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**Valorising Cornish Minority
Heritage: UNESCO and Performative
Heritage**

Joan E M Buchanan

PhD

2020

Valorising Cornish Minority Heritage: UNESCO and Performative Heritage

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of the requirements of the
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Abstract

This study seeks to enhance our understanding of the complexities of heritage and the place of minority narratives within this process, thus creating a dialogue for cultural diversity in heritage management practice. The study is framed around two research questions: What are the factors, tensions and power-relations that contribute to how heritage is valorised in the case study of Cornwall? How might events like the Man Engine (2016) be understood as heritage practice that bridges the tensions of official and unofficial heritage? In order to answer the research questions a tripartite approach is undertaken, first studying official processes including Cornwall's designation as a World Heritage Site (2006) and the Cornish as a National Minority (2014). Unofficial or alternative forms of heritage that take an everyday, embodied form is then examined. Finally, heritage making that bridges these two processes is explored - the Man Engine Pilgrimage a popular performative heritage which made a pilgrimage across the landscape visiting old mining sites as an act of community remembrance, spatial identity and celebration. This research found several factors contributed to how heritage was valorised and depended on who the stakeholders were and their motivations. Both affected what was seen as heritage (the narrative) and how those messages were communicated (forms of mediation). All factors thus had impacts on how heritage was perceived and valorised. The study concludes that heritage in Cornwall is defined and 'valorised' in different ways, giving rise to diverse social, cultural, political and economic meanings and signification, depending on the perspectives within official and unofficial processes. There are however crossovers between what and who is doing this valuing. In addition, valorisation complexities lead to tensions and barriers over who is effectively involved. The research argues that the Man Engine traversed some of these barriers and in this sense was a bridging process between official and unofficial heritage. It offers a model of practice, an inclusive vehicle for expression of authorised discourses but also grassroots sociocultural values, and called attention to ways that heritage is used and celebrated through both formal and informal processes and practices. The study illustrates how institutions can build in 'from-below' practices, create conditions for co-production and recognise a plurality of values. The study makes a theoretical contribution to knowledge and extends the boundaries of research methods within the field of critical heritage studies. It draws on both critical and performance theories to illuminate how processes of 'valorisation' operate. The study observed affective dimensions and these were found to be important trajectories of how heritage becomes valorised. This adds to a growing body of research that understands that heritage valorisation is about representation *and* affect. This transdisciplinary approach, bridging theory and practice, offers a way to view multivocality in valorisation and promotes democratisation of heritage as active production and recognition of voices that have been marginalised or omitted.

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List of abbreviations:

ACE	Arts Council England
AHRC	Arts and Humanity Research Council
CMWG	Cornish Minority Working Group
CWDML	Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape
CWDWHS	Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site
DCMS	Department for Digital Culture Media and Sport.
HLF	Heritage Lottery Funding (now National Lottery Funding)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
M.E.	Man Engine
NT	National Trust
OCS	The Federation of the Old Cornwall Society
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS	World Heritage Site

Abbreviations used in presentation of data collected in 2018:

QP, QI, and QWC: questionnaires

FG: Focus Group

A1 to A12: Interview/informal chat with participant (anonymous)

List of accompanying material

Contribution by author to the Heritage Alliance Report (2019) *Inspiring Creativity, Heritage and the Creative Industries*, pages 22-23.

Draft of chapter by author for forthcoming book: 'Performing Cornishness: The Man Engine Pilgrimage and the Ritualesque,' in Maples, H. Smythe, K. (eds) *Touching Past Lives*, London: Routledge

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it all in my own words. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others. Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Northumbria University Research Ethics Board on 22nd June 2017.

I declare that the Word Count of this thesis is 97,308 words.

Name: Joan Buchanan

Signature:

Date: 15th December 2020

Chapter 1: Introduction.

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is formed around research into how heritage is defined and ‘valorised’ in the case study of Cornwall, in SW England, as well as performed on different, though interconnected scales. Cornwall’s tangible and intangible heritage has been shaped over the centuries by political, economic, social and cultural forces, which have defined its contemporary relationship with the past. Over the last decade Cornwall’s heritage management has shifted from informing and defining local identity, to a global valorisation as a World Heritage Site (WHS) by UNESCO (2006) and as a National Minority by the Council of Europe (2014). These moves officially recognised Cornwall as ‘different’, with Cornwall’s cultural heritage described as a ‘unique identity and distinct region in its own right’ (Cornwall Council, 2014:5). This recognition led to a popular performative heritage event in 2016 - the Man Engine Pilgrimage, which celebrated the ten-year anniversary of Cornwall as a WHS, designated ‘Outstanding Universal Value’. Central to this heritage performance was a twelve metre tall mechanical puppet, replicating parts of the mining process, which made a pilgrimage across the Cornish landscape, visiting old mining sites as an act of community remembrance, spatial identity and celebration. These events called attention to ways that ‘heritage’ was used and celebrated through formal and informal processes and practices. The research from 2017 to 2019, explored how heritage was defined in this Cornish context and how authorised and alternative perspectives could express and ‘valorise’ heritage – i.e. decide which aspects of the past were important - in different ways. The study inspected UNESCO-related ‘Authorised Heritage Discourses’ (AHD) (Smith, 2006) about Cornwall and Cornishness as a special heritage in need of institutionalised management; the processes that constructed this narrative; the extent to which grassroots minority notions of Cornish heritage were engaged with those constructions, and active expressions by Cornish minorities that emerge through performances like the Man Engine.

1.2 Context to the study

Official heritage has traditionally emphasised built, tangible assets. This heritagisation process is maintained by cultural gatekeepers with regimes of signification cemented

within conservation models of Western heritage management and sustainability. Heritage becomes encased in a concept of endangerment; experts have chosen what assets need taking care of, expressing this in terms of a duty of care or safeguarding (Harrison, 2013). This concept of loss aversion has however led to fossilisation, inflexibility and stasis. Heritage becomes viewed as an end product, and instrument of governance. This normalises in the population what is seen as valuable and canonical, and justifies public spending, by focusing on quantifiable economic impacts of culture/heritage in job creation, regeneration and evaluation (Belfiore, 2010). This is not only reductionist, but overshadows the complexities of the process, how people build a relationship with the past and who is involved in producing cultural heritage spaces.

Placing a value on something like cultural heritage is important in multiple ways that can be subjective or personal particularly as it affects how we see ourselves in the world. This calls into question how a value, a subjective thing involving multiple cultures, can be global (Harrison, 2015; Labadi, 2013). Reworked pasts as 'heritage' have a powerful appeal to basic feelings of belonging, but raise important political and ethical issues over how that heritage is constructed (Yuval-Davis, 2014). Redefining heritage has become a 'global obsession' with heritagisation processes an arena for playing out political struggles over identities and ideologies (Kristian, 2015:48). Instrumentalism of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is one issue in the politics of identity and can cause essentialising of national minorities and potential conflicts (Watson, 2006).

Democratisation of heritage remains an on-going concern from a critical heritage perspective (Littler and Naidoo, 2005). Official processes can lead to exclusion. Increasingly official heritage, chosen, valued and managed by professionals, is criticised as neither individual, reflective, nor democratic (Smith, 2012). Different voices and emergent values are marginalised. Research suggests there is a significant disconnection between cultural policies with their inclusive rhetoric, with what is actually happening in heritage practice (Swensen et al, 2012; Waterton and Watson, 2011). Inclusiveness is expressed in assimilatory terms of learning about the dominant discourses with its associated values and meanings. Changing this process is of particular relevance to minority communities who may be marginalised in society. Centralisation of those on the periphery needs a fresh approach to understanding cultural heritage as a discursive process that can generate new knowledge and valuations of the past.

A wider notion of heritage including grassroots or heritage-from-below is constructed at an individual level as an articulation of identity (Ashworth, 2007); legitimises cultural bonds (Smith, 2006), and includes everyday, performative acts of remembrance

(Robertson, 2012). This is a living embodied cultural process. Valorising from this viewing lens, dependant on the cultural context, can be transient and complex with a plurality of meanings. This temporality challenges the assumption that the value of heritage is immutable and static; what is important emerges through experience (Jones and Leach, 2016).

Heritage-making practices have always existed outside of official policies. Alternative symbolic signification places landscape as central to exploring belonging, and place as a repository of cultural meaning (Waterton, 2005; Harrison and Rose, 2010). Intangible cultural heritage (music, stories, traditions) have long been performative activities that weave identities, a sense of place, rooted territory and memorialisation (Convery et al, 2012; Yuval -Davis, 2014). This freedom of expression recognises heritage-making as a loose, creative space and experience, with the potential to facilitate empathy and tolerance of 'other' (Stern and Seifert, 2013; Kasser, 2013). Heritage in this sense is an experiential process that can promote diversity and inclusion.

1.3 This dissertation

This research was inspired by my MA in Cultural Heritage at Northumbria University, which explored the principles, policies and practices of heritage management. This opened a gateway for me to a critical enquiry about Cornwall. Deacon (2017) calls for an increasing application of critical approaches to the study of Cornwall to encourage plurality and relativism and 'an openness to heterogeneity of Cornwall and Cornishness' (2017:40-41). My research interest was to take a critical approach to the UNESCO and Council of Europe processes of heritage designation, including the level of participation by the Cornish minority in spearheading and planning its 'heritagisation', defined as a process that places value upon places, people, things, practices, histories or ideas as an inheritance from the past (Ashley, 2014).

As well as a critical heritage studies approach, the research was grounded in performance studies. This was formulated by my professional experience working with the creative industries at Port Eliot Festival, an annual event set in the grounds of a Grade 1 Listed historic house. This leant my study towards how people create value through experience within a loose heritage space. Linking festive practice and performance theory helped in understanding subversion, negotiation and co-production within heritage-making, particularly through the work of Victor Turner. Turner's work provides an understanding of how heritage is performed in public. Cornwall's ancient festivals, traditions and pilgrimages are loose expressive spaces that are rooted in the past. The inclusion of

affective dimensions in the study enhanced my understanding of the complex valuations of heritage within the varied gazes, perceptions and narratives.

In accepting this complexity, the next stage was to consider heritage practices that had the potential to bring official and unofficial heritage together, where authorised heritage could be retold as an intertwined history (Littler and Naidoo, 2005). This led to the exploration of the Man Engine Pilgrimage as a bridging process between official and unofficial heritage. This was a turning point for Cornwall, with a broader, institutional recognition of the role that cultural producers could play, not only in the socio-economic value as regeneration, but also in facilitating an alternative valorising of cultural heritage. This trans disciplinary approach to heritage studies, bridging theory and practice, reclaimed the spaces in-between and offered a way to view multivocality in valorisation.

1.4 The study

My research aimed to enhance our understanding of the construction and complexities of heritage and the place of minority narratives within this process, thus potentially improving diversity in heritage management practices by reframing this complexity within cultural policy. The study hoped to add to a body of research that understands heritage as about representation *and* affect. The latter is under researched in heritage studies (Wetheral et al, 2018).

Two primary research questions shaped the study:

What are the factors, tensions and power-relations that contribute to ideas of how ‘heritage’ and how the ‘value’ of heritage are negotiated, using the Cornish case study?

How might events like the Man Engine Pilgrimage be understood as heritage practice that bridges the tensions of official and unofficial heritage?

In order to answer these questions, the research deployed a tripartite investigation into official, unofficial heritage and the Man Engine Pilgrimage conducted from October 2017 to September 2019. Official heritage was framed around an enquiry of the planning processes, stakeholders and outcomes that led to ‘authorised’ designations of Cornwall by UNESCO and Council of Europe. This includes policies, management systems, texts and discourse related to Cornwall’s designation as a WHS and minority status, and its continuation as heritage policy.

The second enquiry in unofficial heritage was framed around how grassroots notions of heritage were expressed and in what ways 'performance' was an effective alternative act of valorisation. This area of research examined the perception of the Cornish minority facilitated through loose/non-managed heritage knowledge production. The research employed an ethnographic and cultural studies focus on knowledge production related to grassroots heritage discourses and practices.

The final approach explored whether the Man Engine of 2016 was a performative space for both authorised and alternative heritage expressions and valuation acting as a bridging process.

The study was conducted from a relational dialogical ontology. It inspected representational and non-representational data collected through mixed methods including document research, ethnographic observation, questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and media analysis. This application provided greater depth, examining more fully the complexity, dynamism and negotiation of behavior, cultural production and power/knowledge relations. In establishing the processes and knowledge generated, the study identified the discursive construction of heritage valorisation, exploring motivations, perceived meanings, and signification processes of individuals and groups.

The complexity of cultural heritage requires an interdisciplinary approach or a re-imagining of heritage that crosses many academic borders, reflecting Holtorf and Fairclough's 'new heritage' (2013). This sees a shift to heritage as cultural expression and recognises affective dimensions (non-representational) and the active production of valuing that emerges through experience. This shift to felt experience and phenomenology centralises the body, however it demands new skills in evaluation techniques to capture this fluid process of valuing.

For this study of heritage valorisation, the outcome appears worthwhile. Firstly this new approach to heritage research raises the profile and recognition of ICH, that is, intangible heritage. This will aid the continuation of heritage making that is already taking place in the community. Secondly, inclusion of meaning-making by people on the periphery of authorised heritage discourses helps to address core deficits highlighted in critical heritage studies and helps capture a fluid form of valuing created through people's experiences. This dissertation draws on both critical and performance theories to illuminate how such processes of valorisation operate. The knowledge/power axis

(Foucault, 1991) is examined and then applied as critical analysis of the discourses that took place in designation as a WHS and minority status. Critical theory applied to cultural heritage is vital as it questions issues of power and how heritage valuation is dominated by selective pasts and cultural canons. It explores the discourse as a system of ideas or knowledge, often with its own vocabulary, resulting in power monopolising views and debates.

Following on from this critical approach, performance theory is deployed to analyse alternative 'loose' heritage spaces and activities in the case study. This reflects current research in the UK seeking to widen the analysis of 'cultural value' to emphasise everyday cultural production and expression (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). Performance and cultural expression, both acts of ICH, emphasise heritage significance as a felt response more so than cognitive (Dixey, 2012), and widens access to those marginalised outside the AHD, or authorised discourses. Performance can be a tool for minorities as active agents of heritage (Colgar, 2016), not passive and peripheral to the AHDs that are central to most 'managed' heritage (Waterton, 2010). Performance analysis draws attention to community-based memorialisation and amplification of local voices (Ashley, 2016). Further, ICH has been analysed using performance theory as a reflexive cultural process, where values and symbolic meanings are seen in action - a 'loose' expressive space. At the heart of ICH are the communities that practice, transmit and embody it (Stefano et al, 2012).

The study concludes there were several factors that contributed to how heritage was perceived and valorised in Cornwall. This was dependent on who the stakeholders were and their motivations, which in turn affected what was conveyed as heritage (the content/narrative) and how those messages were communicated (forms of mediation) and with what impacts. In addition the study found that the Man Engine did call attention to ways that 'heritage' was used and celebrated through both formal/official and informal/unofficial processes and practices. It offered a model of practice in cultural governance that funded and created space for co-production with the community and recognised a plurality of values. In this sense it reflected heritage as a dynamic cultural process of communication, a gateway for on-going discourse in Cornish heritage, and an alternative to memorialising and fossilising the past (Dicks, 2000). In spite of the success of the Man Engine the research found that improvements could be made to this model. Cultural producers are integral to bringing people together to celebrate and expressing heritage, which reflects current UK cultural policy (Cornish Cultural White Paper, 2016). However changes to funding are needed during the commissioning stage to allow

inclusion of diverse freelance cultural producers, and for improved infrastructural support.

1.5 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter two contextualises the Cornish minority, in both time and space, within the historical processes that shaped Cornwall. In particular Cornwall's geography has led to peripherality and a distinct ethno-history. This provided a complex foundational identity as rural industrial Celt, one that is valorised by both the insider (Cornish) and the outsider (non-Cornish) with varying conflicts. Perceived dilution of the Cornish culture and heritage underlay the heritage movement, described in this chapter, to protect, preserve and signify it through UNESCO as World Heritage and protect the minority nature of Cornish cultural heritage by the Council of Europe.

Chapter three inspects the literatures that underlie 'valorisation' as a process that gives rise to diverse meanings and significance, depending on the perspective (economic, social, cultural and political). Theoretical perspectives examined include Foucauldian theory, cultural expediency, critical cultural policy and critical heritage. The analysis of research literature also engages with alternative, wider notions of heritage to the AHD constructed at an individual level and an engagement in wider trends of critical heritage theory, representation and non-representational theories. This includes Intangible Cultural Heritage and valuation of expressions through performing arts.

Chapter four on methodology outlines how the research was undertaken, why the methods of data collection were chosen, their limitations, and how the data was analysed. Chapter five provides detail on the data collection, the different scales involved in the power/knowledge process of heritagisation, and the ways that performative acts by both authorised and grassroots agents affected these processes. In particular, the data collected illustrates the extent to which grassroots minority notions of Cornish heritage were engaged within these constructions, and the alternative or active expressions by Cornish minorities that emerge through performances like the Man-Engine.

Chapters six to eight analyse and discuss the findings from the study specifically related to official heritage, unofficial heritage and the Man Engine, and connects them with existing theory and research. The conceptual frameworks analysed in the literature review are applied within a critical heritage approach, which question issues of power in cultural heritage valorisation, government policy and management. The chapters are presented in relation to the five core areas of analysis that contribute to how heritage is valorised

including stakeholders, motivations, and mode of communication, which affect what is communicated and the impacts.

Chapter nine is the concluding chapter that summarises the major findings that came from the research and relates them to what was originally proposed. It also shows the significance of the research for knowledge in relation to other work that has been done in the heritage field and heritage practice. In addition the limitations of the research and possibilities for future study that will build on its findings are discussed.

Chapter 2. Case study: Cornwall - defining and valuing the land and people within a national minority status

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the background to the study and explores the cultural processes that contributed to how heritage in Cornwall is valorised. This contextualises how the past is given value and meaning; the historical processes that shaped and continue to create this idea of heritage. The chapter places the Cornish minority within both time and space. In particular Cornwall is seen as geographically and politically peripheral. This has led to a distinct ethno-history providing a complex foundational identity as rural industrial Celt, one that is valorised by both the insider (Cornish) and the outsider (non-Cornish) with varying conflicts. A perceived threat to Cornish culture contributed to Cornwall's heritage official designation as WHS, deemed of 'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV), and the Cornish people as a National Minority in need of protection by the Council of Europe. Integral to this study is a critical enquiry into how Cornwall's heritage became viewed as significant and in need of protection by official organisations and who spearheaded this process. This interrogated the agency, as well as the structure.

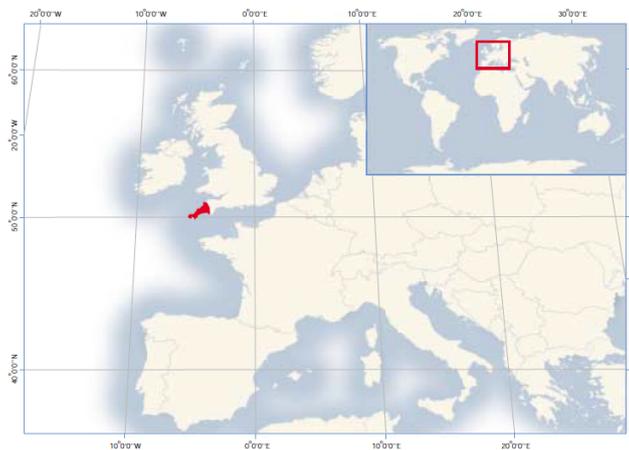


Figure 1. Map showing the location of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape.

Figure 1. Location of Cornwall (DCMS/CWDML 2006:1)

Cornwall is part of the United Kingdom but has often seen itself as different (Payton, 2004, 2016; Tregida, 2012). This emerged from historical processes. From the 10th century onwards, a border was established between Cornwall and Anglo Saxon Wessex, giving rise to the Stannary system (1201) and Duchy Of Cornwall (1337) and which

provided ‘Cornwall a degree of political independence’ (Payton, 2000: 124). The Cornish developed a strong sense of being, constructed from an on-going relationship with its rugged landscape (Rowse, 1969). The sparsely populated terrain of granite, stone and acid soil that fought habitation and agriculture resonates with other Celtic landscapes (Muir, 1998). This land also produced an ancient mining culture, whose highly skilled work force eventually emigrated to N. America, Mexico, S. America, S. Africa and Australia in a global mining economy (Payton et al, 2000). Cornwall’s heritage is therefore not just specific to a spatial location, but a wider notion of community and belonging termed ‘Cornishness’ which includes to varying degrees, the Cornish diaspora. These historical processes and peripheral location have formed Cornwall’s contemporary idea of heritage and sense of being different. This embodied process of being different led to recognition of as a national minority apart from the majority population of the UK, and their mining heritage as globally significant and of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’.

The following sections demonstrate the construction of Cornwall’s heritage; how its mining landscape and the people within a national minority became defined and valued politically, culturally and globally as significant and in need of protection. Section 2.2 outlines a historical perspective needed to understand how a relationship with the past connects with the construction of present day Cornwall and ‘heritage’. Smith argues that to reveal a sense of a nation’s heritage we need to place it within a temporal depth that ‘charts the developments and changes to the sense of national community over the generations’ (2010:85). Section 2.3 explores the political construction of Cornwall’s heritage and the tensions within this relationship defined as part of Britain but different. Cornwall’s ‘heritage’ is examined in relation to peripheral centre theory and how being peripheral has contributed to the mobilisation of the past for contemporary needs. Historical and more recent changes in Cornwall, imposed by ‘outsiders’ through tourism and contemporary regeneration and cultural policies, have led to major socio-economic changes likened by some scholars to being colonised. Patterns of changes, led by ‘outsider’ institutions, has been criticised as lacking democratic principles or ethics of inclusion (Payton, 2004; Deacon et al, 1988). This has created tension over lack of ownership of Cornwall’s official heritage (Davey, 2017), omission in official British narrative (Vernon, 1998), and over-commodification/gentrification (Kennedy, 2016). Section 2.4 looks at the cultural construction of Cornishness as ‘different’, from language to literature and includes the sense of Celticism based around self-identification, spirituality and imagination. Section 2.5 explores Cornwall gaining world recognition as different. This recognition by institutions led to ideas that Cornish heritage was in need of protection and preserving, but also to strains over what heritage is used for, and who controls official discourses.

2.2. A history of Cornwall and being different

Cornwall is described by some academics as a place that engenders a sense of difference. A.L. Rowse describes it as having ‘an independent life, a vital principle of its own...even today, for the Cornish think themselves as a distinctive people, even when they have emigrated over seas’ (1969:9). Cornwall acquired a Celtic identity in the Iron Age, one that Payton (2004) suggests set it apart geo-physically. This was significant enough by AD 700, to be recorded in the 7th/8th century Ravenna *Cosmography*, as a population and territory called Cornubia, by Charles Todd (cited in Payton, 2004). This emerged out of a wider geographical area – Dumnonia with an administration centre in Exeter. The Romans also recognised this area (Cornwall) as a source for trading tin (Johnson and Rose, 1993). By the Norman conquest Cornwall emerged as a ‘recognisable geo-political entity...territorially and ethnically secure’ (Payton, 2004:69). This created a distinct cultural zone, essentially Celtic in character that was labelled as ‘Cornish’ and included a distinctive badge, a Celtic language of the Brythonic group, which reinforced this Cornish identity. Further symbols of a Celtic identity, the Celtic cross, appeared from the earliest of 6th century to the latest erected in 2014 by the Tamar bridges. Cornwall’s Celtic identity has a significant association with King Arthur and Tintagel on Cornwall’s northeast coast (Barret, 2014; Hamilton-Jenkin, 1970).

The River Tamar became the geographical division between Cornwall and the Anglo-Saxon territory of Wessex under King Athelstan in 936AD (Ball et al, 2000), augmenting Cornwall’s ethnic integrity (Payton, 2004). This was followed by the formation of two important institutions, the Duchy Of Cornwall and the Stannaries, giving Cornwall a degree of independence (Payton et al, 2000). The Stannary Charter (1201) provided free mining customary rights, which created a class of miners with an independent spirit and provided a ‘territorial semi-independence’ powerful enough to have its own parliament (Rowse, 1993:13). The Duchy created in 1337, allowed a level of rebelliousness and autonomy from central English affairs. The Archdeacon of Cornwall stereotyped this independent spirit in 1342, as wild and beyond the pale, like the feuding Gaelic in Scotland (Hatcher, 1970). Payton (2004) argues this came at a price and created tensions with an emerging English State, making the Cornish neither separate nor totally part of the country. The Tudor regime threatened this semi-independence, with concerns over central government and imposed taxation, leading to a Cornish Rebellion in 1497. Michal Joseph ‘An Gof’ and Thomas Flamank led a Cornish army to London, but were defeated at Blackheath (Payton et al, 2000).

Early Christian Cornwall experienced their lives guided by the Catholic Church, its Saints and traditions in medieval times including Cornish Miracle plays, like *Beunans Meriasek* (Harvey, 2002). But the Tudor monarchy and the new Church of England began a dilution of Cornwall's differences in cultural heritage. Rowse points out that the emergence of the Church of England was not only a decisive step from Parliament to prevent diversity of religious use, it also became 'the chief instrument in the spread of the English language in Cornwall' (Rowse 1969:287). Payton describes it as a colonisation, 'the epitome of Tudor intrusion' (2004:122). This not only undermined the Celtic Catholic Cornwall, it also undermined Cornwall's constitutional accommodation as a land apart with its Stannary parliament. Further the Anglicisation through the English prayer, caused outrage and came to a head in the 1549 'Act of Uniformity' and 'the Prayer Book Rebellion'. The practice of the Cornish language diminished, although linked to the Church of England, Whetter (1974) suggests that the development of coastal shipping and contact with Devon merchants may have perpetuated the spread of English in the everyday. Renko-Michelsen adds there was a negative attitude, 'the English language was the language of commerce and Cornish the language of the poor and illiterate' (2013: 183).

Cornwall was scarred by what Payton (2004) terms the Tudor invasion. But Rowse writes of a recovery through technical advances in mining that made Cornwall 'a distinctive place in the economy of Europe' (1969:54). Cornwall became a chief supplier of tin for the Western world, described as the 'hey-day of Cornish mining and engineering' (Payton et al, 2000:21). The industrial prowess of the Cornish mining industry and its global reach became part of Britain's imperial expansion experience. This collaboration superimposed internal difference in Britain with an emphasis on commerce, industry and Empire (Colley, 1994). The Cornish became the coloniser in the 19th century as mining spread Cornish culture globally, colonising Africa, the Americas and Australia. By mid-nineteenth century, emigration was however not necessarily by choice. It acted as a safety valve for a crisis and reflected the spacing of other Celtic geographies and emerging diaspora (Harvey et al, 2000). The 1840's potato famine significantly affected Cornwall, as did the abrupt collapse of the mining industry from 1880's, which left behind an economic depression and loss of an assertive, dynamic identity (Rowse, 1975). The reaction to this deindustrialisation left those who remained in Cornwall impoverished and stereotyped or 'othered' as uncivilised and wild, deflecting wider issues around poverty, defined by some as a post-colonial condition (Trezice, 2000). Payton (2004) terms this process a 'great paralysis,' as an identity turned in on itself, from self-confident to introspective and fossilised. He describes how this lethargy from the late nineteenth

century to after the Second World War, was a reaction to deindustrialisation and the forming of a new identity.

By the 20th century Cornwall was reinvented and reconnected with its Celtic heritage. The Cornish Revivalist movement included Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak (Cornish Celtic Society), formed in 1901 and spearheaded by Henry Jenner, was a determination to recognise Cornwall's Celtic culture (cited in Rayne, 2016). Not only did Jenner recognise the Cornish language as integral to Cornish nationality, his speech in 1916 at the Celtic Congress was instrumental in acceptance of Cornwall as a Celtic country (Payton, 2004). Further symbols came to the fore, like the St Piran's flag and Cornish tartan, and formation of additional grassroots groups including The Federation of the Old Cornwall Society and Gorsedh Kernow. This re-invention of Cornwall, mobilising its Celtic past and Arthurian links also fostered a romantic imaginary, which coincided with the construction of Cornwall by outsiders as a place to escape to. The re-invention of Cornwall in this context - the producers and targeted consumers - were not from Cornwall (Payton, 2004; Deacon et al, 1988).

This continued from 1960's onwards, as a decline in traditional industry heralded a rapid expansion of the service and heritage industry. The regeneration policies of the 1970's are criticised by Deacon et al (1988) in *Cornwall at a Cross Roads* as a branch-type economy with the power remaining in central Britain leading to problems. Planning policies made Cornwall Council powerless, as central government came down in favour of the developer, progress and enterprise, which imposed on the Cornish people 'futures they did not want' (Deacon 1988:22). Ronald Perry writes of a Cornwall 'swamped by a flood of middle class, middle aged middle browed city dwellers who effectively imposed their standards on local society. Integration and assimilation was a one-way process of urbanisation rather than ruralisation' (1986:71). In addition, Cornwall had the highest rate of unemployment, more than the Northeast or Merseyside (Moorhouse, 1964). These issues highlighted on-going concerns over lack of a Cornish voice and led to a social movement and emergence of an independent research group concerned with the future of Cornwall (COSERG, 1987). This laid the foundations for the Cornish Charter group who were instrumental in placing Cornish issues on the political agenda. During the 1980's, while other Celtic areas in the UK moved towards constitutional reconstruction in the aftermath of the 1988 General Election, Cornwall however was swayed by promises of regeneration (Deacon et al 1988; Payton, 2004).

In spite of these rapid socio-economic changes to Cornwall, McArthur (1988) suggests they sharpened the Cornish ethnic identity and produced a political edge. This was played

out in Cornwall's mining sites and Lowerson (1994) describes tensions between New-Age traveller colonies and local communities in conflicting perceptions of spirituality of place. This produced a renewed sense of ownership, leading to reclaiming the relationship with these landscapes as an important link to the Cornish identity (Payton, 2004) and contributed to a motivation to protect industrial mine sites (Sharp et al 1990). Previously 'shunned as dangerous and unattractive wastelands' they were now seen as 'precious' (Ball 2000:167). In 2004, this led to the UK Government nominating this mining landscape to become a World Heritage Site. The importance of Cornwall's unique mining heritage became recognised not only locally but also globally through UNESCO's designation in 2006. In parallel was a push to protect Cornwall's cultural heritage defined in the *Cornish Minority Report* as 'a nation with its own identity, culture, traditions and history' (2014:11). This social/heritage movement was spearheaded by grassroots groups and led ultimately to the Council of Europe recognising the Cornish as a National Minority on 25th April 2014.

From the works of these historians, several themes emerge that help illuminate how a relationship with the past connects with present day Cornwall. Integral to this is Cornwall's spatial location as peripheral to decision-making, which has direct bearing on 'heritage' and conflicts over representation (Brett, 1996) and its construction - who decides what is heritage and the different meanings assigned to it.

2.3. Politics, peripheralisation and the shaping of a national minority

2.3.1 What shapes a national minority?

Cornwall has been shaped by its peripheral location, which has made it geographically and politically, an outsider. But this semi-independence has contributed to Cornish as a 'nation', defined as a distinct population of people bound together by a common culture (Grimsley, 2017), with 'language, traditions and cultural heritage' valuable enough to be protected by the Council of Europe (1995:3), however fails to meet the criteria as an independent 'state' or defined political entity (Rosenburg, 2017) and results in what Meech and Kilborn term a 'Stateless nation' (1992:245). The Council of Europe support the power of the state and outline how as a democratic society they should create conditions to preserve, express and develop national minority identities within it, but this is done 'respecting the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of states' (1995:2). A national minority is therefore defined as group wishing for more autonomy but not seeking to form a separate political entity within a state (Modeen, 1969). Grahl-Madson

(1970) suggests almost every state has minorities, concerned with gaining equality, safeguarding their identity and cultural autonomy. They do this by demanding equal rights within the dominant state, and by resisting assimilation by supporting their own cultural expression. This forms the background to Cornwall's push to be recognised as a national minority within the larger majority of the UK (Payton, 2004; Deacon et al, 1988). National minorities may also reflect Gramsci's theory of identity formation (1971) where a subordinate group can constitute an internal ideology of resistance. These identities are formed as a popular consciousness, a spontaneous everyday cultural hegemony in contrast to the official dominant view. Burton (1997) applies this perspective to Cornwall's situation, which has an official identity as a county of England but a popular consciousness that is the root of the Cornish identity as a national minority.

A definition of national minority and associated nationalism is by nature a broad and sensitive one. The protection of it within the Council of Europe framework (1995) is aimed at promoting cultural heritage diversity, more so than an autonomous State. This is set within an ethos of tolerance and dialogue to enable cultural diversity, one that falls under the International Protection of Human Rights. Nationalism is defined as 'patriotic feelings, principles or efforts', which in extreme cases is marked by feelings of superiority (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). Colgar (2016) is critical of the concept of nationalism, in particular using the ethnic lens approach to society and deep-rooted methodological nationalism. This assumes that ethnic identities are central to people's lives. Colgar's work relates to second-generation minorities and is critical of nationalism that essentialise people into one country and one identity, rather than multiple sources. Robins (1991) raises concerns over the sentiments behind some national minority movements, as being xenophobic towards newcomers or outsiders.

The concept of a nation-state and nationalism as a 'nation-state building process' is seen as a recent construct (Colgar, 2016:953). Anthony Smith (2008) suggests that a surge of contemporary, peripheral nationalist movements started in the 1960's, to claim diversity in the face of a homogenous UK political arena, heightened by the decline of traditional industries and the British Empire. The issue of identity, heritage, belonging and migration increased with the landmark General Election in 1989 (Payton, 1997). The election emphasised not only the significant territorial dimension in UK politics, but also a rebellious challenge to the homogenous nature to Britishness as a national culture and identity (Hall, 1995). Britishness and the Celtic fringes were termed the fuzzy frontiers (Cohen, 1986), and were coupled with industrial changes, dislocation of communities and unrest especially in Cornwall, Ireland and the NE of England. Added to this, Cole describes 'an Anglo-Saxon invasion of a small elite able to impose its cultural tributes

upon the indigenous populations' (1997:2). The emphasis on a national identity formed by deindustrialisation and outsider influence was criticised as reductionist, ignoring the intricate dynamics and responses that people have with struggles and history (Hale, 1997b, Leerson, 1996).

Being recognised as a national minority increased the visibility of ICH in Cornwall, in particular the Cornish language. The Cornish language cited in the Cornwall Minority Report (2014) is seen as key to identity, with language directly linked to cultural heritage and diversity. Renko-Michelsen writes that 'diversity is directly dependent on the number of languages' (2013:181) and highlights the importance of language to the Cornish minority identity and its status, recognised by the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (2002) and UNESCO (2012). Renko-Michelsen placed Cornish as a 'critically endangered language' (2013: 183). Sayers (2012) argues for the institutional support of the Cornish language. But bearing in mind that the language was last spoken in the eighteenth century and scholars have wrangled on the different orthography of the Cornish language, this was difficult. However Sayers concludes there is need for standardisation of settings for minority issues, including language, through European charters. This is also seen as leverage for positive open dialogue (Nic Craith, 2007; Warasin, 2007). Unfortunately, the UK Government cut funding for the Cornish language in 2016, a move criticised by the Advisory Committee for Council of Europe (The Opinion, 2017).

As outlined in section 2.2, integral to Cornwall's heritage is a connection with a Celtic past, symbolised in Celtic crosses across the landscape. But controversy has emerged from the actual term Celtic. Engaging with Anderson's 'imagined community' (1983), Hale and Rigby (1997) suggests that the term Celtic was not used in the 'Celtic' Iron Age. Amy Hale suggests that language is not seen as an accurate marker of ethnicity and was inconsistent with the lived experienced of 'Celts' (1997:95). Her research later cites language, Celtic dance and music as providing the distinct ethnicity for the Cornish diaspora in the USA (2006). Ford (1998) calls the contemporary relationship with a Celtic past and the concept of Celticity as a process encompassing politics, identity, spirituality and narratives in contrast to 'old style' Celtic studies that centre on archaeology and linguistics. Smith (1990; 2010) argues that nations are actually formed from an ethno-history that is built around myths and memories, such as the Celtic identity. Nora's work (1996) in cultural remembrance from place, space and identity sets out how nationalism is derived from history and memory. This is echoed in Anderson's imagined community (1983): he suggests that it is inherently impossible for a nation to meet; therefore there are imagined boundaries of communities who see themselves as belonging. Urwin (1985)

suggests that ethnic identity has little to do with biology, and everything to do with culture and self-perception, based on historical and contemporary socio-economic experiences. This imaginary space is illustrated by Dicks (2009) in connection with the Welsh national minority, where the once real occupational mining communities became an imagined community. Rokkan and Urwin argue that the ‘complex mosaic’ of territory, identity and marginalisation, goes far beyond a basic consideration of ethnicity or the sudden rise of a nationalist party, highlighting the need for a ‘rigorous, systematic, historical and comparative perspective’ to disentangle it (1982:2).

2.3.2 Whose identity? Peripheralisation and being ‘other’

Centre-peripheral theories can be related to the study of minorities and power. Peripheral models are about social exclusion where those physically marginalised as outsiders can be excluded from taking part. Hall relates peripheral theory to the formation of identity. He suggests that the logic of identity is spatially organised and constructed from discourses of the inside and outside of self, other and society, and all are affected by ‘decentering in terms of social practice’ (2005a: 43). This positioning and the power in play, defines ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ positionality in relation to heritage. Cultural heritage organisations make claims of tolerance, and the benevolent ‘insider’ can be seen as working for the passively ‘excluded’ or outsider (Colgar, 2016; Lynch, 2017). Peripheral models of power and lack of local control have been employed to explain how conflicts can arise with outsider values affecting rural dynamics (Herbert, 1995; Darlow, 2010), the essentialising of national minorities (Kurtz, 2002), and the preservation of landscapes as touristic spaces (Watson, 2006). Political isolation of these peripheral areas has led to concerns over temporary or fast policies of regeneration and the ‘ramification of national and international circumstance or decisions made elsewhere’ (Holt, 2017:1). Cornwall is specifically highlighted by Deacon (1988; 2017) as peripheral to outsider decision-making processes, with a devastating effect on the Cornish culture. Daphne Du Maurier is concerned by what she sees as a vanishing Cornwall, however, she comments on ‘a hard truth that the preservers are not always the indigenous’ (1966:199). Naidoo (2015) concludes that that it is critical to shift the focus of heritage knowledge making by those marginalised to centre-of-periphery.

The peripheral location of the Cornish in UK decision-making derives from a stereotypical association with the Celtic identity. In the past the Cornish identity was seen by people from outside Cornwall as wild, ungovernable and ‘beyond the pale’ - an identity historically constructed by the Church, the Tudors, and by the Victorians. The

latter period saw Cornwall defined as part of a homogenous Celtic group, which led to internal discrimination in Britain (Ashcroft et al, 2000). The Celts were subjected to racial stereotyping in Victorian times as being uncivilized, a trope reflecting ‘fear of other’ in colonial literature of the British Empire. Robert Knox in 1850 associated the Celts generally with immutable traits of treacherous, uncertainty and restlessness. These perceived traits made the Celts a serious threat to the political stability of England. This essentialising is seen by Trezise (2000) as deflecting structural problems and extreme poverty and famine. The colonialist notions of ‘improvement’ for the naïve, inferior colonised would raise them up to the state of the coloniser (Ashcroft et al, 2000: 45). Trezise (2000) suggests the Cornish, both by association with their fellow Celts and due to prejudices specific to them, were also encumbered with this myth of inferiority. Verhage (2013) argues that the colonised/oppressed take on these ideas in their subconscious, and often believe and perpetuate them affectively. The colonial concept continued within Cornwall as governance and decision-making remained in London with high-level government jobs being held by the outsider (Deacon et al, 1988). It also reflects a long and insidious discourse of English discrimination against the Celtic people (Rayne 2016; Trezise, 2000). The mainstream narrative of a homogenous history downplayed those politically laden issues or ‘dark heritage’ related to colonialism, population displacement and the industrial revolution (Jones, 2005). The Cornish identity became synonymous with the tropes of ‘other’ as uncivilised and backward, and was also compared by Rowse to other Celts who struggled and rebelled. He likens Cornwall’s 1549 rebellions to the 1715 and 1745 Stuart Rebellions. The identity of the Cornish in the mid-20th century was thus affected by both the stereotyping of the Cornish and outside decision-making.

2.4 Cultural construction of the Cornish minority

2.4.1 A literary and popular cultural construction of Cornwall and Cornishness

The counter version of Celtic stereotyping is the romanticised construction of Cornishness that emerged from outsider-English literary perspectives. Creative writers from within the area go back to Carew-Pole’s ‘The Survey of Cornwall’ (1602) to Arthur Quiller-Couch (1970), known in his time as Cornwall’s equivalent to Wessex’s Thomas Hardy. Cornwall’s sense of difference as a land apart drew creative artists from outside the area (Ball et al, 2000). Literary writers like D. H Lawrence and Daphne Du Maurier instigated a tourist industry, accelerated by easier access to Cornwall in the building of

the bridges over the Tamar River. One early travel writer, Dinah Craik, describes this imaginary of Cornwall as 'just the region, in short which was likely to create a race like that which Arthurian legend describes, full of passionate love and deadly hate, capable of barbaric virtues and equally barbaric crimes' (1884:142). A. L Rowse in contrast describes Cornwall as a small backward Celtic society and an insignificant corner of the land 'sunk in its dream of the Celtic past and their own inner life of legends of Arthur and Mark and Tristan' (1969:9-10).

This fascination with primitive ancient landscapes and Arthurian mythology in Cornwall is mirrored in early twentieth century Scottish Borderland experiences characterised as pre-modern and timeless (Holt, 2017). The imaginations of writers are accentuated by the magical, mythological Celticity associated with this type of rural landscape (Marsh, 1993), particularly the spirit of Cornwall elucidated by Daphne Du Maurier's work. The ancient legends of smuggling and the fiery stubborn pride of the Cornish Celt resonated with Du Maurier's need to have freedom to write walk and be inspired. 'I walked this land with a dreamer's freedom and with a walking man's perception' (Hardyment, 2000:212). As readers of Du Maurier sought the origins of her writing, the region gained a literary geography and heritage - a public legacy known as 'Du Maurier's Cornwall' (Busby et al, 2000; Watson, 2006). The detail in her books, describing the landscape as wild, romantic, rugged and windswept with ungovernable people, tempted and inspired people to visit this Cornwall, whose landscape has changed little since the writer breathed her literature into it (Marsh, 1993). Du Maurier 'tuned into a rare degree to the spirit of the place' (Hardyment, 2000:212). Cornwall provided the space to romanticise the past, the canvas that she needed for the imaginative art of composition. This imaginary Celtic landscape mediated a 'sense of place' that contributed to the economic and social value of escapism tourism. It also led to conflicts with interests and ideologies competing and overlapping, affecting rural dynamics through fossilisation and preservation of cultural landscapes and heritage sites as touristic spaces (see Darlow; 2010; Convery et al, 2012,). This continues to be an issue in the UK as Holt highlights tension between real contemporary communities and 'projections of a primitive, even exotic pastness' by outsiders (2017:5). Deacon et al (1988) is critical of the effect of literary artists, often originating from outside Cornwall, in essentialising the Cornish. Outsiders glorified and sentimentalised the sea, moors and smuggling, while to the Cornishman, smuggling was the very existence of people in extreme poverty, reliant on the precarious occupations of fishing and mining (Hamilton-Jenkin, 1970). Similarly, mining is embedded in the social structure of the region, however Kennedy and Kingcome (1998) are critical of the Disneyfication of Cornwall's mining heritage into a Poldark theme park. The popular adaptation from Winston Graham's novels about eighteenth century Cornwall is further

criticised by Kennedy (2016) as abusing history, culture and tradition. The cultural assets and evocative landscapes have however proved a popular choice for Cornwall's visitors. This promotion to a mass market has increased the concept of this Cornish heritage as 'felt-history' and escapism, blurring fact and fiction (Prat, 2009) The mass appeal of film adaptation and literary treatments of regions do raise questions about the relationships between places and people and how a sense of place develops including 'the role played by geographical landscapes in our imaginative understanding of ourselves and our communal identity' (Bradshaw, 2012: 33).

Celticity has therefore a complex duality, used by the indigenous Cornish to provide a sense of difference but also by 'outsiders' to romanticise or escape. The omission of a counter or layered narrative has seen the need to protect the Cornish identity and seek public recognition through the Council of Europe led by a social movement. The need to centralise the narrative and stories of those marginalised is supported by Crooke's work (2000) on Northern Ireland, which highlights co-construction of identity through an intertwining of politics and power forming an understanding of identity and culture. Her work on heritage production in both institutional and local initiatives generated by the community, contribute to an understanding of nationality in Northern Ireland. It also reinforces the need for valorisation through grassroots community spaces, which can reveal the value of telling and sharing stories. This includes rebalancing misconceptions on displacement of Celtic cultures and decline of communities.

Literary nostalgic constructions of Cornwall have long contributed to an ambiguous spatial location as a touristic space, constructed as wild, rugged and quaint, juxtaposed with its mining heritage (Emerich, 2012). Authors like Deacon (2017) have argued, this has however essentialised people and contrasts with a modern assertion of being Cornish. It demonstrates the need for a modern Cornish identity as a meaningful and multivocal expressive response to self-identify. For some this incorporates a Celtic ethnicity or inheritance as seen in Celtic diaspora (see Harvey et al, 2000; Nic Craith, 1998; O'Brien, 2017).

2.4.2 Cultural Policy, regeneration and accentuation of tourism

Cornwall has a significant mining past. As outlined in section 2.2, deindustrialisation, ensuing economic migration, and an economic depression led to regeneration policies, and the political shaping of a peripheral rural regional identity. This regeneration in Cornwall reflects what Yudice (2003) terms the expediency of culture and 'fast policy',

but is a process that has had little scrutiny, holds only visible gains for those in government (Peck, 2011; De Beukelaer and O'Connor, 2015), and is imposed by outsiders (Holt, 2017). This process has fuelled the UK heritage industry described as 'besotted' with an idealised version of the past (Cannadine, 1988:10), and as part of the 'self-fulfilling culture of a national decline' (Wright, 1987:15). Governments have shifted to a more indirect or induced economic effect, promoting the attraction of localities by increasing the creative workforce and producing a 'lifestyle' (Florida, 2002; Kennedy, 2016). These fast policies have mixed blessings for rural regeneration, fueled by the locating of creative workers to diversify the economic base (Woods, 2011; Shorthall and Shucksmith, 2001). This has led to overly romanticising rural society, stifling articulation of real local identity (Urry, 1990). In Cornwall, regeneration processes operating at different scales from central UK government accentuated tourism and culture, and manufactured a new identity for the Cornish, homogenising groups and commodifying culture for tourism in a specialised form of industry defined within a cultural region (Deacon, 1997; Kennedy, 2016).

Commodification of place conflicts with a pluralistic version of culture. Regeneration programmes, particularly in rural areas, are firmly aimed at rural tropes of nostalgic, timeless conservatism (Robertson, 2012; Robinson, 1990), and can lead to 'gentrification' of place (Howard, 2003; Oakley, 2009; 2015). This 'life style' branding of Cornwall is heavily criticised by Kennedy (2016), demonstrating an elitist idea of taste and cultural distinctness. Gentrification is described by Deacon et al (1988) as a colonisation of place by a higher income group. This produces displacement of the lower income earner in the ensuing inflation of prices (Smith and Williams, 1986) and the devastating social problems caused by second homes (Oakley, 2009). These impacts from heritage-led regeneration, including expulsion from global capitalism and neoliberalism, are not UK specific (Sasson, 1996).

While most of the tourist developments in Cornwall are focused on mining heritage, another form of regeneration is the Eden Project, tropical gardens housed in two biomes on an old mining site. Jesse Harasta (2012) suggests the Eden Project raises 'wider considerations on the cultural and ethnic construction of Cornwall' (2012: 96). The Eden Project may be a cultural icon but it is built on a clay-mining site, thus, according to Harasta, eliminating the ordinary heritage and representing discourse of English middle class, and further as a place for healing and recreation of the English nation. More recently Cornwall has become located in UK government place-based policy initiatives and the UK Devolution Deal. Emerging from the Localism Act (2011), this relates to how a 'cultural distinctness approach can help to define that which is 'special' in terms of

buildings, geography and feelings’ (British Academy 2016:5). This valorisation of land is the linking of place, memory and identity in a ‘cultural landscape’. This concept of ‘sense of place’ adds to broader discourses on belonging, identity and symbolism (Tregida, 2012; Nye, 2004), but raises questions about what is valorised and who decides.

2.5 Institutional shaping of Contemporary Cornwall’s heritage

Some in contemporary Cornwall views the dominant English culture in Cornwall, formed through cultural policy and regeneration programmes, as a concern. Tregida suggests this has resulted from a ‘lack of respect of Cornwall culture, political and economic distinctiveness’ (2012:115). Yuval-Davis (2014) points out that a need to protect identity is an emotive aspect of belonging, and can be activated when an individual or group is feeling threatened. The elucidation of such local identities is increasing significant at a time of burgeoning globalization, which has led to an increasingly identity-led world where politics, heritage and landscape are strategies of economic development (Harvey, 1989). Increased individualisation and globalisation strengthen old boundaries based on resistance with a collective action of ‘us’ and ‘other’ (Kellner, 2002). Tregida (2012) applies this to the Cornish situation, suggesting that threats to Cornish culture and its historical legitimacy forged an appeal to build on the long-standing sense of rebellion. This was an emergent process of confidence that articulated Cornishness (Tregida, 2012; Deacon, 2017).

2.5.1 The Cornish National Minority and Council of Europe

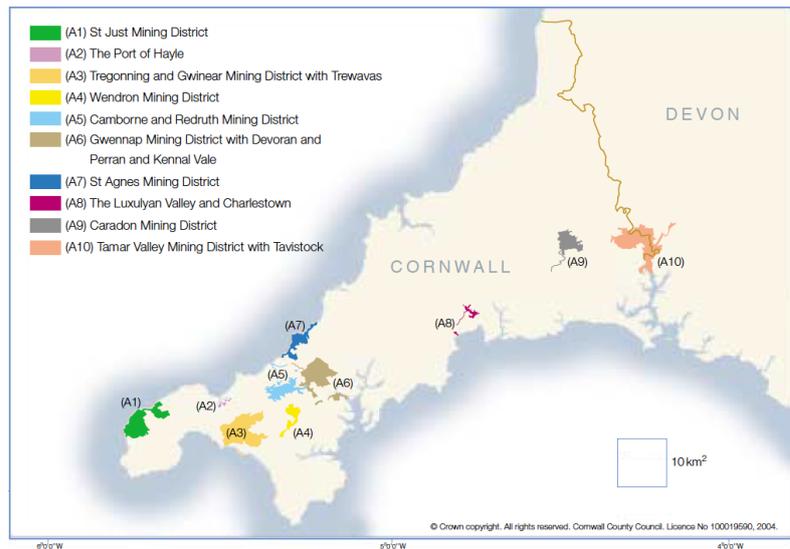
Cornwall’s social/heritage movement to increase visibility gained momentum from 1999 and the first Cornish minority report, which outlined the case for recognition of the Cornish as a minority (Husk et al, 2012). In 2002 the UK government added Cornish to their list of indigenous British languages, but Payton describes a ‘strong governmental resistance to the Cornish being identified as an ethnic group under the terms of the Council of Europe Protection of National Minorities’ (2004:296). Support for a Cornish minority was however voiced locally at this time, when the Cornish Constitutional Convention collected 50,000 signatures calling for a Cornish Assembly. By 2011, a second report by Saltern made the case for the Cornish as an official minority, followed by a final report which wrote of Cornwall and Cornish as a ‘unique identity and distinct region in its own right’ (Cornwall Council, 2014:5). The Council of Europe recognised Cornish as a National Minority on 25th April 2014. The government supported this

designation, but commentators suggested there were political motives behind this, for example Liberal Democrat support in the face of UKIP advances (Trelawney, 2014). Irrespective of this, the Council of Europe now acted as an institutional voice for the Cornish. For example, the Council of Europe intervened in the proposed 2011 ‘Devonwall’ boundary review process and advocated that any administrative and constituency reform follow an inclusive process, which takes into account the presence of persons belonging to a national minority in the territory, their meaningful participation and respect for their rights (The Opinion, 2017: article 146). This long campaign of recognition for Cornishness was outlined by Gorsedh Kernow who said ‘Cornish people have a proud and distinct identity, and a genuinely democratic society respects the ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity of people belonging to a national minority’ (Muller, 2014).

2.5.2 UNESCO: Cornwall as a WHS

This move to officially recognise Cornish cultural heritage ran in conjunction with a push to recognise Cornwall’s mining heritage as universally valued. Cornwall’s mining landscape was officially acknowledged as a WHS in 2006. The canonical status endowed by the UNESCO WHS listing provided prestige and acted as a catalyst for recognition of the global importance of the mining heritage and its landscape.

The mining landscape was radically reshaped by the deep mining in the 18th and 19th century and acted as ‘testimony of the sophistication and success of early large scaled industrialised non-ferrous hard rock mining’ (UNESCO 2016). UNESCO drew on these specific sites of memory and symbolic occupations, signifying their cultural heritage and international influence and the cultural landscape provides a vivid and legible testimony to the success of Cornwall (UNESCO, 2006). UNESCO believed that by protecting and enhancing the OUV of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape, it would reinforce cultural distinctiveness and social inclusion as well acting as a significant base for economic regeneration (WH Management Plan 2005-2010).



The Site comprises 10 Areas that represent landscapes of former mining districts, ancillary industrial concentrations and associated settlements. Collectively these Areas form a cultural landscape that, whilst having never been spatially continuous, shares a common identity. The Site does not extend below Mean Low Water Mark (as defined by the United Kingdom Ordnance Survey) as this is the legal limit of statutory planning responsibilities of local authorities.

Figure 2. Cornwall and West Devon WHS, (source: Management Plan, 2005-2010).

The industrial experience in Cornwall created acute socio-economic changes (Deacon, 1997). These changes adversely affected the Cornish identity away from an innovative hardworking spirit associated with mining heritage, to a lethargic community living on hand outs. UNESCO affected this identity in some ways by stepping in to promote how ‘extraordinary’ the Cornish were through their global affects and the spread of the culture through the Cornish diaspora. The international significance of the Cornish diaspora globally was recognised by Australia in the 1970’s when the State Government made Burra Burra a State Heritage Centre. The contemporary connectivity of the Cornish diaspora is seen by Deacon and Schwartz (2010) as a strong example of trans-regionalism. Hale also recognises that industrial heritage has been a primary market for the Cornish diaspora who make pilgrimages to Cornwall, and this has become more politicised as Cornish descendants are ‘interested in the economic and cultural wellbeing of modern Cornwall (2006:281). Figure 3 shows the areas in the world where Cornish miners settled.



Figure 3. Map of other areas of the world with Cornish engine houses (credit: Jo Buchanan).

As well as UNESCO reinforcing cultural distinctiveness, another key objective was economic sustainability. Garner (2016) suggests that when a state party puts forward a nomination to UNESCO, economic viability is key. Cornwall already had a well-established tourism industry provided by cultural assets and evocative landscapes. The power of UNESCO WHS to provide funding and increased status, led a huge push towards the heritage industry and the Cornish mining as a success story. UNESCO (2016) suggest that their designation of valuation adds intellectual and cultural capital, which demonstrated to officials within the South West Regional Development Agency the potential that WHS destination offers.

The popularity of mining heritage was propelled following the BBC's television adaptation of Winston Graham's *Poldark* from 2015. Malcolm Bell of Visit Cornwall claimed 'film and television has proven to have a significant influence on holiday decision-making, so *Poldark* has been an incredible gift to Cornwall' (Western Morning News, 2015). Moseley (2013) suggests that the novel *Poldark* played 'a significant role in the construction of Cornwall's 'place-image' in the national and international imagination' (2013:218). Although the profile of Cornwall's mining heritage has been raised through *Poldark*, such sanitising and romanticising of heritage is criticised by Hewison (1987). Williams supports this idea, stating that the heritage movement in the Welsh mines 'is not to cultivate an historical consciousness, it is to eliminate it' (1991:300).

In contrast, this post-industrial transition to heritage in rural mining communities is not only a means of attracting visitors through the ‘widening cultural and recreational interest’ (Edwards and Coits, 1996:358), but also is a sign of distinction and pride in one’s identity within a place-based valuation (Prats, 2009). UNESCO (2016) suggests that in addition to economic values, there is an enhanced appreciation of heritage amongst residents by placing it in a global context. Orange’s research of Cornwall’s WHS (2014), outlines strong community support for the designation and preservation orientation for mining heritage. This global recognition was intended to reassert the value of working class mining culture and the industrial landscapes as part of this mosaic of what constitutes this duality of a Cornish national minority. Industrial heritage sites are among the few public historical locations where heritage narrative coexists so closely alongside living memory (Coupland, 2014). This puts the concept of heritage as cultural remembrance into practice, creating a cultural landscape and a sense of space derived from history and memory (Wood et al, 2012; Tregida, 2012).

This global recognition creates mixed feelings. The WHS is part of a politicised process, with globally defined narratives. Payton (2016) sees recognition of Cornwall by institutions like UNESCO, as supporting and raising the profile of Cornwall, but concedes it can be restrictive. Increasing ‘outsider’ institutional effects is a concern from a critical studies perspective, with the homogenisation of Cornish identity (Deacon, 2017; Kennedy, 2016). Hale also argues the industrial mining heritage of Cornwall, conflicts with the ‘popular perception of Celts as non-industrial people’ (1998:91). Deacon calls for a shift to recognise Cornishness as a hybrid identity, a third space (Bhabba, 1990) for emerging cultures - a new opening for the production and negotiation of culture and heritage. This would challenge and inform processes of cultural heritage through movements or resistance. All perspectives are explored in subsequent chapters.

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided context to the case study and explored how traces of the past have been valued as important and give meaning to perceptions of heritage in contemporary Cornwall. One significant aspect is that Cornwall is perceived as geographically and politically peripheral within UK government decision-making, in spite of political moves like the UK Devolution Deal of 2015. There are concerns that decisions are still being made outside of Cornwall that create a homogenous idea of the Cornish (Deacon, 2017). Being peripheral has however created a distinct ethno-history, as

an industrial Celt and Cornwall has often seen itself as different. This emerged from historical processes including a border between Cornwall and Anglo Saxon Wessex, giving rise to the Stannary system and Duchy Of Cornwall. It also had a significant mining past, but its collapse and ensuing de-industrialisation, created socio-economic impacts.

Historical processes and peripheral location have formed Cornwall's contemporary idea of heritage and sense of being different. More recently these embodied processes of identity formation have led to Cornwall's past mobilised in official projects, adopting the term cultural distinctiveness, relating to Cornwall's unique cultural heritage (Cornwall Council, 2020). Ball et al, (2000) also suggested a key strength was having Cornish cultural heritage as part of multicultural Britain. This sees regional diversity as a resource for the future, and enables a renewed confidence in Cornwall in being noticed on the national and international stage. The latter has been reinforced with official signification as a WHS and protection as a national minority.

Chapter 3. Literature review

This chapter maps the spectrum of theory and research that links to the overall aim of the study - to enhance our understanding of the construction and complexities of heritage. This includes how authorised and alternative perspectives may express and 'valorise' heritage in different ways. It contextualises the research and places it within a critical heritage and performance theory framework, highlighting the diversity of alternative processes of valorising of heritage. This chapter is made up of four main parts: the first section introduces the complexities of valorising and some key theoretical approaches and academics that explore this concept; the second part outlines academic debates on official or organisational heritage and who gets to take part in this process placing the research within broader literature from critical heritage and cultural theory related to valuing, meaning and norm setting within society; part three looks at the literature contextualising alternative ways to valorising heritage within unofficial processes including the field of performance theory subdivided into three interrelated sections grassroots heritage, intangible cultural heritage and multivocality (performance and affect), which explores different valuing practices shifting the focus from official value, to a process of valuing created through experience; the final section connects with literature in performance studies that centre on phenomenological and affective aspects of valuation, and open a gateway for democratisation of what and how heritage is valorised. This literature review provides background, depth and academic rigour to the study of heritage in Cornwall, and the critical relationship between theory and practice.

3.1 The complexities of valorising.

The word valorise is defined by the Oxford Dictionary (2017) as 'to give or ascribe value or validity' expressed as an action or verb. Valorising is an active process of meaning-making wherein people define, in their own way, the significance of things, practices, ideas, or processes (Barthes, 1974; Geertz, 1994). Valorising is a phenomenon that an array of disciplines has theorised. From a philosophical approach, Korsgaard identifies three categories of value - the rightness or justice of actions, policies, and institutions; the goodness of objects, purposes, and lives; and 'the moral worth or moral goodness of characters, dispositions, or actions' (1983: 169). She is particularly concerned of the second category of value, which mark out something of absolute good or 'worthy of choice'. From a sociological aspect, valorising is part of a process of norm setting and

social order, whose foundation is described in the social theories of Max Weber. Weber writes 'all knowledge of cultural reality is always knowledge from a particular point of view' (1947:1), and from this viewpoint leads to assigning value (Ashworth, 1998). Valorising is also a process seeking to identify, sustain and enhance significance (Fredheim & Khalf, 2016).

March and Olsen (2010) apply social construction theory to the role of institutions and human interaction in constituting normative or appropriate behavior. They argue that reality is interpreted through the lens of meaning and values, as we experience it producing human thought. They outline two normative processes, firstly a process that creates value through legitimacy and public trust, and secondly a process by which specific actors determine what has intrinsic value. The first normative process places an emphasis on how things are made significant and can be shaped by external influences - like governments and institutions. Foucault (1991) sees values as inscribed through the 'art of government' where populations are shaped by economic, institutional and normative documents (i.e. policy). Further he sees values as internal to the state or society, as part the political economy to sustain society, but this governance has a wider significance in that these values and norms govern self and the family.

The second normative process explains what is intrinsically valuable (March and Olsen, 2010). Mazzanti (2003) describes intrinsic as value that is inherent in its existence, natural and immutable. This echoes the philosophical approach of Aristotle (1094) who referred to intrinsic goodness as something that is good for its own sake, and by Kant (1785) who highlighted that objects, like people could be valuable. Later philosophical approaches like Moore (1922) cited in Rachel's (1998) and Harman (1967), relate the concept of intrinsic to a normative theory of value, as predictive of value but aligns it to a concept of duty or what ought to be done. Intrinsic value is also applied to art and beauty (Moore, 1922; Ruskin, 1905) and Wilde (1891) also refers to something unique. Kagan (1998) is however cautious of a dominant philosophical idea of intrinsic value that relies on intrinsic properties. She argues that intrinsic value depends partly on an instrumental value, that is, valuation ascribed by its usefulness to people (see Gibson, 2016). O'Neill supports this, explaining in research on the natural environment that natural entities exist independently from human valuation; however, their intrinsic value 'needs to show value contributing to the wellbeing of human agents' (1992:119). This crossover of intrinsic and instrumental value is also looked at by Frankena, who relates a state of goodness to happiness and health (cited in Goldman and Kim, 2013).

Belfiore (2009, 2010) and Matarasso (1996, 1997) look at the positive social impacts and instrumental value of art as a transformative power. In particular, Matarasso explores the role of public policy, art initiatives and community development strategies in producing social benefits, which include increased social cohesion, personal growth, active citizenship, tackling disempowerment and promoting wellbeing. However, research on the instrumental value of artists in community development by Leipins (2000) and Crawshaw and Gkartzias (2016) argue artistic practices are relational processes that help to explore or read the community, rather than tools for solving societal problems.

Both normalising views of value, instrumental and intrinsic, are brought together in relation to heritage. The intrinsic value of beauty was integral to the founding of the National Trust in 1895, described in an early document as the only corporation in Britain empowered to hold for the public, lands, monuments or buildings of historic interest or beauty (Clayton, 2012). The concept of intrinsic value and uniqueness is applied to the historic environment in the UK - Jones and Leech (2016) outline how tangible heritage in the UK is given a status of significance and awarded a moral duty of care. For example, the vision of Historic England is to ‘improve peoples lives by protecting and championing the historic environment (Historic England, 2019). Harrison argues that the notion of intrinsic value is core to the valorising process in official institutions of heritage, where endangerment to material remains is a concern, and a framework of ‘caring’ is produced – through listing, curating and preservation – to safeguard assets valued of intrinsic worth. He adds to this view, such heritage is ‘frequently normalised and thus attributed a moral position that removes it from scrutiny’ (2018:2). Preservation, listing and grading of value by experts, adopting a scientific approach to valorising within official heritage, inherently has problems (Howard, 2003; Hoskin, 2016). Hoskin argues grading of value by experts differs between countries ‘making the substance of value elusive’ (2016:21). Howard adds people attach different values and describes a series of lenses that affect how we consider heritage value: age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, class, poverty, insideness and expertise (2003:210). Harvey says that heritage is ‘a value–laden concept related to the process of commodification but intrinsically a reflective relationship with the past, however that past is perceived and defined’ (2001:327). This challenges the assumption that heritage value is immutable and static, and sees a shift to a pluralistic ontology, which is more representational of society and how it produces a plurality of meanings and values (Thrift, 2008; Moscovici, 1998).

Heritage is increasingly described in the literature as a living, cultural process with emerging, transient values (Smith, 2006; Smith and Campbell, 2018; Harvey, 2001). Valorising from this viewpoint, dependant on the cultural context, sees heritage as varied

and complex (Mannay, 2016). Indeed Geertz describes culture as a system of meanings, a collective property of people that communicate their knowledge and attitudes about life and adds 'culture is public, because meaning is' (1973:15). For Geertz, culture is given significance or value as it is perpetuated and passed down or inherited. Matsumoto supports this view, seeing culture as a 'set of attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next' (1996: 16). Valuation is then about intangible feelings and ephemera, which has led to a degree of unease and conceptual confusion in the heritage field (Smith and Campbell, 2018). For example, Poullos (2010) found that this relativist perspective complicated heritage site designations, and argued for a shift away from a value-based approach in conservation. This complexity is supported by Crossick and Kaszynska, who highlight that different interests of policy direction or everyday practices, makes 'distilling the "true" value of heritage a considerable task' (2016:20).

Much of the literature discusses the ways that environments and objects embody a sense of value in their materiality (Knappett, 2012; Woodward, 2007). Historic environments have changing meaningfulness, as Jones & Leech argue contemporary meanings of historic environments are not restricted to the official narratives and institutional process of signification. They offer a multidisciplinary approach to provide a 'nuanced understanding of the dynamic role of the historic environment in the production of meaning, memory, identity and sense of place' (2016:33). Multiple claims can lead to conflict and disagreement over values and narratives in heritage environments, and literature points out the need for sensitive management and negotiation (Ashworth et al, 2007; Jones and Leech, 2016).

