer (Chancellor of Germany 1949-1963) and the beginnings of West Germany (Lieselotte), the German Democratic Republic, the Red Army, and opposition (Ulrike) and the German tribes (Kort). In Greece, visitors were interested in seeing more about the role of the Great Powers in Greek events (Konstantina and Nikos B), the '1940 war' (World War Two), the Resistance, and the Second Civil War (Panagiota and Giorgos, Nikos A., Leonidas, Elizabeth), the Asia Minor catastrophe (Maria B, Elizabeth), Venizelos (Greek revolutionary, statesman and Prime Minister) and the sequence of events from the Treaty of Sevres (Elizabeth). In Ireland, visitors wanted to see more about the Great or Potato Famine of the 1840s (Dorothy, Alison, Harry), the Irish Diaspora (Eamonn, Helen, Harry, Lauren) and the recent history of Ireland, including its period as the 'Celtic Tiger,' prosperity, immigration and financial collapse (James). In particular, the history of Irish migration and immigration was a story waiting to be told by the national museum:

> The Irish Diaspora, the pre- and post-famine immigration and the impact of the Irish on Australia, United States, Canada. The story that's not told are the huge shifts in population for example and you could go through this particular museum and I don't think I saw any reference whatsoever to that (Harry, Canadian, aged over 60).

In Scotland, stories of the 'darker history' were missing according to national visitors, Tom and Amanda, including the Slave Trade, Scottish racism overseas and 'bloody massacres' that took place amongst the clans.

The scope and approach of the museum in terms of its **display and interpretation** was criticised in several museums by a few visitors. A few visitors criticised the **interpretative methods** used by the museums. Sometimes they contradicted each other: in Estonia one visitor wanted more interpretation and another less. A few people mentioned the need to make exhibition more alive, for example, by using oral history and audio-visual materials in order to bring out the 'soul' of Estonia. In Ireland, American visitors disliked seeing Gaelic text as it made panels look too 'wordy', but at the same time they wanted more information. In Greece, Javier and Avgoustidis would have liked more interpretation, as would Annette and Chris in Ireland. In Scotland, Susan and Sheila, Jeanette and Paul and Alison suggested that there could be more interactive displays. Visitors also drew attention to issues with the **interpretation of content** in the museums. Eva (a non-national visitor who had lived in Estonia for many years) questioned the 'Estonian-ness' of the Estonian National Museum in a world that is increasingly multicultural, and Stephan (who identified as an anarchist) accused the German Historical Museum of being about (the) power(ful) and not including instances of rebellion and revolution. Visitors in Greece (Maria, Nikos A, Elizabeth) wanted a wider context in which to place the national story. And Harry (from Canada) was interested in why the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) did not explain why Britain had become involved in Ireland, and suggested there was more regional variation in Ireland's history than the museum indicated.

The interplay between visitors' frameworks of meaning (identity) and the national museum

Throughout this chapter, visitor responses reveal the interplay between their own personal frameworks of meaning or *schema* (which includes conceptions of personal and national identity, prior knowledge and understanding, life experiences) and the construction of the nation in the national museum. Frameworks of meaning, or *schema*, are the psychological structures through which individuals are thought to see and interpret the world around them. They can be likened to personal structures of ideas associated with a particular subject or theme, which are then developed as the individual interacts with the world. Piaget (1967) called these structures the 'building blocks' of knowledge, which played a central role in his theory of child development, namely that these structures are modified, reinforced and even changed through interaction with the world. Vygotsky's theories developed this theory further, suggesting that change and modification of *schema* comes through interaction with others in a socio-cultural context (Light and Littleton 1999). Such theories give weight to the idea that we 'do not reflect reality directly. We perceive the world only through a network of conventions, schemata and stereotypes, a network which varies from one culture to another' (Burke 1991: 6). Looking at similarities in visitor responses made it possible to distinguish (if not always clearly) the influence of the museum's content and displays, through which the national museum 'built' ideas of nation and history. These ideas of nation, history and identity were also shaped by the *type* of national museum: here we refer to *type* to reflect the museum's discipline (e.g. ethnographic, history, decorative arts), layout (structure of galleries and displays, visitor route) and environment (open-air, museum building). Each museum involved in the study has been identified as a particular *type*, these are:

- History (Germany, Scotland);
- Ethnographic (Latvia, Estonia);
- Decorative arts and military history (Ireland).

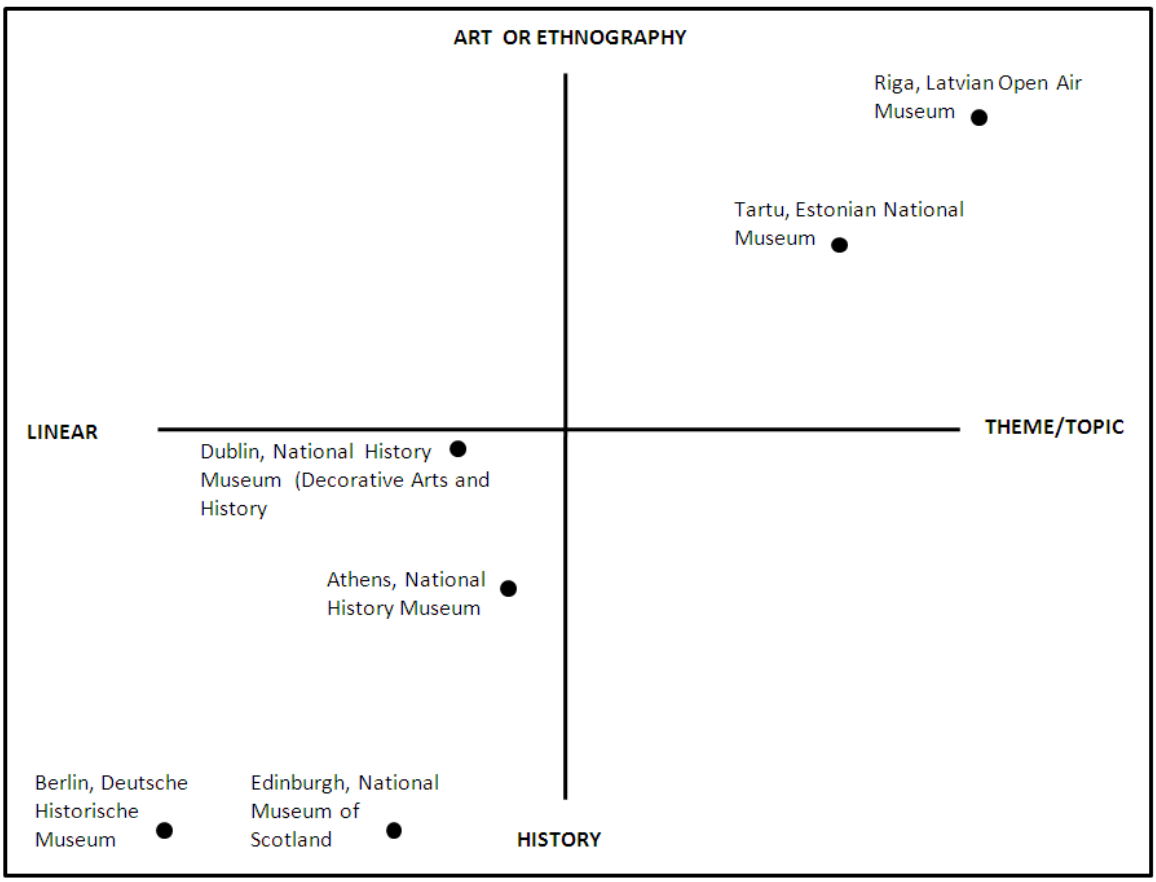
Furthermore, within each museum type there were additional features which we suggest will have shaped visitor responses. These included:

- Narratives - linear (Greece, Germany), non-linear (Scotland, Ireland) or thematic (Estonia, Latvia);
- Selection of objects and narratives;
- Use of interpretive media;
- Organising principal, e.g. chronological or topic/theme based;
- The extent to which collections drive the narrative or collections are made to fit the narrative.

Figure 8 shows differences in the six national museums based on their use of linear and non-linear, thematic or topic narratives, and their categorisation as an art or ethnography, or history museum. It is impressionistic and heuristic, rather than statistical, but suggests that there is a loose correlation between a thematic approach to the past in ethnographic museums, and a linear approach to narrative in history museums. However, there are exceptions. Estonia had a small historical section and Latvia did not. Greece had a folk collection (more akin to ethnography) and

Ireland combined history with a decorative arts collection. How these approaches to history/art or ethnography and narrative (linear/theme or topic) impact upon visitor responses will be the focus of this section.

Figure 8: Differences in the *type* of the six case study museums



To illustrate this assertion, Figure 9 shows a comparison between visitor responses at the Latvian Open-Air Museum when compared with the German Historical Museum. The former, an ethnographic museum, encouraged visitors to immerse themselves in the past, domestic lives of a peasant, or folk, class and culture. Visitors responded with personal stories of these lifestyles or recognised familiar items, which often prompted nostalgia. Connections were made with memory and the desire for continuity of a lifestyle that was disappearing. By contrast, the German Historical Museum encouraged visitors to have a critical, analytical eye on the national past. It used strict chronological narrative, multiple perspectives and an 'objective', academic 'voice' to which visitors responded positively, regarding it as authentic and authoritative. Most visitors considered that they had grasped the complex nature of German history, the museum was not only useful for their understanding but for society more broadly: it was a source of lessons for the present and the future.

Figure 9: Comparison between visitor responses, Latvian and German national museums

Latvia (ethnographic)		Germany (history)
Immersive		Analytical
Domestic		Critical
Romantic		History
Lived memory		Narrative
Continuity		Understanding
Peasant, folk culture		Lessons

However, there was not always a straightforward connection between visitor response and the type of museum. Observed differences in visitor responses indicated personal engagement with, and reading of, the museum's displays and content. Visitors' demographic identity could play a role in this – most notably whether visitors were national or non-national, and depending on their age – as well as their own personal prior experiences, confidence, and their motivation for visiting the museum. The following sections draw together the factors which influenced visitor responses in each of the six national museums and draw some general conclusions about the role national museums make in shaping visitor conceptions of nation, history and identity.

Estonian National Museum

An ethnographic museum with a modest twentieth century gallery established when Estonia was regaining independence (opened in 1994). A relatively small museum, visitors could see the permanent exhibition during a single visit.

- Some visitors acknowledged that the stories told in the exhibition were more or less defined by the time of its production, reflecting the 'national awakening' of the 1990s.
- Some visitors connected to the museum objects (examples of which they had at home or remembered from their childhood) and also to the museum as a 'memory' repository for those objects.
- The technical aspect of the displays led some to suggest that the museum did not show the 'soul' of Estonians, as found in language, spiritual and folk customs.
- Visitors did not display a strong civic nationalism; is this a feature of Estonian identity or is it the result of visiting a 'timeless' ethnographic collection?
- The inclusion of ethnic dress enabled visitors to discuss regional local differences.
- A few visitors found that the ethnographic displays enabled them to make connections with their own culture.
- Very few visitors considered that objects or narratives were missing from the permanent exhibition, it was recognised that it was small and there are plans to develop the museum.

Potentially the Estonian National Museum offered the possibility to recognise the rural past as part of one's personal identity. The museum was a site for preservation of the rural lifestyle and its reinterpretation for future generations, so that Estonians could reconnect with their roots, but also with implications for learning about ecological and sustainable ways of living. Non-national visitors could also connect to the rural lifestyle through comparisons with their own cultures and traditions. The permanent exhibition also presents life in the Soviet Union as a common reality

for all groups living in Estonia. It was intended by the museum that the lifestyle and history dioramas on display would not represent any particular ethnicity, nor would any specific ethnic group claim ownership of that space. However, participants of the Russian-speaking minority group considered that some elements of the Soviet history had been mis-interpreted in the display, which had been constructed at a specific time in Estonian history following independence from the Soviet Union. See the section on *Minority Group Issues* for further discussion.

Latvian Open Air Museum

The Open-Air museum with its displays of rural life and buildings from across the four historic regions of Latvia, was close to Riga and situated in extensive parkland. Several participants in the research had visited the museum for the activities offered by the parkland, such as walking, and there was perceived to be little structure to a museum visit.

- Some visitors viewed the museum displays as exposing them to an authentic Latvian lifestyle, although some claimed it was more romantic and idealistic, and others were pleased to return to contemporary life afterwards.
- Some juxtaposed the cultural depiction of the past with current political realities, implicitly or explicitly criticising the latter.
- Events where dances, singing, or the celebration of the summer solstice take place enabled some visitors to, 'feel and understand that Latvian-ness in the communication with others or even without words' (Inese) which conventional indoor displays did not allow.
- The park-like nature of the museum seemed to inspire some visitors to mention closeness to nature as part of the Latvian identity; however, this was also apparent in the Estonian National Museum and might be more relevant to the emphasis on rural and folk lifestyles.
- As society becomes more urbanised, the role of the museum seems to be increasing because younger people without relatives in the countryside can come and see rural life in the museum, a similar situation in Estonia.
- The nature of the museum meant it did not provide a basis for interaction with the wider world in terms of history and politics, though it did enable cultural similarities to be noted in the Baltic region and Europe.

Latvian visitors tended to express their ideas of identity within the official narrative of national identity and combine it with intangible cultural heritage (language, song, character, spirit). There was also noted a tendency towards negative dispositions towards 'Latvian-ness' which might be the result of the current social and political context. Non-Latvian visitors tended to foreground the historical identity of Latvia (juxtaposed for example with Soviet imagery) and broader European regional features (Nordic or Baltic).

German Historical Museum

A national political and military history museum completed just after German re-unification. A large museum, but with a straightforward, chronologically defined route with orientation panels, and it was not difficult for visitors to see everything. However, visitors tended to visit the galleries of twentieth century history on the ground floor and not all visitors had looked round the entire museum. Most of the visitors commented that the permanent exhibition was an

integrated, comprehensive and detailed presentation of German history. The museum's intention to be objective, to give a balanced presentation without any patriotism or exaltation of the past was supported by visitors, who suggested it was the right approach to take with a challenging history.

- The museum was suggested to be ambivalent in its attitude towards the German national identity however: it either suggested that the Germans were 'like this' and therefore could repeat their history, or it demonstrated that the Germans had learnt from history and achieved self-reflection and understanding.
- Most German visitors had forged an identity in the present that reflected the coming to terms with a difficult history, a focus on the state and regional identity, emphasis on Reunification and German's contemporary role, and the lack of a strong national tendency. Many visitors wanted to see this contemporary history reflected in the museum, and most visitors cited an interest in the most recent history of the twentieth century.
- Some visitors remarked on the focus of the museum on political and military history: they felt it excluded the histories of women, immigrants, minority ethnic groups, and multiculturalism. It was a museum of elites rather than of the common people. They also spotted deficiencies in the presentation of culture and science, which were considered to be significant characteristics of German identity.

Despite criticisms, the majority of visitors thought the museum was important for German historical consciousness and identity and this suggests they many visitors see national, political and military history as important. Several visitors thought that the history in the museum could be a source of learning for the present and future through providing 'lessons from the past.'

National History Museum, Athens

A national political and military history museum where the founders' desire for a semi-religious, heroic, sentimental nationalist depiction largely survives, and included personal items of heroes that fought during the revolution. During research (2011) there was rioting in Athens about the impact of Greek national debt and the euro. A relatively small museum with a prescriptive route, most visitors were able to experience the entire exhibition in one visit.

- Some visitors felt that national history was very important in defining their identity and 'the shaping of the modern Greek state' (Konstantinos). Some visitors used Greek history as a form of reassurance during a time of instability in Greece.
- Most Greek visitors agreed that the history presented in the museum is of importance to them and seems to reinforce and even 'build on' embedded images and perceptions of national history. The answer is almost unanimous as to the importance of national history as told by the museum: without history there is no Greek identity. Visitors stress the importance of the museum in reaffirming identity as constructed through family, school education and 'genes'. It is also the place where identity can be found for those who have lost touch with it.
- The recent past and 'virtues' like honour, pride, duty to the country as well as the 'flaws' of the nation came out strongly in visitor ideas of 'Greek-ness,' and it seems that the

ideological background of the museum reinforces some Greek visitors' preconceptions about national identity which are deeply engraved into collective consciousness.

- However not all visitors were able to make clear connections between the museum's displays and their conceptions of Greek national identity. Sharing a 'very long' past, being the descendants of ancient Greeks, language and a beautiful landscape which are prominent in respondents' remarks (and are part of popular discourse as to what it means to be Greek) are not directly the main themes of the National History Museum.
- It is interesting how the 'curatorial agenda's' goals to promote the heroic image, to evoke sentiments of patriotism and to present national relics as sacred objects seem, at least partially, to have penetrated the respondents' perception.

The prominent narrative in the museum is that Greek history and identity can be characterized by the notion of struggle. The museum legitimises feelings of pride for the heroic acts of ancestors and the sense that there is a Greek state because some people sacrificed their lives for it. Non-national as well as Greek visitors express this perspective on Greek history. However it is not relevant to all communities in the Greek nation and the Roma community found themselves excluded from the museum, although as they pointed out the Roma have been part of Greek history for centuries. They were able to find objects in the museum which were similar to those owned by the Roma community, and pointed out that the inclusion of the Roma within the museum could potentially be empowering for the community.

National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)

A decorative arts and national political and military history museum sited in an ex-British barracks, Ireland's struggle for independence is prominent in several galleries. The shape of the building and layout of galleries meant there was no clear route for visitors, instead visitors took a range of approaches and most only saw some sections of the museum. In particular, the combination of Decorative Arts and Military History in one museum meant that some visitors came for only one part of the museum, though they often looked at some other sections too.

- Some, mainly older, visitors approved of the emphasis on the struggle for Irish independence in the museum, and wanted some of the most significant events to have their own exhibition or memorial. However, other visitors were respectful of the history but wanted to see Irish history within a wider context or a little less emphasis on the conflict with Britain. Some visitors talked about the need to 'move on.'
- The museum was critical to the Irish sense of nationhood, it reflected their independence, capacity for self-determination, and for some visitors it was as 'important as language.'
- Some visitors came because they were interested in particular Decorative Arts collections. Others came to see specific parts of the military history galleries. One was interested in the architecture of the building. However, many 'browsed' the museum whilst they were there rather than committing to a structured visit.
- Some visitors thought the history in the museum could be a source of learning for the future, especially for younger people.
- Asked about the objects that define Ireland, several visitors mentioned Celtic objects which were all held in other museums and others mentioned things that were not in any museum.

The connection between the museum and Irish identity was extremely slight, with 'Irish-ness' tending to be described in terms of family, community, language and the diaspora across the world, with the Irish pub as its embassy. Few of these aspects were connected with the museum. Elements of the struggle and hardships faced by Irish people in the past were detected in the museum; however, several visitors noted that the Great Famine of the 1840s, and the subsequent migrations from Ireland, were missing from the museum. In addition, there was little about contemporary Irish history and the Celtic past. There was a sense that the museum did not really show what it meant to be Irish, and the history it covered also had a narrow focus compared to the interests of visitors. Furthermore, for participants in the focus group (who represented economic and other migrants who lived in Ireland) there was a sense that Ireland was having difficulty in coming to terms with a multi-cultural society and the museum was one place where those discussions could be had. However, the museum was not engaging with these issues and there was very little in the museum which was relevant to the lives and experiences of the group.

National Museum of Scotland

A national history museum located in the centre of Edinburgh, which opened in 1998, the same year as the Scottish Parliament was reinstated. During the research period, the Scottish National Party gained a majority in Parliament, which led to a rapid escalation of debates around Scotland's independence. The National Museum of Scotland was a large and complex museum, with no prescribed route, where it was difficult for visitors to be sure that they had seen everything. Many visitors said that they had not seen everything or were not sure if they had when asked to comment on the museum.

- Although it is a history museum, there was no consensus on how Scottish identity was represented in the museum. British visitors tended to see aspects of Scottish nationalism in the displays, and Scottish visitors tended to see it as a history museum first and foremost. To some Scottish visitors, Scottish identity was too complex and fluid to capture in a museum display. Others were pleased with the authoritative and comprehensive approach to presenting the 'story of Scotland.'
- Although presenting the story of Scotland in chronological fashion, the museum was also thematic: several visitors mentioned that the layout and the structure of the displays gave them a very fragmented picture of the history, and it was difficult to establish an overview. Very few visitors suggested that there was a strong unifying narrative in the museum, or reached a consensus on the objects that represented Scotland, although looking across visitor responses it was possible to see an emerging narrative of Scotland as a small country from which exceptional people made an impact on the world.
- Many visitors roamed through the museum, only focusing on exhibits they were interested in, and others came especially to see relevant exhibits. This appears to militate against "reading" the museum as a narrative history.
- The museum starts in pre-history, and this longevity was seen as bringing credibility to 'Scottishness' (which was the only nation in the research which had not attained full independence). The museum had political symbolism for many visitors, not only those from Scotland, and it was recognised as an important signifier of Scotland's credibility as a

nation. For some visitors it was as important as Parliament and was an integral part of the Scottish state.

- The national character was formed both in response to the displays – such as the impact of the Scottish diaspora – but also in response to external ideas of Scottishness, which were not always evident in the museum. These included a sense of community, the uniqueness of Scottish people within the United Kingdom, and the importance placed on land, natural resources and climate for the development of the Scottish character. Like Greece and Ireland, there was a sense that struggle and hardship were integral to the Scottish identity; however, this was disputed as to how far this hardship was a result of the English domination of Scotland.
- The minority group of migrants and refugees saw that some aspects of multicultural Scotland had been included in the museum, but it was confined to the contemporary history gallery and was very limited. They wanted much greater inclusion throughout the museum and a much more considered approach taken to the cultural and ethnic diversity which has shaped Scottish society. The museum could also do more to reflect the lives and experiences of those who have come to live in Scotland.

Conclusion

This chapter on *History, identity and nation* has detailed the co-construction of notions of nation, history and identity between the six national museums and their visitors. Participants' ideas of history, identity and nation were seen to be evolving in response to the type and layout of the museum, their own prior ideas and understanding, and external social and political contexts. Demographic factors such as age and whether the visitor was a national or non-national visitor also played a role in shaping visitor responses.

When asked why they had visited the museum, very few visitors stated that it was to explore their national or European identity. There was little consensus over which objects or narratives in the museum were symbolic of the nation. However, where national identity was under threat or challenged in response to the changing political, social and economic context, national visitors were more likely to explicitly use the museum for reassurance or to explore issues in relation to identity (especially in Greece, Ireland, and Scotland).

Visitors' opinions as to the role of the museum in shaping identity differed. Whilst some visitors could see a clear role for the museum in shaping or reinforcing national identity, others engaged with the museum on a personal level but did not see it having an impact on their contemporary national identity. More explicit were the (mostly national) visitors who claimed the museum represented national history but not national identity, which was sometimes thought to be too complex, personal and evolving to be represented in the museum. Finally, there were the groups who were not represented in the museum, non-national visitors and minority groups, whose exclusion was treated in different ways. These two groups were able to explore the nation and its identity from alternative, outside viewpoints, neither of which was, at present, utilised by the six museums.

