

Locating Identity and Ethnicity in Cornish Civil Society: Penzance; A Case Study

Volume Two

Locating Identity and Ethnicity in Cornish Civil Society: Penzance; A Case Study

Volume Two of Two

Submitted by **Richard John Pascoe Harris** to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Cornish Studies.

Submitted in April 2016.

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Signature.....

Volume Two

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Appendix One; List of Interviewees

Interviewee	M/F	Date	Description	Cornish C	Reason for interview	Context/ Setting
Bert Biscoe	M	17/6/15	Cornwall Councillor, Cabinet Member for Transport.	C	Role of Cornwall Council. Efforts to seek a compromise	Penzance/ Penzance harbour
Geoff Booth	M	7/12/15	Retiree to Cornwall.		Reason for move, understanding of Cornish culture, impressions of new neighbourhood	Cornwall
Carol Bosworth	F	8/12/12	Members of Lescudjack Management Board Carole Bosworth: former Chair of RA, Caroline White: former Town Councillor, Jess Metcalfe: Treneere Resident.	C	History of the Treneere RA, establishment of the Lescudjack Centre, effectiveness of anti-poverty programmes, definition and boundaries of Treneere.	Treneere estate
Caroline White	F			C		
Jess Metcalfe	F			C		

Interviewee	M/F	Date	Description	Cornish	Reason for interview	Context/ Setting
Angie Butler	F	13/12/13	Former teacher Children's author.		Organiser of Pirates on the Prom.	Festivals
Keith Bell	M	08/12/15	Local architect	C	Penzance Harbour history, role of the Sea Front Forum, efforts to find a solution.	Penzance Harbour
Hadrian Piggott	M		Artist			
George Care	M	31/10/11	Local author	C	Writer on local history and Cornish subjects.	Penzance
Dick Cliffe	M	09/03/12	Vice Chair of Chamber of Commerce, local businessman.		Economy of Penzance, role of the Chamber of Commerce, position of the tourist industry, the harbour debate.	Penzance/ Harbour
Tiffany Coates	F	17/10/12	Project worker, Treyla		Social cohesion on Treneere, role and programmes run by Treyla, worklessness on the estate, family breakdown.	Treneere estate
'Darren'	M	18/12/12	One of a group of 10-12 year olds at Treyla	C	Attitude to Treneere, school, Cornishness.	Treneere estate

Interviewee	M/F	Date	Description	Cornish	Reason for interview	Context/ Setting
Julyan Drew	M	31/10/11	Methodist Minister prominent in Penzance.	C	Contemporary Cornish identity, life in present day Penzance, spirituality.	Penzance
Leander Flower	F	16/10/12	Customer engagement manager D&C Housing Association.		Role of Housing Association, support for the RA, housing management, anti poverty programmes.	Treneere estate
Simon Glasson	M	08/03/12 15/06/15	Town Clark.	C	(1) Issues for Penzance, role of the Town Council, relationship with Cornwall Council. (2) The Town Council and the history of the harbour redevelopment.	Penzance Harbour
Stephan Hall	M	09/01/14	First director of Golowan.	C	History of Golowan, why it started, how it has developed.	Festivals
Andy Hazlehurst	M	12/12/13	Third director of Golowan Involvement with Montol.		Issues during his directorship, budgets, involvement of the community, paganism	Festivals

Interviewee	M/F	Date	Description	Cornish	Reason for interview	Context/ Setting
'Liam'	M	29/01/13	Attendee at Trelya.	C	Reason for attending, Cornishness, life on Treneere.	Treneere estate
John Maggs	M	15/06/15	Environmental consultant.	C	History of the harbour debate, role of FofPZh.	Harbour
John Moreland	M	07/03/12	Local Councillor Chair of Civic Society.		The future of Penzance, issues concerned with current development proposals.	Penzance
Greg Musser	M	08/02/12	Graphic design technician, young adult.	C	Seeking employment, access to housing, comparison between Penzance and elsewhere, contemporary Cornishness.	Penzance
Helen Musser	F	07/01/14	Montol organiser, traditional dance teacher.		Montol history and organisation. Origen of performance.	Festivals

Interviewee	M/F	Date	Description	Cornish	Reason for interview	Context/ Setting
Sally Newby	F	16/05/12	Community Partnership manager, Cornwall Council.		Partnership working between agencies, role of Cornwall Council, neighbourhood development.	Penzance
Nigel Pengelly	M	15/05/12	Magazine publisher and member of 'A Future for Penzance'.	C	Views on contemporary Penzance, and the need to counter the negative discourse.	Penzance
Mike Sagar-Fenton	M	20/12/11 18/09/13	Newspaper columnist, historian and social commentator, letting agent, second Golowan director.	C	(1) Views on contemporary Penzance, Cornish identity and role of Cornwall Council (2) History of Golowan, its importance for Penzance, expressions of Cornishness.	Penzance Festivals
Debbie Sims	F	19/06/12 27/03/13 17/09/13	Community worker, local Treneere resident, chair of RA.	C	Life on the estate, organisation of the RA, partnership working with public agencies.	Treneere estate