Ashley and Frank theorise that 'heritage' is a process where the past is given value, a process of 'cultural production' through which people give meaning to their lives (2016:501). Heritage sites can function as public spaces to express these diverse meanings of culture, where different histories and identities can be affectively situated through performances and narrative (Ashley, 2013). The social impact of this construction is seen by Landry et al as, 'those affects that go beyond the artefacts and the enactments of the event or performance itself and have a continuing influence upon and directly touch peoples' lives' (1993:29). Recent UK scholarship on 'cultural value' within arts and humanities stress the need to have a deeper understanding of how the process of engagement with culture and heritage is understood, and an evaluative apparatus that can capture and reframe the complexity of valorisation within policy (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). This includes shifting from talking about 'values' as a noun, to a

dynamic form of *valuing* in terms of ideologies, interests and beliefs (Smith and Campbell, 2018; Jones, 2017; Carmen and Hoskin, 2016).

From this introduction to valorising, what is evident is that any approach to exploring how and why the past is valued needs an interdisciplinary approach (Waterton, 2017; Logan et al, 2015). Official valorising can be viewed as top-down, dominant and canonical, labelled by Smith as ‘Authorised Heritage Discourses’ (AHD) (Smith, 2006; Labadi, 2015), but there are alternative unofficial processes described by Robertson as ‘heritage-from-below’ (Robertson, 2012, 2016). Muzaini and Minca (2018) however argue that there are no clear lines between both in terms of what is valuable and who is doing the valuing, they are overlapping or intertwined, suggesting that heritage-from-below may be defined by a few select grassroots observers and driven by particular motives like AHD. They write that valuing is complex, people remember different pasts, and experiences are affected in ‘highly subjective ways’ (2018:17). Ashley and Frank suggest that the past is ‘heritagised’ by different social groups depending on their interests (2016: 503). Carmen and Hoskin call for a more productive approach, which ‘focus not on value but on the process of valuing’ (2016: 20). This includes a shift to democratisation of heritage that includes different valuing practices that converge on heritage - expert valuations, economic impacts but also how heritage is experienced on site. Both Muzaini and Minca (2018) and Smith and Campbell (2018) ask to what purpose heritage is activated and reproduced. This is particularly relevant in heritage management, where the process and strategies employed to control and determine such values requires critical inspection (Smith, 2006). The growth of heritage as social activity on an international scale, with social norms and values now on a global scale, has increased the need to inspect valorisation processes (Labadi, 2013; Singh, 2014). Further this globalization has led to the idea of a World Heritage, with universal values. However Harrison argues that heritage is a process with competing values rather than universalism, and he calls for a move from canonical national heritage to recognition of different groups within a more ‘representative’ approach to heritage or ‘relative approach to the question of heritage values’ (2013: 145).

3.2 Official heritage and valorising

A nexus of government, experts and institutions decide what is worthy of heritage status and therefore valued. This takes place at local, national and global levels. An understanding of this official heritage process cannot be made without framing it within a wider social practice, with reference to power and social ideological construction.

Fairclough (2009) places an emphasis on discourse as a vehicle for construction of meanings, norms and values. He states these discourses are not neutral, in particular social difference and stratification affects access to the process. Norm and value setting are related by French and Raven (1959), to power in organisations, including governmental systems. They apply dependency theory as a theoretical approach, which explores the power relationships between individuals, interest groups and the logics that guide behaviour described as coercive, legitimate, referent, reward and expert power. This relationship of power and knowledge used as a form of social control is foundationally theorised by Foucault (1991). He argues that processes of ‘governmentality’ – the ensemble of institutions, procedures and technologies of a dominant culture or political formation – manage or exercise power on a population in order to achieve desirable ends. Apparatus of heritage/culture have been invoked as contributing to this ‘conduct of conduct’ or management of populations. Research by Bennett looks at the relationship between the state, cultural policy and cultural resources and how they are ‘conscripted to perform’ in wider social management objectives (1998:4). This mode of governance is described by Nye (2004), as a ‘soft’ power, where people are directly reached and coerced and stands as an alternative to the ‘hard’ power of the military.

This theorising has direct bearing on official heritage management processes. Various critical analyses reveal a network of actors involved in heritage governance or norm setting processes (Smith, 2006, Coombe and Baird, 2015, Waterton, 2010). Selection of official heritage by experts is outlined by Prats referring to Geertz’ term ‘heritage referents’ to describe how official heritage and its tangible symbols generate support which ‘reaffirm and sacralise the system’ (2009:80). A number of writers focus on how these processes work in the UK. Howard (2003) and Lowenthal (1985) describe how experts consign ‘heritage’ with an immutable value, a system led by experts limiting access to who decided what is valorised. This process of listing and designation through advisory bodies like Historic England, place further value on the material built heritage, by formal legislation to protect and preserve. Adams (2013) highlights how organisation like the V&A museum and National Trust (NT) mobilised nationalist sentiment to save elite country houses from the Labour government Wealth Tax in 1970’s. Many of the eventual NT managers were ex-Etonians, reflecting the status of stakeholders involved in this valuation. This movement played a role in the 1980 National Heritage Act and the formation of state legitimated heritage institutions (Littler, 2005; Hewison, 1987). Even today, support for the NT is by wealthier social groups (Monks, 2012), those who are, Howard writes, ‘the same group that determines heritage’ (2003:242).

As managers of the conservation of buildings, heritage professionals have also moved on to managing values (Graham and Howard, 2008). The process of identifying and choosing what was designated as heritage has been shown by many researchers to be subjective, political and contested (Hawke, 2012; Adams, 2013; Smith, 2015). The state or government are powerful players in this official valourising process. Integral to this institutional process of valorising is the role of cultural policy, where the expert is given scientific legitimacy (Waterton, 2010, 2005; French and Raven, 1959; Prats, 2009). Labadi (2013) argues that some institutions have more power in the production of ‘truth’ and knowledge, which is regulated and normalised through this governmental apparatus – schools, armies, popular media and in particular universities. Schlesinger (2013) refers to the emergence of an intelligentsia in the last thirty years of academics as authorised experts, contributing to cultural governance. These are potentially the experts who contribute in Cornwall to the naming and managing of official heritage.

3.2.1 Official heritage discourses

Much of heritage studies literature approach heritage as a discursive construction that imposes value upon the past, depending on particular political, cultural and economic circumstances. Discourses, defined as any written or spoken communication or debate, are seen as affective, powerful and situated (Taylor, 2001). Professional discourses act to normalise values of the expert; a process Smith (2006) argues excludes the wider public taking part. This official process of valorising is therefore seen as powerful an elitist one, privileging dominant values (Smith, 2006, 2015; Adams, 2013). Waterton writes ‘heritage is imagined as a static and monolithic object from the past, understood as dead – ruinous or a survival of the past – valuable in terms of its ability to communicate a specific kind of knowledge to future generations’ (2010:85). Prats (2009) terms construction of heritage value, as ‘heritage activations’, which are generated through discourses of selection, organisation and interpretation. Waterton writes ‘how we talk, think and write about heritage issues *matter*’ (2010:1), and this includes the assumptions in policy documents.

Harrison (2013) describes these explorations of the nature of heritage and how assumptions about heritage are embedded and recreated by the use of professional language as ‘the discursive turn’ in heritage studies. Fairclough (2009) discusses how value assumptions in discourses work to make things appear ‘natural’ or legitimate’ or ‘common sense’. Strategically selected discourses become ‘intertextualised’ or embedded as a social practice, and become a familiar phrase (Fairclough, 2005; Campbell and

Smith, 2018). Waterton (2010) adds that examining texts, as discourse is an insightful methodological approach to understanding the legitimising process of policy documents. Smith's (2006) foundational work *Uses of Heritage* analysed professional texts using critical discourse analysis and revealed the normative process she termed the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse'. This discourse she suggests is Western or Euro centric, privileging the expert role in assessing values and meaning of heritage with an emphasis on the universality of these values and their tangibility. Value is then inherent and static, as it 'denies the possibility that how and why things are valued may change overtime and between different people, groups and stakeholders' (Smith and Campbell, 2018:7). Further, this immutability gives legitimacy to tangible heritage and makes it 'real' unlike more ephemeral intangible forms of heritage. Both Waterton (2010) and Smith (2006) stress the dialectical nature of heritage discourse, in that it constitutes values, knowledge, and identities *and* are constitutive in legitimising and transforming. The past is mobilised for socioeconomic and political needs and people are persuaded to accept particular version of the past as true.

3.2.2 Nation, nostalgia and greatness

Researchers are concerned with the construction and uses of the past in nation building, inciting nostalgia for past greatness or traditions. The 'national' heritage in policy and in on-site interpretations is given a positive value and aspirational association with the past (Uzzell, 1996; Christensen, 2011). Howard (2003), for example, suggests that UK governments when choosing what heritage to value, tend to pick celebratory historical periods then pursue further prestige/status through recognition as a WHS by UNESCO and award of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). Kurin (2004) points out how UNESCO policies avoid any conflict; they identify only a 'good' example of heritage - culture deemed positive and hopeful and not born out of any historical struggle and conflict. The interpretative significance of the chosen is provided in a national heritage language of 'greatness' (Christensen, 2010; Coupland, 2014). This leads to an economic valuation of heritage as seen in tourism. The promotion of the English country house is an example of this tourism drive, described by Finn and Smith as the 'national material culture' and as 'an endangered jewel' (2018:7). They add the country house symbolism continues to function as a vital sign of imperial power, playing a 'central role in global, national and local representations of Britishness in contemporary tourism' (2018:8). The mythology of a nation-state in the country house is criticised by Christensen as 'static, object centred, apolitical and an idealised presentation of the past' (2011:154). Heritage as an institutional platform for an ethos of nationhood is criticised as linear, top-down

framework, reinforcing a hegemonic view of the state nation (Geertz, 2009; Harrison, 2010). This can create tensions between stakeholders. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) point out that the process of marketing and commodification results in dissonance between heritage industry discourses and its underlying multiplicity.

The theme of greatness and a fixed heritage imperial identity is a central part of Smith's (2006; 2013) dominant AHD. She argues that the AHD is an apparatus or technology of government to regulate state and subnational interests as well as make sense of cultural problems and diffuse conflict. This influences narratives of past and contemporary expressions of culture that all tie back to the AHD that recreates and facilitates this authorised process. She explains how the nineteenth century European ideal that privileged the pastoral care of material heritage became the privileged expression of modern nation-states. Waterton's work suggests that heritage tourism continues to link with 'nationalism and national identity' (2011:12). Nostalgia for 'traditions' and a national past is regenerated through tourism. This 'fetishizing of tradition' links economic strategy with attempts to legitimise a homogenous national identity (Scott, 2010; Deacon, 2017; Mensch, 2012). Guss points out that folk tradition becomes cemented as an economic benefit as 'valorisation often leads to the procurement of government support and the attraction of tourists' (2000:15). He also highlights how folk tradition can be misrecognised in this larger legitimising enterprise and 'loses the ambiguities of local performance...the layering of history and context' (2000:13). Tomlinson (2000) warns this molding of cultural identity leaves little room for those not recognised as having official sanctioned narratives and are at risk of being marginalised in the production of a national heritage. A process that sustains homogeneity of Western values inhibits diversity (Anico and Peralta, 2009; Ashley and Frank, 2016) and is further discussed in 3.2.4.

Nostalgia has been mobilised not just in nation-building rhetoric, but is part of local and community memory practices. Research in UK mining communities found that heritage discourses reflected valuations that emphasised the industrial past. The community goals of memorialisation, personal discourse of loss and grief however became superimposed by World Heritage rhetoric in these mining communities (Coupland, 2014:513). Smith and Campbell (2017) argue that loss and mourning underpins what visitors' recall about industrial heritage sites. They argue that industrial museums are not just there to tell history, but serve as a meeting place to remember and commemorate this sense of communal belonging and the deeply felt emotions and collective experience engendered in de-industrialisation and class disenfranchisement. In particular, Strangleman (2013), Sayer (2005) and Rudacille (2015) refer to Hewison's 'false nostalgia' of the mining

tourism industry, as one that underplays and dismisses the moral worth of working class labour and both term this ‘smokestack nostalgia’ (a smokestack being the term applied to mining chimneys). In contrast Campbell et al argue nostalgia can be ‘an imaginative and creative, hopeful and complex in expression’ (2017:613). They term this ‘productive nostalgia’, which is a present centred, authentic emotional state and embodied, and that can help to increase the community self esteem and ‘claim back a meaningful role in the present, and justify hope in the future’ (ibid: 610).

3.2.3 Heritage as an expedient resource and cultural strategic ‘good’

Heritage policy has gone through a metamorphosis, emerging at different stages from conservation models that focused on material assets to the inclusion of social and cultural values (Crossick, and Kaszynska, 2016). Heritage has therefore become embroiled in wider cultural debates about the usefulness of culture to society. This includes the intersecting role of heritage and the creative industries (Shimko et al, 2019) rooted in UNESCO’s *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005), which states a need to incorporate culture as a strategic element in national and international policies. The Convention recognises diversity of expression and places emphasis on cultural activities, goods and services as having an economic importance as well as cultural benefit conveying identities, values and meanings. Much of the academic literature about cultural policy is critical of the over valorising of culture as a strategic or instrumental ‘good’, part of a powerful, shape-shifting exercise embracing economic and social missions. This has fuelled the wider tensions in cultural theory between intrinsic values and instrumental values (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008). Scholars of cultural policy question culture seen as an expedient resource (Yudice, 2003; Garner 2016). Littler (2015) points out that government policies since the 1970s have increasingly turned to culture as a resource to address economic or social issues, mirrored in the increasing global significance of the creative industries. She explains that the decline in traditional manufacturing in the West saw a transfer to a service economy, including the heritage industry. Hewison (1987) criticises the heritage industry as a sanitising of the past, where, as Williams writes about the heritagisation of the Welsh mines ‘it is not to cultivate an historical consciousness, it is to eliminate it’ (1991:300). In contrast some academics argue this post-industrial transition to heritage, as regional economic regeneration in rural mining communities, is not only a means of attracting tourists and local visitors through cultural and recreational interests, but also as a sign of distinction and pride in one’s identity as a sense of place (Storey, 2012; Prats, 2009). Research by Dicks into mining heritage sees it as a process for negotiating change and

she refers to social heritage as a ‘means of appreciating the intersection between individual biographies and wider social and cultural changes’ (2000:126).

As noted in section 3.1, some research on the instrumentalism of culture and heritage focuses on its promotion for socio-cultural effects on society (Matarasso, 1997; Howard, 2003; O’Brien and Lockley, 2015). Research on the social value of culture by Jones and Leech (2016) describe ‘wellbeing’ not only as a socio-economic benefit from regeneration and community development, but increasingly a primary source of feeling good. Rodman and Vanderdonck, (2006) add this a shift to an emotional value of culture and affective practice, making people happy. But the signification of cultural heritage as a medium to foster social improvement and wellbeing is concerning and controversial to some scholars. Yuval-Davis (2015) analyses the nature of ‘belonging’ in policy and points out the complexities and diversity of gazes and construction of identity in everyday soft borders, and the agents involved. Reworked pasts as ‘heritage’ may have a powerful appeal to basic feelings of belonging, but this use raises important political and ethical issues over ownership and how that heritage is constructed. Howard expresses concerns when ‘the designation, conservation and interpretation of heritage simultaneously make another group feel less important’ (2003:147). Harrison’s research into policies found that heritage was about delivering political objectives and reinforcing social cohesion through the ‘construction of myths or origins of identity and moral examples’ (2010:1). The notion of wellbeing or ‘happiness turn’ in heritage and museum work is criticised by Harrison (2018) in particular over the validity of the research. Lynch argues that a focus on wellbeing and mental health ‘shifts the analysis of social engagement and participation away from the museums institutional hegemonic power, towards a focus on social psychology’ (2017:15). Lynch argues that an emphasis on humanitarianism and notions of happiness may produce a passive receptivity and actually undermine active social justice.

3.2.4 Whose voice gets heard in official heritage

In official heritage processes, government, experts and institutions decide what is worthy of heritage status and therefore valued. An understanding of who takes part in this official process cannot be made without framing it within reference to wider societal issues of power and social inequalities, which include factors affecting participation as situational and requiring a degree of assimilation. Research by Beauregard (2000) reveals different views of interacting and participating in society: whether about belonging and assimilation, or about diversity and inclusivity. He writes that stratification and

multiculturalism embedded in social contexts, often excludes difference and positions the ideal citizen as white, male European. Further, those marginalised can only articulate their culture to the collective polity and by others speaking for them (the outsiders voice is therefore disempowered). In order to participate, the 'other' or 'outsider' must abandon difference and take on a prescribed identity to belong (Shyrock, 2004). Numerous studies within cultural studies question the ability of diverse voices to be truly heard and to express a voice, (Mulchay, 2006; Beauregard, 2000; Yudice, 2003) and to have access to the distribution of wealth and cultural capital, including cultural heritage (Bourdieu, 1984; Denzin, 2003).

Democratisation of heritage has emerged as a central concern from a critical heritage perspective (Smith, 2012; Ashley and Frank, 2016; Littler and Naidoo, 2005; Naidoo, 2015; Mason and Baveystock, 2009). Belfiore (2009) writes there is a significant absence of understanding the relationship between heritage inclusions within cultural policy. Waterton calls for critical reflection on the closure and openness of heritage policy, which has resulted in power monopolising views and debates leading to marginalisation, exclusion and elitism and 'exercise a significant amount of social control' (2010:27). Although communities are being asked to collaborate and engage in issues on heritage, inclusiveness is expressed in assimilatory terms (Black, 2011; Simon, 2015; Swensen et al, 2012). In the UK, heritage projects tend to promote assimilation to a hegemonic notion of a nation or Britishness with a clear understanding of what constitutes British culture and values – or 'The Heritage' in Stuart Hall's words (1999). Waterton and Watson for example, reflect on visiting a county house as the 'epitome of heritage', where subordinated others are mostly absent. They write how in the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade, contemporary Afro-Caribbean groups stories were softened into a 'broader narrative of British achievement', essentialising people and subjecting them to expert judgment (2011:19). Interpretation within these houses can be static, object centered and elitist (Littler, 2005, Christensen, 2010).

The level of inclusiveness is intrinsically political, as valuing diverse participation challenges the traditional assignment of knowledge authority, rooted in an essentialist scientific approach (Simon, 2015; Waterton, 2005). Non-expert perception of meanings and value of heritage are not readily accommodated and rarely reach policy-level discussions (Smith, 2017; Swensen et al 2012). The ability to take part in official processes and hence decision-making about what is valued publicly as heritage is situational. This is about being outside, inside or 'other' (Naidoo, 2015; Ashley, 2017). The bureaucracy in heritage institutions acts as an arena for justification of a 'progressive', conservative narrative of inclusion and exclusion (Smith, 2017; Gable,

2000). Lynch has written extensively how marginalisation places people as ‘beneficiaries’ of these official institutions rather than agents or partners. The nation or organisation can make claims of tolerance and the benevolent ‘insider’ can be seen as working for the passively ‘excluded’ or outsider via cultural policy (Lynch, 2017; Lynch and Albert, 2010).

All of these issues affect processes in Cornwall. Deacon (2017) reflects on the commissioning process in Cornwall and describes a small cultural network of influential individuals, institutions, and government departments and is critical of the ensuing cultural expediency. Deacon is also critical of ‘Celticity’ as a marginalising process: firstly he argues that it renders Cornwall as spiritual and harmless, contrasting with a contemporary place. Secondly, he sees it as a project of elites inside and outside Cornwall. Finally, he relates it to the commodification of culture and ‘Lifestyle Cornwall’ with its stereotyping of place and people, reminiscent of Wallach-Scott’s (2010) ‘fetishizing of tradition’ description of tourism. He adds that there is a need to empower and open spaces for real discussion, ‘such space often appears constructed and stifled as a result of the lack of a critical public domain and the institutional vacuum that allows taken-for-granted discourses to thrive in unquestioned luxury’ (2017:33).

3.2.5 Unsettling the heritage

Collectively, academics assert that devising strategies to increase representation of excluded bodies within official valorising processes is not enough, emphasising instead the need for a structural approach and social change in rebalancing inequalities (Smith, 2017; Waterton and Watson, 2011; Littler and Naidoo, 2005). Representation in official heritage is about the production of meaning through texts, images and practices within museums and heritage (Harrison, 2013). The writings by Stuart Hall (1999; 2005) are central to challenging or unsettling ‘the’ official heritage, and he refers to British heritage, as that deemed valuable in relation to an authorised, national story. In particular he addresses the state of heritage and museums in a British postcolonial context and argues for a more inclusive representation of the ‘forgotten other’ of British history and nation hood (1999:225). Hall writes ‘...the majority, mainstream versions of the heritage should revise their own self-conceptions and rewrite the margins into the centre, the outside into the inside’ (1999:225). Waterton writes that new tools are required to ‘recognise the process of marginalisation already implicit within heritage organisations and associated policy’ (2010:206). This involves a shift away from organisational policies into action that places the ‘outsider’ in more powerful positions in society, moves that sit

awkwardly with experts who hold the authority to name the values intrinsic to heritage (Hawke, 2012; Waterton, 2005). Young (2000) frames the required changes as a move from identity politics to Nancy Fraser's politics of recognition, as the aim is not to cultivate a mutual identification but seeking to recognise and redress injustices experienced by members of a peripheral group. In this scenario, cultural democracy would shift from homogenic values, to non-essentialising debates and the concept of pluralism, emphasising difference and uniqueness (Tilley, 2006). Harrison (2013) argues for a relative approach to heritage value and frames the notion of difference as integral to discussions on valorising minorities within the universality of human rights.

Researchers argue that unsettling the foundations of official, hierarchal value processes may start with exploring the basic concepts of community and how engagement is conceptualised, facilitated or experienced. Onciul et al (2017) explore the term 'meaningful engagement' within heritage and museum practice, Graham argues for a need to build reciprocal relationships termed 'connected nodes,' that acknowledge lived experiences and decentre the organisation (2017:73). Tully also illustrates how collaboration with diverse people (age, cultures, academic disciplines) helped 're-imagining Egypt' in an exhibition (2017:91). Crooke highlights that different concepts of community exist. In her study of museum programmes in N. Ireland (one state-led and one independent), 'both can be regarded as community-heritage projects but the underpinning discourses are quite different' (2011:35). Traditional notions of community (real or imagined) are based on identity models, however these theories may have contributed to systematic subordination and hierarchal values (Holt, 2017). This has not only hampered progress in democratising how heritage is valued, it has also overlooked diverse cultural forms and the complex ways that cultural heritage is experienced and how people engage with it (Magee and Gilmore, 2015; Waterton, 2010). Some writers interpret heritage as a cultural process, and point to its value as a diverse, dynamic creative dialogue more than the end value of a practice or static thing. Research on cultural value by the UK's Arts Humanities and Research Council recognises the need to explore the 'dynamic articulations of value' (2016:18) and reconcile the wide range of differing interactions that provide valorisation outside the political domain. They found that much theorisation occurs around a narrow definition of cultural spaces, whereas people may be culturally active in alternative or private spaces (Crossick et al, 2016; Ashley, 2016). Malik demonstrates that a wider understanding of everyday creativity as cultural practice, away from this official hierarchy of cultural knowledge, may move those once excluded to the centre of meaning-making (2008). These debates have been occurring in cultural studies circles for years, especially around popular culture. Clifford, for example, writes about the ways that local structures *produce* histories rather than

yielding to history. These provide new dimensions of authenticity (cultural, personal and artistic), 'reconceived as hybrid, creative activity in a local present-becoming-future' (1987:126). His work is supported by other research in Latin America, where expressive forms rather than being eliminated, have reformulated and thrived (Guss, 2001). As with popular culture, heritage is increasingly described in various ways as transient, temporal and dynamic (Harvey, 2001; McDowell, 2016). According to Smith and Campbell (2018) this challenges the idea that the AHD has inherent values. Valorising is therefore an open work. Harvey (2001) argues that the heritage process should not be just centred on the present but is a spatially temporal process that has been evolving over time. Waterton and Watson (2017) suggest that the future is a legitimate subject of study for critical heritage studies -- an idea termed 'futuresology' by Harrison (2015:35), which uses the tangible and intangible traces of the past to mediate the future. The transient nature creates speculation on the future of heritage valorisation in Cornwall. This theorising also has a direct bearing on official management practice, as unsettling Cornwall's heritage by including omitted narratives as an intertwined story.

3.2.6 UNESCO: new approaches for heritage valorisation?

UNESCO is an example of an official global heritage process that enacts a form of cultural governance involving safeguarding and immutable values. It has however been applauded for raising the profile of living heritage (Labadi, 2013), including the valuation of expressions, values, traditions and knowledge practices and their continuation in the community through the 2003 *Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Stefano et al, 2012). But there is a growing sense of crisis in the WHS system, including the mixed success of UNESCO's approach (Anderson and Kozymka, 2016), issues on privileging local values/ownership (Smith, 2015) and tensions with over-commodification of heritage (Caust and Vecco, 2017; Barron, 2017). UNESCO is a global heritage-making process that employs universal values to what is deemed worthy of designation. Meskell (2015) discusses the WHS as an institutional circuit of power of 'symbolic weight' where political assertions use the rhetoric of inspirational, inclusive liberal values, but have set understandings of history, identity and values termed Outstanding Universal Value. The concept of universalism is problematic for many scholars (Lowenthal, 1998; Sutch, 2009; Coombe, 2012). Labadi says intrinsic universalism throws a shadow on any global commitment to diversity (2007; 2013). According to Smith (2006, 2015), World Heritage listing is underpinned by an authorised Eurocentric discourse that places these values as central to history and continues projects of colonisation, and lacks frameworks to privilege local voices in this hierarchal process where the expert value is given more weight. Hall is particularly cautious of what he terms 'projects of globalisation' (2005: 48) and universalising of what is now

contemporary global heritage of humankind. There are also concerns about the reach of powerful international heritage organisations, which can affect the lives of people in the most remote of settings.

Global heritage is also embroiled in discussions on cultural expediency. A variety of authors have studied the negative impacts of UNESCO and World Heritage status when framed as an expedient resource or inherently 'good'. Viejo-Rose, (2017) outlines how UNESCO's governance and power relies on the anthropological normative value of 'good' embedded in cultural heritage and development as inherently a positive dimension — promoted as inclusive, rallying and celebratory of universal values, inducing of social cohesion and as such a natural peace builder. The policy promoting and protecting Diversity of Cultural Expression (UNESCO, 2005), is criticised by Garner (2016) as neoliberal, supported by governments and then subverted into the cultural economy. Scholars also write about tensions in over-commodification of World Heritage (Meskell, 2012, 2015; Nishimura, 2016), conflicting valuation between local and tourist (Coningham, 2016; Weise, 2019), and even between generations (Caust and Vecco, 2017). A reorientation towards tourism may help regeneration, but without sufficient management tourism, can eventually destroy a site - a phenomenon termed "UNESCO-Cide" by Marco d'Eramo (2014). Barron (2017) suggests that many of the 1,000 plus destinations around the world delegated as OUV, struggle to balance between economic benefits catering for tourists and preserving the culture that has drawn recognition. In spite of criticisms, Vlassis argues that 'UNESCO remains the main international arena for the debate about the links between culture and development and the significance of cultural industries in this field' (2017:53). Stefano et al (2012) describe how diverse cultural expression is at risk of extinction from globalisation and the homogenising effect of mass culture, and that UNESCO has a role in protecting these expressions. Labadi (2013) and Lemke (2012) suggest UNESCO's inclusion of Intangible Cultural Heritage does subvert a dominant canonical European representation of heritage. Stefano's study (2012) of ICH in NE England, for example, includes the region's cultural past in Rapper dancing, Northumbrian Small pipes and folk music. Littler (2015) argues that recognition of ICH can redress cultural marginalisation on one level, however intrinsic power within official processes and assigned authority to practitioners, means that policies can fall foul to commodification.

Researchers question whether UNESCO is best placed to oversee ICH, as grassroots heritage practices become subject to 'official' valorising processes (Singh, 2014; Foster and Gilman, 2015). Others question its ability to democratise heritage and include communities in an active role (Singh, 2014; Deacon et al, 2013) and call for conditions that support subnational groups and tradition bearers. Hodder (2004) maintains that material culture (objects and texts) that need interpretation often have no indigenous commentary - narrative is constructed by the 'insider', as opposed to the 'outsider's'

perception. Scholars maintain that local initiatives and a shift from power and appropriation, to open-ended cultural politics, is required. ICH needs to be negotiated by practising community groups, ideally empowered and capacitated to maintain it, what Stefano (2012) describes as a local eco-museology approach to safeguarding. Integral to this is creativity in providing multivalent and pluralistic approaches (Labadi, 2013). Corsane and Mazel outline a model of practice *En-compass* for safeguarding ICH as a multinational approach. This study in England, China, Kenya and Guyana, emphasises meaningful collaboration ‘realised by deploying multifaceted strategies’ which continuously engage with many partners (2012:260). Coombe (2012), studying ICH as intellectual property, suggests that it is too early to ascertain the effectiveness of these new approaches for heritage valorisation or advocate them for social justice, but at least there is the move from AHD to a new emphasis the political aspirations emerging from ICH.

This literature on UNESCO and official processes provides critical insight into heritage management globally, and is relevant to the study of Cornwall as a WHS. From this section’s analysis of the research literature on official processes, managing and choosing heritage is seen as subjective, political and contested and part of the nexus of power, heritage politics and policy. There is however an alternative wider notion of heritage to the AHD as grassroots or heritage-from-below, constructed at an individual level as an articulation of identity. The following section draws on literature from performance theory to analyse how heritage when viewed as a cultural process, creates meaning and value. This is an alternative ‘loose’ heritage space.

3.3. Valorising heritage in unofficial processes

3.3.1. Grassroots heritage or heritage-from-below

There is a broad base of literature that examines alternative, wider notions of heritage as unofficial perspectives, termed ‘heritage-from-below’ (HFB), which is particularly useful for the study of Cornwall. Raphael Samuel was a pioneer of understanding grassroots, ordinary or everyday perspectives on the past and history; he wrote of how the local and personal nature of the past finds expression in everyday life. Robertson (2012) coined the phrase ‘heritage-from-below’, writing of heritage that does not seek to attract an audience, invisible, away from the public eye and in the shadows. Research by Smith and Campbell on valuing of heritage by non-professionals reveals that such people do not privilege the material and grand, rather their understanding of heritage has more in synergy with intangible associations that are ‘personal, familial and geographical [...]’

recruiting a sense of the past to do various forms of identity work in the present' (2018: 15-16). Robertson's (2012) work also describes the replication or performance of grassroots heritage as inheritance, and how this imbues its social value. Smith (2006) argues 'what makes these things valuable or meaningful, what makes them heritage [...] are the present day cultural processes and activities that are undertaken around them' (2006:29). Ashley (2016) sees this as an alternative approach to the official concept of heritage that represents the popular interest and a cultural turn in heritage to the everyday vernacular. She notes, studying the Chattri Indian Memorial in the UK, how this can transform the presentation of heritage into a vehicle for community practices such as memorialisation, which in turn valorises heritage spaces in new ways. The social valorisation of heritage can facilitate identity, belonging, memory and spiritual association (Hewison and Holden, 2004), in ways that are counter to the hegemonic and authorised discourse in heritage. Key for some researchers is the value of place as a keeper of social memory, as an alternative construction of identity to nation-led constructions, and what Robertson sees as narratives from within the 'lives and thoughts of those otherwise hidden from history' (2012:10). Research by Dicks on mining communities interprets heritage as an intergenerational communicative act, the passing on of family memories and values. She adds this activates those on the periphery and produces 'generations of insiders' (2000:155). Davey studies folk traditions as sites of memory and writes 'the folk phenomenon acts as a vehicle carrying meanings and memories between people and across generations with each adding their own significance and attaching greater or less importance to that inherited from predecessors' (2011:315). He draws attention, for example, to the Nahachewsky study of the value of passing on folk traditions in new settings, and how Ukrainian dances imported to Canada helped migrants settle. Howard (2003) says that heritage is located in the home, which is often the site of the most deeply felt values of belonging. Williams explores the importance of landscape and settlements, drawing on the feelings and attachments to a place where we first lived or 'learned to see' (see Morgan and Preston, 1993; also Tuan 1974, 1980; Duncan, 2004). 'Home' is seen as an important locus for the performance of heritage-from-below, particularly in migrants who hold onto their ethnic identity well beyond their first generation immigration (Mac Rauld, 1998;). For immigrants, this is often embedded in everyday items or intangible cultural heritage that connect to family including photographs, recipes and music (Wise and Velayuthum, 2017; Berger, 1975).

3.3.2 Rituals and Pilgrimages

Rituals and festivals are examples of valued embodied, grassroots cultural practices that are passed down from one generation to the next. Victor Turner outlines how individual and collective cultural experience is embodied in rituals, theatrical performance and celebrations (1969, 1982) and is a symbolic system of meanings, generating new materials by 'recombining traditional actions in new ways' (2016:228). Rituals are performances that provide structure and continuity. Communities can be defined by the rituals they share; Bial and Brady write 'rituals reinforce values and beliefs of the group that perform them' (2016:95). Cohen notes Turner's concept 'spontaneous communitas', outlining how Western society recreates these ancient ritual conditions that emphasise 'happenings' or 'something magical'. They seek to be transformative, something that goes to the roots of a persons' being, something that is communal and shared (1961:138). This creates pleasure or delight and a value judgement on the experience (Long and Baker, 2017). Ahmed (2010) explains this sensational aspect of ritual creates a social bond and groups cohere around a shared experience, this creates a social value - a value judgement on whether an experience is deemed worth investing in. Kent (2010) and Coleman (2015) research how this ability to draw people together is also integral to Cornwall's theatre tradition, and point out this ritual behaviour in medieval theatre of 'plen-an-gwary' or 'in -the -round' theatre. Kent describes rituals as mobile performance spaces that brought theatre close to communities by touring village halls and community spaces — a tradition that was reinvented in Cornwall in the 1970s by Footsbarn Theatre and continues today. Spangler writes that such theatre creates 'a highly visible stage on which to showcase narratives of identity and memory' (2009:103).

Several scholars explore ritual processes as the interruption of everyday life. Turner writes how the liminality in cultural performance becomes a space for subversion, 'an embodiment of mutational forces' (2016:12). The inherent instability and in-betweenness of this liminality allows social norms to be suspended or challenged. Bahtkin (1968) elaborates how this 'carnival sense of the world' pushes aside seriousness (inversion) and makes room for a multiplicity of voices and meanings. Oldenburg uses Bahktin's concept of 'third space' to describe informal public socialising as timeout away from everyday routine, 'life duties and drudgeries' (1989:21) – which might also be characterised as one of 'looseness' (Frank & Stevens, 2007). Kent (2018) also details the break from conventional order of living and inversion of norms that operate in the texts and performances of Cornwall's many festivals. He writes of the plethora of processions in the Cornish calendar rituals as reflective of 'a mysterious past, embodied in strange and mystifying festive practice' (2018:418) and describes an ancient mode of behaviour of convergence, revelry and temporary subversion. He provides an example of the election

of a 'mock mayor' in festivals, as satire and making fun of civic pomp. Kent further explains these public events are rituals still valued as important for the greater good of the community offering a sense of belonging for social, religious or geographical groups and in the 'long term contribute to group cohesiveness (2018:15). Harvey et al support this, citing the tradition of Cornwall's Methodist parades 1830-1930's, as precursors to the 'growth of complex institutional rituals that now involve the mobilisation of thousands of choreographed performances in the urban centres of Cornwall' (2007:44). Kent (2018) highlights these forms as cyclical, valued as needed by a community, where some have continued, some died out and been revived and others have been reinvented. Davey (2011) suggests they play an important role in the distinctiveness of Cornwall's cultural identity, adding that traditions range in symbolism for individuals, from mysteries activities to the ludic or party time. Davey adds importantly that what people do and think is a wide spectrum associated with traditional events from informal sessions in a pub to the ritual customs of the turning year. He writes 'folk tradition is about the presence and not the past, and one of the delights is its chaotic nature' (2011:320). This is in contrast to the Methodist parades that performed communal identity but particularly 'an orderly use of space that emphasised bodily restraint' (Harvey et al 2007:31), meant to act as a counterweight to the perceived chaotic public space of carnival.

Pilgrimages are also a form of ritual embodied practice, that Robertson describes as a creative memorialisation, a fluid expression of identity that not only challenges official heritage meanings, but 'redolent of heritage-from-below' (2012:21). Scriven (2014) maintains that intrinsically pilgrimage is about movement and is spatial, distinct and special, embodying mobilities that connect a physical journey with a spiritual/emotional one. Busby (2012) describes a pilgrimage as a process of self-actualisation, finding one's roots, enacting kinship and belonging. Pilgrimage is conceptualised as a quest, a special event in a person's life and a 'transforming experience' (Getz, 2012:203); a spiritual acting out of an inner journey to create one's own beliefs or a search for enlightenment (Knott, 2005; Morgan and Pritchard, 2005). The pilgrimage can enact spiritual experiences of rapture, ecstasy, transcendence often associated with sacred places, can however be realized through secular events of mediation, exploring and performing rituals in a search for meaning of life (Timothy and Olsen, 2006; Margry, 2008; Singh, 2006). This includes pilgrimage as genealogical tourism, an experience heightened through the power of intergenerational storytelling (Gouthro and Palmer, 2011). Research in pilgrimages to Cornwall suggests they are personal, but can be a 'real' connection to ancestors or an imaginary heritage of 'Celticity'. Emerich terms Cornwall a 'spiritualised geography' and argues that the 'therapeutic imaginary of Celtic lands provides a relief from ordinary lives through a sense of magic'. She admits 'the interpretation of landscape

constructs many types of pilgrims' (2012:81) in her quest for a Celtic cure in Cornwall, where she found a juxtaposition of the local valorisation of industrial heritage to her imagined Arthurian landscape.

Academics in this section look at heritage as a socio-cultural process (Smith, 2006), living and embodied (Robertson, 2012; 2016) in which valorisation is performed and value created often through rituals (Szymgin, 2017; Cerquetti, 2017). The next section draws on performance theories to illuminate how processes of 'valorisation' operate. It also explores critical heritage studies that deploy the concept of performativity and how performance creates space for multivocality and a plurality of values.

3.3.3: Performativity and heritage

Performance studies are increasingly applied to heritage to help understand historical, social and cultural processes (Schechner, 2016). Research in performance can be a vehicle for critical cultural heritage studies, exploring the position of the marginalised outside the AHD. Performance is sympathetic to the marginal or minoritarian, and can question settled hierarchies of organisations (Schechner, 2013). He further suggests liminality can allow transgression of boundaries for marginalised and fringe groups, by interweaving cultures this constitutes new realities, 'where the state of being in-between describes the normal state of the citizen' (2016: 386). When applied to heritage studies, this can create conditions to centralise those omitted in a national heritage, a gateway for intertwined stories and unsettle 'the heritage' (Hall, 1999).

Schechner refers to Goffman's notion of 'frames,' (1974) which act 'to discriminate a sector of sociocultural action from the general on-going process of a community's life' (2016:350). 'Frame breaking' is positioned as a reflexive performative act that sections off images or symbols to be scrutinised, relived or re-valued. Some social dramas are multiple frames in a hierarchal arrangement, 'framing frames perhaps makes for intensified reflexivity' (ibid 2016:350). Butler's (1993) concept of performativity also engages with Goffman's frame analysis - breaking the frame and allows room for slippage. Integral to performativity processes, the body rather than being constrained, is a site for negotiation (Leavy, 2015; Butler, 1999).

Performance is used as means of cultural analysis, where the life of culture is seen in action, an unfolding process that Goffman (1959) terms *dramaturgy*. Edith and Victor

Turner (1986, 1966) theorise sociocultural practice of performance as dramatic episodes that vividly manifest the key values of a specific culture, and add these are not flat narrative but richly contextualized and charged with meaningfulness. Noxolo's (2015) work on immigrant African-Caribbeans observes performance of traditional dance as a subversion form. The lively celebratory dance shifts the gaze from a fixed colonial approach to open-ended and emotive one. Performance theories in heritage studies can help explain how certain bodies can be excluded in official heritage processes, where the body has been historically disciplined, but can also be explored as a site of activity and negotiation (Brown and Gershon, 2017).

Narratives around identity are often constituted through performance. Researchers describe performing of culture in public, as a social drama (Walsh and Brady, 2009; Conquergood, 2016). Santino refers to performing Irish culture in public as unpredictable. He uses the term 'ritualesque' explaining it as 'an event that is not in the strict sense a religious ceremony or political rite of passage or a carnivalesque, but participants intend effect potentially subverting the 'official' message' (2009: 16). Guss (2001) says the performance of culture in public is a battleground and a site for social action. It acts as an important form of historical remembering, particularly in helping to reconstitute the community in a time of crisis. Dynamically shifting constantly between elite and popular meaning, filled with ambiguity and contradiction, and providing a space to produce new meanings, Guss maintains that cultural performances are 'recognised as sites of social action where identities and relations are continually reconfigured' (2001:12). He refers to a 'folklorization process' (2001:20) that is a multivocal and multilocal, expressive form, suspended between the worlds of ritual obligation and a national spectacle, with competing interests between government, media, tourists and the local. Kent makes reference to Guss' work and asserts that Cornwall's folk dramas are inherently performative in this way - at some level involving subversion and social action. He argues that Cornwall's festival heritage is a drive to devolve power and leave behind its peripheral status, and 'provide an alternative way to assert difference and identity' (2018:365). Through these performative activities, positions, identities, signification of place and rooted territory are co-constructed (Convery et al, 2012; Yuval -Davis, 2015). Bishop's performance pedagogy sees a commitment to participation and performance *with not for* community members and honour local knowledge, values and beliefs as a 'participatory mode of consciousness' (1998:177). Denzin (2003) also highlights that integral to giving voice is move away from objectivism of science as knowledge production, to co-construction of everyday life. As noted previously, heritage making can be viewed as a 'process of cultural production' through which people give meaning to

their lives (Ashley and Frank, 2016:501). Heritage is then a vehicle for community memorialisation and amplification of local voices.

These activities include living traditions and practices of Intangible Cultural Heritage, which are also part of critical heritage studies into grassroots community involvement through performing arts (Onciul et al, 2017; Stefano et al, 2012). As outlined in section 2.2.4, there is an increasing emphasis on ‘living’ heritage and its expression within UNESCO processes, seen by some as appropriation. Some researchers seek an alternative framework for thinking about ICH outside of intuitions criticised as neoliberal (Littler, 2015; Deacon and Smeets, 2013). Alivizatou theorises ICH away from the discourse of ‘endangered traditions’ offered by UNESCO, ‘rethinking intangible heritage outside the salvage paradigm of institutional measures’ (2012:18). Research on intangible Celtic heritage sees it as a bottom-up grassroots process, historically celebrated through dance, music and folklore as performance (Williams-Ellis, cited in Herbert, 1995), but also through oral traditions as a social form that articulates quotidian stories of place (Keys, 2012; Maspero, 2008).

3.3.4 Affect and valuing

Understanding heritage requires both the inspection of representation *and* affect (Harrison, 2013; Wetherall et al, 2018). Studies have looked at the way valorising of the past has moved from intrinsic or immutable to something ‘felt’ or experienced, an affective, or what Thrift calls a ‘non-representational’, way of understanding (Thrift and Newsbury, 2000). Waterton (2017) speaks of experiencing landscapes as foundational to relationships with the past. Affective dimensions speak of the primacy of personal experience (Lorimer, 2005); something ‘socially and symbolically produced, expressed and felt’ (Leavitt 1996:532). Engagement is not necessarily in the physical sense, but in the form of individual’s memories that Byrne refers to as sensory and emotional steeped in affect (2013:597). What emerges is a mode of valuing created through experience (Jones, 2017). Smith (2006) asserts that regardless of mandates by governments and the AHD, people engage with heritage personally, cognitively and emotionally. She sees it as a process of engagement and a sense of self with the receiving of memories and knowledge. She argues that all heritage is intrinsically affective; it makes memories. Campbell et al (2017) point out a growing analytical space in heritage studies for the affective and emotional nature of memory. Wetherall et al add that theorising however needs to look at what it is that emotions do and focus on performance and practice to explore the ways that emotions are ‘put to use when the past is mobilised as “heritage” in the present’ (2018:7).

Academics have for some time conceptualised affect as distinct from emotion, and that affect occurs sequentially before emotion (Wise and Velayuthum, 2017). Affect is seen as an embodied state, about intensity of experience (Massumi, 2002), and precognitive (Shouse, 2005). Emotion is described as the processing of affect into cultural categories like anger or grief (Wetherall et al, 2018). Increasingly this conceptual separation and sequence is questioned. Wise and Velayuthum argue it is an overlapping process: ‘emotions are discernible and culturally meaningful experiences and displays of feelings augmented by embodied intensities of affect (2017:119). This is important to the study, as these affective reflections of feelings become important trajectories of how heritage becomes valorised.

Research into affect and sensorial practice describe how an interaction between the affective and cognitive dimensions allows people to reflect on lives, a mode of reflection that links to ideas of presence and ponderings of identity and memory (Tolia-Kelly et al, 2017). Research on performance and history by Dean suggests that historical meaning is created through performance by ‘embodying the past’ (2015: 6) and defines this as ‘the way in which bodies moving through space and time both enact and re-enact the past, thus closing the distance between the past that is represented and the present which it is performed’. This centres on the body as an active site for exploration where power can be contested and negotiated (Mc Mullan, 2010). In contrast to fixed forms where bodies are subjected to systemic regimes that ensure ‘bodies will behave in socially and politically accepted manners’ (Brown and Gershon, 2016:1). A living, embodied approach in the literature includes experiencing of culture as a multiplicity of senses and helps to fully understand cultural heritage (Massey, 1994; Pink, 2004, 2013; Nuding, 2015). A multiplicity of encounters, involving symbolic language of gestures and expression predating language, is described by Sindoni (2017) and Gibbon as a multi-model system - ‘a system which represents and manipulates information from different human communication channels at multiple levels of abstraction’ (2009:11). Winter (2014, 2016) highlights how gestures/somatic sensations are integral to what constitutes cultural experience and value. Inclusion of affect is relevant to this critical study of Cornwall’s heritage, centring an active, creation of value through experience, described by Jones (2017) as a culturally specific way of valuing. This provides a gateway to how heritage is constantly constructed - what we feel is important and contributes to an on-going relationship with the past.

3.3.5 Performance, affect and creating space

Creating space as a vehicle for on-going discourse about heritage, as an alternative to memorialising and fossilising the past, is integral to unofficial processes (Dicks, 2000). This may include performance and affect as a tool to facilitating individuals and groups as active agents of heritage, not passive and peripheral to the AHDs that are central to most 'managed' heritage (Waterton, 2010). Incorporating these processes enables a 'relative approach to the question of heritage values', including recognition of difference (Harrison, 2013:145). Researchers explore how space can be created by local communities as active cultural production. Callon et al (2011) concept of 'hybrid forum' denotes this plurality within cultural practices. Ray (2001) speaks of such a space as a hybrid, neo-endogenous model of governance that is non-prescriptive, celebrates interconnection and promotes negotiation. In this model, local actors are catalysts for change through a personal and collective capacity.

Muzaini and Minca use the term 'heritagescapes' (2018:1), which are 'spearheaded by non elites' and people exercising their own agency as consumers *and* producers of the past. This concept is useful to the study of Cornish heritage to address how the activity of performing afresh transforms a heritage place into a heritage space. Several writers explore walking and processions as spatial performances of culture. Fitzgerald studied the ambulatory performance of Irish culture through ritualised walks, and speaks of a form of embodied knowledge - 'walking allows us to attend what the body writes in space' (2009:90). She argues that regardless of the event being commemorated (erection of monuments, speeches, banners and 'symbolic leadership of the walks'), they are rooted in a tradition of Irish religious walks/ pilgrimage to sacred sites including an ascent of Croagh Patrick. Morrison describes the aesthetics of movement in ritualised walks and how the act of walking becomes a spatial story, 'as eloquent as the written or spoken or written narrative' (ibid: 79). This embodied process of understanding the past situated within the body, is a move to alternative spaces that takes the control away from the curator or professional in the knowledge making process (Smith, 2017). Crooke researches N. Ireland public heritage, outside official or state space, expressed through cultural markers on the landscape such as murals, street names, monuments 'as well as various forms of rituals such as the commemoration of past events' (2005:223). Crooke's community spaces are 'the unofficial, unsafe, contested history of the conflict, which is seeking recognition' (ibid: 70).

Social movement theory outlines the transgression of social and cultural norms and emotions that are enabled by free space with no formal organisation (McCarthy and

Mayer, 1977). Frank and Stevens also refer to unstructured spaces: when everyday functions are suspended, this produces 'loose space', whether permanent (as in ruins) or temporary (as in events). These spaces arise from the unfolding of social encounters in public, and the virtues of loose space are 'possibility, diversity and disorder' (2007:17). Ashley (2013) explores the idea of diverse space in addressing equality and solidarity. The chapters look at space in terms of a bounded landscape, the Canadian landscape, and the diverse official and everyday cultural sites and expressions within these borders. The research interrogates how Canadian-ness is represented, legitimised and negotiated with this space. Museums and monuments are primary sources of 'Canadianness', but there are alternative outdoor, community orientated 'common spaces' which enrich and complicate ideas about identity, heritage and being Canadian. Ashley has also studied (2016) how alternative spaces express diverse meanings of culture, where different histories and identities are affectively situated through performances and narrative. She explains further that public expression provides a layered vision of heritage, not only of pedagogical expressions of history or tradition, but also as active statements used to assert demands for recognition and legitimation. This is seen as important for marginalised citizens to express resistance and reclaim public spaces.

3.3.6 Mixed blessings...

Some of the literature expresses concerns about over-romanticising unofficial heritage. Harrison (2018) argues that all expressions of heritage need critical analysis. Muzaini and Minca (2018) suggest that heritage-from-below has its own 'preferred' heritage, defined by a few select grassroots players and driven by particular motives. Like the AHD, they argue, such heritage meaning-making may serve economic or political functions. Waterton and Watson (2011) note that through the institutionalised heritage process, real life communities can be misrecognised and identity misrepresented, and see a necessity to study the interaction between interest groups.

Reservations are also expressed about the elevation of affect in research into heritage meaning-making. Some argue that a Universalist concept of affect assumes that people are undifferentiated and that all bodies are the same and free of fear, which occludes issues of inclusion and exclusion (Verhage, 2013; Waterton and Watson, 2011; Sharp, 2009; Dicks, 2000). Academics are cautious over an assumption that extra discursive space or affective atmospheres will automatically and equally act on all those that pass through the space (Anderson, 2009; Massumi's reading of Deleuze and Bergson, 2002; Wetheral et al, 2018).

Some researchers are guarded over exploitation of affect and feelings within official heritage messaging (Crang and Tolia-Kelly, 2010; Littler, 2015). State and heritage practitioners are increasingly incorporating ‘community’ and everyday heritage into formal heritage-making, but intangible elements become misrecognised, side-lined or submerged, to maintain the integrity of official messages (Byrne, 2014; Smith and Campbell, 2018). Byrne (2014) outlines how ancient temples in Thailand, designated as national heritage, have led to disruption of rituals that are incongruent with this designation. Wetherall et al (2018) point out the intrinsic nature of emotions, as non-static, challenges the neat formulation of emotion expressed in museums and heritage sites narratives, which remain unequivocal and safe. Further, official heritagisation interacts with layers of memory, where the individual living memory exists with the professional heritage representation, however individual experience may be reduced and side-lined (Dicks, 2000; Coupland, 2012; Meskell, 2012). While emotion and reflexivity are crucial to heritage site visitors dealing with complex political and social issues (Smith and Campbell, 2018), more recent research by Smith (2019) suggests this process is limited, rarely leading to transformational moments or longer-term changes.

Woodward also highlights how the use of public drama in heritage can support political structures or bind individuals into collective projects, and calls for critical examination of the ‘affective dynamics surrounding the spatial politics of public dramas’ (2007:28). This includes inspecting who is prescribing the particular action, who is specifying the objects of thought and feeling they symbolise (Santino, 2009). Fitzgerald (2009), for example, shows how emotional public commemorative performances about the Irish famine obscure complex layers and reduces the past to a consumable heritage.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has drawn on both critical and performance literatures to illuminate how heritage and its processes of valorisation operate. This inspection reveals that ‘valorisation’ is a process that gives rise to diverse meanings and significance, depending on the perspective (economic, social, cultural and political). Critical heritage research questions issues of power: who is included in cultural heritage valorisation, government policy and management. This enquiry is helpful to inform the analysis of who and what constructs and valorises Cornwall’s official heritage.

Key here is on-going concerns over democratisation of heritage where co-construction and power sharing appear limited (Smith, 2012; Ashley and Frank, 2016; Littler and Naidoo, 2005, 2015). Further academics point out how a process based on discourse as a system of ideas or knowledge often with its own vocabulary, results in power monopolising views and debates (Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010). This can lead to marginalisation, exclusion and elitism. In addition, research suggests there is a significant disconnection between cultural policies with their inclusive rhetoric, with what is actually happening in heritage practice (Lynch, 2017). Many researchers warn that inclusiveness is expressed through AHD in assimilatory terms, with its associated values and meanings (Black, 2011; Simons, 2015; Swensen et al 2012; Waterton, 2005).

The analysis of research literature also engages with wider notions of heritage constructed at an individual level, which advocates multi layered construction and community involvement. This is termed ‘unofficial heritage’ in this dissertation, and literature in performance theory helped uncover how this alternative process of valorising operates - a personal, embodied, cultural process of valuing. Performance theories also help explore issues and tensions related to place identity, belonging and self. When heritage is explored in relation to the concept of performativity, this provides a vehicle for understanding those who are marginalised outside the AHD, but recognises people as active agents in producing heritage. In particular Kent’s (2018) work on Cornwall’s festive culture, provides a background to why performance of heritage, rooted in ancient practices, is important creating cultural confidence and an emerging ‘Cornishness’. This theoretical background has also formulated how performing heritage - a cultural embodied process – can be about subversion and creating space for recognition of a plurality of values. This theoretical approach helps create a platform for the study of unofficial heritage in Cornwall and the Man Engine Pilgrimage as a popular performative valuation of heritage.

Following from this analysis of the pertinent literature, the following chapter sets out the methodological approaches used to answer the central questions of this study of who, why and how Cornwall’s heritage is valorised. In particular, the literature around performance and critical heritage directed the methods of data collection that captured affective dimensions, which aimed to empower and include these layers of meaning and valuing.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Applying critical imagination to heritage studies.

This chapter explores the broader paradigms behind the methodological approach to my study, before describing in detail the methodology and relating this to the methods of data collection chosen. The methodological approaches will be discussed, alongside literature reviewed in chapter three and comparative approaches used by other researchers, to establish the suitability of the methods chosen, relative to the aims of the study. Chapter three showed that heritage is a complex process described by Ashworth (2005) as a tapestry with multiple and competing interpretations. Muzaini and Minca (2018) add there are no clear lines, in terms of what is valuable and who is doing the valuing. It is a process that overlaps and intertwines.

The literature review revealed the study of valorising as complex and this framed the methodological approach to my study. Iorgulescu et al write ‘one of the main challenges is to formulate an improved method (or set of methods) for the valuation of cultural heritage’ (2011:30) They argue that its value transcends money, and economic valuation methods ‘do not capture heritage value but only parts of it’ (ibid). Jones and Leach support this, pointing out that in the UK, research around heritage as a social value or about wellbeing tend to be quantitative, economic assessments based around cost benefit analysis. They argue this perpetuates a mechanism for understanding and narrating value, based on scientific research and conservation as an expert judgement, adding that occasionally, social anthropological frameworks are applied to social value studies in indigenous communities but rarely in the UK. They advocate the use of qualitative methods to record social value and to ‘capture the dynamic process of valuing’ (2016:34), as inherently meaning is dynamic.

My study into valorising heritage, therefore, needed a broad approach, across a range of disciplines and theoretical interests or perspectives (Mannay, 2016). The interdisciplinary approach also places it alongside other comparative approaches in heritage studies. For example, Waterton and Watson (2017) outline a multidisciplinary approach termed ‘critical imagination’. This is about combining theory specific to heritage, but also merging paradigms from other disciplines, an approach to valorising heritage that deploys research paradigms, methodology and methods of data collection that reflect this complexity. Jones and Leech suggest this qualitative approach to methodology contributes to a ‘more sophisticated body of knowledge’ (2016:35). It also reflects what Nicolescu (2006) describes as an emerging transdisciplinarity, working with narrative,

visual and creative forms, which provide a useful view through multiple windows. This is described as a fusion of disciplinary boundaries (practice and theory) that reclaim the spaces in-between.

The conceptual and methodological approaches I chose for my study involved a critical heritage approach within a cultural studies framework, both of which emphasise mixed methodological approaches (Kara, 2015). The core approaches collected ethnographic and phenomenological qualitative sources of data, supplemented with document searches. This also included questionnaires, interviews, observation and focus groups. Approaches to data collection were deployed that looked at dynamics, positionality and aimed to empower participants in valorising heritage using data techniques that collected the expression of heritage as they emerged through performances. This included public performances of heritage from St Germans May Tree Fair to cooking a family recipe at home. The next stage was content analysis of discourse and the non-verbal, to explore what Townsend and Whittaker describe as ‘potentially any discursive accounts or expressive representation’ (2011:71).

4.1.1 The research aims and questions

My research aimed to enhance our understanding of the construction and complexities of heritage valuation processes and the place of minority narratives within this process, thus potentially improving diversity in heritage management practices. The study explored how heritage is defined in the Cornish context and how Cornwall’s heritage institutions, minority communities and creative artists are involved in sharing this valuation of cultural heritage. From the literature, there appears to be a disconnection between what is said in cultural policy about engaging diverse publics and what is actually done in practice. The on-going tension between authorised (managed) and grassroots (unmanaged) heritage practice highlights the need for a bridge between the two. Cultural heritage performance was explored as a bridge to an affective democratic practice for negotiation and recognition of a plurality of values. Central to the study are the emotional responses and processes where individuals/groups provide meanings underpinning their signification and valorisation. My aim was to explore ways that empower people and vocalise what they value as heritage. From the literature, there are calls to include the affective dimensions of heritage (Wetheral, 2018). This non-representational way of actively producing heritage creates space for negotiation (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000) and provides a more stratified way of knowing (Fitzgerald, 2009) as an alternative to an AHD (Smith, 2006).

The research questions

Two primary research questions shaped the study:

1) What are the factors, tensions and power-relations that contribute to ideas of how 'heritage' and how the 'value' of heritage are negotiated, using the Cornish case study?

- What were the planning processes, stakeholders and outcomes that led to 'authorised' designations of Cornwall by UNESCO and Council of Europe?
- How are grassroots notions of heritage expressed, and in what way is 'performance' an effective alternative act of valorisation?

2) How might events like the Man-Engine pilgrimage be understood as a performative space for both authorised and alternative heritage expression and 'valuation'? Is it a bridge between tensions of official and unofficial heritage? Is it co-constructed?

To answer the research questions the field study was structured broadly around an examination of the knowledge production and valuations inherent in 'managed' heritage discourses (AHD) and in 'loose' space' discourse, and an analysis of the potential of performative enactments to bring forms of valuations together. The study included a triangulation of techniques and experiential approach that helped to ensure both the credibility and validity of the results. This provided greater depth, explaining more fully the complexity, dynamism and negotiation of behaviour, cultural production and power/knowledge relations. In establishing the processes and knowledge generated, the study hoped to identify the discursive construction of heritage valorisation, and explored motivations, perceived meanings, and signification processes of individuals and groups. In essence, the study explored heritage as official, unofficial and a bridging between the two.

Official/managed heritage knowledge production:

From the theoretical context of Foucauldian theory, AHD and critical cultural heritage, the knowledge/power axis was examined through a critical analysis of the production of cultural heritage policies, management systems, discourses and texts that took place on designation as a WHS and minority status, and its continuation as heritage policy in Cornwall. This included inspection of the deployment of UNESCO activities and performative practice in their heritage programming.

Unofficial/unmanaged heritage production:

This involved exploring the wider community as heritage ‘from below’, a personal way of doing heritage that takes place irrespective of designations by experts (official heritage). This involved studies of everyday expressions and of the performance of heritage in public spaces. These discourses and meanings were established through ethnographic observation, questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and media analysis.

Bridging heritage knowledge production:

The Man Engine, as both a UNESCO and a performative loose space, was explored as an example of a bridging process between the tensions of managed and unmanaged forms of heritage valorisation. The literature review shows that, increasingly, there are no clear boundaries over who and what is valued as heritage (Muzaini and Minca, 2018). This merging was explored in the performativity of the Man Engine Pilgrimage in 2016. This included meaning produced verbally and non-verbally through live durational performances and in mediated / recorded performances (filmed). The longer- term impact from this event was explored via questionnaires and interviews.

4.2 General research design/approach

In research, an ontology or broad paradigm, is defined as a set of feelings or beliefs about the world and how it should be studied or understood (Guba, 1990). My study on how people place a value or meaning on heritage is determined by the view that meaning arises out of interactions and relationships between individuals, which involves research approached from a dialogical ontology. My enquiry takes an ontological perspective that is relativist and interpretative, employing a qualitative not quantitative research approach. Within this ontological approach, I placed my study within a standpoint epistemology, a feminist theory of knowledge (Hughes, 1980). This is a critical approach to how we understand the world, where humans have a potential for knowledge, however, this is situational, politically determined and in someone’s interest. Further, reality is constructed and ‘facts’ shaped by political values and act to support oppressive forms of power. These dominant values are those of powerful groups and reproduce power relations. This perspective is central to critical heritage studies, outlined in chapter three which seeks to study and disrupt organisational or institutional processes that place an immutable value on ‘authorised’ tangible heritage (Smith 2006).

Integral to this feminist and critical epistemology, is the concept of body politics (Bourdieu, 1984; Denzin, 2003). Brown and Gershon write ‘Bodies are sites in which social constructions of differences are mapped onto human beings. Subjecting the body to systemic regimes – such as government regulation – is a method of ensuring that bodies will behave in socially and politically accepted manners’ (2016:1). Foucault (1976) argues that form and content are inextricably bound in shifting relations of power. These postmodern theorists have highlighted issues of representation in debates and have formed methodological approaches that are relevant to my study of how heritage is valorised, including the power relations inherent in official processes in relation to performative heritage. From a concept of performativity (Butler, 1999) when heritage is viewed as affective process (non-representational), bodies are active and lively (Thrift, 2003) and rather than being constrained, can be seen as sites of negotiation and contestation. Importantly this increases agency.

From this epistemological standpoint and critical approach, the desired outcome of my research is also about facilitating praxis or change, a form of action research (Hughes, 1980). The democratisation of heritage practices has emerged as a central concern from a critical heritage perspective (Smith, 2006, 2012; Ashley and Frank, 2016; Littler, 2005; Naidoo, 2015; Mason, 2002). Identification of these concerns led to my critical enquiry into the relations of power in the AHD and official valorising within Cornwall, and the inclusion of the Cornish minority in this process. My critical approach also aimed to centralise the minority voice in this study and empower the participants. Critical approaches are relevant to studies on ethnicity, social class and gender and Leavy (2015) argues that creative data collection methods are key in empowering participants. She writes, advancements in critical theory have led to an expanding of the qualitative paradigm and ‘advancement of arts-based methods of representation’ (2015:11). Integral to this critical epistemology as researcher was being reflexive which encouraged me to think about what motivated this research and how heritage is valorised in Cornwall.

4.2.1. The researcher and positionality

A reflexive approach creates a deep engagement with self in the research process, which involves questioning our experience or relationship with the world (Cunliffe, 2003). Leavy (2015) believes that researchers ‘fully bring themselves into their projects including the value system guiding the undertaking’ (2015:29). This includes who you are and where you sit; your assumptions, identities, sense of justice and hopes for society

(Alvesson et al; 2008, Mc Donald, 2013, Bryman, 2002). My personal perspective shaped my approach to the study including my situation in society as a female, first generation Irish immigrant with a regional accent living in Cornwall. This placed me in some contexts as an outsider and insider. Being embedded in Cornwall was also integral to the fieldwork. This included professional experience within heritage, unofficial practice as a trustee for a heritage charity and co-organiser of a community-led revived festival, rooted in Cornwall's past. This reflexivity as a researcher aimed to reduce privilege and empower participants. Power dynamics form a large part of my critical approach, including awareness of my own position as the researcher - one of relative power and privilege.

4.2.2 Participants in the study

From this ontology, epistemology and qualitative approach, I collected data about the valorising process within a case study that included mixed methodology. The study was divided into three key stages determined by a time-line. Heritage professionals were more likely to take part in research in the quieter off-season, heritage site volunteers were available from Easter onwards and community events tended to start in Spring. Participants came from three groups in Cornwall: Professionals in cultural heritage, including those involved with the Man Engine (2016); members of interest groups or volunteers involved in cultural heritage (with no financial remuneration except travel expenses); and 'lay' people not involved in official heritage or culture management as paid or voluntary work. The 'lay' participants selected to take part in the questionnaire were from Camborne (town), Minions and Pensilva (villages), which form part of the WHS. Liskeard and St Germans were chosen as they are in SE Cornwall, allowing ease of access to distribute the off-line questionnaire and familiar to the researcher, having lived and being embedded in the area over a long period. There was no prior selection of the participants based on socioeconomic factors. The sample was those participants who chose to engage in the study and the criteria were to study adult groups/individuals with an interest in heritage and/or the Cornish minority.

4.3 Key Methodological approaches

The study used a qualitative approach to explore how groups of people interact and construct their world. Qualitative research, as Mason (2002) explains, is viewed as the different ways of perceiving or experiencing social, psychological and physical

phenomenon, and is an inductive approach to knowledge building. Leavy (2015) argues that the popularity of qualitative research was propelled by Goffman's groundbreaking book *'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life'* (1959). He developed the term 'dramaturgy' to illustrate how social life may be conceptualised as a series of performances, including how people behave as *actors* in this stage of life. Leavy maintains that Goffman's work not only raised the profile of qualitative research, it has also been 'foundational for more recent arts-based innovations' (2015:9). This made a qualitative approach suitable for exploring the Man Engine. Qualitative research is associated with phenomenology and ethnography in the study of culture, both of which I employed in this research. Orange (2012) outlines the differences between the two approaches. A phenomenological approach is based around perceptions, memory and internal discourse or dialogues, and ethnographic is about face-to face contact with a social group. Mason (2002) adds that both approaches apply observation in the field study as a core method of data collection. In relation to ethnography, Leavy (2015) suggests observation is a key methodological approach to studying various cultures in their natural setting.

Core to ethnographic research is building a rapport with the culture/participants to engage them. Angrosino (2007) advocates participant observation though the researcher living immersed in the social group for long periods. Ethnography is also an approach used by Clifford Geertz (1973) who employed 'thick descriptions' to illustrate the complexity of social life from the perspective of the research participant, as well as the researchers' interpretations of what is learnt in the field of study. From a heritage studies perspective, ethnography is also relevant to how cultural heritage is performed. Turner (1966) suggests that cultures are most fully expressed through performance. An ethnographic approach has been applied to the study of indigenous societies, and Angrosino (2007) explains this as a reconstruction of their culture through historical memory. Ethnography has also been transferred to the study of 'modern' communities or social groups for example Bellier writes that 'ethnography and the anthropological methodology are quite appropriate to studying administrative and political organisations as power-related social and cultural places' (2005:244). Yuval-Davis (2014) adds that ethnographic methodology is key to capturing the multiple complexities of minority communities. She advocates using a methodological framework using an intersectional perspective, which avoids essentialising minorities, and takes into account situational gazes. This recognises there are hierarchies of power and situated positionalities within minority communities. Her research of individual perspectives sees how a construction and reconstruction of identities and claims of belonging are related through a geopolitical and sociocultural construction. Ethnography also enables exploration of different social positionings

through political and media discourse analysis and how individuals respond to and interact with wider tropes. Ethnographical approaches have been used in connection with mining communities or industrial heritage research in the UK. Dicks (2000), Coupland (2012) and Schwartz (2008) employed ethnographic techniques to explore performance and representation.