Many visitors suggested that history was important in the foundation of national identity, and the national museum had a role to play in supporting the national responsibility to remember the past. National and non-national visitors alike described the national museum as an important

educator of the history of the nation, which was necessary for being a good citizen. The national museum could create a bridge to the past by bringing it to life, and provide information on continuity and roots so that national citizens knew where they came from (and also where they are going). Lastly, the national museum was a preserver of history and identity, saving it from loss or being forgotten. However, history could also be a burden and for some (mostly younger) visitors there was a balance to be made between remembering and respecting the past, and focusing on the present (and future).

Significantly, almost all visitors viewed the national museum as an authority on national history and identity. It was a national symbol, as important as language or government. However, this also gives the museum enormous responsibility and power in defining nation, history and identity. Questions were raised by visitors and in the minority groups about what, and whose, history is represented in the museum. Representing contemporary national identity and issues, in particular, seemed to be challenging for museums.

CHAPTER 5

Ideas of Europe

Photo: Simon Knell

Introduction

This section looks at participant's expressions of European identity and citizenship; how visitors articulate their ideas of Europe and the EU, and how they receive and respond to the national museum's representation of Europe. The relevant research question is, how does the museum narrative present the idea of European citizenship? Throughout this chapter, it is important to note that visitors did not always distinguish between Europe and the European Union (EU), between the landmass and the political community. This does not always make it easy to define when visitors state that they do or do not 'feel European' whether they mean in political or in cultural, historical terms. The contrast can be made between 'being in Europe' which was more strongly equated with aspects of the EU, and 'being European' which tended to refer to wider social and cultural connections across the continent. Figure 10 compares the two categories based on visitor responses.

Figure 10: Comparisons between 'being in Europe' and 'being European' according to visitor responses

Being in Europe
Conceived of in economic and political terms
Good –prosperity, jobs, travel
Bad - 'Rich man' club and over-assertive bureaucracy
People feel they are having things done to them
Friction with national identity

Being European
Cultural
Values and ideals
Civilisation
Shared sense of culture and values with other European countries
Retain a strong sense of national identity
More to EU than economic aspects

Furthermore, there is not always a simple distinction made between European identity and citizenship, which can refer to two very different concepts but which may be used interchangeably by visitors. Identity is a much broader term than citizenship. Traditionally it meant the 'unique character of a person in an administrative or police sense… as in "identity papers"' (Nora 2011: ix) however now it is much broader and ranges from individual identity (who I am) to collective identity (such as national). In chapter three identity was described as multiple and contingent, changing with context and circumstances. A number of ideas and concepts can be associated with an identity, which establish expectations and conventions in people's minds, for example if someone introduces themselves as Scottish or Estonian. The classic understanding of citizenship is that developed by T. H. Marshall (1893-1981), which consists of 'civic, political and social rights enabling the construction of a free and good society based on as much freedom and equality as possible' (Giesen and Eder 2011: 2). Giesen and Eder (2011) explain that citizenship generally describes the relationship between the state and civil society, the government and the people, the organisation and the individual. Citizenship can be

defined in different ways, though often it is now primarily identified with being a member of a political state or nation. Citizenship can be linked to the individual, and their rights and responsibilities; participation in civil society and public debates; and the connection to a collective identity, culture or tradition. Under international law, citizenship is often synonymous to nationality, although the two may have different meanings under national law. A person who does not have citizenship is stateless. EU Citizenship, which is additional to and does not replace national citizenship, was defined in the Maastricht Treaty of 1992. Giesen and Eder (2011) describe the goal of European citizenship as creating a social basis for trans-national institutions (such as the European Court of Justice) and to define what is shared by those who come under their jurisdiction.

Having looked at the general distinction between identity and citizenship, the next section looks at how visitors to the six national museums expressed their sense of European identity and citizenship.

Expressions of European identity and citizenship

Visitors to the six national museums expressed their sense of 'European-ness' in two ways, which can be distinguished by using the two terms identity and citizenship:

> **European identity**: a shared sense of belonging with other people in Europe based on place, cultural and/or historical similarities.
>
> **European citizenship**: a sense of belonging to the EU as a political community and general agreement with its policies of (for example) open borders, freedom of travel, and employment opportunities.

As noted in the introduction, the differences were not always clear-cut in visitor comments. Sometimes the context makes clear what they mean, but not always, and sometimes they may mean both. Generally, however, very few visitors appear to see themselves as citizens of Europe or part of the EU and appear much more comfortable with a looser European identity based on shared conceptions of culture, values, traditions and history. Within this spectrum were identified three basic positions taken by visitors in respect to European identity/citizenship which will be described in greater detail:

- Strong, positive identification with European identity/citizenship;
- Ambivalence towards European identity/citizenship;
- No sense of belonging to Europe.

Strong, positive European identity or citizenship

As described in chapter three, there were very few visitors across the six museums who chose their European over their national identity in terms of primary importance (eight visitors mainly from Germany and Greece). In turn, a few visitors expressed it in terms of European citizenship as opposed to identity. Ulrike a visitor to the German Historical Museum (German, aged 18-30) described herself as 'a European citizen,' and another German visitor, Harald (German Historical Museum, aged 46-65), commented very positively about his sense of belonging to the EU:

> [W]hat I was telling previously to my students, that they will live to experience the European passport... For me it would be very important… if only on the passport it was written: Citizen of the EU.

Many more visitors communicated the importance of the European aspect of their identity, although it was subjugated to national identity in terms of priority, for example Kuldar (Estonian National Museum, Estonian aged 44) placed his European identity second: 'I am Estonian, European, white, Caucasian race and heterosexual.' In Germany, eight (mainly German) visitors talked about feeling 'European' alongside or after their national identity (Bernard, Boris, Harald, Kort, Lukas, Sebastian, Vera, and Jory):

> I think of myself first as German and secondly as European (Lukas, German, aged under 18)

For some visitors (Ireland, Scotland, Latvia) who did feel European, it appeared to be based on political affiliation in the present (membership of the European Union was beneficial to their nation). In Scotland, four visitors considered themselves European and/or could see a greater relevance for Europe because of the political implications for Scotland as an increasingly independent state (Lesley, Amanda, Kenneth S, Scottish, and Brian, English but living in Scotland).

Several of the minority group participants had a strong sense of 'European-ness.' The Roma (National History Museum, Athens) do not map neatly onto European states but represent a pan-European identity. The Roma minority in Greece seemed very confident about their European identity. They related to Europe in several ways: one was in terms of European funding for the integration of Roma communities. A second way was that they connected with Roma communities across Europe. However, their national identity was also very important as Kostas (aged 40-45) pointed out:

> We are different [in the desire for recognition as Greeks] than the rest of the European Roma.

In Ireland, being European was strongly felt by several members of the focus group. Vasile (aged 50s), who had come to Ireland from Romania, had not applied for an Irish passport: 'I said no, because I am European.' Maria (aged 40s) who was born in Russia, had links with Europe because of her family history; her grandfather was Hungarian and this seemed to encourage her to look to Europe for her identity rather than remain in Russia:

> [T]he history of my family is very much connected to the history of Europe because my great grandfather was a prisoner of war during the First World War and my mum always says we wouldn't have been born without the First World War. And all the nomadism and all the ethnicities in my family I suppose is connected with the bigger picture of European history.

Ambivalence towards European identity/citizenship

Other visitors were more ambivalent about their European identity and had stronger connections with other forms of ethnic and cultural identity. They could sometimes see historical connections with Europe but it was not a strong part of their identity, their national or regional identity was stronger, more important to them, or the changing social or political context swayed their views. For some visitors, their European identity only surfaced when outside of Europe (Mark, Tom and Lore, Estonian National Museum; Jãnis, Latvian Open-Air Museum; Vassilis, National History Museum):

> If I say I am from Belgium, then nobody knows. If I say, I'm from Europe, then they say "Aah, wow!"(Tom and Lore, Estonian National Museum, Belgian, aged 20s).

National visitors from the Baltic region seemed ambivalent about their European identity in terms of its strength and meaning, but most looked to Europe for their roots rather than to the Soviet Union. This may have been because they were on the periphery of Europe like Scotland and Ireland. Being European in Estonia and Latvia was directly related to how people defined 'European' or 'non-European' and the way these answers were contextualized differed across informants. Some looked at Europe from the Estonian perspective (Estonia as part of Europe) others discussed the nature of Europe. In Latvia, European identity for national visitors seemed more like a coincidence or a generalization, primarily articulated in the fields of politics (European Union), rights, economics, and history:

> I have not chosen [European identity] by myself. I am European because I have born here. First, that piece of land is situated in Europe geographically. Second, in the cultural sense we are part of Europe with all those structures we have, including the heritage of Roman laws (Beata, Latvian Open Air Museum, Polish, aged 45).

Inese (aged 30-35), a Latvian visitor to the Latvian Open Air Museum, raised the issue of the complex relationship amongst Latvians and other cultures, rooted in negative cross-cultural experiences and resulting in a fear from communication with others because of this history:

> Latvians have got big problem because cultural clashes during the history meant the suppression or elimination, and it is also seen in the museum. But nowadays communication among cultures means dialogue – to find the best solution for some issues or to improve the quality of life. And Latvians are scared of other cultures.

In Greece, most national visitors saw a European element in their identity, particularly in relation to the belief that Ancient Greece was the foundation of European civilisation. However, in the current political and social context, support for European citizenship, as opposed to a looser sense of identity, was muted. Some visitors were cautious of committing a statement about their European identity; others were able to discuss the issue eloquently, despite admitting to some difficulty at first. There was a sense that national visitors were still coming to terms with what recent events meant for Greece and its people:

> The way we are now, we are a "prefecture" of Brussels, aren't we? It goes on from there that we are Europeans. From then on what we make of this advantage or disadvantage is up to us (Ioannis, Greek-Austrailan, aged 31-45).

> I like being part of a European community, but I think it needs a lot of work to really feel that. We, as a nation, must change and see things outside Greece a little different... They [Europeans] are more focused, they don't have this "resignation" that we exhibit. They are more concentrated in getting something done. We are more careless (Maria A, Greek, aged 18-30).

For some Greek visitors, there were stronger elements that impacted on Greek identity than Europe. These included the Mediterranean (Maria A, Marilena), tension between East and West, (Georgia), and the Balkans (Marilena):

> We were always in the middle. In the middle of two cultures, that's the way we were viewed, in the middle of East and West. This attribute, however, enabled the country [*to*] acquire elements from different civilizations. In the end we cannot say that we are 100% European (Georgia, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 18-30).

No sense of belonging to Europe

A mix of national and European non-national visitors did not feel European as part of their identity (including Alise, Iveta G, Latvian Open-Air Museum; Javier, Filippa, Eleni, National History Museum; Stephan, German Historical Museum). Visitors gave several reasons for this. Firstly (and perhaps most obviously in the political and social climate at the time of the research) scepticism towards the EU could militate against a sense of belonging to Europe:

> It's important that we know and understand it so we can learn from it. I think the Euro is a good example of where history has gone wrong, but maybe I'm so anti the Euro that I'm blinded by that (Eamonn, National Museum of Ireland, Irish, 30 years old).

German visitors who were relatively sceptical about Europe tended to make a distinction between European identity and the policy of the EU, for example Bernhard (German, aged over 65):

> [W]e say that we are Europeans. However, I think that the place of origin is important for everyone... I believe Europe is great... As for Brussels, I don't want to talk about it now.

For some like Alise (Russian-Latvian), Ilona (Estonian) and Paul (British), the concept of a European identity was too abstract. Europe was 'too big' and the culture was 'too different' to foster a sense of belonging:

> For the moment it is more like a social affiliation. I think Europe is so very, very, very large that I cannot perceive myself as European regarding origins or mentality. I cannot say I feel like European very much (Alise, Latvian Open Air Museum, Russian-Latvian, aged 21-23).

Filippa (National History Museum in Athens, Portuguese, aged 18-30) did not know what it meant to be European: 'I answer I 'm not European, because I don't know what it is.' Negative associations (inherited from the older generations) prevented Eleni from seeing herself as European:

> But if you think about it like our grandparents would say "Ah! He is like a European" meaning someone more sophisticated/refined in manners, even gayish… So 'European' has a lot of different connotations… Do I feel European? No, I don't, no (Eleni, Greek, aged 31-45).

We are in Europe rather than being Europeans': British and Irish scepticism over Europe

British and Irish visitors seemed the most removed and sceptical about adopting a European identity. There were clearly some who claimed Europe as part of their identity (which seemed to be for political reasons) but that was a minority and often secondary to national identity. A common response was that of Shona (National Museum of Scotland, 30-40 years old):

> To me there isn't really a great deal of sentiment. I mean my feeling in Britain as to being part of Europe, it really feels more British… I don't really feel European I have to say.

Personal experience of Europe, working or travelling there, often made a difference to how visitors expressed their 'European-ness', and around nine visitors to museums in Scotland and Ireland expressed a sense of belonging to Europe, although this inevitably came after their national identity. However, even some who were in favour of the EU did not express 'European-ness' as part of their identity, they were Irish or Scottish first and foremost. For James and Majeela, visitors to the National Museum of Ireland, this was because Ireland was distant from Europe, an 'island nation' (Majeela, Irish, aged 40-50) which was 'hanging off the edge of Europe' (James, Irish, aged 30s). Scottish visitors too openly expressed the lack of relevance they felt personally towards Europe, even if they did talk about some of the advantages of the relationship. Visitors from other parts of the UK continued this theme. Bethany from England was uncertain about her feelings on Europe, explaining that, 'I kind of feel like England's more important to Scotland, but also Scotland to England as well, than Europe. That's probably me saying I don't want to be part of Europe, but I don't know.' Both Susan and Sheila (from England) were unwilling to become engaged in the issues, 'cos I don't do politics full-stop.' For Tommy (Irish, aged 65) Europe meant the EU, which he was openly critical about: 'I always felt that it was led by Germany and France and it was a rich man's club. I feel that's being borne out now.' Other visitors at the National Museum of Scotland revealed a reserved and sceptical view of the EU. The common currency and bureaucracy were particular problems for Scottish visitors. Therefore, whilst Amanda (Scottish, aged 40s) considered herself European, she was not so keen on Scotland joining the Euro, and Kenneth S (Scottish, aged 68) was supportive of Europe in principle but wary of the, 'exceedingly bureaucratic approach of the European Union.' Similarly, British visitors to national museums in Europe revealed their scepticism against the EU. Liz and Ron from Britain, visitors to the German Historical Museum, expressed openly their Euro-scepticism, although Liz said she felt European in broader terms:

> [I]n the UK Europe is a very unpopular idea and the fact is that the majority of people say we should leave the European Union because… there are far too many laws which come from Brussels (Ron, British, aged 55-65).

Non-European visitors to museums in Scotland and Ireland also struggled to see the two countries as part of Europe. Both Ireland and Scotland have large diaspora communities for instance in the USA, Canada, and Australia, and there was a sense that visitors in Scotland and Ireland had a much broader international perspective, not just focused on Europe but looking wider.

Minority groups and European identity

For visitors and participants in the focus groups who did not have a historical connection to Europe, the notion of European identity had both positive and negative aspects. See chapter six, *Minority Group Issues*, for an in-depth discussion.

Visitors' ideas of Europe and the EU

In response to their experiences at the national museums, visitors were asked to talk about what Europe meant to them and how the museum represented the relationship (if any) between the nation and Europe. Their responses could be categorised into three broad themes, each of which are explored in greater depth in the following sections:

Cultural, social and historical aspects of being European: These visitors felt an affinity with Europe because of shared culture, heritage, and traditions, as well as sharing a landmass or physical space that is called Europe (of which the boundaries might fluctuate depending on the perspective). There was also a sense that Europe was characterised by its diversity of people, however the common cultural traditions identified by visitors suggested that this sense of diversity was in fact quite narrow and did not always extend to race or non-Christian religions.

Contemporary aspects of being European (the EU): The second broad category contains ideas about the EU. Although few visitors referred to or argued for formal EU citizenship, many spoke positively about the contemporary aspects of being in Europe and part of the EU.

Dissent and disquiet: negative aspects of Europe: Negative aspects of being part of Europe and EU were present in visitor discussions, perhaps heightened by on-going social, political and economic tensions.

Cultural, social and historical aspects of being European

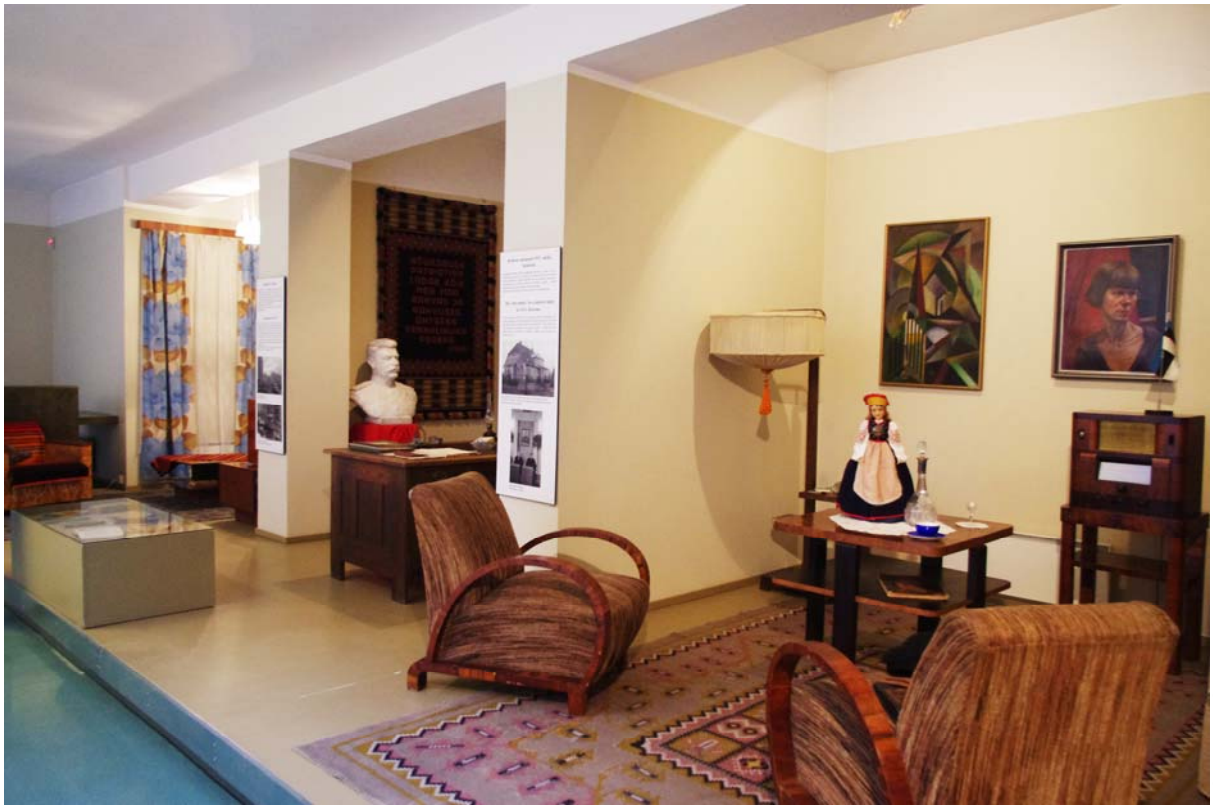


Photo: Andrew Sawyer

National and non-national visitors talked broadly about the cultural, social and historical aspects which made them feel European, or which denoted a relationship with other European nations. These were not always in the past, and could be very current, however the way in which visitors spoke about these affinities it was not always possible to define whether it was a historical or contemporary context.

Geographically part of Europe: Visitors were European simply because the nation in which they were born or lived was part of Europe: in some ways this identity was given to them or was 'an accident of birth' (Beata, Latvian Open-Air Museum; Cecile, Estonian National Museum; Gail, Dorothy, National Museum of Scotland; Alexia, National History Museum). This created a sense of community for some visitors, particularly when cultural similarities were also taken into

account. Where visitors came from *within* Europe could however lead to different patterns of thinking about European identity. Geographically, five of the six case studies were located at the peripheries of Europe (Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Latvia and Scotland), and only Germany was central. The boundaries of Europe, however, can be open to dispute. The Baltic states are on the border with Russia and were occupied by the Soviet Union: whilst the states seem peripheral and look west, to the European Union, the Russian minority expressed a different view: Europe reaches all the way to the Ural mountains, and only then does Siberia or Asia start. The geographic centre of Europe is located in Ukraine in the Carpathian Mountains. This enabled Ljudmilla (focus group participant, Estonian National Museum, Russian, aged 53) to explain, 'Estonia has always been Europe. Regardless of whether there was a Soviet Union or the European Union.' Vasile (National Museum of Ireland, aged 50s) a Romanian living in Ireland, also offered an interesting view of the space that Europeans share:

> Maybe we are so close with our… DNA, with everything… We have to understand this. European, it's our land. In fact, it's not very big, Europe.

Culture: Cultural similarities between the nations in Europe was mentioned by visitors at all six museums, although the word has slightly different meanings. Some visitors recognised the existence of a common or general European culture (Anneli, Benedicte, Estonian National Museum; Lucas, Stephan, Jamie, German Historical Museum; Chris, National Museum of Ireland; Kenneth S, National Museum of Scotland).

Photo: Simon Knell

For other visitors it was more specific, often drawing on evidence they had seen in the museum. They mentioned similarities in arts and handicrafts (Liliane, Estonian National

Museum), buildings and architecture (Haviy, Latvian Open Air Museum) and religion (Zane, Latvian Open Air Museum; Cecile, Estonian National Museum).

> [B]eing European means that it doesn't really matter in what country you are, you still find a bit of common grounds with other people from other countries... one basic one is Christianity… [where] theoretical reason and backgrounds are known and shared by everybody. Even if you are not a believer (Cecile, French aged over 30).

Expression of cultural similarities potentially depended on – as suggested by Ilze, a visitor to Latvian Open Air Museum (Latvian, aged 25-28) – the visitors' knowledge of other European cultures. This was not only specific to non-national visitors (who could make comparisons with their own culture) being well travelled or living in several European countries might also flatten out some of the differences, as Anneli (Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 31-45) suggested:

> I have lived in different countries in Europe – I've lived in France, I've lived in Belgium, I've lived in Holland and in Estonia and being European means that it doesn't really matter what country you are, you still find a little bit of common ground with other people from other countries.

A 'way of being' was a more subtle and informal expression of European commonality than culture and describes the connectedness and friendships felt by some visitors with other Europeans (Lukas, Boris, Maria, Vera, German Historical Museum; Georgia, National History Museum; Mark, Estonian National Museum).

> I feel that I am European… Cultures are all relatively mixed up. One cannot draw a concrete line – that you will behave like this (Mark, Estonian National Museum, Estonian/Russian, aged 27).

> Some differences do exist. Mentalities and so on. But in reality everything is interconnected (Lukas, German Historical Museum, German, aged under 18).