Ethnography was of great relevance as a methodological approach to my study, where I have also taken a standpoint epistemological and critical approach. This approach centres on the primary experience and the concept of giving voice. This not only connects to a broader notion of cultural politics and democracy (Giroux, 2000), it 'enacts an ethics of respect' (Denzin, 2003:237). Manning (2017) outlines that key to critical ethnography is adopting a collaborative approach, conducting research 'with' not about 'other'. She writes of 'reclaiming the value of community groups under the conditions of equality and cooperation' (2017:13). Critical ethnography is also applied by Santino (2009) to the study of national minorities and their cultural heritage, in this case performing Irish culture and Irishness. Therefore in my study, applying 'critical' to an ethnographic approach was core to re-examination of the power within Cornwall's official heritage valorising processes, identifying positionality and representation. This was needed to avoid creating knowledge that continued to be complicit with peripheralisation. It enabled me to observe the differences between what people say in heritage policy on inclusion and engagement, and what they actually do - key to critical analysis of official processes.

One of my key methodological approaches was the use of a case study, broadly accepted as a framework for conducting qualitative and quantitative research in the humanities (Stake, 1995). The case study chosen was Cornwall and chapter two outlines the historical background, contemporary performance and agents involved. Smith argues that to reveal a sense of a nation's heritage or traditions, we need to place it within a temporal depth that 'charts the developments and changes to the sense of national community over the generations' (2010:85). Smith argues that some research has failed to engage in everyday practices of ordinary people, set in this wider long-term historical analysis. The case study approach lends itself to the study of how heritage is valorised and the notion of a shared authority or collaborative approach, based on broad political and cultural discourses of heritage.

Angrosino (2007) supports the use of case studies in an analysis of the individual or group's perceptions regarding their life history and everyday or uncommon practices. He suggests a participatory or 'emic' approach to study the social group or phenomena being studied. Emic is defined as fieldwork and viewpoints from within the social group being

studied. Brewer suggests that case studies are like a 'micro-history' in an enclosed place (2010:87). This bounded system allows the complexity of research questions to be explored (Creswell, 2012; Stubbs, 1995).

Cornwall is geographically peripheral within the UK, which made it an ideal case study. The case study approach explored the ways in which Cornwall's heritage institutions, Cornish minority communities and creative artists were involved in shaping valuation of cultural heritage. We saw that there was a historical background to how Cornishness became important, leading to today's official valorising by UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Waterton (2005) suggests we need to study this historical context as part of a critical approach to heritage studies. She argues that a case study approach helps to understand the emergence of such debates, in order to develop a sense of history. Waterton's (2005) research in UK heritage landscape supports this choice of methodology. She writes, a case study 'situates discussions at precisely that point at which a top-down approach to management is met with a bottom-up understanding of heritage' (2005:312). Brewer supports this, writing that the case study 'depends upon the recognition that our understanding of what is seen depends on the incorporation of many points of view rather than the use of a single dominant perspective' (2010: 90) It also enables in this study to be illustrative of wider points and to give concrete examples of these processes.

This section has outlined the theory of knowledge and broader paradigms behind the approach to my thesis and illustrated how this shaped the methodology. This led to specific methods of data collection chosen to meet the aims of the study and answer the research questions.

4.4 Methods of data collection

In order to answer the questions and meet the aims of the study, I decided to employ mixed methods of research, in the form of triangulation as outlined by Creswell and Clark (2010). Mixed methods/triangulation data collection techniques were relevant to the interdisciplinary nature of my study, encompassing a range of theoretical approaches (Denzin, 2014; Kaufman, 2010; Markham, 2013). They aimed to reduce the risk of research bias from using a specific source of data (Maxwell, 2005). In establishing the processes and knowledge generated, the study aimed to identify the discursive construction of heritage valorisation, exploring motivations, perceived meanings, and signification processes of individuals and groups. The triangulation of techniques used in

my study to explore the generation of knowledge produced included document research, ethnographic observation of meetings and events, questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and visual analysis. These methods and their specific application in exploring the research questions are discussed in detail in chapter five.

The research began with a thorough document search. Dicks (2000) suggests this method of data collection traces the processes by which heritage texts are shaped. These documents ranged from management documents, public notes on meetings, media coverage, regional and national policy documents, consultation texts and reports. Document searches also aimed to explore the political discourses and policy around the value of projects like the Man Engine. This approach not only yielded substantial data, but also identified crucial individuals who were gatekeepers within organisations, clarifying the interrelated professional networks, involved in culture and heritage, enabling follow-up questionnaires, interviews and focus groups.

Fink (2011) suggests that questionnaires can be an exploratory process and help describe the world as the participant views it. A questionnaire with open-ended questions was chosen, to cover a wide geographical and social area, to identify the discursive construction of heritage valorisation, exploring motivations, perceived meanings, and signification processes of individuals and groups.

Interviewing was used to identify frameworks of knowledge brought to the official valorising process, to provide more insight into its implementation and to discuss issues of inclusion and exclusion. My study employed three types of interview. ‘Spot’ interviews were conducted at events, which located the performance interview within ethno drama or public voice ethnography (Mieczkowski et al, 2001). These interviews served as a narrative device to allow people to tell stories about themselves (Porter, 2000). Interviews were also conducted with professionals involved in heritage, taking the form of informal chats outside the workplace in neutral settings like cafes, on the train, or in workplaces. The narrative from informal chats and ‘nearby listening’ as used by Laura Auger, in her study of prison memory, (cited in Miller et al, 2017: 8), were written as notes during the field study. Lastly, focus groups were conducted; group interviews that gather qualitative data from individuals who have experienced a particular situation, which serves as a focus of the interview. Focus groups are seen as a form of oral history, a history making process, as tools to recover hidden pasts or those that do not run in state archives, often increasing the visibility of marginalised communities (ibid, 2017). In the study, four focus groups were formed. To challenge the power relations, the researcher took part in the groups and sharing of personal stories. The position of ‘the researcher’

may be perceived as one of relative power and privilege. In reflecting on this dynamic, this created a deep engagement with self in the research process (Cuncliffe, 2003). The focus groups were themed on 'tradition bearers'. That meant bringing an object, image, song, story, recipe - anything that illustrated what the person valued as heritage/something passed down as a tradition. This hoped to elicit insights into living heritage through the narrative of these tradition bearers (e.g. Kara, 2015; Rowsell, 2011). Signed consent forms were used for interviews and focus groups. These were recorded for transcribing. However most informal chats/ 'on-the-spot' interviews had only notes taken.

Finally, observation was used for a phenomenological and ethnographic approach to the case study method. This enabled immersion in the fieldwork and recorded the lived experience (Denzin, 2003). Observations of events were key to my performance-centered approach and helped capture affective moments and dynamic creative forms of valuing. This included the use of mixed visual data to help further explore the research question. Observation of filming provided verbal and non-verbal data. Mac Dougal outlines this as intercultural dialogue, a means of communicating how people feel and experience and helped to understand things that are 'accessible only by non-verbal means' (1997:292). Film data produced at same time as the researcher's own was included to aid reflexivity and representation. For example, YouTube footage of events aided co-production, and representation, following the action of participants, their stories and emotions. In this way the researcher did not control the visual process. This participatory approach where mixed visual data is co-produced is in 'stark contrast to purely observational approaches' (Pink, 2004:4).

4.5 Data analysis

Analysis with qualitative, inductive processes gave a more open-ended investigation, where the questions addressed were led by the data that emerged. This is the approach to data analysis with the general strategy of 'grounded theory' (Bernard 2006) and is described by Bryman as a 'meshing of theorizing and data collection' (1994:4). An important part of this is memo writing and analysis of emerging concepts, which elaborate the data. After data collection and reflection in relation to the research questions, the next stage of research was generating categories, which fitted the data. Textual data (including documents transcribed interviews and focus groups) were reviewed and then sections of text or words were highlighted, and then given relevant or meaningful codes which aimed to reflect the terms used by respondents (in-vivo coding).

Coding is a fundamental task in most qualitative studies, involving the categorising and sorting of data (Charmaz, 2006; Silver and Lewing, 2014) or generating themes to address the research question (Adu, 2013). Coding started with the gradual build-up of categories known as open coding (Strauss, 1998) and then ‘axial coding’ applied in as the process of putting data back together by relating codes (categories and concepts) to each other via a combination of inductive thinking. The inductive process as part of grounded theory (inductive coding) was applied in the analysis of all types of data. Constant revision of coding (the fitting of data and concepts together) was key (Richard and Richards, 1994).

Coding is also fundamental to categorise the data collected into a form suitable for computer analysis. Qualitative data was analysed, using Nvivo as a tool for managing this data and to provide a quantitative dimension to this source of data. My data collection used a mixed method approach; therefore, I used pre-existing codes to document analysis and applied this to other data collected from interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires to allow data integration. Coding with Nvivo involved gathering all the material into nodes for further exploration. Nodes are where material is gathered to look at emerging patterns. Nodes were used for themes and cases (units of observation in the study representing organisations, events, people and places). Codification and thematic analysis was a reflexive process, where codes emerged from the data.

4.5.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) was used for text and visual data in documents, transcriptions of interviews, focus groups and media and is based on the concept that how we talk about things, affects the way we view a phenomenon. Discourse is not just about the narrative or talk; it is constructed within a social structure (Kara, 2015). DA allows researchers to understand participants’ perspectives, knowledge, thoughts and the meaning of language. I also used visual analytical techniques including maps and diagrams to visualise my data. Visual techniques are seen by Strauss and Corban (1998) as helping researchers to move from confines of theme or code identification to conceptualisation, stimulating creativity and imagination. Fairclough advocates critical DA as a trans-disciplinary dialogue that includes textual analysis with social theories and methods of research to ‘elucidate the discourse moment of social process, practices and change in its dialectical relations with other moments’ (2005:68). A critical analysis of the discourse elements in these texts is key to what Waterton terms a more ‘nuanced approach’ to heritage (2010:35). I used

textual DA and content analysis of documents, to explore organisational discourses and strategy involved in this legitimisation process of meaning-making.

4.5.2 Visual data analysis

Discourse Analysis is not just textual. A shift to embed visual techniques, data and analysis as part of contemporary research, is vital in providing a holistic process, in moving beyond preconceived ideas of place and space, and to develop an understanding of meaning and the diversity of experience (Angrosino, 2007; Mannay, 2010; Pink, 2013). As part of my ethnographic process, reading images were important to explore the salience of the process of valorising heritage and to gain insight into the image's creator and the message conveyed (Rose, 2001). Pink (2013) suggests the visual is intertwined with personal identity, culture, and definitions of place, space and history. Analysis of film footage included visual images, verbal discourses and non-verbal communications. A wider breadth of visual data, was analysed by using film footage from participants attending events or 'sites of meaning' which was vocalised in their personal filming as a realist record. This involved applying DA (coding and content) to YouTube footage, and to other community filming from the researcher's children and friends.

4. 6 Limitations to methodology

The study had some limitations. The case study covered a large geographical area. This determined the need for methods of data collection that would access as many people as possible, so on-line questionnaires were used. These are however prone to issues including a low rate of return/survey fatigue. The questionnaire was anonymous which made any follow-up difficult, unless the participant chose to contact me. When stage three of the fieldwork was conducted, the tools for data collection aimed to be empowering with mostly open-ended questions and a creative approach applied where possible. There were some difficulties encouraging engagement in the study and the word 'heritage' appeared to create a barrier. Some 'lay people' appeared reticent, or felt they had nothing worthwhile to contribute. I found that being a 'researcher' seemed to automatically impose a barrier to some of the community. Voice recording was also too intrusive for many people. Observation of events, noting informal conversations and YouTube footage by the audience proved a better approach. Another limitation was access to information on who was involved in official process. Despite several attempts to attend Heritage Kernow public meetings, no new meetings were convened, however

members did take part in the study. Golden Tree Productions (producers of the Man Engine) also declined to take part in the study. Their views were obtained via media reports and the Man Engine Evaluation report (2017) by K2, whose author consented to the use of transcripts. Finally the research subject itself was large. Valuing heritage is complex and studying it involves a multidisciplinary approach, which created a volumous base of knowledge to analyse. Examples of consent and information provided to participants to comply with research ethics are in Appendix A. Examples of interviews and additional information on participants are in Appendix G.

Chapter 5: Data collection

Following the methodology in chapter 4, this chapter will describe, in detail, the types of data collected to answer the research questions. The study included a triangulation of techniques and experiential approaches that helped to ensure both the credibility and validity of the results. This reflected more fully the complexity, dynamism and negotiation of behaviour, cultural production and power/knowledge relations.

The data collected is explained in the following sections, serving as a framework for understanding the data analysed in the next chapters. These include document searches (public notes on meetings, planning documents, media coverage), questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus groups, ethnographic and observation of events/meetings, and additional visual data (public displays of heritage as murals and tattoos).

5.1 Documents

Documentation was gathered about the planning processes, stakeholders, motivations and outcomes that led to ‘authorised’ designations of Cornwall’s heritage by the Council of Europe and UNESCO. This established who was involved in this official valuing. Cornwall based cultural heritage policies, management reports and texts concerning WHS designation, and the awarding of Cornish minority status, were inspected. The document acted as a tool for data on content and discourse around valorising, and helped identify the network of organisations and individuals to contact for distribution of the questionnaires and follow up interviews.

A number of policies and reports discussed the nomination and official recognition of the Cornish as a national minority and its significance. The Council of Europe *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1995) helped frame this part of the study and set the valorisation of Cornwall’s cultural heritage and its need for recognition at a level beyond a national discourse. At regional level, several reports identified what heritage was valued and in need of protection by this official processes, and who was involved. The two key reports produced by the Cornish – *The Cornish Minority Report 2* (2011) written by Ian Saltern and *Why Should the Cornish be Protected as a National Minority* (2014) – were co-produced by about fifty people in Cornwall. These were presented to the UK coalition government and to the Council of Europe to support the nomination. At the same time that this process was taking place in Cornwall, there was a

parallel shift in UK governance from national to local decision-making, which produced heritage-related reports. This included the Devolution Deal (2015), a place-based approach to policy and funding with an emphasis on cultural distinctiveness and localism (local decisions on management and spending). The British Academy (2016) report 'Where We Live Now', specifically related to Cornwall and this new initiative. This resulted in the formation of 'Heritage Kernow', funded by this Devolution Deal, a forum representing the main heritage bodies in Cornwall (Historic England, CWDMWHS Partnership and NT) and open to other heritage interest groups.

Having established those involved in the nomination process for minority recognition, those involved in on-going support were identified through minutes of the Cornish Minority Working Group and their Action Plan (2017). 'The Opinion' Report (2017) by the Council of Europe Committee, written for the UK Government, illuminated how much value (or not), the state was giving to this recognition of the Cornish as a national minority. In response to criticism, the UK Government gave a one-off 'Cultural Fund' for projects to support/raise awareness of the Cornish minority, between 2017-2019. Documents regarding the commissioning process for spending this money indicated who was involved in deciding where it was spent and what projects were commissioned. The outcomes of these projects were collected by observing and taking notes at a meeting, in September 2018, of the Cornish Minority Working Group, Members Briefing, at Cornwall Council.

Documentation surrounding the planning processes, stakeholders and outcomes that led to 'authorised' UNESCO WHS designation were also studied in order to trace how Cornwall became nominated. The history of its gaining status as a cultural landscape of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) was examined, involving the national and local conservation and protection measures that were made before the UNESCO bid and nomination, but were important steps in the process. This included recognising Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) and alignment to *The European Landscape Convention* in 2000. The Mineral Tramway Project Report (2004) was also important in highlighting a need to conserve mining areas in West Cornwall and was driven by local archaeologists and interest groups. A further source was the Cornwall and West Devon Partnership 'Management Plan' (2005-2010), prepared during the WHS nomination bid, which outlined core objectives and planning if the designation was awarded.

At a global level, the report by ICOMOS World Heritage Centre (2006) 'Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape (United Kingdom) No: 1215, provided information on the actual nomination and highlighted the need to for a comprehensive management plan.

Official documents prepared during the nomination process, the WHS 'Marketing Strategy' (2004) and the 'Management Plan' (2005-2010), indicated what was valued and who was involved. These revealed that the nomination process had a clear structure with essential components needed by the State Party (the UK government) to allow progression of the bid and this included a very clear marketing plan to communicate the OUV of the site and a strong economic argument based on tourism and regeneration.

Minutes of the meetings of the WHS bid partnership indicated who was included in this commissioning process at local level. A further 'Draft Nomination Document' prepared by the WHS bid partnership in 2004 was essential in detailing the vast number of people involved in the process. Public consultation by Cornwall County Council Research and Information Unit, provided secondary data on how the wider public valued being a potential WHS. This study written in November 2004 'Cornwall Peoples Panel Survey Report' was a postal survey over a two month period distributed to 2922 residents, of whom 1,484 responded (50.8% response).

Having established who was involved in nomination, the next area of document search was to establish who is involved in present day decision-making and management. At national level, the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) Heritage Statement (2017), provided data on how the UK Government values World Heritage. The other key documents that frame the governance and value of the WHS are the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape WHS (CWDWHS) 'Governance Arrangements' (2007), CWDWHS Management Plan (2013-2018), and WHS Supplementary Planning Document (2017). The WHS Management Plan is the overall strategic approach to the conservation and management of the site and describes the cultural values to be communicated but within this framework are other strategies to help achieve this. These other CWDWHS strategies were examined by looking at the content of the reports on the Interpretation Strategy and the Marketing Strategy (2004). To supplement data on the valorisation of Cornwall heritage as an economic value and the role of the creative industries, leaflets promoting the mining landscape for tourism, in railway stations, hotels, pubs and other sites around Cornwall, were examined. This included leaflets connecting the 2015 series 'Poldark' with the WHS. This provided data on the nostalgic imagery content from the BBC drama production, used to promote the area and the economic value placed on this by UNESCO, CWDWHS Partnership and Visit Cornwall.

In order to explore the views of the wider public on WHS designation and national minority recognition, I reviewed local media coverage. The Western Morning News, Plymouth Herald and The Cornish Times archive at Liskeard Library and Cornish Studies

Centre were searched. The Cornish Times has covered local interests in South East Cornwall since 1857. National and local media reports following the 2014 announcement of recognition of Cornish as a national minority and the 2017 publication of the Council of Europe's *Opinion* Report were also inspected. Local media document searches in 2017 and 2018 provided data on the tensions on the impact of tourism on local communities. Tension related to the power dynamics between official organisations was explored through several documents. For example, Hayle Harbour is part of the WHS and is highlighted in the ICOMOS (2006) Nomination Report as having no buffer zone (that is it had no additional conservation protection, for example, as part of an AONB). Further data on concerns was obtained from the 'State of Conservation Report to the State Party 2012-2015' by ICOMOS/ICCROM as part of their Reactive Monitoring Mission (2015). The inherent planning conflicts between UNESCO and local planning authorities are also identified in the report by UKWHS (2018). This inter-organisational tension around planning is further explored in the Strategic Planning Committee Report 26/10/2017 (PA17/05087) on a proposed bridge by English Heritage at Tintagel in North Cornwall (not within the WHS). Documents were also an important source of information around unofficial heritage. Over a period of three weeks, documents from Stuart House in Liskeard and the Liskeard branch of the Federation of the Old Cornwall Society (OCS) archives dating from 1928 were researched, as well as project scrapbooks and minutes of meetings. The data provided an insight into what grassroots heritage groups value as worth preserving for the future. This was supplemented with some content from the visitor books in Stuart House. This provided data on the value and emotions that people expressed having visited the site that day.

Further documents searched included the Cornwall Resident Survey (2017) by Cornwall Council. This provided secondary quantitative data on what expenditure the public think should be given to Cornish heritage (including language and cultural sites). Secondary sources of qualitative data came from local historian Sharon Shwartz's text (2008) *Voices of the Cornish Mining Landscape*, which provided insights on how Redruth community valued their mining heritage. Inclusion of grassroots Cornish groups in strategic decision-making was explored in Bewnan Kernow's Report (2012). This was a partnership of sixty-five unofficial Cornish cultural heritage organisations developed from a Cornwall Cultural Strategy sector consultation held in November 2008 by Cornwall County Council's Cultural Partnership (this is a different group to Heritage Kernow which was set up after the Cornwall Devolution Deal).

The first stage of researching the 2016 Man Engine pilgrimage also involved looking at background documents on who was involved in the commissioning and funding of this

performative heritage in a public space. These included, at a national level, the funders ACE and HLF, and at local level the WHS Partnership and Cornwall cultural partnership. Strategic frameworks and cultural policy documents within the UK promoted power sharing through partnerships, such as ACE (2017) 'Leadership, workforce Development and Skill in the Arts, creative Cultural Sector: Final report'. This was supplemented by the report by Britain Thinks /ACE (2018) 'The Conversation' which places emphasis on partnerships in cultural governance linking grassroots organisations and large sector organisations. Regional policies on Cornwall's creative cultural sector included Cornwall Council (2016) 'White Paper for Culture, Edition 2' (derived from the UK DCMS, 'Culture White Paper', 2016), it highlights the significance placed on partnerships and cultural producers by regional government in bringing people together to celebrate their cultural heritage and makes reference to festive events. It also provided data that links the WHS as valuable to place-making, and cultural distinctiveness. In connection with the CWDWHS Partnership, core documents were CWDWHS strategic document (2013-2018), 'The Interpretation Strategy' and 'Draft Outline Partnership Agreement' written by Deborah Boden of the WHS Office, based at Cornwall Council, Truro. This provided data for the CWDWHS Partnership cultural programme and deployment of activities and performative practices as a strategic approach to raising awareness. The call for 'Cultural Partners' issued through this process led to the commissioning of Man Engine Pilgrimage in 2016.

The Man Engine project was co-funded by a range of stakeholders including Arts Council England and Heritage Lottery Funding. The funding applications by Will Coleman, the creative producer for the project, were therefore invaluable in outlining the key value for this public expenditure. The background for ACE funding the project (outdoor 'art') was attained through a search of the report ACE (2008) 'New Landscapes: Outdoor Arts development Plan 2008-2011'.

Having looked at documents that would provide data to support the commissioning process, the next stage was establishing if this project provided a space for co-production and an alternative expression/valuation of heritage. Document searches concentrated on UK specific policy documents and reports including ACE (2013) 'Art and Culture for Everyone' and ACE (2016) 'Everyday Creativity: From Great Art and Culture for Everyone to Great Arts and Culture, by, with and for Everyone'. In addition, media reports provided valuable data on the experience, meanings and significance produced by the audience who attended or took part in these performances. Cornwall media newspapers or magazines included the Cornish Times, My Cornwall and Cornwall

Today. Paper and on-line archives were accessed at Liskeard and Redruth (Cornish Studies) libraries.

5.2 Questionnaires

The questionnaire was an important tool providing quantitative and qualitative data from a large geographical area on what people valued as heritage. In total, 78 surveys were completed. These consisted of 15 participants from group one (managed cultural heritage organisations and networks) the remainder were two subdivided groups 'lay persons' and heritage-related volunteers/interest groups. Those questionnaires completed by culture and heritage managers provided great depth and insight. Some participants donated a lot of time, providing a rich data source. The questionnaire provided background on what the official designation as a WHS and national minority meant to people and how much they had been involved in any of these processes. It also provided insight into the factors that motivated them to take part in the Man Engine ceremony in 2016. The questionnaire was circulated through official organisations and unofficial heritage networks throughout Cornwall. The questionnaire involved an on-line survey tool and participants were given a two-month period to reply.

The interest group/volunteer questionnaire was promoted to local volunteer groups, for example, through the manager at NT Cotehele, Federation of the Old Cornwall Society (OCS) newsletter, the choirmaster for the Lostwithiel Community Choir (that performed at the Man Engine in 2016). The 'laypersons' survey was shorter as it did not cover the motivations for being part of a volunteer group. The on-line version for the layperson did not engage the wider community, although the survey was promoted in free local community magazines distributed to in excess of 3000 homes in SE Cornwall. This was disappointing, so a more direct approach, providing 200 paper copies and a letterbox system for completed surveys was designed. These were distributed in local shops or GP practices and this proved more successful with 35 returned questionnaires. The general lack of uptake in the questionnaire was attributed to 'survey fatigue' by two participants from the professional group, Jesse Foot (Councillor and Chair of the Cornish Minority Working Group) and Fiona Wootten (Cornwall365). The questionnaire was important in several ways. Not only did this lead to follow-up interviews, the emerging data also identified themes/nodes to be used in Nvivo software data analysis. These themes also framed how the larger data text (the full transcripts of interviews and focus group) could be coded. These themes were also applied to the selected transcripts and non-verbal communication from film footage at events.

The first two questions in all questionnaires were quantitative and aimed to establish some basic demographics. This included if a person self-identified as Cornish and if they saw Cornwall as 'home'. Bell (1997) outlines the idea of a meaningful space and equates this with the notion of home, of belonging and assigning ownership. Home also reflects the phenomenological approach to my study, in exploring the relationship between self and the world including, as Bender et al write, of studies that 'don't just think and see things, they experience them physically and emotionally' (1997:149). The concept of home also reflects the inclusive approach to identity and belonging in Cornwall voiced by the Cornish Minority Working Party and the Cornish Embassy Bus (2018) as a concept of 'Cornishness' - that is not based on being born in Cornwall but having a feeling of belonging. These questions also provided detail for cross-referencing via Nvivo to establish how much the Cornish as a group, are involved in decision-making on what is valued or officially designated as heritage.

The next questions for all groups were qualitative and aimed to establish what the participant valued as heritage and what they valued about what they do as 'heritage'. This included what the WHS status meant to them. Later questions were to collect specific data on the Man Engine Pilgrimage 2016, in particular, motivations to attend. Below this was space to provide a qualitative account for any longer term impact on them.

The last questions aimed to collect data on what people thought about the official designation as a Cornish national minority. It provided both quantitative and qualitative data on what people thought it meant, if they were involved and if they support this valuation.

The questionnaires had the same core questions for all groups; however, there were a few differences. There were some additional questions for the official or managed heritage group, looking specifically at funding and inclusion in their organisations. These provided qualitative data on who takes part in official processes and the barriers /successes to access and participation.

The volunteer/ interest group had one extra question on what personally motivated them to volunteer in a heritage-related group activity. The final, unofficial, group of 'lay persons', therefore, had a slightly shorter questionnaire. This also aimed to help engage people to take part. The questionnaire sent to the official organisations and unofficial heritage-related groups are in Appendix B and unofficial 'laypersons' are in Appendix C. The data has been referenced throughout as official (QP, 2018), unofficial interest groups

or volunteers (QI, 2018) and layperson (QWC, 2018). One particular volunteer group from a historic house in SE Cornwall (Port Eliot) started the questionnaire on-line but the majority failed to complete it. Feedback from some participants was they wanted to take part, but felt that some of the questions were not what they expected. A separate survey was designed for this group, which asked them specifically what they enjoyed about volunteering at the heritage site (and hence what factors contributed to their valorisation of official heritage). This helped explore personal motivations and impacts. A total of 59 were invited to take part and 49 replied giving an 83% response rate.

5.3. Interviews

Thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted (nine recorded and four with notes taken). Eight interviews were representatives from official/managed heritage, and five from heritage-related interest groups (unofficial). In addition there were ten ‘on the spot’/informal chats. The informal chats were with ‘lay persons’ during events, notes were taken and remained anonymous. Interviews lasted between thirty and ninety minutes. Before each interview there was time for a chat that was not recorded or used as data for the study, to allow a rapport to develop between researcher and participant. The only question that appeared in all the interviews was what was the most valuable thing about the Man Engine Pilgrimage in 2016? Transcripts of the interviews were sent to the participants for approval and allowed for any changes in text. At the same time participants reviewed the level of consent for use of the data (full name, anonymous or pseudonym). Two participants’ circumstances had changed and they wished to remain anonymous.

The official cultural heritage interviews provided data on organisational factors that contributed to ‘World Heritage’ or national minority valorising, and also proved feedback on the success/limitations of the Man Engine Pilgrimage 2016. Interviews were also individually designed around questions that emerged from document searches and from participant answers to the questionnaire. For example, Ainsley Cocks (WHS Officer at Cornwall Council) completed the questionnaire before his interview. He also kindly provided background information by telephone. Additional searches of Cornwall’s WHS management plan and presentations were undertaken. This helped to ensure issues that emerged from different sources data were explored in the interviews.

The research lacked an interview with Will Coleman, the creative producer behind the Man Engine or with members of Golden Tree Productions. Secondary sources filled this

gap. These included transcripts of interviews by K2 (2017) as part of the evaluation of the Man Engine Project for ACE and HLF. Permission was obtained from K2 for using this data. These interviews provide data on the value placed on the Man Engine pilgrimage by some of the Golden Tree cultural production team and co-producers of this project. Interviews with Will Coleman were also available through other resources, including public media *Cornwall Today*, YouTube, BBC Radio 4 who covered the Man Engine Pilgrimage in SE Cornwall at Minions and Liskeard. Further details on the interviews are in Appendix G.

5.4. Focus groups

The data collected from the document search, questionnaire and interviews as previously outlined, produced good formative data, however, other approaches were warranted as part of this mixed methods research. The research question about how grassroots notions of heritage are expressed and in what ways ‘performance’ is an effective alternative act of valorisation, needed to be answered by observing performance of heritage in leisure and public spaces. This provided data that was non-verbal shifting from a textual bias. I also hoped to empower participants by shifting the role of the researcher. Film footage captured by other people, therefore, was also included. I also took part in some focus groups, which aimed to disclose personal feelings without steering the forum, in an embedded way. Working with people rather than research being done to them was crucial to empowering the participants.

Focus groups were chosen to provide personal insight into a communal interpretation of heritage value and factors that contributed to what people valued as heritage. Four focus groups were facilitated; one group were in the audience at the Man Engine Pilgrimage in 2016 at Liskeard and Minions, and the other three groups were selected as they were seen as tradition bearers. The focus group process was aided by the fact that the participants already knew each other as social groups (friends, band members, or volunteers working together).

The first focus group were retired people who volunteer at Port Eliot, a historic house in SE Cornwall. There were no set questions, but in order to facilitate the discussion, they were asked to bring along something they valued as their personal heritage. This was outlined as something they have had passed on to them or hope to pass on to the next generation. Items brought were Grandmother’s Trinidadian recipe for Christmas stuffing, mother-in-law’s Bermuda Long Tail necklace and Grandmothers violin.

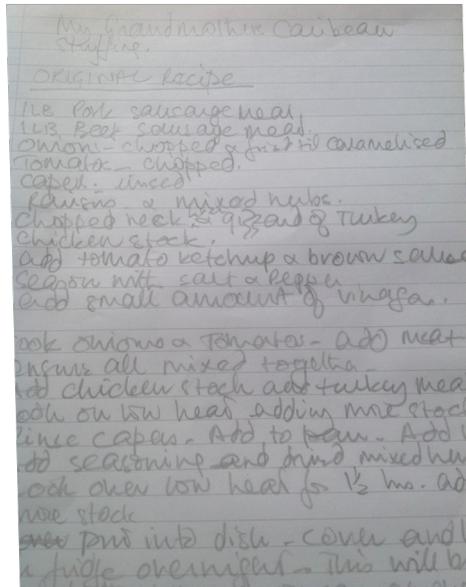
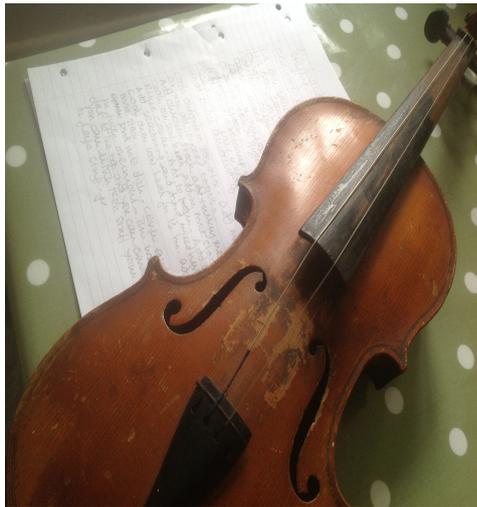


Figure 4. Tradition bearers - images of items brought to the focus group. Photo: Jo Buchanan

The second focus group were three members of the Liskeard OCS. There are over forty groups in Cornwall and these were contacted previously during the field study to participate in the questionnaire. Their inclusion aimed to provide data on heritage- from-below, or community heritage. Before conducting the focus group, I visited the Liskeard OCS at Stuart House, over a four-week period. This is a heritage building managed and funded by the efforts of the community (Stuart House Trust). The focus group included one male and two female members. The discussion lasted over an hour and went into depth around what they do as group including preserving and recording ‘threatened traditions’ and promoting awareness. The discussion was steered by the group, but they

were also asked to discuss definitions of heritage, heritage interests, and ideas about the value of the OCS, WHS status and the Man Engine.

The next focus group was with the ‘Black Eyed Nancy’ band. The band from West Cornwall, represent the Cornish folk tradition. They are perceived as ‘tradition bearers’, as they have had this music passed on to them and continue to play in different formats. They also represented a younger person’s perspective and outlined factors that contributed to how they valorised heritage. The focus group included four band members and took place during ‘The Golroos Festival’ in Perranporth in 2018. Members of the band were performing or taking part as individuals in the pub Ceilidh session, as participants in the Seine Parade on the beach and as a band performing in the evening. The interview was informal and opened with the question, what do you enjoy about playing this music and why do you do it?



Figure 5. Tradition bearers: ‘Black Eyed Nancy’ band. Photo: Mike Brown

The final focus group discussion aimed to provide data on experiences and signification/valuing when attending the Man Engine Pilgrimage in 2016 and the Resurrection Tour in 2018. Six people took part, who live in Cornwall and reflect the self-defining, inclusive term ‘Cornishness’ that is articulated by the Cornish Minority Working Party, in that some were born in Cornwall, some had ancestors from Cornwall and others no family connection with Cornwall but see it as ‘home’. One group member

had not seen the Man Engine. Aware that the events discussed had been, for some, two years previously, an image of the Man Engine 2016 was used to invoke memories of their experience or help vocalise meanings beyond the event. The discussion was framed around some of the survey questions including their favourite thing about the Man Engine and whether this event make them think more about their history or about being Cornish.



Figure 6. Image used for focus group on the Man-Engine, 2016. Photo: Ainsley Cocks.

5.5. Ethnographic and participant observation

The overall aim in ethnographic observation was to collect data that would not only look at the representation of specific interactions observed in official and unofficial heritage valorising processes in written form, but simultaneously to look at affect and emotions expressed within the film recordings of these events. Public places like heritage sites can be seen as an alternative space to express these diverse meanings of culture, where different histories and identities are affectively situated through performances and narrative (Ashley, 2013).

Data was collected through live observation of heritage performances in public spaces. Field notes, photos and films were taken to allow a content analysis of the discourses and non-verbal performances. This ethnographic recording was supplemented by the collection of film produced at the same event by others who took part. This allowed me to

follow their actions, emotions and stories, showing what the event looked like from the perspective of the film-maker. Key was the role of the viewer in their construction of ethnographic meaning. In this way I did not control the process. The data that emerged from these images and film were both reflexive (that is the relational process between the people and things) and stood as a record of the event. Consent was obtained from all film producers and the researcher who did the auto-ethnography in Willington, Co Durham (2018).

5.5.1 Ethnographic May Tree Fair

Data was collected over a two-year period where the researcher was embedded in the May Tree Fair in St Germans village. Cornwall has an established ritual calendar of events for performing heritage in public spaces, which includes creativity expressed in costumes, music and dance. In particular are the annual May festivals, the most famous being Padstow's Obby Oss. The May Tree Fair, a traditional festive event, is one of the oldest recorded feast day traditions in Cornwall. St Germans has records dating from 1284. It includes a celebration held around a giant walnut tree in the village and election of a Mock Mayor, who is elected village "King for the Day". In 2012, the community revived this event. One of the main features of the modern festival is a community procession led by a person riding a horse. The May tree that once stood in the village, has been replaced with a mock tree, decorated by the local school children and carried in the procession.

During the field study, a diary of committee meetings was kept noting any significant discourses that would help answer the research questions. An interview with one of the key people behind the reinvention of this traditional festive event, Helen Manley, provided data on the motivations and value placed on this process by her and her family (her brother was co-founder and her mother is an organiser). Further data was collected by observation of the May Tree Fair in 2018 recorded with notes and photographs. Image below, Helen Manley and her brother Will are pictured right and centre right.



Figure 7. St Germans May Tree Fair. Photo: Ian Buchanan

Performance of heritage parades/festive events were observed and captured on film. This produced data that was multimodal including non-verbal including gestures and dancing. This provided a more stratified way of knowing by shifting the emphasis away from a textual bias. I also hoped to empower participants again by shifting the role of the researcher. Film footage captured by other people was, therefore, included. Data was collected from film footage of the May Tree Fair procession in 2014. This was co-produced by Diana Laugharne and Paul Joyce as part of their grassroots project 'Voices of St Germans.' The footage included spot interviews with those taking part during the performance and expressed what they valued about taking part. This footage was also used to analyse the embodied, non-verbal expressions and signification as people walked and danced in the procession.

5.5.2 Participant observation: one-day events

I observed four more events during 2018: Trevithick Day in Camborne, St Piran's Pilgrimage and the Golroos Festival at Seiners Arms, Perranporth, and Port Eliot Festival. Apart from the latter, these differed from the May Tree Fair as the data was not embedded and observations conducted only on the day. Trevithick Day was chosen as it provided data, which celebrates mining heritage and is community-led. Camborne is an ex-mining town and is part of the WHS. St Piran's Day at Perranporth was chosen as it is also a community-led celebration of the patron saint of Cornwall. The event is supported and attended by the wider Pan-Celtic family, reflective of the Cornish Minority Working Party, who values this wider, more inclusive concept of a national minority (Coleman, 2018). Golroos Festival is a gathering of Cornish musicians and dancing led by the collective Nos Lowen, which includes a procession on the beach. In contrast to the May Tree Fair and Port Eliot Festival, these three events were not familiar territory and the

observation of Trevithick Day relied on notes only, instead of taking photographs at this family orientated event. In addition to personal observations, I used YouTube footage from someone who attended the same event.

Visual data from the Man Engine performance in Liskeard was collected. Liskeard is not part of the WHS but is connected to the original 'Man Engine', developed by Michael Loom of Liskeard. The machine used to transport miners up and down the mineshaft. Images were collected of the community participating in the pilgrimage event, and their level of signification and affective response to this heritage performance was gauged. The content of narrative and singing during the performance also provided data on the emotions associated with Cornwall's mining heritage and the immediate affect evoked during the performance that day on participants and audience (programme of events in Appendix E).



Figure 8. Liskeard Silver Band who took part in the community programme. Photo: courtesy of Liskeard Town Council

The Man Engine pilgrimage attracted much media attention and there is a vast amount of YouTube footage. To supplement the data collected on the day, visual data from three sources also captured the gazes of the informants and their interactions. One was footage filmed by a woman who was in the audience at Minions, with her five-year-old daughter and her partner. The second was an official film produced by the WHS Partnership filmed by the production company 'FatCalf'. The Cornish Times also had a competition for people to send in photos around the Liskeard event. Most of the chosen images were taken by children and provided visual data around this event.

There was also a personal element to this visual data collection. During the field study Golden Tree Production decided to bring the Man Engine back with the ‘Man Engine Resurrection Tour’ in 2018. This again toured Cornwall but then went on a national tour of ex-mining areas from Wales to Northumbria. In some ways this reflected my own personal research journey, living in Cornwall and studying at Northumbria University. It also gave me a chance to re-visit the Man Engine as a performance. I attended the afternoon performance at Wadebridge, Cornwall with my family (which included a nine and ten-year-old). I observed and recorded the narrative of the performance and asked my children what they enjoyed.



Figure 9. Enactment of William Crago’s story aged 9 who worked in the mines. Photo: L. Buchanan (aged 9).

They also filmed the performance by Golden Tree Productions, the Lostwithiel choir and Brass Band. During the event I also visited ‘The Cornish Embassy Bus’ with my daughter and observed her as she went through this process. The bus was financed by a Cultural Fund awarded in 2017 to Golden Tree Productions, to raise awareness of the Cornish minority but as a fun and inclusive process. The bus attended other heritage-related events in Cornwall that year. This data was complemented with footage filmed on the day by ‘Kernowcast’ a Vlog produced by Louis (a 23 year old Cornish man) and his footage provided more layers of meaning to this heritage performance. This method of data collected using images and observation, reflects what Darrow (2017) describes as

investigating cognitive and material layers that define the invisible landscape of heritage. Secondary data was also provided from an auto-ethnographic study when the Man Engine visited Willington, County Durham in 2018 as part of the national tour. This provided data on the shared valuation of this mining heritage that links with other parts of the UK where Cornish miners migrated.

5.5.3 Participative observation: Meetings

During the field study a diverse set of meetings were attended, to observe and take notes on discourse and power relations. This provided data on factors that contribute to how heritage is negotiated including who was at these meetings and whose voices were heard. Meeting dynamics illustrated the complexity of valorising and that there are no clear boundaries on who is doing and saying what – they merge. An example of this was the embedded observation that came from the researcher’s position as a Trustee of St Germans Priory Trust for two years. In this time notes were made on the discourses at public meetings. Four other observations were not embedded and were one-off meetings or conferences. This included observation of a conference funded by ACE and organised by the Cornwall Museum Partnership in 2017 at Wheal Martyn, an old clay-mining site near St Austell. The meeting included a large representation of the museum sector in Cornwall exploring inclusivity of the wider community in rural museums. It was particularly interesting as this linked with one of my interviewees Tehmina Goskar who co-organised and presented at the event, but also provided insight into conflicts in managed heritage. This included informal chats with representatives of heritage-related interest groups. Another observed was a podcast of the Cornish Minority Working Group meeting in 2018. Key people who presented at this meeting were Will Coleman (creator of the Man Engine performance) and Ian Saltern (both Bards of Gorsedh). They were presenting an update on projects to raise awareness of the Cornish minority. The next meeting was an ACE funded ‘Folk Education Day’ in Liskeard, which provided further data on valuing traditions/heritage by grassroots and official organisations. One of the presentations was by FEAST on networking and funding Cornish traditions and a second was by Merv Davey who is the Grand Bard of Gorsedh Kernow. He provided, amongst others, discourses around the Cornish Celtic scene, cultural festivals and the cyclical nature of these processes. The event included a Ceilidh with attendees learning Cornish folk or ‘scoot’ dancing. The final meeting observed was of the ‘Friends of Stuart House’ in Liskeard, which has one paid manager, but relies on volunteer Trustees and organisers day-to-day.

5.6. Other visual data

Finally, some of the symbolic representations of heritage around the town of Liskeard in murals were inspected. Liskeard was an important part of this study as it was a stop-off for the Man Engine Pilgrimage, and data from several sources including document searches, interviews and focus groups had been collected. Content analysis of these images enabled a deeper understanding of the meanings they convey in peoples' lives. For example, murals in Liskeard represent Cornish duality as an industrial Celt, whereas murals in Saltash, a Cornish town fourteen miles away from Liskeard, bordering Devon have a naval/ British theme.

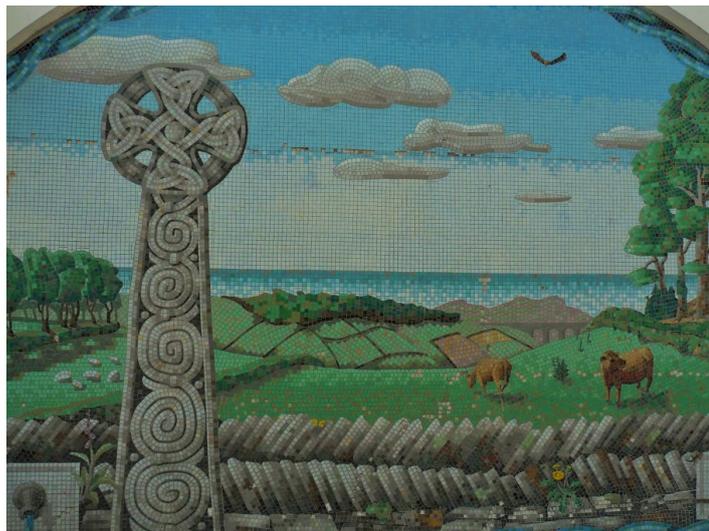
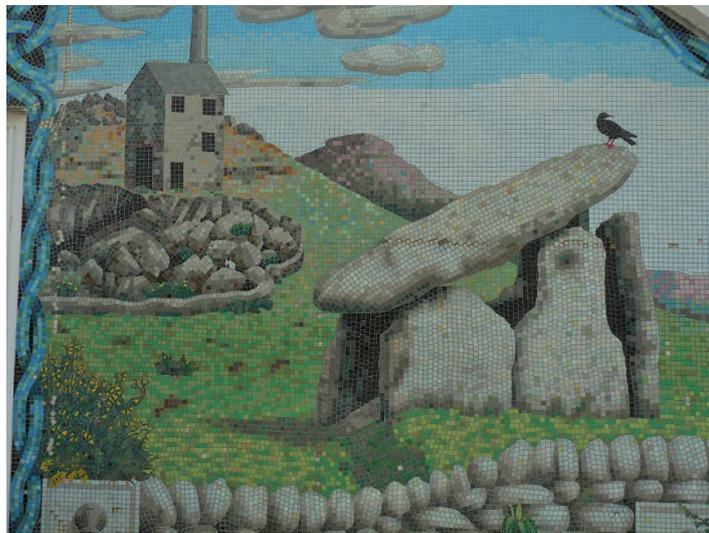


Figure 10. Mosaics outside the Co-op in Liskeard. Photo Jo Buchanan.



Figure 11. A mural in Liskeard. Photo: Jo Buchanan



Figure 12. Murals in Saltash. Photo: Jo Buchanan.

Tattoos on people were also observed which again symbolise visually what people signified as 'heritage', valued enough to be expressed permanently on their bodies.

Chapter 6: How Cornwall's official heritage is valorised

Throughout this study, a tripartite approach has been used, exploring Cornwall's official and unofficial heritage processes, and the heritage spaces in-between. This chapter sets out to investigate the factors and tensions that contribute to how Cornwall's heritage is valorised in this 'official' process. In particular, it closely inspects how UNESCO and the Council of Europe chose Cornwall and the Cornish minority as a special heritage in need of institutionalised protection and management. This exploration includes a critical approach to establish what aspect of heritage is allocated a level of significance, and the construction of an official narrative around the chosen heritage asset. The chapter explores the stakeholders involved in this signification process, and the extent to which the Cornish minority were engaged with this construction of meaning and value, and its on-going management. Throughout the chapter there is a focus on the tensions that emerge when diverse stakeholders play out competing values in this heritage arena. This includes whose voice gets heard and whose gets marginalised, what stories are communicated, and which are suppressed. The final section considers the impacts of this valorisation on Cornwall and its communities. The findings are discussed in five main sections: stakeholders, motivations, content or story, the mode of transmission and impacts.

The chapter focuses on Cornwall's official heritage, the range of professional practices that are authorised by the state and global agents like UNESCO. Professionals are seen as the experts, state officials and managers involved in everyday decision-making. Professional heritage practice in the UK has traditionally emphasised built, tangible assets and Cornwall has a plethora of megaliths, castles, historic houses and industrial mining sites. Protection of these tangible assets are a core motivation with official heritage encased in a concept of endangerment; experts have chosen what assets need taking care of, expressing this in terms of a duty of care or safeguarding. Professional valuations and discourses are then embedded in policy and practice (including management reports) and become an authorised heritage discourse (Smith, 2006).

Through these official heritage processes, particular ideas of heritage (and its values) are normalised into society as natural and intrinsic. Prats refers to Clifford Geertz' term 'heritage referents' to describe how official heritage and its tangible symbols generate support which 'reaffirm and sacralise the system' (2009:80). The heritage industry is part of this official discourse where nostalgia for past greatness or traditions is integral to the construction of a national heritage. The narrative is given a positive value and aspirational

association with the past, a selective construction, chosen from the high points and memorable achievements into a 'national story' (Hall, 1999). Cornwall's official heritage is part of this greatness. The WHS designation is about Cornwall's 'golden age' of industrial prowess and how this contributes to it being valued as a global or World Heritage. This framework of 'caring' acts through listing, curating and preservation to safeguard assets valued of intrinsic worth. The intrinsic value of assets also relies on their instrumental worth and a need to show their value as contributing to the wellbeing of humans (O'Neill, 1992). Both normalising views of value, instrumental and intrinsic, are brought together in relation to Cornwall's official heritage.

Authorised heritage discourses are perpetuated in society not just through the heritage industry, but also through education and popular culture and other mediums. These modes of transmission are important factors in how heritage is perceived and valued. In this the chapter exploration of the mediums used within Cornwall's official heritage was therefore integral to analysing how heritage is communicated. This has implications for the effective inclusion and centralisation of marginalised voices. The chapter explores Cornwall's official heritage processes and examines, within an official hierarchal framework of dominant global and national stakeholders, how central or peripheral the local Cornish stakeholders are. Throughout the chapter there are references to professional stakeholders and these are abbreviated in the text for ease of referencing. This includes the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site (CWDWHS), the Cornish Minority Working Group (CMWG), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS).

6.1 Who are the main stakeholders involved in valuation?

As part of official heritage processes, selected objects, places or practices connected to the past are chosen and valued as extra ordinary and set apart from the everyday. This signification is enacted by an attachment, an interest or concern about something connected to the past but present focused (Harrison, 2013). Exploring the people involved in this relationship with official heritage provides insight into who is doing this valuing. But it also sheds lights on those who are not involved in official processes. From a critical heritage perspective this is seen as the elitist process AHD based on professional discourses and a system of ideas or knowledge, often with its own vocabulary, resulting in power monopolising views and debates. Official bodies are powerful stakeholders having a 'stake' in what is valued, including instrumental objectives in directing what is

seen as ‘heritage’. The prioritisation of dominant stakeholders in official heritage is also described as the professionalisation of heritage (Harrison, 2013). In connection to the case study of Cornwall, this section explores the stakeholders involved in powerful positions that can influence ideas of heritage and can justify through legislation what that they see as valuable and worth protecting.

One of the core factors that contribute to how heritage is valorised is the power to be included in the decision-making process. In the case of Cornwall’s WHS and minority heritage status, this included who decided what was chosen, funded and managed; typically those authorised to do so in an ‘official’ capacity. The dominant stakeholders in this relationship included the state (UK Government), who supported the inscription of the WHS in 2006, and the need to protect the Cornish minority in 2014. The power of this stakeholder was also illustrated in their on-going management, funding and planning of Cornwall’s official heritage. In respect of Cornwall’s WHS, the international stakeholders involved were UNESCO/ICOMOS, and at a local level the CWDWHS Partnership. The dominant stakeholders that emerged in decision-making around the Cornish officially recognised as a national minority, were the Council of Europe and the CMWG. In the following sections the layers of stakeholders involved in Cornwall’s official heritage are discussed, illustrating the interplay of power in decision-making and how their relations with heritage become an official heritage.

6.1.1 Who is involved in choosing Cornwall’s official heritage?

The official designation of Cornwall’s heritage as special or in need of preserving has always involved decision-making by the UK Government, administered through professional bodies at a local, regional or national level. Cornwall is part of an official, national heritage system in the UK and within this valorising process, the state or governments are powerful players. Governance is transferred through specific agents, particularly the DCMS, a Ministerial Department made up of forty-five agencies and public bodies:

The Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport is responsible for the identification and designation of listed buildings, scheduled monuments and protected wreck sites. Historic England administers all the national designation regimes (DCMS, 2019).

Another important stakeholder ‘responsible for designating heritage assets’ was therefore Historic England, an executive non-departmental public body of the government mandated by the DCMS (Historic England, 2019). Authors like Waterton (2010) and Lowenthal (1985) describe such organisations as an ‘in-group’ who consign what is heritage with an immutable value. Advisory bodies like Historic England place value on the material-built heritage through formal designation, listing and legislation that protect and preserve (Howard, 2003). This included Cornwall’s landscapes designated by Natural England, a non-departmental public body sponsored by the UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. This provided national legal protection to areas like 958 square miles of Cornwall Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty awarded in 1959 and Tamar Valley in 1995 (DCMS/CWDML, 2006). Protection of these cultural landscapes was also covered by *European Landscape Convention* who referred to ‘actions to preserve and maintain the significant or characteristic features of the landscape justified by its heritage value derived from its natural configuration and or from human activity’ (2000:21). The latter was described as a value-free judgement, based on scientific data derived from a ‘landscape character assessment’, which acted as a tool for policy makers and stewardship schemes. The UK Government therefore emerged as a powerful stakeholder in choosing what is valued as a national heritage.

The UK Government is also an influential player in the global heritage arena. During Cornwall’s official nomination as a WHS as described in Chapter 2, the designation relied on ratification. In order to progress to nomination, the WHS bid team based in Cornwall had to demonstrate to the UK government and ICOMOS that their approach was sustainable (DCMS/CWDML, 2006: i). The successful outcome of the nomination also relied on a management plan for the next thirty years, which was guided by the DCMS who were responsible for compliance with the WH Convention (CWDML, 2005-2010). In respect of the designation of the Cornish as a national minority, Cornwall also had to put forward a case for support to the UK Government (QP, 3 2018). This hierarchal process involving several stakeholders was the author of the Cornish National Minority Report 2 (QP3, 2018). The final decision therefore to officially designate Cornwall as a WHS (2006) and legitimise protection of the Cornish as a national minority (2014), involved stakeholders from outside Cornwall - that is the UK Government, UNESCO/ICOMOS and the Council of Europe. These stakeholders had powerful positions, as they were crucial in choosing what is seen as Cornwall’s official heritage. This hierarchal process also confirmed the authority of global stakeholders like UNESCO.

In Cornwall, local agents were also involved and created the support for this international recognition. Although the final decision to designate Cornwall's mining as a WHS was by external agencies, stakeholders in Cornwall spearheaded these official processes. Those involved in choosing Cornwall's mining heritage for protection can be traced back to when the mines were closed in the 1980's, which involved official *and* unofficial stakeholders. Combined efforts of the Cornish community attempted to preserve the sites as resources for tourism and regeneration, and as social resources for ex-mining communities who needed a community memorial (Coupland, 2012, 2014). By the 1980's there was a push for the Community Charge programme to direct funding towards mining areas to benefit the local economy and help regeneration. Cornwall Council drove this initiative, and the County archeologist team (CWDML, 2005-2010). These archeologists reflect the 'professionalisation' of heritage (Harrison, 2013:67), where expert advisory groups were instrumental in 1970s onwards in the regulation of heritage. Cornwall Council was also involved in attracting funding from stakeholders outside of Cornwall, such as the £6 million of European Objective One Area (1999) and SW Regional Development Agency funds. This funding was awarded to provide regeneration for regions most in need in Europe that were seen as falling behind the rest of Europe. This funding for regeneration included The *Mineral Tramway Project* for recreation, economic benefits and conservation for West Cornwall (WCMT, 2004). Although the tramway project predated the WHS inscription, it was seen as important step in supporting the WHS bid. By receiving funding, the project illustrated that mining heritage had been recognised by local, national and European stakeholders as important and valued as a socioeconomic resource. This support from international stakeholders continued as the European Union contributed to the funding of the WHS bid in 2001 with European Objective One funding (CWDWHS, 2012-2018b).

During the WHS nomination, those who drove the process were predominantly professionals, however attempts were made to include a range of local official and unofficial stakeholders. Those involved in the WHS bid were Cornwall Council Historic Environment Services and seventy-three partners, including local authorities (Cornwall Council, Devon Council and West Devon Borough Council). The Chairperson was Helen Richards, Portfolio Holder for the Environment and Heritage, the Vice Chair was the Historic Environment Manager Nicholas Johnson and the WHS bid team based at Cornwall Council included Deborah Boden, Ainsley Cocks, Simon Thorpe and Barry Gamble. Partners were brought in for advice included English Heritage, English Nature and the University of Exeter. There were also representations from local heritage groups including Gorsedh Kernow, Carn Brea Mining Society, Pendeen Community Heritage Trust and the Trevithick Trust (meeting CWDML, 2004).

The main document that they drafted was the Management Plan (2005-2010), which provided a framework for policies and actions that would ensure commitment by these large numbers of stakeholders that owned and managed the proposed WHS to support the historic components of the Site. The plan stated:

We believe that by protecting, conserving and enhancing the Outstanding Universal Value of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining landscape WHS it will reinforce cultural distinctiveness and become a significant driver for economic and social inclusion (CWDML, 2005-2010:4).

Official narratives in this statement provide insight into some of the key ideas these professionals had formed around ‘heritage’ and what they considered valuable. The statement revealed that protection and conservation of the mining landscape was tied into Cornish cultural identity. The report explained how a Cornish identity was transformed by the mining wealth and how this heritage of material remains, and cultural expression showed ‘exceptional human testimony to the living cultural tradition of Cornish mining’ (CWDML 2005-2010:37). This relationship of human, place and traditions was connected to Cornwall’s mining past, and justified the protection of Cornwall’s mining landscape. This past and material culture was then mobilised by the Cornwall WHS bid team for contemporary needs - regeneration of Cornwall. This ‘value’ of heritage-led regeneration and potential for economic benefits, were reinforced during the WHS bid phase. The team commissioned an Economic Impact Assessment and Marketing Strategy as part of the bid. These reports, alongside the nomination document, were submitted by the UK Government in 2005 to the WH Committee and provided insight to what decisions had been made about the value of this mining landscape and what these stakeholders considered important. Before these reports were submitted to the WH Committee, the Cornwall WHS bid team wanted to include local stakeholders (public) in this process. Once the Management Plan Draft was accepted by this core set of stakeholders, this draft went out to public consultation as a postal survey (CWDML, 2005-2010). The results were compiled in the *Cornwall People Panel Report* (2004) and outlined that 2,922 households were invited to take part and 1,484 responded (50.8% response rate). Eighty-seven per cent of those who took part in the survey supported being part of a WHS. The most important benefits of being a WHS expressed were preserving cultural identity, contribution to the economy, conserving the landscape and preservation of buildings. Less importance was given to education opportunities and the least important benefits were leisure opportunities (ibid 2004: 14).

The need to consult with a diversity of stakeholders in the WHS nomination process was voiced early. Councilor Bert Briscoe commented at the first meeting of WHS Bid Team:

This was not to be simply a technical Partnership, but one, which would include the people of Cornwall, and those with overseas links...the wider community hold a wide range of views of the future conservation of Cornwall's landscape and heritage (WHS Bid, 2000).

These efforts to include diverse stakeholders in the process were commented on by ICOMOS who congratulated the CWDWHS as it 'demonstrates substantial local commitment' (ICOMOS 2006:129). Yet, despite these comments, inclusion of the wider community in this WHS nomination process had issues of communication: 77.8% of the wider community were not aware of the WHS bid (CWDML, 2004). A review of the *Cornish Times* archive throughout 2006 revealed there was no mention of Cornwall being awarded the designation as a WHS. Cornwall's WHS bid team did include members from Cornwall's unofficial heritage groups, but the true level of inclusivity of the wider community at decision-making levels was difficult to determine and participation of local communities appeared to take place only through public consultation.

Public consultations are a particular approach used by governments to gain approval to heritage-led regeneration schemes. The main avenue for inclusion of the wider community in decision-making over designation as a WHS was through public consultation where the management plan was presented via Cornwall Council website, public buildings and media to the public for feedback. Historic England posted a Tweet on 2nd April 2019 and provided a link for people to review their plans, and stating that this was:

Standard practices for public bodies, and are keen that people take part and invite them to share their views.

This mode of consultation reflects research on top-down heritage approaches to inclusiveness, where the wider public are presented with a professional report but do not generally take part in producing the content (Black, 2011; Scott, 2010; Waterton, 2010). Inclusion of the wider community in the designation of Cornwall's minority status showed a similar pattern. Some Cornish individuals and organisations contributed to the Cornish Minority reports (2011; 2014). The 2014 report was compiled by Cornwall Councillors, academics and unofficial heritage interest groups (Cornish Minority 2014). These formed the main argument prepared for the government and Council of Europe to

support the nomination. Active involvement in the nomination by the wider public however appears to be limited: in data collected during the study, 79% of cultural heritage professionals, 78.3% of interest groups and 81% of the local wider community, reported they were not actively involved (Q, 2018). In summary, there appeared that government, professional and expert stakeholders were involved in choosing what heritage was officially signified as valuable in Cornwall. At regional level, Cornwall Council attracted funding for heritage regeneration projects, which provided recognition of mining heritage as important and set the groundwork for the WHS bid. The official recognition as a national minority was influenced by grassroots groups such as Gorsedh Kernow, who contributed to the Cornish Minority Report (2014). But it was observed that some members were professionally involved in Cornwall culture/heritage. Although the nominations as a WHS and the Cornish as a national minority were generated in Cornwall by official bodies, particularly Cornwall Council, the UK Government emerged as dominant. State support was needed for the submission to the WH Committee and the Council of Europe. The final decision and major stakeholders were global stakeholders, UNESCO /WH Committee and the Council of Europe.

Although officials dominated the WHS process, it included to some degree the local community. For example, after the closure of the mines in the 1980s, unofficial interest groups like the Pendeen Community Trust wanted to preserve their ex-mining sites as a memorial. Groups like Gorsedh Kernow were also as members of WHS Partnership bid team. In spite of inclusive rhetoric, however, the main avenue for inclusion of the wider community in decision-making over these designations, were through public consultations. These included draft consultation reports with predetermined ideas of what is seen as valued as heritage - a narrative written predominantly by professionals, who were the dominant stakeholders with ultimate decision-making powers.

6.1.2 Who is involved in involved in everyday decision-making and on-going valorising?

Official heritage processes in Cornwall, including those sites and protected areas of the WHS outlined above, are facilitated through partnerships. These are networks of stakeholders across professional and cultural heritage organisations, and include the CWDWHS Partnership, Cornwall Museum Partnership and Cornwall Culture Partnership. Many of these stakeholders work within the local authorities of Cornwall Council, Devon Council and West Devon Borough Council or National Trust. The stakeholders within these partnerships are predominantly professionals connected in

many ways to supporting the protection of Cornwall's official heritage. This partnership approach to decision-making reflects what Landorf (2012) describes as participatory governance. Within this process there is room for wider representation for example the CMWG was set up by Cornwall Council and includes three members of the Cornish cultural heritage interest group Gorsedh Kernow who are volunteers (CMWG minutes, July 2017). The CMWG are actively involved with the Council of Europe and the UK Government department responsible for the Framework Convention (DCLG). For example, they submitted information to the UK Government to support the development of the fourth Compliance Report and hosted the visit by the Council of Europe delegation in March 2016. They also lobby the UK Government and the Council of Europe to ensure that the provisions of the Framework Convention are addressed (Cornwall Council, 2018).

The CWDWHS Partnership is a governance network made up of multiple ownerships, responsible for different aspects of the 'Site'. The major owners and management bodies of the Cornwall WHS are National Trust and Cornwall Council (WHS 2013-2018b). The size and scope of the WHS poses significant challenges, and the large geographical area complicates the relationships within this partnership – covering 19,700 hectares across ten sites (Governance Arrangements, 1st May 2007). At the time of the study, this partnership had three levels: a Board, a Technical panel and Consultative Council that allows 'scrutiny and accountability'. The Board consisted of fourteen members that brought together the principal management bodies in the WHS to help deliver the Management Plan (CWDML, 2013 -2015). The Partnership Board had an elected Chair, currently Cornwall Council Leader (and Council Cabinet member for Economy and Culture) Julian German. The second level of the CWDWHS Partnership was the Technical Panel, which involved professionals working in tourism, culture and conservation of Cornwall's historic environment who advised the Board level.

Diagram 13 revealed a hierarchical structure of governance with layers of local, national and global stakeholders where ultimately the CWDWHS Partnership is accountable to UNESCO and the UK Government; in this case reference is made to the 'State Party', which includes the DCMS. Periodic reports are provided to UNESCO to demonstrate that these local/national stakeholders are continuing to protect and promote the WHS (CWDWHS Management Plan, 2013-2018:75). As with any system with multiple relationships, this led to tensions between organisations as actors played out their power in the heritage arena.

Cornish Mining WHS Governance and consultation framework

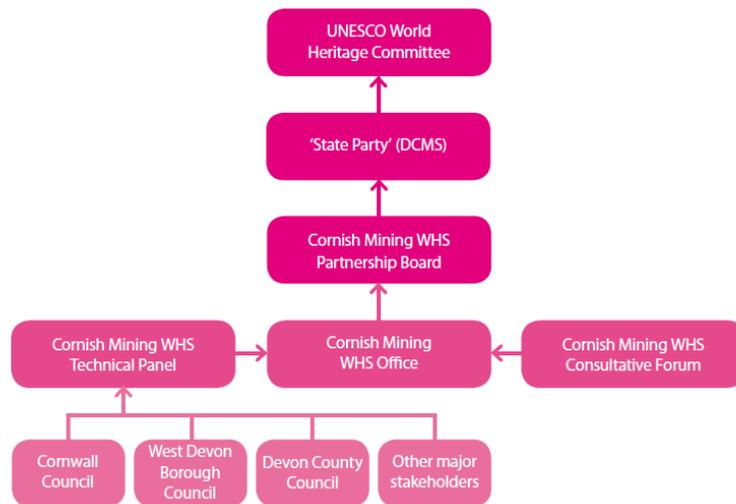


Figure 13. CWDWHS governance structure (Management Plan 2012-2018)

Although UNESCO was at the top of the hierarchal system, CWDWHS Partnership stated that the WHS international status did not supersede national heritage status but rather ran in parallel with it (CWDWHS, 2013-2018). This generated tensions between these stakeholders over support for protection of Cornwall’s WHS, in particular when buildings in the WHS were not listed by UK national listing mechanisms operated by Historic England. The organisations involved within the national preservation system like Historic England, were therefore powerful stakeholders in enabling the protection of the WHS’s OUV. In respect of Cornwall’s WHS, jurisdictions and responsibilities are complex. The UK Government takes an active lead on protection issues and this was reinforced within Cornwall’s WHS *Management Plan*, which stated:

The State Party therefore has a duty to ensure that the WHS within its jurisdiction are protected for present and future generations through statutory powers and responsible inclusive sustainable management (CWDWHS 2013-2018:74).

Heritage is protected within the UK planning system in two ways, firstly by individual listing (Listed Buildings Act 1990 and the 1979 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act) and secondly, through the Spatial Planning System, under the Town and County Planning Act 1990. This statutory process was enacted in some areas of Cornwall and indicated that these were valued by the state, however this did not cover the whole of

the WHS. There was noted that 41% of the WHS was protected by this process and was divided into 37.4% as AONB, 9.7% as Conservation Areas, 1.2% Scheduled Monument Protection, 6.1% Sites of Specific Interest, and 3.6% Cornwall Specific Area of Conservation (DCMS/CWDML, 2005:15).