Shared origins and history: Visitors who had a European identity founded on history expressed this connection through shared notions of common heritage and origins in Europe. Historically, European countries have made links through trade, religion, culture, population movements, and territorial expansion. These connections were not always positive as a result, and visitors mentioned European rivalries and conflict, exploitation and oppression:

> [The museum presents] all those against Germany had fought in the past. In this way, a bleak history is disclosed (Andrea, German Historical Museum in Berlin, German, aged 18-30).

This notion of European heritage and origins seemed stronger for visitors in Greece and Germany compared to in Scotland, Ireland and Latvia. In Germany and Greece, visitors expressed the view that European peoples shared a common history or heritage, or as Vassilis called it a cultural background:

> It means that [a European citizen] carries a cultural background, that he/she keeps in mind the main elements of European history, the way it was shaped from Antiquity, to the Middle Ages and to the modern times. He knows in other words how [Europe] got its present form (Vassilis, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 18-30).

Visiting the Estonian National Museum, Cecile (French, aged over 30) pointed out that most European nations had developed in the same way from an agricultural base:

> [If] you look at all the societies in Europe, they all started by being rural… agricultural. And in this sense we all share a common history.

Another way of defining commonality was that Europe has an 'old heritage' as opposed to other nations or entities (Victoria, Eugenie, National History Museum):

> It's the oldest continent. This is where we come from, I feel European, I do. The continent was inhabited and moved forward faster than other continents (Victoria, Greek, 46-65).

German and Greek history *is* European history

More so than other European nations it seemed, national visitors to the National History Museum in Athens and German Historical Museum were aware of the specific connections between their country and the other nations in Europe, predominantly through the exhibitions on the Greek War of Independence and Second World War. In Athens it was the intervention of Europe in the Greek War of Independence which provoked discussions of the role of Europe in Greek affairs in the past and in the present, not all of them positive (and this view was not shared by all visitors (three did not see any connection with Europe). Several Greek visitors referred to the importance of Europe in Greek history, and vice versa (e.g. Nektaria, Nikos A):

> The history of Greece touches not only us but also the Europeans, who helped us all these years… and this is something we don't forget. That they helped because they felt something for us, like Lord Byron (Nektaria, Greek, aged under 18).

Greece also made claim through its link with ancient history. National visitors (e.g. Ioannis, Anna, Thodoris) stressed the role of their 'glorious, ancient past' in shaping European culture:

> We could say that Europe has Greece, in a sense, like a mother, a grandmother, something like that (Anna, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 31-45).

However, it was not only Greek visitors who had internalised the Greek contribution to European history but it was referred to by Anneli in Estonia when discussing the inclusion of Greece in the EU: 'Greece had Ancient Greece and Ancient Greece is important to all of us' (Anneli, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 31-45).

At the German Historical Museum, the history of European conflict placed Germany centre stage in European history. National visitors expressed the opinion that German history was central to European history, especially after the First World War (Bernhard, Stephan, Vera):

> Germany is located in the center of Europe.... That's why its history is European too. Ah, Europe is everywhere (Bernhard, German Historical Museum, German, aged over 65).

> What happens in Germany belongs to European history. There is no more an entrenched German history with a few impacts from abroad. On the contrary, I think there is a lot of interaction after the Second World War (Stephan, German Historical Museum, aged 31-45).

Shared diversity: Several national and non-national visitors presented diversity as a shared, positive characteristic across Europe (Eva, Anneli, Cecile, Ilona, Estonian National Museum; Harald, German Historical Museum; Tommy, Justine, National Museum of Ireland):

> This commonness and diverseness is what makes Europe very rich and interesting (Cecile, Estonian National Museum, French, aged over 30).

However, looking the similarities highlighted by visitors suggests that this 'diversity' may actually be quite narrow in its focus. Europeans were seen as having commonality in terms of their cultural and social values, religion (Christianity) and historical background. There was a sense that diversity was acceptable, therefore, as long as it was White and Christian. This interpretation is given some credence by the comments of non-White participants (to focus groups in Ireland and Scotland) who felt excluded from the museum, were often excluded by others in their communities, and did not see themselves represented by European identity. The Roma also mentioned racism and prejudice against people in their community whose skin was described as 'darker.' Neither did visitors always refer to the entirety of Europe when discussing cultural similarities and diversity. There were distinctions made between the different parts of Europe that visitors felt a greater connection to because of some assumed cultural trait or connection. This included a division between North and South Europe (Gail, National Museum of Scotland), Baltic region/Finland and the rest of Europe (Baiba, Latvian Open Air Museum) and Turkey and the rest of Europe (Anneli, Estonian National Museum):

> I'm not sure if we're quite on the same wavelength as the southern Europeans, but maybe that's just because we've got a more shared heritage with the North than with the South… I don't mean to bring up a religious divide, but that maybe causes a slight divide between almost the Catholic South of Europe than it does the North of Europe and that can could maybe be where the linked heritage comes from (Gail, Scottish, 53 years old).

> For I don't think that "the relatives thing" I would apply to Turks. I don't know if Turks are European Union, but they want to be. For I think already Greece is weird there (Anneli, Estonian National Museum, Estonian, aged 31-45).

Comparing Europe with the 'Other': Another way to express an identification with Europe was to highlight the difference with other parts of the world in terms of communication and understanding. This implied that there were particular ways of thinking and expression which have developed which are unique to Europe. National visitors commonly expressed these sentiments (Zane, Inese, Latvian Open Air Museum; Anneli, Estonian National Museum; Anna, National History Museum; Anna, German Historical Museum).

> I feel that I could easily speak with a French man, much better than I could with an American or a Chinese national. That is how I feel. We have more things in common (Anna, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 31-45).

> Actually in America I missed my old roots… e.g. for me [Europe] means to have similar roots, similar past and history. With their good and their bad moments… simply a common cultural history… however different it might be. A complex union in some way, this is the kind of Europe I find very interesting (Anna, German Historical Museum in Berlin, German, aged 18-30).

Contemporary aspects of being European (the EU)

Contemporary aspects of European were those which could be linked to the European Union and were a result of its social and economic policies. In talking about the EU, visitors made the distinction between the ideals of the EU and how these were manifest in practice. Figure 11 shows examples of these from visitor responses.

Figure 11: The ideals of the EU compared to how they are manifest in practice

Ideals		Practice
Human rights	⟷	Open borders
Security		Social welfare
Freedom		Single currency
Peace		Legal system
Democracy		Treaties

Common values and rights: Being part of Europe meant a shared system of rights – 'citizen's rights' - and values, reinforced by liberal democracy (Vassilis, Nikos, National History Museum; Justine, National Museum of Ireland; Amanda and Mailyn, National Museum of Scotland). For national visitors in Germany and Greece, who had a strong civic element in their identity, some of these ideas were carried across into the European context:

> I think that being European means to pursue some values that were developed, exist, in Europe, the West. Respect for humans, privacy, respect of individual rights, for personal property. I think it is mostly the human rights that make me feel European (Nikos A, National History Museum in Athens, Greek, aged 18-30).

European citizens could benefit from this system of rights, even if these rights were not guaranteed in the national context. Peter, a Nigerian man living in Ireland (focus group participant, National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks), aged 40s), gave the example of how the EU helped to secure rights for recent immigrants to Ireland. The government had been repatriating immigrants, even if their children had been born in Ireland, and the European Court of Justice had put a stop to the government by ruling:

> No, you can't do that. An Irish child has the right to live in Europe with their parents, with his or her parents. You can't deposit them. As long as the child is Irish with a passport, the parents [have] got the right to work.

Comparisons were made by national visitors with other parts of the world which did not enjoy the same freedom or rights as Europe (Synthia, German Historical Museum; Vassilis, National History Museum in Athens).

Freedom of travel: Visitors often cited freedom of travel across Europe as one of the main advantages of belonging to the EU, freedom in terms of open borders but also in terms of travelling safely. This included national and non-national visitors in Estonia (Cecile, Tom, Lore, Victor, Alexandru, Egle, Kaia-Liisa); Germany (Andrea, Carsten, Ulrike, Ulrich); Greece (Anna); Ireland (Sinead, Majeela), Latvia (Dace); and Scotland (Apricot, Tanya). For some older visitors, however, it was something for the younger generations to take advantage of:

> It is not especially important for me to be European. For my children it is different – they can go around and travel (Dace, Latvian Open-Air Museum, Latvian, aged 60-65).

Jobs and trade: A few visitors detailed how the EU has enabled trade and other economic benefits in Estonia (Egle, Kaia-Liisa, Peiter) and Greece (Anna); in Latvia and Scotland there were also visitors who regarded trade as a positive aspect of the EU. For Latvian visitors, the EU conferred a set of pragmatic advantages which contrasted with the disadvantages of a small state, Soviet heritage, and the current economic situation:

> It is opportunity to work in every state without redundant bureaucracy, working permissions… It is opportunity to bring in and out products, opportunity to import and export (Eleonora, Harijs and Verners, Latvian, aged between 20-37).

Single currency: A few visitors mentioned the single currency, but there were a variety of views and the fast moving developments in the European currency during 2011 framed visitors' viewpoints. Views ranged from 'I think the Euro is fantastic' (Ciaran, National Museum of Ireland), to 'Apart from Germany I realise the interest and responsibility for the rest of Europe... to save the Euro' (Martin, German Historical Museum).

Peace: Membership of the EU was valued by some visitors because it created an alternative future for Europe to the conflicts of the past. Visitors referred to the ambition of early European leaders to create a peaceful Europe:

> Robert Schuman. He had the brilliant idea that the Europeans, instead of fighting one another, should cooperate with one another, and you know, have trade agreements and all that sort of stuff, and you know, no more wars (Henry, National Museum of Ireland, Irish, aged 71).

Maria, Lieselotte and Sebastian (Germany), Ciaran (Ireland) and William (Scotland) all connected the EU with the maintenance of peace:

> It's brought peace to Europe so that you'd never again fight with Germany… the main thing about being European to me is the peace that it's brought (William, National Museum of Scotland, British, aged 55 years).

Security and standard of living: Some visitors associated Europe with political and economic stability, wealth and the Euro (Jory, German Historical Museum; Inese, Latvian Open-Air Museum; Ragnar, Estonian National Museum; Bronagh, National Museum of Ireland). Kieran and Jimmy (National Museum of Ireland) both suggested that EU membership had put the situation in Northern Ireland into a more positive context, and Bronagh (Irish, 18 years old) felt that the relationship with the EU was instrumental for the development of Ireland, helping them to overcome a history of poverty and struggle:

> Progression, they can help us progress as a country. They can give us the facilities, they can give us the money… They can get us up to their standard if you get me? Like it took us a long time to fight the poverty and fight all the difficulties but now since we're accepted into Europe, we can progress.

Dissent and disquiet: negative aspects of being in Europe

The previous sections raised many of the positive attributes of being part of Europe and having a sense of belonging to Europe. However, several visitors diverged from the perspective that connections with Europe were necessary or positive. There was a sense that there was a difference between *being European* and *being in Europe*, and being in Europe was more strongly equated with the EU. It is not surprising that in the political and social context of the research period, many visitors expressed the negative aspects of that relationship.

Loss of distinctiveness: National visitors were concerned to retain the distinctiveness of their identity against the apparent threat of European homogenisation (Dorothy, Tanya, Gail, National Museum of Scotland; Marilena, Georgia, Panagiota, National History Museum; Jimmy, Dorothy, Alan, Pidelma, National Museum of Ireland). There was a strong feeling that openness of borders was a threat as well as an opportunity. In Scotland, Dorothy keenly felt the erosion of

local differences and the loss of traditions, whilst Pidelma was emphatic that she was Irish above all else:

> In a way I feel it's a bit sad, you know, like I love all the different dialects in Scotland, as in all countries that are now becoming much more a single dialect, very sort of middle of the road, but all the sort of local characters, the little area characteristics are sort of receding, which is a shame… And so many people are moving around in a way that they didn't when we were young (Dorothy, National Museum of Scotland, Scottish, aged 64).

> Look, to me and a lot of people, being part of Europe is an economic thing and that's what we entered into… I see myself as Irish (Pidelma, National Museum of Ireland, Irish, aged 55).

In Greece and Ireland, two national visitors regarded EU intervention in their economies as a threat to their sovereignty, especially in the light of events in 2011 (Giorgos, National History Museum; Jimmy, National Museum of Ireland):

> The Irish people did not borrow all this money and it was borrowed from German banks mainly, French banks, English banks, but the Irish people are being told they have to pay this money back . And Europe has let us down (Jimmy, National Museum of Ireland, Irish, aged 67).

Othering: 'Us and Them': Some Irish and British visitors tended to regard Europe and the EU automatically as 'them', the 'other' (Ciaran, Bronagh, Jimmy, National Museum of Ireland; Paul, Tom, National Museum of Scotland). There was a sense that power lay in the hands of the EU, for instance Tom (National Museum of Scotland) mentioned corruption at an EU level, describing it as the 'super gravy-train.'

Euro-scepticism: Attitudes towards the EU ranged from ambivalence to outright hostility. Some visitors accepted in principle the significance and value of a European identity, but were ambivalent about the role of the EU and Brussels (Bernhard, German Historical Museum; Sinead, National Museum of Ireland; William, National Museum of Scotland). They suggested that institutions needed to be more democratic, or the power structure needed to be rebalanced:

> I suppose I've always been quite pro-European. Maybe not so much now… because you're kind of becoming more and more aware that it's not an equal thing between all countries (Sinead, National Museum of Ireland, Irish, aged 28).

Male, English visitors were likely to be hostile to the EU (by contrast, female visitors from England were more ambivalent or declined to engage with the politics of Europe). Ron (German Historical Museum) and Alan (National Museum of Ireland) discussed their disillusionment with Europe, the degree of bureaucracy and interference in other countries:

> [W]e're losing our sense of identity I think going into Europe, because it seems that the main, France and Germany mainly, made all sorts of rules and they won't keep them themselves (Alan, National Museum of Ireland, English, aged 76).

Although a minority, there were similar dissenting voices in Greece, Germany, Estonia and Latvia. In particular, Nikos A (National History Museum, Greek, aged 18-30) outlined the negative aspects of being a European citizen, which presents an interesting contrast to the ideals of peace, democracy and human rights advanced by other visitors:

> On the other hand some could argue that the European citizen is also the consumer and the man who has invaded nature and destroyed it in a sense. Someone who doesn't have

much imagination and functions according to rational principles, or based on financial interests. I think all these things make someone European. And they are part of the European identity.

The representation of Europe in the national museum

Photo: Andrew Sawyer

Visitors were asked if they were aware of the European context of the national story and if they would want to see more about Europe in the displays of the national museum. The overall response from visitors (national and non-national) was that the role of the national museum was to tell the story of the nation. Whilst some would accept the placing of the national story in a wider context, including Europe, most visitors did not want Europe to dominate the national story. There were also some strong opinions from minority group participants about how the national story needed to be made more inclusive of minority groups, to include their lives and experiences and represent the diversity of increasingly multicultural European nations. This section takes each museum in turn to give an overview of how visitors responded to the question of greater European representation in the national museum. It also summarises some of the points made in previous sections to place visitor comments in context.

Estonian National Museum

In a new EU country (Estonia joined in 2004), attitudes towards the EU from national visitors were generally positive and there was a strong sense of belonging to Europe. 'We are Estonian

therefore we are European' sums up the response from most Estonians. They mentioned the shared geography, cultural and historical background and similarities in language. There were some very positive views of the EU in terms of the political power, work and study opportunities; however, the EU was also considered to be an artificial and bureaucratic institution. National and non-national visitors with a connection to Estonia saw evidence of Europe in the museum, connected to a shared agricultural culture (Cecile, from France), with others (Liliane, Cecile, Ilona) noting connections to the Scandinavian countries. However, references were also made to Russia and the Soviet Union. Visitors noted that the story of joining the EU, acceptance of the Euro and NATO were not shown in the permanent exhibition although Europe had been the feature of temporary exhibitions. Very few visitors (national and non-national) however wanted a greater European perspective to be on display in the museum. A couple of non-national visitors (Liliane, Cecile) considered that an exhibition featuring comparisons between Estonia and Europe could be one way to display the connection. One Estonian visitor (Aljona) thought the museum might be able to explain what it meant to be European. Other regular and national visitors to the museum, however, seemed uneasy with the idea that EU funding might mean the museum showing a more 'European' story (Eva, Kuldar).

Latvian Open-Air Museum

National identity was the primary identifier for most visitors to the museum, although younger Latvian visitors (who tended to be highly educated and well-travelled) were more likely to consider themselves European compared to older visitors. From a geographical perspective, it was taken for granted that Latvia was in Europe and national visitors considered that the museum would inevitably show aspects of Europe within them. However, Latvia was *in* Europe rather than its visitors expressing a strong European identity. Andis from Latvia exemplified the attitude of many visitors (national and non-national): 'I assume that [the] museum does not show it [*Europe*] especially… but if somebody searches for influence, than it can be found but I have not considered this issue.' For a smaller number of national visitors, connections could be made with Europe through the museum's material culture; Baiba and Iveta G (both from Latvia) detected influences from Baltic and European nations in the exhibits. Other visitors suggested that Latvia had connections with Europe through its religion, laws (Roman in origin), and democratic values. Generally, national visitors were pragmatic about the benefits of Europe and suggested that it could overcome some of the deficiencies of the small Latvian state. National and non-national visitors had only a limited interested in showing Latvia's connections with Europe through the national museum, and considered that it should focus on Latvian history only. Inese, from Latvia, noted that historical clashes had often damaged Latvia and there was often a reluctance to engage with other nations and cultures. Kakhaber, a non-national visitor from Georgia, considered that Latvia shared greater similarities with nations inhabiting what he called the 'Post-Soviet space' than with Europe.

German Historical Museum

Most visitors (national and non-national) agreed on the significance of Europe and the EU, although a minority (mainly British visitors and a German who identified as an anarchist) had reservations in the light of the (then) current political and economic climate. German visitors

spoke at length about their ideas of European identity, including freedom, freedom, peace, democracy, and open borders, along with what they perceived to be a common culture, characteristics, principles, traditions, and experiences that are shared in Europe. Given Germany's role in European history, national and non-national visitors agreed that the museum displayed connections with Europe mainly through the history of two world wars (Andrea, Maria, Martin, Sebastian, Synthia, Ulrike, Carsten and Kort, Stephan, Boris, Jamie and Geoff). This presented a rather bleak picture of rivalry, conflict and co-existence between Germany and its neighbours. Some national visitors thought the museum had excluded important elements of European history, including post-war reconciliation and the role of the USA (Harald, Lieselotte), the placement of labour camps for foreigners (Stephan), and German-French relations (Ulrike). Three non-European visitors (Zhen, Jamie and Geoff) stated that whilst relations with Europe were shown in the museum, limited to no connections were made with the rest of the world. Seven German visitors (Andrea, Boris, Maria, Martin, Sebastian, Synthia, Ulrike) thought that the museum should give more weight to Europe in its temporary exhibitions, in its impact on the formation of Germany, and in showing individual countries or the collective decisions taken in Europe. Boris and Maria suggested the development of the EU should be shown as a relevant part of recent history:

> It is not enough to say with whom somebody has fought in the past, and what happened in the Medieval Ages. The European Union started in the 1980s-1990s. And it continued in 2000s with the monetary union… This is not shown… the process towards these [developments] is missing (Boris, German, aged 31-45).

The majority of visitors (national and non-national) however did not want a stronger connection with Europe to be shown in the museum (14 of the 25 visitors who took part in an interview took this view (56%): Bernhard, Lieselotte, Lucas, Anna, Carsten and Kort, Harald and Vera, Ron and Liz, Jamie and Geoff, Jory and Jacob). Whilst Carsten and Bernhard considered that the history of Germany *was* the history of Europe, Kort, Lieselotte (both German) and Jamie (from Canada) were adamant that there was no place for European history in a national museum. Lukas (German, aged under 18) commented that European identity should be *experienced* in everyday life, not learnt in the museum. British visitor Ron (aged 55-65) was opposed any attempt by the museum to contribute to any kind of national or European identity, claiming it would be little better than propaganda: 'I think propaganda, European propaganda, propaganda from Brussels is a very bad idea.' Three German visitors, Anna, Harald and Vera, suggested the establishment of a separate institution to provide a perspective on Europe, either a European history museum (Harald, Vera) or what Anna described as 'The creation of a union of European museums in order to present similar things all together.'

National History Museum, Athens

Many Greek visitors felt a close affinity with Europe and saw the significance of European identity contained within the values, laws, democracy and human rights associated with Europe. The social and political context to the research, however, heightened potentially ambiguous or negative aspects of European identity, which was regarded by some Greek visitors as a threat to national identity. As in Germany, visitors (national and non-national) considered that the history of Greece and Europe were intertwined, references to which could be seen in the displays of the

National History Museum. Specifically the museum revealed the role of the European powers (France, Britain, Russia) in the Greek War of Independence and the establishment of the monarchy. The nineteenth century spirit of *Philhellenism* (the love of Greek culture) was prominent in the museum, as noted by several Greek and Greek-Cypriot visitors (Anna, Panagiota, Georgos, Nektaria, Maria B, Vassilis, Thodoris). National and non-national visitors also referred to the popular belief that Ancient Greece was the foundation of Western civilisation as a reason for stating the significance of Greek history to European history and identity, a narrative that went beyond that of the museum. Whilst noting the relationship between Greece and Europe in the nineteenth century, several national visitors were sceptical about the reasons for Europe's interest, or the impact European intervention had on Greece (Konstantina, Nikos, Maria B, Georgia, Ionnis). In the light of current political events, visitors such as Ioannis (Greek-Australian, aged 31-45) made direct links between the relationship between Greece and Europe, then and now:

> There is the financial element which bound us, until today maybe… It's the same today isn't it? If Europe lent us so much money and we didn't make the best of it…I don't know.

The majority of visitors (25, 86%) wanted to see a wider European context for Greek history, but had different views on why and how this should be achieved. Those in favour of highlighting the European dimension cited (for example) the importance of promoting Greek culture and enhancement of its public image to European citizens (Vassilis and Thodoris); its role in the development of a global conscience and identity (Maria A); two visitors regarded it as an inevitable part of membership of the EU (Ioannis, Victoria); and three visitors considered it would support a greater understanding of Greek history (Elizabeth, Leonidas and Marilena). Other Greek visitors were much more cautious, and considered that the addition of a European perspective should not be at the expense of the national story or erosion of Greek national identity (Anna, Maria B, Nikos B):

> We just shouldn't lose our identity. We can't all of a sudden be one nation… Why should we all become one?...We went through two world wars. We all contributed to our freedom (Nikos B, Greek, aged 18-30).

Then there were those national, and one non-national, visitors who did not see the need for, or wish to see, a greater connection with Europe in the displays of the museum (Konstantinos, Demetra, Javier, Georgia). Javier, a visitor from Portugal who placed great importance on national identity, saw no point in including the European perspective unless it was directly relevant to the national story. Georgia, a young Greek woman, thought the history of European intervention in Greek affairs was too controversial and there was no point in reminding museum visitors of that history. The views of Demetra, a repatriated Greek woman who had lived and worked in Germany, were influenced by her bitterness towards a country that in her opinion (based on her experiences) considered other nations to be inferior.