The WHS does not have statutory protection within the UK (ibid, 2005). This process was further complicated in that UNESCO does not directly fund any professionals in protection or management of Cornwall's WHS. For example Heartlands in Area 5 - the Camborne and Redruth Mining District, is owned by Cornwall Council and funds the operational team on site and the WHS office is part of Cornwall Council. The statutory protection of the WHS historic built environment relied on professionals like Historic England to protect the attributes that comprise OUV. The position of UNESCO in this national system is therefore delicate. Lantorf describes the legal position of WHS Management Plans as 'ambiguous' and that the requirement for participation in operational guidelines as 'vague' (2012:126). This has led to tensions over lack of support to protect Cornwall's mining areas when buildings are not listed, leading to concerns over developments with no buffer zones (ICOMOS, 2006). Experts like Historic England's do not recognise some aspects of the Cornwall WHS as significant or valuable, despite being valued as a World Heritage. The CWDWHS Partnership also echoed these concerns:

The present national listing and scheduling criteria are not defined in a way that enables them to always align with WHS statement of significance' adding that 'some significant features have been rejected for listing despite their international importance and they are vulnerable to inappropriate development (CWDWHS 2013-2018: 86).

Thus the protection of the Cornwall WHS and its attributes that contribute to OUV rely on Historic England and other official bodies. There however appears to be some difference in what they see as valuable and worth protecting. This lack of protection by national systems has had consequences when planning departments that rely on these regulations to guide them, have proposed developments that have direct consequences for the WHS.

Although the WHS needs support for protection by UK agencies, ultimately the global stakeholders UNESCO/WH Committee have the power to withdraw the WHS status if they are not adequately supported with the protection of the site. The power of UNESCO challenges the interactions between state, UNESCO WHS committee and the local

communities. Conflicting valuations around use or protection of heritage was illustrated in plans to redesign South and North Quay in Hayle Harbour, part of the Cornwall WHS. During the nomination as a WHS, the ICOMOS highlighted Hayle as a ‘vulnerable area’ in regards developments (ICOMOS, 2006:132). This became an issue after the WHS ICOMOS monitoring mission in 2013 who said ‘despite requests by the WH committee to halt the Hayle Harbour project, the State Party went ahead with the construction of a supermarket’ (ICOMOS/ICCROM, 2015). Following this report, the main development of the South Quay was halted; any continuance would risk being removed from the WH List (DCMS, 2018). Later in 2018 with collaboration between the WH Office, local authority planning, the community and national heritage bodies, an approved development was put forward, a process that was described in the media as challenging (Baldin, 2019). The final decision however still relied on the global heritage bodies of UNESCO/ICOMOS being satisfied with the design principles of South Quay Project (phase2) (UNESCO, 2019). North Quay developments are currently on hold as Historic England has expressed concerns over threats to authenticity of the area (ibid, 2019).

This example demonstrates that despite attempts to include diverse stakeholders in decision-making, the complexity of these relationships also creates planning and operational difficulties. This has been recognised by CWDWHS and the ‘Management Plan’ provides a strategic document to ensure consistent management of the WHS (CWDWHS 2005-2019), but in the case of Hayle this framework appeared to struggle. These issues are not just specific to Cornwall, and they have been much discussed by managers and academia in the UK and internationally. Salazar and Zhu (2015) describe a battlefield of power with conflicts between various groups for example in the Dresden Elbe Valley, highlighting a need for negotiation over the use of the past (Zhu, 2017). Rewcastle Bell (2012), investigating Hadrian’s Wall in the UK, argues that pluralistic management is essential to positive sustainable outcomes. The concern over contestation during planning reflects the work of Landorf (2012). He looks at the British planning system and industrial WHS sites in relation to devolution of development control to local authorities and describes a ‘growing tension between localised decision-making based on participation governance national objectives that emphasise the importance of the historic environment in social policy and international obligation to protect a common heritage of human kind’ (2012:126). Further he argues that that the WHS participatory governance structure is intrinsically hindered by the independent responsibility taken by partnership organisations for implementing objectives. The manager of the Stonehenge and Avebury WHS Partnership stated in interview that these issues could be resolved within management planning

There will always be tensions in any partnership and this is no different in World Heritage Sites where relationships can be complex. The Management Plan is a key tool, which provides a framework for all decision-making. The process of engagement, consultation, consensus building and agreement of the vision, aims and policies is invaluable in establishing and maintaining a robust partnership (Simmonds, interview 2019).

Hayle Harbour exemplified these tensions in relationships between diverse stakeholders and also indicated that some stakeholders were not supporting the CWDWHS Management Plan. The essential step to the successful Hayle development involved having an increased working relationship with planning officers based within the Cornwall WHS Office, a need that was highlighted by the CWDWHS *Supplementary Planning Document* (2017: 13). This report reflects wider problems in the UK between planning and UNESCO. ICOMOS argued that the UK planning and consultation time frames ‘do not sustain the protection of OUV of the property.’ ICOMOS suggested that the role of the WHS Planning Advice Officer needed to be strengthened and this included more support from the UK Government (State Party). UNESCO further stated that absence of significant progress by 2020 in protecting the WHS (as outlined previously), could move Cornwall’s WHS onto the List of WH in danger (UNESCO, 2019).

The interaction between these global, national and local stakeholders illustrated that there are challenges, in particular balancing the global power of UNESCO that reinforces the protection of the WHS and what comprises OUV, with the impact of this for local communities living in the WHS. In the case of Hayle, the halting of the developments by UNESCO prioritised the inscription over some local stakeholders. This is a problem as the desires, needs and rights of these stakeholders were not given adequate attention (Waterton et al, 2017). UNESCO made the ultimate decision over the planning at Hayle and reaffirmed their status by expressing their demands for future planning in Cornwall’s WHS. UNESCO with its global power, showed it continued to have firm authority (Waterton et al, 2017).

At a regional level, the Cornwall WHS Partnership enacted a model of participatory governance with diverse local professional stakeholders and some representation by unofficial heritage groups. But these local partnerships were at the bottom of the hierarchal WHS governance structure and were accountable to the State Party and ultimately, UNESCO. This reflects Davies (2012) views on participatory governance as ‘micro-configurations of the integral state affairs’. He is sceptical of these networks and sees the increasing cultivation of networks as prominent elements in Western

neoliberalism, which is exemplified by UK public policy. The ultimate decision-making and dominant stakeholders in Cornwall's WHS are UNESCO and their position is cemented by the WH list, conveying a global hierarchical value (Herzfield, 2004) that is of outstanding interest to mankind. This position of heritage value, that is preserved for 'all of the world', places it in a powerful position to call on the international community to protect it (Harrison, 2013). Authorised discourses by UNESCO that invoke the word 'mankind' also engender ideas of social justice and this adds more weight to support heritage protection as a good thing to do.

In the case of the Cornish minority status, who, how and why decisions were made in connection with official heritage were also fraught with conflict. Decision-making over Cornwall's built heritage is problematic when national heritage bodies like Historic England are in the pole position. Deciding who has a 'stake' in decisions, a national majority or local minority, comes into play. This situational aspect of stakeholders was illustrated in the planning consultation for a pedestrian bridge between the mainland and island wards of Tintagel Castle. During the public consultations, the Cornwall-based group Gorsedh Kernow opposed the plans arguing that they contravened the Council of Europe Framework Convention (1995) in regards protection of national minorities (Cornwall Council Planning, 2017). At the same time, a more intrinsic argument in support of 'natural' heritage also came into play, with Cornwall AONB and Natural England who also strongly opposed the plans. Historic England however, granted Historic Monument Consent for the work. Their support for the proposed bridge was voiced as providing 'access for all' under the Equality Act 2010. By increasing access for all visitors to this historic site, the bridge would potentially increase tourism and offer a new experience for the visitor. The potential increase in tourism could explain why the immediate stakeholders (Tintagel village) supported this application during public consultation (Cornwall Council Planning, 2017).

Proposed changes at Tintagel were controversial and illustrated the power dynamics in decision-making over Cornwall's official heritage. The process also showed that in spite of the recognition as a national minority, there continues to be conflict between stakeholders and ownership including whose voice gets heard. Councillor Pollard has called for future devolution for English Heritage Sites to come under Cornwall's control, with Cornwall seen as not just as another 'region' of England and instead in parity with the other Celtic nations like Wales (CMWG minutes, 2018). In the case of Tintagel which is managed by English Heritage, the bridge proposal illustrated that including diverse stakeholders produced conflicting views on what is valued as heritage but it also showed that although a consultation was done with the community, the powerful, dominant

stakeholders in this decision-making were the professionals/experts involved in UK statutory protection, that is Historic England.

There were other powerful stakeholders involved in Cornwall's official heritage and these centred around decision-making on funding that supports, maintains and enhances what is considered valuable. UNESCO or the Council of Europe do not directly fund Cornwall's official heritage. Funding, aside from tourism-generated revenue, relies on sustained investment (core funding) from local authorities and NT, and shorter term project funding from various government bodies. A reliance on local authorities and national funding mechanisms with diminishing resources and competition for public services had direct implications for official heritage. In connection with the WHS, the core budget comes from the owners - NT and the local authorities (Cornwall Council, Devon Council and West Devon Borough Council). For example Heartlands (ex-mining site), is owned by Cornwall Council and also fund the WHS Office based in Truro.

Stakeholders involved in managing official heritage have turned to generating resources for projects or programmes that respond to matters outlined in government policy. Increasingly in the UK this has been framed within cultural policy including the DCMS *Culture White Paper* (2016) and has seen transferred responsibility for regional museums (including some heritage sites) to Arts Council England in 2011. This raised the prospect for stronger connections between 'heritage' and 'the arts' (Hems, 2017). In Cornwall, CWDWHS and historic environments were specifically mentioned in the *Cornwall White Paper for Culture* (2016) as contributing to cultural distinctiveness and a sense of place. Cornwall's heritage was highlighted as a valuable resource for social benefits, and this potentially attracted public funding allocated via ACE/National Lottery. Cornwall Council recognised the income generating potential related to cultural policy, and core funded a Culture Team based in the Economic Development Department, facilitating a close working relationship with the WH Office also based in this department. Investment by Cornwall Council in the creative and cultural sector was strategic, as the Culture Team helped provide funds for into Cornwall's Museums Strategy and with Arts Council England co-financed the project 'Museum Development'. This included £1.5 million in 2019 from ACE for the Cornwall Museum Partnership and funding programmes in Cornwall's rural museums including heritage sites like Wheal Martyn and NT properties (Cornwall Council, 2019). ACE and Cornwall Council Culture Team have become major stakeholders in deciding what heritage projects or programmes get funded and this includes the CWDML WHS. The Culture Team also encompassed MAGA Cornish Language Service. This continued local funding and hence valuing of this national minority language not supported by the state.

Funding implies that a certain idea of heritage is valued enough to be protected and supported. While Cornwall Council valued their intangible heritage and continued funding projects (CWWG, 2019), the UK government has not provided sustained funding of projects to protect and enhance national minority designation as outlined in the Council of Europe (1995) *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. This neglect of Cornish culture by the UK government was vocalised in the press (*The Guardian*, 2017) and by local council:

It is disappointing that the UK Government commentary fails to consider any wider implications of national minority status for the Cornish other than the Cornish Language (Cornwall Council, 2017b).

The first evaluation by the representative committee of the Council of Europe (2017) was also critical of the lack of funding to support the Cornish minority, including the Cornish language. It raised concerns that the present constitutional set-up mitigated against Cornish representation and called for a Cornish ‘tick-box’ on the next UK Census. In 2011 over 4,000 people backed this incentive on social media (Saltern, 2011: 191). The criticism by the Council of Europe led to a one-off Cultural Fund from the UK government of £100,000 in 2017 to support the development of Cornish culture and heritage including the Cornish language (Cornwall Council 2017c). This was in consultation with the cabinet (Lord Bourne), the Cornish Minority Working Group and the Cornwall Portfolio Holder for Economy and Culture. The first project chosen was the ‘Cornish Embassy Bus’, which explored the idea of ‘Cornish’ as a tick-box option on the Census. The second project aimed to identify barriers to Cornish culture that existed within the educational curriculum (Cornwall Council Podcast, 2018). The local official organisation CMWG, set up by Cornwall Council after the designation by the Council of Europe in 2014, also supported the Cornish language. The group is a mix of paid and unpaid stakeholders including representatives from Cornwall Historic Environment, Cornwall Council and Goredh Kernow. In interviews with them, the official recognition of the Cornish as a national minority was seen as a vital first step to raising visibility (A2, interview 2018) however what emerged in this process was that recognition needed sustained support, including funding.

This section has explored the diverse stakeholders involved in making everyday decisions for Cornwall’s official heritage. This included those who provide protection by allocating resources either as core funding or project funding. These were powerful stakeholders as they decided what was deemed valuable and worth protecting. Most were professionals involved in allocating resources from central or local government. This process again exemplified a global hierarchy of value where the top stakeholders like UNESCO and the

Council of Europe were positioned as preminent and had the power to call on other stakeholders like the UK Government for support. There was however a question on how a hierarchal process of professional stakeholders could effectively include diverse voices from unofficial local stakeholders.

6.1.3 Increasing local stakeholders in decision-making and valorising

Increasingly in the UK cultural heritage sector there has been a push for more diversity in decision-making within official heritage administered through institutions. The DCMS's *The Mendoza Review* (2016) began a conversation that recognised the lack of diversity in museum workforces and called on museum leaders to consider how they could recruit workforces that represent local communities. This coincided with Arts Council England moves to make structural changes within organisations to promote inclusion. The report *'Leadership and Workforce Development and Skills in the Arts Creative and Cultural Sector Evidence Review* (2017) argued that intrinsically museums and heritage organisations are conservative and have called for people from outside the institution to bring about change. This led to ACE funded positions called 'Change Makers' in regions like Cornwall to work with organisations to promote inclusion and representation (ACE, 2016-2017:4). Tehmina Goskar, a Cornwall Change Maker, developed and piloted the cultural democracy programme 'Citizen Curators' programmes, which was later introduced into seven of Cornwall's museums, in collaboration with Cornwall Museums Partnership and funded by the Museums Association's Esmée Fairbairn Collections Fund, as a successful way to facilitate greater community interest and engagement (Goskar interview 2018, 2019). She also reflected on how local communities could be effectively included:

Unless we build trust with diverse groups you will never really improve organisational diversity and cultural attitudes – it is not just a tick box venture. Power sharing increases resilience but needs a new organisational culture and shift in planning processes. Power sharing cannot be policy driven as this is still top down. There is a need for a grassroots drive and we (heritage professionals) need to be in this area (Goskar, interview 2018)

Effective inclusion of the wider community therefore involves structural change in how professionals enact it. This includes involving the community at the first stage of a project so that they are active in production on projects or narratives. This could potentially engage more people as what experts' value as interesting can differ to non-

professionals (Black, 2010). Goskar's interview (2018) also outlined that this process takes time and needs a change in cultural organisational values and diversity of lived experience and personality (emotional intelligence). Goskar argued that heritage organisations can aid both diversity of representation and sharing of decision-making. She suggested this could be achieved in three core areas:

How minorities are represented in programmes

That they are the co-producers or partners

Having several 'ways in' for diverse audiences (Goskar, interview 2018).

An understanding of who takes part in official heritage process cannot be made without framing it within reference to wider societal issues of power and social inequalities, which include factors affecting participation. Increasing representation of minorities as powerful stakeholders however needs to be approached in a non-essentialising way. As a group the Cornish national minority held some powerful stakeholders positions in regional management of Cornwall's official heritage. The representation as a group at national level decision-making was however problematic (Cornwall Council Podcast, 2018).

Initiatives by the UK Government to increase decision-making by local stakeholders included Cornwall as one of the regions in the UK Devolution Deal (2015). This was a place-based policy approach to making an area 'resilient' (British Academy 2016). This devolution affected an increase in local stakeholders in decision-making within the heritage sector. Kate Kennelly, CEO of Cornwall Council in 2018 described it as gaining greater autonomy from London adding:

In this we have some real dedicated further asks around Cornish culture and heritage proposals (Cornwall Council podcast, 2018).

The Deal can be traced back to the Localism Act (2011), an Act of Parliament that was initially seen as a stepping-stone to a Cornish Assembly but did not transpire (*WMN*, 16th November 2011). As part of this place-based policy Cornwall's heritage was seen as having a significant role (Cornwall Culture White Paper, 2016). One key initiative that emerged from the Devolution Deal was the establishment of a heritage forum Heritage Kernow, set up with local partners to promote, manage the culture and heritage of Cornwall. The forum fed into a wider South West Heritage Environment Forum. The redistribution of power to local heritage decision-making was, however, problematic.

Goskar pointed out there are barriers to taking part including lack of communication and awareness:

Although set up to promote decision-making at local level it is almost impossible to find out what it is, what its purpose is and who it is accountable to. There seem to be some loud voices with narrow vested interests so I feel it is so removed from the concerns and aspirations of the population when it comes to their culture and heritage that it is not the right body to create the 'sense of community' that we need (Goskar, interview 2018).

Heritage Kernow appeared to be ineffective in its coordinating role. There was a general lack of awareness of its existence that led to lack of wider representation by Cornish interest groups (Sheaff interview, August, 2018). During the field study numerous attempts were made to contact them but this was unsuccessful. There was a lack of clarity about who led the group; as one respondent commented, 'the forum still seems to be steered by English Heritage' (A3 interview, 2018). The forum did commission a 'Cultural Distinctiveness Study' by Historic England to gather finer details on Cornish historic environments to feed into their formal guidance. This research study was supported by the CMWG as the study could 'ensure that Cornish rights and Cornwall is adequately managed and that decision on levels of protection are suitable for the area' (Radcliffe, CMWG, 2017).

Cornish national minority recognition was also seen as a welcome first step to empower diverse stakeholders, however the ability to effectively increase representation of the Cornish in wider UK decision-making was questioned in study questionnaires by professionals in culture/heritage-related positions:

There is general disempowering of local people by central government (QP8, 2018).

The Lack of genuine devolution of heritage protection and promotion to Cornwall is an impediment to greater public involvement. I think there remains a disparity between what those who currently have responsibility for heritage protection and promotion value as heritage and what Cornish communities value as heritage. I think the increase in commercial exploitation of Cornish heritage has seen a focus on catering for visitors to Cornwall at the expense of resident communities and that impacts on their involvement particularly regards entrance fees for more deprived communities (QP5, 2018).

Cornwall's institutions emphasis on a heritage tourism model created a barrier to access heritage for some local stakeholders. Heritage sites charge fees to visit, many are not accessible by public transport and seasonal openings meant that many sites were not open all year. This suggests that official stakeholders were making decisions based on economic valuation. This top-down idea of heritage did not accommodate community priorities or their relationship with and uses of the official heritage sites. A lack of meaningful community engagement and collaboration reflects findings in other critical heritage studies (Lynch, 2016; Crooke, 2007; Smith and Waterton, 2015).

In Cornwall, official heritage organisations did make claims that they tried to include the wider community. In this study's questionnaires with professionals, 83% of said that they encouraged public consultation (QP, 2018). One National Trust line manager added:

There is regular evaluation through formal surveys, as a membership organisation, people have the opportunity to make proposals and changes to policy (Q, P3).

Inclusiveness here was again attempted through consultation that asked opinions and evaluations on the heritage and values that were presented to the public. This mode of consultation used by official heritage organisations is however based on a system of ideas or knowledge, often with its own vocabulary, resulting in power monopolising views and debates. As noted in the literature, this can lead to marginalisation, exclusion and elitism (Black, 2011; Scott, 2010; Simons, 2015). In addition whether inclusion of local, unprofessional stakeholders led to changes at policy level (as outlined by the NT), was difficult to ascertain as no data was available to support this. From research within critical heritage studies this seems unlikely as non-expert perception of meanings and value of heritage are not readily accommodated and rarely reach policy-level discussions (Smith, 2017; Swensen et al 2012; Waterton 2005). There is also an assumption that people want to be involved in decision-making. Feedback from local stakeholders during the nomination as a WHS, on how they wanted to be involved in this heritage process, indicated that 38% did not want to actively participate (CWDML, 2004:15).

Cornwall's WHS saw their relationship with the public as an important role and voiced pride in being flexible and receptive to feedback and ideas:

If something has happened in the landscape and somebody thinks we should know about it, they will get on the phone to us or drop us an email as they expect

us, quite understandably, to address whatever concerns they have (Cocks, interview 2018).

During interview Cocks outlined how the WHS Office in 2009 supported the Porthreath community in their celebration of the 200th anniversary of the ‘Portreath Plate Way’ (the first permanent rails laid for wagons in Cornwall) and said this showed that people value their mining heritage. Cornwall’s WHS was seen by Cocks as a cultural landscape which was living but also tied into preservation.

Increasingly the active role of communities identifying, valuing and managing heritage landscapes has shifted within the official process of protecting landscape in Cornwall. Since the designation as a WHS, there has been a range of projects (outreach, community events and cultural programmes) to increase awareness of the benefits of being in a WHS, promoting participation and a sense of ownership (WHS, 2013-2018b). The WHS Partnership identified during the WHS nomination process that:

Successful management of the Site and dissemination of the economic and social benefits to be derived from it [inscription as a WHS] will depend on the on-going support and involvement of local communities (CWDML, 2005-2010: 35).

Raising awareness was also integral to helping people understand the value of their WHS and to care for it. Research by WHS UK (2019), which reviewed the state of UK WHS to assist the government in supporting future sustainability, outlined several ‘interrelated challenges’ including raising awareness of the importance and benefits of a WHS. Benefits included recreational and economic for local communities from being a WHS but in a sustainable way that aimed to negate negative impacts.

Without greatly raising WHS awareness, improving management capacity, governance and funding the integration of tourism will continue to be challenging (WHS UK, 2019:3).

This reflects global approaches to heritage and decision-making that has emphasised that built heritage would only survive if appreciated by the public. The UNESCO (1987) *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the WH Convention* paragraph 31 states: ‘Informed awareness on the part of the population concerned without active participation any conservation scheme would be impractical’. UNESCO (2005) refers to participation of a variety of stakeholders including local communities. This was especially a concern related to “indigenous” communities. ICOMOS New Zealand, for example,

endorsed the role of indigenous people in the care of cultural heritage and in decision-making, irrespective of ownership (ICOMOS 1992).

Yet some managers within official organisations note that although there are efforts to include the local community to build a sense of ownership,

For a good number of people, they don't feel that heritage is for them. I think perhaps they feel it's for other people to decide what the heritage is and then consume it in the broadest sense of the word (QP, 2018).

The same respondent added they felt there was also a need to engage people earlier in decision-making:

More consultation is needed prior to the development of projects to ensure we better meet the needs and wishes of the community (QP, 2018).

Engagement with the community needed to be effective; if voices were not heard, trust was lost. Sean O'Neill, Operating Manager for Heartlands (ex-mining site) illustrated the delicate balance between engaging with source communities and having the ability to deliver. In the planning of Heartlands site there was engagement over the development of the site and how the local community wanted to use it. Since opening the site, however, he described broken promises:

There was some history of that through the build where we promised the world, but the delivery on those promises did not happen...so there was a legacy of disappointment (O'Neill, interview 2018).

There were examples of disappointment among local stakeholders at Heartlands. For example the community asked for a space for performances but were provided a room with seating but no rigging, lighting, PA system or 'green room'. Community groups could not afford to bring in the equipment, so without this infrastructure, the promise never happened. O'Neill offered this perspective on the failure of community involvement:

We did have an education officer in post when we launched and that sadly didn't come to anything because their role ended up getting diverted elsewhere because of business needs. Our first Chief Executive was notorious for upsetting relationships with local people in the community, so that engagement with people

had hit rock bottom....we are now talking about a land of broken bridges
(O'Neill, interview 2018).

Heartlands was an example of how inclusion rhetoric needed to be followed through and this included acting on ideas provided by the community. Essentially, effective inclusion needs trust between the professional and the community. This inevitably requires professionals who can build relationships with the community and (re) build trust. The Heartlands experience also reflects the findings of Smith (2006) and Black (2011) who demonstrated that community involvement needs trust in the relationship between the stakeholders - trust that their narrative will be truthfully presented and views included, and that decisions would include their input. Some critical heritage research questions whether community engagement and power sharing in heritage is either possible or desirable. Non-expert perception of meanings and value of heritage are not readily accommodated. For example in Lantorf's (2012) research of six UK WHS, there were inconsistencies between sites in their management of community partnerships, which created significant issues for their sustainable management. These included limited integration of community values and restricted stakeholder participation.

Inclusion of local stakeholders in decision-making around official heritage also involves the ability to be involved in resource allocation. This is a powerful position as it denotes what is seen as valuable. Cornish MP Steve Double was critical of both Heartlands mining attraction and the Eden Project as 'vanity projects', as millions of public money had been spent on heritage projects with decision-making from outside the region, with little public consultation (*Cornish Stuff*, 2017). In awarding the £100,000 Cornish Culture Fund (2017), MPs 'urged the Council to seek public views on how the culture funding is spent' (ibid). The lack of inclusion of grassroots Cornish groups in strategic decision-making was also criticised by Bewnans Kernow (2012), a partnership of 65 local cultural organisations, who used the term 'lip service' in regards Cornwall Council's efforts to include diverse voices.

In conclusion, the notion of meaningful community collaboration in official heritage processes by diverse stakeholders was open to contestation. Official heritage in Cornwall was a highly regulated process, where professionals were dominant. They believed that they were inclusive and engaging with unofficial local stakeholders, and the WHS Office appeared to be receptive to feedback from the public. But the ability to effectively take part in official processes and hence decision-making about what is valued as heritage was situational, depending on being 'outside' or 'inside' (Harrison, 2010; Naidoo, 2015). In official processes, the insiders were essentially professionals, global and national

powerful stakeholders, where local stakeholders perceived themselves as peripheral or outsiders. Although Cornwall's institutions were well meaning in promoting inclusion, this was more of an inclusive rhetoric with a discrepancy in what actually happened, as seen in the case of Heartlands, resulting in lack of trust and a breakdown in relationships between stakeholders. Inclusion of local stakeholders in official heritage processes remained predominantly via 'consultation' with surveys framed around pre-written texts and narratives shaped by professionals. What heritage they deemed valuable and justified were allocated resources to protect them. Consultation processes used by professionals presented an official version, but the wider community were not necessarily actively involved in producing this idea of heritage or valuing it.

6.2 What is driving Cornwall's official heritage?

Heritage has been discussed here as a series of ideas about a need to protect certain places, things and practices that are connected in some way to the past, but are embedded in a given time and place to serve the present. Understanding why heritage is needed in the present, what are the motivations that drive this need to care, emerge as an important dimensions in this study. Motivations not only reveal why something is deemed valuable, it can provide a lens to inspect more closely what frames the political influence and patronage by dominant stakeholders. Authorised heritage is fundamentally motivated to protect the built historic environment - a process of loss aversion - and this starts from a formal designation and signification by experts. This conservation heritage model with an emphasis on historic buildings has recently gone through a metamorphosis, and become embroiled in wider cultural debates on more ephemeral ideas of heritage that potentially bring grassroots valuing into an official heritage arena. In this section the core motivations that drive Cornwall's official heritage are explored and through a critical lens investigates this shift to embrace cultural value.

6.2.1 Recognition and legal protection

Recognition that something is valuable enough to need legal protection for future generations is a primary motivating factor that contributes to how and why heritage is officially valorised. Holtorf (2015) describes this as a process of 'loss aversion' and sees it as a significant and critical motivating factor in heritage practice. The idea of some evidence of the past being endangered and the need to avert its loss is 'a fundamental element in the production of heritage value' (De Silvey and Harrison, 2019:1). The UK Government advocated conserving 'heritage' in a statement that reaffirmed their

commitment to support the sector and help protect, maintain and promote these natural or cultural resources:

Sustaining or enhancing the significance of a heritage asset and the contribution of its setting, reducing or removing risks to a heritage asset or securing the optimum viable use of a heritage asset in support of its long term conservation (DCMS, 2019b).

Protection of Cornwall's heritage is also enacted through the use of key words in official documents that define and drive a 'duty of care'. UNESCO use the term 'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV) to describe cultural significance so exceptional it transcends national boundaries (CWDWHS, 2017). Henry Cleese, Hon Professor of Heritage Management and ICOMOS WH Co-ordinator 1992-2002 described the potential of Cornwall's WHS in these terms:

The State Party through its central and Regional Policies has applied commendable protection and conservation policies in order to preserve this exceptional landscape for the and behalf of present and future generations' (DCMS/CWDML, 2006:iii).

The word exceptional reflects what they believe is their intrinsic value. The words protection and conservation reflect the idea that Cornwall's heritage is endangered and needs protection through listing, curating and preservation. The motivation to protect Cornwall mining heritage deemed of global importance is reiterated in the CWDWHS Partnership Management Plan:

The granting of the World Heritage status to the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape in 2006 recognised the international importance of our mining culture... This recognition brings with it responsibility to ensure that the site is cared for in a way that is consistent with the WH Convention (2013-2018: 76 & 84).

Protection of this heritage from danger is deemed an essential element, reflecting De Silvey and Harrison's comment that this 'endangerment is operated through apparatus such as UNESCO List of WH in danger' (2019:1).

Protecting and recognition are both fundamental words that legitimised the designation of the Cornish as a national minority, used in both Cornish minority reports (2011, 2014). This includes using words that validate this group for example Cornwall's 'distinct

cultural identity and unique national heritage' (Saltern, 2011:201) Recognition as a national minority through the Council of Europe (1995), provides legal protection as a racial group under case law. The drive behind the mobilisation of heritage is to increase the status and legitimacy of minorities in the eyes of statutory bodies and decision-makers:

Aims are to confer the Cornish the dignity of visibility, encourage inclusiveness and strengthen Cornish confidence, culture and business....bring coherence to Government policy and will emphasise the Government commitment to empowerment, freedom and fairness (Saltern, 2011:200).

Cornwall's minority heritage discourse entails the motivation to protect and naturalise this value. The official recognition for protection was an essential step to normalising and validating the Cornish as a national minority. This heritagisation process makes use of specific resources of power that assert and validate claims of recognition (Smith, 2019). Groups have mobilised heritage when their sense of identity and community is under threat or in a crisis (Yuval –Davis, 2014).

As outlined in chapter two Cornwall has historically seen itself as peripheral in UK Government decision-making. This lack of agency has continued and in spite of the increased visibility of symbols of Cornishness, the greater awareness of difference had not transformed into an effective framework of governance (Harris, 2010). This has fuelled a process for political and social action with heritage projects that aimed to increase recognition, including the drive to have the Cornish minority status recognised. A core motivation was a drive to represent the Cornish as a group at national level decision-making, to help centralise the Cornish minority and reduce peripheralisation. This process of heritage production has been seen in other parts of the UK including Scotland (Pocock and Jones, 2017). National minorities like the Cornish are one type of group that may be found in socio-political peripheral spaces. The periphery however can also create a space for renegotiation and is a catalyst for change.

The motivation to increase the visibility of the Cornish minority also aimed to normalise this group outside of Cornwall, and inform people about who they represented to prevent misrecognition.

Largely in the SW there is an understanding about the Cornish relation to diversity and equality. However, often funding bids or decisions are made in Manchester or London and there the diversity agenda is framed in terms of

immigrant population and the idea that an indigenous group can be part of the diversity agenda is not addressed. Sometimes they are viewed as nationalist groups (Will Coleman, CMWG Jan, 2018).

This desire for visibility was also enacted through programmes like the ‘Cornish Embassy Bus’, which explored the idea of ‘Cornish’ on the next Census that would push for further political recognition. The Cornish Embassy Bus was one of two projects funded by a Cornish Cultural Fund awarded by the UK Government which led to programmes that aimed to increase awareness of the Cornish minority, including more political recognition and representation in the Census, and explored the barriers to cultural heritage and education (A2 interview January, 2018). Local opinion was that funding was awarded after the Council of Europe criticised the UK Government’s support for national minorities, including the Cornish (The Opinion, 2017: section 122).

Increasing visibility of the Cornish as a national minority aimed to embed Cornishness across organisations, protect their unique cultural heritage and increase representation. A more representative approach and recognition of difference has increasingly manifested in relation to heritage and the debates about value. Importantly this process should be chosen, negotiated and recreated, not seen as inherent or inevitable, as this only maintains political, economic and social inequalities and prejudice (Harrison, 2013; Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 2012). The inclusive concept of ‘Cornishness’ adopted in official processes like the ‘Embassy Bus’ promoted a national minority as a constant construction or remaking of heritage, expressed as those who were born, live or love Cornwall. This included the Cornish diaspora. The study questionnaire illustrated this concept of Cornishness, where those who identified as Cornish were 31%, but those who saw Cornwall as home was 86%. The findings are supported by research on Cornish identity by Willet (2017) who describes the sense of Cornishness that has developed in Cornwall’s identity. This is linked primarily to genealogy and perception of Cornish descent, however she also found a more recent association with Cornwall by people well integrated into a Cornish way of life and who ‘feel a strong sense of belonging’. The latter reflects a more pluralistic notion of a sense of being than identity and echoes the speech by Stuart Hall that heritage is a personal story, which is slowly constructed (Hall, 1999). This concept of Cornishness importantly was a basis for the increasing awareness of the Cornish national minority outside of Cornwall as positive and inclusive, and not associated with negative racism for example in applications for ACE/National Lottery Funding (Coleman, 2017). This was further supported by the CMWG who stated they did not want to adopt a formal definition of Cornish and stated:

Individuals were free to decide whether or not they wished to be treated as belonging to a national minority based on objective criteria connected with that person's identity, such as language, religion or culture. In this regard Members were of the opinion that the adoption of a definition of Cornish would be contrary to the spirit of the FCPNM as it may exclude individuals from identifying as such (CWWG minutes, April 2019, item 3).

Increasing awareness of the Cornish minority and representation at central/UK Government level decision-making was therefore a motivation behind a drive to have Cornwall's heritage recognised officially by the Council of Europe. This led to a push for further recognition on the Census promoted through the 'Cornish Embassy Bus'.

The second project funded by the Cornish Cultural Fund in 2017 aimed to identify barriers to Cornish culture that existed within the educational curriculum. Authorised heritage discourses are perpetuated in society not just through a heritage industry, but also through education. Therefore education curricula are integral to structural changes around inclusion, linking what stories from the past are included and which are omitted. The official designation as a national minority by the Council of Europe provided a framework for addressing the omission of national minorities narratives. The Council of Europe called on all authorities to cooperate with national minority groups regarding curricula and textbooks for promoting ethnic diversity (Council of Europe, 1995). The importance of this support was highlighted in the *Cornish Minority Report 2* as a vehicle to 'guarantee an opportunity to learn about Cornwall's unique national heritage' (2011:201). At the time of the report only 40% of Cornwall's schools participated in place-based learning, which explored themes related to Cornish identity. Cornish heritage and identity were however part of the curriculum exploring UK minority festivals (Saltash Community School, 2018). Inclusion of minorities in the main curriculum remained limited, for example Cornwall's role in the industrial revolution was not represented in the national curriculum. A respondent to this study's questionnaire also criticised a lack of sustained projects and teaching Cornish heritage in schools:

Ultimately I think action to seek wider public participation in heritage in Cornwall must start at the earliest age – to teach Cornish history and engender feelings of pride and ownership (QP5, 2018).

Protection of heritage and increasing awareness were core motivations behind official designations by professionals, and integral to this process was naturalising this valuation

into the wider community. This appeared to be an effective process as broader public opinion, as well as respondents to this study's surveys, also supported protecting official heritage. The UK DCMS report *Taking Part Survey* outlined that 94% of adults agreed with the statement 'It is important to me that heritage buildings or places are well looked after' (2017:45). The study questionnaires showed that Cornwall's WHS was valued by professionals *and* non-professionals, who offered these comments:

The WHS is an honour, a heritage Oscar; well-deserved recognition and a certain level of protection; helps sustained funding and overt support; Cornwall is put on the world map for its contribution to industrial and social history; preservation and recognition of the social historical background to the world community and protection of my family history and the Cornish landscape (QP1, I2, I12, I13, WC9, 2018).

The questionnaires also showed significant support for the Cornish being recognised by the Council of Europe as a national minority. When asked should Cornwall's cultural identity be protected by the Council of Europe? 81.8% of cultural heritage professionals, 68.2% of interest groups and 86.4% of the wider community agreed. The write-in comments generally emphasised recognition and protection of Cornwall's identity, language and uniqueness of Cornwall's culture:

The Council of Europe is a key political instrument to protect regional identities (P2).

Its protection against the insults ridicule and abuse Cornish meet daily. It is protection against the flood of incomers who wish to ignore our language, our music, our heritage (I5).

The interest/volunteers groups involved in cultural heritage were the most divided over this official signification, 27.3% were undecided on whether the Council of Europe designation was a positive thing. Said one respondent,

The Council of Europe are not, and should not be holding control over what happens in Cornwall (I1).

Others shared this concern expressed over having an official international organisation making decisions over Cornwall's heritage. As discussed previously, the hierarchal position of dominant stakeholders like UNESCO and the Council of Europe remains an on-going concern. Support for political recognition of the Cornish minority has however

continued. During 2018 ‘The Cornish Embassy Bus’ tour the organisers asked 4,000 participants, ‘Do you support inclusion of the Cornish on the next Census?’ 95% said yes (Coleman, Pod cast, 2018). The findings suggested that local stakeholders wanted to protect Cornwall’s official heritage, both tangible and intangible. Representation on the next Census (2021) has however recently been denied by the UK Government. Chloe Smith Minister of State said although they understand the points made by Cornwall MPs, it ‘doesn’t justify the inclusion of the Cornish nationality on a nationwide survey’ (*Independent*, 2020:2).

6.2.2 The drive to promote heritage as an economic strategy

Protection of Cornwall’s official heritage is a prime motivating factor behind valorisation. To enact this, finding ways to fund its protection were sought. In respect of Cornwall’s WHS, the accolade as a WHS was integral to attracting economic resources that could be used to protect the historic assets. Cornwall’s WHS Office outlined how the status acted as catalyst to secure funding to stabilise and consolidate mining engine houses as part of the ‘prescription attributes’ that contribute to the sites’ OUV:

We haven’t necessarily been involved in the bidding or the delivery of these projects, but having that status in place has enabled the bidders to say “we are in a World Heritage Site” and because of this our bid is all the more worthwhile. This has been really effective (Cocks, interview 2018).

The economic potential from this official validation of Cornwall as a WHS were further outlined:

Five of the major mining heritage related regeneration conservation projects undertaken in recent years were aided considerably in their respective grant bidding through direct reference to the WHS and their importance in relation to maintaining its OUV (WHS, 2013-2018b: 114).

Funding for conservation of the WHS included heritage specific and non-heritage related funds including Derelict Land Grants, HLF, Townscape Heritage, The Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme and Natural England Higher level stewardship Scheme. The total funds expended on consolidation of the OUV features totaled £53,700,000.

The ability to generate funding for conservation of the official heritage assets continues to be a core-motivating factor. In the UK this has seen diverse ways to legitimise spending public funding on the built historic environment, and increasingly is linked to place-based policy initiatives. The Cornwall White Paper on Culture (2016) emphasised community

wellbeing in relation to bringing a community together. This transposed public funding and value onto buildings that bring communities together, including those chosen and signified by UK national statutory protection like Historic England.

Some aspects of heritage are also perceived (and valued) for their ability to generate income in addition to grant funding. For example, heritage sites attract tourists, which can help fund conservation and potentially serve as a catalyst for wider regeneration. The WHS status is seen as an accolade that can attract tourists although UNESCO never intended it as a tourism-marketing device (Salazar and Zhu, 2015). In the UK, Tony Crouch, Chair of the UKWHS stated that the UNESCO logo was an ‘internationally recognisable symbol’ and a ‘powerful brand signifying both quality and significance’ (UKWHS, 2019:1). The economic potential of a globally renowned heritage was made clear by the UK Government, John Glen MP stated, ‘Our heritage is an essential part of our cultural landscape, our economy and our country. It is globally renowned and world leading’ (DCMS 2017:5). More recently the Secretary of State promoted the UK’s cultural heritage and outstanding natural beauty as a world-class destination in the global market saying, ‘Tourism is our calling card to the world’ (Heritage Alliance, 2019:7). Official heritage generated an estimated income Gross Value Added of £987 million in 2016 (Gov.uk, 2016). In 2017 Historic England wrote that heritage created employment indirectly and directly for 278,000 people in the UK and was ‘a key part of our tourism offer and our soft power’ (2017:4).

In Cornwall, heritage was seen as a strategic resource in its ability to generate income and in regeneration for the region. During the CWDWHS nomination economic value derived from tourism and regeneration was emphasised by ICOMOS and UK Government (CWDWHS 2005-2010). Cornwall is seen as an ‘economically disadvantaged part of the UK, recognised by its continuing qualification for EU Convergence Funding’. One of the aims of the minority status was to strengthen the Cornish ‘brand’: enhancing its place as an internationally recognised trademark for economic benefit (Cornwall Council, 2014:9). Cornwall’s mining heritage has long been viewed as a strategic resource. The reopening of Geevor and Levant mines as a new heritage industry were celebrated after Cornwall’s deindustrialization in the 1980’s. The *Western Morning News* (2001) headline stated: ‘County Realises the Living Potential of its Mining Past’. The news article reported that this ‘potential’ could be increased if Cornwall was awarded the accolade of being a WHS and claimed ‘Cornish mining relics’ would be ‘seriously compared with the Great Wall of China, the Taj Mahal and the Egyptian Pyramids’. The economic viability was supported in reports compiled by Roger Tym and Partners (a tourism company) and an Economic Impact Assessment in 2003. Ed Vaisey, (at the time Minister for Culture,

Communication and the Creative Industries), called the WHS ‘a driver for social, economic regeneration, sustainable tourism and learning’ (CWDWHS *Management Plan*, 2013-2018: 76).

The economic value of becoming a WHS included its capacity for regeneration. Littler (2015) outlines that UK Government policy from the 1970s increasingly turned to culture as a resource to address economic or social issues. She explains that the decline in traditional manufacturing in the West saw a transfer to a service economy (including the heritage industry). During the nomination bid the WHS Economic Assessment (2003) proposed strategic actions to deliver a projected degree of financial growth in the tourism sector and identified that a potential investment of £500,000 in PR campaigns over three years could deliver ‘tourism activity to the value of £11-12 million to the local economy per annum’ (WHS, 2012-2013b: 121). Following inscription as a WHS in 2006, the investment of £500,000 did not transpire but local agents drove the economic potential from the WHS as a tourist destination. The WHS Office team based at Cornwall Council approached the Regional Development Agency in 2007 for funding towards ‘an integrated programme of tourism engagement and promotion’ and were awarded £2.4 million for the ‘Discover the Extraordinary’ project which included tourism, marketing and interpretation (WHS, 2013-2018b). Mobilising Cornwall’s heritage as a vehicle for generating economic resources and/or regeneration was in addition to the funding needed for conservation of the mining sites and settlements. This valorisation of Cornwall’s WHS as an economic resource was also illustrated in the continued management priorities of the WHS. The link between heritage and income generation was exemplified in that the WHS office is based in Cornwall Council Economic Growth and Development Unit and their Economic and Culture Strategy promotes ‘responsible use of the natural environment as a key economic asset’ (cornwall.gov.uk).

Viewing heritage as a strategic resource however created tensions in conservation versus tourism goals, and impacted local communities, as this marketisation changed the relationship with the historic place, object and practices. The emphasis on valorising heritage as an economic resource lead to disputes over ownership of the benefits of heritage tourism and how much of this revenue stayed in local communities. For example, Merv Davey (Grand Bard of Gorsesdh Kernow) was critical of the way that Tintagel in North Cornwall had its revenue fed back into English Heritage’s central funding (*My Cornwall* May 2017). Ashley and Mitchell (2009) suggest that only between one fifth and one third of total tourism expenditure from WHS stays in local communities. One study interviewee expressed concerns on heritage treated as an industry:

Reinvesting back in what you get from sites can be potentially a slippery slope increasing the move to Disneyfication and maximising its fulfilment by going for the market route...There is a wrong concept of heritage seen as an embalmer not a cultivator...The cultural place has somehow needed to be embalmed, parceled and packaged to be sold – the dead hand of commerce (Sheaff, interview 2018).

Smith argues that economic commodification and AHD are bound together in valuation of heritage. The status as a WHS increasingly acts as a global brand, a ‘highly appreciated accolade...collectible by tourists (Smith, 2012:137). State governments rely on this WHS ‘brand’ to drastically increase visitor numbers (Salazar and Zhu, 2015; Ryland and Silvano, 2009). Bertacchini et al (2009) suggest that the purpose of the WHS Convention is to provide an international instrument for national strategic interests and subject to politicization as countries’ political influence and national economic strategies increasingly drive the selection. Official valorisation as a resource for income generation, based on economic utility and commodification, also has positive and negative impacts on Cornwall’s communities. These are discussed in section 6.5.

6.2.3 Promoting the social value of Cornwall’s heritage

We have seen that the economic importance of Cornwall’s historic environment was a key motivating factor to valorising expressed in official heritage. This included attracting funding protection of heritage resources, providing employment and offering longer-term prosperity derived from economic returns. Increasingly as well, there is an emphasis in UK policy on the role of heritage providing more immediate wellbeing, which revolves around positive feelings of community togetherness, belonging and resilience (Heritage Alliance, 2016). The perceived need to embed or place heritage as central to local communities, has increasingly been driven by place-based policy, such as the Localism Act of 2011, which defined lands or buildings that might ‘further the social wellbeing or social interests of a local community’ (Historic House, 2014:38). This shift in policy enabled cultural and community groups to work together to embed heritage at the heart of communities. Place-based policy reflects ‘sense of place’, a concept that has been theorised and defined across many academic disciplines (Convery et al, 2012). Importantly this converges on the importance of the complex relationships between people and place as a mutually constructed source of meaning and experience (Harvey, 2001). The emphasis on place is also about living in the environment and how people directly experience cultural features in the landscape (Teo and Huang, 1996).

The place-based approach was also part of policy initiatives in Cornwall. It was specifically mentioned in connection in the British Academy place-based ‘Where We Live Now’ report (2016) that outlined a ‘strategic, long-term vision around the tourism and skills needed for Cornwall’. The positive social impact of the Cornish mining landscape was also outlined in the CWDWHS Management Plan (2013-2018) as ‘enjoyment of the site by interpreting it as a distinctive, evolving, living landscape’ (policy PN7, PN8 and PN2). More recently the CWDWHS emphasised this ability to be dynamic ‘conserving our heritage is not about preserving places in aspic [...] what makes historic places special is providing a sense of time-depth and cultural continuity’ (CWDWHS, 2017:section 2.1).

Sense of place and place-based policy motivated a shift to support official heritage projects that embedded heritage into the heart of communities though working with local community groups. This approach was reflected in the official management of the CWDML WHS as a living cultural landscape and one of time-depth and continuity. There were however conflicts between sustainable tourism, preservation and social uses, and this more ephemeral ‘time and cultural continuity’. Whose sense of place gets considered, for example, when cultural landscapes involve community and tourism representations? The translation of sense of place, which emphasis the local community, has been contested by researchers who question whose sense of place is it, when local voices are pitched against the drive for tourism and regeneration (Leader-Elliot, 2012; Corsane and Bowers, 2012).

Sense of place and place-based policy, which includes an emphasis on community resilience, identity and bringing people together, was linked to the historic built environment in the White Paper for culture (Cornwall Council, 2016). This provided an alternative reason for funding Cornwall’s official heritage, however also generated questions over who were the dominant stakeholders spearheading community projects and whether there were hidden agendas. For example, St Germans Priory, is a Grade 1 Listed building owned by the Church of England, however there were issues over sustainable funding for its protection:

Unfortunately, the church congregation dwindled over the years and the Church Council felt that they could no longer raise the funds to keep it open and it was proposed to hand it over to the Church Building Council. A petition was raised and, as a result, the Bishop of Truro, the Rt Revd Tim Thornton, instigated the setting up of St Germans Priory Trust. The Trust would raise the funds to

maintain and improve the building but it would remain a worshipping church (Reed, interview 2019).

An essential part to sustaining this historic building was its ability to attract economic resources but integral to attracting project funding, was proving that the building was valued by the wider community as cultural space and community asset. Community support for keeping the building as heart of the community was voiced during a public meeting in 2014, summarised by a Trustee/local community member:

I sincerely hope that the Trust will be able to raise the funds needed to provide the facilities, which will make the building more accessible, for the community, for the congregation and for the many visitors who come from all over the world to see this amazing building. So many people in the past have kept it going and we should ensure that it is still there for generations to come (Reed, interview 2019).

By positioning this official heritage asset as a community resource, it could be situated within cultural policy place-based initiatives, creating the potential to tap into large public funds like National Lottery, to ensure protection. This strategic use of funding in combined motivations has been replicated in other heritage projects, for example the Tavistock WHS Gateway Centre.

Part of the social motivations of the WHS was its mobilising of volunteers to help maintaining the sites. The social impact of volunteering suggests that heritage volunteers have levels of mental health far higher than those of the general population, including increased self-esteem (HLF, 2011). More recently Public Health England (2018) reiterated how the heritage sector is a 'valuable asset' for bringing a community together and creating mental and physical wellbeing. Respondents to the study questionnaire revealed the social benefits from volunteering in Cornwall:

Increased Community involvement; I enjoy giving 'the public' more information and I like talking to visitors; a sense of belonging and pride; Meeting with visitors; Giving something back and leisure time to do what I do (Q1: 17, 16, 25, 24, and 15).

A survey of volunteers at Port Eliot, a Grade 1 Listed county house in SE Cornwall open to the public, also illustrated that 78% enjoyed the sociability. For some this relationship

continued when the site was closed as they met for social occasions (Port Eliot questionnaire, 2018).

This shift in Cornwall (and the UK) to heritage as a ‘felt’ response and engendering feelings of wellbeing reflects the findings in Waterton’s (2019) research. She refers to of the universal language of ‘belonging’ in UK heritage policy that speaks of inclusion, wellbeing and a shared identity. In order to belong Waterton argues that the visitor at an official site is asked to orientate themselves, their senses and their felt response to the visual impression of Britain. The feelings generated may not necessarily be positive and can create feelings of alienation, discomfort and rejection (Tolia-Kelly, 2010) or anger and resentment (Waterton, 2010). This turn to comfort or happiness in cultural heritage policy and practice is also criticised as papering over the cracks of inequalities (Lynch, 2017; Waterton 2019). This emotive aspect of valorising heritage is discussed further in section 6.5

In summary, this section has explored the driving forces or motivations behind official heritage valuation and found that funding protection of heritage was key. The WHS status also acted as a catalyst for tourism and regeneration. This produced an uneasy balance between conservation of resources and access for tourists. Increasingly, the motivation behind heritage valuation has turned to social and cultural benefits. This perceived heritage as a direct influence on wellbeing experienced by the community and engendered positive feelings including a sense of belonging. This was part of a place-based policy, a fairly new ‘official’ initiative that seemed to open the door to more grassroots evaluations and promoted an embedded and living sense of cultural heritage, which comes from ‘sense of place.’ Sense of place was however complex and contested and this reflects research that questions what sense of place is left for the local community when pitched against touristic spaces and needs (Urry, 1990; Hawke, 2012).

6.3 What is communicated as Cornwall’s official heritage?

The previous sections explored who were the stakeholders in the ‘official’ perspectives on heritage in Cornwall, and what their objectives or motivations were in heritagising the past, both important indicators to determine how Cornwall’s heritage is valorised. Interlinked with this, is understanding what content or messages are conveyed about this heritage, how this story is communicated (the mode of transmission), and its effectiveness in engaging audiences and conveying the ‘value’ of the narrative and its perspective on the past. Heritage is a discursive practice where a story is constructed (Stuart Hall, 1999).

The narrative or story is evidence about what heritage is valued. What is included in these authorised narratives provides a window to what is considered important. The story and what it communicates is a powerful message and can influence what idea of heritage (and its value) is seen as common sense or natural. The story therefore acts as an agent in shaping and embedding this value into society. From chapter three, the official narrative tends to be a homogenous account of greatness that submerges or negates any accounts that subvert or unsettle this story. National and global stories have led to the destruction of local uniqueness and cultural homogenization, a side-effect of a rise in global tourism, consumption and commercialization (Urry, 2002). In Cornwall specifically, the duality of the official or dominant English ‘popular’ view of Cornwall and the Cornish is in contrast to its ‘own vigour and spontaneous life’ (Burton, 1997:152). Lack of ownership over Cornwall’s story and omission of it from a national narrative has emphasised place and landscape as rural development (Clark, 2014). In this way Cornwall suffers from institutional peripheralisation, and this echoes work by Holt (2017) who suggests the relationship between those on the periphery (the oppressed) and the state (the oppressor), results in suppression of divergent accounts.

In connection with the Cornish minority designation, there were no explicit definitions or narrative of what makes a national minority. There were however key ‘attributes’ outlined by the Council of Europe Framework including self-identification (Article 3), traditions and cultural heritage (Article 5.1) and a long-term association with a specific territory (Article 10.2, 11.3, 14.2). Both Cornish minority reports (2011, 2014) presented a story of Cornwall as a Celtic nation, with a historically separate territory and its own legal system. Integral to being Cornish was their intangible cultural heritage:

All those ancient things that make the spirit of Cornwall – its traditions, its old words and ways, and what remains of its Celtic language and nationality (Cornwall Council, 2014:16).

This included the Cornish language Kernewek that evolved from an indigenous British language. Kernewek was recognized in 2002 as being important to cultural identity under Part II of the European Charter for the Protection of Regional or Minority Languages. The minority status also included the ability to produce and participate in Cornish traditions and cultural life both in Cornwall and Cornish diaspora. Cornish cultural identity expressed in celebrations such as St Piran’s Day, the patron saint of Cornwall; Cornish sports like hurling; pilot gig racing and memberships in cultural groups like Gorsedh and the Federation of the Old Cornwall Society are all evidence of this

intangible heritage within the minority designation (Saltern, 2011:192; Cornwall Council, 2014:16).

In connection with World Heritage designation, the narrative was about conveying what contributes to this particular idea of heritage being considered as ‘outstanding value’. In the UK specific words conveyed that World Heritage is a prized jewel, reflecting how valuable it is to the world. This story also legitimised this official valuation:

UNESCO WHS are Historic wonders of the world, the jewels in the crown of any nation. The United Kingdom is blessed with thirty-one of them and each year World Heritage UK celebrates these gems (WHUK, 2018).

In Cornwall’s WHS, the narrative was about Cornish mining and again its OUV status. The official Cornish mining story was outlined in the CWDWHS Management Report (2013-2018) and the associated strategic document the ‘Interpretation Strategy’. These organisational documents provided insight into the how the organisation thinks and how the official story became embedded in the institution, reflecting the ‘institutions voice’ (Bellier 2005:244). The story raised awareness of the Cornish mining as ‘World changing achievements’ (CWDML 2005-2010:8) and included the logo ‘Our Culture Shaped Your World’ reflecting its universal value to humankind. This emphasised the greatness of Cornish mining and engineering, and its part in British industrial prowess, described in the *Western Morning News* (2001) as ‘the very stuff of modern tourism and heritage centres’. The story in the bid was also about loss - loss of the status as a powerhouse of Britain and community loss. The proposed heritage centres were seen as:

Acting as living memorial to a proud, extraordinary breed of men who led the industrial revolution and were then cast aside (ibid, 2001).

This message persisted during the WHS nomination process, where the globally significant Cornish mining industrial landscape contributed to the national industrial prowess and played a key role in the growth of a global capitalist economy’ (CWDML 2005-2010:18).

The story of industrial prowess outlined in Cornwall’s strategic documents, is also an important element for the UK national story of ‘greatness’. This heritage has now been mobilised by dominant stakeholders in the crisis in leaving the European Union, to promote the UK as a continuing strong industrial base. The threat from Brexit and potential withdrawal of investment by major manufacturing companies in the UK has

heightened this relationship of past industrial prowess for future economic growth (UK Green paper, 2017).

Chapter three highlighted how this kind of nostalgia for past greatness or traditions is integral to the construction of a national heritage, where the narrative is given a positive value and aspirational association with the past (Uzzel, 1996; Christensen, 2016). This is a selective construction, chosen from the high points and memorable achievements into a ‘national story’ (Hall, 1999). Howard (2003) also suggests that state governments pick historical periods termed ‘the golden age’ when choosing which heritage to value, and this is given further prestige when recognised by World Heritage status. Labadi (2007, 2013) is however critical of this intrinsic universalism and valuation within national and official discourses of WHS used to construct and represent the past nation, arguing that by engendering homogenous discourse, this excludes specific groups histories and values. Cornwall’s mining story continues to be framed around OUV and being ‘extraordinary’. The ‘Interpretation Strategy’ ensured that the content for all modes of interpretations were around an ‘overarching series of ordered themes following OUV’ (CWDWHS, 2017:121). Integral to this process was legitimising and normalising this global designation as of benefit to humankind, and this was core to the value of the heritage. Heritage discourse became a language of global values attributed to an ethical stance (Harrison, 2015).

In Cornwall there was however room for other voices, that sat alongside the authorised discourses on greatness and ‘world changing stories’ that contributed to this heritage being valued globally or universally. Cornwall Council offered another layer to this official story:

It’s a story of everyday people; who had a profound effect on the landscape they lived in and the world we live in today. It’s a story of danger; of men, women and children working in hazardous conditions to make a living... It’s a story of tremendous community; of people sharing hardship and a sense of pride in their demanding work (Cornwall Council, 2019).

These stories of Cornish mining expressed the everyday story of hardship, strong communities and ingenuity. The personal impacts of loss of mining in Cornwall, the miner’s strikes and the mine closures were conveyed alongside this organisational ‘greatness’. The Dry Room at Geevor for example, preserved to represent the miners last working day, was an affective experience where the assets spoke for themselves - there was no text or footage providing interpretation. The guided walk underground in the

mines offered interpretation by guides but the sensory experience itself engendered how dangerous the work was. Cornwall's mining story reflected what Dick's terms a 'hybrid narrative' (2000:194) where exhibitions are created for the demands of the tourist gaze but also provide some credibility to local political and cultural issues. This cultural interpretation of the humanity of mining alongside the official historical storyline is used at other World Heritage Sites. Salazar (2015) found interpretation by villagers at the Prambanian Temple Compound WHS in Central Java, Indonesia told an entirely different story to the official version.

The Cornish mining story has however been propelled through other means – the creative writer. This has led in some ways to another 'author-ised' heritage as aimed at the romantic touristic gaze (Urry, 2002). Following the filming of the BBC drama 'Poldark' based on Winston Graham's books on Cornish mining in the eighteenth century, a plethora of marketing promoted this nostalgic gaze for the literary and film pilgrim. The 'heritage' of this mining landscape displayed through these images was prominently displayed by Cornwall's tourism organisations and the UK Government. Poldark tourism marketing, for example, showed two white actors embraced together on a cliff top and dressed in period costume (Visit Cornwall et al, 2018), an image that promoted Cornwall as a place for escapism. The imagery portrayed in tourism brochures created a more visual and sensual appeal to a particular audience (Port Eliot, 2008-2019). In contrast were mining heritage site leaflets that conveyed the story of industrial prowess and industrial sites.

The narratives and images that told the story of Cornwall's heritage contribute to how we understand official valorising, but there were also contestations over this official heritage message. Performing and memory of landscape as sense of place can be an everyday lived one, but there can be conflict if it is 'fossilised' for the transient, tourist performance. Stereotyping of regional identity and cultural heritage by the novelist and historical imagination can also raise questions about the relationships between places and people and how a sense of place develops. The literary treatments of regions, including TV adaptation like 'Poldark' creating a romantic landscape, can lead to a stereotyping of place and people, essentialising of national minorities and preservation of landscapes as touristic spaces. (Watson, 2006; Deacon, 2017; Urry, 2008). A literary construction has led to valorisation of the Cornish and Cornwall as wild and romantic, serving a need for escapism and tourism (Payton, 2004).

Merv Davey, Grand Bard of Gorsedh Kernow, stated that Cornwall has a unique identity and cultural heritage and added 'Cornwall must be the author of their cultural destiny and

not outside commercial interests' (*Cornish Times*, 8 Sept, 2017). He further added that tourism depends on the way that Cornish culture is portrayed. He called for English Heritage and Historic England to reject the fairy tale that is paraded as it was 'England's story', and show 'real enlightenment and tell Cornwall's true story'. Another Bard of Gorsedh Kernow, Rod Sheaff also voiced the desire for ownership of Cornwall's story:

It would be good to have a counterweight to English Heritage, who is disneyfying Philistines, but er...the Tintagel problem is by far the most spectacular example but there are quite a few others. Also a change from English Heritage sites to Kernow Heritage sites would be a good way to get started (Sheaff, interview 2018).

Tehmina Goskar also criticises this approach, writing that Tintagel managed by English Heritage is an example where 'Cornish stories are relegated in favour of populist Arthurian interventions, privileging photo-seeking day-trippers over local communities' (2016:23). The perpetuation of these 'everyday' stories about Cornishness comes from below – a process detailed in Chapter 7.

The need to have the Cornish minority story central to the official heritage narrative has been actioned to some degree in Cornwall institutions. The concept of 'Cornishness' was stressed across the whole Cornwall museums strategy, with an emphasis on co-production and enabling people as active agents in this story telling; a shared construction of history (Ward and Pente, 2017). The 'Citizen Curators' programme as touched on earlier, was a community-based curatorial training and museum awareness programme in Cornish museums, where participants were invited to set the criteria for and submit items to the Cornish National Collection whose brief is to reflect the diversity of Cornish society past and present. Key to this, according to Goskar was that Cornishness is not yet represented in museum spaces. We have a chance to get this right (Goskar interview, Feb 2019). She emphasised that cultural heritage projects should encourage people to come along and share. In interview another respondent took an activist stance to changing the 'official' story:

Trying to overcome and trying to help people see that it's their heritage that's talked about and hopefully reflecting back to them that they can be involved in how that is funded and how policy is decided in those sorts of areas (A2, interview January 2018).

As a questionnaire respondent said, there were omissions in Cornwall's official story, and what was needed was: *Rebalancing the story - the personal family history of the Cornish mining* (QI, 1).

The story or narrative conveyed in official accounts of heritage provides insight into what dominant stakeholders see as valuable. Global and national stakeholders choose stories from the past that conveyed greatness and this fed into contemporary narratives for political, economic, social and cultural purposes. Cornwall's mining story reflected the national story of greatness around the industrial revolution and the expansion of the British Empire as the mining culture went to other parts of the world; this justified its global value as a World Heritage. Unfortunately, this authorised story undermined other narratives that contested this global or national story. The global importance of Cornish culture and the diaspora was essentially a positive message that did not however include a potentially counter narrative by local populations and the negative impacts of this colonisation on their culture. This type of storyline reflects interpretation in museums and heritage sites in England, Australia and Canada that have nation-defining discourse and trajectories around British imperialism and colonialism (Smith, 2019). Cornwall residents did however in some ways challenge this homogenous story, in WHS mining sites like Geevor. This has seen grassroots organisations like Pendeen Community Trust tell more recent narratives of hardship for the ex-miners and their communities with the impact of mine closures in the 1980s.

6.4 How Cornwall's official heritage is communicated

The medium chosen to influence and understand official heritage affects how people look at (and value) forms of heritage. Official heritage is predominantly conveyed through a textual medium - written charters, legislation, policy reports and management documents, which are backed up by texts at heritage sites in displays and exhibitions. Heritage practice is therefore shaped by these textual mediums and this also enacts a process of learning. People are persuaded to accept particular versions of the past as true, and assumptions used within these documents are constitutive in legitimising the heritage value (Waterton, 2010). Exploring the media for communicating heritage is important as the mode of communication chosen can affect how heritage is perceived and valued. In addition the mediums used provide insight into how open the heritage process is to changes or social action. Written texts (used by official heritage) are a static or fixed form and essentially allow little performativity (Waterton, 2019).

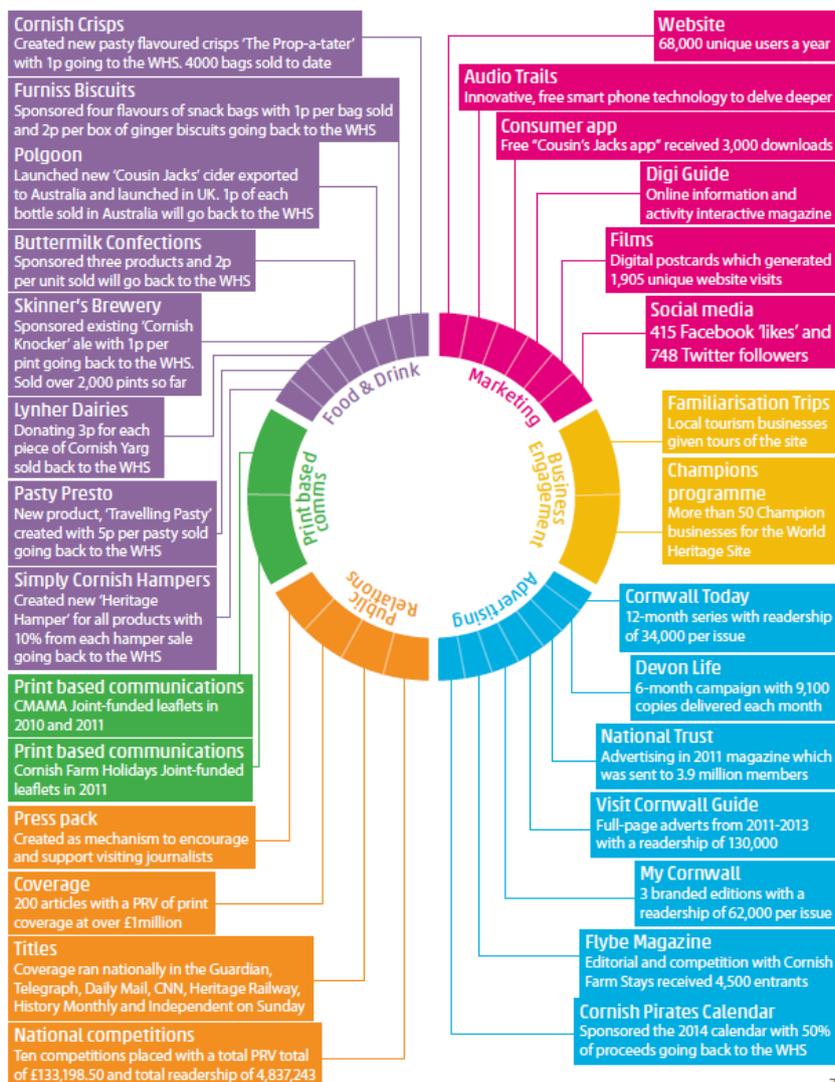
Much of Cornwall's official heritage was an example of institutional forms that dominate the industry, with heritage attractions, museums, exhibitions and online media. The WHS had a range of reports and documents prepared by professionals that instructed people about the mining heritage and these authoritative value assumptions were embedded in the texts in strategic documents (e.g. CWDML WHS Management Plan 2013-2018, and the Interpretation Strategy). Exhibitions such as the 'Hard Rock' museum, provided instruction on Cornwall's mining formed by academic knowledge including Cornwall County Archaeologists. Textual media included tourism brochures available in hard copies and on-line. The 'Cornish Mining Heritage' marketing leaflet sponsored by Cornish Mining Attractions Marketing Association and the Cornish Mining World Heritage focused on the built heritage and industrial prowess including glossy images of various mining sites. However as discussed in section 6.4, the landscape and Cornish mining story has become shaped by the 'Poldark' imaginary. This popular medium has changed the way people perceive and value this heritage. Prior to this recent TV adaptation only 19% of tourists in 2013 identified mining as Cornish heritage (CoaST, 2014). Creative experts based in Cornwall also provided a wide range of communications that had a dual purpose a marketing orientation and engagement/ entertainment. Individual sites in the WHS used websites as a medium, which communicated a particular image and narrative to attract a segment audience. For example Cornwall Council's Geevor site emphasised learning about what it was like to be Cornish miner. This emphasised discovery and experiential learning, aimed at families and school groups (Geevor website, 2020). Heartlands also owned by CC, placed prominence on the site as place for entertainment, and a free 'playscape' for kids (Heartlands, 2020). Software designers were based in Cornwall (Venn Creative, A-Side and Dewsign). In contrast NT sites in the WHS had a set layout and construction of websites designed by their media centre in Swindon. This provided a specific process of communication and a vehicle for wider promotion i.e. support contact for journalists (NT, website 2020a). The website conveyed a site-specific story but was framed around themes - dramatic scenery, walking, history and tangible heritage. In the case of Levant this was the mine/ steam engine and Cotehele the 'art and collection' (NT website, 2020b).

Figure 14 shows the range of mediums implemented as a part of the WHS marketing plan by Excess Energy (Cornwall-based PR company). These mediums (exhibitions, website, tourism leaflets) are interpretations driven by expert knowledge, and described as technology of power (Foucault, 1981). As Bella Dicks (2000) points out heritage texts are designed for public communication through multiple forms, but organised and determined by officials. Recent research by Emma Waterton (2019) explores the representation of official heritage in tourism brochures. She argues that the images

operate as a critical element; ‘they piece together an official sanctioning of what a heritage tourism ought to look like’, which are a ‘handful of iconic images’ awash with intimations of power, wealth and longevity which equate to ‘complex material and social realities of “being British”’ (2019:2). She argues that images blatantly promote and market the physical site to international and domestic tourists but have ‘far more subtle things to say about issues of power and exclusion... inevitably filled with hidden silences and obfuscation’ (2019:1). Rose (2001) also uses visual material to investigate underlying issues of power, arguing that that no image is innocent. The powerful effect of public presentation and media on how we understand and recall our pasts is also outlined by Mannay (2016). She argues that social power relations are implicit in what is seen, what is erased or hidden, who is seen and who is viewing.

An integrated marketing strategy

The diagram below shows some of the main activities delivered as part of the DTE.



7

Figure 14. Range of mediums used for public communication (CWDMLWHS, 2010:7).

The WHS however also deployed first-hand and performative interpretation. This mode of communication emphasises ‘learning’ more so than rote ‘instruction’. Learning here was an active process engaged with experience and ‘involves an increase in skills, knowledge or understanding, a deepening of values or the capacity to reflect’ (CWDWHS, 2013:103). For example, the theme set out in the ‘Discover The Extraordinary’ WHS mining programme took people on a journey of exploration. This interaction has the potential to transform the visitors to the heritage site - leaving as a different person than when they walked in (Simon, 2010; Ham, 2007). Geevor Tin mine in the WHS was the exemplar for this, presented not as a repository for the past, with fading memories but a place of wonder and discovery facilitated by underground tours of the eighteenth century mine by ex-miner guides. This first-hand interaction brought the heritage alive. It was also observed that the Geevor storyline was more open to interpretation, both proud of the role of Cornwall in the Industrial Revolution but questioning of the political power in the 1980s, through the integration of oral history devices with ex-miners providing the narrative. This form of media reflects the findings in the literature, where provocative performance learning is shown to provide a vehicle for powerful interpretative and participatory learning, its narrative providing a positive value to visitors and a ground for debate (Tindel, 2007; Ham, 2007; Simon, 2010).

Geevor was saved and memorialised by the Pendeen community when it closed in 1980 (Coupland, 2012). The community values and meanings were memorialised into public history, and the ‘Dry Room’ at Geevor was a particularly moving narrative space. Dicks (2000) in her research in Rhondda Valley illustrated local mine workers knowledge, the personal experience and values of memorialisation. This sensitive presentation in Cornwall reflected a deep sense of loss, the ‘lived experience’ of the Pendeen community who are still living in this social and economic legacy of deindustrialisation. Geevor balanced two dimensions of insight, that of experiencing and of knowing. Krossman et al suggest that ‘this interaction is a crucial factor in the expressive potential of the exhibition’ (2012:100). Both Geevor and Heartlands use film and auditory mediums to convey official and unofficial stories for example ‘Voices of Geevor’ (2010) an oral history by ex-miners. The exhibits and first-hand interactive media used exhibitions, local experience, and interactive technology, which on the ground, facilitated a construction of heritage which encouraged an enhanced relationship between expert and community (Black, 2011; Arthur, 2008; Waterton, 2005). Dicks argues ‘heritage as media needs to be informed by a fully social model of communication’ (2000:70).

Cornwall's WHS adopted another mode of transmission to communicate Cornwall's WHS significance and value through their 'Cultural Programme' which incorporated popular performance. The Programme 'celebrates, promotes and propagates' the mining story through 'strategic actions' delivered by CWDWHS Partnership, cultural services and funding bodies (CWDWHS 2013-2018, policy T1/T3). Orange described it as a cost effective process with learning impacts 'providing audiences opportunity to understand aspects of the Cornish mining story through events, performances, art, walk and talks' (CWDWHS, 2013-2018:105). Based on its ability to transmit the WH story and engage audiences, this programme model led to the formation of the Tenth Anniversary Working Party to implement cultural events to celebrate Cornwall's ten years as a WHS. Locally oriented or affectively-oriented modes of transmission like programming and hands-on activities were less resource-intensive but able to promote 'socially inclusive access, challenging presumptions against and identifying the barriers to heritage tourism' (CWDWHS, 2013-2018:9). This report states the cultural programme had reached audiences of 25,000 (this does not include the Man Engine project in 2016). Sharon Schwartz from Redruth (an ex-mining town in West Cornwall) sees the deployment of new media as 'sowing the seed' for future generation to valorise mining heritage (2008:8). Ensuring the effectiveness of the mode of transmission in communicating Cornwall's heritage story was an organisational priority. This stimulated innovative recommendations to transmit Cornwall's WHS story through the CWDWHS 'Interpretation Strategy', which uses the term 'propagate' an agricultural term for nurturing and growing. For example Cornwall's Miracle Theatre Company produced the play 'Tin' (2012) commissioned by the WHS, which went onto a feature film (2015). Based on a real story, this conveyed a mining narrative through these popular mediums.

Institutional modes of communication can be perceived as engaging with certain audiences, thus different modes of communication were important. Heartlands mining site in the CWWHS, recognised that transmission modes could be a barrier to some audiences:

At the moment, we as a Trust [Heartlands] are working with Cornwall Council and some other parties about what we can do here to make people look at heritage differently. We've got an exhibition, and the film is great, but the exhibition is fairly static (O'Neill, interview 2018).

Heartlands were keen on increasing the use of more interactive technology to appeal to wider audiences. They identified that fixed institutional modes of communication, like

exhibits, were a barrier to inclusivity. Increased interactive technology would also link with the ‘innovation’ aspect of the story of Cornish mining:

One that links back to Cornwall’s engineering and skills that give young people that sense of aspiration and pride (O’Neill, interview 2018).

Fixed and static one-way modes instructing people were therefore seen as a problem and they sought a shift to more performativity through interactive modes. Increasingly heritage sites are working with the creative industries using mediums that promote interaction (Heritage Alliance, 2019). These initiatives can potentially alter how heritage is perceived and valued, for example Cornwall’s heritage sites were working on digital projects using Virtual (VR) and Augmented Reality (AR) to create shared learning. Port Eliot, in SE Cornwall, has seen AR supplement the Lenkiewicz mural. ‘A New Way Around’, supported by Plymouth University and ACE, created a 3D visual narrative and spatialised audio of characters (Port Eliot Festival, 2018). The Telegraph Museum Porthcurno was working on VR and AR projects that created a more emotive and sensory encounter around traditional interpretations and exhibitions (Carbis, 2020).

At Heartlands there was a focus on facilitating an everyday relationship through their heritage site. This was a shift to casual, socially interactive processes more than fixed media forms, a ‘light touch to heritage’:

At Heartlands people have an accidental engagement with heritage...it’s a well loved community facility. People respect it and you can tell that through the level of vandalism we get. It’s an open access site, open 365 days a year, 24 hours a day, ...It’s the biggest free adventure playground in Cornwall and it’s on the doorstep of the community who struggle to find good things or free things that they can access (O’Neill, interview 2018).

This reflection on Heartlands as a community resource, with less emphasis on conservation and education, and more on contemporary use and local community reflects the work of Garrod et al (2000). As an everyday resource, this may enhance the relationship with heritage. This is an unofficial process, which manifests as social practice around these tangible forms of official heritage (Harrison, 2013).

This section has explored the mode of communication used by official heritage which is a professional process instigated by legislation, policy and management reports which use a fixed textual form. This one-way process is instruction by professionals on, ‘the heritage’

story. This mode of communication has been criticised as essentially non-performative (Waterton, 2019) and ‘representational’ in communicating a specific narrative chosen by professionals and the lack of performativity allows little room for subversion. Increasingly however Cornwall’s heritage sites like Geevor and Heartland WHS mining sites reflect the larger institutional forms that dominate the industry, with resource-rich attractions, museums, exhibitions and online media. These sites were interpretation centres and incorporated a two-way process of interpretation including cultural performances, which facilitated more interaction. As outlined, this was not just about entertainment, but also conveyed the social conditions of mining - the danger and hardship connected to this past. Some sites expressed the need for more sensory and immersive technology in their heritage interpretations. As well as looking at more technological ways to communicate official heritage, some locations were beginning to focus on facilitating everyday relationships with Cornwall’s official heritage. This reflected a shift to non-static mediations and personal programming that were socially interactive, with less emphasis on conservation, education and tourism, and instead contemporary uses and local community spaces.

6.5 What are the impacts on individuals from this heritage-making process?

Within official discourses, the heritage of Cornwall was primarily seen as a strategic resource, valued as an end product – the socio-economic benefits derived from tourism and regeneration. This was a policy-led, managed process enacted by professionals in heritage-related organisations. Historic England’s research showed the value of heritage to England’s economic growth. In 2018, the SW region, heritage provided £2.7 million, 51, 000 jobs and tourism spend of £1.8 million (Historic England 2019b). This section explores the impacts of these utilitarian benefits on individuals, but also emphasises how official messages about the status and celebratory value of heritage emotionally affected residents.

The feelings consolidated through this valuation of Cornish heritage included expressions of joy, pride, anger and dismay. Impacts on communities were mostly positive, for example the feelings of pride engendered from Cornwall’s accolade as a WHS were voiced in the questionnaire:

It raises the profile to global level and is a great source of pride to the Cornish -

hugely proud; Cornish mining is of global significance WHS deserves greater protection in Cornwall. We have seen some developments decisions impacting to my mind detrimentally on aspects of Cornwall (Q P2, P5, 2018).

This was very important to me personally because I grew up surrounded by the remains of the Cornish mining industry. I played on the mine burrows, threw stones down shafts and explored the old tramways networks around Redruth. I also by chance worked underground as a miner briefly one summer and found it a fascinating experience that gave me insight into what's beneath our feet and how our world has been shaped by the past. It's important that this isn't lost and I think that young people should grow up in Cornwall and that visitors should come here recognising the fact and valuing it (QP8, 2018).

The study's questionnaire responses echoed the emotional attributes expressed during the consultation with the community by the WHS bid team during the nomination process. These included the importance of preserving their Cornish cultural identity (74%) and civic pride (52.8%) (CWDML, 2004: 13). The most important benefits that people thought would be created from being a WHS were contribution to the economy, conserving the landscape and preservation of historic buildings. The least important benefit was leisure opportunities (Ibid, page 14-15).

The recognition as a national minority by the Council of Europe in April 2014 was also a source of pride. In *The Guardian*, the Communities Minister, Stephen Williams said:

This is a great day for the people of Cornwall who have long campaigned for the distinctiveness and identity of the Cornish people to be recognised officially. The Cornish and Welsh are the oldest peoples on this island and as a proud Welshman I look forward to seeing Saint Piran's flag flying with extra Celtic pride on 5 March next year.

Petroc Trelawny 25th April 2014 in the *Telegraph* stated:

We are not now on the path to Cornish passports, nor indeed any form of devolution. But it is welcome nonetheless, for commercial reasons, and for the sense of fresh pride that will be enjoyed by hundreds of thousands of Cornish, at home and abroad.

As well as pride, the Cornwall WHS Partnership was desirous of positive socio-economic impacts on local communities (CWDWHS, 2013-2018b). In order to access the benefits from living in a WHS, the Partnership recognised that the wider community needed to be aware of their potential in the first place. This became the driving force behind a range of programmes to increase awareness, including outreach work, community events, cultural event programmes and volunteering. These programmes were arguably also a mechanism to normalise WH value and were described by the WHS as a cost effective means to increasing appreciation of the WHS and what contributed to its status as OUV (Ibid).

The economic benefits from tourism at officially designated heritage sites had mixed impacts on some communities. It was anticipated that the canonical status endowed by UNESCO provided prestige would act as a catalyst for tourism related to the mining landscape and contribute to ‘new business opportunities’ (CWDWHS 2013-2018b: 122). The designation as a WHS did directly generate some local employment for example through the conservation work and the WHS Office, however the impact on wider employment within the mining heritage sectors ‘is yet to be determined’ (WHS 2013-2018b: 123). But most tourists visited the mines secondary to their motivation to visit Cornwall’s landscape and beaches (CoasST, 2014). The benefits of mining tourism depended instead on various factors, including whether the site was located among a consolidation of tourist destinations and infrastructures. Cornwall’s international recognition and profile as a WHS cultural landscape has attracted people but not to the mining sites themselves. This has led to an emphasis on marketing the WHS brand and the cultural landscape, rather than the mining site (CWDWHS, 2013-2018).

There has been an increase in popularity following the BBC’s adaptation of ‘Poldark’ (2015). Malcolm Bell (Visit Cornwall) claimed:

Film and television has proven to have a significant influence on holiday decision-making, so Poldark has been an incredible gift to Cornwall (Western Morning News, 2015).

More recently he added:

This has spawned a new tourism industry in Cornwall and thirteen per cent of visitors to the county cite Poldark as a key reason for coming to the region (Cornish Times, 2019).

The popular idea of Cornwall's mining heritage portrayed in 'Poldark' created an imaginary space and desire for TV/film audiences to extend their relationship with the author and actors, by visiting the areas where it was filmed. This heritage film pilgrimage was a desire to actively experience the landscape for themselves – a social interaction that was personal. It created a relationship with the Cornish mining past (people and places) and the 'Poldark' pilgrim moves a scenography that is romanticised (Pearson (2006:221). Alongside this unofficial validation of a televisual heritage was the positive economic impact valued by official organisations associated with the Cornwall's tourism industry like Visit Cornwall. However, that impact occurred despite the World Heritage institutionalisation, rather than as a result of it.

Naming and promoting an official heritage also resulted in experiential negatives for local lifestyles. Overcrowding by tourists around Kynance Cove in 2018 caused tensions for local people, and visitors themselves experienced excessive queuing (BBC News August 2018). Kynance Cove was a 'Poldark' filming location; popular for the heritage film pilgrims who were drawn to the intrinsic visual aesthetics of place combined with the film induced imaginary. Romance, rugged cliffs, aquamarine blue seas and sandy beaches, combined with sustained fine summer weather, provided a heady cocktail drawing in mass visitors to the cove. The rural infrastructure of roads, with single lanes, was not able to cope with heavy traffic. Negative impacts were expressed as resentment as heritage organisations were perceived as putting tourism needs before the local community.

The negative effects for local communities were also illustrated when health and safety changes were made to Levant mine by National Trust, which aimed to provide safe access for all tourists. This was the place for Cornwall's worst mining disaster when thirty-one men lost their lives in 1919. Many local residents expressed anger at how NT had spoiled their everyday experience of the landscape, leading to several cancelling their NT membership in protest. These emotions were expressed in the words 'violated' and 'desecration' (*Plymouth Herald*, November 2017). One local resident (Mary) is quoted:

As someone who has lived here all my 70 years - and whose grandfather and great grandfathers, for generations, worked in Levant and Geevor and even Crowns - I'm angry at the mindless vandalism.

Other locals wanted the sites to remain untouched and stated:

This latest interference just confirms how out of touch the NT are with what they are ironically supposed to be care takers of and the whole area would benefit if the NT was no longer involved at all.

The images of Levant mining site conveyed some of these impacts. The balancing of stakeholders needs, in regards safe access and retaining an authentic experience were highlighted by Nick Johnson, as far back as the nomination as a WHS (WMN 2001). This is an issue Marco d'Eramo (2014) terms 'UNESCO-cide', where a focus on preservation allows the communities around them to be affected. The need for sensitive sustainable development in WHS' that mitigate negative impacts include long term partnerships with local stakeholders and giving voice to local communities (Dross, 1996; Salazar, 2015; Mescal, 2012).



Figure 15. Health and safety initiatives at Levant, creating potential conflicts in aesthetics of place. Photo: Max Channon, *Plymouth Herald*.



Figures 16a/16b. Blocking an archway was seen by some as 'vandalism' at Levant, examining site. Photo: Max Channon, *Plymouth Herald*.



Figure 17. Parking area at Levant. Photo Max Chanon, *Plymouth Herald*

Negative impacts of commercialisation at official heritage sites, linked to making a site safe, were an issue for the heritage organisation and the wider public. Increasingly risk management has become integral to the professional practice of managing heritage sites accessed by the public. A lack of compliance by the organisation can have heavy financial impacts - visitors can sue the organisation if an accident occurs as a result of this process not being adhered to.

The impacts of making a heritage place safe can also have adverse effects on the individual and alter their experience of heritage and how it is valued:

As a child in Camborne I played in the mine workings! They were in the 1970's derelict, abandoned places that in the most cases had not been looked at for fifty to sixty years... Since the UNESCO designation, they are mostly sanitised, made 'safe', fenced off and taken away from children and local people. Or in other words, totally ruined (QP 11, 2018).

There were also negative impacts expressed by those living in a preservation area - 1% of respondents during Cornwall's WHS bid thought it was 'looking backwards' and another respondent said 'theme parks would not raise living standards' (CWDML, 2004: 26). These concerns were also expressed in the study questionnaire:

It's good for preservation but everything gets stuck, frozen in time, stifles new developments and the continuing of the story. Is it really worth it? (QWC,22, 2018).

Protection for the WHS brings planning problems for low paid locals and increased house prices (QWC, 5); impacts on farmers (QWC6); the WHS means nothing. The monuments of St Piran are largely ignored (Q, I5); fed up with mounds of rubble being associated with mining history (Q, WC1).

The adverse effects of living in protected areas were studied in detail by Philip Payton (2016) who refers to the restrictions of being in Cornwall's WHS as being 'stifled'. He directly refers to the developments in Hayle and the prevention of resumption of mining in Cornwall. He highlights that Cornwall is a 'special place' but argues that 'Cornwall is not a rural idyll...Cornwall is a post-industrial landscape, with a mining WHS. This designation, alongside the AONB designation, is very positive for Cornwall's reputation, but this can be overly restrictive [...] integrating creativity and business at local level can resolve tensions' (2016: 7). This aspect of regulation of 'making safe' added to an already highly regulated, structured official heritage place, which included conservation and guided tourist performances. These contrasts with research that increasingly demonstrates positive impacts from experiencing heritage as unstructured and unregulated space, and one that allows ruination (De Silvey and Harrison, 2019). Ruins are seen as a disorganised space and enact an affective, unhindered performance (Edensor, 2007). They are also seen as a loose space, that arise from the unfolding of social encounters in public, and the virtues of loose space are 'possibility, diversity and disorder' (Frank and Stevens, 2007:17). This is in contrast to tight or structured spaces, valued for their homogeneity, order, and in this case, risk.

Official heritage here was driven by a need to protect heritage where professional ideas of heritage centres on historic buildings. The protection of this heritage is costly and involves attracting resources to fund conservation work and develop local economies. There is however increasing competition for public resources, therefore tourism continues as a vehicle for sustained self-funding of official heritage and this potentially perpetuates the negative impacts from this over-valorisation of heritage as an economic resource. In connection with WHS in the UK a recent study outlined this issue:

50% of UK WHS are managed and funded by local authorities or by mixed public partnerships. Reductions in public funding are putting at risk the future resilience and sustainable management of these sites (UKWHS, 2019:3).

Cornwall's WHS office also highlighted similar issues, where continued core funding from one of the major stakeholders Cornwall Council were at risk. Cornwall WHS also expressed concerns over diminishing resources from non-heritage related project funding:

It's a matter of how much money can we obtain and use to undertake the suite of activities and suite of outputs that we would wish...Given the local authority cutbacks over recent years we are finding it increasingly difficult to square the circle of maintaining and delivering our remit (Cocks, interview 2018).

The potential impact on Cornwall's WHS from a general reduction on public funding was a concern and potentially increased funding would need to be sought through tourism. The ability to tap into non-tourism related resources to fund heritage protection was not just about competition over limited public resources, it was also affected by lack of people with the knowledge and skills to access complicated funding processes:

You need to be aware of how these programs work in order to be able to make use of them this requires experience and skills that are not available to 'ordinary people'. With increasing pressure on Cornwall Council funding, it is becoming more difficult to access the specialist or admin-heavy funds such as rural diversification, LEADER or CLLD money and at the same time officer support for accessing those funds is being cut (Q, P7, 2018).

The negative impacts from over-commercialisation of heritage within a heritage 'industry' are likely to continue in Cornwall. This regional effect is part of national and global over-valourising of culture as a strategic or instrumental 'good', part of a powerful, shape-shifting exercise increasingly embracing economic and social missions.

This section has explored some of the impacts expressed by official and unofficial heritage stakeholders in Cornwall. Within official processes, the heritage of Cornwall was primarily seen as a strategic resource with socio-economic benefits derived from new business opportunities, including tourism and regeneration. Naming and promoting an official heritage however resulted in experiential negatives related to over-commercialisation and these negative impacts had ethical considerations of ownership and the effects of change in lifestyle of local communities. Over-commercialisation of heritage had positive but also negative impacts on local communities living within a WHS and these affected how people valued heritage. These impacts were personal, individually consolidated and were reflections and important trajectories of how heritage was valorised.

6.6 What does this tell us about valuing?

In conclusion, the factors and tensions that contribute to how Cornwall's heritage was valorised as a World Heritage Site and as a national minority in need of protection by the Council of Europe, are complex and impact on each other. The key factors identified were the motivations and the stakeholders involved in official decision-making – both of which influenced the content of the heritage story and how it was transmitted, and what impacts this valorisation had on Cornwall's communities. Cornwall's heritage is part of a global and national process that is highly regulated and prioritises professional ideas of heritage and value. Their values are communicated in UK Government policy and legislation, which naturalises the protection of heritage as the right thing to do. The intrinsic worth of certain types of heritage in these official documents then enacts a duty of care and a motivation to protect the asset for future generations. This idea of 'endangerment' is described by Harrison (2013), and the practice of heritage in Cornwall was seen to be motivated by these official policies and reflected in heritage site management plans and local interpretation programmes. This communicated what was seen as valuable and conveyed a Cornish mining story of greatness, an extraordinary past linked to industrial development.

Cornwall's heritage institutions deployed a range of activities that normalised a safeguarding ethos into wider society and justified the valuation by professionals. This included expenditure of public funding on heritage. Cornwall's AHD was transmitted to the public through resource rich heritage sites like Geevor mine in the WHS that increased awareness and generated economic resources that funded conservation. Depending on the medium used, this connected with audiences and affirmed this valuation in the future. Official systems and forms of valuation traditionally were a one-way system, a fixed form of professional and institutional communications and instruction about heritage. To some extent the Cornwall case reflected Waterton's (2011) findings that official narratives were essentially non-performative and left little room for counter-narratives or subversion. However, Cornwall was recognising that in order to increase diversity in stakeholders that care and valorise the WHS in the future, change was needed in how heritage was communicated, perceived and valued. The WHS Partnership was beginning to shift to an interpretative process, with interactive ways that promoted exploratory learning and engaged wider audiences through popular performance in cultural programming: something examined in detail in chapter 8 on the Man Engine.

Official processes in Cornwall primarily placed heritage as a strategic resource with socio-economic benefits derived from tourism and regeneration. This helped generate funds to protect and conserve built heritage, and enable some regional economic development. The choosing and naming of an official Cornish heritage however, created experiential negative impacts where duty of care of environment and local communities had been neglected. The valuing of Cornwall's heritage as a strategic resource is complex and perceptions of the (mis) use of heritage affected relations with the local community. This engendered strong affective dimensions to people's relations with official institutions of heritage, expressed in positive and negative ways ranging from wellbeing related to job security and pride to loss, anger and frustration. There was pride in the accolade of being a WHS but conversely the effects of over-commercialisation tied to an official valorisation led to tensions. In particular conflicts emerged over national heritage bodies putting tourist needs before local, everyday relationships. This was illustrated in NT's management of Levant mining site.

One key factor in the ways that heritage was valorised were the stakeholders involved in the process of designation and on-going management Cornwall's official heritage, which prioritised the values of professionals from local, national and global levels. In connection with designation as a WHS and recognition as a national minority, Cornwall officials spearheaded both heritage-making processes, however the final designation relied on support and ratification by the UK Government and ICOMOS/UNESCO and Council of Europe respectively. This hierarchal decision-making continued within on-going management, but the wide range of stakeholders involved created conflicts. These transpired between local communities and official heritage bodies, and between the layers of heritage organisations involved. Although 'participatory governance' was a framework adopted by the CWDWHS Partnership, the power in decision-making ultimately led to national and global players. The hierarchal power dynamics resulted in representation of the Cornish minority at regional level however there were issues in their wider representation at national level. In spite of attempts at increasing local stakeholder decision-making in the official process - recognition as a national minority by the Council of Europe and Cornwall as part a wider UK Devolution Deal (2015) - Cornwall based stakeholders still felt peripheral. This drove a push for more political recognition and representation within authorised heritage discourses (Davey, 2018; A2 interview, 2018; QP, 2018) and Cornish as a group were advocated for inclusion on the next Census (German, Sept 2018). The UK Government therefore remained powerful players in Cornwall's official valorising process.

However, it was clear that the UK Government failed to protect Cornwall's heritage in

several areas, and this caused tensions. This included lack of funding of the Cornish minority language. In connection with the WHS, there was insufficient preservation of elements of the site by national heritage bodies leading to planning decisions that adversely affected the heritage assets. For example, the development at Hayle South Quay in the WHS, as described in section 6.1.2, illustrated the many layers of conflict between official organisations as diverse values were played out in this heritage arena. Overall, the UK Government ‘State Party’ were criticised for lack of support and not delivering their international commitments that were made when sites were given the status as a WHS (UKWHS, 2019) or national minority (Opinion, 2017). Yet, in spite of these issues, there was on-going support for the official heritage designation as a WHS and legitimisation of the Cornish as a national minority within this study. This was expressed by official *and* unofficial voices, and reflected that there are no clear lines on who and what was valuing official heritage (Muzaini and Minca, 2018). The WHS status was valued for the economic benefits and regeneration after deindustrialisation. The designation as a WHS of global value also created a personal sense of pride. The recognition that Cornwall’s cultural heritage was worth protecting was valued as a first step towards increased visibility as a national minority and further political recognition. It also placed the Cornish alongside the wider Celtic ‘family’ (Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Brittany).

Chapter 7: How Cornwall's unofficial heritage is valorised

Throughout this study, a tripartite approach was used to explore the factors that contribute to how Cornwall's heritage is perceived and valorised. This included official and unofficial heritage processes and the heritage spaces in-between. This chapter follows on from the examination of 'official' heritage in chapter 6 to explore what has been termed here Cornwall's 'unofficial' heritage. This is a heritage process that is not defined or driven by professionals or motivated by written charters that legitimise and frame a valorising process. Unofficial heritage is a broad range of practices that use the language of heritage but is not always recognised by official processes (Harrison, 2013). The chapter investigates the different specifications and ways of 'doing' heritage in Cornwall that contribute to valorising, and explores how people personally register, value and practice heritage - irrespective of official mandates. This chapter also investigates the practice of ICH in Cornwall as a living form that is continuously recreated and evolving as communities adapt their practices and traditions in response to perceived needs. Heritage in this sense conveys a sense of being and belonging.

Throughout the sections these unofficial processes are referred to as 'heritage-from-below,' a term used by Robertson (2012) to describe the repetition or performance of heritage as local, personal and one that does not seek to attract an audience. Some aspects of Cornwall's unofficial heritage when performed in public, however, do attract an audience and provide insights into this aspect of Cornish culture. The term 'grassroots' is also adopted to explore these collective heritage processes by 'ordinary' people, as distinct from that mobilised by professionals or official leadership (state governments or heritage bodies). The chapter is divided into five core factors of analysis: the stakeholders (who were involved in the valorising), the motivation (why something was counted as heritage), the narrative and how it was valorised (the mode of transmission or how this heritage was performed and communicated), which effected what was valorised. The final factor discussed is the impact of this valorisation on the community and the affective response that it engendered.

7.1 Who is involved in choosing and valuing?

In exploring the factors that contribute to how Cornwall's heritage was unofficially valorised in this study, it is necessary to understand the stakeholders involved in this process. Unofficial heritage involved people making decisions on an informal and non-professional basis. Robertson describes this as a heritage process crafted and practiced by

the ordinary person, 'it is in the local context that the relationship between heritage and identity establishment and maintenance is often most meaningful' (2012:6). This relationship can however often be performed, as Robertson suggests, by individuals in the shadows and this makes research intrinsically difficult. There were different categories of informal players participating in unofficial heritage in Cornwall, and in this included grassroots interest groups, individuals volunteering at heritage sites, personal /family practice of ICH at home, and individuals who performed forms of heritage in public as organisers and participants of festivals. This latter category also included stakeholders who performed ICH globally as Cornish diaspora/Cornish Celt and their audiences. These were 'unofficial' stakeholders in that individuals come together in their own time in a relationship with the past or traditions. This socially interactive process affected how heritage was perceived and valued by them.

7.1.1 Who practices unofficial heritage in public?

Cornwall's unofficial heritage was performed in public spaces. This allowed insight into who was actively involved and put on display their values. This can be illustrated in the St Germans May Tree Fair, a tradition that takes place each year during May involving a procession through the village. The May Fair celebration dates back to 1284 (Orme, 2000), and was active during the 19th century, as described in *West Briton* (1859) (Appendix D). Manley (2019) suggests it ceased sometime around the Second World War. The revival of the event was spearheaded in 2012 by Will Halwyn, born in the village, and his family were involved in organising this event.

I think I benefited greatly from various events about Cornwall as a teenager, but as I've become older yet still perceived as a younger person within the circles of people who tend get involved in community committees/groups, it's a case of realising if you want something to happen It's down to us that make it happen and create that opportunity for others (Manley, interview 2018).

From the beginning, an important aspect of this community-led event was ownership. The May Tree fair committee explicitly wanted it to be their event, and that the event would take place central to the village. This was in contrast to the St Germans Carnival that had been held on the adjacent Port Eliot Estate until 2010. The latter space belongs to the Earl of St Germans who at the time owned approximately 6,000 acres of SE Cornwall including many buildings in the area (Port Eliot Guide book, 2008). In placing the event in a community space, away from this powerful stakeholder, it offered an alternative

community gathering to the carnival and to the Port Eliot Festival, which also took place on the Estate. The St Germans May Tree organising committee were representative of the Cornish minority, and members were also involved in other social networks in the village. For example the researcher noted from attendance at meetings that members organised children's social groups like the St German's Youth Club, Rainbows (social for young girls), or tended to work in the village (SGMF meetings, 2012-2018). The organising group were predominately residents of the village, in professional or skilled employment, often artists and musicians (OCSI report 2009). One anonymous Cornish interviewee commented that it was all 'very hippy', which conveyed that some of the stakeholders appeared from a distinct group (A7, 2019). The committee welcomed new members to contribute but there was a lack of representation from black or ethnic minorities, which reflected the wider low representation of BME in Cornwall's official culture (DCMS 'Taking Part Survey' 2018) and Cornwall ethnicity of 98.2% white in the Census (2011). The May Tree fair was community-driven and encouraged co-production. For example, local school children were involved and the 'May Tree Tune' was circulated on social media to encourage the community to play along (observation, 2012-2019). The May Tree Tune was also part of the village's heritage as it was adapted from a 10th century Medieval Latin mass dedicated to St. Germans (see Appendix D). The event was therefore driven by grassroots local stakeholders, the wider community were invited to take part, and co-production was integral to this way of doing heritage, all of which created a sense of ownership. The social network of Cornwall's folk musicians, artists and event organisers available in the community, were essential to the success of unofficial heritage processes like St Germans May Tree Fair. This living practice of heritage intrinsically places people as consumers *and* producers of the past, not passive or marginalised (Waterton, 2010; Littler and Naidoo, 2005).

7.1.2 Volunteers and grassroots interest groups/community trusts

People also came together to volunteer their time towards something they connect as heritage, which were not community events. Interviews and questionnaires revealed that this group volunteered their time at a wide range of official heritage sites from mining interests at Carn Brea, to room stewards at NT country houses. They were driven by a personal interest in Cornwall's culture, and were socially interactive, which was important to why it was valued by these stakeholders. Volunteers described why they enjoyed volunteering, and this included sharing stories, coming together and giving something back (QI, 2018; Port Eliot survey, 2018). The house referred to is Port Eliot, a Grade I Listed house and gardens open to the public. There were many examples given in

the questionnaires from participants who volunteered in officially designated heritage sites:

I like talking to visitors and telling them a few things that happened in my time at the house (Q1 25, 2018).

I help in the preservation of an old copper mine that has examples of late 19 and 20th century workings (Q13, 2018).

People who joined specific groups connected in some way to the past also included grassroots interest groups and community trusts. The Federation of the Old Cornwall Society (OCS) is an example of this form of stakeholder - grassroots interest groups. It was founded in the 1920s and has representatives in each Cornish town. They met each week and volunteer to collect/archive aspects of Cornwall's tangible and intangible past. This was socially interactive and project oriented, which affected how it was perceived and hence valued. Interviews with the Liskeard branch members revealed that they were active in choosing the content of their programmes and encouraging donations of collections by local people. Brian of the Liskeard OCS contrasted the active and evolving process of OCS to his volunteer work at a local National Trust property:

I volunteered at Lanhydrock for five years. What happened there was you ran out of stories. There are two great books that have been written, but there's nothing-new happening. Here, we just choose another building and get cracking on (OCS FG, 2018).

Even in the early years the OCS wanted to be seen as a group that included a broad range of stakeholders and not just about experts. The Mayor of Liskeard, Mr Spurey, at the first meeting in 1928 was reported as saying:

He was relieved to find that membership was not confined to experts, but was open to the uninitiated and uninstructed. It not only had its prophets and seers but also welcomed disciples and was not confined to purebred pedigree Cornish men and women because there again it would limit very considerably the membership – lovers of Cornwall (Cornish Times, 1928).

In more recent times the President of the Liskeard OCS reiterated this in an open invitation to take part in a local tradition 'Crying the Neck', saying 'Everyone is welcome to help keep this grand Cornish tradition alive and well in Liskeard' (Cornish Times, June

15th, 2018). An important aspect for stakeholders like the OCS was local ownership without official bodies. Merv Davey (Grand Bard of the Gorsedh) states that the OCS' are 'recording what they and their immediate peers sang and performed' (2011:317).

One member of Carn Brea Mining Society used to work as a consultant geologist in the global mining industry. Now retired, it gave him the chance to 'indulge in local interests' and encourage younger people to become interested. During the interview he showed an engraving of Wheery mine in Penzance, which helped convey his passion for mining:

You can see its most unusual feature in that I can't think of any other mine in the world that was actually mined out under the sea, but the shaft is here and at high tide it was covered by about 10 or 11 ft. of water. ...So this is an extraordinary, technological development (Stonley, interview 2018).

Several grassroots interest groups thrive in Cornwall. Cornish Quest for example, were active in funding and providing educational resources for Cornwall's schools and for all ages to provide information about Cornish history and culture (Cornish Quest website, 2018). Gorsedh Kernow were another example of a Cornish interest group that came together to celebrate Cornish Celtic cultural heritage including story telling, language, literature, dance, art, sport and music (Gorsedh Kernow, 2019). They are related to an ancient Celtic tradition of a gathering of 'Bards' described as:

The honour of Bardship is awarded to people who have given exceptional service to Cornwall by a manifestation of the Celtic spirit or by service to Cornwall, to people who qualify by a high degree of proficiency in the Cornish language and people of distinction who, in the opinion of the Gorsedh Council, should be received as Bards of Honour (Gorsedh Kernow, 2019).

An interviewee described Gorsedh meetings as 'meeting like-minded people' (Sheaff, interview 2018).

Despite the rhetoric of inclusion, there were some tensions within Cornwall's grassroots heritage organisations over who could take part, in particular involving the ability to join some of the groups. Being a member was not always an open inclusive process and could involve a selection procedure. Bards, for example, were elected by the Gorsedh Council (Sheaff, interview 2018), and Trustees for St Germans Priory were chosen by interview, and members were selected by what professional experience they could offer. This led to a significant cross over of stakeholders in grassroots heritage organisations, who were also professionally involved in Cornwall's official heritage, for example those active in

Gorsedh Kernow, St Piran's Trust and Heartlands Trust. The stakeholders involved in decision-making in Cornwall's community-driven heritage could therefore be limited. According to one interviewee there was an initiative to create an eco-museum in Tavistock that was community-led. The merging of two groups of stakeholders from the community, led to a large group as the Tavistock Trust, which posed problems in decision-making and tensions led to people leaving:

Involving the community may not be any more inclusive as those that shout the loudest get heard [...] problems with decision making led to a small group of decision makers with a narrow view of what they value as heritage (A1, interview 2018).

Heritage-related trusts were led by volunteers from the community, but they could limit who took part. In deploying a selection process, this created a group of participants' chosen for their experience in professional practice, which crossed over with those involved in official heritage in Cornwall. These included influential stakeholders from other organisations, as in the case of the St Germans Priory Trust these included the Church of England (Reed, interview 2019). This highlights that a critical approach is needed to understand power arrangements within unofficial heritage processes, in the same way as official heritage (Harrison, 2018, 2015). In fact, grassroots heritage appeared from this study to be itself a hierarchical process of validation. As noted in other studies, heritage-from-below has its own 'preferred' heritage, defined by a few select grassroots initiatives and driven by particular motives that serve economic or political functions. These tend to reproduce dominant or 'authorised' official discourses (Muzaini and Minca, 2018). In regards the St Germans Priory Trust, motivated by the protection and sustainability of the Grade 1 Listed building, these stakeholders used rhetoric from current UK cultural policy discourses in order to attract public funding: concepts like 'sense of place', 'community reliance', 'wellbeing' and 'bringing a community together' (see Cornwall Culture White Paper 2016).

7.1.3. The invisible stakeholders

Unofficial heritage for many people is a very personal relationship with the past. This is a process that is performed in the home, privately or invisible (Robertson, 2012). This category of stakeholders creates a form of valuation that engenders a personal sense of being and belonging. The research questionnaire distributed to interest groups, volunteers and the wider community showed that all respondents valued 'heritage' and this was

expressed as personal - family, roots, the past, traditions and belonging (QP, I. WC, 2018). This was replicated in interviews and focus groups. Examples of these insights into this personal relationship included the repetition of a family recipe for Trinidadian stuffing at Christmas or playing music that connected with family emigration from Ireland. As one focus group participant pointed out,

So for me, my heritage is nothing to do with the Royals, it's my own heritage
(Lynch, FG May 2018).

This idea of heritage was about their family and where they came from, rather than 'the heritage', which centres on a nation story (Hall, 1999). Stakeholders in this case are not constrained to a geographical place, and this allows a much broader definition of community to encompass an international Cornish diaspora who also had a "stake" in the valuation of Cornish heritage. During the study of the Old Cornwall Society in August 2018, people were visiting Cornwall from the USA and County Durham to see if the OCS could help them trace their Cornish roots. Cornwall's diaspora were driven by a need to connect with their past. This personal pilgrimage to find roots in a search for self-actualisation reflects research by Busby (2012), who found pilgrimage enabled a direct link with Cornwall ancestry or indirect link connected to Cornwall's Celtic spirit of place. This wider construction of community reflects the concept of Cornishness, introduced in chapter six, and used by the Cornish Minority Working Group to promote Cornish as those who were born, live in or love Cornwall (podcast CMWG September 2018). In the study questionnaire, those who self identified as Cornish were 33% (QP), 38% (QI,) and 22.7% (QWC,). But those that identified Cornwall as 'home' were respectively, 86.7%, 88.5% and 81.8%. The notion of 'home' is thus a wider construct, seen by Bell (1997) as a meaningful space that we experience and assign belonging and ownership, a phenomenological relationship between self and the world (Bender et al, 1997) that can align with more inclusive ideas of heritage.

'Kernow in the City' events also used social media to help bring together a broad range of people connected to Cornwall:

Goel Pyran Lowen! If you're in central London today and your Cornishness is overflowing, then there will a loose gathering of the Cornish clans tonight upstairs at the Sun Tavern in 66 Long Acre. Dewgh ha kana! Come and sing! Gathering from 6.30, a shout at 9pm (Facebook, 2019).

This broader concept of Cornishness, and who might have a stake in it, was voiced in the performances of 'Kernow King' (2018), a Cornish comedian, Bard of Gorsedh Kernow

and a member of the CMWG. He performed at festivals in Cornwall, ‘Kernow in the City’ and in the film ‘Bait’ (2019). His narrative also reflected this wider more inclusive concept as Cornish by marriage, love of the place or the wider Celtic family (Welsh, Irish, Scottish or Breton, Kernow). Fostering connection with the wider Pan Celtic family were important. Gorsedh Bard Rod Sheaff reflected on this wider relationship:

The UK Government is mostly indifferent or passively hostile to non-English culture, so the Celtic acts as a bigger cover of force (interview, 2018).

This introduces another category of stakeholder, people who identity as a ‘Celt.’

7.1.4 People who self-identify as ‘Celt’

Individuals and groups in Cornwall self identify as Celt. The recognition of the Cornish as a national minority by the Council of Europe placed them alongside Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Brittany as Celtic places and people. Creative artists helped to revive and continue this relationship with Cornwall’s Celtic heritage. Their performances are part of how they communicate through artistic and musical expressions of heritage, and put on display a creative form of valuing produced through experiences. Musicians like the Cornish band ‘Black Friday’ are an example of Cornish tradition bearers who fused their Celtic heritage, rooted in Cornish and Irish identity, into a contemporary sound. Performances of this heritage in public spaces ranged from local pubs to larger organised events like Port Eliot Festival, and beyond Cornwall, appearing at festivals in Austria (Donauinsel festival), Ireland (Electric Picnic) and France (Madhatters). They described their music as:

High-energy homebrew folk-punk and Celtic tunes and is influenced by their Irish and Cornish roots and their folk heroes (Black Friday, 2019).

The band have more recently created a new formation, ‘Tom O’Reilly and The Swaggers’ which was described by the band as a Celtic green-grass, folk and country:

They weave memory and lore, striking colourful impressions of the verdant Cornish landscape, its surrounding sea and the haunts of both its living and dead (Tom O’Reilly and The Swaggers, 2019).

The new arrangement and performances of heritage in public spaces embraced the dual identity of Cornish heritage as ‘industrial’ and ‘Celt’. From chapter two, the Cornish have a pluralistic and hybrid identity in that Cornwall’s geography has determined both the occupational identity as a miner, but also the wild, rugged ground and ancient stones act as everyday reminder of the Celtic connection. The Swaggers performance of their song (in Cornish) ‘Lugh Glow’ at the Pan Celtic Festival in 2016, represented this fusion of music that reflects a duality of Celtic and Cornish mining heritage but also a merging of traditional and contemporary sounds that promoted an on-going relationship with this heritage. The performance recognised the hard life of the Cornish miner and increased the visibility of the Cornish language. ‘Gwenno’, a musician and singer from Wales with family connections with Cornwall, performed her album, which was entirely in Cornish at Port Eliot Festival in 2018. She proclaimed: ‘I have a passion for the survival of the Cornish language’ (BBC, Oct 2019).

The performance of Cornish through these cultural tools potentially helped raise the visibility of this intangible cultural heritage to a wider audience. Their performances can be seen as a personal need to continue and foster an on-going relationship with their heritage. Continuance however relied on connectivity; the ability of the heritage process to be dynamic and create conditions that allowed its modification so that it was continued or passed on. Darrow (2017) uses the term ‘tradition bearers’ for those who seek new ways to preserve heritage, whilst re-establishing connections between community. Yudice also writes of expressive forms adapting and thriving as a ‘rearticulation of tradition’ (1992:18). Merv Davey, Grand Bard of Gorsedh and Director of ‘Ad Nos’, a Cornish folk music collective, was an example of a stakeholder who helped organise ‘Lowender Perrin’ an annual festival in Newquay. Their website described this festival as ‘celebrating Cornwall’s cultural heritage and its Celtic connections’ and encouraged recognition of Cornwall’s Celtic living traditions using the words ‘roots’, and called it a ‘first step to recognising and respecting other cultures’ (LP, website 2018). In another example, Helen Manley and Tom O’Reilly (from St Germans May Tree Fair and Tom O’Reilly and the Swaggers band) represented Cornwall at a Pan Celtic music festival in Carlow, Ireland April 2016. Making connections here in a modern diaspora was a process of (re) mapping the space at transnational level (Ashley et al, 2013). This alternative space can be seen as allowing negotiation of identity, plurality and being heard or valued as part of a democratic process of producing self (Ashley and Frank, 2016).

7.1.5 Stakeholders who fund unofficial heritage

Funding is important to all stakeholders involved in grassroots heritage, which attracts little support or recognition by official mechanisms (Robertson, 2012). Lord Bourne announced in 2018 that the UK Government would not fund intangible heritage but would leave it as an interest within communities (DCMS, 2018). In Cornwall, this resulted in a cessation of funding for the Cornish language by Central Government (Opinion, 2017). Lack of funds and reliance on volunteers had impacts on sustainability as people struggled to find time and energy to take part:

I find what I do frustrating because we are making little headway in our project to keep an ancient church, reputed to be the first cathedral, open as a church and to extend its use concurrent for community... this was well supported in local petitions when the church was to close. The signatories failed then to offer help (Q I 21, 2018).

The performance of Cornwall's intangible cultural heritage relied on personal funding and on volunteers, goodwill and social networks to organise heritage events. The St Germans May Tree Fair committee, from the beginning, decided they did not want to rely on external income as this could create tensions between artists, therefore all of those involved would be unpaid volunteers. There were elements of event infrastructure however that needed resources including road closures, event licences, and insurance. St Germans May Tree Fair found support for these elements from various sources including pub quizzes, Port Eliot Festival and local supermarkets like Waitrose through their initiative to support and fund community projects (Manley, interview 2019).

Funding for the creative elements of community festivals saw new initiatives including a 'Festival Enhancement' grant of up to £1,000 by FEAST (an ACE funded position based in Cornwall) and the Cornwall Community Foundation Partnership, which was open to members of Cornwall Festivals Network (FEAST, 2018). Providing public funding for community heritage events can however create tensions over ownership and accountability (Manley, interview 2019). Official processes tended to change the feel of an event from a community base to a commercial festival framework. For example, Penzance's Golowan Festival revived in 1991, sponsored by ACE and a National Lottery Community Fund, was a weeklong event with traders. This formal funding had implications on how the event was evaluated (A3 interview, 2018). For example, ACE funding required a post event evaluation, filled in by audiences, which was used to justify spending public money. This shaped events to reflect current cultural policy objectives.

Traders also contributed to funding the festival and paid for an area within the site. For them, the success of this event and how it was valued relied on organisers attracting audiences to provide them an economic benefit. Funding for ICH in the UK continues to be framed within ACE and National Lottery Funding.

In summary this section has explored the stakeholders in unofficial heritage in Cornwall. This included those people and groups who had a personal relationship with something connected to past that filled a need in the present day. This was the very personal way of doing heritage as a sense of inheritance that created memories: a personal signification and valuing. Some people chose to come together and engage with the past in their spare time in many grassroots interest groups, societies and trusts. Stakeholders also included those who organised, participated or engaged as an audience in Cornwall's many festivals (ancient and revived). Some of these performed their heritage as artists and musicians, and this included expression as a Cornish Celt. These were stakeholders that valued heritage as an interest and passion, and for social interaction. There was sometimes a merging of stakeholders between unofficial and official heritage. People volunteered at official heritage sites. Members of the grassroots groups were often professionals in heritage or culture in Cornwall. Further, some of these stakeholders, for example Gorsedh Kernow, were involved as volunteers in the Cornish Minority Working Group set up by Cornwall Council. A diversity of stakeholders had an unofficial relationship with heritage in Cornwall and this created a multiplicity of valuations.

7.2 What is driving Cornwall's unofficial heritage?

Heritage can be seen as a relationship between humans, with something associated with the past – an idea, object, place or practice. As with all relationships, there is a perceived need or drive to continue this connection. These are the 'motivations' investigated here. The section also explores for what purpose this heritage process was activated and reproduced (Muzaini and Minca, 2018). From chapter six, Cornwall's official heritage was driven by a desire to protect and take care of the built environment, as well as a particular version of the Cornish cultural identity. Normalising views of value, instrumental and intrinsic, were brought together in relation to these authorised heritage discourses. Increasingly, heritage is seen as a living cultural process with transient values, viewed in this chapter as 'unofficial' heritage (Smith and Campbell, 2018, Harvey, 2001), through which people communicate their knowledge and attitudes about life (Geertz, 1973). This idea of heritage as an everyday cultural process that creates a significance or value as it is perpetuated and passed down or inherited emerged as an important factor in

the case study of Cornwall. The sections below examine three underlying motivations for people's unofficial engagements with the past as heritage: a need for continuance, a desire to come together socially and in revelry, and strategically as a tool for social visibility and subversion.

7.2.1 A need for continuance

The ability to maintain a relationship with the past appears to be a core motivation that drives official *and* unofficial heritage in Cornwall. The language used in these two heritage processes were however different. Official heritage emphasised safeguarding and conservation of something from the past that had intrinsic value. In contrast unofficial heritage emphasised the past as a living process and this created an active concept of valuing rather than a static value. In exploring what drives Cornwall's unofficial heritage, results of the questionnaire (2018) that was circulated among grassroots interest groups and the wider community (not involved professionally in heritage), with seventy-three responses, showed that certain words were reiterated that conveyed this idea:

Something handed down (P12); For passing on (18); Heritage is on going - we learn from the past we enact it and we provide for future generations (15); It is what we value enough to pass onto the next generation, (18); It's passing on traditions and keeping the story alive (WC22).

The emphasis in unofficial heritage was on heritage as a legacy for the next generation, but in terms of a familial concept and connected with a sense of being, more so than conservation of a building. Respondents illustrated this as:

Remembering my roots/family; A sense of belonging; Makes me belong somehow; Family background (QWC, 2018).

The terms or language used to locate this idea of heritage as something passed on or handed down as familial was similar yet different from Cornwall's authorised heritage discourse (Smith and Campbell, 2018). Cornwall's official designation as a WHS described a legacy for the next generation but also reflected the ethos of preservation of an intrinsic resource by the State Party (UK), which placed a duty of care on safeguarding tangible resources in conservation and protection for future generations (DCMS/CWDML, 2006:iii).

Some of Cornwall's grassroots groups used similar rhetoric to the AHD and referred directly to protection, preservation and promotion. The Federation of the Old Cornwall Society (OCS) aims, for example, were about preservation and enhancement:

To foster and improve Cornish culture and preserve and increase our knowledge of all things, tending to enhance our interest in the environment and our legitimate pride of our distinctive Cornish characters (Pascoe, 1928).

The OCS in present day were still motivated to collect, save and archive. This included Cornwall's tangible heritage, for example the built environment in Cornish towns like Liskeard and ancient wells, however OCS were also concerned about Cornwall's ICH (language, traditions, dialect) and ephemeral terms of spirituality:

Collect and maintain all those ancient things that make the spirit of Cornwall, its traditions, its old words and ways, and what remains to it of its Celtic language and nationality (OCS, 2018)

The motto of the federation, is *Cuntelleugh an brewyon ues gesys na vo kellys travydh*, which translates into *Gather ye the fragments that are left, that nothing be lost*. (Liskeard OCS, 2018). The need to collect and save the past was seen as an organic process, one that was driven by the OCS members.

It's the Cornish and their passion and their history that really gets me, you know, that's wonderful. Wherever I have been I have not known another county that has been so passionate about their history...bringing it to life.... saving it...and the new things keep coming up that you can add to it which is what I like (Jackie, FG August, 2018).

This was not a national official heritage but one driven with passion by local, unofficial stakeholders and volunteers (OCS, 2018). These findings reflect those of Alan Kent (2018) who writes 'the Old Cornwall Societies are hugely important groups working effectively as guardians of local culture needs around Cornwall' (2018: 2).

The OCS is an example of Cornwall's communities who perceived a need to save and continue certain ideas of heritage as a legacy for the future, but some were concerned over their future as a group, in particular the perception of their society as being 'old'. Pauline from the Liskeard branch admitted she only got interested in her fifties and they had very few young members:

The heading 'Old' Cornwall is not much help to us. Across the county the OCS is dwindling away...I think a lot people think they have to be Cornish to join it (Pauline, FG August 2018).

This perception of the OCS as old fashioned was a threat to the continuance of this form of heritage engagement (and hence it being valued by new generations). These concerns for the future led the group to try to increase involvement of younger people in projects. For example, 'Liskeard Unlocked' was an initiative where volunteers from the OCS and Liskeard Museum collaborated with local sea cadets at Pendeen and Trewithen in oral history projects. An essential element of unofficial heritage was its ability to be dynamic and allow adaption and change, to increase the likelihood of the traditions being continued or passed on. The action of doing things connected to the past was what constitutes 'heritage' here, and its active passing on was important. Venetia Lynch, for example, used her traditional family recipe for stuffing each year, which connected her to her Trinidadian roots, and her fusion of tradition with contemporary needs have allowed the practice to continue:

My grandmother had a Trinidadian stuffing used each year for stuffing the turkey and I have the original recipe. I have adapted it slightly as I wanted it to be less fatty. My sister uses it, her son loves it and uses it - but my son who is a chef is not so interested (Lynch, FG May 2018).

Heritage for her was an adaptation to suit present needs, but she was also concerned that this recipe would not be used by the next generation – but as this stuffing embodied her 'heritage', its passing on was important to her.

The ability for unofficial heritage to be dynamic was critical as motivations to perform heritage varies according to the perceived need of individuals or groups. Individuals and communities decided to continue, increase the frequency or even discontinue performances of heritage, however *they* defined it, and importantly, official safeguarding and protection did not determine this process. Cornwall's festive traditions for example have always been performed in a cyclic way, valued as needed by a community. Some have continued, some died out and been revived and others have been reinvented (Kent, 2018). The St Germans May Tree Fair is an example of a revived tradition, in that the community at different times did not perform it:

Church records show that a May fair took place in St. Germans as early as 1284 when the priory held a fair day on the feast of St. Germanus...St. Germans fair was mentioned in a rental to Landrake Manor 1652, it described an annual fair on the last Thursday of May and also said that the fair then did not happen under Cromwell's government. The fair was restored after Cromwell's rule. In 1890 Courtney wrote about the May Fair but with a re-collective perspective indicating the decline of some of the traditions. There are mixed reports about the final year but it appears to have ceased somewhere between 1947-1956 (Manley, interview 2018).

The community revived the St Germans May Tree Fair in 2012, which coincided with the loss of the annual community carnival at the adjacent Port Eliot Estate (May Tree committee, 2012). The motivations for choosing this event rooted in the past are explored in section 7.2.2. As part of the revival of this tradition some changes were made to accommodate a contemporary community. For example it is no longer the May Fair but the May Tree Fair, its background as an agricultural event, with trading of cattle and auction, no longer takes place (Voices of St Germans, 2014). The event however revisited the tradition of decorating houses and wearing greenery, as outlined in section 7.3.

The motivation to continue or stop performing unofficial heritage was personally driven. This depended on whether it was needed more, for example at a time of personal crisis. One such crisis is when people migrate and increased performance of traditions comes from a desire to connect with the past that was left behind. One participant explored their Irish heritage:

In the 1980s we would go to the Irish clubs with our parents and do the ceilidh but when we went back to Ireland on holiday, there was no traditional music being played in our area. There was rock and country music... and the cousins in Newcastle were all still doing Irish dancing but not so much in Ireland (A9, 2018).

In this case, music engendered a sense of self, identity and feelings of belonging. At the same time, the respondent pointed out how this was performed more by those who migrated to the UK, than those who remained in Ireland. A similar pattern was seen by first generation of families who migrated to London from Ghana and Trinidad:

We used to wear headdresses and sing traditional songs in London but when we visited our family in Ghana, they did not do this (A10, 2018).

We can gain a sense of how and why unofficial heritage is valued by examining the performance of heritage in groups who have migrated as they reconstruct ideas of home (Nikielska-Secula, 2019). Berger (1975) for example finds that migrants hold on to something from the past that connects them with their old country and a sense of being. This included tangible traces in their suitcase as photographs or intangible as family recipes or music. In Cornwall, thousands of migrant workers from Portugal and Eastern Europe have worked in meat processing factories and farm work (The Guardian, 2009), for many residents English was not a first language (Wheal Martyn conference, 2017). From 2006 a Bridging Arts Programme in Cornwall ‘I packed this myself’, in collaboration with migrant workers, used the contents of their suitcases as a touring exhibition /community workshops, to act as a catalyst for dialogue (Roberts, report 2007, 2020). These suitcases also revealed the importance of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and included food from their homeland, religious icons, national football shirts and CD’s. Being able to perform or express ICH in Cornwall was important. Sophia Mova outlined how she sang Fado (traditional Portuguese music) and said it was ‘the sound of home’. Also Eduardo and Victor set up a shop selling traditional Portuguese food near Bodmin (The Guardian, 2009), reflecting the importance of traditional food In addition ICH (spirituality) were enacted as churches held services in Polish and Lithuanian (Observation Liskeard, 2017; Roberts report 2007).

More recently, research has shown that first generation immigrants’ heritage is performed in migration differently than in the old country and this includes a fusion of traditional music with more contemporary sounds for the second generation (ICH, 2018). Cornish people themselves became migrants when they moved elsewhere, and they too performed their heritage collectively. Each year as outlined previously around St Piran’s Day Cornish people in London come together to celebrate ‘Kernow in the City’. The event brought together people who were Cornish and lived in London. It also attracted people from Cornwall to take part in the event as artists or audience. This phenomenon happens internationally: Australians celebrate their Cornish roots in annual gatherings in Moonta which includes Cornish dancing, singing and eating a Cornish pasty (*Cornish Times*, 2018). Our understanding of diasporic Cornish draws out how people perceive heritage, and what motivates them to celebrate it. A fundamental motivation for unofficial heritage-making among both diasporic and resident Cornish people, was the desire to continue and pass on cultural traditions. Merv Davey, Grand Bard of Gorsedh Kernow and Cornish folk musician writes ‘the folk phenomenon acts as a vehicle carrying meanings and memories between people and across generations with each adding their own significance and attaching greater or less importance to that inherited from

predecessors' (2011:315). Authors like Crook (2011) and Harvey (2001) describe that heritage is a dynamic process, a flexible concept that is reconceptualised according to need. This research found that Cornishness was a living heritage form that people adapted to modern times and allowed for its performance to stop or even be erased. Some academics would argue that there is not a need to safeguard such living forms using official processes. Individuals and communities have for generations found their own solutions to ensure its continuance (Jacobs, 2014).

7.2.2 Coming together and revelry

Continuance of Cornwall's unofficial forms of heritage was therefore a driving force for why it continued to be performed. This was rooted in a motivation to help people connect with their past and engender a sense of belonging. This was an intangible cultural heritage that included traditions and festivals based on ancient but specific modes of behavior: of convergence (coming together), revelry and subversion in a 'festive form' (Guss, 2000; Kent, 2018) and integral to Turner's concept of ritual and liminality (1969). Cornwall's traditions, in particular its festivals, were an example of a practice that brought the community together to have fun:

It's part of our heritage. It's passed on from generation to generation and its' nice to keep it alive. A lot of them like Padstow Obby Oss and Helston Flora day are peculiar to that area. To give a reason why...I don't know...it's just a good thing to do (Oldham, FG August 2018).

St Germans May Tree Fair was an example of a festive form that took place each year from the thirteenth century, died out in the 20th century, but more recently was revived in SE Cornwall:

There was a Fayre kept yearly within the towne of St Germans upon the last Thursday in Maye (The West Briton, 1859).

Will Halwyn from St Germans revived the fair in 2012, and his motivations were about bringing people together and revelry:

It was a description of the St Germans mock mayor and May celebrations in the book 'Popular Romances of the West of England' that made Will want to do something, simply as he'd found the entry funny and the fact it happened in the village we grew up in motivated him to look up further. Initially Will envisioned

something smaller and more like a group of friends / garden party-type celebration, but after holding an open meeting and finding support from others, there was the real possibility of making it a larger community (Manley, interview 2018).

The revival of this tradition was supported by the community who perceived a need to have the village of St Germans coming together again annually as they once did in the past. This desire reflects Turner's concept of 'spontaneous communitas', in which he describes how 'all cultures recognise the need to set aside certain times and spaces for community creativity and celebration' (1982:11). Such festivals celebrate community values, ideologies, identity and continuity (Getz, 2010). Figure 18 from St Germans May Tree Fair illustrates the carnivalesque atmosphere as people came together and had fun. Richard Laurgharne, who has lived in the village for fourteen years, further explored this:

What's great about it is it's almost like the beginning of summer...it gets everyone together and is a wonderful feeling of relaxation and everybody processing and ending up at the pub and hanging out together (video, May, 2014).



Figure 18. Procession through St Germans, in the May Tree Fair. Photo: Ian Buchanan.

The drive or perceived need for convergence and revelry as a community was seen in other areas of Cornwall. Cornwall has more than 368 festivals each year (Kent, 2018). Festivals range from the well-known Padstow Obby Oss to the lesser-known events in towns and villages. For example The 'Golroos festival' (Festival of Nets) in Perranporth,

takes place each year, with people coming together to perform ICH that included playing Cornish music and a tradition of processing on the beach and being chased by two men with a large net. This was followed by an evening at the Seiners Arms pub with Cornish music and dance (observation, 2018).

Bringing a community together to celebrate through festivals also became part of an authorised heritage discourse in Cornwall, motivated by socio-economic valuations of the events (Cornwall's Culture White Paper, 2016). Aspects of Cornwall's intangible cultural heritage - songs, stories, dances and traditions - were also linked to wellbeing thus a topic for social policy. Wootten and Eerstman's (2018) cultural tourism project described Cornwall's ICH as the 'overlooked powerhouse of culture'. The study emphasised the socio-economic value of Cornwall's ICH, as a vehicle for community wellbeing and as a 'leading, year-round destination for arts and heritage'. A similar authorised discourse was also found in the charity Cornish Culture Association, which organised eight events each year based on the traditional Cornish calendar, and stated:

Cornish culture is the best way to bring the Cornish community together regardless of ethnic origin, political beliefs, gender or any other factor. This makes a community stronger and more capable of dealing with the challenges of the twenty first century (CCA, 2019).

This discourse is familiar in UK cultural policy, where place-making schemes use the term 'community resilience', and link specifically as a 'strategic, long-term vision around the tourism and skills needed for Cornwall' (British Academy, 2016: 12). The recognition by official sectors of the value of intangible and unofficial heritage practices, has however been viewed tentatively. Smith and Campbell (2017) argue there is a misrecognition of intangible values which are subsumed into official heritage discourses. Muzaini and MInca (2018) highlight a need to question who is driving heritage-from-below. There are further concerns outlined by academics in the literature review section 3.2.2, related to Wallach-Scott's concept 'fetishizing of tradition'.

In summary, the motivation to bring a community together and celebrate was an important factor that drove unofficial heritage practices in Cornwall. This was enacted in an ancient festive form of convergence and revelry, a connection with the past that was still needed in contemporary communities. Bringing a community together to celebrate cultural heritage and identity through performance, was much more than an economic value, it put on display the values of that group. Quinn argues that 'festivals are more

than an industry and are a socially sustaining device extending beyond tourism' (2006:288). She adds they are a way that a community actively reproduces shared values and beliefs systems, and that cultural meanings are intentionally produced to be read by the outside world.

7.2.3 Strategic visibility: subversion from the everyday to social action

In Cornwall, the value behind a performance of heritage in public was not only about coming together and revelry, it was about enacting at some level, subversion. Heritage is a relationship with something connected to the past that can provide a temporary subversion from everyday life, but can also be mobilised strategically to increase visibility and enact change. Subversion can be along a continuum from a temporary change from everyday routine to a need for social action. The villages and towns through Cornwall through many practices, such as music and literature, enacted subversion of the everyday but in this study, the focus was on the many festivals in Cornwall (ancient, revived and re-invented). The spatial and temporary interruption of social order created by festivals reflected Foucault's concept of heterotopia where value lies in creating multiple transformational spaces (Quinn and Wilks, 2017). Foucault (1986) refers to heterotopic sites within cultures as 'counter-sites' that offer simultaneously space for contestation and representation. Turner (1982) in looking at the liminality of ritual practice also describes such sites as alternative more liberated inclusive ways to be socially as humans. Both concepts of liminality and counter-sites help us understand how ancient rituals and practices can create space for subversion and negotiation. These hetero spaces reflect Bakhtin's (1968) carnivalesque, a temporary release from the everyday and a subversion of social order performed through practices in such spaces.

Festivals have the ability to temporarily invert social order and this was observed at the St Germans May Tree Fair in 2018. This played out through the tradition of an election of a 'Mock Mayor', which satirised civic pomp. The community chose the Mock Mayor on the Saturday night in the Eliot Arms pub, before the procession on Sunday. Subversion of the everyday was not only integral to this contemporary heritage process but it was also described in the records of this tradition (see Appendix D). Subversion was also performed during the May Tree procession, which went through the centre of the village, enacting the communities' ownership of space. Walking through the village was regarded as poignantly distinct from crossing the adjacent Port Eliot Estate owned and managed by the Earl of St Germans and Port Eliot Trustees (May Tree Fair, 2012). Helen Manley, founding committee member and musician writes 'the procession symbolises the

community's claim to jurisdiction over the village through the dominance of the music and presence of their own mayor' (2019:45). This subversion enacted in the St Germans fair created an inverted image of the normal world, pushed aside hierarchies (Bahtkin, 1968) and created a third space of informal public socialising (Oldenburg, 1991). Bahtkin outlines how calendar carnivals have a long provenance, dating back to the medieval period, seen in the parish and manorial feast days, adding that festive forms are not just fleeting or meaningless, they shift the way history is told. This subversion within festivals was, however, only a temporary release from the everyday, and organisers needed to be complicit with authority (Quinn and Wilks, 2017). The May Tree Fair event, and the road closure, for example, was authorised by Cornwall Council and needed a Temporary Events Notice. But the subversion or temporary deviation from social norms that was enacted was desired by the village to connect with the past (ancient rituals and practices), and to perform an important social role, and this is why this heritage was still valued. This practice from the past demonstrated a need for freedom from structured spaces.