National Museum of Scotland and National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks)

Scotland and Ireland are on the periphery of Europe and the attitude of most national visitors was a feeling of distance from Europe. Whilst many connections could be made between Europe and these two nations, very few visitors with strong Irish or Scottish identities also felt strongly

European. A small number of Scottish visitors (4) who advocated Scottish independence identified as European rather than British, suggesting that for them European identity was a political affiliation. Several visitors to the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) highlighted the positive role that the EU played in bringing peace to Europe and in resolving some of the tensions between Britain and Ireland:

> The European context had a bearing on solving our problems in Northern Ireland… They took away this tunnel vision that existed at both extremes (Tommy, Irish, aged 65).

For the most part, however, the EU was seen through an economic lens and visitors highlighted the positive aspects it provided, such as freedom to travel and work in Europe, balanced by the negatives of overbearing bureaucracy and unequal power structures. Few national visitors felt the need to be part of Europe except on an economic basis, and EU came across as something 'Other,' something *done to* these nations rather than a shared cultural heritage or set of ideals. With diaspora spread across the world, visitors to the national museums in Ireland and Scotland perhaps perceived that the context for their history and identity was wider than Europe. Several non-national visitors were from outside Europe which also had an influence on the types of connections they wanted to see in the museum, particularly in Ireland.

Several Irish visitors to the National Museum of Ireland were able to make connections between the museum and Europe. Tommy, Kieran and Linda considered that the Irish military involvement in Europe was shown in the museum, and Eamonn thought the numismatic collection showed some connections. However, other Irish visitors such as Sinead, Una and James regarded the museum as 'insular' with very little focus on Europe. Annette (Irish, aged over 50) and Jimmy (Irish, aged 67) suggested that some comparative exhibits would be useful, such as, in Annette's example, the connections between art and design across Europe. However, other visitors were less certain about the value of a European perspective. Some visitors referenced the role of the Irish in the wider world, such as Henry (Irish, aged 71) who stressed Ireland's role in the United Nations. Eamonn and Harry, a visitor from Canada, were adamant that the museum should be about the history of Ireland and Irish identity:

> No. I don't think so. I think museums have to tell a story of uniqueness. I think it's very important to know what is unique about this country, rather than a story about why it's like every place else in Europe.

In Scotland, few national and non-national visitors were able to make connections between the museum and Europe, mainly because they had not been looking for such connections. Margaret, from Scotland, was typical of visitors who had not looked for, or seen, Europe in the museum: 'I mean it might be there, it's just I couldn't read everything, take everything in.' A few national visitors considered that the museum showed how Europe had contributed to Scotland's success as a nation, through interchange and trade links (Ross, Dorothy) or as part of a wider, global story (William). Other visitors considered that other parts of the world were more important to the Scottish national story, such as British visitor Jeanette who thought that the New World (USA, Canada) was more important to Scottish history ('Europe was just the bit that got in the way'). There was no consensus on whether there should be a greater European perspective in the museum. Several national visitors suggested that it might be useful to incorporate more about Europe for the following reasons: to explain the Scottish context to foreign visitors (Kenneth M);

to help explain the role of new European populations in Scotland (Canongate Youth Group); and to help Scottish visitors understand the new EU context for Scotland (Amanda and Mailyn). However, most visitors wanted the museum to focus on telling Scotland's story. British visitors Mary (from England) and Julia (from Scotland) put forward the idea that comparative displays for Scotland and Europe could be developed, however they were sceptical about British acceptance of a greater European dimension:

> Maybe an exhibit on its own wouldn't be particularly popular, there's a sort of streak of conservatism around Europe, we're not part of Europe, we're our own country (Mary, British, aged 20).

Conclusions

Overall, national identity was stronger than European identity (about eight visitors prioritised their European identity prior to their national identity) and very few visitors regarded themselves as 'citizens' of Europe. Instead, they appeared to have a much looser concept of European identity based on an affinity created through some notion of shared cultural traits, values and heritage. Furthermore, it was not always possible to distinguish between Europe the place and its culture and the EU in visitor discussions as the term 'Europe' was used interchangeably in both contexts. For minorities born in Europe the concept of a European citizen was positive because it was possible to retain one's own identity. For non-European minorities, however, European identity could act as a further barrier to integration but the intervention of the EU could safeguard rights (Peter's example of the European Court of Justice). Diversity appeared to be a given across Europe and for many visitors it was a positive aspect. However, the experiences of non-White minorities in Scotland and Ireland, and examples of prejudice experienced by the Roma community in Greece, give some justification for the view that it is a narrow definition of cultural and social diversity, dependent on being White and Christian.

Visitors had a sense of the place of their nation in Europe which influenced their relationship with its culture and the EU. German and Greek visitors, for different reasons, often talked about Europe and their place in it and strongest notions of European identity came from these two nations. By contrast, visitors from Scotland and Ireland were on the edge of Europe, as were Latvia and Estonia, and their attitudes towards Europe and the EU tended to be much more ambivalent or sceptical. Visitors identified a range of benefits that were attached to membership of the EU. A minority of visitors did not recognise a distinct European identity and were sceptical about membership of the EU, which was not surprising considering the (then) current political and economic context.

Visitors made a range of connections between the nation (the subject of the national museum) and Europe reflected in the material culture and narratives of each museum. There were some minor differences between the responses of national and non-national visitors, however for the most part their responses were dependent on their attitudes towards European identity and the EU. Those visitors with an attachment or affinity to Europe were more likely to want to see more connections made with Europe in the museum, and vice versa. However, a common thread running through visitor responses *whatever their attitude towards Europe* was that the national museum should not lose its primary purpose through focusing on the European dimension, which was to tell the story of the nation. Visitors found it hard to see beyond the national story in

the national museum. Although some (national and non-national alike) would accept a small European element, for example placing the nation's history in a wider context, most visitors wanted national museums to tell national stories. Some visitors were clearly surprised to think that the national museum *would* show Europe, and others felt that in any case, as European nations, their national museums already included enough relevant aspects.

Photo: Julian Anderson

CHAPTER 6
Minority Group Issues

Introduction

Minority groups exist across each nation of Europe but in visitor studies in museums, minority voices can often be absent. This research specifically sought the views and experiences of people from minority groups, to ensure that their opinions, which may not be of significance to (or within the experience of) majority visitors, were captured. There was clear evidence from the interviews with visitors that without these four focus groups, the issues around the inclusion of minority groups in national identity and history would not have been discussed in any depth. It was therefore critical that they took place. The participants in the focus groups at museums in Estonia, Greece, Ireland and Scotland were quite distinctive to each country and specific to the social, economic and historical context of each nation. They came from communities as diverse as the Roma in Greece, recent economic migrants to Ireland, Russian-speakers in Estonia, and migrants from Africa and Asia in Scotland reflecting long-established patterns of migration. Despite their distinctiveness, collectively most of the minority groups felt they were excluded from the nation's identity and history which was represented in the national museum. Only the group of Russian-speakers appeared to be comfortable with their separate position in Estonia. Most of the minorities wanted to be part of the nation's story, and wanted a stake in their country. They wanted their lives, their experiences and their contributions to the nation (through history, society, art, culture) acknowledged, and saw the national museum as a key place for this to happen.

Majority views of minority group issues

Photo: Salford Museum and Art Gallery

How aware were visitors generally of the views and experiences of minority groups in their nation? Purposefully during the interviews, visitors were not asked explicitly about minority groups. There were no leading questions, but one which was framed much more broadly to elicit a range of responses, which *might* have included minority groups:

> Are there any stories missing in the museum displays?

This broad question covered a wide range of ground, but the lack of focus on minorities by the majority of visitors was very obvious in responses. From the interviews, there was a discernible dissonance between the majority of visitor's views and the views of minority groups. Overall, it seemed that the majority of museum visitors did not expect to see minority groups in the national museum or even considered that they were missing. There may be many reasons for this. Perhaps visitors were unconscious of minority group experiences, or maybe they were unconcerned? Were minority issues even on their radar?

Visitors' responses ranged from no mention of minority groups at all (Ireland), to a few visitors suggestions of *who* was missing (Germany, Estonia, Latvia, Greece) to negative comments about minority groups (Scotland, Greece). In Germany four visitors (Boris, Martin, Jamie and Geoff) mentioned minority groups, explicitly immigrants, and the Gastarbeiter [guest worker] were missing from the museum. The multicultural society that existed in Germany was 'completely absent.' The Arvanites (community who settled in Greece in the Middle Ages and spoke Arvanitika, a dialect of the Albanian language) and Muslims in Greece (Marilena) and ethnic groups such as the Roma in Latvia (unidentified) were also regarded as missing. A small percentage of visitors interviewed during the research period identified themselves as being from a minority. Vladimir, for example, a visitor to the National Museum of Scotland, was originally from Slovakia; having lost his official documents, he had become homeless. He had no expectations of being represented in the museum. Other visitors with some heritage or connection to minority groups suggested that more could be done to show the connection between the group and the nation, for example Mark, of mixed Russian and Estonian origin, explained that Russians could be shown as part of the national story, which at the time was very focused on 'Estonian-ness.' He argued that:

> [T]hey are some kind of branch at the same tree – same kind of artefacts, just people were different. So maybe yes, it should be not focused on one nation in the particular spot of time only. It could be shown that different cultures have spread here. That for example, Russians came here and showed this kind of thing, which merged into the same tree during a long history.

Yet Saima (Estonian) considered it was a sensitive question and argued that the Russian families who had settled in Estonia in Tsarist times could be connected 'a little bit' with the developments in Estonia, however the group who had arrived after the Second World War and did not assimilate should not be represented in the museum.

Visitors that were actively anti-minority groups or expressed xenophobic or racist comments were very rare. However, there were a few negative comments about immigrants, such as by this visitor to the National Museum of Scotland after being prompted to think about the issue of who was missing from the museum (due to the nature of the comment, the visitor's name has been kept confidential):

> I'm very much against minority groups in any country. I think they tend to be overpowering and I think the locals resent that… Well they're probably very important at a moment in time. For example, you'd probably think of things like Polish workers who did so much during the war years and came over afterwards, but they faded into the background. They've become Scottish… Not sure who it is now. Probably Eastern Bloc. So they're minorities but they're not given overdue emphasis for example in the museum here. I think it would be a mistake to suddenly focus on the latest group of migrants.

In Ireland, which some visitors commented faced many challenges coming to terms with an increasingly multicultural society, none of the visitors mentioned minority groups explicitly as missing from the museum.

Other responses to the question of 'what is missing' had potential implications for the representation of minority groups in the museums. Visitors to four of the museums (Ireland, Greece, Germany, Scotland) raised the issue that there was an absence of ordinary people's lives and experiences in the displays. Were the experiences of minority groups perhaps part of this absence too? Ulrike, a visitor to the German Historical Museum (German, aged 18-30) raised the issue that there was a significant bias in the museum displays and the female perspective was almost absent. Given the gender balance in the population, it is ironic to think of this as referring to a 'minority view:'

> First of all, everything is about men's history. For example the struggle for franchise is presented very briefly.

A sense of bias was also raised by Estonian visitors, who felt that the museum provided a very 'Estonian-centric' position and minority perspectives were absent. Several visitors at the National History Museum in Athens raised a lack of critical thinking in the museum, which, whilst not talking explicitly about minorities, did raise the need for museums to take a more nuanced view of who is part of the nation and whose perspective is presented (Elizabeth, Maria A):

> And, so, I thought that here I would find something, not especially richer, but in a different way. And I didn't find what I was looking for (Elizabeth, Polish, aged 46-65).

Some visitors, especially in Ireland, considered the absence of contemporary history to be problematic. By excluding recent dramatic changes like the economic boom of the Celtic Tiger and subsequent financial crash, the museum was excluding significant parts of the 'Irish story,' including a rapidly changing society, which is more diverse and consequently includes many minority groups. As this section therefore reveals, without the voices, views and experiences of people from minority groups it would have been very difficult to get a real sense of what being a minority means, and the implications for national museums. The views of minorities need to be explicitly heard.

Minority groups – distinctive and different

Participants from minority groups took part in four focus groups in Estonia, Scotland, Ireland and Greece. Each group represented a distinctive group or experience in each nation. An overview of the key features of each group is given here.

Roma in Greece

Three per cent (3%) of the Greek population are Roma, and their history goes back at least to the fifteenth century (according to the focus group participants the Roma have been 'residents on Greek soil for ten centuries'). Due to their nomadic lifestyle, they are not concentrated in a specific geographical area, but are dispersed all over the country, and there are differences in religion and language. The majority of Greek Roma are Orthodox Christians who speak the Romani language in addition to Greek, whilst most of the Roma who live in Western Thrace are Muslims and speak a dialect of Romani (Wikipedia 2012). Although the Roma have not suffered pogroms in Greece as in other European countries, they are the victims of prejudice and racism and seen through a stereotypical lens of 'dark coloured' outlaws, bandits, and drug dealers. The participants in the focus group had all experienced racism, prejudice and phobia on a personal and on a social level because of their role as intermediaries between the Roma and the wider community, particularly when they visit schools around Athens. They described how whilst some primary schools do not want Roma children to attend – with directors and parents threatening to close the school if Roma children do attend - other schools have been ghettoized because only Roma children attend them. As Kostas (aged 40-45) explained:

> Racism is encouraged by adults… Within this context, we cannot talk about either national identity, or integration to society.

The focus group participants were aware that they had the skills, experience and confidence to use museums but not all Roma people could. Lefteris (aged 30-35) made it clear that, '*we* can visit museums, [but] it does not mean that all Roma people can visit museums.'

Russian Speakers in Estonia

Of the 1.34 million people in Estonia, 25% (335,000) are Russian-speakers. Russian-speakers can be further categorised into at least four different groups depending on their heritage and time of settlement in Estonia:

- Former merchant families settled in Estonia for centuries, numbers of whom increased in the eighteenth century when Estonia came under the jurisdiction of the Russian Empire;
- The Old Believer communities who fled to Estonia following religious persecution in Russia and continued to practice their distinctive lifestyle;
- Refugees from the October Revolution in 1917, including intellectuals, officers and representatives of the high military;
- Migration during Soviet occupation in the 1940s-1990s, when several hundred thousand individuals from the Soviet Union settled mostly in the capital and North-Eastern industrial towns.

Not all Russian-speakers have Estonian citizenship. When Estonia reclaimed independence in 1991 as the legal successor of the pre-Second World War Republic of Estonian, citizenship was restricted to those who had been or were descended from pre-war citizens. This excluded the majority of Soviet-era citizens and their descendants. In 2011, 84.3% of the population held Estonian citizenship, 8.8% were citizens of another country, and 6.9% were of undetermined citizenship (94, 654). It is likely that the majority of those with undetermined citizenship are Russian-speakers (information from the *Estonian Population Register*, Ministry of Interior, supplied

by Pille Runnel). Acquiring citizenship in Estonia is voluntary, and people without citizenship do have significant rights, for example, Estonia is one of the few countries in the world where all legal residents (regardless of citizenship) have the right to vote in local government elections. The concept of being Russian-speaking but living in Estonia without citizenship was, therefore, decreasing, and is likely to be restricted to the older generations.

The five focus group participants, all women, were born in Estonia or lived in the country since their early childhood. Whilst the question of Estonian citizenship did not arise during the focus group, it can be assumed that most of them were Estonian citizens given that they lived in South Estonia, their satisfaction with their lives and their professional backgrounds. The women, however, felt more like Russians than Estonians, although Estonia was their home. Their experience of the museum varied. One woman was very familiar with the Estonian National Museum and another participant who was a teacher, Ljudmilla, had visited the museum frequently with her students but never out of personal interest. Some of the other women visited museums now and then.

Ireland – predominantly recent immigrants

The seven focus group participants in Ireland mirrored a pattern of recent immigration to Ireland in the last decade or so associated with the 'Celtic Tiger' - the (formerly) buoyant economy. Ireland's economic boom during the 1990s brought unprecedented levels of prosperity and helped transform it into a country of net immigration by the early 2000s. Prior to the early 1990s, there had generally been net emigration with more people leaving the country. For the first time in its history, Ireland experienced a significant in-flow of migrants, both workers and asylum seekers. Immigration increased from the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, driven by returning Irish nationals. There were also dramatic increases in the number of asylum applicants. High numbers of non-EU immigrants between 2001 to 2004 were replaced by a shift towards EU immigrants between 2004 and 2007, when high levels of immigration from the new EU member states raised immigration to unprecedented levels. This started to fall in 2007, largely resulting from decreased flows from new EU member states, but there continues to be significant immigration into Ireland (Migration Policy Institute 2009). All the focus group participants were born outside Ireland and moved there during the economic boom (which lasted until 2008). Only two had experienced growing up in Ireland; Manuela had moved to Ireland aged five, the daughter of economic migrants, and Brina moved to Ireland as very young child at a time when the population was less diverse.

Global Scotland

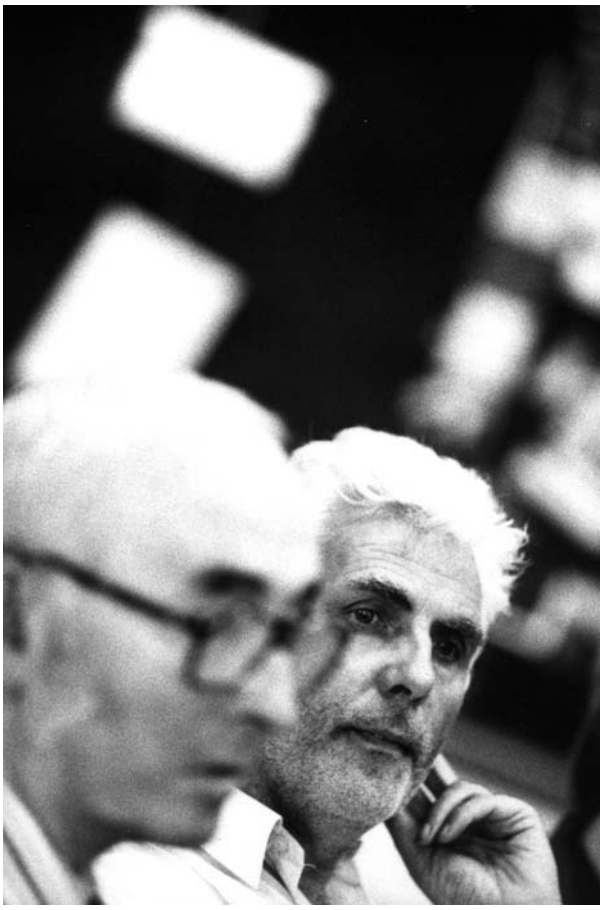
The backgrounds of the five participants in the focus group at the National Museum of Scotland reflect patterns of immigration to Scotland over a number of decades which have led to a concentration of people from around the world settling in the UK, including several Scottish cities. Migration patterns relate to the United Kingdom's colonial past with waves of migration since the 1950's from Commonwealth countries such as Pakistan and the Caribbean islands. More recent migration patterns have included refugees and asylum seekers from many parts of the world. The minority ethnic population in Scotland is distinctive within the UK in terms of size, ethnic composition and patterns of settlement (Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2011).

Analysis of census data from 2001 indicates that the 'minority ethnic' population in Scotland was then about 2 per cent and was likely to include English, Irish, Polish and Italian communities, refugees and asylum seekers, Gypsy and Traveller communities and groups categorised as 'Black and Minority Ethnic' (BME), which:

> …refers to communities whose origins lie mainly in South Asia (e.g. Indian, Pakistan and Bangladesh), Africa, the Caribbean (originally Africa) and China. It can be used to mean groups who would not define themselves as White (the term 'Black' may also be used in this case). Distinctions are often made between visible Black and Minority Ethnic communities and invisible Minority Ethnic communities based on skin colour (Disability Rights Commission undated: 1; see also Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2011).

At the time of writing new statistical data had not yet been released from the UK 2011 Census and it is likely that the ethnic make-up of Scotland has changed significantly over the past eleven years. Therefore a degree of caution is needed when interpreting the 2001 data as it is unlikely to represent the size of Scotland's minority ethnic communities accurately or capture the dynamic nature of its multicultural population, for example, the minority ethnic population of Glasgow was 11.4% in 2008 (Glasgow City Council 2011). The minority population of Scotland today includes Pakistanis, Chinese, Indians and Africans, 'A8 migrants' from the eight Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004, Gypsies and Travellers, asylum-seekers and refugees, Irish Catholics and other communities concentrated in the four main cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee. Smaller groups are dispersed across Scotland, including remote parts of the Highlands and Islands (Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2011). The focus group at the National Museum of Scotland included people from Africa, Asia and Europe; no-one in the group was born in Scotland but they had lived in Scotland for a number of years and most were very established.

Minority group participants and identity



Photograph Julian Anderson

National and personal identity for people from minority groups can be complex. Personal identity can be influenced by a number of factors, national identity may be multiple or hybrid (see chapter three) and there is the additional tension that their characteristics or 'identity markers' may set them apart from the majority of people in the nation. The term 'minority' can therefore encompass a wide range of

particular characteristics ascribed to a group or community, and the individuals involved in this study could be categorised into six distinct groups:

- Pan-European - with a history of settlement across Europe;
- The historical legacy of a prior occupying regime;
- Economic migrants - moved to the nation for better employment opportunities;
- Displaced - refugees who are forced to flee their countries in traumatic circumstances;
- Mixed cultural roots – individuals of mixed or hybrid heritage, whose parents were of different nationalities;
- Free choice - those who moved to a new nation by choice to study, work and/or find a better quality of life.

Each of these categories plays out in the identities of those minorities, along with a number of other factors which will be discussed in the following section. Table 25 gives an overview of these categories with examples from each of the focus groups.

Table 25: Overview of participants showing relationship with categories of minorities

Category of minority	Examples	Nations in this study
Pan-European minority	Roma	Greece
Historical legacy of a prior occupying regime	Russian speakers	Estonia
Economic migrants	Choose to move for economic reasons from Eastern Europe e.g. Rumania and from other parts of the world e.g. Nigeria, Pakistan	Ireland Scotland
Displaced	Refugee – forced to flee from Kosovo	Scotland
Mixed cultural roots	One parent an Irish national, the other from Trinidad, with African and Chinese roots	Ireland
Free choice	People who have moved to a country through free choice to study or to work Taiwan, Pakistan, Senegal	Scotland Ireland

What factors influence the formation of identity?

The way in which participants in the focus groups understood their identity, and how they related that to the nation they lived in, varied greatly. It ranged from who felt secure in belonging to a long-established group (Roma) or between two 'homes' (Iqbal, May and Peter) and those who had forged an individual, separate concept of identity to the norm (Sylvain, Russian speakers). On the other hand, however, were those who were less comfortable with their sense of identity. Displacement and non-acceptance by the majority community had had a huge impact on participants in Scotland (Rema, Khalida) and Ireland (Maria, Brina, Manuela). Despite the very different ways in which they conceptualised their identity, this then was the common factor for most of the minority participants; the attitudes of the wider majority community towards them. This often shaped their understanding of their identity or created barriers towards developing a sense of belonging.