Frank and Stevens (2007) describe how the suspension of everyday functions produces 'loose space', whether permanent (as in ruins) or temporary (as in events). These spaces arise from the unfolding of social encounters in public, and the virtues of loose space are 'possibility, diversity and disorder' (2007:17). Loose space is characterised by the absence of the determinacy, in contrast to tight public space, valued for their homogeneity and order. The festive or public display of Cornish traditions described here were examples of 'loose' heritage space, with layering of structured and unstructured spaces. Trevithick Day is an example of this grassroots reinvented tradition and loose space. The heritage event was organised and funded by the Camborne community and celebrated the ingenuity of Richard Trevithick a well-known Cornish mining engineer who invented the steam engine. From observation in 2018, the event attracted large crowds from all ages and a carnivalesque atmosphere with bands playing, trader stalls and fair ground music. The shops and cafés were brimming. The event included dancing by local children as Bal Maidens, and later in the day adults showed their traditional Cornish Scoot dancing accompanied by the Camborne brass band and a variety of steam engines being driven along the main road through the town shopping centre. The 'Ad Nos' stage performed Cornish folk music and Scoot dancing. Alongside this social event, there were also representations by Cornwall's heritage interest groups: the trader stalls turned into information stalls run by the heritage interest group Cornish Quest and the 'Cornish Embassy Bus' described in chapter six.

The performative nature and loose form of this festival created a space for subversion, but also the calling for social action and increased awareness of Cornish culture and

recognition might be seen as a more political heritage 'movement'. Trevithick Day was a celebration, a temporary change from everyday life, but also included a push for social action driven by grassroots Cornish heritage interest groups. The 'publicness' of this festival and other events was an important aspect of this subversion. An increased expression of intangible cultural heritage in public spaces including Cornish scoot dancing and speaking Cornish was observed. The performance of heritage in public was about (re) claiming space (Ashley, 2016). The body movement in Cornish dancing in particular has been used to create space for subversion, confirming the work by Noxolo (2015) who also found the performance of dance embedded within European public places proclaimed the rights of marginalised bodies, in his case African-Caribbean.

Unofficial expressions of heritage were also used as a dramatic vehicle that helped to reconstitute the community in a time of crisis. Some people described Cornwall as being at a crisis or crossroads - at a point at which crucial decisions had to be made. This crisis was generated through major socio-economic changes. These imposed changes to Cornwall's culture largely by 'outsiders' through tourism, and through contemporary regeneration and cultural policies from central Government (Deacon et al, 1987). From chapter two, the Cornish have been seen as geographically and politically peripheral, located as outsiders in UK decision-making. The threat from outsiders resulted in a grassroots movement from within Cornwall that called for social action, including increasing visibility of Cornishness through mobilisation of heritage. Gorsedh Kernow is part of this heritage movement in Cornwall and used a variety of strategies and networks that made them an influential player in heritage debates. They crossed over from unofficial activities (Gorsedh meetings and the annual Esedhvos Festival) to being one of the main groups in Cornwall that spearheaded the push for political recognition of the Cornish minority. This subtly subversive process by groups drew unofficial Cornish heritage into the mainstream and was integral to others including The Federation of the Old Cornwall Society and Cornish Quest. These groups appeared motivated to increase the visibility of the Cornish heritage within Cornwall and this included centralisation of their language and narrative in the presentation of official heritage, as discussed in chapter six. Importantly this heritage movement by grassroots groups was in interaction with state and quasi-state groups. They sought to counterbalance central or state government-led processes as simultaneously the insider and the outsider.

We have seen in this section that the drive for increased visibility was a core motivation that contributed to how Cornwall's unofficial heritage was valorised. Cornwall's unofficial heritage was also collected and performed by grassroots interest groups to justify being different or unique. Difference can be a positive recognition of a culture as

unique and convey a multiple of narratives of local people and their valuation of ordinary places. But the desire for uniqueness or difference can also mean a closing off of plurality. When the study questionnaire asked, ‘What do you think is meant by a national minority?’ this was viewed as:

Group of people with a distinct cultural identity (QP1, 2018); Pride in identity and about the area from which they originate (QP5, 2018); Important recognition and I support the idea of devolved power to Cornwall (Q I, 20); Cornish have a distinct culture and identity, people identify themselves as ‘Cornish’ and that this has a cultural as well as geographical significance (QI, 2 2018); Protection of a group of people, a way of life, culture language and values (QP5, 2018).

Other responses in the questionnaire used words and phrases that included ‘distinct culture’, ‘language’ ‘identity’ and ‘recognition of uniqueness’. This idea of a national minority related to ideas of heritage as identity and created space for recognition of difference and plurality of values.

Although recognition of a plurality of heritages is a welcome shift from a homogenic and essentialising debates, (Tilley, 2006), Harrison highlights that the ‘relationship between diversity and heritage need to be managed carefully’ (2013:164). He argues there are potential dangers from the terms ‘an unholy trilogy of heritage, threat and the perception of difference’. This includes heritage and difference as justification of discrimination or violence against ‘others’ who are perceived as a threat and adds, ‘a notion of difference as inherent and inherited is almost always the basis for racism, conflict and prejudice’ (2013:165). Difference can be exclusionary for those who are perceived as not belonging to the ‘group’ (outsiders). Those who belong, see themselves as an ‘insider’. One respondent to the study questionnaire reflected these concerns expressed in regards a national minority:

I have mixed feelings, as I am not Cornish, I have been a ‘victim’ of other national minorities who do not like English people (QWC1).

In this case the person saw themselves as an ‘outsider’ to a national minority and this had led to uncomfortable feelings as a ‘victim’. This process of being an outsider to a group was illustrated when member of a Cornish interest group, referred to a representative from a BME group:

I don’t know what she is doing here she is not one of us (A11, 2017).

The term ‘not one of us’ can be seen as an exclusionary statement based on accent, class, ethnicity or other factors.

Respondents to the questionnaire also voiced that being a national minority was protection from a perceived threat from ‘outsiders’:

It is a protection against the flood of incomers who wish to ignore our language our music and heritage (QI, 5, 2018).

In this case the ‘outsiders’ were the incomers who were not born in Cornwall or England. The term ‘flood of incomers’ conveyed negatively that someone was different. The word ‘ignored’ however connects with peripheralisation in decision-making and a lack of recognition of issues that contributed to the idea of Cornwall being in a crisis (Deacon et al, 1988). Cornwall in this context perceived itself as an ‘outsider’ to decision-making by the UK Government (insiders). The research from chapter six demonstrated that there was a desire for increased recognition for Cornwall and this resulted in the Cornish minority status recognised and a push for representation on government records, including the UK Census. Importantly what drove ‘heritage’, when linked to a need for increased visibility, was recognition of difference and uniqueness in relation to the wider UK. Difference and diversity, which increases visibility and recognition of a plurality of values, did not necessarily result in a shift towards negotiation and respect of *all* cultures. There was a need to uncouple heritage from the preserving of community relics from the past and from the idea of threat, which may lead to exclusion, or violence of those who are different. Heritage, difference and diversity then becomes not *inherent* or *inevitable* through unofficial practices, rather a series of qualities, which must be ‘constantly chosen, recreated and renegotiated in the present’ (Harrison, 2013:165).

In summary, this section explored the motivations that drove unofficial perceptions and performances of heritage in Cornwall. There was a perceived need for continuance of this relationship with the past as something handed down which reaffirmed a sense of being and was related to a family or roots. This relationship was however changeable and performed differently according to the present-day need by the person or group. This active culturally specific form was an alternative to official motivations to conserve heritage as a legacy. Unofficial legacy included things or practices like grandmother’s violin or a family recipe for stuffing, which engendered a sense of being. This idea of heritage included a relationship with practices that were performed in public spaces and included Cornish ICH like the ancient and revived festivals, which tapped into a need to

come together, have fun and temporality subvert normal life. The festive form of convergence, revelry and subversion were valued as process for strategically increasing visibility of Cornish culture, and site for social action.

7.3 What is communicated as unofficial heritage?

Heritage is a discursive practice and what people communicate through narratives, stories and discourse is important. Exploration of the content of these stories provides insight into what aspect of the past is considered significant and why at this moment in time, is of value. Unofficial heritage stories however are not a professional account of the past. Robertson describes them as the ‘narratives from within the lives and thoughts of those otherwise hidden from history’ (2012:10). Accessing these often hidden personal stories can be a challenge, but they provide insight into what may have been omitted by official heritage, and provides a more layered account that may compliment or unsettle authorised versions of heritage. Unofficial ideas of heritage often construct a story around intangible associations that are familial, personal and geographical (Smith and Campbell, 2018) and this can occur in various random incidents of narratives that create a sense of belonging (Hall, 1999). Within this study, this personal construction of what was narrated and valued as heritage employed key words and phrases in the questionnaire such as belonging, tradition, roots, history, the past, and family:

My personal family history and Cornish mining – the artefacts, songs, and family history (I1); A feeling and spiritual pride...what we want to inherit (I5); It makes me belong somehow (WC2); Remembering my roots and family (WC1); cherished history (WC19); Passing on traditions and keeping them alive (WC22).

Particular stories emphasised the primary relationship between land and human as integral to the concept of heritage, providing the narrators a sense of identity, memory and place. This conveyed the value of an everyday relationship with the past enacted by living and being embodied in the mining landscape:

That place to which you belong and makes you what you are (QWC 21, 2018).

I live in a land that is close to my heart and spirit. I need to help the spirit of Cornwall progress into the future. Nothing is past; it is on-going (QI 5, 2018).

North of Liskeard, on Bodmin Moor, is the ex-mining area of Minions. Living in this mining landscape was seen as an everyday reminder of heritage, in particular the lumps and bumps made by the miners that constructed parts of this landscape were important. This was a significant space that imbued a sense of inheritance for people in Cornwall (Interview BBC Radio 4, 2016). A shop owner in Liskeard described how she could go up to the moors and see the areas where her ancestors once mined. This connected her to her family as far back as the sixteenth century when mining was not a deep process (Skipper, interview, 2016/2017). An important content in this heritage story was 'embedding the body in landscape' (Wylie, 2005:240). This connection by the community who lived in the landscape reflects the concept 'sense of place' with heritage as an embodied process, and a multi-sensory encounter with landscape (Waterton, 2019). This includes the characteristic of landscape as a 'task-scape', an embodied temporal space of activity where human action has woven the past into the surface itself (Ingold, 2000:198).

Cornwall's landscape was a reoccurring content in respondents' valuing of heritage, connected with a person's sense of inheritance and roots, and this motivated them to visit these places. Liskeard's OCS also provided a resource for connecting people with the landscape, providing information and facilitating an on-going relationship and valuing with the past:

We have had people coming in looking into their family history and they have been reduced to tears (OCS FG; observation, 2018).

This personal construction of a story connected to Cornwall's mining landscape can be seen as a 'more than representational' aspect of the cultural landscape (Lorimer, 2005, 2008). This was the personal and affective construction of heritage as a fundamental aspect of being, enacted within the geographical landscape.

Heritage in this form emphasises a personal relationship or attachment with select objects, places or practices that connect somehow with the past (Harrison, 2013). Professional or authorised heritage narratives did not shape what was communicated as significant in this personal construction of heritage narrative.

There is something about the stories we tell about ourselves - the past and where we have come from, both individually and in terms of communities (A3, interview 2018).

During the study of Cornwall, tangible symbols were used in focus group to provide a gateway to express personal family stories. Most narratives conveyed a sense of inheritance, identity or belonging (FG, May, 2018). Venetia Lynch chose a family Trinidadian stuffing recipe to represent her heritage and this created a gateway to tell her story:

I think of my own heritage not of Royals and it dates back a long way.

The family recipe for Trinidadian stuffing also helped her to recall her West Indies family story of mixed race, one she is very proud of:

I knew there was black in our family – Andrea was cut off and grandma said it was not a scandal about someone black. It was worse she married a poor white...what a ridiculous thing to say. But Andrea's children are still in Trinidad and they will be mixed race.

Another participant in a focus group illustrated how a violin owned by her grandmother was an important part of heritage and helped convey her on-going relationship with a Celtic past:

This is a violin of my Grans I suppose it is an inheritance as I play the violin and I play folk music. She played at the Ceilidh in Ireland. What is special is the fact she held it and played it at the Ceilidh. She met my grandfather at one and he was a really good Irish dancer (A9, FG May, 2018).

The expression of heritage as an inheritance echoed the work of Darrow (2017) who uses the term tradition bearers to describe how items that are passed on can help facilitate or vocalise a story. Key was the value of place and objects as keeper of social memory, involving personal construction of belonging as roots and family, providing an alternative construction of identity to a nation-led authorised heritage discourse (Hewison and Holden, 2004). An emphasis on individual stories then places heritage as a cultural process, where the content is an individual understanding of the world - a 'web of significance' that is spun by the person and no other agent (Geertz, 1973:5).

Cornwall's culture and heritage interest groups like Gorsedh particularly communicated the importance of intangible cultural heritage. From chapter six, this grassroots construction was also voiced as integral to Cornwall's heritage movement and a drive for political recognition (Cornish Minority Report 2011, 2014). Traditions that were passed

down in the family appeared as a reoccurring content in their unofficial narratives. Merv Davey outlined that his Cornish identity was constructed and expressed through folk music and dance. He further explained that this sense of Cornishness had been expressed by five generations of his family and it was a living tradition, in that his children played music at Celtic festivals: *'It is something they just do'* (Davey, 2011; Efdss, 2018).

The Cornish language and its significance reoccurred as content in other personal narratives about heritage. Rod Sheaff, a Gorsedh Bard said:

I am chiefly interested in language, Cornish literature and Cornish social science of the future building. Including distinctive ways that address these things that are interesting or news to us.... I produce publications that recognise the use of the language and support classes and individual, independent organisations that come to us expressing this need (interview 2018).

Mr Pascoe of Liskeard OCS also urged that dialect be preserved, and connected the Cornish mining technical terms that have become used in mining worldwide 'elvan', 'killas', 'mundic', 'sollar', 'sump' and 'shammel' (*Cornish Times*, 4th March 1932). Intangible cultural heritage connected with the past in all of these cases were significant elements in the content of Cornwall's unofficial stories, which helped validate and promote their sense of difference and ownership (Mac Donald, 2013, 2009). The content of this heritage was often connected to historical beliefs or significant moments in the past. Trevithick Day as mentioned earlier, narrated Cornish innovation and local industrial heritage (Trevithick, 2018). St Piran's celebrations told a story connected to Cornwall's Celtic identity:

According to legend, St Piran, the Patron Saint of Cornwall was washed up on the sandy shores of Cornwall at Perranporth beach. Under the order of the Irish King (who was suspicious of Piran's powers.) Piran was cast to sea off the Irish Coast tied to a millstone. Piran decided to build an oratory here in Perranporth to promote Christianity and the story goes that his first disciples were a badger, a fox and a bear! (Perranporth, 2018).

This content reflected ICH told and performed throughout Cornwall and in the global diaspora on St Piran's day, which included Cornish language, and more sensorial elements of dance, music and food.

In connection with the St Germans May Tree Fair, there were various stories connected to the past and they contributed to rituals like wearing greenery and dowsing of people in water if they did not wear an oak leaf. The tale behind this accent on greenery, is outlined by Manley (2019) who refers to J.G. Fraser's (1890) *The Golden Bough: A study of Music and Religion*, as ritual with an obsession with garlands and greenery due to early tree worship. Kent (2018) originally from St Austell in Cornwall, writes of this accent on greenery as 'redolent of an old thought process' that aimed to bring blessings from the tree-spirits. He suggests that the May Fair events refer to 'Oak Apple Day', which was connected to Charles II and a symbolic return to a more festive time after the suppression of festive events during the Cromwellian period. Anyone without an oak leaf was deemed disloyal or spat on. These stories convey a loose format that has emerged over time with little written records.



Figure 19. Will Halwyn who revived the St Germans May Tree Fair in 2012, traditionally wearing oak leaves. Photo; Ian Buchanan

7.4 How unofficial heritage is communicated

Heritage is a cultural process and the ways it is communicated effects how it is perceived and valued. From chapter six, official heritage tends to use methods of dissemination that have a textual bias, framed by professionals providing an instruction on the heritage. This however creates a one-way process, with limited space for negotiation or performativity

(Waterton, 2010). Unofficial heritage modes of transmission are more socially interactive. Intrinsicly this idea of heritage is passed on because individuals or groups (the stakeholders described above) choose to do so and the replication of this heritage, as a sense of inheritance, imbues its social value (Robertson, 2012). Unofficial heritage may be intangible cultural practices, constructed at an individual level as an articulation of identity (Ashworth, 2007). Layers of meaning, values and symbolic meanings tend to be expressed through performance (Turner, 1966). This culturally specific form of value is created through experience (Jones, 2017).

Unofficial heritage in Cornwall has been explored in relation to intangible Celtic expressions, historically celebrated through language, dance, music and folklore as performance. Fundamentally these are socially interactive processes and embodied enactments. This was communicated in the repetition of performances of heritage from traditional foods for family festive events, to public social interaction in Cornwall's annual festive events, to music performance, to Cornish dancing. Within this process community, family and kin were transmitters of heritage in unofficial ways through their expression of ICH. Cathy Bennet, violinist/fiddle player in the Cornish folk band, 'Black Eyed Nancy', explained the importance of social and familial interaction:

My mum is very involved in the Cornish folk scene. Therefore, I have been involved for like my whole life. So, like that Cornish music going on at this folk festival is like normal – It's just what happens all the time. Loads of my friends and people I know are part of this folk music scene. It's like a big family (FG, June 2018).

Another band member Florence Mc Donald added:

I think what is slightly unusual is there are a lot of families and their children who become part of the scene, but if I go to a folk club I am always the youngest person there (FG, June 2018).

This process reflects Bella Dicks' work on south Wales that saw heritage as an intergenerational communicative act, the passing on of family memories and values that activated those on the periphery and produced 'generations of insiders' (2000:155). St Piran's Day at Perranporth also illustrated this interaction. People greeted each other and families had participated each year:

Dad would have loved today – he came here every year (A4, 2018).

The active participation of children in the performance at St Piran's oratory, where they dressed as one of the animals associated with the legend, was a key part of the communicative act. . This pilgrimage was a well-known event where families returned each year. There was no event signage and people knew where to meet and what was expected. Trevithick Day in Camborne, a free event to celebrate the local mining heritage, was also informally organised by the community. People expressed the value of this annual event as a day out for the family and friends getting together (A8, A12 informal chat 2018). Ria Pascoe and John Wakeman outlined how they came each year. Ria attended because she grew up in Camborne and had a family connection to mining, and John, from North Cornwall, was interested in the steam parade (WMN, May, 2008). What was important here in terms of communicative form was that this was a social event with a carnivalesque day of street entertainment including people on stilts, juggling, fairground organ and music stages.

The Liskeard OCS demonstrated the variety of social interaction around heritage that deployed this active, embodied style. The Winter Festival folk dance was noted as:

Great enjoyment, with participation in dancing, singing Cornish song, Cornish recitations and eating pasties (OCS, February 1929).

Social interaction was especially important for the OCS members who came together to record and archive what they saw as valuable. This social value of meeting 'like-minded people' was a positive impact expressed by members of the Gorsedh Kernow (Sheaff, interview, 2018). This way of doing heritage involved being part of a network of social relations and supports what Holtorf describes as a 'new heritage' that is 'neither fixed nor inherent but emerges in dialogue between individuals, communities, practices, places and things' (2015:35).

Cornwall's unofficial heritage was performed in many ways in public spaces, but used processions and festivals as key forms of community heritage expression. This included pilgrimages, which were rooted in Cornwall's ancient rituals. These are explored below as a situated communicative style that is different than institutional fixed, textual forms, based on site research observations in 2018 and online videos. They are an affirmative form that centres the body and this activates other ways of mean-making and layers of signification. In this embodied process, processions deploy bodily movement and senses that provide insight into the layers of mean-making and affective ways of valuing.

At the St Germans May Tree Fair procession, the performance between the participants was dynamic and informal with a multiplicity of interactions and positive relations expressed in movement like dancing around the Maypole, walking together in procession, skipping children, smiling, laughing and waving participants. This non-verbal expression was reflected in verbal expression with key words of ‘fun’ ‘great’ ‘fabulous’, and ‘wonderful’ (video, 2012). This sensorial process included playing music, banging drums, heightened this mode of transmission and a visual carnival-like decoration in the village echoed, in what people chose to wear. Will Halwyn who revived the event said

Coming down from the village everyone was playing. There were sort of kids dancing along the side of it. Simultaneously and that side of it - people not being involved in the running of it, but sort of swept up with everything (WH, interview 2014).

Enacting space in public through experiences in Cornish festive events centred on the body as a site for negotiation and contestation. The embodied processes in Cornwall were aimed at creating a space for multivocality, and (re) creating values to address socio-cultural needs. Important to both the processions and festival practices, the myriad of encounters used symbolic language - gestures and expression that predate language, based on Cornwall’s ancient folklore, and described by Gibbon as a ‘multi-model system’ (2009:11). Within this study, this sensory process explained how people connected with the past, and expressed and defined their heritage in non-verbal ways. Taylor asserts that ‘memory is embodied and sensual...conjured through the senses’ (2003:82). Thrift (2003) terms this affective practice and a ‘felt experience’ that engenders emotions. Heritage studies has increasingly centralised affective and ‘non-representational’ dimensions of heritage experience (Wetheral et al, 2018). Heritage is, as was found in this study, more than what is represented in official discourses, and more about how we feel. Public places like heritage sites can be alternative, affectively situated communicative spaces to express these diverse meanings of culture (Ashley, 2013).

The embodied and performative nature of unofficial heritage was exemplified in the many processions that constituted Cornwall’s ancient and revived festive traditions. These included pilgrimage like those around St Piran’s Day, where people moved through the landscape, visiting sites as an act of community remembrance, spatial identity and celebration. The OCS society recorded a long history of summer pilgrimages to Cornwall’s built heritage including Bocconnoc House, Largin Castle and Restormel Castle (OCS archives, May 24th, 1929). More recently large numbers travelled from all round Cornwall to visit Port Eliot House when it opened to the public in 2008. St Piran’s

Day (the patron saint of tanners) was also enacted in pilgrimages across Cornwall that specifically marked the body of the saint as meaningful. Tintagel and Delabole School made their annual pilgrimage to St Piran's chapel where the Reverend Parson talked about the history of St Piran and Cornish heritage. This was followed by a pasty lunch where parents and grandparents were invited (*Cornwall & Devon Post*, March, 2016). At the Perranporth event, observed in March 2018, people gathered together and walked across the dunes stopping off at tangible remains associated with the Cornish saint. Perranporth is significant to Cornwall as it is the beach where St Piran was washed up on when cast away by an Irish King (Perranporth Information Centre, 2019). St Piran's day was bleak, cold and wet, which heightened the feel of a pilgrimage as something to be endured. Adults and children were drawn to the heightened intensity of the pilgrimage including a poignant performance of laying daffodils at the monument. The day was marked by a profusion of St Piran's flags and Cornish was spoken in the choreographed performances or short plays. Overall, the atmosphere was a positive expression of a Cornish heritage. This included the presence of people from the wider Celtic family. One family had arrived from Brittany and carried the Pan Celtic flag. The day finished with a celebration at the Seiners Arms pub with Cornish music and food. There were some strong representations including one participant who wore a jacket with 'Cornish not English' across his back and another man was silhouetted against the sky, sitting on a horse with the St Piran's flag.

This pilgrimage was essentially an expression of the Cornish identity and a sense of being. It reflected work by Robertson who wrote of pilgrimages as another form of embodied tradition, 'a creative memorialisation and fluid expression of identity that not only challenges official heritage mean making, but moves towards the redolent of heritage from below' (2012:21). The aesthetics of movement as an ambulatory performance of culture also reflects Fitzgerald work on ritualised walks in Ireland where she describes the act of walking as a spatial story, as eloquent as the written or spoken narrative, 'walking allows us to attend what the body writes in space' (2009:90). Interestingly the pilgrimage and procession at Perranporth was described more recently as the 'St Piran's Day march across the dunes' (Cornwall Live, 2019). Here, the embodied process of 'processing' had been replaced with 'a march', which conveys a stronger motion (Morrison, 2009). This may have been influenced by heightened sentiments in Cornwall's push for more political recognition and visibility on the next UK Census outlined previously. An important aspect of this performance of heritage in public space was that it was a mode of communicating that involved active movement, multimodality and expression in a free space, with no formal organisation (McCarthy and Zeld, 1977; Osterreith, 1997). This mode of transmission was not static or fixed, the body is not

contained and instead it was embodied, lively, fleshy, emotive, and open-ended (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). This construction and communication in Cornwall's unofficial heritage processes was a counter narrative to a fixed form found in texts and archives and where 'embodied and performed acts generate, record and transmit knowledge' (Taylor, 2003:21).

Cornish heritage was also expressed in public spaces through many other mediums such as online sites, literature, art, photographs, clothes and murals. For example, there were unofficial and unregulated visual representations in murals. These were observed in the border towns of Saltash and Liskeard in SE Cornwall on the end of pubs, outside shops, by car parks and in the library. They conveyed the importance of a Cornish identity as an industrial Celt and included a Celtic cross, mining buildings, chimneys, steam engines, the St Piran's flag and people wearing Cornish tartan and Gorsedh robes. The newly opened Wetherspoon pub in Liskeard in 2018 was also called 'King Doniert'. The name was chosen by the local community and reflected the on-going significance of ancient Celtic monuments. Saltash, seven miles away, sits on the river Tamar, a geographical border between Cornwall and Plymouth. Its pubs were prominently painted with the Union Jack flag alongside murals, which conveyed a connection with a British heritage - a naval identity and the engineering giant, Isambard Kingdom Brunel who built the adjacent railway bridge. The literal embodiment and expression of the Cornish heritage was also illustrated by the tattoos that people chose to signify on their bodies, which expressed the importance of their Cornish heritage. This included mining, seascapes and the Cornish chough bird. Some of the tattoos also carried the Cornish language in mottoes and canting arms.

In summary Cornwall's unofficial heritage was found to be transmitted through a socially interactive, embodied, and affective modes, an active process of 'doing' heritage, and this shaped how this heritage was perceived and valued. Intrinsically this idea of heritage was interactive and passed on because individual or group stakeholders choose to do so. Unofficial heritage was also communicated in a sensorial process that centred on the body. Performed as an embodied practice, heritage in this sense was a dynamic cultural process of communication that engaged, in the social presence of others, with the act of remembering and valuing.

7.5 What are the impacts on individuals from this heritage-making process?

Unofficial practices of heritage were an affective, embodied enactment that engendered feelings. This had negative and positive impacts on individuals or groups therefore these reflections of feelings became important trajectories of how heritage was valorised. In this study it became clear that feelings were individually consolidated through positive expressions of joy and belonging but also engendered negative emotions from alienation or a lack of connection with intangible, familial heritage. In the case of the May Tree Fair, this annual performance of heritage in public only happened because people collaborated and came together. The social interaction in practising this heritage evoked feelings of joy, relaxation and a sense of belonging, which in the long term contributed to the 'group' cohesiveness or stickiness (Ahmed, 2010). Richard Laugharne, who has lived in the village for fourteen years said:

What's great about it is it's almost like the beginning of summer...it gets everyone together and is a wonderful feeling of relaxation and everybody processing and ending up at the pub and hanging out together (video, May 2014).

This positive impact was also noted in non-verbal expressions in people taking part in the procession through dancing, smiling, waving and this was reflected in verbal expression of 'fun' 'great' 'fabulous', and 'wonderful' (video, 2014; observation, 2012-2019). Cornwall's festivals also created a productive aspect of family bonding. This impact was felt as a homecoming, for example Will Halwyn and Helen Manley lived away from St Germans but came back and joined their family to support this tradition, and were involved in many ways from school workshops, performing in the band, to putting up bunting through the village. This social bond between those taking part was highlighted by members of the 'Black Eyed Nancy' band who performed in venues throughout the year in Cornwall and in wider Celtic gatherings. Florence Mc Donald stated:

I met Nick [the drummer] through 'Celtic Connections' but we all played at different points and I have been in different bands. It depends on who you meet and find that you connect with – even through different genre.

Cathy Bennet agreed that she has made close friends though the folk scene and Josh Simmonds added:

Yeah it's like a close knit community. Something is always going on and that is part of why everyone gets on so well and are close (FG, June 2018)

Positive impacts were linked to actively taking part and accounted for a high rate of volunteering at Cornish events and festivals (Port Eliot Festival, 2017-2019; May Tree Fair, 2018). In connection with the Cornish folk scene, the repetition and simplicity of the sessional music played in pubs, echoes wider a Celtic music tradition, which aims to encourage musicians to participate (music sessions, 2018). The positive impact of taking part in these Cornish festive traditions can be described as an example of *communitas*. This is a social relationship theorised by Turner (1969) that generates (somewhat fleetingly) something communal and shared, richly charged with affects and can be transformative. These interactions described above by Richard Laugharne in connection with St Germans May Tree Fair, is why groups value a social bond - a shared experience and behaviour that is rooted in the past.

Volunteering in heritage making and at heritage sites also had positive impacts. Questionnaire responses by Cornwall's heritage volunteers in unofficial and official heritage spaces included 'meeting people from different backgrounds'; 'communal involvement'; and 'enjoying telling stories or passing on information' (Q, I, 5, 7, 2018), such activities made volunteers feel valued (Port Eliot survey, 2018). The desire for local people to gather around joint projects related to heritage were also seen in grassroots initiatives like the Old Cornwall Society who regularly met and collected/archived local heritage:

I enjoy family history, so it's wonderful to be able to pass on anything that we have got to other people, many of them miles and miles away and you can still feel connected to them (Pauline, FG August 2018).

I took the Loo OCS out onto the moor yesterday, which they and I enjoyed. It's enjoyable piecing together the story but I think the most enjoyable thing for me is passing it on to other people (Oldham, FG August 2018).

This finding on the impact from being part of the Old Cornwall Society echoes work by Beel and Wallace who write of Scottish historical societies as an 'energetic production of community heritage that creates value in a variety of ways, developing connections between land, people and place that are fundamental to what they see as the liveliness of Gaelic culture' (2016:84). They note the positive effect of coming together around something associated with the past, which creates a value in the present. Benefits in

Cornwall were specifically tied into social fellowship and a shared experience of collecting and producing something worthwhile for the community, but also as the volunteers remarked, it was about 'passing on' that information or experience (QI, 2018). Unofficial heritage as a socially interactive process therefore lends itself to positive impacts by bringing people together and having fun. In connection with the replication of Cornwall's heritage by the community in annual festive events including the May Tree Fairs, Trevithick Day, St Piran's Day, these relationships and social practices legitimise cultural bonds and ponderings of belonging. Benefits for volunteers also appear to be connected to a sense of ownership and agency, for example the Liskeard OCS projects were chosen and managed by their group with no official stakeholders (OCS, FG 2018).

Heritage-making, as with all relationships, can produce negative impacts. Passed-on traditions may inadvertently engender negative emotions including alienation or distress. The research demonstrated that unofficial heritage tended to be driven by the local community and was valued as intrinsically socially interactive. It appeared that the impact of this social interaction and how it was valued was situational and was affected by being embedded (or not) in the community. The researcher, taking part in three Cornish traditions during the study, observed this. The first event was the St Germans May Tree Fair. The researcher had been involved in organising the event since its revival. As an active part of the community, this made taking part in the procession socially interactive and affirmed connections, bonding and belonging with people taking part. This heightened intensity or more pleasurable experience from being embedded in the community event, was different to being an observer or tourist in the two other festive events. For example with Trevithick Day in July 2018, the researcher observed the procession alone. This felt uncomfortable, as everyone else seemed to know each other, which increased their social interaction. The third event involved taking part in St Piran's Day Pilgrimage at Perranporth in March 2018. Although this was an enjoyable day out with the family, and participation in the procession was very welcome, it lacked the deeper affect of processing together with friends and family, as felt in the experience of St Germans May Tree procession. Therefore, these events appeared to have different affective dimensions and impacts, from feelings of belonging or alienation. This created diverse forms of valuing produced by these different experiences.

There were some additional undesirable impacts to members of the community not taking part in festive events. During the St Germans May Tree Fair in 2012, road closure, noise and disruption were issues particularly in the first year of the revival, when some of the community were upset that the road through the village was temporarily shut for the Sunday procession. The impact was negated in subsequent years by improved

communication to the residents of the village that this was going to take place each year and its duration. This supports research into rural community festive events by Quinn (2017) who outlines similar negative impacts caused by disruption.

During the study, there were also fears over the impacts on community festivals if official bodies are involved. Participants expressed concerns over ownership when community-driven heritage in Cornwall, including ICH, became linked to official motivations including socio-economic benefits. (Manley, interview 2019; A3, interview 2018). As discussed in section 6.1 it appeared that providing public funding for community heritage events had the potential to change the feel of an event from a community to a commercial festival framework. Festivals traditionally were a way of doing heritage by the community, celebrated by a local people with little input from outside organisations. This idea of heritage became recognised by official heritage organisations and this created debates over the positive and negative impacts from this appropriation and ensuing valuation. Researchers have expressed a variety of concerns over the effects of the UNESCO (2003) *Convention for Safeguarding of ICH* including grassroots heritage practices becoming subject to 'official' valorising processes with a preservation ethos overseeing living heritage (Stefano et al, 2012; Singh, 2014; Foster and Gilman, 2015).

Finally, it was found that in unofficial processes there was potential for unfulfilling outcomes from an emphasis on intangible values including family, inheritance, roots and belonging which engendered feelings of distress. For example, one participant recalled how she was adopted and knew nothing about her birth family or inheritance. From this premise she perceived that this meant she had nothing valuable to contribute to a study on heritage. Interestingly, she went on to describe how she practices Scottish dancing each week and reflected that perhaps this love of dancing, her ginger hair and fair skin may connect her somehow to Scottish roots (A6, informal chat, 2018). These intangible activities created a relationship with a 'heritage' and were important to her as they connected her to a potential past, one that provided a sense of self that was needed in the present. Living in different parts of the world can effect how we express our cultural heritage and this can cause upset termed 'cultural bereavement' (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Migration can pose challenges to wellbeing, affecting connections, as ICH is adapted, lost or new forms created. It can also create tensions over identity in second-generation migrants (Colgar, 2015). As outlined previously, Cornwall had a large migrant workforce and some have chosen to settle with their family (Roberts report, 2007). The inability to perform ICH on an everyday basis however was expressed as upsetting. Susana from Portugal, living near Bodmin, said that she got very upset talking to her father in Portugal and that speaking in her language made her feel far from home. This

was heightened when she could not explain to a doctor in Cornwall that her child was unwell (The Guardian, 2009). Expression of ICH in Cornwall can therefore create affective dimensions that promote belonging and wellbeing, but barriers can also engender feelings of loss and distress depending on a personal situation.

7.6 What does this tells us about valuing?

This chapter explored how people personally register, value and practice heritage. It called attention to the various complex ways that heritage valorisation was performed and the diverse stakeholders involved. It also shifted attention from official processes with homogenous, fixed immutable values to creation of values through experiences. This account illustrates that unofficial heritage took place irrespective of professionals, policy or legislation; it was a personal relationship or attachment to something from the past that had a signification in the present. What was considered heritage varied according to a perceived need. The study demonstrated that this interaction was a cultural process about mean-making with emerging, transient values rather than a fixed entity, and resulted in an active form of valuing. Holtorf describes this as a new heritage that is ‘neither fixed nor inherent but emerges in dialogue between individuals, communities, practices, places and things’ (2015:35). Valorising from this viewing lens, dependant on the cultural context, sees heritage as varied and complex (Bender, 1993; Manney, 2016).

Within this study, exploration of this personal construction of heritage provided insight into what aspect of the past was considered significant and why at this moment in time, it was of value. Stories recruited a sense of the past that enacted various forms of belonging, tradition, roots and family. It appeared that some grassroots groups used a similar rhetoric to an AHD, which aligned with current cultural policy to attract funding for conservation of buildings valued by national heritage bodies like Historic England.

The many festivals rooted in Cornwall’s past were shown to be especially valued, especially as providing social interaction. The social interaction and networks of relationships made this happen and continuance was reinforced by these positive impacts. Importantly in this study, this process was an embodied enactment of heritage constituted from the community who lived in it, an informal practice of heritage, expressed and defined by groups and individuals. In this active process the ‘doing’ by the body was important, and the person or group were not passive but active in valuing. As Thrift (2000) has shown, the active movement of the body creates an affective dimension, which is non-representational and creates feelings of happiness, being and belonging.

This was an active form of valuing from experience and placed people as active agents that made and kept the past. This was seen in plethora of Cornwall's community-led festive events that take place each year. The performative nature within these traditions provided an unstructured heritage-making process and created space for multivocality and the possibility of a plurality of values. This combined with social interaction created significance or social value as it was perpetuated and passed down from one generation to the next. Replication and continuance relies on creating benefits, which are understood by the individual or shared by the group. Heritage was therefore fostered and sustained by the creation of community (Crooke, 2011).

Performing this heritage in public was about change along a continuum from temporary subversion to wider and longer-term social changes and recognition. This included the desire to increase the visibility of Cornwall's intangible culture as it was performed throughout Cornwall and by the broader diaspora on St Piran's Day. Heritage performance could be seen as a conscious lens, mapping connections between embodiment festive form and social action. The dramatic episodes that manifest were not flat narrative or just textual, but richly contextualized and charged with meaningfulness (Sweeney, 2009). This was a culturally specific form of valuing that emerged through these performances.

Researchers have written that true value of this unofficial heritage is the unravelling, understanding and practice of heritage at a personal level resonating and serving 'the needs of those for whom 'heritage is intended' (Muzaini and Minca, 2018:18). _But they also point out a need to critically look at the hierarchy of power involved in driving (and valuing) some forms of heritage-from-below. Some of these issues were echoed in Cornwall where grassroots groups have restrictions on membership and there were crossovers with representation from professionals in Cornwall's heritage organisations. Arguably anyone can offer their time as a volunteer to something they value, but an increasing crossover of stakeholders from official circles into unofficial heritage groups tended to result in the same voices and values being heard. But this merging of stakeholders also created a heritage movement to increase the visibility of local voices in national and international official heritage decision-making and valorisation.

Chapter 8: The Man Engine Pilgrimage

The previous two chapters discussed findings about how Cornwall's heritage was valorised through official and unofficial processes. In these processes, heritage was seen as a relationship with something connected to the past, driven by a perceived need in the present day. This could be a personal (unofficial) or professional (official) relationship that was maintained due to political, economic, cultural or social values. In exploring this relationship with heritage, as with most relationships, tensions were observed as different stakeholders had different values and some had more power in decision-making. In Cornwall's official or authorised heritage processes, in spite of good intentions and inclusive rhetoric, uneasiness emerged over effective inclusion of different voices in a process that has global, national and local players. These findings reflect general concerns from a critical heritage perspective over democratisation of heritage. Strain also emerged over a lack of recognition and funding for Cornwall's unofficial heritage including community driven intangible cultural heritage. Increasingly Cornwall's authorised forms of heritage are encompassing community significance and ideas of heritage which create a sense of belonging and spiritually. These intangible values however became subsumed within the official processes as a mechanism to find alternative funding to conserve Cornwall's historic built environment. As Smith and Campbell (2018) note, this can be seen as misrecognition of intangible values. The authorised notion of value is not reflective of the social valuing of heritage as a dynamic, embodied cultural form that expresses importance through experience (Jones, 2017). This highlights the need to do research in heritage that captures this fluid process of valuing created through experience and community co-production.

This chapter explores this form of valorisation through the study of a heritage project that took place in Cornwall during 2016, the Man Engine Pilgrimage, which honoured Cornwall's ten-year anniversary as a World Heritage Site officially designated by UNESCO as 'Outstanding Universal Value'. This involved a twelve metre tall mechanical puppet (replicating parts of the mining process) making a pilgrimage across the landscape, visiting old mining sites as an act of community remembrance, spatial identity and celebration. The puppet was named after Michael Loam's original Man Engine as it symbolised ingenuity but also mining hardship. Designed in the nineteenth century, Loam's mechanism helped to bring miners to the surface, replacing a dangerous climb on ladders, hundreds and thousands of feet deep in Cornish mines (Liskeard

Museum, 2018). The Man Engine was however a symbol of community loss- its failure at Levant caused a mining disaster in 1919 when thirty-one men died (NT, 2019).

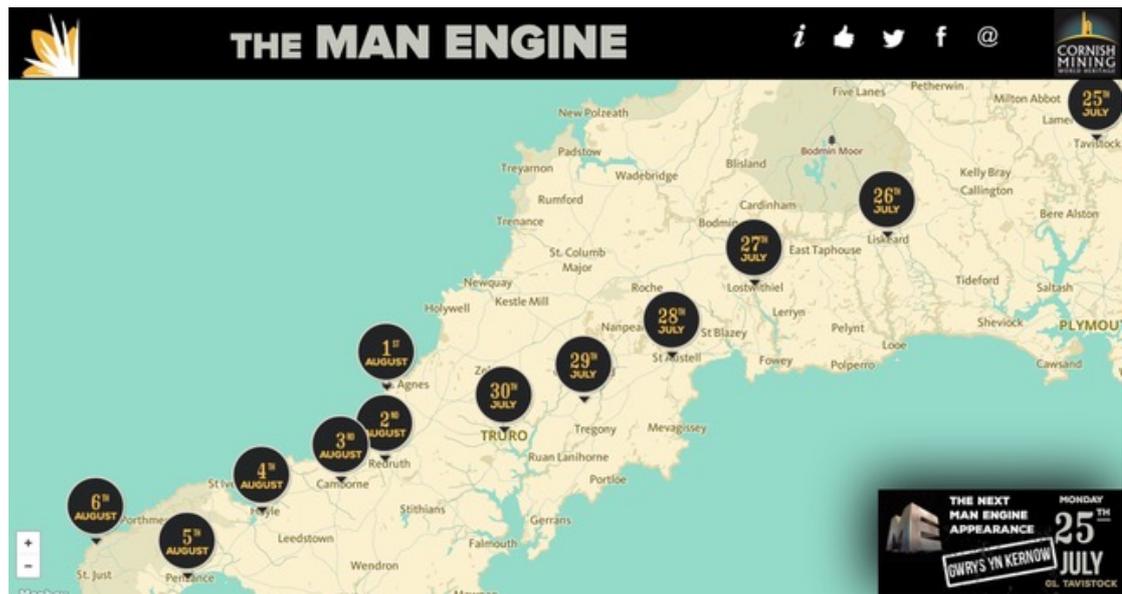


Figure 20. The Man Engine Pilgrimage (2016). Each site had a Man Engine Ceremony to celebrate and honour this mining heritage (image courtesy of Golden Tree Productions).

The Man Engine Pilgrimage was the culmination of a project delivered from January to August 2016, which included a school and community programme. The project was conceived and led by Golden Tree Productions, a collective of Cornish based free-lance cultural producers including Creative Director Will Coleman. It also involved a multidisciplinary team in ‘consultation with CWDWHS and ACE/HLF’ (K2, 2017:2). The total project funding secured was £474,000, with in kind support (volunteer time) of £416,650. The Man Engine puppet attracted a live audience of 149,400 and remote audience of 112 million (Excess Energy, 2017). The project involved 41 Cornish artists and active participation by 2,187 people from Cornwall’s communities including 1,421 school children, volunteers and 326 in community choirs. Several communities also chose a wrap-around event with the main ceremony, which ‘added to a sense of occasion’ (K2, 2017:25). In Liskeard, for example, there was a mining themed heritage trail, community mural and a parade through the town (Brooks, interview 2018). This chapter also makes reference to the Man Engine Resurrection (2018), which involved Golden Tree Productions touring Cornwall once again but also taking it to other ex-mining areas in Wales and England.

Cornwall’s official heritage was framed around an idea of heritage that has immutable values, chosen by certain stakeholders but the wider community were not active agents in this process. The community were however active in the production of unofficial heritage; this was the personal, everyday relationship embodied expression of heritage

often referred to as heritage-from-below (Robertson, 2012). In this chapter the Man Engine Pilgrimage is analysed as a crossover between official and unofficial heritage stakeholders, which promoted the community as active agents in expressing and valuing heritage. Key to this was the connection between official and unofficial processes of value creation. Throughout this chapter the Man Engine is explored as a performative form of heritage, a model that bridged some of the tensions between official and unofficial heritage processes which emerged in chapters six and seven. It is analysed as an in-between heritage practice that sustained a dialogue and relationship between communities and formal heritage institutions, bringing together unofficial and official processes. The Man Engine was a popular heritage event, which as a mode of engagement communicated the WHS official or authorised narrative. However, the performances around the Man Engine also created space for alternative narratives and voices. The Man Engine became a loose space, unstructured and unpredictable, that included the expression of grassroots Cornish minority intangible cultural heritage during these performances. In this sense ‘heritage’ became a dynamic cultural process, an act of remembering which centred on a fluid process of valuing created through experience. Importantly this chapter also acknowledges this heritage-making as a dialogical relationship with the past. The findings reflected research in heritage studies that increasingly recognises that heritage encompasses representational *and* affective or non-representational ways of doing heritage (Howard et al, 2019; Harrison, 2015; Wetherall et al, 2018). Throughout this chapter, representational data sources are discussed alongside the non-representational, exemplified in the sensorial aspects of the Man Engine Pilgrimage and Man Engine Ceremony (a commemoration at each site visited). The Man Engine Pilgrimage is explored as a process that bridged how forms of heritage were used and celebrated through informal *and* formal processes and practices. This chapter argues that in choosing a performative act, a space was created that was intrinsically creative, dynamic, inclusive and promoted co-production with the local community. The findings and discussions are divided into five sections that were analysed as core factors: the stakeholders; the motivations or what drove this heritage process; the content or the story behind this heritage; how heritage was communicated here, and the impacts on people and what this tells us about valorisation. Different sources of data are presented here, including corporate data (like K2’s evaluation), and this study’s questionnaire results, focus groups, interviews, field observations and documents.

8.1 Who were the main stakeholders involved in choosing and valuing?

From chapter six, official global heritage institutions like UNESCO are criticised as bureaucratic, and the stakeholders that can take part in decision-making and active production here are limited to professionals. This essentially creates a hierarchal process where state governments and heritage bodies' values are given more weight with a lack of frameworks that include local voices (Smith, 2006; 2015). Increasingly this exclusiveness of expert and state has been challenged, and instrumentalism of global heritage is now promoting pluralist societies - highlighting a need for new policies and programs (Leiden, 2015). The need for pluralism and inclusion of diverse stakeholders (and their values) has seen a need to shift power in cultural governance from global to local stakeholders. This step towards integrating global and national cultural policy to include social and cultural values, although still Western centric, provides a permeable boundary (Storey, 2012). The Man Engine was analysed as a heritage process with diverse stakeholders, a type of 'hybrid forum' (Callon et al, 2011), which included experts, politicians, and 'lay persons' connecting together. This process unsettled official top-down valuations of heritage and allowed or created space for (re) negotiation and productive management of any uncertainties in heritage-making, rather than ignoring or marginalising any conflicting voices and values. This also reflects Ray's work (2001) on hybrid neo-endogenous models, which focus on dynamic interactions between local areas and the wider political and institutions. Ray speaks of a hybrid model of governance as non-prescriptive, which celebrates interconnections and proactive negotiation. Further, local actors are catalysts for change through a personal and collective capacity. The Man Engine project brought together WHS institutions and cultural organisations, which connected with local actors (free-lance cultural producers and 'lay people') to actively, participate in producing this commemoration. In choosing the Man Engine Pilgrimage, this heritage event created a loose unstructured space and experience that recognised personal emotions. In this way the Man Engine project was a hybrid process, a bridge that connected institutional official spaces and community unofficial spaces.

This section details the bringing-together of stakeholders involved in choosing the Man Engine project, including Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape WHS Partnership (CWDWHS) and the cultural networks in Cornwall based at Krowji, a cultural hub. Other stakeholders included FEAST, who were cultural brokers that connected the community and artists in accessing funding from ACE. FEAST's practice in deploying funding for grassroots community activity was highlighted by ACE as a process that encapsulated a shift to valuing everyday creativity and democratisation of culture (2017:7). FEAST oversaw the commissioning process for the Man Engine and was integral to funding the

community-led productions that ran alongside the official events. Also explored are the key funders of the Man Engine, including Arts Council England, Heritage Lottery Fund and others including Volvo, First Bus and Cornwall Council. Since this process was intrinsically creative and about co-production with the community, those stakeholders who were embedded in Cornwall's communities, external to official organisations, are discussed here. These include the cultural producers Golden Tree Productions who were integral to creating this space, and the creator of the Man Engine Will Coleman. Finally, the stakeholders who really made the Man Engine happen were Cornwall's communities that attended a ceremony or produced their own events that ran alongside the official ceremony.

8.1.1 Cultural governance and who is involved

The Man Engine was commissioned as part of a programme of activities to celebrate the designation of Cornwall and West Devon as a WHS. The stakeholders involved in this commission were professionals from the CWDWHS Partnership. According to Ainsley Cocks, WHS Officer, Cornwall Council Truro:

It was members of the WHS Partnership Board - obviously Deborah Boden the co-ordinator was very much involved in that. She was basically the lead on the project, but we also had individuals from the creative sector. So we were keen to work with the creative sector (interview 2018).

CWDWHS Partnership emerged as dominant stakeholders from Cornwall's official heritage alongside the National Trust, who own and manage the majority of the WHS. Deborah Boden, employed by Cornwall Council as WHS Co-ordinator, led the WHS' Cultural Programme outlined in chapter six. The programme relied on a close working relationship with Cornwall's cultural sector (Cock, interview, 2018) and provided a platform for a greater diversity of stakeholders in an interconnecting web of independent cultural producers. Cornwall Arts Centre Trust (now Creative Kernow) based at a cultural hub in Redruth called Krowji, provided a physical base for many of the cultural producers involved in developing the Man Engine and assisted in this commission and networking:

Cornwall Council Culture team had to keep everything above board and rather than having everything in Cornwall Council, they passed it out to Creative Kernow and FEAST to give a call out. So we ran an open call for artists based

for a funding round based on money put aside for the Tinth anniversary
(Morrison, interview 2018).

The network of local cultural producers in Cornwall were actively involved in choosing the vehicle for celebrating the ten years designation as a WHS. This included Tim Smithies of Carn-to-Cove, Roger Werner from Devon Villages in Action, Rose Barnicoat of FEAST and Ross Williams of 'Creative Kernow' and Director of ACT – Cornwall Arts Centre Trust. (Cocks, interview 2018). Importantly some of them were external to cultural institutions, and embedded in the communities. In addition ACT was described as founded by art activists (Creative Kernow website, 2020). The project was initiated by CWDWHS Partnership but passed the decision-making on to Cornwall's cultural network and cultural producers, which created a hybrid forum (Callon et al, 2011). As discussed earlier, Harrison (2013) refers to a hybrid forum and applies this concept to heritage as a dialogical model. He argues it is a new instrument for heritage decision-making and a form of democracy that is inherently diverse, representative, inclusive and creative. He describes how it can open up space for negotiation and relationships, which may break down conventional barriers between experts and stakeholders outside of official spaces. The ability to facilitate new ways of collaborative networking with diverse stakeholders, are needed for the challenges and complex nature of cultural value (Kaszynska, 2018). This was exemplified in the coming together of the many official and unofficial stakeholders of the Man Engine project and participants.

8.1.2 Cultural producers involved in creating space

Within this fluidity of process and valuation, heritage practice is turning to cultural producers to help make a space that is intrinsically creative, dynamic and recognises diverse stakeholders and their values. McClean (2017) writes of how space is constructed and contested through performing acts and practice. The importance of creativity in expression of heritage is also outlined in UNESCO Convention (2005) and promotes a multivalent, pluralistic approach (Labadi, 2017). In the UK, national and regional cultural policy have echoed this, and Cornwall has highlighted the role of cultural producers in bringing communities together and expression of Cornish culture (Cornwall Council, 2016). In this section the discussion focuses on the stakeholders Will Coleman and Golden Tree Productions, a collective of cultural producers who created the Man Engine. These were embedded in Cornwall's communities and connected through creative activity, and built on their wide range of audiences and community experiences. In total this project involved forty-one representatives from Cornwall's creative industries under

Creative Director Will Coleman, including designers, artists, performers, puppeteers and the PR company Excess Energy (K2, 2017). Golden Tree Productions was a community interest company that delivered cultural projects. The team based in Cornwall were freelance smaller cultural producers from artists, creative teachers, film directors, musicians, theatre, writers and project technologists.

Coleman illustrated his personal connection with Cornwall and communities, as he reflected on his background as a teacher, actor and filmmaker:

I was trans-located to Cornwall at a tender age, grew up in Calstock on the River Tamar and went to Callington School. I fell irrevocably in love with Kernow through regattas in so many special Cornish harbours, rivers and coastal sites and I have been digging deep into her culture and history ever since (Coleman, interview 2018).

The producers of the Man Engine needed to be embedded in Cornwall's communities, but also required a person who could drive the project. From chapter seven, community-based heritage relied on social networks, however this was often unfunded and needed the support of volunteers to make it happen. Coleman's passion for Cornwall and his engaging personality were instrumental in driving and motivating other stakeholders. Sean O'Neill from Heartlands in the WHS described this 'passion':

I think Will Coleman who created the Man Engine is an amazing man. He is passionate about Cornish heritage. He could sell it to anybody. I think in terms of a focal pint, a role model, and a figurehead for raising the profile of Cornish heritage. I don't think we can go far wrong with Will Coleman. We should embrace the passion he has for it (interview, 2018).

Integral to this heritage project was therefore the need for a person who could motivate and engage people to take part. The person needed to be charismatic, passionate and have access to community volunteer networks:

There is a lot of work about approaching volunteers and voluntary organisations, if you haven't got a community activist who believes in what you are doing, and then it is really difficult to get people on board (Morrison, interview 2018).

From chapter seven, Coleman emerged as key stakeholder in Cornwall's heritage movement as a member of the grassroots group Gorsedh Kernow, Cornish Minority

Working Group and a practitioner of Cornish Celtic ICH. His activist background and work in Cornwall's theatre was integral to the creation of the Man Engine. Cornwall's theatre tradition is described by Kent as a growing political devolutionist theatre, and he suggests Cornwall's festivals have become 'a cultural antidote to governmental disinterest in the Cornish' (2018:396). Will Coleman was a leading stakeholder in both official and unofficial spaces and this crossover contributed to why the Man Engine Pilgrimage was valued both by official and grassroots heritage practitioners, as indicated in this study's interviews and questionnaires. There was also a clear crossover among stakeholders involved in Cornwall's social action and theatre (Appendix F). Deacon (2017:49) is critical of this as a neoliberal practice he terms 'artist discourse', which in Cornwall involved a small network of individuals and institutions who appeared to hold the most influence. Coleman was a leader in this cultural network and bridged between official and grassroots spheres.

8.1.3 Who funded the Man Engine project?

Integral to the success of a large project like the Man Engine Pilgrimage, which aimed to include diverse stakeholders, was to create a space that was multivalent by strategically funding cultural producers. Analysing the funding bodies helped to highlight who was involved, why they valued this project and how it served as a bridge between stakeholders. There were a variety of funders including official bodies, commercial and community. The stakeholders who decided the Man Engine concept was worth financing (and hence valued it) were CWDWHS Partnership, First Kernow Bus, ACE, HLF, Cornwall Council, Volvo, and community/crowd-source funding.

The CWDWHS Partnership had, prior to the tenth anniversary, created an effective funding mechanism around their cultural programmes that addressed diminishing resources for WHS from local authority cutbacks. From chapter six, Ainsley Cocks of the WHS Office outlined how their cultural programme helped draw on public funding to increase awareness of the WHS and potentially ensure its future:

Most of our funding for the cultural events program activities is basically pump prime funding, so we will perhaps give a few thousand pounds to theatre company x and then they will draw down funding from the Arts Council or whatever to complete the budget (interview, 2018).

This funding mechanism was used in the commissioning of the Man Engine by Golden Tree Productions, who then applied for larger public arts funding, with Arts Council and HLF. This support for the Man Engine by ACE and HLF echoed changes in project finances for UK heritage since 2011 with stronger connections between ‘heritage’ and ‘the arts’ (Hems, 2017), which has been increasingly framed around cultural policy and cultural value (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). This has consequently highlighted culturally specific forms of value that are rooted in a community idea of heritage (Jones and Leech, 2016). The Man Engine project was strategically framed around Cornwall’s Cultural White Paper (2016), which highlighted the role of cultural producers in bringing a community together to celebrate their cultural heritage. In applying for this ACE funding, Golden Tree Production’s referred to key concepts in their application such as engaging diverse audiences, celebration of Cornishness, and raising aspirations (Coleman, 2016a: 4). Using these concepts that echoed national and regional cultural policy discourse assisted them in securing public funding, and the project was awarded £250,000 by ACE. The project also aimed to attract HLF funding (now National Lottery) and appealed to DCMS heritage policy (2017) in their application, in terms of intangible values including ‘sense of place’, identity and belonging, rooted in an understanding of local heritage. The HLF application by Golden Tree Productions referred indirectly to Cornwall’s intangible heritage as ‘celebration of achievement, identity and language’ (Coleman, 2016b: 7).

For the CWDWHS Partnership, this was a cost-effective promotion tool to reach local and global audiences and communicate the Cornish mining story. This was expressed in economic terms by the PR company Excess Energy, as a PR value of £4.5 million international coverage, and £6.7 million national and regional coverage (K2, 2017). The project was also seen as useful in providing a stronger synergy between heritage and culture, interweaving the WHS OUV with Cornwall’s identity (K2, 2017).

There were however some barriers for some stakeholders in accessing funding. During the commissioning bid process there was limited access for some artists. Jack Morrison of FEAST suggested that making a bid can in itself exclude some artists who are self employed. For example, writing a bid takes time and experience. He outlined how there were plans to try interim funding to prepare a bid that would enable wider participation of artists based in the community (Morrison, interview, 2018). The complexity of applications for ACE/National Lottery created barriers for accessing funding for community-led heritage projects. In particular, people needed knowledge, skills and time to complete applications (QP, 8, 2018). ACE have recognised that there is need to simplify bigger funding applications (2019:18). The ACE emphasis on the role of

creativity in producing culturally specific forms of value through a felt experience was also perceived as a limitation: ACE did not fund other elements that were needed in performing heritage in public spaces. This included infrastructure for large spaces including event management to provide public safety. For the Man Engine Pilgrimage, this omission was highlighted in the event evaluation (K2, 2017) and interviews (Morrison, 2018). Financing was however not just through from ACE/HLF, project financial resources involved 94 partners including 'First Kernow' Bus, local colleges and schools and crowd-source funding which totalled £474,000. In addition, 'in kind support', that is volunteered resources, totalled £416,650 (K2, 2017). This illustrated how official and unofficial sectors supported and valued this project enough to give money and time to make it happen.

The stakeholders involved in commissioning and partly funding the Man Engine project were mostly official organisations, but decision-making and funding shifted to local actors. This included cultural producers external to these institutions, which provided a context for co-production with the community. This process of engaging local actors as a collective, which celebrated interconnections, provided a catalyst for proactive negotiation. In this way it reflects the concept of a hybrid form of cultural governance that features an alternative from institutions, CEOs, and policy, enabling cultural producers, volunteers and community members to bring about change (White, 2016). Integral was interconnection of local forces, including cultural brokers FEAST who facilitated a dialogue between heritage organisations and communities and created a gateway for expression of community heritage (and values). FEAST's brokering of relationships reflects UK policy in art and culture that seeks to bridge gaps and link funded and grassroots non-funded sectors together (ACE, 2018).

8.1.4 Local community production and valuing of heritage

One of the important stakeholders that facilitated the hybrid process in the Man Engine project were the cultural brokers FEAST who acted as a connection between official organisations and the community. FEAST was an ACE funded initiative founded by Julie Seyler and Rose Barnicoat who had backgrounds from Cornwall's 'Knee High Theatre' and Cornwall Council's Creative Unit. FEAST was set up in 2008 to activate Cornwall's creative cultural sector and respond to the massive social changes occurring in Cornwall's villages. Jack Morrison, Project Manager outlined their aims:

The aim [of FEAST] was to explore how the creative cultural sector could respond to massive social change through centres of villages dying and pubs closing (Morrison, interview 2018).

Importantly FEAST placed the local artists and the communities as the experts and centralised them as stakeholders, making them active not passive in mean-making. This connects with the participatory turn in cultural theory (Jenkins, 2015), shifting to self-expression and personal action frames. Researchers highlight that artistic practice can challenge social order and offers a counter-hegemonic potential (Mouffe, 2008; Mahoney et al 2019). The interconnection of socially engaged practitioners, including Cornwall's theatrical artists, acted as vehicle for co-creation, 'going public' in a way that moved beyond simplistic notions of what it means to collaborate (Miller et al, 2017). Morrison stated this approach aimed to have:

Grassroots level activity happening and for it to be meaningful. The way that FEAST works is that it prioritises good ideas in an open call that says you are the community, you are the artists, how would you use art or creativity to tackle issues within your community (interview, 2018).

FEAST as cultural brokers therefore applied this idea of local grassroots actors (cultural producers) as a catalyst for change to the Man Engine project. As brokers they also connected with the local community and strategically used UK policy and funding around community engagement to facilitate the expression of heritage and values that emerged through these community performances. This prioritised and supported community-led heritage, which brought these stakeholders and their values to the foreground. Their cultural brokering was exemplified when the Man Engine Pilgrimage visited ten examining sites and the local community produced their own festive event alongside the main ceremony. One of these sites was Liskeard in SE Cornwall, which has strong connections with mining and Michael Loam, who came from this town and invented the original Man Engine that revolutionised mining. Rachel Brooks was the Chair of Communications and Engagement Committee and instrumental in co-ordinating the community event. She outlined that funding from FEAST helped finance this and commented on how the funding application via FEAST was easy to complete. She recognised that public funding needs accountability, but commented favourably on how FEAST have addressed some of these issues in Cornwall (Brooks, interview, 2018). Reflecting Jacobs (2014) findings, cultural brokers were important in creating new ways to connect official heritage organisations (UNESCO) and communities in working together in protecting ICH. In addition, the strategic use of ACE/HLF to fund ICH in the

Man Engine Pilgrimage, demonstrated how HLF programmes have increasingly become a resource to indirectly fund expression of ICH that is not directly funded or acknowledged by the UK government (Nightingale, cited in Stefano, 2014). It was noted that there is however cross-party support from the Scottish Parliament for ICH in Scotland (Mc Cleery and Bowers, 2017) leading to an online resource. The UK has not ratified the UNESCO (2003) *Convention for Safeguarding ICH* (Clancarty, 2017; Hyslop, 2018; Stefano and Davis, 2017), but by linking types of ICH to key strategic outcomes e.g. bringing a community together as per Culture White Paper 2016, this could indirectly provide funding for local community-led initiatives (Efdss, 2018).

Brooks interview went on to detail how Liskeard community actively participated in producing this performance of heritage in public, such as bakers making pasties for the day and a local woman organising the entertainment stage (see Appendix E). This co-production also included performances of Cornish music, traditional scoot dancing, Liskeard Silver Band, community choirs like Canloyron at Minions, and creating a community mural. This kind of community-led production was also noted outside of Cornwall in the Man Engine Resurrection Tour 2018 at Willington, Co Durham (Pritchard, 2018). This illustrated the ways that interlinked webs of people and things mediated intangible heritage practices.

The funding and recognition of community-led heritage by FEAST was a welcome step but there was a desire to maintain community ownership (Manley, interview 2019; A3 interview, 2018). As noted in chapter 7, some scholars cite problems when community heritage becomes recognised by official bodies (Hafstein, 2015), and when policy-led community engagement and funding initiatives then prioritise dominant stakeholders (Crooke, 2011; Waterton, 2010). However in this case, funding through FEAST was given directly to the community organising committee (Brooks, interview 2018). FEAST state they are ‘not an open funding pot’ like ACE programmes but have a specific purpose to help generate art and culture in towns, villages providing community benefits (FEAST, website 2020).

This section explored the stakeholders involved in producing the Man Engine Pilgrimage (2016) as a new form of cultural governance. The process of governance and network of relationships in Cornwall created a hybrid forum that promoted a dialogue between stakeholders within institutions and external stakeholders including Cornwall’s freelance cultural producers and local residents. This shifted power, decision-making and valuing from global to local stakeholders. Essential stakeholders were director Will Coleman and the cultural brokers FEAST that acted as a bridge connecting institutions with

communities and providing a framework that helped to strategically fund community co-production and free-lance cultural producers. This created a space for diverse stakeholders and expression of a plurality of values that emerged through these performances.

8.2 What drove people to participate in the Man Engine Pilgrimage?

This section explores why the stakeholders outlined previously were motivated to participate in the Man Engine project and why it was important to them. In exploring why people wanted to participate, this provides a vehicle to understand valuation. In particular the section analyses how the spectacle of the Man Engine, as a performative heritage, motivated people to engage with the past by creating a hybrid space, structured and unstructured, through the Man Engine Pilgrimage, the puppet and supporting activities.

This was driven by a need to increase/sustain coming together, in a loose, socially interactive way that subverted the everyday. A specific mode of behavior rooted in the Cornwall's festive past and theatre tradition.

8.2.1 Increasing and sustaining the significance of Cornwall's official heritage

From chapter six, debates on official heritage and why it was valorised were driven by a need to protect the built historic environment that was designated as important or valuable. This included the Council of Europe recognition of the Cornish as a National Minority and UNESCO's designation of Cornwall as a World Heritage Site of 'Outstanding Universal Value'. This signification enacted a process of loss aversion and ways to attract resources to fund this idea of heritage. This valuation was normalised in society. The 'Tinth/ anniversary and the commission of the Man Engine Pilgrimage was seen by the CWDWHS as a way to celebrate the WHS status, to communicate the OUV and the distinctiveness of this Cornish mining culture, and to reaffirm this valuation (CWDWHS 2013-2018b).

The CWDWHS Partnership aimed to increase awareness of the WHS through its Cultural Programme that involved a close working relationship with cultural providers like theatre groups that provided a vehicle for interactive learning. One structured around the Interpretation Strategy themes (Figure 22). This would broaden awareness of WHS goals and sites (Cocks, interview, 2018) and reflected Wooster's work (2016) on theatre in

education. The WHS office voiced the need to find other ways to fund conservation of the WHS to raise awareness and engage people. Ainsley Cock of the WHS stated:

Given the local authority cutbacks over recent years we are finding that increasingly difficult to square the circle of maintaining our remit...We found this [Cultural Programme] to be a very good way of doing that, through relatively modest sums of money and a work, we put on a performance, and then that will hopefully draw in audiences that are used to engaging with theatre companies or musical groups or whatever, and they are perfectly happy to engage with that, whereas they wouldn't be as happy to engage with say King Edward Mine or Geevor (Cocks, interview 2018).

The 'Tinth' anniversary was rooted in this process and aimed to communicate the values of being of global significance.

The Tinth anniversary was coming round ...a large part of the original thinking was about convincing people of Cornwall they were in a WHS, whilst at the same time being able to have an event that was of national and hopefully international worth of presence (Morrison, interview 2018).

These sentiments were also reflected in the motivations that drove the cultural producers who created the Man Engine concept. Will Coleman Artistic Director of Golden Tree Productions stated:

The aim [of the Man Engine Pilgrimage] was as to raise aspirations, engage an enormous diverse audience and provide the most powerful Cornish celebration since the Olympic Torch Relay in 2012 (ACE, 2016: 4).

The goals behind choosing the Man Engine encompassed raising awareness of the importance of the Cornish and West Devon mining landscape, connecting local people with this 'heritage'; learning about its value and benefits. It also connected with heritage presented as a particular Cornish identity. Julian German, Chairman of the Cornish Mining World Heritage Site Partnership stated:

The World Heritage Site Partnership, backed by Cornwall Council, were seeking a vision, an ambition and a tenacity that would come together in a fitting tribute to our ancestors' ingenuity and entrepreneurialism. We certainly found this in the Man Engine. The Man Engine undoubtedly captured the world's imagination,

bringing the towns and villages along the route to the attention of an international audience, and stimulating enthusiasm for and awareness of the importance of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site (World Heritage UK, 2017).

This statement included the term ‘ancestors’ ingenuity’ and ‘entrepreneurialism’. These aspects of Cornish identity were also outlined in the evaluation report for funders by K2:

This project was about celebrating, interpretation and propagating the Cornwall mining WHS...and a positive assertion of Cornish identity as inclusive, adventurous and ambitious (K2, 2017:2).

Interviews with the WHS Office reinforced this and stated that the Man Engine Pilgrimage was chosen as it reflected Cornwall’s heritage and qualities of being technically innovative and entrepreneurial (Cocks, interview 2018).

The motivations that drove this project and why it was valued by the CWDWHS Partnership and cultural producers, culminated in aims that tapped into official needs of increasing awareness and understanding of the Cornish mining and its contribution to Cornwall’s outstanding, world-class heritage value. This also aimed however to contribute to an on-going relationship and encouraged contemporary activity that responds to a particular characterisation of a Cornish identity as adventurous and inventive. The desires of the artists who created the Man Engine were to attract resources and reflect the innovation theme that would support their project being commissioned and funded. Their aims needed to connect with the WHS and national / regional cultural policy.

8.2.2 Coming together to celebrate heritage

The Man Engine Pilgrimage was commissioned by the CWDWHS Partnership not only to celebrate the global recognition of Cornwall and West Devon as a WHS, but used their cultural programme framework outlined in chapter 6, to reach wide audiences. Cultural producers were positioned as important to bringing people together to celebrate their heritage and cultural identity (Cornwall Council, 2016). These aims to engage with wide audiences and gather people to celebrate Cornwall’s heritage, also resonated with the community. The questionnaire illustrated that people were motivated to attend or take part in the Man Engine Pilgrimage due to similar factors.

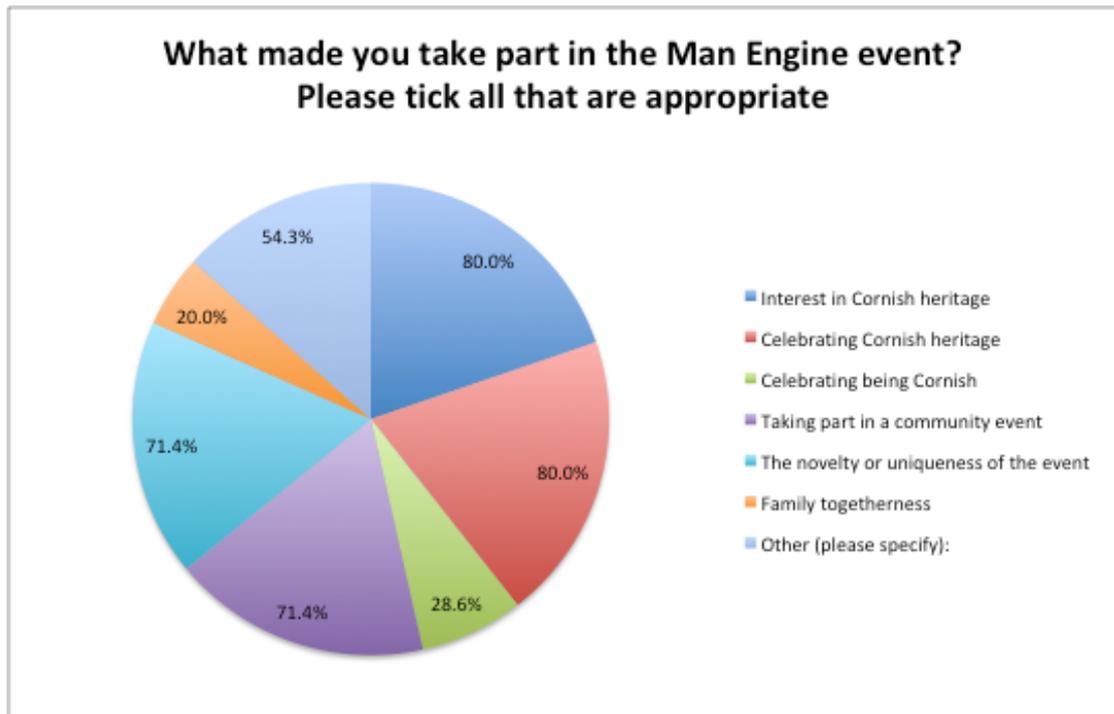


Figure 21. Data from questionnaire (2018).

Fig 21 is a visual representation of why people were motivated to see the Man Engine. This sheds light on why people participated, including a significant interest in Cornish heritage, celebrating Cornish heritage and taking part in a community event. The correlation in those that had an interest in Cornish heritage (80%) and celebrating Cornish heritage (80%) suggested that the participants saw celebration of Cornish heritage as important to them. A further motivation outlined in the write-in section not included in the list was that they were involved as volunteers or provided funding (QP, I, 2018). Motivation to attend was also heightened by free admission (Q, WC, 2018). People wrote in that they wanted to come together socially as part of a community, and this desire was heightened by the uniqueness of the event, which drew them to participate. People commented on the carnival atmosphere conveyed in the words ‘spectacle’ (K2, 2017; questionnaire, 2018); fun, awesome, wonderful, fab, brill, magnificent, celebratory and amazing (Cornwall365, 2016). The Man Engine was a spectacle that motivated people to attend, and also engaged them. During field observation, people appeared very interested in commenting on the Man Engine itself, in contrast to general questions on ‘heritage.’ The community who took part in the ceremony or community-led productions were therefore driven by motivations to participate that reflected findings from chapter seven. Expression of Cornwall’s unofficial heritage was driven by a desire to come together and celebrate in a traditional mode of festive behaviour, which enacted a process of convergence and revelry. This was a personal motivation and emerged irrespective of

policy or official goals. As we see next, this was also driven by a desire to subvert those official heritage narratives.

8.2.3 Subversion and creating space for recognition

From the previous section, the Man Engine Pilgrimage as chosen by the CWDWHS Partnership had some specific aims or motivations that included increasing awareness of the WHS and conveyed universal values. Audiences, for their part, were motivated by the desire to come together in celebration. In this section the Man Engine is explored as an artist-led performative heritage that aimed to create ‘loose’ spaces, which were unpredictable and allowed room for subversion and expression of other voices and values connected to the mining past. This included expression of Cornish intangible cultural heritage and increased its visibility.

Golden Tree Productions, the artists, adhered to the CWDWHS Interpretation Strategy as part of the commissioning process. In addition, in order to secure funding, their proposal aimed to reflect current national and regional UK cultural policy. But Golden Tree Productions, as free-lance artists, were external to official organisations and the Man Engine became a tool to subvert the authorised heritage narratives. Coleman referred to this as:

The true story, this was not through rosy tinted spectacles (interview, 2016).

Coleman appeared to use the Man Engine as a cultural platform for social action, mobilising heritage to resist and challenge the existing homogeny. The process brought to public attention an alternative picture of Cornwall to that portrayed in tourism, particularly the non-touristic, deprived areas of Cornwall’s WHS. A Cornwall Community Foundation report suggested that Cornwall’s rurality illustrated this other Cornwall as a county with high deprivation with geographical isolation, poor health and high housing costs. Cornwall was described as a place where ‘deprivation sits alongside areas of considerable wealth’ (CCF, 2017:6). The report outlined discrepancy where areas in North Cornwall like Newquay, 44% of children live in poverty after housing costs and 42% of employees in North Cornwall earn below the living wage. An emphasis on tourism was a concern expressed within the community survey in their report:

Tourism is both a blessing and a curse as so many jobs are temporary, part-time and low paid (CCF, 2017:3).

In order to rebalance the local concerns and national/global ideas of Cornwall's heritage, Golden Tree Productions took the pilgrimage to those WHS areas neglected as part of mainstream tourism. The Man Engine specifically went to the deprived working towns in Cornwall rather than the tourist route. Jack Morrison said:

There was pressure on him [Will Coleman] to go on the commercial route and sit at St Michael's Mount for example (interview, 2018).

Focus group participants also commented on this 'subversion' that recognised the less affluent areas of Cornwall:

The Man Engine bowed down but said I am proud...powerful [...] I liked the linking of towns, because if you live in Cornwall, the places you end up in are the kind of towns in the middle as you are priced out of the sea areas. That's where the workers towns are, but the visitors thirty years ago never see Bodmin, Redruth, Camborne reinvented as the Heartlands – but to see the kind of industrial heritage as opposed to devalued and demoralised is a really nice turn (FG, August 2018).

The Man Engine was therefore more than a celebration and commemoration as a WHS, it created a space for negotiation and recognition. In this sense it was a 'ritualesque', 'an event that is not in the strict sense a religious ceremony or political rite of passage or carnivalesque, but participants intend effect, potentially subverting the "official" message' (Santino 2009:16). The Man Engine as an artistic practice helped to tap into current community issues and concerns. It questioned what sense of place was left for the local community when pitched against touristic spaces and needs. This process foregrounded controversy and uncertainty and aimed to negate and challenge dominant stakeholders and existing homogenous narrative. This was outlined in evaluation:

The loss of mining in Camborne was recently, therefore not an abstract thing in the past. It [Man Engine] tapped into the emotional Cornish cultural identity and distinctiveness which has no clear identity in mainstream thinking' (K2, 2017:67).

Several sources spoke of how the event recognised that Cornwall was far more than a holiday destination and that the Man Engine delivered a 'powerful message', that could build on the mining past and modern assertion of Cornish identity (K2, 2017: 60; 67; 70; 72). It used this heritage intervention to bring attention to less affluent areas of Cornwall that correlated with de-industrialisation and the loss of mining. This included the ex-

mining town of Camborne:

There is nothing in Camborne that really celebrates the WHS or the community role in it, so the event was really welcome... The Man Engine reminded people that the Cornish are amazing...Cornwall is far more than a holiday destination (K2, 2017:72).

Coleman also drew attention to the impact of deindustrialisation and described the Man Engine Pilgrimage as a:

Ritualised pilgrimage that enlivened the spirit of forebearers at significant areas in mining visited which aimed to connect people with their landscape (Coleman, interview BBC, 2016).

He further spoke of Cornwall as a poor region in Europe and that people had lost their pride and dignity and the Cornish were not a handout culture. The Man Engine aimed to revitalise Cornwall's spirit and was future looking:

It is a heritage project about the future...that their [Cornish] extraordinary history, helps enliven the future that we need to connect with the past to get the future. This includes the truth of mining, not the rosy tinted spectacles but the real hard lives, but innovative and builds on these qualities into the future (ibid, 2016).

This is described by Harrison (2013) as the future of heritage, which includes a new model for global heritage linked to social action. Integral to social action is recognition that there are also other ways of 'doing' heritage and this includes processes that are non-representational (Thrift, 2003). The Man Engine performance aimed to celebrate the WHS and reflect Cornish ingenuity, but it also aimed to evoke the personal, emotional stories of the community. Golden Tree stated:

Golden Tree set out to harness Cornwall's wealth of innovative and creative talent to create something inspiring, original, that embodied the OUV of Cornish mining World Heritage and captured the depth of emotion felt by Cornish miners and their families (K2, 2017: 20).

In this statement Golden Tree introduces the term 'embodied' and 'depth of emotion' alongside the term OUV. Their aims were to create a heritage process that represented the

official discourse of global values but also acknowledged the personal, affective/emotive and non-representational – a culturally specific form of valuation. Heritage here has a dialogical ontology that highlights a need to simultaneously look at representation *and* the affective quality of heritage (Harrison, 2013). Charlotte who was in audience at Liskeard commented on the creativity as a more than representational way of engaging with heritage and how she valued this:

For me it was the creativity of a completely unique creation not just an artefact that is just meant to represent mining. It was something real, a real one-off that you felt quite sort of honoured in a way to see it (FG, July 2018).

She referred to the Man Engine as a creative process and one that did not just represent mining as an artefact. It was her cultural relationship with the Man Engine, a living relationship between her personally with the object, which created meaning and hence her valuation. The Man Engine as a performative form of heritage reflects current research into heritage as a cultural process, a relational process with a plurality of values that emerge from an everyday experience (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013; Robertson, 2012). The affective and emotive impact on the community that emerged from The Man Engine is discussed further in section 8.5.

The Man Engine Pilgrimage and ceremonies at the chosen sites, also aimed to raise the profile of Cornish intangible heritage, which can be seen as an act of subversion through social action. From chapter two, expression of Cornwall's ICH had been suppressed and erased through official processes (Payton, 2004; Harvey et al, 2016) but the Man Engine ceremony and community productions around this main event, allowed expression of Cornish intangible heritage, historically celebrated through performance as Cornish language, dance and music, to be performed in public. This performance aimed to create 'spatial identity', the claiming of territory and identity to maintain or resist power (Storey, 2012), as discussed in chapter 7. In heritage studies, this spatial enactment can be a (re) claiming of space by those that have been made peripheral in official processes (Ashley et al, 2016).

During the Man Engine Pilgrimage ceremony, people dressed in Cornish colours of gold and black, the St Piran's flag was flown and the ex-mining town brass bands played. The audience chanted in Cornish:

Kober! Arghans!

Sten! Sten! Sten!

Yn pub carrek?

Yn pub men!
Kober! Arghans!
Sten! Sten! Sten!
An gwella sten?
Yn Kernow!

Interviews showed that the ceremony created space by encouraging the audience to chant in Cornish, thus increased the visibility of the language and expression:

I think one of the key things, and this was done surreptitiously and very cleverly, is that there was some Cornish language involved, in raising the Man Engine from its slumberous state to its active state. I think that awoke in some people the fact that there is a language – a living language (A2, interview 2018).

Claiming of space during the Man Engine ceremony was about creating the space for cultural active expressions that emerged through these performances. This is further explored in section 8.4 but the community-led of Cornish scoot dancing and the parades through towns as Cornish ICH, brought a corporeal representation before audiences, decentring and subverting written forms associated with the official heritage. In this way, bodily movement in dance became a conscious lens, mapping connections between embodiment theatrical form and cultural politics (Sweeney, 2009).

The hybrid cultural governance around the ‘Tinth’ anniversary in Cornwall 2016 chose a performance that provided an in-between space, or ‘liminal landscape’ (Johnson 2015: 36). This was the grey area between the official heritage and the unofficial, bridged by this creative repertoire. Part ceremony, part ritual and part theatre, the Man Engine and the artists of Golden Tree Productions aimed to create a space for negotiation and recognition. The Man Engine Ceremony was meant to be an act of subversion but along a continuum from celebration to a commemoration, which recognised loss by the community and created space for action. Integral to creating this space for diverse valuing was how this heritage was communicated. In the next section this factor will be explored including how modes of transmission effect how heritage is perceived and hence valued.

In summary, why people participated in the Man Engine Pilgrimage and ceremony helped to provide insight into valuation. The motivations that drove this project and why it was valued by the CWDWHS Partnership and cultural producers, culminated in aims that tapped into official needs of increasing awareness and understanding of the Cornish mining and its contribution to Cornwall’s outstanding, world-class heritage value. Golden

Tree Productions, the artists, adhered to the CWDWHS Interpretation Strategy as part of the commissioning process order to secure the bid and funding by ACE/HLF. But Golden Tree Productions, as free-lance artists were external to official organisations and the Man Engine became a tool to subvert the authorised heritage narratives. This recognised pride in mining but also loss and negative effects of de-industrialisation on a community. The ceremony also included, recognised and valued ICH - the Cornish language and alternative ways of doing heritage - the Man Engine Pilgrimage brought people together to celebrate Cornish mining and this was valued for its social interaction.

8.3 What was communicated in this performative heritage?

In the last section the Man Engine was discussed as a theatrical process that served to give a dramaturgical dimension to heritage, one that grabbed spectators. But this symbol of mining heritage also had a narrative potential and provided an articulate environment to set a scene for accomplished oratory and story telling. Stuart Hall (1999) relates how people slowly construct a story about what they see as heritage. This may be about the family and belonging in unofficial stories, or past great achievements in official or nation stories. What is communicated in these stories or the content is important as it gives insight into what is being valued as heritage. What is also important is what content is included or omitted, as who is included or excluded in these narratives. For example John Manley in writing his book *The Last Great Cornish Engineer* reflects on the role of Cornwall in the Industrial Revolution, but argues that many of the characters like Cornish engineer William West 'have received little or no real recognition' (2014:7). He suggests that he is filling a niche in the industrial history of Cornwall by bringing the story of William West 'back into wider public knowledge' and adds that 'history is never as simple as a single statement. This is good, for without its complexity, unknowns and contrasts, the landscape of history would be an exceedingly dull place' (2014: 10). In this section the narratives told through the Man Engine are explored as not just a vehicle for communicating the official WHS narrative of greatness and OUV, but it was also a gateway for counter narratives that unsettled 'the heritage' (Hall, 1999).

8.3.1 The official story

The Man Engine Pilgrimage was commissioned by the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape WHS Partnership to celebrate ten years as a WHS. The mining story of Cornwall and why being designated a WHS was of universal value, was the central story.

This message was determined during the commissioning process and needed to reflect the strategic CWDWHS Management Plan, Marketing Strategy and Interpretation Strategy (CWDWHS, 2015). Integral to the commissioning of the Man Engine was its ability therefore to interpret one or more of the seven themes set out in the WHS ‘Interpretation Strategy’ outlined in the ‘Tinth Anniversary Call for Cultural Partners’ by Deborah Boden, WHS office (undated). The Man Engine Ceremony (2016) conveyed theme one and five (figure 22), which told the story of Cornish mining as innovation and cutting edge technology. Set in a local, national and international context, this story conveyed Cornish mining’s development of steam technology, which contributed to the evolution of industrial economies and societies.

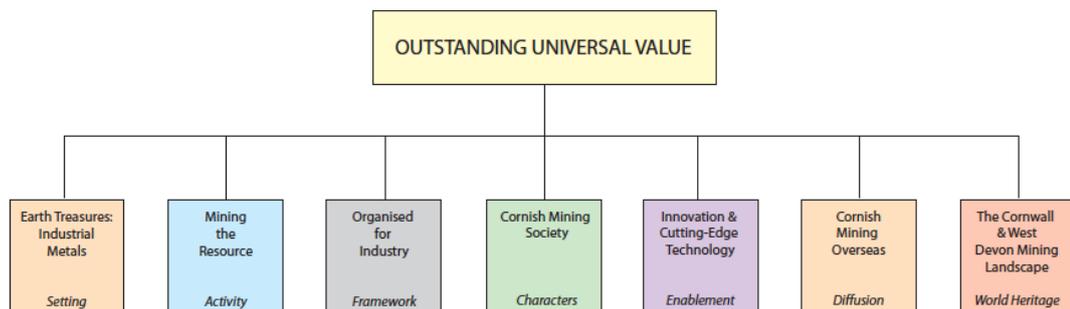


Figure 22. Over arching themes identified from the Cornish mining Statement of Significance (CWDWHS Interpretation Strategy, undated, page 12).

This narrative, shaped by this theme, also conveyed the UNESCO statement for justification for inscription as a WHS and what contributed to it being seen as Outstanding Universal Value.

The CWDWHS Interpretation Strategy provided a fixed strategic narrative and story that framed all official interpretations including those at heritage sites and through cultural programmes. Deborah Boden of the WHS Office described it as:

One that expands the statement of OUV, and identifies the Cornish mining ‘story’ to be communicated through various interpretative means, including the first person and dramatic/artistic interpretation (CWDWHS 2017b: 2).

The story conveyed during the Man Engine was the same theme as previous cultural programmes like ‘Explore the Extraordinary’ outlined in chapter 6 and CWDWHS branding strategy ‘Our Culture Shaped Your World’ (ibid 2017b). This communicated the Cornish mining story of greatness. The official story of achievement reflected how the

mining during 1700-1914 made a key contribution to the evolution of an industrial economy and society in the UK and throughout the world. The Cornish cultural landscape was seen as ‘highly distinctive’ and a ‘testimony to this achievement’ (CWD 2005-2010:12).

CWDWHS Partnership Chair Julian German described the narrative this way:

Our Cornish mining ancestors were international entrepreneurs, who propelled mining into a new industrial era on a worldwide scale. It wasn't an easy journey for anyone then, and in many ways, it is a difficult history...special projects like the towering Man Engine show we still share this same gritty ambition and ingenuity with our ancestors (The Guardian, 2016).

The official heritage story of past achievements of Cornish miners and how they contributed to world culture was continued in the school outreach work as part of the Man Engine project. The entrepreneurial aspects of Cornwall’s mining past connected to local contemporary ideas of heritage. This included Cornish mining heritage as an identity, but also as cultural inheritance evolving, something passed on as ambition and ingenuity. The Tinth Anniversary aimed to increase an understanding of the stories derived from UNESCO’s designation as a WHS, ‘re-affirming Cornish mining culture as distinctive, globally significant and expression of an evolving industrial society’ (Boden, undated). This story or narrative by official stakeholders reflects what Assman (2005) describes as cultural memory, one that is normalised by institutions.

8.3.2 Alternative stories

The Man Engine Ceremony was a celebration that communicated the story of Cornish ingenuity however there was another alternative story to an authorised one that recognised the danger, loss and hardship of Cornish mining (K2 Evaluation 2017:6). This accentuated the loss of a working class heritage:

The success of the Man Engine I feel was rooted in its Cornish conception its spectacle and its working class themes, which had a broad public appeal (Q P5, 2018).

Coleman is described previously in this chapter as an activist and in this capacity as a free-lance artist he aimed also to tell the ‘real’ story, which was omitted by UNESCO and the nation’s story:

I was brought up on the banks of the River Tamar with the stories and the legacy of Cornish mining all around me. The landscape is deeply rooted in the impacts of that industry, and in the successes and the struggles of the real people whose lives shaped our Cornish mining story (The Guardian, 2016).

This activism and recognition of an alternative story was also outlined by Coleman in an interview with the BBC during the Man Engine Pilgrimage to Minions (Coleman, interview 2016):

We want to tell the truth of mining history, not the rose tinted spectacles.

As part of this process, the Man Engine Pilgrimage therefore became more than a frivolous spectacle. Will Coleman conveyed this by avoiding using the term performance when referring to the idea and chose instead the word ‘ceremony’ which pulled the audience ‘congregation’ into a ‘meaningful experience,’ ‘honouring achievement’ and recognising the ‘harshness of mining’ (Coleman, 2016b). The mechanical puppet was named for the original machine that transported men up the mine shafts, but it was however also associated with a great tragedy at Levant mine, and this story of loss and heartache was conveyed in the Man Engine Ceremony through a commemoration. Those who died at Levant had their names read out in a roll call, accompanied by a lamenting solo whose lyrics echoed this narrative of loss. The music provided a sense of embodied attunement and a profound connection with the mind and body. Music has a transcendent power and connects directly with the emotional frontal cortex of the brain creating emotions (Copeland, BBC 2020). Golden Tree productions were driven by a need to include this hardship of mining in the past, and in an interview Coleman related this to present day hardship in Cornwall from the decline of this industrial heritage.

Rebalancing official stories and including narratives that had been omitted were integral to the representation of the Cornish minority. Research interviews with the community conveyed that personal stories connected with mining were highly valued. Louise Skipper a Liskeard shop owner described her mining family story that went back to the shallow cut mining in the sixteenth century and how she could still visit the locations where they once worked (interview, 2016). The story was a personal relationship with

heritage of mining past that connected her with a sense of self and being. Said another interviewee:

I felt proud to be Cornish and proud of my mining heritage – I wore my fathers mine helmet for the first time at Heartlands. This was not about glorification of the past; it was about the Cornish people who are solid, strong and powerful (K2, 2017).

Interviews with Golden Tree Productions also touched on this. ‘It gave the Cornish permission to tell their own story and celebrate who they were, who they are and what they want to be’ (K2, 2017).

Will Coleman said, ‘The personal and family stories of triumph and tragedy have been deeply moving’ (World Heritage UK, 2017). These personal stories conveyed their relationship with the past, and what was valued as heritage in a dynamic process. Heritage here was a story of pride and loss, not just for Cornish communities as outlined at Willingham, Co Durham:

The shared stories of shared struggles and shared triumphs. Just think of the Cornish tin miners at the heart of the Man Engine tale - at the heart of many of our tales? The story of individual endeavours and our shared endeavours (Pritchard, 2018).

Reference was made to a shared mining story. But this was also about recognition of a story that had been omitted from the UNESCO and state/nation story of greatness and industrial prowess. The Man Engine Ceremony communicated stories about pride *and* loss, recognising the loss of a working class heritage but also addressing aspirations.

In summary, the Man Engine was a performative heritage that created space for both official and everyday stories to be told. It allowed room for ‘slippage’ (Butler, 1983) and addressed insider/outsider perspectives associated with being peripheral to authorised heritage narratives. One that connected with the loss of a working class culture of hard work, camaraderie, community and a permanent good income engendered by de-industrialisation. This challenged the received historical narratives by UNESCO and the UK government around OUV. It also offered a counter balance to official narratives of nostalgia and greatness. The stories that emerged through the Man Engine also acted as vehicle to increase community reflection. As discussed in the next section, this process reflected what Smith and Campbell (2017) term ‘productive nostalgia’, which was a

present centred, authentic emotional state that was embodied, and helped to increase the community self-esteem and ‘claim back a meaningful role in the present, and justify hope in the future’ (2017:610). The following section explores the ways that such narratives were conveyed in the Man Engine Pilgrimage/Ceremony, which offered a space that provoked a deep emotional response for some.

8.4 How heritage was communicated

How heritage is communicated effects its perception and impact, and hence valuation. From chapter six authorised heritage tends to use textual mediums, in a one-way process that instructs about an official heritage and fixed immutable values. Further, this mode of communication engages with certain audiences (Monk, 2012). In this section the Man Engine is explored as medium that created a popular performance of heritage



Figure 23. The Man Engine puppet and puppeteers. Photo: Ainsley Cocks.

This medium recognised the social construction of heritage and brought to attention sensorial ways of doing heritage that involved the body and movement. This centres on an embodied process where people are active agents and their expression of value is created and dynamic. The Man Engine is explored in relation to the concept of performativity and this phenomenological understanding of the inherent connection between mind and body, and how people interacted performatively and kinaesthetically with the past (Agnew and Lamb, 2009; Schneider, 2011). This performativity is a liminal, in-between space, which allows transgressions, with potential for new norms. The performative nature of this medium created managed and unmanaged spaces. The Man

Engine ceremony in this loose subversive form created an inherent instability and liminality, which allowed social norms to be suspended or challenged (Turner, 1986). It created an environment for competing representations of place and senses of self as identity and belonging. According to Mouffe this kind of performance act can question the dominant hegemony and challenge the ‘common sense of social order’ (2008:12), giving voice to those silenced.

Integral to this was the creation by artists of the Man Engine mechanical puppet, which displayed a poignant theatrical image in the landscape, attained by ‘staging’ the Man Engine in distinctive locations related to the mining heritage. Its pilgrimage through significant mining sites mapped the minority traces (Fallon, 2014); in this case the traces of the Cornish miners. Ashley et al (2013) also set out how public heritage and artistic practices of people outside the mainstream, voicing values irrespective of the official public culture, might redress the use of public cultural policy, nation-led identity, or universalised cultural heritage. The ritual of public display can therefore be a transformation mode of communication, crossing a threshold, and sometimes enacted for effect and social change. Such modes of behavior allow transgression of boundaries for some marginalised groups. This embodied, emotive performance of belonging and sense of being (Yuval Davis, 1997; Militz, 2017) constantly created, negotiated and signified as heritage (Harrison, 2013) challenges the disembodied nature of politics and nationalism.

8.4.1 Engaging, popular mediums

Increasingly UK cultural policy and practice have emphasised the role of art and culture in engaging and communicating to diverse audiences (ACE, 2016). The role of cultural producers in creating a more interactive mode of transmission was put into practice in Cornwall’s WHS. The CWDWHS ‘Cultural Programme’ used popular mediums to increase engagement, framed around the CWDWHS ‘Interpretation Strategy’ in order:

To contribute to the evolution of Cornish Mining culture through encouraging contemporary activity that responds to its cultural inheritance (CWDWHS 2013-2018b; 12).

The word ‘evolution’ was used in the cultural programme rather than ‘propagate’; a term previously used in CWDWHS initiatives to increase awareness. This might suggest a shift in Cornwall’s WHS to ‘something more than now’, as a heritage process that conveys the passing on to new generations through an evolving connection to a past

culture. The Cultural Programme had a strong working relationship with Cornwall's cultural sector, including Cornwall Councils Creative Unit and external cultural producers:

We've had multiple plays on some kind of mining theme...I think the usefulness of the cultural event programme generally, the way that we have used it and defined it, is the fact you are educating audiences hopefully through means of performance of one form or another from some cultural event. It's not focusing on industrial heritage specifically because in Cornwall, as in other places, industrial heritage does have certain audiences. It is relatively niche overall. One of biggest challenges is to broaden awareness of what we do and why the landscapes we have are so special (Cocks, interview 2018).

The focus on performance as a means to engage and educate wider audiences provided a model for the 'Tinth' anniversary celebrations in 2016 (CWDWHS 2013-2018a). The Man Engine was particularly seen as an effective interactive mode for learning. The event aimed to not to be just an 'artistic' celebration but to provide a creative, embedded approach to heritage learning, which would change how heritage was perceived.

Change in attitude not something dry and academic to something dynamic and relevant to their lives...create sense of pride and ownership and understanding of the contemporary importance of mining heritage (HLF, 2015:6).

The Man Engine was also seen as an effective mechanism for learning by Arts Council England who provided funding for the project:

Do not underestimate the value of process when it comes to cultural heritage and arts projects...in terms of educational purposes, a project like this [Man Engine] reinforces the idea that process is often more beneficial than product' (K2 2017:13).

ACE was suggesting that the planning and creation process behind the Man Engine puppet, the dynamic input and co-creation as people come up with an idea, was the important point rather than the end product. Golden Tree previously spoke of changing attitudes of heritage from 'something dry and academic to something dynamic' and used the terms 'genuine learning embedded' (ACE, 2016). During the field study when participants were asked about the word 'heritage' as part of the questionnaire (2018) this produced a visible lack of enthusiasm to take part in the study. When asked to comment

on the Man Engine in 2016 there was however a positive engagement in this idea of heritage. The use of a huge mechanical puppet changed how people perceived what was 'heritage'. It was a success in transmitting the official communication about the WHS, but as a popular performance of a 'heritage', this mode of transmission also was about democratisation of culture. Raphael Samuel writes of popular history as a living practice and a popular performance where the past is dramatised in the present, which increases access for 'ordinary people' (2012:264). The Man Engine was a medium that drew people to see it and affected what they saw as their heritage, and through its popularity, legitimised both the valuation of this kind of medium to speak truths, and the insertion of everyday people into the performance of heritage.

The idea of 'pilgrimage' as a mode of engagement particularly resonated with people, who were inspired to make journeys in different ways. Some did their own personal pilgrimage:

From a personal point of view because it was 10 years of WHS, I did a walk before it arrived, to visit 10 mines around the Caradon area...We had 80 people turn up for that walk and we all got thoroughly soaked. When it arrived in Minions, the rain had dropped and the mist rose up. There are photographs of it with the mist down and the mine buildings in the background and once again there were thousands of people here and thousands up on the moor as well. It was a real special occasion (FG, OCS 2018).

This too reflected 'pilgrimage' as an ancient mode of communication in Cornwall where, as discussed in chapter three making such journeys demonstrated intense spirituality, commitment, personal sacrifice etc. in a religious and communal context. People were drawn to the heightened intensity of a pilgrimage as a meta-movement (Coleman and Eade (2004). As described in chapter 7, this is about movement; the performance in specific places is embodied, which connects a physical journey with a spiritual/emotional one (Scriven, 2014). The people who took part in the Man Engine Pilgrimage connected directly to this heritage of pilgrimage as a mode of expression in Cornwall. This was an individual or collective way of doing heritage that was seen as a special journey in their lives. The performance of the pilgrimage, the movement as an embodied practice created a physical journey, which helped individuals connect with emotions, providing a multi-layered transient process of valuing. The Man Engine puppet travelled to people and people came to see it. This 'peopled' the WHS. This embodied process was also an inner spiritual emotional journey that emerged from this embodied performance and created a cultural form of value or valuing.

8.4.2 'Spectacle' as communication

An essential part of the success of the Man Engine as a mode of transmission was the theatricality of the puppet that created a spectacle. The spectacle drew people to it and this acted as a loose, socially interactive way of 'doing' heritage as opposed to a passive structured process.

The master stroke with the Man Engine was that it brought that to people... so that was the pull of it, the allure of it and its spectacle. Rather than just being a badge that various sites around Cornwall and Tavistock can wear, it sort of 'peopled it' if you like, and put people back in the centre of the WH stage...Interestingly, it follows a cultural theme through Cornish performance, if you like, that is immersive and involves people (A2, interview 2018).

The Man Engine replicated this landscape theatre and evoked a spectacle as it travelled to the ex-mining sites. The puppet created a theatrical process, which gave a dramaturgical dimension, one that grabbed spectators through its 'scenography' (Oudsten, 2012:25). As a spectacle and popular medium it connected immersively with a wide audience who 'peopled' this heritage-making. This performance exemplified the Cornish tradition of theatre seen in the medieval staging of 'Gwari Meur' and more recent Fooks Theatre, which brought performances close to grassroots communities. Cornwall's theatre practitioners, including Coleman (Knee High Theatre) and Hal Sylvester the main puppeteer (Wildworks) reclaimed these traditions for the Man Engine Pilgrimage. Thus Cornwall's traditional relationship with the past as a place where theatre was embedded in the place and the community, was connected to the present day heritage process:

The plays delivered in Plen an Gwarry and playing places, it's now understood that the audience stood in the middle and the whole play took place around them, so they were within. So, that's sort of immersive and I'm sure Will was conscious of that having written a book about Plen an Gwarry before he delivered the Man Engine, but that immersive feel, and I know there was a health and safety issue so you couldn't get too close to it, but 'you were immersed in the spectacle of it (A2, interview 2018).

The cultural producers involved in creating the Man Engine specifically chose a mode of communication that was connected to being embedded in the community and rooted in

Cornwall's ancient theatres. Cornwall's intense theatrical tradition, involving ritual, landscape and community, is described by Kent as 'one of the most complex theatrical cultures in Celtic theatrical territory' (2010:43). This was a unique development that offered traditional open-air amphitheatre style performances to contemporary audiences using new spaces. The Man Engine was placed not in a museum or official heritage site, which needed people to come to it. Instead, the process of going out to people and embedding itself in public space was important, as it had the ability to draw people to come and see it. Rod Sheaff, a Bard of Gorsedh, commented:

This Man Engine is entirely different, defining features of Cornish culture as outlined by Bernard Deacon's industrial Celt, which acted as a commemoration of this but using a dramatically new medium - a spectacle drawing people to it. The turn out was certainly more than expected. It was good to see...it was a spectacle (interview 2018).

Again, the theatrical element of the Man Engine was seen as an effective medium and was in contrast to a fixed textual format:

It went to the people. Its one thing to go and look at an interpretation board or to read a pamphlet but a spectacle like that is different all together... The masterstroke with the Man Engine was that it brought that to people. Yes, they had to leave the house to see it but they didn't necessarily have to go very far... I know that many people, certainly from where I live, travelled a long way to see it and I don't think, in fairness to those people, they would do that for many other things, so that was the pull of it, the allure of it and its spectacle...it's a great way to go, with engaging people with their heritage (A3, interview 2018).

The Man Engine puppet spectacle also engaged young audiences. The Boddington family were in the audience when the Man Engine visited Minions and their young daughter leaned into the camera, grinning, and shouted excitedly 'It was AMAZING!!!!!!' Other children appeared to connect to the puppet. *The Cornish Times* ran a children's photo competition after the pilgrimage, and showed that the puppet (its head or full body) was a focus of attention in these images for children aged 3-6 years. Other children connected to a theatrical performance which told the real story of hardship of William Crago, aged nine who worked in a mine (German, interview 2018; C & L, interview 2018).

The spectacle and dramaturgical aspect of the Man Engine was therefore integral to how the Man Engine as a medium attracted people, a factor discussed by focus group participants:

The sheer amount of people made you feel something special was happening (Charlotte, FG 2018)

We saw it on Bodmin Moor and it was a really typical kind of misley Cornish night that was mist and foggy atmospheric. Time was suspended for a bit particularly in that setting, because you are not in houses supermarket-land and so on then you have this great amazing thing and the whole suspension as they were trying to get it to work (Tracey, FG 2018)

This enacted an unstructured relationship with their mining heritage.

The theatrical space of the Man Engine performance reflects Turner's (1968) 'dramaturgical hinge', which describes how an empty space devoid of objects can however accumulate meaning from the dynamic relationship between the actor and spectator. The spectacle, words and physicality interacted with the audience. An interview Sean O'Neill of Heartlands, part of the WHS, explored the pivotal role of the cultural producer in creating this way of doing heritage:

I think what Will did was to expose a whole new audience to Cornish engineering and make people think, "well hang on a minute, what's this all about?" Rather than well that is just about Cornish mining and Cornish mines, I think it made people stop and think and look at heritage that they had never really looked at or thought about before... he made it accessible and interesting to people. I think he raised the profile of Cornish mining through that (interview 2018).

There were however some issues around the Man Engine being a spectacle. This approach relied on secrecy, surprise and revealing of the performance. The lack of information during the project phase to create the reveal and spectacle, then failed to motivate people to come on board with the project and led to some apathy (Morrison interview, 2018; K2, 2017). Another problem was event management, especially of the large crowds that the spectacle attracted. . This is further discussed in section 8.5 on project impacts.

8.4.3: Socially interactive ways of doing heritage

The Man Engine spectacle attracted people into an environment of embodied dialogic and spontaneous communication, a socially interactive way of doing heritage in a temporary, loose, unstructured space created by individuals. Frank and Stevens (2007) suggest when everyday functions are suspended; this produces 'loose space', whether permanent (as in ruins) or temporary (as in events). These spaces arise from the unfolding of social encounters in public; the virtues of loose space are 'possibility, diversity and disorder' (2007:17). The unstructured space created around the Man Engine was illustrated by interviews:

It was on a plate for them; in an engaging way...you could take from it what you wanted...people reacted in diverse ways (A2, interview 2018).

This way of doing heritage also recognised the social construction of heritage, and how significance and value centres on interaction with heritage as a family. The Boddington family, for example, joined in the celebration and captured it on film. Footage by the parents followed the audience and then their daughter, sitting on father's shoulders straining to see the Man Engine. Responses in the questionnaire also illustrated this social interaction, and how the spectacle aspect of the puppet, was a catalyst or glue to bring people together.

It was interesting to see what a buzz it caused in Liskeard and how many of my friends and their families made an effort to see it and it caused much conversation and verbal history to be repeated (QI 6, 2018)

The questionnaire results showed that 20% attended because it provided family togetherness and 71.4% said they attended because it was a community event (Q, 2018). The audience celebrated together, and this interaction created chatting, smiling and applauding. Focus group participants also commented on a spontaneous communal social interaction and how this created value for them:

It was great to see people there that you knew as well a 'get together bonding thing' (Charlotte, FG 2018).

Tracey felt that the event did not make her feel more Cornish, but the strong sense of community enacted through the event, was an important aspect of being Cornish:

What appeals to me was all those people that went to see the same thing, and talking about the same event, and being there in the same space together, very much reflects my view of my Cornish life (FG, 2018).

The positive experience from taking part created a sense of something worth investing time into ‘doing’ which itself was a performative mode of communicating – this created a social value and contributed to how this way of thinking of heritage was valorised. The social interaction around the Man Engine was also not just from a spontaneous coming together of a community, but created regular meeting points for community organising committees. From chapter seven, community-led heritage relied on social networks to make things happen, and stakeholders who valued this idea of heritage enough to volunteer. The production by Liskeard community during the Man Engine celebration was about people working together, the social interaction and generating ‘value’ from this ‘doing’:

One of the things I am really proud of is we had an organising group that was really widespread. We had a discovery event quite early on which we invited people from local businesses and organisations in the town and Will Coleman from Golden Tree and other came along...then we had monthly meetings in preparation...a wide range of organisations planned together and what I loved was that people brought their own sorts of resources for example the school said “Look we’ve got a small stage which is in blocks and can be moved “ and the Lions said “we have a small van and can get it moved” (Brooks, interview 2018).

The Man Engine (2016) was therefore not only a spectacle, but also a socially interactive and heritage-making process, thus valued because it brought people together spontaneously on the day or through the communities’ organisation and productions around the official ceremony to actively make heritage.

8.4.4 Sensorial enactment of heritage

The Man Engine was a medium that created a spectacle for viewing, but integral to its effectiveness as a mode of communication was that it had a sensorial, bodily effect on audiences that epitomised the miner and mining heritage. An embodied process was integral to how the Man Engine drew people to come together, but it also enacted an inner journey:

The magical thing about the Man Engine is the centrepiece was a real spectacle that people really responded to in a very visceral way (Brookes, interview 2018).

Tracey in the audience at Minions commented on how slowly the puppet moved and this made her contemplate on how mining affected the miner's body. Several interviews remarked on how the multisensory performance enacted an emotional experience:

It was very emotive and very moving this thing rose up so mechanical and the noises associated with it (FG, July 2018).

The Man Engine puppet itself played a key role creating this affective dimension. People felt a sense of pride in Cornwall's mining heritage, and some were moved to tears. This was literally embodied by Scott Harvey a Cornish miners son who had a tattoo of the Man Engine puppet on his leg alongside an engine house and mottoes in Cornish (K2, 2017:49). The affective dimensions are discussed further in section 8.5



Figure 24. Tattoo of the Man Engine, (2016). Photo. Courtesy of K2.

The sheer physicality of the movements of the Man Engine puppet, pulled into action by puppeteers, also had a strong effect on participants and audiences. Hal Silvester, designer of the Man Engine and lead puppeteer said:

The Man Engine was a truly authentic raw experience the puppet was animated by great human endeavour, the sweat of the puppeteers was real and the audience were watching people worn out with effort who would give their last breadth to make sure the event happens (K2, 2017).

The intensity of this performance by the puppeteers, as they hauled on the ropes to make him move, for some, reflected the hard work ethic of the miners, their teamwork, and their emotional and physical effort. Fenemore (2007) draws attention to how greater physical effort in performing the body creates sensory responses. As audiences watched

choreographed performance that re-enact hard work (e.g. pulling), this heightened a sensorial and cognitive connection that created reflexivity. The K2 evaluation commissioned by Golden Tree Productions outlined that the puppet itself ‘helped communities reflect on the process of changes as it happens around them to deepen their understanding of Cornwall’s past and prepare for the future...By reflecting on it, capturing it and working out what change meant for them....communities feel more in control of the future and feel proud that their voices and experiences are represented in a public arena’ (2017:2).

The activities around the Man Engine as a choreographed performance included other sensorial elements like music and dance, which were presentations by the community that recalled and enacted a mining heritage. For example, the Cornish community choir Canoryon Lowen, performed a piece of music called ‘Ting Tang Gonamena’ that reflected the Cornish mining process in words and music. The song began with the Cornish words Trefusis, Tolvaddon, Bozweddan, Pengenna, and Stencoose. The rhythm of the song also reflected the noise that once resounded in the Minions area, described as once a noisy boom–town (Derris, interview 2016). Composer Nick Hart and Bard Gorsedh Kernow, a grassroots Cornish cultural heritage group, thought that the music:

Recreated the stamp and rhythm of the great mechanicals and is in 5/4 time which has become a popular Cornish rhythm for dancing (Hart, interview 2016).

When the pilgrimage went to Liskeard, the Cornish minority intangible Celtic heritage was enacted through historic music and dance, such as Cornish Scoot dancing (Brooks, interview 2018). This centred on the non-verbal way of doing heritage in a ‘state of intensified somatic sensory awareness’ (Winter 2016: 45). This was an inherent freedom of expression of ICH, a process of affective communication that psychologically unified diverse people (Gruffudd, 1995) for on-going discourse in Cornish heritage, and acted as an alternative to memorialising and fossilising the past (Dicks, 2000). This active, embodied process of heritage-making by the community who live or dwell in Cornwall’s landscape is reflective of Ingold’s work on temporality of landscape and Robertson’s idea of heritage-from-below as ‘a muscular engagement in the present’ (2012:1009).

In summary, this section looked at how the Man Engine Pilgrimage communicated. It was an official medium but also took an affective form that centred on the sensorial and a dynamic process of expression created through experience. As a spectacle and popular heritage, the Man Engine communicated the WHS message of OUV in ways that had a broader appeal for audiences. The puppet was a show that drew people together in a

socially interactive way. The performative nature of the Man Engine enabled other ways of doing heritage that were unstructured, lively and unpredictable, an active process of communities ‘doing’ heritage described as the singular lively excesses of bodies in space (after Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). This active doing of heritage also demonstrated the ability of alternative forms of communication to push against the mapping fixed spaces by official heritage, to an unstructured process that provided a gateway for alternative stories including recognition of loss and hardship connected to a past mining culture. Integral to this performative process was recognition of stories that have been side lined in official global heritage narratives in Cornwall.

8.5 What are the impacts from this heritage-making process?

Increasingly heritage research has studied the non-representational and affective ways of doing heritage and hence the valuing of the past, which emerges from experiences. By including these qualities, valorising then moves from seeing heritage as intrinsic or immutable, to affective and ephemeral ways of understanding it, and gauging significance as something felt and something more personal (Lorimer, 2005, 2008). This section explores the effects of the Man Engine as a sensorial process that engendered an affective experience, one which had an effect on self (Nuding, 2015). These impacts on individuals became important trajectories of how heritage was valorised. Expressions of joy, pride, loss and sorrow also brought about some transformative moments and longer-term effects in individuals or communities.

8.5.1 The immediate affect and expression of heritage

Integral to the Man Engine as an impactful affective heritage process was the theatricality of the puppet, which Coleman described as:

A Jaw dropping spectacle that triggers emotive response and levels of meaning, especially how heritage informs the future (Coleman, 2015).

The project reflected Cornwall’s traditional theatrical spaces rooted in ancient ritual plays. These theatres are described as ‘happenings’, overladen with all sorts of expressions, emotions and memories (Kapushevska-Drakulevska, 2016; Kent, 2018). During the Man Engine events in 2016 and 2018, people expressed how the relationship with this material object helped them to reflect on and remember the past and their

heritage proudly. People cheered, cried and gasped in awe with faces turned upward to see the Man Engine puppet standing up. The questionnaire and interviews also illustrated this emotional effect:

I was moved by the whole experience; the good attendance felt like a shared experience; very beautiful and moving (QI6, I2, WC8, 2018).

The puppet had an emotional depth – it was reflective and nostalgic (K2, 2017: 71).

The performative nature of the Man Engine Pilgrimage, its theatricality and multisensory dimensions - the massive size of the puppet, the fact it moved mechanically through the puppeteers, the steam and noise - all connected people to the past in an affective way, one that was always embodied (Wetherall et al, 2018; Thrift, 2008). The fact that this thing was striding across the town 'elicited all kinds of emotions' (A2, interview 2018). According to one cultural worker:

The depth of experience for many was profound and cathartic. For some it was a chance to openly grieve; for others it invoked a great sense of pride (Denzil, interview 2017)

The performance also created a loose space around it that was unstructured, and generated feelings, which were unpredictable. Jack Morrison of FEAST also commented on the unpredictable nature of this heritage space:

We saw people crying in the crowd seeing this thing but not knowing what they were crying about ...the sizes of the crowds, the way it moved everybody, the belief that generated from it...tens of thousands turning out and to hit the public consciousness like the way it did (Morrison, interview 2018).

The Man Engine was a process that referenced a shared heritage, enacted an affective dimension, and involved a collective of people expressing a felt experience as being 'moved.' It was a symbol that generated personal and collective responses. The audience was moved to tears:

After every single Man Engine ceremony on his 2016 pilgrimage there was a queue of people with tears in their eyes wanting to shake our hands and tell us

the stories of their fathers, great uncles and great grannies many of whom had given their lives for the industry (Coleman, interview 2018).

This family connection with heritage was not only a sense of inheritance that was passed on in the stories, but was a mixture of emotions that involved nonverbal expression through crying, mouths open in awe, smiling, clapping that embodied pride, grief and relief that their ancestors and those still living had not been forgotten. The Man Engine in its magnificence evoked emotions but it also gave legitimacy to the heritage of ordinary people, which involved emotions of pride *and* loss engendered by tragedy and de-industrialisation. This unofficial heritage was a relationship with mining expressed as family connections and belonging, which was not accounted for in the nation-defining discourse, yet, happened at the same time in the same event as official narratives. These were the narratives that were normally ‘rendered invisible in the official processes’ (Hoskin 2016:21). Simultaneously combining embodied performance (non-representational) *and* discourse provides insight into how we represent *and* respond to heritage (Skrede, 2020). This personal affective dimension and emotional engagement as a ‘felt experience’ uncovered personal stories, but also gauged significance.

8.5.2 Promotion of self-esteem

Alongside this recognition of the ‘ordinary’ everyday relationship with mining heritage, the Man Engine process had a positive impact on how individuals and communities valued themselves. During the Man Engine Pilgrimage the messaging referred to Cornwall’s great mining past, but it also recognised a working class culture and identity of hard work and innovation, still relevant and alive in contemporary Cornish communities. One interviewee said:

I believe the Man Engine reminded people the Cornish are amazing. It built on Cornwall’s heritage and history to cement a strong sense of belonging and pride in being Cornish (A8, interview 2016).

This interview was conducted immediately after the person had seen the Man Engine Ceremony in Penzance and reflected their present-centred, embodied state of mind, which proudly connected the past with the present and a sense of being as Cornish.

For me it was reflecting back, after what has been a pretty disastrous 20th Century for Cornish industry... it was reflecting back some glory of what

Cornwall once was and what, once delivered to people, they could be proud of, when there is frankly precious little to be proud of, in terms of industry, at the moment, for those people. I think that that was a fillet for them, so that was helpful (A2, interview 2018).

Heritage in this way became present centred and this connected with the mining past and Cornish identity as contemporary and creative. This was elaborated in the questionnaire and interviews:

It made me realise just how much expertise, skill, imagination and originality we have in Cornwall TODAY (QI, 9, 2018).

It brought people together and finally the puppet itself was intricate and showed the engineering skills and prowess in the region today (A1, interview 2018).

The event helped to cheer people up and to be involved...people learnt a bit from it and gained some communal pride (Q I 7, 2018).

Once again it was nice to see something, which is front of stage, coming from our people (Sheaff, interview2018).

Raising the communities' self-esteem was a positive impact outlined by official sectors. Sean O'Neill Operating Manager at Heartlands (ex-mining site) commented:

Things like the Man Engine, was a magnificent showcase of Cornish engineering and that there is such talent here. It's not high tech, but people, operated by people, build it and it was created through the hare-brained idea of Will Coleman... I think he showed what talent still exists in Cornwall, and through his own, what passion still exists for Cornish mining (interview, 2018).

Golden Tree Productions stressed how the Man Engine helped engender an emotional connection with mining heritage:

The Man Engine has given the people of Cornwall a positive, real idea of themselves and pre 'Cornish' in its most inclusive sense of sparking a reawakening of inclusive self awareness (K2, 2017:62).

This relationship with the working class mining past was not just about evoking pride and a sense of self in the present it was also future looking. Denzil Monk of Golden Tree Productions spoke of how the Man Engine helped people in Cornwall connect with who they were, are and could be (K2, 2017). The loss of the mining industry and communities had negative impacts on communities' sense of place in areas of Cornwall and this was touched on Sean O'Neill:

If you look at the history of Camborne/Redruth at some of the achievements that were made in this area, and how buoyant the economies were, then that sense of place has changed over time, I think due to the declining of the mining industry. But there has been no embracing of the new things that replaced it, the culture, and the tourism the high technology businesses coming back to Cornwall. So something needs to be done to change that sense of pride (interview, 2018).

In this sense the Man Engine provided a sense of hope for these communities affected negatively by the loss of mining and that heritage of past achievement, which was fossilised through tourism (Strangleman, 2013). During the interview O'Neill also commented on a negative sense of place that emerged from the loss of mining, but also the value of a community spirit. He suggested that Camborne had negative sense of place, which was imposed by those outside and by some living in the town, however the place was still very friendly and alive. This sense of community was a theme related specifically to mining communities and although there is some loss of community from mine closures, Camborne was still creating this idea of 'heritage' as belonging and a sense of being. This was reflected in other ex-mining areas in England and Wales during the Man Engine Resurrection Tour (2018). When it went to Willington, Co Durham, Stephen Pritchard commented:

It was not a meaningless spectacle but a celebration of a still intact sense of community, of pride. Acts of remembrance of friends and families past and present the people who built this town who still hold this town together (Pritchard, 2018).

This sense of belonging is an unofficial idea of heritage that is 'fostered and sustained by the creation of community' (Crooke 2011:25).

The Man Engine has been discussed as an affective heritage process that centred on the personal expression and valuations that emerged, findings that came from the field observations of the event. However not everybody was moved by the Man Engine, and

some people were unable to express these feelings. There were some issues in engaging people to take part in questionnaires or interviews and vocalise what impact the Man Engine had immediately or afterwards. Participants did not think they had anything worth contributing and appeared resistant or shy. The questionnaire results suggested not everyone was automatically ‘moved’ as they passed through this space. 60% of professionals in heritage, (official heritage) 46.7% of Interest Groups and 33.3% of the Wider Community (unofficial) felt that the Man Engine did not make them think more about their history or being Cornish. This was further commented on in the write in section as:

No, I don't need a Man Engine to encourage me to feel different; I am already there (QI: 4, 2018).

This participant reflected that feelings and relationships with heritage were still personal. In addition not everyone ‘passed through this space’ or was motivated to come to one of the ceremonies. According to the questionnaires, 54.5% of professionals, 31.8% of Interest groups and 34.8% Wider Community did not attend. Professionals in heritage and ‘lay persons’ appeared to lack a motivation to take part in the project or attend a ceremony. This was hindered due perception of projects and lack of information. Brian Oldham of Liskeard OCS outlined how a professional in the Cornish Records Office was sceptical and initially had said ‘that’s another one of these silly ideas, they never get off the ground’. Brian also reflected that the surprise element of the Man was an issue:

People have said it was good because of the big surprise element, but also that some people didn't connect with it because they didn't know what it was going to be like, and as time went on they wished they had become involved.

The perception of heritage-related events may have acted as barrier for ‘lay’ people. Richard Blogg said he just did not manage to get to it, but regretted this saying it was a fantastic concept (FG, July 2018). For some it appeared that they were simply not ‘moved’ or needed outsiders telling them how to feel about ‘their heritage’.

In this section so far, the impacts from the Man Engine have been explored as generally positive and this effected how it was valued. There were however conversely some negative impacts or tensions. This was connected to using the term ‘Man Engine’ which was the name of the historical Man Engine used in the mines. This created unease with some of the grassroots mining historical groups and possibly because it was associated with a mining disaster at Levant (Oldham, OCS FG, 2018). Golden Tree Productions had

however thought long and hard about using this name in the project. They also paid homage as act of remembrance for this loss during the Man Engine Ceremony (K2 2017; observations, 2016).

Another negative impact was infrastructural. The Man Engine was a free, popular heritage event in public places and attracted large crowds that affected those organising and managing this enormous event. Ed Martin of Golden Tree Productions noted, ‘the human effort needed to deliver the projects was wider and far deeper than any of us expected’ (K2, 2017). The emotional and financial impact potential was also outlined in interviews:

Nobody became a millionaire with that project. A lot of people over spent on time, effort and energy. Everybody was exhausted by the end of it - it was a profoundly changing project for a lot of people who worked on it. New relationships and friendships were forged but it is important to know or remember that a lot of these deteriorated too...the costs are the monetary value you put on it and the unseen costs are emotional and exhaustion (Morrison, interview 2018).

The Man Engine Ceremony drew in large audiences, although a positive indicator of the value of this form of heritage-making, unmanageable crowds therefore created a negative impact. The orchestration of this large spectacle imposed event management issues that are intrinsic in this form of event that is loose, unpredictable and potentially unsafe. Julian German stated:

I had two versions of a speech – one in case the event did not happen (there were technical issues and general event management problems due to the fact it was unknown territory). This included issues of managing an event that had a huge puppet and it was free not ticketed. The popularity of it meant it snowballed to a very large number further on in the pilgrimage (interview 2018).

Event management was needed for the Man Engine ceremonies but this created unforeseen negative impacts and finding additional financial resources for the project (Morrison, interview 2018). Golden Tree Productions recommended that event companies be involved earlier in the commissioning process (K2, 2017). Infrastructure (event management, insurance and Health & Safety) are however not directly covered by Arts Council England funding (Morrison, 2018, Manley, 2019).

Thus the important impacts of the Man Engine were its attractiveness as a shared spectacle that drew many people to get involved with heritage, and its personal impact on those people as a sensorial process that engendered an affective experience. At the same time the event drew people's negative comments as well, for various reasons – but the very idea that they were debating about 'heritage' through this event was itself a major impact. These were immediate positive and negative effects on individuals that became important trajectories of how heritage was valorised.

8.5.3 Organisational impacts

In addition to personal/emotive impacts, there were organisational ones. The "Tinth" anniversary for the CWDWHS Partnership was about celebration but also aimed to communicate this valuation of heritage to a wider audience. The Man Engine Pilgrimage met these official objectives (K2, 2017; UKWHS, 2017). Golden Tree outlined how:

This confirmed that the mining landscape of the WHS and stories of the people who created them are still relevant to people and that there is a real appetite for these as part of a modern assertion of Cornish identity (K2, 2017:47).

The Man Engine project also supported seven outreach workshops and ninety-eight sessions with the goal of learning and training (K2, 2017). The project also met the requirements of public funding bodies including HLF who awarded the Man Engine a national award 'Best Arts Project' (2017). Golden Tree added:

For ACE, the Man Engine shown the massive appeal of Cornish mining and the value of contemporary art to bring heritage to life and engage with new audiences (K2, 2017:62).

The funding from ACE/HLF also helped facilitate expression of Cornwall's ICH (Cornish language and music) within the main ceremony, directly funding intangible values. This echoes a shift in the UK towards democratisation of culture by official bodies that are recognising and supporting other ways that culture or heritage are practised and valorised within the community, including performance in choirs and folk artists (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016).

8.5.4 Was it a transformative moment?

The Man Engine created a gateway for expression and an affective way of understanding, allowing a judgement of significance as something felt and something more personal. This affective dimension however may not necessarily have been sufficient to lead to long-term changes. Recent research by Smith suggests that deep emotional responses can engender emotional feelings such as pride in identity or nationalism, but do not necessarily equate to transformative moments. The latter needs to be coupled with ‘significantly developed emotional skills or emotional intelligence’ (2019:2). The impact of the Man Engine on some individuals was not short-term and appeared to have transformative potential. From the questionnaire (two years after the event), people expressed that the event had made them feel differently about Cornish history or being Cornish. This accounted for 60% of professionals in heritage, 53% of the interest groups and 67% of the wider community.

Transformative moments provided long-term impacts for some of the community and this included a change in confidence levels. Lewis a vlogger explored how his personal confidence had increased from in being actively involved in production during the Man Engine (2018):

After being there and making my video I felt like I could do more of these things and try and do my bit of telling the story of Cornwall's past (Q, WC 10, 2018).

His involvement with the Man Engine affected Lewis’ sense of agency in heritage making and heritage narratives. People expressed pride in pulling together as a community to produce their events. The community itself felt the importance of being involved and for Liskeard this had long-term impacts in confidence and solidarity:

What was the most valuable is it gave us some confidence as a town that we could pull something together (Brooks, interview 2018).

This demonstrates strong impact not just on a personal unofficial level, but the making of heritage through a combined community-led effort. This confidence resulted in Liskeard putting on more community-led events that included performance in public of Cornish intangible heritage. For example, the Nadelik yn Lyskerrys Christmas event includes activities themed around the Cornish language (*Cornish Times* 2017). Since 2018 Liskeard has also published a community journal *Lyskerrys* with a section on learning Cornish and articles related to Cornish dancing and local festivals which ranged from the

ancient, to the revived or new (Summer, 2018). This impact of increased confidence within the community has also been seen in official heritage sites like Heartlands in the WHS. That team felt they benefited in confidence from being involved with producing the Man Engine Ceremony (O'Neill, interview 2018).

In summary, the immediate experience of the Man Engine Pilgrimage engendered affective dimensions of pride and loss. For some this also led to moments that changed how they perceived themselves. The Man Engine Pilgrimage was a special event in the lives of some participants, which reflects Getz concept of a pilgrimage as a quest and a 'transforming experience' (2012:203). According to Smith (2019), transformative moments in heritage sites are more likely to happen in social history museums that deal with working class culture and challenge the received historical narratives. The Man Engine heightened this experience by visiting ex-mining sites and directly connecting with Cornwall's social heritage and loss of working class mining culture. This affective dimension as loss challenged the authorised heritage narrative of greatness and industrial prowess communicated by UNESCO and the UK Government.

8.6 What does this tell us about valuing?

The Man Engine Pilgrimage called attention to the many ways in which we arrive at valuing 'heritage'. The ways that heritage was used, celebrated and valued involved formal and informal processes and practices. This process illustrated there were diverse relationships with heritage and that valuations are therefore inherently plural. The Man Engine was a bridging or crossover between official heritage with fixed, immutable ideas of what has value, and culturally specific forms of value that are created through experience. It exemplified a crossover between the power, homogeneity, appropriation and essentiality of official heritage, and the more non-essentialist debates and recognition of diverse valuations inherent in grassroots heritage. Integral to this crossover was creating a space for co-production and expression of heritage. The Man Engine had diverse stakeholders involved and as a hybrid cultural process, it provided a context for co-production. This included stakeholders from official heritage (CWDWHS Partnership), cultural brokers, and freelance cultural producers embedded in Cornwall's communities, and provided an on-going connection with individuals in the local communities who were themselves stakeholders. This connection enabled a strategic framework that accessed public funding, which created space for the expression of Cornish ICH through a range of performances.

When explored in connection to the concept of performativity, movement was shown to create public space, connecting with sensorial ways of doing heritage as gestures and non-verbal that place the body as a site for negotiation and action. The Man Engine Pilgrimage moved through the Cornish landscape to significant places connected to the mining heritage, and this retraced the Cornish minority heritage and enacted a communal remembrance. This landscape of theatre and motion was a cultural landscape, and the theatrical multisensory performance created space for expression of diverse values including official significations and counter narratives. It enabled creative producers with the community to engage with complex issues, ideas and valuing of Cornwall's heritage.

The Man Engine pilgrimage was a popular, sensorial performative form of heritage and this affected how it was perceived and valued. Its theatricality created the potential to motivate people that would not usually take part to participate, and it attracted a wide audience to learn about the WHS and OUV. Essentially, however, people recognised that heritage was more than a representational form and called attention to affective ways of doing heritage and culturally specific forms of valuation created through experience. Experiencing of heritage as a multiplicity of senses centralised the body in mean-making and engendered a sense of being and belonging.

The Man Engine mobilised the past Cornish identity as a heritage that addressed contemporary Cornwall's needs. This included a sense of pride in Cornish ingenuity and innovation but recognised the history of loss, danger and hard work in mining as important to their lives and identity. This counter narrative balanced the official idea of what was heritage and its associated values. The body rather than being constrained, peripheral or omitted in official processes became a site for negotiation of what was valued as heritage. Importantly this narrative paid homage to those in the past, but was not a nostalgic lamenting loss of an idealised or artificial community; this was a 'productive nostalgia' (Smith and Campbell, 2018) where loss embodied the present day Cornish communities' needs and values. The Man Engine also mobilised a concept of community as an on-going experience and one that was incomplete and changeable (Neil and Walter, 2008:237). The Man Engine also created a platform for recognition of diverse voices and expression of Cornish heritage language, music and dance. This public display increased the visibility of the Cornish minority heritage and through these performances reclaimed this geographical space. In this way these performances called for recognition of diverse heritages and intrinsically, a plurality of valuations. In this process valuing can be seen as an active, dynamic affirmative form in contrast to a static heritage processor end product associated with official heritage valorisation. The Man

Engine in this way was a bridge between these two ways of doing and valuing Cornwall's heritage.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This study set out to explore some of the factors, tensions and power relations that contribute to how heritage is valorised in the case study of Cornwall. This aimed to enhance our understanding of the construction and complexities of how the past is understood and used within society. The research looked closely at ‘heritagisation’ processes through which different aspects of history, culture and traditions were assigned significance in different ways by different agents.

Two primary research questions shaped the study: What are the factors, tensions and power-relations that contribute to ideas of how ‘heritage’ and how the ‘value’ of heritage are negotiated, using the Cornish case study? How might events like the Man Engine Pilgrimage be understood as heritage practice that bridges the tensions between official and unofficial heritage? In order to answer these questions, the research employed a qualitative, mixed method tripartite approach into official heritage, unofficial heritage and the Man Engine Pilgrimage. The study was conducted from a relational dialogical ontology. It inspected representational and non-representational data collected through documents, ethnographic observation, questionnaires, interviews and focus groups. Official heritage was framed around an enquiry of the planning processes, stakeholders and outcomes that led to ‘authorised’ designations of Cornwall by UNESCO and the Council of Europe. The second enquiry on unofficial heritage was framed around how grassroots notions of heritage were expressed and practiced, and in what ways ‘performance’ was an effective, alternative act of valorisation. The final part of the study therefore explored whether the Man Engine of 2016 was a performative space for both authorised and alternative heritage expressions and valuations.