Belonging to a long-established group: The Roma community are long-established in Greece, having been there for many centuries. However, they experienced their Roma identity in different ways. Some of the participants were very proud to be Roma, and did not want to hide it; others were less confident and did not refer to their Roma identity unless they were specifically asked:

> If my race had a million bad traits, then I might have rejected it. But this is not the case… I am proud of being Roma and I am not hiding it (Evangellia, aged 18-30)

> Why am I different? (Barbara, aged 18-30)

The (generally) negative response to the Roma from the majority of society gave Kostas a very empowered sense of identity, but he was aware that this was not the same for all members of his community:

> I have experienced racism. But I can handle it. I am worried that other people experience it [but they cannot handle it]. I had choices… Like in all other communities, how you understand yourself depends on many parameters: the financial status … whether you have a permanent address … the colour of your skin.

Creating an alternative 'nationality' within the nation: Whilst the Russian-speaking participants in Estonia were likely to be citizens, and some had been born there, they appeared to identify themselves as a separate group within the nation, based on their Russian heritage. Ljudmila (who was born in Estonia) identified herself as 'totally Russian,' explaining that as she speaks pure Russian, her world-view (perception of the world) and soul are Russian. This was despite her family being a mixture of Jewish, Ukrainian and Russian. This sense of 'otherness,' of feeling Russian, was equally strong for Svetlana who lived in South-Estonia, although very few Russians live in her home town of Võru. Both Valentina and Galina were born into military families; Galina was very explicit about her links to the former Soviet regime and it framed her identity:

> I [have] live[d] here for quite some time [and had a] military dad, so you could say [I am] the daughter of the occupier.

Most of the group appeared to be comfortable with this separate, ethnic identity of being Russian rather than Estonian. However, Estonia was their home, they had lived most of their life there and some stressed that their friends included both Russians and Estonians.

Existing between 'two worlds' – when it is positive: Some participants seemed very comfortable having a dual national identity and were able to exist between 'two worlds' (May, Iqbal, Peter). Iqbal and May, who moved to Scotland from Pakistan and Taiwan respectively, and Peter, who moved to Ireland from Nigeria, made the important distinction between their core identity or 'roots' (*how they feel inside*) and their 'status' as a British/Scottish or Irish citizen, which could act as another layer of identity. As Iqbal explained:

> As a Scottish Pakistani… [you] can keep your roots back to your land but you are recognised here as Scottish, to live in this country… our future is tied up with this land.

As a British citizen, Iqbal considered that he had a duty to integrate and contribute to society, to communicate that *he was Scottish* and had a role to play. Similarly, Peter seemed to have integrated very well into Irish society, considering it his second home:

> I am proud to say that I'm an Irish, because I look at it from the point of view "a home away from home" and I think by now I am a person of two homes… I try to fit in and I look at other good things that would have happened to me, my family and my friends, in Ireland. And I say, "You know what? This is my home."

Whilst Peter admitted that, 'There are people who would never accept you as Irish as long as you have your colour and your name is different,' he was positive that in Ireland:

> You are able to live your life the way you want it, your family like the way you want it, and you're able to create your own friends, your own environment. So it's a conducive community to live in if you have that trust in yourself, that you don't really need other people to be who you are.

For Sylvain, who moved to Scotland from Senegal, identity was highly personal and relevant to the individual rather than to a fixed place or idea. He explained that people often make

assumptions and judgments about his identity but most of the time they get it wrong. For example most people think he is Jamaican or English because he has dreadlocks but he was born in Senegal and lives in Scotland. Trying to categorise identity was not helpful in Sylvain's opinion because of his mixed heritage: 'Talking about identity almost narrows that possibility for me… it's interesting how you just look at it in one place.' Similarly, Lefteris (Roma community, aged 30-35) negotiated his identity by being flexible and adaptable:

> I may be anything. I am a mixture of things. I may change my identity… It is a matter of flexibility… How open are we [about identity]?

Existing between 'two worlds' – when it is negative: In contrast to the apparent security of Iqbal, Peter and Sylvain, several participants described the feeling of 'not belonging' to the nation, of not having a home. Brina, Maria and Manuela, who moved to Ireland from (respectively) Canada, Russia and Romania, and Khalida, who moved to Scotland from Pakistan, all described the negative aspects of existing between 'two worlds.' Brina, who was born in Canada, was struggling to come to terms with a very complex identity. Although Brina's father was Irish, she did not feel accepted in Ireland because her mother was from Trinidad. However, she did not feel accepted in Trinidad either:

> People don't allow me that… whenever anybody questioned me about Irish-ness, I kind of go well okay my mum is from Trinidad. And I felt I was partly Trinidadian. When I went to Trinidad I realised I'm absolutely not Trinidadian. Everyone looked at me on the street. I was as different as a wealthy Westerner. And that made me go, okay, well what the hell am I, you know, neither of you groups actually completely accept me?

Maria, who was born in Russia, had also struggled to reconcile her national identity with her family's European (Hungarian) heritage: 'I never felt Russian in Russia because my name is not Russian. And I think I had the same kind of problem [as Brina]. How do I identify myself?' However, after living in Ireland for ten years (and not being accepted) Maria seemed more comfortable to exist *between* these identities rather than fixing her identity:

> In that space between all these countries, I actually felt quite comfortable because I don't have to take sides with anybody. I don't have to share national identity… I mean nationalism itself is a very dangerous concept. So I never wanted to be part of any nationalism. So I find it a comfortable place to be, in kind of outer space between all these countries and all these national identities.

As a young person living in Ireland, but with few Irish friends, Manuela deployed different national identities at different times, depending on who she was with:

> I believe that my identity is based on when I'm with Romanian people and when I'm with international European people. When I'm with my parents and my family I feel Romanian because it's what we do. When we talk, we talk in Romanian. What we eat, you know. And when I'm with my international friends I feel like I'm both Romanian, both Irish, and like whoever I am with.

Displacement: Displacement had a huge impact on Rema's identity, a refugee who had been forced to leave her homeland of Kosovo and move to Scotland in 1999. Rema described how it had been a 'really hard journey for me to be where I am.' Keeping her Kosovan identity and culture alive was enormously important to Rema, it was unique and she did not want to lose it. There was a concern that the younger generations were becoming more assimilated, becoming

more Scottish. Rema wanted to give something back to Scottish society, and she did this through various art and cultural projects with Glasgow communities which explored the interconnections between different cultures:

> [I'm] trying to explore the richness of my country and to show to the Scottish nation we are human beings… to respect the Scottish culture but bringing alive the richness of my culture.

Do minorities feel part of the nation?

Despite the positive comments from some, to varying degrees participants from minority groups did not feel part of their nation and did not have a secure national identity. The feeling of exclusion, of not being fully accepted into the wider community, varied from person to person but for many, whilst their status was that of a national citizen, it was the attitudes of the wider community that shaped their experiences. The message they received was 'you are not one of us, you do not belong here.' There was a sense that communities can struggle to accommodate people with multiple or hybrid identities, leaving the individual (who is often, at the same time, struggling to come to terms with their own identity) feeling very isolated.

Feeling part of the nation: Some participants had a very strong sense of their status as a minority within the nation which existed comfortably alongside national identity and/or citizenship. The Roma participants were aware of their special identity, as Roma, which they did not want to lose:

> We are part of Greece; but we do not want to lose our special identity. We are so proud of it. We do not want to keep hiding who we are (Evangellia).

However, they also had a very strong sense of national identity and were unequivocally Greek, first and foremost. The group emphasised that they were of Greek descent and that the Roma identity was like any other Greek, local community identity:

> We are first and foremost Greeks, we have Greek identity and then anything else. The Gypsies are the same like the people coming from Pontos and Greeks coming from different parts of the country (Kostas).

The Roma were very keen to assert the longevity of their community and to make clear that the emphasis given in the last few years to immigrants coming mainly from Albania and Eastern Europe to Greece was very misleading, and even damaging, to their community. They did not want to be considered as a minority population with a different 'homeland' somewhere in the world. There is a great difference between the two. Being a member of the Roma community was not the same as being an immigrant:

> The immigration issue is something that Greek society has been facing during the last 20 years. The Roma community is around since the tenth century (Kostas).

> There is no Roma-land (Stella).

Several participants in Ireland and Scotland had created their own sense of belonging to the nation, based on an acceptance of a dual identity. Iqbal in particular spoke of the pride he felt in having dual nationality. He saw it as a privilege when there are millions of people living in Pakistan who do not have the opportunity. Living in Scotland for Iqbal did not mean losing the other part of his identity:

> [L]iving in Scotland is a sense of pride… sense of belonging... you enjoy it too, the different culture, you can see your children born and brought up in a different society and also maintaining their own Islamic and Muslim identity… while I have maintained my own identity as Pakistani as well.

The Russian-speaking participants in Estonia identified first and foremost as Russian rather than Estonian but appeared to be comfortable with their separate ethnic status (more generally, there is evidence that Russian-speakers in Estonia consider themselves a distinct group, feeling different from both Estonians and Russians who live in Russia). They felt at home in Estonia, where they had lived for all or most of their lives, but did not state the desire to *be* Estonian.

Ambivalence towards national identity: One participant rejected the need for a national identity to feel part of the nation. Sylvain, who had been born in Senegal to parents from different parts of Africa and now lived in Scotland, explained that to him the question of national identity was 'meaningless:'

> I don't know what it feels like for a Scottish person to be Scottish - I don't know what that means.

Although he had lived in Scotland for fifteen years, Sylvain did not feel Scottish and commented on his national identity, 'Can it mean nothing… Not necessarily in a wrong way.' Although he was proud of living in Scotland, for him *being Scottish* was 'too far,' although he explained that compared to his own sense of 'rootless-ness,' at times he had been envious of the security that Scottish people seem to have in their identity (a security that was noted by many visitors to the National Museum of Scotland):

> There was a feeling for me when I look at people who were living here, it was an envy, almost a jealousy because I feel they had an intimacy with the place that I didn't have… There was a real comfort, I could see comfort and a real sense of ease about belonging here and I really wanted that. I really wanted to be that comfortable here and that inmate with a place… [To] feel like you're at home and feel at ease, relaxed, on a daily basis as opposed to being almost satellite-ing around… kind of hovering… never really in there.

He warned against making too narrowly defined a category of national identity, because 'Scottishness means for everyone… Actually by saying Scottish we are almost out-casting everybody else… It's important for my children… to know that they have a sense of belonging to the place where they are.'

No sense of belonging to the nation: When barriers were encountered to feeling part of the nation – and the experiences of many participants revealed the extent of the barriers they had encountered - this led, for some, to a greater desire for acceptance. Khalida (who was born in Pakistan) felt a connection to Scotland and wanted to feel that she belonged to the nation because it was her 'home.' However, she was not accepted as Scottish because of the colour of her skin. 'Scottishness' was a sense of belonging but one which Khalida did not fully have:

> 'I do want to be Scottish because I live here.'

For participants in Ireland, however, there was a sense that they would never be accepted by the wider community. None of the focus group at the National Museum of Ireland (Collins Barracks) considered that they were Irish, despite some of them living in Ireland for many years. Natalie (English with Hungarian roots) put it succinctly:

> I have an Irish passport… I'm an Irish citizen. This is as much as Irish as I will ever be.

It was striking that none felt, or expected to feel, Irish. It seemed to be connected to the lack of acceptance by the wider community: that the government can tell them they are Irish but this is not translated into acceptance into the Irish community:

> They were never going to accept me as being Irish in that conception… I was constantly being told you're not really Irish, so where are you from? (Brina).

> You try to integrate, to the Irish, but… all the time the same [question]… Where are you from? (Maria).

Natalie wondered why this might be the case:

> I don't understand why that popular conception of Irishness can't accommodate all of these different varieties.

Peter commented that the lack of acceptance went as high as the government-level; he asked that if there was no sign that the government welcomed minorities into the country why should the wider community? Even the children of immigrants with Irish passports were not accepted:

> At the same time you're telling these children that you are not one of us. Do you ever think these children are ever going to be one of you? They're never going to be because hold on a moment, we are being told that we are not wanted here. That is the point… a point you just give up. You just give up.

Minority experiences in Scotland, Ireland, Estonia, Greece

Minorities in the four countries experienced both negative and positive experiences of living in the nation, which they communicated during the interviews. For many, the lack of belonging and acceptance from the majority community was manifest in daily exclusion, rejection, prejudice and racism. Many, especially in Ireland, had given up trying to belong and were getting on their lives as best they could. There was a sense that although they had to work harder to get where they were, many had succeeded in their lives, feeling pride in their own, and their families', successes.

Racism and prejudice

Some of the minorities had direct experience of racism. The Roma in Greece were the most explicit about their experiences. In the Roma community there was a concern about racism and the lack of education, and how both these contribute to the construction and perception of national identity:

> Whether national identity has been developed in the Roma people, is something that we should think about… When somebody does not participate in the construction of national history, when he/she does not know national history then you cannot talk about national identity (Lefteris).

Frustration and rejection

For several participants, their experiences of never being accepted had led to frustration and a deep sense of rejection:

> Let's just pretend I'm not Irish (Brina, National Museum of Ireland).

Brina found some explanation for her mixed feelings in a book of short stories *East, West* by Salman Rushdie:

> The separation of the two words is by a comma and that really hit home with me, when I read that and his description of what that comma means. It's the pause. You are the pause between these two. I'm neither East, I'm neither West. I'm neither Trinidadian, neither Irish. I'm just somewhere in that pause in-between.'

She has 'decided on ambiguity rather than to be pushing for acceptance in two places that I just didn't feel like I was being accepted.' However, Peter also looked for the *causes* of this rejection, and blamed the authorities in Ireland for not countering harmful stereotypes:

> It should be a topic for discussion, but right from when we have officers saying that these people are here to take your money, they are here to exploit you, this goes into the mentality of the people.

With this outlook, Peter added that it was the responsibility of the government to support minorities and confront the reality of multiculturalism:

> You live in a society that has got a new reality, the new reality of Ireland is that as a multicultural society, it's no longer you and I. We are the people who live here. And the government, the highly placed people, should encourage and tell people that.

Individual success, collective success

However, for some participants, skills, opportunities and the opportunities provided by globalisation were more important than national identity. Vasile, who described himself as European, suggested that skills and opportunities were more important than nationality, which was purely 'academic' (in other words, unnecessary):

> My youngest son who is now in Japan, the Japanese came to recruit some special engineers… they came from Mitsubishi special in Dublin to recruit from Ireland… And they decided okay, we need some very smart people with good ideas, we go in Ireland to recruit from there. And what [*have*] they recruited? A Romanian!

Peter had similar views about the importance of individual skills, focus and taking advantage of opportunities:

> When I first came here I didn't have anything, know anything, about the media, but I decided that I wanted to be part of the media world. And I went into school and I'm almost through with the school. I have the HND in Television Production, but by May next year I will have a degree in Media Production. And my wife just finished her nursing programme this year… it's about opportunities.

Individual success could be used to make collective statements about the contribution that minority groups make to society. The participants in the Scottish focus group particularly wanted to be recognised for who they are and the contribution they had made (and can make) to Scottish society and culture, a recognition that goes beyond integration. They considered that everyone brings something rich to the culture of a country (whoever they are) and rather than suggesting that immigrants take on the culture of the host nation, it should be about the reciprocal relationship between those two cultures:

> Having something to share and to learn but having something to offer as well… You have something that is unique and you don't want to lose that (Rema).

The importance of recognition

Migrants have an impact on Scottish culture and society, for Rema they made Scotland different because of their presence and their contribution. National identity should accept how other cultures contribute to the nation (Rema, Sylvain):

> [It] should be both ways, my sense of myself is reflected in the Scottish culture and I can see that… Being Scottish almost seems like you are here and you feel Scottish… when actually there is a real contribution… of my own life experiences, my understanding (Sylvain).

Being awarded the Champion of Champions in 2010 had made Rema feel that Scotland had finally accepted and recognised the contribution of others like her:

> This was the first time I felt… I am Glaswegian in a way of accepting values and qualities that people bring into the society as well… When you're coming from a situation you think you'll be dead the next day… Scotland and Glasgow offered [a] second chance to me and my boys, and my family… I see it as act two of my life… Builds your confidence… makes you feel you belong.

The achievement of their children and families was also seen as a significant contribution towards creating that sense of recognition. Both Rema and Iqbal mentioned awards that their children had gained and their sense of pride.

A separate group within the nation

Compared with the other minority focus groups, the Russian-speakers in Estonia seemed less concerned about the need to be recognised as part of the nation. They seemed much more comfortable with their position as a separate, distinct ethnic group. Their experiences of living in Estonia were not discussed in-depth during the interview; however, it seems that they felt at home in Estonia. General evidence about Russian-speakers in Estonia gives a more mixed picture, suggesting that 20% continue to see Russia as their homeland, and about 15% see the former Soviet Union as their homeland. Around 40% have good friends amongst the Estonians, whilst 15% do not have any contact with Estonians. The most secure and satisfied Russian-speakers are those with Estonian citizenship, which it is assumed the focus-group participants had.

National museums and minority groups

This section explores the responses of the focus group participants to the four national museums (Greece, Ireland, Scotland, Estonia). Significantly, it was recognised by participants that the

experiences of minorities were excluded from national museums; they were not represented in the museum's displays, collections or audiences nor did they expect to be represented.

Excluded from the national museum

There was an overwhelming sense that minorities were excluded from and not represented in national museums. As Vasile's emphatic response illustrates when asked if he thought there was anything in the museum to represent minorities:

> No. I don't. I think there is not (Vasile, National Museum of Ireland)

In Ireland, this invisibility was seen as systemic. It reflected life in Ireland where minorities were invisible and lacked representation generally:

> Ireland is a multicultural community now. [However] you can drive round the whole of Ireland and you would not see anything to suggest that, because there's no symbols, there are nothing that would say that this country is no longer what it used to be… It is because of the system. The system is not telling you that you belong here… We don't have that spirit, not through the relationship. So it's a big problem (Peter, National Museum of Ireland).

In Greece, the Roma participants were aware of their absence in the museum on many levels and in many areas: in material culture, their contribution to Greek history and specific events which shape Roma history. The participants saw familiar objects in the museum and they were struck that such objects could be in the museum, but they are not. Moreover, despite the contribution of Roma people to Greek history this was not reflected in the museum. Lefteris highlighted that historians have overlooked the Roma, and consequently hugely significant and traumatic events are missing from the national Greek narrative, such as the genocide of the Roma in the Holocaust:

> Many Roma were killed by the Nazis. They are not here. Why? Maybe because of ignorance, maybe they do not want to mention it (Kostas).

The group were very interested in some objects and discussed whether there should be historical research into the Greek Roma and objects added to the collection:

> We would add [in the halls displaying traditional costumes] the wedding dress of the Roma (Evangellia).

> But is it different? I think it is not. It is the same like the wedding dresses of the other Greeks (Stella).

Stella's response is interesting; perhaps it demonstrates a lack of confidence? A display of a Roma wedding dress would be an ideal way to demonstrate being Greek and Roma, the display could be a place to explore many issues about Roma identity and experience.

Mis-interpretation of history

In the Estonian National Museum, the intention had been to display the collective Soviet past of Estonia in a way which was non-specific to any particular ethnic group. However, the group of Russian-speakers, whose reaction to the permanent exhibition had been one of nostalgia for the Soviet past, considered that the history of the Soviet Union in Estonia had been misinterpreted. They considered that the displays were one-sided for example, members of the Russian

intelligentsia, such as poets and scholars, were entirely absent. They also considered that an overly negative, even biased, picture had been painted of Soviet times. They pointed out that during the Soviet period people had lived both good and normal lives, some of which had been better than in the present:

> Here we are a told about a bad Soviet past. Yes, not quite everything was bad there. Well, a few things here… well, I'd like to honestly tell you, what I somehow did not really like was that… it would be nice if it would be represented by more than… well… it was not all that bad here! I would say that even here all seems miserable. Well, it was not like that (Ljudmilla, Russian, aged 53).

Limited representation

In the National Museum of Scotland, Rema suggested that 'small efforts have been made' to include the history of immigration in Scotland, but she added that, 'I think it's not enough.' Whilst there was a gallery on the experience of emigration *from* Scotland, what was missing the contribution of immigrants *to* Scotland:

> …and I was expecting more in that emigration part to say more about not only people who left this country but the people who came here… only one-way, presentation of Scottish people across the globe (Rema).

Participants considered that the museum could also do more to reflect the lengths that people go to in ensuring their cultural survival, whether its heritage, language, music or textiles. As Sylvain commented, 'It feels sad not to somehow acknowledge that in the museum… it's part of history in progress.' Participants wanted more examples in the museum that were relevant to their lives and experiences. Looking around the museum, Iqbal found two examples: a display on import of jute (material) from Pakistan to Scotland and an Asian businesswoman who had built up a catering business. These were examples which he felt could help to create a sense of familiarity, attachment and relevance. Rema wanted 'to have as a mark of their life here' things from her culture in Kosovo. Equally Peter (National Museum of Ireland) and Sylvain(National Museum of Scotland) wanted their children to be able to find out about their African background and heritage in the museum.

Why was representation so important?

Participants saw representation in the museum equating with recognition and a more realistic picture of the contemporary nation in which they (and the wider community) lived. As diverse societies, the museum should reflect these:

> [They should be] more representative of the communities that live in Scotland… we're a very multi-cultural society… people living here should be part of that museum (Khalida, National Museum of Scotland).

One Russian-speaker in Estonia (unidentified) would have liked to have interpretation in the museum in the Russian language. In the opinion of the participant, it would enable Russian speakers to be more engaged, symbolically, with the museum, but it would also demonstrate that they were welcome:

> And then I still have a small remark that since I like a lot of friends and acquaintances who come from Russia, who do not speak Estonian, well someone speaks English, some French, some German, not very fond of the guides, and like usual, then when we go

> somewhere, we always visit, go to places. It is quite difficult to learn here and that would be nice, if one and a half, well, two and a half lines, would be there. This is because it would have been more so to say, it seems to me more appealing to me as a Russian, it's like a balm to the soul, because I see native Cyrillic, no matter what I know the Estonian language and can read it all perfectly, but such a small a wish.

In Scotland and Ireland, migration has been part of the nation's development and participants agreed it should be reflected throughout the museum, in Scotland's case, for many centuries. Participants in the focus groups were much more open to the idea that culture is dynamic and fluid rather than static, made up of many different influences. As the participants in Scotland noted, their culture and traditions have had an influence on Scotland and that should be recognised in the museum:

> We're part of history, we migrated here, developed businesses, schools… everything that we do should be part of museums as well (Khalida, National Museum of Scotland).

Evgenia (Estonian National Museum) thought it was important for everyone to see and understand their history; the Soviet past was not just Russian history but part of Estonia's national identity:

> And, the story is always important, everyone should know the history of the nationality or the district where he lives, it is even necessary.

The Roma were interested in the role the national museum can play in the pride and empowerment of the wider Roma community:

> They [the Roma] could come here and say look, we have done this and that (Stella).