The study used a whole-regional case study approach to research these questions; it was situated within a regional WHS that involved diverse stakeholders with differing power. The research brought all angles into the study of heritage. The research emphasised the place of minority and alternative narratives within these processes, thus potentially improving the diverseness and complexity of our understandings of heritage. Integral to this research was exploring models of heritage practice that supported the creation of space for ‘from-below’ voices. This democratisation of culture included a shift to valuing heritage actively produced by grassroots communities. The study deployed performance theory to explore other ways of doing heritage to official processes, where the body is seen as active, not passive and can be analysed as a site where heritage can be negotiated

and refuted. This also challenged heritage perceived as a fixed notion of identity, to a dynamic embodied performance of being, as deployed in the concept of Cornishness.

The study of The Man Engine Pilgrimage in chapter 8, a popular, performative heritage project that took place in Cornwall in 2016, demonstrated the creation of a heritage space that accommodated both official and unofficial heritage valuations. The findings compliment a growing body of research that understand heritage as both a representation *and* an affect. In drawing attention to affective dimensions, this research has contributed to an area under-researched in heritage studies (Wetheral et al, 2018). It showed that embodied processes and performativity challenged the disembodied nature of official fixed forms and values, and facilitated valorisation as active and affirmative. It also demonstrated the possibilities for a shift in practice for authorised forms to build in from-below approaches, decision-making and valuations about the heritage.

In this final chapter I present the findings from the study, my research conclusions and comment on their significance to heritage studies and practice. Finally, I outline some concerns for the future valorisation of Cornwall's WHS and areas for further research.

9.1 Findings

This study illustrated that heritage valorisation was performed in complex ways in Cornwall, depending on the perspectives within official and unofficial processes. Several core factors contributed to how heritage was perceived and valorised. This was dependent on who the stakeholders were and their motivations, which in turn affected what was conveyed as heritage (the content/narrative) and how those messages were communicated (forms of mediation) and with what impacts. Valorisation was multidimensional with diverse stakeholders ranging along a continuum from official processes framed around value assessment, to unofficial processes where value was personally created. These heritage processes were seen as a relationship with something connected to the past, driven by a perceived need in the present day. This could be a personal (unofficial) or professional (official) connection that was maintained due to political, economic, cultural or social values. In exploring these connections with heritage, tensions were observed as different stakeholders had different values and some had more power in decision-making. There were however no clear boundaries over who was valuing Cornwall's official articulations of heritage as a WHS or national minority. Generally, professionals and 'lay people' were proud of the WHS status and supported Cornish national minority recognition. Although the ultimate decisions to designate Cornwall as a WHS and

national minority were made by professionals outside Cornwall, the Cornish were involved in spearheading these processes, including grassroots groups. Further the stakeholders involved in day-to-day management of heritage sites involved multi-stakeholders in the CWDWHS Partnership and the Cornish Minority Working Group. This was however a hierarchal process of governance and values, played out between professional local, national and global players. In respect of the WHS, local voices were less powerful than national and global stakeholders. The interplay of these layers of official stakeholders revealed conflicts particularly over a lack of support for protection. For example, some areas of the WHS had no legal protection from UK statutory listing and this created issues over planning decisions that adversely affected protection for Area 2 The Port of Hayle.

A merging of stakeholders from official and unofficial heritage realms also affected valuation processes, as illustrated in Cornwall's grassroots groups and community trusts. Some of these groups appeared to mirror official processes in that they used rhetoric similar to authorised discourses and could be exclusionary with selective membership. In addition some members were professionals in official heritage, which potentially led to the same voices and values being articulated. Further grassroots groups were also represented in official sectors – for example Gorsedh Kernow members were part of the Cornish Minority Working Group, set up by Cornwall Council. This exemplified the interaction between state and quasi-state institutions, and showed that viewing Cornwall's heritage as distinct groups of official and unofficial stakeholders oversimplified the situation. Further, stakeholders from both categories were not bounded by geographical place.

The study found there was a lack of effective democratisation and diversification of stakeholders in official top-down processes, and there were calls for a culture change in organisations:

Relationships, meanings with the past are observed or experienced. Therefore adoptions of processes or systems (especially top- down ones) do not work. We as professionals need to see how it is expressed and see feeling as part of the process... We need to get out there, be real, authentic with simple, easy vocals to communicate – the relationship (Goskar, interview 2019)

There appeared to be some disconnections between what was said in policy about engaging diverse publics, and what was actually done in practice. There were attempts to include a diversity of stakeholders in official processes for example during the WHS

nomination bid, which was highly commended by ICOMOS. Public consultations, as with other institutions like Historic England, involved inviting the community to comment on preconceived ideas of heritage outlined by professionals. In one case the local community were actively involved early in a heritage project, but promises were not kept, and trust was lost. While management, in this case at Heartlands, have made efforts to re-build this relationship with local stakeholders, grassroots groups were critical of decisions made by official heritage bodies (Davey, 2017; Sheaff, 2018). They felt that efforts to represent local actors did not necessarily recognise different values, only national ones.

This created tensions over sites managed and owned by national heritage bodies. Cornwall was seen as geographically and politically peripheral (Payton, 2004; Deacon, 2017). In spite of attempts to increase representation through recognition of the Cornish as a national minority, consideration of Cornwall as part of the UK Devolution Deal (2015), and the formation of a local heritage forum 'Heritage Kernow', the research uncovered issues. Heritage Kernow still heavily involved Historic England with limited inclusion of grassroots members. In addition, commitment by the UK Government to the Cornish minority recognition was criticised for its limitations by the Council of Europe (2017). Some of these conflicts potentially contributed to Cornwall's push for further political recognition in the UK Census. These findings echoed the literature in critical heritage, which discuss on-going concerns over democratisation of heritage representation and decision-making (Hall, 1999; Ashley and Frank, 2016; Littler and Naidoo, 2005; Naidoo, 2015; Smith, 2006). These concerns were reflected in the Cornish situation. Diversifying stakeholders was framed as 'community engagement', which centred on an artificial idea of a collective community tied into UK public policies around regeneration and a 'feel good' factor (Waterton and Smith, 2010), which papered over the cracks of inequality (Lynch, 2016). Community engagement was based around a universalised invitation to participate (Fraser, 1990), that ignored the realities of social hierarchies that determined who can or cannot take part.

Exploring who was involved was an important factor in understanding valorisation, but equally important was what drove people's relationship with heritage. An underlying motivation was the recognition that something connected to the past (a practice, object, place, tradition, or sensibility) was valuable enough to continue a relationship in the present. What framed this motivation however differed between stakeholders groups, as did the language used. Official discourses emphasised legal protection and looked at ways to fund safeguarding. Unofficial discourses spoke of 'passing something on' as familial, but this intensity of relationship with the past varied according to a perceived

personal need. Both official and unofficial perspectives also shared a drive to increase the visibility of Cornwall, its landscape, culture, history and identity, and seek recognition that it was different, which created a local heritage movement. Grassroots groups and official institutions pushed for further recognition, including designation as a national minority and representation in the Census 2021. In parallel, there appeared to be an increase in the performance of Cornwall's ICH in community festive events, including Cornish language, dance and music. Arguably this could have been integral to justifying being different or unique to achieve the official minority status, but importantly the dominant voices were articulating difference as series of qualities which were constantly chosen, recreated and renegotiated in the present, and used the term 'Cornishness' to describe them. This encompasses a wider sense of being as belonging that comes from shared attachments and engagements (Yuval-Davis, 2012). Further this need to come together as a community and perform heritage in public was valued in official and unofficial spaces. Although this may be seen as an artificial idea of community and 'feel good' factor when framed around UK public policy, the study found through its strategic use provided a platform for indirectly funding ICH. However, UK policy still struggles to shift from power and appropriation, to democratisation of culture that recognises diverse cultures and values; this includes facilitating community as active agents in production and expression of their idea of heritage (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016), critically sustaining ownership by the community.

Integral to understanding how heritage is valorised is how it is communicated. Forms of communication affect how 'heritage' is perceived, by whom and hence how it is valorised. Authorised and alternative heritage perspectives in Cornwall expressed and valorised heritage in different ways. Official heritage organisations used textual mediums (reports, management documents, tourism brochures, exhibits) and communicated factual information. This was a fixed form that instructed people about 'the heritage' (Hall, 1999). At the time of this study the WHS had begun to use more interpretative methods, which encouraged learning as exploration. Their 'Cultural Programme' followed a CWDWHS 'Interpretation Strategy' to reach wider audiences and communicate core messages. The strategy employed alternative ways of doing heritage that were active and embodied. These appeared to correlate with positive socially interactive processes that characterised unofficial heritage and contributed to how their heritage messages were valorised by audiences. For example the study found that people had a personal desire to connect with 'heritage' in grassroots pilgrimages to find Cornish roots or celebrating St Piran's Day. In making a pilgrimage, people enacted physical movement but also a spiritual movement from within. This process of self-actualisation, making connections

with the wider Celtic family or modern Cornish diaspora, entertains a much broader definition of community and ‘stakeholder’ in the valuation of Cornish heritage.

How heritage is communicated effects valorisation, but what is communicated is also fundamentally important. The narrative or story is evidence about what heritage is valued, and conveys what is considered important during the shaping of narratives. In Cornwall’s official heritage, the authorised story communicated a powerful message and influenced what idea of heritage (and its value) was seen as common sense or natural. The storyline therefore acted as an agent in shaping and embedding this perception of value into society. The narrative central to Cornwall’s WHS emphasised the great mining story and industrial prowess, which legitimised its official designation as ‘Outstanding Universal Value’. Local narrative also conveyed the danger of mining. The Cornish mining story was also propelled through other means – creative writers led to another ‘author-ised’ narrative, such as depicted in the BBC drama ‘Poldark’. This promoted a nostalgic gaze for the literary and film pilgrim, which attracted tourists and an economic emphasis on the valuation of heritage. In connection with the Cornish minority designation, there were no explicit definitions or narrative of what makes a national minority (Saltern, 2018). There were however key ‘attributes’ outlined by the Council of Europe Framework including self-identification as a group, traditions, cultural heritage and a long-term association with a specific territory. Unofficial narratives, rather than grand stories linked to a national history, conveyed a story connected with individual memory and sense of self. In many ways, this connected to the national minority attributes. In official heritage, words conveyed the idea of a legacy, pride of place and Cornwall’s identity as a major resource and strategic good in the future (Payton et al, 2000) but unofficial accounts used a different language, where this relationship with the past imbued a personal sense of inheritance as roots, place and family.

Finally, in looking at the factors that contribute to how heritage is valorised, the study found there were consequences or impacts of different forms of valorisation on individuals. This centred on affective and emotive dimensions, which became important trajectories of how people understood what heritage was important to them. This was individually consolidated through expressions of pride, happiness, or a sense of being or belonging. There were conversely negative impacts that created conflict and tension expressed as dismay, sense of alienation, anger, and sadness. For example, the official designation of Cornwall as a WHS provided positive impacts from this valorisation including pride in the status or financial security from jobs. Conversely there were negative effects from over-commodification and tensions for communities living within a WHS. Further tensions emerged from a lack of ownership and who was involved in

decision-making. Funding continued to be a problem, with the lack of state support of Cornwall's ICH; in particular Cornish language programmes had funding cut by the Government, and the UK has not ratified the UNESCO *Convention for Safeguarding ICH* (2003). It appeared there were also contestations over the official heritage story. The narratives and images that conveyed the story contributed to how official valorising was understood. Dominant actors legitimised their authorised narratives and undermined counter versions at a time when there was a need to centralise the local Cornish minority story. Generally, people were proud of a global mining story of greatness, but the messaging at UNESCO/national level did not convey the loss from de-industrialisation and on-going effects on contemporary Cornwall. Further the literary treatments of regions, including TV adaptation like 'Poldark', created a romantic landscape, that led to a stereotyping of place and people, essentialising of this national minority and preservation of Cornwall's landscapes as touristic spaces.

The second part of the study explored whether the Man Engine Pilgrimage acted as a bridging process for some of the tensions between official and unofficial heritage. The Man Engine was an event that took place in Cornwall in 2016 to celebrate the 'Tinth' anniversary of designation as a WHS. Consisting of a twelve metre tall mechanical puppet (replicating parts of the mining process), it made a pilgrimage across the landscape, visiting old mining sites as an act of community remembrance, spatial identity and celebration. It was a spectacle where people came together to celebrate, and in this way offered a performative space for both authorised and alternative heritage valuations. It called attention to ways that heritage was used and celebrated through formal and informal processes and practices.

The lack of democratisation demonstrated within official heritage processes, was addressed through this event. The Man Engine offered a framework of hybrid cultural governance that was about co-production between heritage organisations and freelance cultural producers embedded in Cornwall, which facilitated production of grassroots heritage with the local community as active agents. The study found that integral to the diversifying process was the cultural broker FEAST, which connected the community with official organisations. This included commissioning Golden Tree Productions, a collective of free-lance Cornish cultural producers who created the Man Engine. FEAST oversaw the commissioning process for the Man Engine and was integral to funding community-led productions that ran alongside the official events. This model is an example of the recent changes in heritage practice and studies in the UK, under the influence of Arts Council England and the redefinition of the value of culture. This emphasises the role that cultural producers can play, not only in the socio-economic value

as regeneration, but also in facilitating an alternative valorising of culture and heritage in people's lives. In Cornwall, these socio-cultural values were facilitated by working relationships and networks of local cultural producers who brought communities together to celebrate a connection with the past, as performative acts, traditions, stories, music and language.

But tensions also emerged as certain ideas of heritage were supported and funded by official processes. Responding to the lack of recognition and funding of ICH in Cornwall, the Man Engine strategically linked ACE funding with community production and expression of intangible and alternative forms of heritage. This helped facilitate expression of Cornwall's ICH (Cornish language and music) within the main ceremony, directly financing intangible values. In addition FEAST's brokering process helped communities access funding for their community events, which took place alongside the official heritage performance. The strategic use of ACE/HLF to indirectly fund ICH is seen in other areas of the UK (Nightingale, 2014). The move by CWDWHS Partnership to valorise ICH in Cornwall, suggests a shift towards multi-layered, active community construction of heritage, and inclusion of unofficial processes.

Finally, the research demonstrated that omissions in Cornwall's official heritage story created a sense of lack of ownership and as outlined above, this created tensions. Through the Man Engine project, however, the stories of hardship and loss of mining were centralised. Integral to this process was the popular, performative nature of the Man Engine. The Man Engine moved through the landscape in a pilgrimage, visiting significant sites connected with mining ancestors as a spiritual reawakening (Coleman, 2016). People were drawn to the spectacle of the puppet, and in this pilgrimage were physically and emotionally moved. The Man Engine puppet also embodied the mining story of creativity and innovation. The sheer physicality of pulling on the puppet ropes to make it move, exemplified the hard work ethic of the miner and the way that camaraderie and teamwork was still active in Cornwall. The lamenting music connected with the brain and engendered emotions and memory. This sensorial felt experience created mixed affective dimensions expressed as crying, smiling, awe-struck faces and clapping hands. The popular medium created a spectacle that drew people together for celebration and revelry, but this performance and dramatic theatre was more than a carnivalesque experience and temporary subversion. The Man Engine was a 'ceremony', a ritual and social drama that also called for change. It communicated the official mining story of pride but as a performative heritage that also recognised a counter narrative of loss and hope. This narrative was a 'productive nostalgia' (Smith and Campbell, 2018), which recognised a Cornish contemporary identity as innovative and forward looking, while

counter balancing an essentialising, nostalgic touristic gaze of people and place. In this way the Man Engine was a cultural symbol, enacted a 'socially and politically engaged heritage embedded in contemporary concerns' (Crooke, 2011:36). It reclaimed the spaces in-between official and unofficial heritage, and this space created room for the expression of diverse values that emerged through these performances. Finally, some of these affective moments were transformational, making a difference to how people felt about their Cornish history and identity, as well as increasing self-confidence.

The study also demonstrated that the Man Engine project did offer a model of management practice that bridged some of the tensions between official and unofficial heritage, but there were some areas that needed improvement. The popularity of the Man Engine engaged so many it was unprecedented and caused event management problems, which are not overtly covered by ACE /National Lottery Funding. This added an emotional and financial burden to the project. In addition, the research does add weight to Deacon's critique of neoliberal 'artist discourse' in Cornwall, where arts and heritage management does involve a small network of individuals and institutions (2017:49). From a management perspective, however the contribution of these stakeholders and networks was beneficial, as they helped this large project happen and facilitated co-production with the community. FEAST however pointed out a need to improve commissioning processes by creating conditions that allow freelance cultural producers time to prepare a bid through interim financing. The Man Engine project was also an income-generating model of management that funded the creation of diverse space. FEAST as cultural brokers demonstrated how resources could be deployed for grassroots community activity, funding alternative ways of 'doing' heritage. This created conditions to support ICH as informally practiced by the community, and valued the network of tradition bearers/transmitters of tradition (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004).

9.2 Original contribution to knowledge

This research makes an original contribution to our understanding of heritage practice, critical heritage research and the valorisation of heritage. From the study, the factors that contribute to how heritage is valorised are complex and overlapping. Heritage emerged as a relationship with the past, and this connection is constructed, invoked and mobilised around contemporary needs. This creates a range of diverse meanings and signification depending on the perspective in official and unofficial processes. Essentially, the study contributes to practice and theory in critical heritage studies, evidencing the need for democratisation of culture and structural changes in official heritage processes. The study

critically uncovered these relationships with heritage, but also explored agency and drew attention to heritage processes where the ‘lay person’ is actively involved in production. The study in particular provided insight into structural changes in official heritage processes in Cornwall that facilitated bridging processes or entry points for ‘from-below’ voices and practices.

The overall critical approach was reflected in the methodology, which extended the boundaries of research methods within this study of heritage. The research involved a layered methodology collecting both representational and non-representational data. The methods interrogated the power and social relations that form what is seen as heritage; who are the stakeholders involved in choosing (and who is not) and what are their motivations. This was aided by ethnographic approaches that observed in depth the layers of social relationships, connections and networks in heritage-making within Cornwall. Integral to a critical approach was using methods to increase personal agency. This involved repositioning the researcher and including data produced by the Cornish minority as a commitment to participation *with* not *for* the local community, that supported local knowledge and values. In addition, the inclusion of phenomenological data gave some insight into personal, inner and embodied knowledge that heightens personal agency. This extended to sensorial data (sound, body movement and non-verbal, alongside the visual), captured in audiovisual and live observation. This provided insight into the affective, non-representational way of ‘doing’ heritage. In the latter, the body is active in production; a site of negotiation, in contrast to official heritage processes where the body can be constrained. This demonstrated the need to do research in heritage that captures this fluid process of valuing created through experience and community co-production. This shift to everyday valuing and grassroots community activity supports the call within critical heritage studies for cultural democracy, founded on individual choice. Importantly, the study itself created a dialogue between individuals, places and recognised communities’ interests.

The extension of these research methods in the field of critical heritage studies, not only increased agency it also recognised that affective dimensions are important trajectories to how heritage is perceived and valorised. This contributes to a growing body of research in heritage studies that sees heritage as dialogical model of representation *and* affect (Harrison, 2013; Wetheral et al, 2018). The study further contributed to theoretical knowledge by drawing on performance theories to illuminate how the personal embodied process of valorisation operates and deployed this to analyse alternative ‘loose’ heritage spaces that support multivocality. When heritage is explored in relation to Judith Butlers’ concept of performativity, this centers on the embodied and active production. This then

connects with Thrift's felt experience, affect and creating space. In addition, Victor Turner's concept of the liminality of norms helps explain the performance of heritage in public as a specific mode of behavior rooted in an ancient festive form of convergence, revelry and subversion. When re-enacted in contemporary society like the St Germans May Tree Fair, this created subversion along a continuum, from a temporary subversion from every day norms to longer-term change or praxis.

This theoretical contribution to knowledge is extended to also impact in heritage practice, in how professionals can create a dialogue for cultural diversity. The study offers a model of hybrid cultural governance that can be replicated, illustrating how institutions can provide a way in for 'from-below' practices and create space for multivocality. From the research, tensions and barriers emerged between official and unofficial heritage stakeholders, and between the hierarchy in local, national and international official players. The Man Engine (2016) traversed some of these barriers, and in this sense was a bridging process. This started with the commissioning process by CWDWHS Partnership (a collective of institutions that own and manage the WHS), who deployed a form of hybrid cultural governance and stepped out of the process, to facilitate power sharing and decision-making. Integral to this process were FEAST who brokered relationships beyond the usual voices and connected with the local community and freelance cultural producers. This bridging practice provided a space between official and unofficial versions of heritage, decentered the expert and was intrinsically creative, allowing negotiation and recognition of a plurality of values. The Man Engine showed that the CWDWHS are willing to create space and this included both sides of the mining story, conveying both greatness but also that this work was tough and dangerous. This is now part of the official narrative within Cornwall. The Man Engine also drew attention to the pride and loss in this mining past and tapped into wider on-going critical societal issues Cornwall and negative impacts from de-industrialisation, but offered a positive forward-looking connection to this mining past. The Man Engine also demonstrated an income-generating model, which created this space for multivocality. In addition this indirectly funded expression of ICH in Cornwall, within the main Man Engine Ceremony and the local community celebration. Essentially this funding from FEAST was easy to access, went direct to the community and enabled ownership. This contributed to heritage practice and illustrated structural changes within official processes in Cornwall that created 'ways in' and crossovers for grassroots voices. In another example, the Cornish Minority Working Group was set up by Cornwall Council after the Council of Europe designated the Cornish as a National Minority (2014), this forum includes official representation but also members from Gorsedh Kernow (an unofficial heritage interest group). This bridging of structure and practice, creating in-between spaces, offers a way

to view multivocality in valorisation. Finally the research showed the contribution of performance practice to heritage-making. Will Coleman creator of the Man Engine puppet has a theatrical background, and working with other artists from Golden Tree Productions and the local community, created the Man Engine spectacle with its sense of wonder. The theatricality drew in huge audiences, but this was more than a spectacle, it had purpose and the sensorial performative heritage moved people from within. This performance created a multisensory experience, which affected how this heritage was perceived, valorised, and by whom.

This leads onto the contribution of the study to heritage policy. Heritage policy has largely been a tool for the UK Government around themes of citizenship, glorification of the past and heritage-led regeneration. This study has highlighted that heritage in Cornwall is defined and ‘valorised’ in different ways and is multidimensional, therefore policy needs to recognise this diversity and plurality of values. There are shared pasts and futures, but we need to have long -term, sustained changes that provide real power sharing. This includes what is seen as heritage (narrative/content) and a shift from glorification of the past to intertwined stories, which may unsettle ‘the’ heritage. This is not only in official heritage interpretations, but also through the content of a national education curriculum. Heritage policy can also help cultural diversity by recognising and funding ways in for ‘from-below’ practices in a future strategy. For example, the Man Engine hybrid model of cultural governance illustrated how WHS created space for recognition of other ways of doing heritage. This can increase diversity by reframing it in policy. Cornwall’s Culture White Paper (2016) highlights the role of cultural producers in heritage making – bringing people together to valorise cultural heritage. This encapsulates a shift from seeing cultural producers tied into socio-economic values and regeneration, to include socio-cultural values that resonate with unofficial heritage. The Man Engine model of practice adds weight to ACE’s (2019) future strategy, which advocates alternative governance that features cultural producers and the brokering of relationships between volunteers and communities that brings funded and grassroots non-funded together. Using the performative and popular Man Engine project, the research gave empirical evidence of a shift towards cultural democracy and the valuing of everyday creativity within the community, which contributes to how heritage is understood, practiced and valorised. Heritage is a multifaceted relationship with the past, and as with all relationships, they change and evolve. The study encourages heritage policy to view this relationship and with the past as a dynamic process and active valuing. In this sense, heritage policy needs to shift from immutable fixed values and preservation by experts, to a process of valuing that allows change and even loss.

9.3 Future considerations

In viewing multivocality in valorisation and the transient nature of heritage as a dynamic process of valuing, this creates speculation on the future of what has authorised valorisation in Cornwall. Harvey (2016) when attempting to visit Minions museum in SE Cornwall's WHS, found it closed but suggests that in the future perhaps market forces may decide on what heritage to keep or what to let go. In some ways this could be an empowering process as the visitor decides, rather than the expert, what is important or valued. This leads onto potential conflicts in future attitudes towards valorisation and possible changes to the region's status as World Heritage. What will future generations make of this legacy of industrial prowess that is directly implicated in light of the Anthropocene? How will it affect the future relationship of Cornwall's mining heritage and the concept of 'outstanding value' when applied to an industry that has affected the global environment? As society increasingly protests to save us from extinction, what will be the effect on these communities, as they view their heritage through different lenses? What is important is managing this change to facilitate a new way of doing heritage that allows loss and ruination (De Silvey and Harrison, 2019; Holtorf, 2015). Heritage is increasingly seen as a plurality, therefore this future Cornish mining story should create space for these changing values and diverse voices, including voices marginalised and affected by the Cornish diaspora through global industrial colonialism.

This leads to one final consideration and the potential for future research. The Man Engine Pilgrimage helped to rebalance a global narrative of Cornish mining to include pride *and* loss. There is a possibility that the Man Engine will visit the Cornish diaspora and this could provide an opportunity to extend this study to the wider Cornish community. This needs to be conducted 'with' the community not 'for them' and include indigenous people who were colonised during this global mining expansion to provide an intertwined story and enhance our understanding of the construction and complexities of heritage valorisation processes.

Appendices:

Appendix A. Information sheet and example of consent form for the study.

Appendix A1: Information Sheet

We would like to invite you to take part in our research study. Joining the study is entirely up to you, before you decide we would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. The research investigator will go through this information sheet with you, to help you decide whether or not you would like to take part and answer any questions you may have. Please feel free to talk to others about the study if you wish. Do ask if anything is unclear.

Research project title: ‘Valorising Cornish Minority Heritage: UNESCO and Performative Heritage

Research investigator: Joan Buchanan

Contact details of research investigator:

E-mail: Joan.e.m.buchanan@northumbria.ac.uk or jobuchanan999@gmail.com

Telephone: 01503 230066

About the Project

In a wider context in cultural heritage studies, there appears to be questions asked about how heritage is chosen, managed and valued. In addition there is a disconnection between what is said in cultural policy about engaging diverse publics and what is actually done in practice. The study therefore aims to enhance our understanding of the complexities of how heritage is valued and the political, social, economic and cultural dimensions that underpin these values. The study in particular is looking at the place of minorities within this process. The study will focus on Cornwall as a case study analysing UNESCO and Council of Europe processes of heritage designation, including the level of participation by the Cornish minority in spearheading and planning the heritage process. This research aims to contribute to ‘rethinking national heritage’ in the Cornish context. In addition the study will analyse the use of performance in Cornish heritage as a potential vehicle to express emotions, strengthen communities involvement in heritage and promote well-being. This project is supported by Northumbria University, although geographically distanced to Cornwall, there are some similarities with Northumbrian cultural heritage - border areas, post- industrial mining landscapes and a rise in tourism.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been chosen to take part in the study because you work and/or are a resident in Cornwall. Your opinions on how you value Cornish cultural heritage and the designation of the Cornish as a national minority are important to this study.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential (subject to legal limitations) and confidentiality, privacy and anonymity will be ensured in the collection, storage and publication of research material. Your data will remain anonymous unless you choose to be attributed personally (through a consent form). Anonymity will be ensured immediately when storing the data – you will be given an alias and any data

stored with this name. This will then be used for the whole project. Confidentiality will be ensured, by omitting any further references, which might identify you.

Who is responsible for the data collected in this study?

Joan Buchanan as research investigator is responsible for the data collected. The data will not be shared with other organisations unless you choose. Access to the data will be limited to Joan Buchanan, academic colleagues and researchers at Northumbria University with whom she might collaborate as part of the research process. The research was reviewed and passed by the Ethics Committee at Northumbria University on 22nd June 2017. The data will be stored in two password-protected repositories. Files from digital recorders or laptops will be permanently deleted after transferring into university storage. These university-stored files will be destroyed on completion of the study.

What is involved in the study?

You will have been invited to take part in either:

- A. A questionnaire comprising of closed and open-ended questions (so you can provide more detail). The questionnaire is anonymous, and an invitation to have a follow up interview will be provided if you wish to take part.
- B. An interview that will be one hour maximum. It will be audio recorded and would be conversational. Specific consent will be needed if you wish to take part in an interview.
- C. A focus group (5-6 people) will meet for one and a half hours maximum. Specific consent will be needed from you and you will be notified of the other participants in advance.
- D. A statement that expresses how you value heritage and/or how you participate in heritage.

What are the risks involved in this study?

As far as possible your contribution will be kept confidential unless you choose to be attributed personally. We do not anticipate that there are any risks associated with your participation. Your rights as a participant are:

- Taking part in the study is voluntary.
- You may choose not to take part or subsequently cease participation at any time.
- You can withdraw your permission at any time
- You can ask to access the information at any time (please see the contact information at the end of this information letter)

What are the benefits for taking part in this study?

You will be providing valued insight into how you personally value heritage and how involved you are in this process. The barriers and success in participation in the case study may improve an understanding of how cultural value is chosen. In addition it may improve heritage management practices, supporting involvement of communities and strengthening communities by this involvement.

How will the information be used will be used?

All or part of the content of your data may be published in:

- academic papers, policy papers or news articles
- on our website and in other media that we may produce such as spoken presentations
- on other feedback events

Will I receive any payment or monetary benefits?

You will receive no payment for your participation. The data will not be used by any member of the project team for commercial purposes. Therefore you should not expect any royalties or payments from the research project in the future.

For more information

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Northumbria University Research Ethics Board. If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please contact:

Name of researcher Jo Buchanan

Tel: 01752 851096

E-mail: jobuchanan999@gmail.com or Joan.e.m.buchanan@northumbria.ac.uk

You can also contact

Dr Susan Ashley, (supervisor): E-mail: susan.ashley@northumbria.ac.uk

Full address: Department of Arts, Design and Social Sciences, Northumbria University, Sutherland Buildings, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 8ST.

What if I have concerns about this research?

If you are worried about this research, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can contact ethicssupport@northumbria.ac.uk



Appendix A2: Interview Consent Form:

Provisional research project title: 'Valorising Cornish Minority Heritage: UNESCO and Performative Heritage

Research investigator: Joan (Jo) Buchanan

Research Participants name:

The interview will take a maximum of one hour. We don't anticipate that there are any risks associated with your participation, but you have the right to stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any time. Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of the above research project. Ethical procedures for academic research undertaken from UK institutions require that interviewees explicitly agree to being interviewed and how the information contained in their interview will be used. This consent form is necessary for us to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. Would you therefore read the accompanying **information sheet** and then sign this form to certify that you approve the following:

- the interview will be recorded and a transcript will be produced
- you will be sent the transcript and given the opportunity to correct any factual errors
- the transcript of the interview will be analysed by Joan Buchanan as research investigator
- access to the interview transcript will be limited to Joan Buchanan and academic colleagues and researchers with whom she might collaborate as part of the research process unless you choose further access
- any summary interview content, or direct quotations from the interview, that are made available through academic publication or other academic outlets will be anonymised so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed
- the actual recording will be permanently deleted after transferring into university storage and the university-stored files destroyed on completion of the thesis.
- any variation of the conditions above will only occur with your further explicit approval

I also understand that my words may be quoted directly. With regards to being quoted, please initial next to any of the statements that you agree with:

I wish to review the notes, transcripts, or other data collected during the research pertaining to my participation.

I agree to be quoted directly.

I agree to be quoted directly if my name is not published and a made-up name (pseudonym) is used.

I agree that the researchers may publish documents that contain quotations by me.

All or part of the content of your interview may be used;

- In academic papers, policy papers or news articles
- On our website and in other media that we may produce such as spoken presentations
- On other feedback events
- In an archive of the project as noted above

By signing this form I agree that;

1. I am voluntarily taking part in this project. I understand that I don't have to take part, and I can stop the interview at any time.
2. The transcribed interview or extracts from it may be used as described above.

3. I have read the Information sheet.
4. I don't expect to receive any benefit or payment for my participation.
5. I can request a copy of the transcript of my interview and may make edits I feel necessary to ensure the effectiveness of any agreement made about confidentiality.
6. I have been able to ask any questions I might have, and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.

Printed Name

Participants Signature Date

Researchers Signature Date

Contact Information

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Northumbria University Research Ethics Board. If you have any further questions or concerns about this study, please contact:

Name of researcher Joan (Jo) Buchanan

Full address Corbey Cottage, Eliot Terrace, St Germans, PL12 5NU

Tel: 01503 230066

E-mail: jobuchanan999@gmail.com

You can also contact Jo Buchanan's supervisor: Dr Susan Ashley

Full address

Full address: Department of Arts, Design and Social Sciences, Northumbria University, Sutherland Buildings, Newcastle Upon Tyne, NE1 8ST

E-mail: susan.ashley@northumbria.ac.uk

What if I have concerns about this research?

If you are worried about this research, or if you are concerned about how it is being conducted, you can contact the ethicssupport@northumbria.ac.uk

Appendix B: On-line questionnaire (2018).

Group one: distributed to people within heritage and culture in Cornwall (paid work) via professional networks. Group two: heritage-related interest groups and volunteers.

- 1) Do you consider yourself to be:
 - Cornish
 - British
 - European
 - If none of the above, please specify here...
- 2) Where do you think of as home?
- 3) What is your professional/non-professional interest in heritage?
- 4) What do you value about what you do?
- 5) How would you define the word 'heritage'?
- 6) Do you think that appropriate heritage programmes and funding are provided for what you define as heritage? Y/N. Please elaborate on your answer.
- 7) Does your organisation:
 - a) Encourage public consultation? Is so how?
 - b) Is this consultation successful or not? Why?
- 8) If you have public consultation, how does it impact on heritage programmes?
- 9) What do you see as the barriers and successes to the wider public taking part?

Cornwall mining heritage and cultural landscape has been chosen as a World Heritage Site (WHS) by UNESCO in 2006.

- 10) What does the status as a World Heritage Site mean to you?

As part of the 'tinth' celebration of this UNESCO designation, in 2016 a huge spectacle the Man Engine strode through Cornwall.

- 11a) If you attended or took part in the Man Engine event, what made you take part? Please tick all that are appropriate.
 - a) Interest in Cornish heritage
 - b) Celebrating Cornish heritage
 - c) Celebrating being Cornish
 - d) Taking part in a community event
 - e) The novelty or uniqueness of the event
 - f) Family togetherness
 - g) Sounded exciting
 - h) It was a free event
 - (Other, please add here)
- 11b) Did this event make you think more about your history or about being Cornish?

Cornish cultural identity is now protected as a national minority in 2014.

13) What do you think is meant by ‘National Minority’?

14) Should Cornwall’s cultural identity be protected by the Council of Europe?

15) How have you been involved in choosing Cornwall as a National Minority?

NB The on-questionnaire for group 2 (heritage-related interest groups and volunteers) did not have questions 7 – 9.

Appendix C: Questionnaire for wider community ‘lay person’ on-line and hard copy

This was distributed via free community magazines and local community places.

1) Do you consider yourself to be? (Please tick as appropriate) Cornish <input type="checkbox"/> British <input type="checkbox"/> European <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> (please specify) _____
2) Where do you think of as home? _____
3) What does the word heritage mean to you?
4) Cornwall mining heritage and cultural landscape was chosen as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2006. What does the status as a World Heritage Site mean to you?
5) As part of the ‘tinth’ celebration of this UNESCO designation, in 2016 and the ‘Resurrection Tour’ in 2018, a huge spectacle, the Man Engine strode, through Cornwall. If you took part in a Man Engine event, what made you take part? (Please tick all appropriate). If you did not take part please go to question 7. Interest in Cornish heritage <input type="checkbox"/> Celebrating Cornish heritage <input type="checkbox"/> Celebrating being Cornish <input type="checkbox"/> Taking part in a community event <input type="checkbox"/> The novelty or uniqueness of the event <input type="checkbox"/> Family togetherness <input type="checkbox"/> Sounded exciting <input type="checkbox"/> It was a free event <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> (please explain here) _____
6) Did this event make you think more about your history or being Cornish? Y/N
7) Cornish cultural identity is now protected as a national minority since 2014. Should Cornish cultural identity be protected by the Council of Europe? Y/N
8) Have you been involved in choosing Cornwall as a National Minority? Y/N. If yes, how?

Appendix D: Back ground information on St Germans May (Tree) Fair

West Briton 1859, St Germans May Fair

'In going from the station to the Eliot arms Inn we pass through nearly the whole of the ancient borough of St Germans. One of the first objects that attracts attention is the large walnut tree at the foot of what is called Nut Tree Hill. Many a gay May fair has been witnessed by the old tree: in the morning of the 28th of the month splendid fat cattle from some of the largest and best farms in the country quietly chewed the cud around its trunk; in the afternoon the basket swing dangled from its branches, filled with merry laughing girls and boys from every part of the parish. On the following day, the mock mayor starting from some 'bush house' where he had been supping too freely of the fair ale, was mounted on a wain or cart and drawn around it to claim his pretend jurisdiction over the ancient borough until his successor was chosen at the following fair. Leaving the old nut tree we pass by a stream of water running to a large trough in which many a country lad has been drenched for daring to enter the town on the 29th of May without a leaf or branch in his hat'.

Revived May Tree Fair (2012):

This logo below is by Tom O'Reilly. He is an organising committee member, and musician in 'Black Friday' and 'Tom O'Reilly and the Swaggers' band.



St Germans May Tree Tune played during the procession: The tune is circulated via Facebook and St Germans school. This tune is based on a 10th century Latin mass

Appendix E: Liskeard community programme

Outlined is Liskeard's programme of events, which ran alongside the official Man Engine Ceremony (2016). This was supported by Golden Tree Productions, and partly funded by Arts Council England (via cultural brokers FEAST). In addition to this programme, there was a community cartoon at the Lyskerrit Centre.

PARADE STAGE (OUTSIDE BLAKES BAKERY) *

11:00 – Telynors
11:50 – Jim Causley
12:20 – Welcome from the Mayor of Liskeard
12:25 – Scoot Lyskerrys + “Discovery of Kober” scenes
13:15 – Geoff Lakeman
14:00 – MAN ENGINE CEREMONY
14:45 – Sounds Vital Chorus with Singing You Back To Cornwall

WEBBS HOTEL / TINDLE HOUSE *

10:30 – Stewards Briefing
11:25 – Town Crier
11:28 – Liskeard Silver Band
11:47 – Town Crier
12:55 – Town Crier
13:00 – Liskeard Silver Band
13:45 – Liskeard Silver Band
14:50 – Liskeard Silver Band

CARADON MURAL **

11:30 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Liz and Geoff)
12:00 – Town Crier
12:00 – Accordionistas
13:30 – Melodionistas
14:50 – The Rubber Band

BOOKSHOP

10:30 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Mike and Barbara)

LIBRARY

11:00 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Liz and Geoff)
11:30 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Mike and Barbara)

STUART HOUSE

Exhibition: The Original Man Engine
10:30 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Liz and Geoff)
12:00 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Mike, Liz, Barbara, Geoff, Yvonne, Sue & Bill)
13:15 – Telynors
15:00 – One & All “Shout” with Geoff Lakeman & Jim Causley plus Scoot Lyskerrys

NOT-QUITE-WETHERSPOONS HOARDING

10:00 onwards – Man Engine mural – cartoon fun with Nick Brennan
11:00 onwards – Circus Skills
12:10 – Town Crier
13:45 – Samba Kernow

DEAN STREET CORNER PATIO (OPPOSITE THE ALBION) **

11:00 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Sue & Bill and Yvonne)
11:30 – Intuxicated Swing Jazz (raising money for the Anthony Nolan Trust)
12:25 – Town Crier
12:30 – Accordionistas
13:00 – Intuxicated Swing Jazz (raising money for the Anthony Nolan Trust)
14:55 – Samba Kernow

FORE STREET – BARNECUTTS

11:30 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Sue & Bill and Yvonne)
12:00 – Melodionistas
12:40 – Town Crier
12:45 – Six Penny Piece
13:15 – Looe Valley Singers
13:30 – Samba Kernow

FORE STREET – BEDDOES

10:30 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Sue & Bill and Yvonne)
11:00 – Town Crier
11:05 – Accordionistas
12:45 – Melodeonistas
13:00 – Samba Kernow
13:30 – Looe Valley Singers

THE SPINNING TOP TOY SHOP

11:00 onwards – engine house junk modeling and Cornish pasty crafts – what would the Man Engine have in his pasty?

MUSEUM

See real mineral treasures from local mines
Animated Mazed Tales
11:00 onwards – Treasures of the Earth – making sun catchers with gems

MUSEUM COURTYARD

11:00 – Copper Bottomed Tales (Mike and Barbara)

STATION

All day – Platform 3 Exhibition
11:00 – Procession with The Rubber Band
12:15 – Procession with The Rubber Band

Wet weather options:

- * Town Hall
- ** The Albion

Appendix F. Cornwall's landscape theatre: creative producers and social action.

Integral to the Man Engine (2016) was Cornwall's theatre tradition of taking performances out to the villages and towns. These free-lance theatrical artists were also stakeholders in a movement to increase the visibility and political recognition of the Cornish minority.



Figure 1. Foolsbarn theatre at St Germans Quay. Formed in the 1970s, they reinvented Cornwall's tradition of touring theatre. Photo: Cornish Studies Centre Redruth.



Figure 2. Footsbarn theatre: The baby in the fore ground is Jesse Foot, presently a SE Cornwall Councillor and Chair of the Cornish Minority Working Group. Centre right is Rick Worthy Creative Director/Manager at Port Eliot Festival. Photo: Cornish Studies Centre Redruth.



Figure 3. Will Coleman in Knee High Theatre. Photo: Golden Tree Productions

In his book *Plen an Gwari: the Playing Places of Cornwall* he describes Cornwall's medieval theatre and culture. Will is Creative Director of Golden Tree Productions who created the Man Engine (2016). He is also a Bard of Gorsedh Kernow (a grassroots cultural heritage-related interest group) and member of the Cornish Minority Working Group set up by Cornwall Council. As a creative producer Will Coleman is integral to helping mediate and explore some of the tensions in Cornwall's communities and he is described by Alan Kent (2018) as an activist.

Appendix G: Interviews

Appendix G1: Background information on interviewees

The first interview was with Ainsley Cocks, WHS Officer based at Cornwall Council, Truro. During interview (2018) he outlined the role of the WHS office as:

Firstly, the World Heritage Site partnership board governs what we do as a World Heritage Site team and office, which is a group of elected council members from Cornwall Council, West Devon Borough Council and Devon County Council. They are our funding partners with a 3 way funded split. Those represent the views of the Council in that sense and they oversee what we deliver through our management plan.

The second interviewee was Sean O'Neill, Operations Manager of Heartlands, a UNESCO 'Gateway and Interpretation Centre', formerly South Crofty mine near Camborne, the last Cornish mine to close in 1998. It is now owned by Cornwall Council, but overseen by a trust. I chose Heartlands as firstly, it held onto prospects of returning to production and this led to conflict with the UNESCO WHS, in 2013. Secondly, Heartlands is situated close to two urban areas and does not readily fit the nostalgic tourist gaze. Sean's interview provided insight into managing part of a WHS, which is, valued as both tourist attraction and recreation area for the Camborne community. Heartlands was a Man Engine Pilgrimage 2016 venue and the interview provided insight into the success of this event for the team.

Two further interviews were people connected to cultural or heritage organisations. Tehmina Goskar was an ACE funded 'Change Maker', an initiative to facilitate change and inclusion in Cornwall's organisational heritage and culture, by bringing in people from outside the organisation, and Fiona Wootten, who works for Cornwall365, gave a telephone interview. This is an ACE funded organisation, based at Krowji, a cultural hub in Redruth. Cornwall365 promote cultural events and their aim is 'growing a network of tourism and cultural players to put Cornwall on the map for culture, arts and heritage 365 days a year.'

The two anonymous official heritage interviewees have been heavily involved in heritage projects and one was a member of a heritage-related interest group. The interviews provided data on the motivations behind projects and the conflict issues around inclusivity in community-managed heritage projects. In the first of these interviews, the questions I asked were based around the report *Tavistock Guildhall Gateway Project report* (2017).

Individual interviews were conducted with three people who represented unofficial heritage. The first with Rod Sheaff, a member of Gorsedh Kernow, who promote preservation of Cornwall's Celtic history and culture in poetry, dance, song, sport and art. The questions aimed to explore what he personally perceived and valued as heritage. This included his Gorsedh membership and what he thought was most valuable about the Man Engine (2016). The second interviewee was Derek Stonley, a volunteer for Carn Brea mining group and professional geologist. He brought along a picture that illustrated what he valued about heritage and facilitated him talking about this. A picture he owned, of a Cornish mining scene that was used in the *Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall* (1814). Finally interviews were conducted in connection with St Germans May Tree Fair with Helen Manley organising committee member and musician. There were also follow-up e-mails that provided further background and motivations on why the event was revived in 2012.

Two interviews provided information on whether performances like the Man Engine Pilgrimage are a space for both official and unofficial heritage valorisation. These were with Jack Morrison of FEAST, cultural broker for the commissioning of this performance and providing a connection with the communities in this process, and Rachel Brooks, a Liskeard Councillor, involved in a community-led programme in conjunction with the Man Engine Pilgrimage in Liskeard. Most of Rachel Brooks' questions aimed to gather data on community participation and impacts around the Man Engine visiting Liskeard. She brought documents, which outlined the programme for the day, illustrating the level of community participation in this event. Jack Morrison's interview questions were focused on the Man Engine in 2016, however, the interview was also guided by emerging themes.

As pointed out in chapter 5, the research lacked an interview with Will Coleman, the creative producer behind the Man Engine or with members of Golden Tree Productions there was a however information on Will Colman available in *Cornwall Today* (2017) and a YouTube interview with Bill Mitchell from 'Wildworks', a Cornish outdoor theatre company who were part of the Man Engine performance, were reviewed. Another source was BBC Radio 4, who covered the Man Engine Pilgrimage in SE Cornwall at Minions and Liskeard. Their programme lasted one hour and included interviews with Will Coleman, Deborah Boden (CWDWHS Officer), Nick Stokes musical director of the Carlyon Choir that took part in the ceremony and community members who took part in the event.

The first informal chat was with Julian German, Leader of Cornwall Council, Chair of the Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape WHS Partnership, which had no specific questions but provided data on factors that contributed to how he valorised heritage. This crossed over from the politics of recognition to his personal values. One informal chat was with a Port Eliot House volunteer. Further informal chats (unrecorded and with no written consent remained anonymous), were with ‘lay persons’ during heritage –related events including St Piran’s Day, Trevithick Day, and a community event at Saltash school.

Appendix G2: Transcript of the interview with Sean O’Neill, Operations Manager at Heartlands. Interview Monday 8th January 2018.

(Research questions and researcher comments are in italics).

UNESCO suggest that key to sustainability of cultural landscapes is engagement of communities in management of their heritage. Please outline examples of ways that you have integrated the views of diverse or under-represented populations into your planning or decision- making.

So, we can go back in time to the planning of this site. So that once the funding had been awarded there had been a lot of community engagement that took place. The best example would be the adventure playground. The adventure playground in terms of its design and what it looks like today was very much an effort of that engagement with communities, young people, schools, about Cornwall’s heritage, bearing in mind what you think about Cornwall, whether factual or mythical. What would you like to see in the most amazing playground that you could ever think of? Then try to introduce heritage in that way into the playground, and by and large you would say it has been successful, although it was more the mythical side of Cornish heritage, that young people tended to come up with. For example there is a lot of reference to the pirate connection, the whole Pirates of Penzance, there are ruined pirate ships up there and barrels in the playground, and then you’ve got the legends of giant Bolster who used to stand on St Agnes beacon at Carn Brea, so you’ve got these footprints and the traps to catch the giant and the axe of the giant, that are up there in the adventure playground. So, all of that came out of engagement pre-build with schools, local young people...

The heritage, in as much as the buildings and the artefacts that were here, there was engagement with local stakeholders, way back prior to launch of the site. There were discussions about the exhibition centre; what does it look like, what does it feel like, how does it work, what is here? There was a lot of sensitivity from other pre-existing heritage sites over the content, which they would 'allow', concern that Heartlands was going to take all of their visitors away. For example King Edward Mine, where they have shaking tables and the mineral processing and sorting, and when it came to the sorting of minerals here, and what we might include in terms of telling a bit of that story, those discussions often became heated as a result of this concern. I'm just using King Edward Mine as an example, but I'm just saying that the exhibit here, as a result of that engagement, was scaled back and back and back, because of the sensitivities. This site was always intended to be a gateway, a signpost, come here and you have your interest piqued in an area. The common one is going underground. There is no underground experience here, so if someone wants to go underground it's about signposting that individual to where you can find out lots more about going underground, what's more where you can go underground. You can go to Poldark Mine. You can go to Geevor. I don't believe any drop in visitor numbers has been proven and I'm fairly sure that we would have heard about it from the other venues that their visitor numbers had dropped.

Conversely, I haven't heard that their visitor numbers have increased. Whether we would be told the good news is for debate. I don't think the introduction of this site has affected, negatively, the other attractions, but that engagement with them ended up with what the Trust originally wanted to do with the exhibition being scaled back.

There are some unique elements here that came through, things like the diaspora gardens that are unique to us. There is an interest in the plant hunter's backgrounds and how these different species were brought to Heartlands that came out of the consultation ahead of the project being delivered.

I'm conscious that I have mentioned a lot about what happened previous to the site being built, and the engagement with the community, when we first launched, having been open for about 6 years now, the engagement with the community actually was really poor. We did have an education officer in post when we launched and that sadly didn't come to anything because their role ended up getting diverted elsewhere to other things because of business need. Our first Chief Executive was notorious for upsetting relationships with local people in the community, so that engagement with people really hit rock bottom, in the first 2 years, and a big part of my role has been, in the 3 or 4 years I have been doing it, is re-establishing those community links and to facilitate that engagement happening. So, we are talking about a land of broken bridges and it's about rebuilding those bridges to get to a neutral / positive position where we can start doing that engagement, but at the

moment, that engagement hasn't really changed from what it was pre-launch. We also don't have the investment to make changes as a result. So, what you have is an exhibit and a set of features across the site that is static. There are not the funds or the resources to reinvest, so you have to strike that delicate balance between engaging with the community but also being able to deliver what that community engagement is asking for, because ultimately when you've gone out there and "you've asked us, you haven't done it".

There was some history of that through the build where we promised the world, but the delivery on those promises did not happen, so that was not what the stakeholders in the community expected, so there was a legacy of disappointment. So, we need to be sure that before we go out and do any high quality engagement that we can actually deliver on that engagement rather than repeat something that has happened before.

So, lots of engagement pre-build, lots of promises made, sadly not all were delivered. Some were, but not all. We have quite a good dialogue with the community through social media, typically that's how we hear most things. But social media doesn't engage with a broad cross section of the community, there are many people who don't use or actively don't use, so we are missing out on that engagement and it's just finding the right way to do it.

So what sort of things did the community think they wanted?

A common example relates to the development of this site for use by arts groups, so the performing arts, and one of the newer buildings "Chi an Bobel", which was due to be the community hall, it's name translates to the "House of People", the original concept and the original promises that were made as part of the engagement were that you would have this amazing space where you will be able to seat three or four hundred people, it will be rigged, it will be a three storey building, there will be green rooms, there will be lighting, PA's, everything you could possibly need.

What they ended up with was a large room which could seat two to three hundred people, but with none of the other facilities; no green rooms, no rigging, no lighting, no PA system. So, the intention of making it easy for community groups and performance groups to get in, get all their equipment in, plug into the lights and PA and everything, and "Go", wasn't the case.

So, for a community theatre group to do that, if they want us to put a performance on here, they are going to pay two, maybe three thousand pounds to get all of that equipment in, which should have been here already.

So, that is an example of that sort of promise.

The exhibitions that were promised included a lot more “interactive” and actual physical artefacts that were in the exhibition centre, a changing exhibition, obviously with the sensitivities that I talked about a minute ago, that had had to be scaled down. So that did not then meet the expectations and you could say similar things about other elements of the site.

The next question you have touched on already is about what do you see as the barriers and enablers of wider engagement and how ‘heritage’ is seen as valuable?

It seems to me that there is the dreaded “financial” and others. Money is a significant issue. Heartlands is run as a charity. It doesn’t receive any funding from anywhere. It’s always a challenge to operate a free to enter site, in a sustainable way. The trust was given, as part of the original funding, an endowment fund that helps it survive. It generates a return on the investment that helps with the operating costs, but because we do run a current deficit, we do end up withdrawing out of that endowment fund which does mean it’s got a finite life to it. Now, we are not under imminent threat of closing tomorrow, or any time soon, but we need to find a way to make the site sustainable, that is sympathetic to the site’s heritage. You don’t want to go out and put a bowling alley in the visitors’ centre because it’s “out of keeping” and we need things to be “in keeping” and to celebrate that heritage.

So, money is definitely a barrier to us being able to engage, both in terms of doing the engagement and also of delivering an outcome on the basis of that engagement. Otherwise, it’s a waste of time and can be quite a negative.

Prior to launch there was a lot of community support and anticipation for what this site was, and that has been stamped on a little bit over time. People have been left slightly dissatisfied because what they were promised isn’t here, or the engagement with previous members of the team has switched people off rather than switched people on. Those people are likely recoverable. So much of what we do is about personal relationships. So, we can access the community. I think it’s sat there quietly waiting for this site to fulfil it’s potential. I think when it does there will be a ground swell of support, but at the moment, we are not quite there. You look at the site in two different ways, or I do. The community come here, and this is a well-loved community facility. People respect it and you can tell that through the level of vandalism we get. It’s an open access site, open 365 days a year, 24 hours a day, so the level of vandalism we get is very low.

A lot of people stereotype the people of Camborne, Pool, Redruth saying it’s going to be terrible, you are going to get the playground set on fire and all sorts. Honestly, I don’t perceive the community like that, but there is that perception that exists.

We are well used by the community, we have more than 300,000 visitors each year that we have been operating and people who use us do seem to respect the site. There are exceptions, of course, but they are not malicious. There are people who cause damage through stupidity or young people trying to get one up on their peers, but it is a well-respected site, but I'm not sure that they respect the site because of its heritage connection. I think they respect it because it's a valuable resource. The heritage is an ancillary, almost parallel thing that exists, but they don't necessarily engage with. They wouldn't have come to this site if it were just an engine house and an exhibition centre. Because of all of the other things, heritage is just ancillary to their primary purpose for visiting. They come to explore the gardens, while they may stumble on the exhibition centre and learn a little bit more, rather than coming because it's a mining heritage attraction, they come for another reason. Maybe they are down on holiday with the family and the kids are in the playground and they wonder what else is here, or some may explore. We make heritage accessible so that it doesn't have almost an institutional boundary. So, if you are going to a National Trust property, then you are consciously going to a National Trust property, whereas people come here for another purpose and may happen upon heritage, and it's free. Especially, given the demographic of where we are, money is important. That "free" status really brings with it a mind-set of visitor as well. It's two things. One is "I can go there and I don't have to spend any money" and that sometimes is a negative for us as an organisation but it's a very positive thing for the community. So, while not great for us from a sustainability standpoint it's great for the community who have a great resource on their doorstep.

There are certainly more barriers than enablers. You have to ask yourself, does that interest that people like me think people should have in heritage, or in their own heritage, does it exist or is it fictional. I'll often ask a group of young people (probably the wrong people to ask), say there are 10 of them sat inside out film room in the exhibition, because it's free, "why are you here?" because they are creating a bit of a nuisance and you want them to move on. "I'm bored". "Why here? "It's free, it's dry, and it's warm." That's why they are in our exhibition, "and I can charge my phone." You may have a conversation with them and they ask, "What is this place about? "It's about mining heritage, do you know anything about it?" "No, we don't really know..." There is not necessarily the level of interest. Perhaps that's the responsibility of heritage sites, to make that heritage exciting, because what may be of interest to and adult, going through the interactive, etc., unless the adult is taking the young person to it, that young person isn't necessarily interested in engaging.

Yes, we took our young kids underground at Geevor and they loved it, because it was exciting and they were scared out of their wits.

They generally do when they get there. It's that adrenaline response isn't it? I think the burden is on the heritage attraction to make heritage exciting. Those may be two words that don't necessarily go together. What is it that can make heritage exciting? How are you going to make heritage cool? "Cool" is probably out of fashion now. How are we going to draw those people in, to knock down those barriers that do exist between young people and heritage?

Government documents increasingly talk about sense of place and good place to live, etc. Do you think that Heartlands provides that?

I think it's heading down that line. I do, genuinely, think is where Heartlands is going to go. At least that's where I hope it's going to go. A lot of emphasis has been put on sense of place as part of the curriculum, an area we've not capitalised on is that educational kind of place, familiarising young people with this site, to then facilitate that understanding of your heritage and your community and your culture and your background, and a bit of sense of pride in "place". I often talk to all sorts of people about pride in the community, because in Camborne, Pool, Rexroth, that sense of pride is really low.

I live in Camborne, so I feel I can say it. Camborne has a really poor reputation. Camborne has one of the busiest High Streets I've seen in Cornwall. It's busy all the time; there are always people there. You can have a conversation with anybody in the street. Everybody is nice. Everybody is friendly. Yet it has such a low opinion of itself. "Oh, I live in Camborne". "That's terrible. Could you not afford to live anywhere else"?

Do you think that has come from outside?

No, I don't think it has. I think it has come from within, because of that lack of pride in the area. So, that sense of place seems to be a negative for places like Camborne, Pool, Redruth.

If you look back at the history of Camborne/Redruth at some of the achievements that were made in this area, and how buoyant the economies were, then that sense of place has changed over time. I think that is due to the decline of the mining industry, but there has been no embracing of the new things that replaced it, the culture, the tourism, the high technology businesses that are coming back to Cornwall. It was high technology. It's always about how bad things are, never about how good things are. So, something needs

to be done to change that sense of pride in place. I feel that places like this should be driving that. We need to have things to feel good about this day, this week, this month. “Did you know that this innovation was created in Cornwall?” To try to give people a sense of pride about the place where they live.

I think the push is right but you’ve got to make people interested and want to engage with it. It goes back to making it exciting, making it interesting. So, at the moment, we, as a trust, are working with Cornwall Council and some other parties about what we can do here to make people look at heritage differently. We’ve got an exhibition, and the film is great, but the Exhibition is fairly static. It’s not exciting to a young person. How do we make it exciting?

There are all of these sensitivities about heritage from other sites, you can’t do that or you can’t have that. All right, let’s do something completely different. So lets engage with technologies that young people find exciting or interesting. If local people can’t afford the technology, then can we provide funds for people to interact with that, perhaps through a schools programme? That school program is so interesting and so exciting that it can create a visitor experience as well. It’s not just about can we achieve Key Stage whatever, its about “hi, come in”. Kids love blowing stuff up and part of mining was about blasting. So building connections through things that are close to but not exactly the same. So if you want to go down in a lift carriage you can embrace 3d technology to come in and experience what it was like working in a mine, but linked to the curricula. So, what do you need to learn about geology? The class comes in and steps into this room which smells like a mine. You put on your virtual reality headset; it smells like a mine, sounds like a mine, there’s damp in the air. So then you are all loaded in to your software and you get in a lift carriage and down you go and you are interacting to learn about geology while immersed in it. That’s where I hope we will go, looking at Cornwall’s heritage, but in a very high technology way, that links back to Cornwall’s engineering and skills to give young people that sense of aspiration and pride.

Things like the Man Engine, which was a magnificent showcase of Cornish engineering and shows that there is such talent here. It’s not high tech, but it’s built by people, it’s operated by people and it was created though the hare-brained idea of Will Coleman.

I think the government’s “pride of place” is really relevant and an area that we intend to capitalise on. We will link in science and technology and all the things that are relevant on the curriculum. So that young people are taken through this great experience at this heritage site, which opens their eyes to other things. So maybe one year you do geology and your bus comes back next year as you are maybe doing sense of place, so what was Camborne or Redruth like in 1854 and this enables you to walk down that high street and see what it was like and what industries existed. My aspirations may be beyond my

abilities, but in terms of how brilliant it would be to show the origins of the mobile phone. You couldn't have the mobile phone without mining because so many of the components are made from ores and materials that are refined into components.

I know life before the mobile phone. I know young people aged 10 who could not imagine life without a mobile phone. So, to say to them that this thing you rely on so heavily, wouldn't have been possible links it in. We try to create real world practical...with history.

It's a bit like trying to do the theory of a qualification without seeing an end product. Explaining a manufacturing skill without ever having done it or connected it with an end product. We are building a car but nobody knows what a car is. I agree with the whole sense of place thing. I think there is a lack of interest in it currently from young people, who are happily ignorant, with no real concept of what their history is or interest in education which is seen as stuffy, it's done inside the school walls, so you've got that institution barrier. Doing it because of an exam, rather than "this is cool". 90% of our visitors come to this site for reasons other than its heritage connection. The percentage may be higher, but I'd be surprised if it was lower. People come to this site, fundamentally, because the playground is here. It's the biggest free adventure playground in Cornwall and it's on the doorstep of a community who struggle to find good things or free things that they can access. Many of our visitors stumble across the heritage, not by design, for example, the café, where you have historical machinery. People either think, "What's that doing in the café?" or "That's a really cool thing to have in a café"... and they would never have read about this being a band saw and this is what it was used for. This is why it's here. That accidental engagement with heritage is really nice to see. Even when you have dog walkers or people transiting site, they will come across a sign on an engine house and read it, just because they are passing. These accidental engagements may spur on a reason for them to come back another time. That links them to somewhere they might not otherwise have gone, or thought of going. We have a relatively light touch to heritage and that makes it more accessible to people.

What aspects of cultural heritage performances like the Man Engine, which has visited you twice, do you consider most valuable?

I think Will Coleman, who created the concept of the man engine, is an amazing man. He is passionate about Cornish Heritage. He could sell it to anybody. I think in terms of a focal point, a role model, a figurehead for raising the profile of Cornish Heritage, I don't

think we can go far wrong with Will Coleman. We should really embrace the passion he has for it.

I think what Will did, was to expose a whole new audience to Cornish engineering and make people think, “Well hang on a minute, what’s this all about?” rather than well that’s about Cornish mining and Cornish mines. I think it made people stop and think and look at heritage that they had never really looked at or thought about before. It wasn’t that all of the thousands of people that came out to see him that was all about mining enthusiasts / people for whom Cornish mining was all they cared about. It was not that. If it had been, he would only have had two or three thousand people see it across the county. He made it accessible and interesting to people. I think he raised the profile of Cornish Mining through that. I think he also showed what talent still exists in Cornwall, and through Will’s own character, what passion still exists for Cornish Mining.

What I remember came out was the idea of who you were, who you are and who you can be. Provided positive nostalgia, or productive nostalgia, about raising the esteem of who you are.

It is amazing what he accomplished with that. I think he also, because of the breadth of coverage he got from the media, he showed Cornish heritage talent, sheer “bonkersness” to the rest of the country, and said look what an amazing thing is going on down there. I think it significantly raised the profile of Cornish heritage.

Has the Man Engine had any long- term effects on people at Heartlands, on how visitors see their heritage or identity or how they perceive themselves?

I’m not sure it has changed how people perceive themselves. There is certainly a connection between the Man Engine and the site, in as much as visitors, local people will say, “Oh, the Man Engine was here!” “Wasn’t that great, wasn’t that a magical day!” It was absolutely appalling weather for it. It was thick fog the day he was here, but that added to it. You got the Man Engine rising out of the fog, with the light on his helmet. It certainly added some deep mystery to it. People often talk about “he was here” so it’s great that people associate the Man Engine with here.

The impact on the team here, going back to events we touched on earlier. They are vastly more complicated than people think they are. There are a number of effects that the Man Engine has had on, not necessarily me, but the team here, so I’m proud of the fact that the Man Engine was here. The Man Engine coming here was a turning point, the peak of our organisational ability to deliver a large public event. It was the best, or the joint best event

we have ever delivered. In terms of the more boring and practical side of things it went almost perfectly. From an organisational perspective that's how I view it. It was an opportunity for lots of members of our team to work on a large event, to ignite that bit of curiosity in them-selves, and say what was that all about. Everyone thinks they can sit back and say everyone knows about Cornish heritage background, about mining, about Man Engines. The same applies to young people as to our team. Are they interested? Before that (the Man Engine) you would say no. As a result of this, that conversation was prompted. I think the Man Engine is a great hook to get people interested in Cornish heritage. It's why I am hopeful that the Man Engine will come here as his place of rest. That's something that we are having conversations about. As much as the passive interest in heritage is great, having people say "I've heard he's there, what else is there?" We'll find "Lets go and see him again". I think the Man Engine is a great hook to get people intrigued about Cornish heritage and engineering, to make them want to find out more. I think that's really what the legacy of the Man Engine is.

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Data sources:

Questionnaires:

Port Eliot (2018): survey of volunteers at Port Eliot House & Gardens, historic house in SE Cornwall (n49).

There were 78 respondents to on-line/ main questionnaires as below

QP, 2018: On-line questionnaire completed by Cornwall based professionals working in culture.

QI, 2018: On-line questionnaire completed by Cornwall based unofficial heritage interest groups and volunteers.

QWC, 2018: On-line questionnaire and paper copies completed by participants based in Cornwall - 'lay people' not involved in QP or QI groups.

Interviews

Thirteen in-depth interviews, plus ten 'on the spot'.

In addition, secondary sources from K2 (2017); BBC Radio 4 (2016) and *My Cornwall* (2018).

In-depth interviews: 8 official (3 anonymous) and 5 unofficial (Brookes, Stonley, Sheaff, Manley, and Reed).

'On the spot' 11 were unofficial and one official (Simmonds)

A1 interview (2018): Anonymous interview with a professional in Cornwall's heritage, 31st January, Tavistock, Devon.

A2 interview (2018): Anonymous interview with professional in Cornwall's culture, 17th January, Krowji, Redruth, Cornwall.

A3 interview (2019): Anonymous interview with professional in Cornwall's museums, 17th June 2019, Penzance, Cornwall.

A4 (2018): Informal chat during St Piran's Day pilgrimage, Perranporth 4th March 2018 (anonymous)

A5 (2016): Informal chat by person attending Man Engine Ceremony Penzance, (anonymous).

A6 (2018) Informal chat with volunteer at Port Eliot, April 8th St Germans (anonymous).

A7 (2019) Informal chat during St Germans May Tree Fair, 26th May (anonymous).

A8 (2018) Informal chat on the train with people (male) attending Trevithick Day, Camborne (anonymous)

A9 (2018) Anonymous participant in a Focus Group of people involved as volunteers at Port Eliot House & Gardens, St Germans May 2018.

A10 (2019) Informal chat at Saltash Community School, October 2019 (anonymous)

A11 (2017) Informal chat at Wheal Martyn conference (anonymous)

A12 (2018) Informal chat with group of people (female) attending Trevithick Day, May 2018 Camborne (anonymous)

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FG June (2018): Focus group with 'Black Eyed Nancy' band during Golroos Festival, 30th June, 2018 at Seiners Arms, Perranporth, Cornwall.

FG July (2018): Focus group with audience at the Man Engine 2016/2018 with Richard Blogg, Tracey Blogg, Charlotte True, Julian True and Ian Buchanan, 7th July, St Germans, Cornwall.

FG August (2018): Focus group with Liskeard Old Cornwall Society 1st August 2018, Stuart House Liskeard, Cornwall. This group included Brian Oldham, Paula Arthur and Jackie Jenkins.

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