> It [the museum] could help by making the Gypsy conscious of his past… The museum could help our work as intermediaries… It can create positive images [not] stereotypes (Lefteris).

However, Natalie (National Museum of Ireland) was sceptical about the ability of the national museum to accomplish what was being asked of it, namely to represent a very recent history and experience of the nation:

> Museums are pretty slow-moving, they're very, very staid institutions… so I wouldn't expect to walk into this collection and see a reflection of Ireland as it is now or in the last fifteen years.

There was little consensus over how the museum should represent minority groups, with many different models

There were diverse views over how national museums might represent minority groups. Suggestions included working with artists and performers and greater links with the colonial past to understand migration in Scotland or with contemporary history to understand migration in Ireland. Given the levels of exclusion it is hardly surprising there was little consensus about how museums could start to represent minorities. However, there was a huge willingness to be part of the process and a desire to achieve greater inclusion.

A separate museum?: Sylvain found the name of the national museum exclusive and suggested that it could be changed:

> Even thinking about the title The National Museum of Scotland and what that means to me, that it's about Scottish… nationals.

He suggested that a better name for it would be 'National Museum of Scotland in the World.' Going further, Iqbal suggested that there could be a separate museum to represent the experiences of minority groups, for instance a 'National Museum of Cultural Diversity.' However, other participants insisted that it was critical to be integrated into the existing museum, because a separate museum or gallery would only reinforce marginalisation:

> I think it needs to be integrated so you don't feel any different from everyone else. Everyone should feel that they are part of the whole thing… We are already pigeonholed as minorities as it is… we don't want to be pigeonholed (Khalida, National Museum of Scotland).

There was similar caution from the Roma group. Nobody wanted the establishment of a separate Roma museum and there was a similar desire not to be marginalised further:

> We do not want something separate. We want to be part of the wider society (Kostas).

A focus on lives and experiences: Participants in Scotland and Ireland placed great importance on using the national museum to tell 'real life stories about people.' Suggestions included a photographic exhibition representing people of different backgrounds, or a more specific focus on Irish people who are Nigerian. Natalie wanted to explore the links between the ceramic collections and people's lives. Vasile suggested that there could be a focus on Roma people across Europe:

> But here in Ireland you see also this problem, about gypsy people. I think that would be very interesting, a corner in every European museum, about their culture. Beside history, cultural and all what makes gypsy people, because gypsy are over all Europe… they came in Europe more than 2,000 years. They are very old in Europe.

In Scotland, Khalida suggested that there could be images of people talking about their experiences of coming to Scotland and settling there. She suggested that it would not be a difficult task for the museum to put in (for example) a display of objects that people had brought with them when they moved to Scotland, and why.

Surprisingly, when talking about what could be included in the Estonian National Museum, the Russian-speaking group did not focus on representing the present-day Russian speaking population of Estonia but on a specific minority, living in the coastal areas of Lake Peipsi. The participants suggested that the museum could invite the Russian Old-Believer community, with their rich religious and traditional cultural life, to make their contribution to the museum:

> Because they have a very interesting history and the lives they have also [are] interesting (Evgenia).

Perhaps the group understood that by suggesting a long-established Russian-speaking group, issues of how Russian-speakers are conceived as part of Estonian society can begin to be explored. It could be much more difficult to begin a dialogue with the recent, very challenging, and still raw history of the Soviet occupation.

Minorities: ideas of Europe

The views of minority groups on Europe and the EU varied dramatically, from the Roma in Greece, who were very confident and positive about their European identity, to Russian speakers in Estonia, who were uncertain, even sceptical, about the notion of Europe and questioned what

it meant to them. For some minorities, especially those whose roots lie outside Europe, the notion of European identity or citizenship had both positive and negative aspects. As suggested in chapter five, *Ideas of Europe*, it was not always clear when participants used the word 'Europe' whether they were referring to Europe (the place) or the EU (the political community).

The concept of European identity can equally exclude and include

For some minority participants the concept of European *identity* created another layer of exclusion. In addition to feeling excluded from the concept of national identity in Scotland, Sylvain struggled with the question of whether European identity could be inclusive. Coming from outside of Europe, to Sylvain it seemed constraining:

> To me the word European is a bit like the word Scottish… It tells you, you're not one of us… To me as an African person… I must admit there's a part of me which almost feels rejected, hearing that.

He elaborated on his experience:

> I do want to [belong] but as soon as I'm told something about Europe, [it] means for me I'm "other than."

Was there a distinction to be made between European identity, with its possible connotations of birth and belonging, and a concept of citizenship based on membership of the EU? Peter (National Museum of Ireland) was very aware of the legal benefits of the EU, which actively enabled him to remain in Irish society. He highlighted that Ireland had been repatriating immigrants, even if their children had been born in Ireland, but the EU had put a stop to the practice through the European Court of Justice. The Court had ruled:

> No, you can't do that. An Irish child has the right to live in Europe with their parents… You can't deport them… as long as that child is Irish with a passport, the parents have got the right to work.

Peter regarded this action by the EU as an example of how European citizenship could be inclusive, and it is this idea of European *identity* that should be reflected in museums.

The Roma were also very confident about their European identity and citizenship. They clearly felt part of Europe and had a significant amount of contact with other Roma communities and organisations across it. They talked about a network of conferences for Roma held in different parts of Europe, and were advocates for EU programmes because they knew that these could change lives. However, although they were aware that EU money had been set aside to support the integration of the Roma community, there was some concern as to how it had been spent:

> There has been so much money given for the integration of the Roma community… But where did all this money go? Some people got the money, and very little has been done (Kostas).

Also despite their strong European identity, four of the five participants had no direct experience outside Greece as they not travelled in Europe. However, the right to travel freely in Europe was nevertheless important to them and they relished the idea of freedom it gave them:

> As Greeks we can go anywhere in Europe and be proper European citizens. No one will know that we are Roma and nobody will care (Kostas).

Can a collective European identity work?

It was not European integration that concerned the Roma; it was integration into Greek society which was more pressing and more important. The same can be said for Khalida (National Museum of Scotland), who had to feel accepted in her home (Scotland) before she could even consider thinking about Europe:

> But to feel European you have to feel strongly that you belong to the country that you live in, then feel part of a bigger union… I feel I have to belong to Scotland and I'm Scottish before I feel European and part of a bigger collection of countries.

In her opinion, there were positive and negative aspects to a collective European identity:

> It is good to have this collectivism but then I think at the same time you're excluding those who are out of that.

Several participants found it difficult to conceive of an inclusive European identity and who or what it would include. In Sylvain's opinion, the word European confined identity in the same way that national identity can be confining. It makes it seem that 'European' is the only identity that exists and excludes all others:

> …inclusive identity means an amalgamation… we have amalgamated ourselves into Europe but we want to be seen… [we] need to exist as we are.

Is 'European-ness' a way of reconciling conflicted identities?

It was possible, although not always clear, that 'European-ness' offered a way for people to reconcile their conflicted national identity. Vasile (National Museum of Ireland) appeared to define himself through a collective European identity. He explained that he had never applied for an Irish passport, although many other people had applied for one: 'I said no, because I am European.' Vasile was positive about his European identity, speaking as though he had chosen it. Maria (National Museum of Ireland) also thought in terms of being European, but appeared to be more hesitant. European-ness for her seemed to be something that was inherited or imposed by the past. Maria told the story of her parent's history, which was important to her because it reflected the challenges of establishing one's identity:

> My great Grandfather was a prisoner of war. That's how he met his wife who was Hungarian in Transylvania. They stayed there for a while. They had several children. They brought them over [to Russia] and my Grandmother, when they moved to Russia, she didn't speak a word of Russian, but because they were living in a small village [the villagers] couldn't speak Hungarian… everybody was laughing at them because nobody could understand what they were saying.

Manuela said that she felt European, but this appeared to be based on her mixed identity (Romanian, Irish) rather than a conscious acceptance of a distinctive European identity.

Europe: a problematic concept?

The most consistently uncertain, even sceptical, view of Europe came from the group of Russian-speakers in Estonia. However, it was not clear whether they were uncertain about the idea of Europe (the place, culture), the EU, or both. The group agreed that being part of Europe gave them the freedom to travel, which was not possible in the Soviet period, but beyond that, the women were more or less indifferent about the place of Europe in their lives:

> There used to be a citizen of the Soviet Union and now the European Union. My address is not home and my street address EU.

Either they did not care or it did not matter to them whether people were Estonian, Russian, or European, they were just people. That appears to be the meaning of this second speaker:

> I can say, I feel the same way as in Soviet times. I did not care if I communicated with Estonians or Russian because as they say... all nationalities have all sorts of people and in this I do not know what's changed.

The concept of being European seemed an unfocused, even abstract idea to the women. They compared how once people had been *eseserovtsy* or people of the USSR 'but now the[y are] Europeans' (Galina). They also questioned what it meant to be European by presenting an alternative perspective to the territory covered by the EU: to these Russian women, geographically Europe reached all the way to the Ural mountains, after which Siberia or Asia starts. The geographic centre of Europe is therefore located in the Ukraine in the Carpathian mountains. Galina concluded that she remained uncertain: 'Who the Europeans are, that I do not know.'

Conclusion

Minorities are part of every European country and this research involved representatives of minority groups from four nations, Estonia, Ireland, Scotland and Greece. Collectively, they form a substantial section of the European population. The experiences of the minorities involved in the focus groups varied considerably, but together they shared many views about their identity and the role of national museums in providing representation and recognition of minority groups.

Most visitors to national museums seemed unaware of the existence or the need for the inclusion of minorities in the national museum. Even those visitors who were conscious that minority groups were missing from the museum, there was a dissonance between their views, and the views of the minority groups, which suggests that there is a limited understanding of the lives and experiences of minority groups.

Many people from minority groups do not visit museums. They face a whole range of barriers that exclude them; they may lack confidence and have limited access to education. Because they have been excluded from the mainstream elements of society, they expect not to be represented in the national museum, and with the four museums in this study, this turned out to be the case.

Personal and national identity is especially complex and important to minorities because they are constantly negotiating their relationship with a dominant culture, which at worst abuses them, at best represents them to a limited extent in the national museum. Many experience exclusion and lack of understanding on a day-to-day basis in their lives. Some minorities have a very strong sense of identity, based on specific roots, culture or ethic group, although these are rarely valued by the wider community. Some minorities find that their identity is always 'between two worlds' and they may be even more isolated.

Most minorities want to be recognised and their contribution to the nation and to Europe acknowledged publicly, including in national museums. Most of them agreed that national museums were significant institutions for presenting the real diversity of nations, conveying the lives and experiences of minority groups throughout history as well as in the present, and for

passing on heritage and roots to younger generations. Participants wanted to be represented for who they are and be recognised for the contribution they make. They wanted to be able to take their families to the museum and show them that contribution. The challenge is for national museums to consider how they can re-interpret the notion of national identity, and national history, so that *everyone* is represented, which includes minorities.

Minorities are present in all European countries, and are an integral part of society. However, can national identity and history in the museum be defined in a way that does not just represent the dominant majority, as it does at present? Consultation and collaboration with minorities is critical to this process. The lack of consensus over how to represent their lives and experiences - for example whether they are integrated into the national museum or a separate museum - is to be expected considering their lack of involvement, and the lack of precedent, in the construction of national identity.

How far could, and should, national museums go in building more equitable and inclusive societies? How politically conscious are they about shaping national identity? How ethical is it for them to continue to passively exclude minority groups whose need for inclusion and a sense of belonging is perhaps greater than the majority in the nation? What role could museums play in supporting that sense of belonging? Is it acceptable for museums to be, 'slow-moving, they're very, very staid institutions'(Natalie)? Minority group participants wanted national museums to be more political, more conscious of the current context and to actively stop excluding them.

Appendix 1: Visitor Protocol -Qualitative Research WP6

Theme	Questions
A. Context	A1. Do you visit museums often and what kind of museums?
B. Visiting this museum	B1. Why have you visited the museum today? (With anyone?) B2. How often do you visit this museum? (1st time /regular) B3. What parts of the museum have you seen? • which parts were interesting • not interesting
C. Demographic	C1. Approx age C2. M/F C3. Where were you born? Where have you lived?
D. Identity	D1. How would you define your identity? D2. What does it mean to be Scottish? Prompts -characteristics, place, culture, ethnicity
E. National identity and the museum	You are in a national museum which is about the history of Scotland E1. How does the Museum show what it means to be Scottish? • Are there any displays / objects etc. which show this? E2. What ideas does the museum give you about Scotland's • People? • Places? • History? • Relationship with wider world? E3. What are the most important stories in the museum about Scotland? (Probe as necessary) • When was Scotland at its peak? (Golden moment) • Enemies of the Scots (conflict) • Scotland as the workshop of the world (Maritime) • Origins – story of Scotland as a nation o Who are the Scots? o Where do they come from? o When did Scotland begin?

	You are in a national museum which is about the history of Scotland E4. How important do you think this history is to being Scottish? (to your national identity?) E5. How important is this history to you personally? E6. How important do you think this museum is to Scotland as a nation?
F. Messages	F1. Name three things which represent your nation or which your nation should proud of? • Why? • How well are these things represented in the museum? Name three things which represent Scotland as a nation or which Scotland should proud of? • Why? • How well are these things represented in the museum? F2. If this museum is telling the story of Scotland, are there particular stories, individuals or groups that seem to be missing? • Specific events missing • Specific objects missing
G. Europe	We are interested in how Scotland relates to the wider world, in particular to Europe G1. What does being European mean to you? G2. Does this museum show any relationships between Scotland and its neighbours and with Europe more generally? G3. Do you think museums like this should be making visitors feel part of Europe? If so, how might they do this?

Appendix 2: Participant data for the 6 museums

A2.1 Collective data for the six national museums

Museum visitors only	**Ireland**	**Scotland**	**Latvia**	**Estonia**	**Greece**	**Germany**	**Total**	**Total %**
Individual	11	13	17	17	19	11	88	53.0%
Group	17	26	3	8	10	14	78	47.0%
Male	11	17	8	9	13	13	71	42.8%
Female	17	22	12	16	16	12	95	57.2%
Under 18	1	3	0	3	1	1	9	5.4%
18-30	9	9	7	8	10	9	52	31.3%
31-45	4	8	8	5	8	7	40	24.1%
46-65	9	16	5	5	7	6	48	28.9%
Over 65	5	2	0	0	1	2	10	6.0%
Unknown	0	1	0	4	2	0	7	4.2%
							166	
National	16	21	17	15	22	17	108	65.1%
Non-national	12	18	3	10	7	8	58	34.9%
Non-national visitors only								
European	4	17	3	10	7	5	46	79.3%
Non-European	8	1	0	0	0	3	12	20.7%
							58	100.0%
Employment								
Working	9	10	12	6	21	11	69	41.6%
Studying	8	2	4	4	5	6	29	17.5%

Museum visitors only	Ireland	Scotland	Latvia	Estonia	Greece	Germany	Total	Total %
Working / studying			1				1	0.6%
Not working or studying		5			2	2	9	5.4%
Retired	8	8	1	1	1	1	20	12.0%
Unknown	3	14	2	14		5	38	22.9%
							166	100.0%
Education								
School / College	1		4	2	3		10	6.0%
Further / University	10	8	9	5	2	6	40	24.1%
Postgraduate	1	3	0		3		7	4.2%
Unknown	16	28	7	18	21	19	109	65.7%
							166	100.0%

Minority groups only	Ireland	Scotland	Estonia	Greece	Total
Male	2	2	0	2	6
Female	5	3	5	3	16
					22
Under 18	1				
18-30	2		1	2	5
31-45	4	2	1	2	9
46-65	1	3	2	1	7
Over 65			1		1
					22
Born in Europe	4	1	3	5	13
Born outside Europe	3	4	2	0	9
					22
Employment					

Minority groups only	**Ireland**	**Scotland**	**Estonia**	**Greece**	**Total**
Working	4	3	1	4	12
Studying	1				1
Working / studying	1			1	2
Not working or studying		1			1
Retired					
Unknown	1	1	4		6
					22
Education					
School / College	1			3	4
University	2				2
Postgraduate		1			1
Unknown	4	4	5	2	15
					22

A2.2 Employment categories for types of employment reported by 88 visitors to the six museums

Group	Type	Number
Medical and related	Doctor (x2) Nurse (also worked in factories) Radiographer Vet Medical School	6
Education	Teacher (x4) High School Teacher (x4) Science teacher (former medical researcher, worked in pharmaceuticals) Physics teacher (formerly an engineer) History and French teacher Physics teacher (previously worked for Ferranti) Biologist and teacher Music teacher (Summer camp) History teacher	15
Museums, libraries and heritage	Museum staff (x3) Museum director (x2) Museum curator Tour Guide (x2) Librarian (x2)	10
University-related	Lecturer Technician, University Researcher and lecturer in maths/physics	3
Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	Anthropologist Historian (x3) Sociologist Archaeologist (trained but not practising) Philologist, linguist and ethnologist	7
Finance and related	Work in a bank (x3) Accountancy firm Stockbroker Work in finance Accountant (x2)	8

Group	Type	Number
Creative and design	Graphic designer Photographer (self-employed) Fashion designer Textiles DJ, Journalist Designer	6
Social and infrastructure	Railway worker Public sector Telecommunications company Labour relations	4
General office-based	Secretary Office worker in parliament Office worker Manager Businessman Company employee	6
Legal and related	Patent lawyer	1
Community	Youth worker	1
Language	Translator (x2)	2
Engineering	Engineer (x4)	4
Land and property	Real Estate company	1
Self-employed	Self-employed (x2) Shop-owner	3
Other	Professional (x11)	11

Estonian National Museum

Table A2.3 Overview of visitor characteristics

NB: 'Type' refers to type of interview, I (individual) and G (group)

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Lilane	I	F	60s	French	Former museum curator in Paris, noted the museum in her guide as 'important'	Museum curator		Retired
Victor	G	M	21	Romanian	From Bucharest. Like to visit museums in different countries to find out about the country and its history.			
Alexandru	G	M	21	Romanian	From Bucharest. Like to visit museums in different countries to find out about the country and its history.			
Piret-Klea	I	F	30s	Estonian	From Tallinn. First time visit to the museum, interested in museums, art and design and ethnic costume			
Cecile	I	F	30s	French	Historian. Married to an Estonian. Living in the Netherlands but has also lived in Tallinn. First visit to the museum (has tried to come before but it was closed)	Historian		Working
Pieter	I	M		Dutch	Born in the Netherlands but does not live there. Interested in ethnological and historical museums			
Helen	I	F	18-30	Estonian	Originally from Tartu. Visiting with a			

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
					friend who now lives in Denmark to remind him of his Estonian roots.			
Benedicte	G	F	48	French	Sociologist from Paris. Interested in ethnography. Lived in Africa.	Sociologist		Working
Caynam	G	M	15	French	Visiting the museum with his mother, Benedicte			
Mark	I	M	27	Estonian & Russian	Born in Tartu and living in Tallinn for 8 years. Student at the University. Ukranian father and Estonian / Mordvian roots from his mother's side. Mixed identity, Russian and Estonian. Visiting the museum in connection to work - to learn about the architecture of Estonia	Student	University	Studying
Kuldar	I	M	44	Estonian	Originally from Tallinn. Doctor. Came to see a temporary exhibition at the museum	Doctor		Working
Silvi	I	F	30s	Estonian	From Otepää. School teacher. Came to see the temporary exhibitions but also brings her students to the museum	Teacher		Working
Ivo	I	M	60s	Estonian	Born in Petseri (an area of Estonia under Russian administration). Lived in Tartu since 1962. Rarely visits museums - just wanted to see it. The last time the museum was closed.			
Ilona	I	F		Estonian	Originally from Tallinn, living in the UK. Visiting the museum for the first time. Considers herself Ingeri (NE Estonia,			

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
					Finnish Ugric people)			
Tom	G	M	20s	Belgian	Flemish. Visiting the museum with Lore			
Lore	G	F	20s	Belgian	Flemish. Former exchange student in Tartu. Wanted to show Tom something about Estonia		University	
Saima	I	F		Estonian	Originally from Tartu. Biologist and has worked as a teacher. Likes to visit art museums and has been several times to the Estonian national museum	Biologist and teacher		Working
Egle	G	F	16-18	Estonian	High school student. From Nõo - originally from Central Estonia. Walking round the area and decided to visit the museum.	Student	School	Studying
Kaia-Liisa	G	F	16-18	Estonian	High school student. From Nõo - originally from Central Estonia. Walking round the area and decided to visit the museum.	Student	School	Studying
Eva	I	F	55	European	Lived in Estonia for 18 years, now lives in Paris. Mother Italian, father from Portugal - born and raised in France. Philologist, linguist and ethnologist. Has visited the national museum over 50 times	Philologist, linguist and ethnologist.		
Ester	I	F	46-65	Estonian	Lives in Finland, originally from Tartu. On holiday and wanted to visit the museum as Tartu has been important in her life			

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Eve	I	F		Estonian	From North Estonia. Studied bibliography and religious studies. Visited the museum when a school pupil, now on holiday and saw publicity for the museum		University	
Anneli	I	F	31-45	Estonian	Lived in Tartu all her life. Visiting for professional reasons - teaching musical instruments to children	Teaching musical instruments to children (Summer camp)		Working
Ragnar	I	M	25	Estonian	From Paide but stayed in Tartu after graduating from the University. Visiting the museum for the first time		University	
Aljona	I	F	20-23	Estonian	Ethnology student	Ethnology student	University	Studying

Table A2.4: Participants in the focus group

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Evgenia (E.Zh)	F	72	Russian	Born in Novgorod but moved to Estonia in 1946			
Galina (GT)	F	46	Russian	Born in Byelorussia. Family in the military and moved to Estonia when 4 months old.			
Svetlana (SB)	F	35	Russian	Born in Estonia. Home is in South Estonia but feels Russian			

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Ljudmilla (LM)	F	53	Russian	Born in Estonia. Jewish, Ukranian and Russian heritage. Considers herself Russian. Working as a teacher, visited the museum previously with her students.	Teacher		Working
Valentina (VT)	F	24	Russian	Born in Estonia. Father was in the military			

Latvian Open-Air Museum

Table A2.5: Museum visitors who participated in interviews

NB: 'Type' refers to type of interview, I (individual) and G (group)

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Andis	I	M	40	Latvian	From Riga - taking a walk	Office worker in parliament	Higher	Working
Baiba	I	F	55	Latvian	From Vidzeme - regular visitor to the museum	Accountant		Working
Dace	I	F	60-65	Latvian	From Limbazi - rarely visits the museum. Had come with her daughter		School	Retired
Inese	I	F	30-35	Latvian	From Riga. Regular visitor to the museum with her small daughters	Teacher	Higher	Working
Iveta G	I	F	40-45	Latvian	From Vidzeme. Visiting with her small son	Office worker	School	Working
Iveta P	I	F	30	Latvian	Born in Latgale - visited museum with her husband to collect ideas for a country house development	Manager	Higher	Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Inga	I	F	40-45	Latvian	From Vidzeme. Attending museum with friends to relax	Accountant	School	Working
Janis	I	M	28-30	Latvian	From Riga. Walking around the site	Student	Higher	Working / studying
Beata	I	F	45	Polish	Born in Latvia, from Riga. Attending museum with 2 teenage children	Translator	Higher	Working
Helmut	I	M	65	German	Lives in Bavaria. Visiting museum with a tourist group	Tour Guide		Working
Alise	I	F	21-23	Russian	Lives locally. Latvian speaking Russian of mixed origin. Wanted to relax in a familiar environment	Student	Higher	Studying
Haviy	I	M	60-65	German	Lives in Czech Republic. Visiting for the second time, had some free time			
Ernests	I	M	33-37	Latvian	From Riga. Entered the museum without a ticket - treats it like a park. Describes himself as some who feels 'misplaced.'	DJ, Journalist		
Eleonora	G	F	20-25	Latvian	Regional Russian origin.	Student	Higher	Studying
Harijs	G	M	25-30	Latvian	From Riga.	Engineer		Working
Verners	G	M	32-37	Latvian	From Riga.	Translator		Working
Ilze	I	F	25-28	Latvian	From Northern Latvia. Visited the museum regularly in childhood	Student	Higher	Studying
Kakhaber	I	M	40	Georgian	Living in Germany with Latvians. Interested in finding out about Latvian history	Designer		Working
Zane	I	F	30-35	Latvian	From Northern Latvia. Had some free time and spent it at the museum	Teacher	Higher	Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Signija	I	F	18	Latvian	From Riga. Visiting to refresh her memory	Student	School	Studying

German Historical Museum in Berlin

Table A2.6 Overview of visitor characteristics

NB: 'Type' refers to type of interview, I (individual) and G (group)

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Martin	I	M	46-65	German	Born and lives in Berlin. Historian, unemployed.	Visits museums regularly and prefers history museums but also likes art museums and exhibitions, science museums	Historian		Not working or studying
Stephan	I	M	31-45	German	Born and lives in Berlin. Employee at a kiosk, Open-Air Museum in Zehlendorf. Identifies as an anarchist	Visits museums regularly and prefers history museums	Museum staff		Working
Sebastian	I	M	18-30	German	Born and raised in Bamberg, Bavaria. Lives in Berlin, graphic designer in the private sector	Visits museums regularly, prefers art museums	Graphic designer		Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Bernhard	I	M	over 65	German	Born in East Prussia / Poland. Lived in Ruhrgebiet, now in Muenster. Retired, worked on the railways	Visits museums regularly as a tourist	Railway worker		Retired
Carsten	G	M	31-45	German	Born in Bielefeld, lives in Berlin. Works in the private sector for a real estate company	Visits museums regularly, likes science museums	Real Estate company		Working
Kort	G	M	31-45	German	Born in North Germany. Works in the private sector (banking) in Hamburg. Visiting Berlin for business reasons	Not a regular museum visitor.	Banking		Working
Andrea	I	F	18-30	German	Born in East Germany. Works in the private sector in Berlin for Deutsche Telekom (telecommunications)		Telecommuni-cations company		Working
Lieselotte	I	F	over 65	German	Born and lived in Cologne, lives now in Wuppertal	Visits museums regularly as a tourist			
Harald	G	M	46-65	German	Born and lives in Darmstadt. History teacher - often visits museums with his students.	Visits museums regularly as a schoolteacher with his class, Prefers	History teacher		Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
						history and cultural history museums			
Vera	G	F	46-65	German	Born and lives in Darmstadt.	Not a regular museum visitor - prefers art museums and exhibitions and natural history museums			
Ulrich	I	M	46-65	German	Born in East Germany. Tourist guide in Berlin.	Not a regular museum visitor - prefers cultural history museums	Tourist Guide		Working
Anna	I	F	18-30	German	Born in Baden-Baden. Lived in Paris and New York. Student in Berlin	Visits museums regularly, prefers art museums	Student	University	Student
Maria	I	F	31-45	German	Lives in Heidelberg, used to live in Berlin.	Not a regular museum visitor - prefers art museums and exhibitions			
Jory	G	F	18-30	Dutch	Student in Utrecht. Born in Rotterdam	Visits museums regularly as a	Student	University	Student

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
						tourist			
Jakob	G	M	18-30	Dutch	Student in Utrecht. Born in Amsterdam	Visits museums regularly, prefers art museums	Student	University	Student
Ulrike	I	F	18-30	German	Born in East Germany. Lives in Berlin. Historian, unemployed	Visits museums regularly and prefers history and cultural history museums	Historian		No
Synthia	G	F	18-30	German	Born and lives near Freiburg. Works in the public sector.	Visits museums regularly as a tourist. Prefers history museums	Public sector		Working
Lukas	G	M	under 18	German	Born and lives near Freiburg. Student	Visits museums regularly as a tourist or on school trips	Student	University	Student
Liz	G	F	55-65	British	Born and lives in Newcastle	Visits museums regularly, prefers art museums			
Ron	G	M	55-65	British	Born and lives in Newcastle	Visits museums regularly, prefers art museums			

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Jamie	G	F	31	Canadian	Born in Toronto and lives in Halifax. Professional in medical school	Visits museums regularly as a tourist - prefers history museums and natural history museums	Medical School		Working
Geoff	G	M	31	Canadian	Born and lives in Halifax. Engineer	Visits museums regularly as a tourist - prefers history museums and natural history museums	Engineer		Working
Annie	G	F	18-30	Hungarian	Student in the USA, studies International Relations. Summer course at Humboldt University		Student - International Relations	University	Student
Zhen	G	F	18-30	Chinese	Student in London, studying Material Engineering. Summer course at Humboldt University		Student - material engineering	University	Student
Boris	I	M	31-45	German	Born and raised in Hanover. Lives in Berlin. Self-employed photographer.	Not a regular museum visitor.	Photographer		Working

National History Museum, Athens

Table A2.7: Museum visitors who participated in interviews

NB: 'Type' refers to type of interview, I (individual) and G (group)

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Panagiota	G	F		Greek Cypriot	Born and lives in Cyprus, professionals	Regular visitor to museums	Professional		Working
Giorgos	G	M		Greek Cypriot	Born and lives in Cyprus, professionals	Regular visitor to museums	Professional		Working
Anna	I	F	31-45	Greek	Lives in Athens. Unemployed university graduate	Regular visitor to museums		University	Not working or studying
Nikos A	I	M	18-30	Greek	Born and lives in Athens. University graduate and librarian. Post-graduate studies in the UK	Interested in archaeological, art and history museums	Librarian	Postgraduate	Working
Konstantinos	I	M	31-45	Greek	Born and lives in Athens. Professional	Motivated to visit museums by reading books	Professional		Working
Pier	I	M	46-65	Danish	Lives in Copenhagen. Museum Director	Museum professional	Museum Director		Working
Vassilis	G	M	18-30	Greek	Born and lives in Athens. High school teacher	Interested in archaeological, art and history museums	High School Teacher		Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Avgoustidis	G	M	18-30	Greek	Born in Greece, lives in Athens. High school teacher	Regular visitor to museums	High School Teacher		Working
Leonidas	G	M	31-45	Greek	Born and live in Messolonghi. Professional	Regular visitor to museums	Professional		Working
Evangelia	G	F	31-45	Greek	Born and live in Messolonghi. Unemployed archaeologist	Regular visitor to museums	Archaeologist		Not working or studying
Konstantina	G	F	18-30	Greek	Born and lives in Athens. College student	Interested in archaeological, art and history museums	Student	College	Student
Nikos B	G	M	18-30	Greek	Born and lives in Tripoli. College students	Interested in archaeological, art and history museums	Student	College	Student
John	I	M	46-65	Spanish	Born and lives in Barcelona. Professional	Visits museums when on holiday, visiting a city or country other than their homeland	Professional		Working
Maria A	I	F	18-30	Greek	Post-graduate student in heritage management, in Athens	Visits museums as part of a postgraduate degree programme	Student	Postgraduate	Student

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Nektaria	I	F	under 18	Greek	Born and lives in Thermo. High school student - writes poetry.	General interest in history, art etc and likes to visit the New Acropolis Museum	Student	School	Student
Maria B	I	F	46-65	Greek	Born and lives in Athens. Professional	Visits museums when on holiday, visiting a city or country other than their homeland	Professional		Working
Demetra	I	F	over 65	Greek	Born in Piraeus and lives in Athens. Retired. Immigrant worker in Germany who was repatriated	Has been issued a 'culture card' which allows senior citizens free entry to museums and archaeological sites - trying to take full advantage of it. Likes folk museums			Retired
Marilena	I	F	46-65	Greek	Born and lives in Athens. Shop-owner	Regular visitor to museums	Shop-owner		Working
Elizabeth	I	F	46-65	Polish	Born and lives in Poland. Professional	Interested in archaeological, art and history museums	Professional		Working
Eugenie	G	F	31-45	French	Born in France and lives in Paris. Professional and 'curious wanderer' of the world	Regular visitor to museums	Professional		Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Anicet	G	M	31-45	French	Born in France and lives in Paris. Professional	Regular visitor to museums	Professional		Working
Filippa	I	F	18-30	Portuguese	Born and lives in Lisbon. Museum professional.	Museum professional	Museum Professional		Working
Javier	I	M	18-30	Portuguese	Born in Madeira and lives in Lisbon. Company employee	Visits museums when on holiday, visiting a city or country other than their homeland	Company employee		Working
Alexia	I	F	18-30	Greek-Swiss	Born and lives in Switzerland. Professional	Regular visitor to museums	Professional		Working
Eleni	I	F	31-45	Greek	Born in Greece and lives in Athens. High school teacher	Visits museums as part of her job. Would never visit a modern art museum.	High School Teacher		Working
Ioannis	I	M	31-45	Greek - Australian	Born in Melbourne and lives in Kozani (Greece). Repatriated. Works in Finance	General interest in history, art etc and likes to visit the New Acropolis Museum and museums about the War of Independence	Finance		Working
Victoria	I	F	46-65	Greek	Born in Greece and lives in Athens. High school teacher	Regular visitor to museums especially progressive museums which use digital technology	High School Teacher		Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Georgia	I	F	18-30	Greek	Born and lives in Thessaloniki. University graduate in history, about to begin post-graduate study in history	Visits museums when on holiday, visiting a city or country other than their homeland. Likes modern art museums and folk museums	Student	Postgraduate	Student
Thodoris	I	M	46-65	Greek - Australian	Born in Aeghio (Greece) and lives between Australia and Greece. Studied archaeology but does not practice. Professional	Regular visitor to museums	Professional	University	Working

Table A2.8: Participants in the focus group

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Working
Stella	F	35-45	Greek - Roma	Roma community, lives in Ag. Barbara (district in Athens). Attends 'Second Chance Night High School' to become a nurse when she graduates	Familiar with museums but not previously visited the National History Museum	Student Nurse		Working
Evangellia	F	18-30	Greek - Roma	From Lesvos. Roma community, lives in Ag. Barbara (district in Athens). Part of a four-year art programme organised by the Ministry of Culture. Graduated in photography and taken part in photography exhibitions. Speaks English.	Familiar with museums but not previously visited the National History Museum	Art programme		Working
Kostas	M	40-45	Greek - Roma	Roma community, lives in Ag. Barbara (district in Athens). Group 'leader' and member of local authority council of Ag. Barbara	Familiar with museums but not previously visited the National History Museum	Member of local authority, Ag. Barbara		Working
Barbara	F	18-30	Greek - Roma	From Lesvos. Roma community, lives in Ag. Barbara (district in Athens). Graduated from high school and trained as a beautician	Familiar with museums but not previously visited the National History Museum	Beautician		Working
Lefteris	M	30-35	Greek - Roma	Roma community, lives in Ag. Barbara (district in Athens). Trainee solicitor who graduated from Second Chance Night High School. Various jobs in the past.	Familiar with museums but not previously visited the National History Museum	Trainee Solicitor		Working

National Museums Ireland (Collins Barracks branch), Dublin

Table A2.9: Museum visitors who participated in interviews

NB: 'Type' refers to type of interview, I (individual) and G (group)

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Annette	I	F	50+	Irish	Retired. Born and grew up in Dublin and left school early to work. Moved to England and gained a degree. Worked as a lecturer. Now sees Hull as her home.	Frequent visitor to design museums or galleries	Lecturer	University	Retired
Bronagh	I	F	18	Irish	Sports scholarship to a US college	Wanted to see the museum before leaving Dublin		University	Student
Chris	I	M	34	English	Born and lives in Portsmouth in England. Football fan, gay, interested in literature and modern art.	Frequent museum visitor.			
Henry	I	M	71	Irish	Retired, member of Old Dublin Society (historical). Born and lives in Dublin and worked in a detoxification unit for drug users.	Visits museums often, especially on holiday			Retired
Jimmy	I	M	67	Irish	Born and lives near Dublin. Retired businessman, socialist and	Retired - more time to visit	Businessman		Retired

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
					union representative.	museums			
Linda	I	F	50	Irish	Born in County Dublin and lives outside the city. Member of staff at the museum, Visitor Services.		Museum staff		Working
Eamonn	I	M	30	Irish	Socialist, Republican and anti-EU. Interested in coins and ambition is to work in television. Went to University in Ireland.	Rarely visits museums - associated with school trips		University	
Harry	I	M	60+	Canadian	Ancestors from Scotland and England. Legal training and archive experience, Director with responsibility for museums in provincial government. Came to see the museum buildings	Professional interest in museum - visits often, especially when on holiday	Museum director		Working
Helen	G	F	50	Australian	Of Irish descent - retired and lives in Australia. Interested in family history				Retired
Elizabeth	G	F	18	Australian	Gap year before University. Staying with a relative in England and doing temporary work.			University	Working
Majeela	I	F	40-50	Irish	Interested in museums. Likes art deco and arts and crafts movement	Visits museums often, especially on holiday			

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Lauren	G	F	20s	American	From California - in Dublin for internship as part of a college course.	Associated museum visits with school - rarely visit museums		University	Student
Marie	G	F	20s	American	Internship in Dublin as part of a college course. From a rural part of New York state			University	Student
Alison	G	F	20s	American	From California - in Dublin for internship as part of a college course.			University	Student
Justine	G	F	20s	French	From Brittany - at Business School in Dublin	Frequently visit museums - 5x a year		University	Student
Marianne	G	F	20s	French	From Brittany - visiting sister in Dublin. Studied for a year at University College, Cork			University	Student
Orla	G	F	44	Irish	Living in Australia - doctor working in Sydney. Father was a museum curator and Orla wanted to see the museum he worked in. Buddhist	Visits museums often, especially on holiday	Doctor		Working
Michael	G	M	47	Irish	Lives and works in Ireland - secretary in Dublin.	Visits museums often, especially on holiday	Secretary		Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Aisling	G	F	16	Australian	Student at school, likes Irish music and plays the fiddle.	First time visit to the museum - get a sense of place		School	Student
Shaun	G	M	50	Australian	Born in Australia of Irish and Scottish descent. Radiographer. Interested in Irish culture	First time visit to the museum - get a sense of place	Radio-grapher		Working
Pidelma	I	F	55	Irish	Lives in Co. Galway. Graduate, now studying for a PhD	Broad view of heritage and visitor to many historic sites - strong appreciation for Irish culture		Postgraduate	Student
Sinead	I	F	28	Irish	Fashion designer - worked in Italy, London and Dublin - cosmopolitan outlook	Frequent visitor to design museums or galleries	Fashion designer		Working
Kieran	G	M	67	Irish	Retired - worked in labour relations. Travelled for professional reasons. In museum to see an exhibit he contributed to		Labour relations		Retired
Tommy	G	M	65	Irish	Retired - worked as a vet in the West of Ireland		Vet		Retired

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Una	G	F	31	Irish	Works in Ireland - enjoyed museums when living and travelling abroad in USA and Australia - now wanted to see Irish museums	Visits museums often, especially on holiday			Working
James	G	M	30s	Irish	From Waterford and graduated in Dublin. Travelled extensively in Asia and N America. Works in the UK and commutes to Southampton.	Visits museums often, especially on holiday		University	Working
Dorothy	G	F	72	Irish	Retired - lives in Nottingham, England. Born in Belfast and spent early years in Ireland. Moved to England aged 15. Worked as a nurse and in factories.	Visits museums often, especially on holiday	Nurse & in factories		Retired
Alan	G	M	76	English	Born in London. Retired and living in Nottingham.	Visits museums often, especially on holiday			Retired

Table A2.10: Participants in the focus group

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Vasile	M	50s	European	Born in Romania (Brasov) with family from across the three regions. Works in security and regards himself as European. Lived 11 years in Ireland	Security		Working
Natalie	F	30s	English / Hungarian	Lived in Ireland for 7 years. Born in England but has a Hungarian father. Travelled and settled in Ireland. Works in the Education department of the Museum.	Museum staff		Working
Brina	F	20-30s	Irish / Canadian citizenship	Irish father and mother from Trinidad (with African and Chinese heritage). Born in Canada and came to live in Ireland when 3-4 years. Works at the National Gallery of Ireland in Education. Does not feel accepted as Irish or Trinidadian - but as the 'pause' inbetween East and West	Museum staff		Working
Maria	F	40s	Russian / Irish citizen	Born in Russia but mixed heritage. Mother part Hungarian and her father an ethnic Jew (not practising). Graduate in language and literature. Lived in Ireland for 10 years and finds it hard to be accepted. Works with the New Communities Partnership which represents immigrant groups. Used to live in Galway.	Community groups	University	Working
Peter	M	40s	Nigerian in Ireland	Lived in Ireland since 2002. Came to Ireland for better economic prospects and looking for English speaking countries. Studying and runs a television programme on Sky.	Runs television programme	University	Working
Manuela	F	16	Romanian / Irish	Came to Ireland when she was 5 years old with her family. Came to Ireland for work and education, father was a truck driver but now owns his own business. Mother is a manager. Finds it hard to be accepted by the Irish. Studying at secondary	School student	School	Student

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
				school in Dublin.			
Madalina	F	40s	Romanian	Romanian living in Ireland for more than 10 years			

National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

Table A2.11: Museum visitors who participated in interviews

NB: 'Type' refers to type of interview, I (individual) and G (group)

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Alison	I	F	63	British	Born in England. Half-Scottish. Retired - used to work in an academic library. Volunteer archivist - lived in England and Scotland	Visits the museum regularly on visits to Scotland - comes every 18 months	Librarian		Retired
Apricot	I	F	22	British	Born in England. Quarter-Scottish. Graduated from Cambridge and has lived in Italy.	Regular visitor to museums, especially in London		University	Not working or studying
Bethany	I	F	30	English	Born in England. PhD research in science. Went to University in Wales. Engineer.	Last visited the museum a couple of years ago	Engineer	Post-graduate	Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Dorothy	I	F	64	Scottish	Born in Scotland. Lived in Scotland, England and Wales. Retired teacher, interest in prehistory and archaeology	Regular visitor to this museum	Teacher		Retired
Ian	I	M	50	British	Born in England with Celtic roots (Scottish and Irish). Self-employed motorcycle dealer.	First time to this museum but regularly visits museums. Interested in national history, natural history and prehistory	Self-employed		Working
Sheila	G	F	50s	British	Retired - worked for Natwest Bank. Lives in Gloucestershire (born in England)	Been to the museum before but only for a quick look round, Not regular museum visitors but often visit on holiday. Prefers social history	Bank		Retired
Susan	G	F	60s	British	Works for an accountancy firm. Lives in Bristol (born in England)	Been to the museum before but only for a quick look round, Not regular museum visitors but often visit on holiday.	Accountancy firm		

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
						Prefers social history			
Vladimir	I	M	30s	Slovakian	Born in Slovakian, half Czech and half Slovakian from parents heritage. Homeless economic migrant with lost official documents - left Slovakia for political reasons	Homeless and regularly visits the museum to keep warm and enjoy the displays	Homeless		Not working or studying
Jeanette	G	F	50-60	British	Born in England and from the West Country. Likes visiting museums and interested in social history	Regular visitors to museums and galleries especially when on city breaks, prefer social history museums			
Paul	G	M	50-60	British	Born in England, grandfather was Scottish	Regular visitors to museums and galleries especially when on city breaks, prefer social history museums			
Ivana	G	F	20-30	Catalonian	Visiting Edinburgh to find out about Scottish culture				
Lourdes	G	F	20-30	Catalonian	Visiting Edinburgh to find out about Scottish culture				

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Ross	G	M	20-30	Scottish	Lives in Perth - bringing his friend to see the museum	Been to the museum before a couple of times but "never covered the whole place			
Sarah	G	F	20-30	Canadian	Anthropologist with Scottish ancestry		Anthropologist		
Canongate Youth Project	G	M	32	Northern Irish	Lived in Scotland for 6 years but very patriotic about his home country		Youth worker		Working
Canongate Youth Project	G	M	16-17	Scottish	Young person unemployed or unable to commit to training or education because of their life experiences				Not working or studying
Canongate Youth Project	G	M	16-17	Scottish	Young person unemployed or unable to commit to training or education because of their life experiences				Not working or studying
Canongate Youth Project	G	M	16-17	Scottish	Young person unemployed or unable to commit to training or education because of their life experiences				Not working or studying
Canongate Youth Project	G	F	31	Scottish	Born in the Scottish Highlands				

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Julia	G	F	20-30	British (S)	Born in Scotland but wanted to distance herself from Scottish nationalism. Russian father. Studying Scottish music (MA), plays the Celtic harp	Visited the museum before but not for a long time		Postgrad-uate	Student
Mary	G	F	20	British	Born in England. Third year History Undergraduate at Edinburgh University	Been to the museum previously		University	Student
Giovanni	G	M	30s	Sicilian	Visiting Edinburgh				
Mario	G	M	30s	Sicilian	Visiting Edinburgh				
Christine	G	F	50s	Scottish	Lives in Scotland - enjoys history and family history. Family very important. Love the museum	Visits museums frequently about 6 or 7 times a year			
Shona	G	F	30-40	Global Spirit	Born in Scotland but works all over the world as a patent lawyer. First time to the museum	Visits museums frequently as travels a lot for her job	Patent lawyer		Working
Alisa	G	F	20	Scottish	Christine's daughter	Visits museums about once a year			
Kenneth M	I	M	47	British (S)	Born and lives in Glasgow. Technician at Glasgow University. Likes history and heritage.	Visits museums fairly frequently and member of the National Trust for Scotland - visits historic houses	Technician	University	Working

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Lesley	G	F	47	Scottish	Loves visiting museums. Born in Edinburgh. Studied biology. Former medical researcher, then pharmaceuticals, now science teacher.	Refers to herself as a 'museum addict' - used to visit museums a lot when children were small, especially natural history museums	Science teacher	University	Working
Gail	G	F	53	Scottish	Born in Dundee to working class family background and now lives in Edinburgh. Formerly an engineer, trained as a teacher and now head of department. Teaches physics. Loves to visit museums with family	Visits museums regularly, especially science museums with her children	Physics teacher	University	Working
Amanda	G	F	40s	Scottish	Born in Glasgow. Went to University in St Andrews and works in Edinburgh as a stockbroker. Scottish nationalist but not keen on independence	Not a regular museum visitor unless something specific is on but visits museums, galleries and historic houses	Stockbroker	University	Working
Mailyn	G	F		Scottish	Born in Glasgow and now lives in St Andrews. Retired secondary school teacher (History and French)	Not a regular museum visitor unless something specific is on but visits museums, galleries and historic	History and French teacher		Retired

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
						houses			
Jim	G	M	50-60	Scottish	Born and lives in Scotland. Retired, former self employed book keeper.	Not a regular museum visitor, goes once every three years or so	Self employed		Retired
Margaret	G	F	50-60	Scottish	Born and lives in Scotland. Retired, used to work in textiles. Elvis Presley fan.	Regular museum visitor particularly when abroad	Textiles		Retired
Ken	I	M	80	Scottish	Born in Edinburgh. National service in England for 2 years. Worked for Ferranti and physics teacher in biology department. Interested in history	Visits the museum once a fortnight with friends - belongs to the Society of Antiquarians and takes part in battle re-enactments	Physics teacher / Ferranti	University	Retired
Kenneth S	I	M	68	Scottish	Born in Scotland and lived in Canada and England. PhD in theoretical physics, former physics researcher and maths lecturer	Not a regular visitor to museums, about 2 or 3 times a year. Visits art galleries and local museums	Researcher and lecturer in maths/ physics	Postgrad-uate	Retired

Name	Type	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Museum visiting	Profession	Education	Status
Tanya	I	F	32	British	Born in Scotland and lived in USA and Glasgow. Father from Northern Ireland. Brother married to Spanish partner. Questioning her identity	Not a regular museum visitor, visits about 5 per year but would like to visit more often			
Tom	I	M	60	Scottish	Member of Scottish clan - history very significant to his identity.	Visits museums about 3 or 4 times a year, especially local museums when on holiday			
William	I	M	55	British (S)	Born in Scotland - works for the Royal Bank of Scotland. Cares for his wife and son. Wary of Scottish nationalism	Visits about 5 museums a year, and visits the national museum about twice a year	Bank		Working
Brian	I	M	50s	English	Engineer who has worked all over the world - lived in Scotland since 1975. Keen museum visitor.	Visits museums frequently and visits the National Museum about five times a year	Engineer	University	Working

Table A2.12: Participants in the focus group

Name	Gender	Age	Nationality	Experiences, hobbies, interests	Profession	Education	Status
Khalida	F	30s	Scottish	Born in Pakistan and lived in England from the age of 11. Moved to Scotland when married - sees herself as Scottish but people will not accept her because of the colour of her skin. Works in race equality and social justice	Race equality and social justice		Working
May	F	50s	Chinese	Born in China. Lived in Scotland for 35 years but retains her Chinese identity. Husband and children are Scottish. Worked in a bank, now full time housewife	Worked in a bank		Not working or studying
Sylvain	M	30-40	Senegalese	Born in Senegal to parents from other parts of Africa. At a push will describe his identity as Senegalese but prefers not to categorise by national identity. Lived in Scotland for 15 years, artist, musician and counsellor	Artist, musician and counsellor		Working
Rema	F	60s	Kosovan	Evacuated to the UK in 1999, Rema feels sorrow at having to leave her homeland. Made a new life in Glasgow, she works with young people from Kosovo and Albania, and has been involved in museum projects.	Various		
Iqbal	M	60s	Pakistani	Born in Pakistan, came to Scotland to study and then to live. Works for Glasgow City Council (Social Services) and has a special interest in museums and culture	Social Services	University	Working

Appendix 3: Visitor motivation to visit the national museums

Table A3.1 Visitor motivation for visiting each of the six national museums

Estonia		Latvia		Greece		Germany		Ireland		Scotland	
Name	**Reason**	**Name**	**Reason**	**Name**	**Reason**	**Name**	**Reason**	**Name**	**Reason**	**Name**	**Reason**
Liliane	in museum guide	Andis	taking a walk	Panagiota	husband and wife	Martin	To see temporary exhibitions	Annette	to see a specific exhibit, the Eileen Gray furniture	Alison	visiting the temporary exhibition
Victor	on holiday, came to the museum	Baiba	regular visitor	Giorgos		Stephan	To see temporary exhibitions	Bronagh	In Dublin on a course, and wanted to see the museum before leaving Ireland for a year	Apricot	visiting Edinburgh and using the museum to get a sense of the city
Alexandru	on holiday, came to the museum	Dace	visiting with daughter	Anna	Because it's Sunday and it's free	Sebastian	Because of the rainy weather	Chris	interest in art and design	Bethany	On her honeymoon
Piret-Klea	interested in art, design and ethnic dress	Inese	regular visitor with her daughters	Nikos A	Had seen most of the others museums in Athens and the NHM was one of the last remaining ones	Bernhard	Part of their city itinerary	Henry	to meet a grandchild and show them the museum	Dorothy	visiting the shop to buy presents

Cecile	interested in the museum - always closed	Iveta G	visiting with son	Konstantinos	Had been to another history museum lately and wanted to verify some information	Carsten	Without specific reason, passing by	Jimmy	To see the Irish High Crosses (told about them by his grandchild)	Ian	Visiting the museum whilst his wife had gone shopping
Pieter	came with his wife but interested in ethnological museums	Iveta P	work related	Pier	visiting with their families	Kort	To find out about the history	Linda	works in the museum	Sheila	Flights were cancelled
Helen	bringing a friend to show him the Estonian roots and gather information for her own activities	Inga	visiting with friends to relax	Vassilis	To show it to a colleague from school	Andrea	Because of the rainy weather	Eamonn	In Dublin for jury service and came in because the courts were nearby and there was some free time	Susan	Flights were cancelled
Benedicte	Interested in ethnography	Janis	taking a walk	Avgoustidis	Colleague of Vassilis	Lieselotte	Because of the rainy weather	Harry	To see the architecture of the barracks	Vladimir	Homeless - to keep warm

Caynam	visiting with mother (B)	Beata	visiting with children	Leonidas	husband and wife	Harald	Part of their city itinerary	Helen	always visit museums when they go to a new place	Jeanette	visiting Edinburgh and using the museum to get a sense of the city
Mark	Work related	Helmut	work related (tour guide)	Evangelia		Vera	Part of their city itinerary	Elizabeth	always visit museums when they go to a new place	Paul	visiting Edinburgh and using the museum to get a sense of the city
Kuldar	temporary exhibition	Alise	Wanted to relax in a familiar environment	Konstantina	To look for information about the Greek War of Independence	Ulrich	To see temporary exhibitions	Majeela	Interested in furniture and design	Ivana	Tourists
Silvi	temporary exhibition	Haviy	Had some free time	Nikos B	To look for information about the Greek War of Independence	Anna	To take part in guided tour	Lauren	part of an undergraduate course	Lourdes	Tourists
Ivo	came to see the museum	Ernests	Sees the museum as a park	John	On holiday	Maria	Visiting the museum with her son	Marie	part of an undergraduate course	Ross	Brought his friend Sarah to see the museum

Ilona	first visit to the museum	Eleonora	unknown	Maria A	Looking for information for her degree thesis	Jory	friends visiting the museum	Alison	part of an undergraduate course	Sarah	Visiting with Ross
Tom	came with Lore (friend)	Harijs	unknown	Nektaria	Likes visiting museums	Jakob		Justine	Free entry	Canongate Youth Project	using the museum to fill in after another speaker cancelled their session
Lore	wanted to show Tom	Verners	unknown	Maria B	Brought by her son who had visited with his school	Ulrike	To find out about the history	Marianne	Free entry	Julia	meeting on Julia's birthday
Saima	regular visitor	Ilze	knows the museum from childhood	Demetra	To show it to her god-son who is studying history and visiting from Germany	Synthia	Without specific reason, passing by	Orla	Father was curator at the museum - visiting with Michael, Aisling and Shaun	Mary	meeting on Julia's birthday
Egle	walking round the area and decided to visit	Kakhaber	Interested in finding out about Latvian history	Marilena	visiting with their families	Lukas	Without specific reason, passing by	Michael	Visiting with Orla / Shaun / Aisling	Giovanni	Flights were cancelled

Kaia-Liisa	walking round the area and decided to visit	Zane	Had some free time	Elizabeth	On holiday	Liz	Husband and wife	Aisling	Visiting with Orla / Michael / Shaun	Mario	Flights were cancelled
Eva	regular visitor	Signija	Visiting to refresh her memory	Eugenie	Interested in military history and folk costumes	Ron		Shaun	Visiting with Orla, Michael and Aisling	Christine	Visiting with her sister and daughter - love the museum
Ester	on holiday, came to the museum			Anicet	Visiting with Eugenie	Jamie	Tourists visiting the museum together	Pidelma	To support PhD research	Shona	Visiting with her sister and niece for the first time
Eve	remembered museum from her childhood			Filippa	Wanted to see the Old Parliament Building and find out about modern Greek history	Geoff		Sinead	Work-related but also looking for pleasure	Alisa	Visiting with her mum and aunt
Anne	Work related			Javier	Friend of Filippa	Annie	friends visiting the museum	Ciaran	Come to see the skeleton of the horse	Kenneth M	visiting whilst his girlfriend had a meeting elsewhere

Ragnar	first visit to the museum			Alexia	visiting with a member of their family	Zhen		Tommy	Come to see the skeleton of the horse (retired vet)	Lesley	visiting with a school group
Aljona	ethnology student			Eleni	Preparatory visit for her school class	Boris	Without specific reason, passing by	Una	First time to the museum	Gail	visiting with a school group
				Ioannis	To look for information about the Greek War of Independence - recommended by a friend			James	First time to the museum	Amanda	visiting the temporary exhibition
				Victoria	Regular visitor			Dorothy	always visit museums when they go to a new place	Mailyn	visiting the temporary exhibition
				Georgia	Know the museum from their education and wanted to see it			Alan	always visit museums when they go to a new place	Jim	with an art group

				Thodoris	Know the museum from their education and wanted to see it					Margaret	with an art group
										Ken	part of a group that visits the museum every fortnight
										Kenneth S	Come to look at the geology section
										Tanya	with a school group
										Tom	visiting Edinburgh Parliament and had come in to see a specific object relevant to his clan
										William	visiting the dentist

										Brian	to find out the date of the opening of the museum extension

Table A3.2: Overview of the six museums (number of visitors)

Museum	General visit to the museum or first visit	Visiting the museum on holiday or as a tourist	Visiting for a specific reason e.g. object, history, display	Temporary exhibition	Visiting with friends, family, children	Work or study related	Regular visitor	Unplanned visit or passing by	Remembered museum from childhood	Leisure, free time, relaxing
Estonia	4	4	2	2	5	3	2	2	1	
Latvia	4		1		4	2	2		1	6
Greece	2	2	7		13	2	1		2	
Germany		3	3	3	9			7		
Ireland	5	4	7		5	6				1
Scotland		6	3	3	7	5	1	14		
Total	15	19	23	8	43	18	6	23	4	7

Bibliography

Aronsson, P. and Bentz, E. (2011) 'National Museums in Germany: Anchoring Competing Communities', in Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds), (2011), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010,* Conference proceedings from *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011,* EuNaMus Report No 1, Published by Linköping University Electronic Press, pp327-362

Bäckström, M. (2011) 'Loading Guns with Patriotic Love: Artur Hazelius's Attempts at Skansen to remake Swedish Society,' in Knell, S. J., Aronsson, P., Amundson, A. B., Barnes, A. J., Burch, S., Carter, J., Gosselin, V., Hughes, S. A. and Kirwan, A, (eds) *National Museums: New Studies from around the World*, Routledge, London and New York, pp69-87

Berger, S. and Lorenz, C. (2008) 'Introduction: National History Writing in Europe in a Global Age,' in Berger, S. and Lorenz, C. (eds) *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion, and Gender in National Histories,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndsmill and New York, pp1-23

Bounia, A. (2010) *Work Package 6: Museum Citizens Manual*, University of the Aegean, Greece

Brown, G. W. and Held, D. (eds) (2010), *The Cosmopolitanism Reader*, Polity Press, Cambridge and Malden, MA

Burke, P. (1991) 'Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future', in Burke, P. (ed) *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp1-23

Cameron, F. (2007) 'Moral Lessons and Reforming Agendas: History museums, science museums, contentious topics and contemporary societies' in Knell, S. J., Macleod, S. and Watson, S. (eds) *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and are Changed*, Routledge, London and New York, pp330-342

Chambers, I. (1994) *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, Comedia and Routledge, London and New York

Claxton, G. (2001) *Wise Up: The Challenge of Lifelong Learning, Learning to Live the Learning Life*, Continuum International, London

Clogg, R. (2002, 1992) *A Concise History of Greece: Second Edition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

EuNaMus (undated) *Annex 1 Final 091125*

Fairley, J. (1977) *History Teaching Through Museums*, Longman, London

Falk, J. H. and Dierking, L. (1992) *The Museum Experience*, Whalesback Books, Washington D.C.

Falk, J. H. and Dierking, L. D. (2000) *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*, Altamira Press, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto and Plymouth

Fine, R. (2007) *Cosmopolitanism*, Routledge, Abingdon and New York

Fuchs, J. and Deutschbein, J. (2008) *Scotland: A Changing Nation. Evaluation: Summative Report, September 2008*, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh

Fulbrook, M. (2002) *Historical Theory*, Routledge, London and New York

Gazi, A. (2001) 'National Museums in Greece: History, Ideology, Narratives' in Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds), (2011), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010,*

Conference proceedings from *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011,* EuNaMus Report No 1, Published by Linköping University Electronic Press, pp363-399

Gellner, E. (2010) 'Nationalism as a product of industrial society,' in Montserrat, G. and Rex, J. (eds), *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp64-79

Giesen, B. and Eder, K. (2001) 'Introduction: European Citizenship, An Avenue for the Social Integration of Europe,' in Eder, K. and Giesen, B. (eds) *European Citizenship: National Legacies and Transnational Projects*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp1-13

Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. (2005) 'The uses and abuses of heritage' in Corsane, G. (ed) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reade*r, Routledge, London and New York, pp26-37

Hein, G. E. (1998) *Learning in the Museum*, Routledge, London and New York

Hobsbawm, E. (1994), *Age of Extremes. The Small Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*, London, Vintage Books

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, Routledge, London and New York

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (ed) (1994) *The Educational Role of the Museum*, Routledge, London and New York

Ķencis, T. and Kuutma, K. (2011) 'National Museums in Latvia', in Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds), (2011), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010,* Conference proceedings from *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011,* EuNaMus Report No 1, Published by Linköping University Electronic Press, pp497-519

Koschick, L. (ed) (2008), *German Historical Museum: German History in Pictures and Documents*, Prestel, Munchen, Berlin, London, and New York

Knell, S., Axelsson, B., Eilertson, L., Myrivili, E., Porciani, I., Sawyer, A., and Watson, S., (2012) *Crossing Borders: Connecting European Identities in Museums and Online*, EuNaMus Report No 2, Linköping University Interdisciplinary Studies, No. 14, Linköping University Electronic Press, Linköping, Sweden

Kuutma, K. (2011) 'National Museums in Estonia', in Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds), (2011), Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010, Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011, EuNaMus Report No 1, Published by Linköping University Electronic Press, pp231-259

Liddiard, M. (2004), 'Changing Histories: Museums, Sexuality and the Future of the Past,' *museum & society,* 2 (1), pp15-29

Light, P. and Littleton, K. (1999) *Social Processes in Children's Learning*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Lowenthal, D. (1998), *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

MacDonald, S. (1997) *Reimagining Culture: Histories, Identities and the Gaelic Renaissance,* Berg, Oxford and New York

McLean, F. and Cooke, S. (2003) 'The National Museum of Scotland: A symbol for a new Scotland?' in *Scottish Affairs*, 45, pp111-127

Marwick, A. (2001) *The New Nature of History: Knowledge, Evidence, Language*, Palgrave, Houndsmill

Mason, J. (2002) *Qualitative Researching*, second edition, Sage, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi

Molyneaux, B. L. (1994) 'Introduction: The Represented Past', in Stone, P. G. and Molyneaux, B. L. (eds), *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education*, Routledge, London and New York, pp1-13

Nora, P. (2011) 'Foreword' in Anheier, H. and Raj Isher, Y. (eds) *Heritage, Memory and Identity*, Sage, London, ppix-xi

O'Neill, M. (2002) 'The Good Enough Visitor' in Sandell, R. (ed) *Museums, Society, Inequality*, Routledge, London and New York, pp24-40

Pearce, S. M. (1994) 'Objects as Meaning; or Narrating the Past', in Pearce, S. M. (ed), *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, London and New York, pp19-29

Pearce, S. M. (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, Leicester University Press, London and New York

Piaget, J. (1967) *Six Psychological Studies*, With an introduction, notes and glossary by Elkind, D., translated by Tenzer, A. and translation edited by Elkind, D., University of London Press, London

Preziosi, D. (2011) 'Myths of Nationality', in Knell, S., Aronsson, P., Amundson, A. B., Barnes, A. J., Burch, S., Carter, J., Gosselin, V., Hughes, S. A. and Kirwan, A. (eds), *National Museums: New Studies From Around the World*, Routledge, London and New York, pp55-66

Pringle, T. R. (1988), 'The privation of history: Landseer, Victoria and the Highland myth', in Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 142-161

Raun, T. U. (2001) *Estonia and the Estonians, Updated second edition*, Hoover Press, Stanford University

Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, second edition, Blackwell, Malden MA, Victoria and London

Rosenzweig, R. and Thelan, D. (1998) *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*, Columbia University Press, New York

Rounds, J. (2006), 'Doing Identity Work in Museums,' *Curator*, 49(2), pp133-150

Rüsen, J. (2004) 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative structure, Moral function and Ontogenetic development' in Seixas, P. (ed), *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo and London, pp63-85

Sawyer, A. (2011) 'National Museums in the Republic of Ireland', in Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds), (2011), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010,* Conference proceedings from *EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011,* EuNaMus Report No 1, Published by Linköping University Electronic Press, pp435-460

Smith, H. W. (2011) 'Introduction' in Smith, H. W. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp1-26

Smith, A. D. (1991), *National Identity,* Penguin Books, London

Smith, A. D. (1992) 'National Identity and the Idea of European Unity'*, International Affairs*, 68 (1), pp55-76

Stapleton, J. (2005) 'Citizenship versus Patriotism in Twentieth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, 48 (1), pp151-178

Symcox, L. and Wilschut, A. (2009) 'Introduction', in Symcox, L. and Wilschut, A. (eds) *National History Standards: The Problem of Canon and the Future of History Teaching*, Information Age Publishing, Charlotte, pp1-11

Thomopoulos, E. (2012) *The History of Greece*, Greenwood, Santa Barbara, Denver and Oxford

Walsh, K. (1992) *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World*, Routledge, London and New York

Watson, S. (2011) 'National Museums in Scotland', in Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds), (2011), Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010, *Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011*, EuNaMus Report No 1, Published by Linköping University Electronic Press, pp747-777

Wodak, R., de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., and Liebhart, K. (1999) *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, translated by Hirsch, A. and Mitten, R., Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh

Web references

Am Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh (Central Statistics Office) (2011), http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/census/documents/Prelim%20complete.pdf [retrieved 01 02 2012]

CIA – The World Factbook (2012), https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html [retrieved 01 02 2012]

Deutsches Historisches Museum (2011), http://www.dhm.de/presseinfos/Pressemitteilung_2011_04_01.pdf [retrieved 06 07 2012]

Disability Rights Commission (undated), http://www.leeds.ac.uk/disability-studies/archiveuk/DRC/MECOPP.pdf [accessed 27 2 2012]

Europa, the website of the EU (2012), http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/motto/index_en.htm [retrieved 27 03 2012]

Eurostat (2012) – population of European countries on 1 January, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo_pjan&lang=en (retrieved 04 07 2012]

Glasgow City Council (2011) http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/files2/stats/seminars/11-pams-seminar-oct2011-jan-freeke.pdf [accessed 14 03 2012]

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2011) http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/poverty-ethnicity-Scotland-summary.pdf [retrieved 09 07 2012]

Latvijas Statistika (2012), http://www.csb.gov.lv/en/statistikas-temas/population-census-2011-key-indicators-33613.html [retrieved 02 07 2012]

Lewis, M. (2011) 'When Irish Eyes are Crying', *Vanity Fair*, http://www.vanityfair.com/business/features/2011/03/michael-lewis-ireland-201103 [retrieved 06 02 2012]

Migration Policy Institute (2009), http:// http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=740 [accessed 27 2 2012]

National Museum of Scotland (2012), http://www.nms.ac.uk/highlights/objects_in_focus/lewis_chessmen.aspx [retrieved 29 02 2012]

Office for National Statistics (2001), http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/pop-estimate/population-estimates-for-uk--england-and-wales--scotland-and-northern-ireland/mid-2010-population-estimates/index.html [retrieved 01 02 2012]

Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder (2012), http://www.statistik-portal.de/Statistik-Portal/en/en_zs01_bund.asp [retrieved 01 02 2012]

Statistics Estonia (2012), http://www.stat.ee/main-indicators [retrieved 01 02 2012]

Wikipedia (2012), *Roma in Greece*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roma_in_Greece [retrieved 14 03 2012]

This study presents the findings from interviews and focus groups carried out at six European national museums with visitors and minority groups. It looks at the connections that can be made between national, European and minority identities and how these frame very different experiences of the national museum. Whilst visitors were, on the whole, convinced that national museums represented a shared, collective identity, the inclusion of minority groups in the research revealed a discernible dissonance between the majority of visitor's views and the views of minority groups. Despite collectively forming a substantial section of the European population, minority experiences were largely absent from national museums, a situation that is rarely recognised by museum visitors. Personal and national identity was especially complex and important to minorities because they were constantly negotiating their relationship with the dominant culture, but the silence in national museums and lack of recognition of their contribution to national society only confirmed their status as "Other" when they wanted to belong.

In response, this study calls on national museums to be more conscious of unheard voices and experiences, and be more actively aware that national and European identity is continually evolving, fluid and dynamic. The challenge for national museums is to embrace these elements and to become places of dialogue not didacticism, of exploration not certainty, and of inclusion not silence. National museums are valued as important and authoritative institutions by their visitors but they need to harness this authority more responsibly and proactively if they are to enhance national and European understanding.

The report is produced within the three-year research programme, EuNaMus – European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, coordinated at Tema Q at Linköping University (www.eunamus.eu). EuNaMus explores the creation and power of the heritage created and presented at European national museums to the world, Europe and its states, as an unsurpassable institution in contemporary society. National museums are defined and explored as processes of institutionalized negotiations where material collections and displays make claims and are recognized as articulating and representing national values and realities. Questions asked in the project are why, by whom, when, with what material, with what result and future possibilities are these museums shaped.

Linköping University Interdisciplinary Studies, No. 17
Linköping University Electronic Press
Linköping, Sweden, 2012
Report series ISSN: 1650-9625
URL: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:liu:diva-85228

eunamus

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
European Research Area
SEVENTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME
Funded under Socio-economic Sciences & Humanities