Interviewee	M/F	Date	Description	Cornish	Reason for interview	Context/ Setting
Simon Reed	M	08/01/14	Former Mayor of Penzance, expertise on Cornish folklore, original Montol organiser.	C	Organisation of Montol, historical Cornish culture, issues regarding performance.	Festivals
Jan Ruhmund	F	20/12/11	Mayor of Penzance 2011/12.	C	Views on contemporary Penzance, Cornish identity and the role of the Town Council.	Penzance
Barbara Turner	F	07/03/12	Local restaurateur and business woman.		The tourist industry, an outsiders' view of Cornishness.	Penzance
Group Interviews						
10-12 year olds Trelva	M/F	18/12/12	Children living on Treneere.	C	Life on the estate, aspirations, attitude to Cornishness.	Treneere estate
Yap and Yarn	F	27/03/13	Four elderly long term residents of Treneere	C	History of the estate, life on Treneere.	Treneere estate

'C' in the fifth column from the left denotes Cornish born.

Specimen Transcripts of Interviews

Examples of Interview Analysis

Interviewees

- M. Sagar-Fenton
- D. Cliffe
- Inspector J. Phillips
- C. Bosworth, C. White and J. Metcalfe
- S. Hall
- S. Glasson
- H. Piggott and K. Ball
- A. Hazlehurst

The extracts from the above interviews show how responses were broadly categorised by the three main themes which are common to the analysis of Penzance and the three settings;

References to place



References to ethnicity



References to civil society



Texts illustrating the principal discourses are also indicated as follows;

Positive Discourse

Dp

Negative Discourse

Dn

Sink Estate Discourse

Dse

Interview with Mike Sagar-Fenton – 20 December 2011, Alverton Café, Penzance. Topic, Penzance

Q1. How would you describe Penzance?

It's the most westerly major town; it's characterised by its insularity. It's the area of last resort of those who want to get away from the rat race; civilisation. It's very remote, an interesting mixture of people, and surprisingly cosmopolitan. People here are seeking what they can't find anywhere else. Penzance when I grew up was a middle class, staid Methodist working town with many industries. Market day was very important but the town was very staid; difficult to excite.



Dp

Q2. What sort of period are you talking about?

1950s and early 1960s.

Q3. How would you define Penzance geographically?

Penzance is the centre of Penwith; but perhaps less so now. It's the beating heart of the peninsula. There's no such thing as a Penwithian. Smaller communities have their own identity but Penzance is the centre from Praa Sands to Lelant.



Dp

Q4. Is Penwith part of a hierarchy of identification?

No, people miss it out. They identify with their own community.

Q5. What are the special characteristics of Penzance?

There's a strong sense of independence, but that is probably true of all Cornish towns. There is a strong sense of our own community. We have a surprisingly strong identity in the arts but it's a hard place to make a living in. The harbour and town are separated in a very uncomfortable way. Therefore, it has a dual personality; it doesn't centralise naturally. Residential areas don't cluster around the harbour. The residential areas are to the north, the commercial area is in the middle and the harbour and promenade are to the south.



Q6. What is the balance between tourism and other influences?

Penzance has always been snotty about tourism. It's a market town, it's an administrative centre and has its own hospital. Therefore, it sees itself above the battle regarding tourism. It's nice if they come, but the town looks down on places which make their pitch to attract tourists. Tourists do come to Penzance; it's a centre to explore other places.



Q7. So it sees itself as connected to other places?

I don't think that's a particularly part of its psychological profile. It is seen as the end destination for train and bus services.

Q8. There is not a hierarchical class structure within the community?

It used to be particularly with Methodism where people were conscious of their social position but this has disappeared nearly everywhere. People don't think manual labour is demeaning either in Penzance or Cornwall



generally. People here can deal with being patronised by the English; they take the mickey out of it. People are sensitive to the belief that they are as good as anybody. This does give a democratic feel for part of the community.

Q9. What about the cultural dimension of the town; art galleries, studios and so on?

That works; some of it is esoteric stuff; for example, at the Exchange but it is tolerated and seen as a part of life in Penzance.

Dp

Q10. It's not seen as part of a middle class activity which doesn't relate to real people?

Yes, I think it is seen by some as that but others are stimulated by modern art and although a lot of people find it difficult some of these barriers are breaking down. The Penlee Gallery does relate to local people. Artists from outside descended on a working class community and got on fine.

Q11. What about the influence of the St Aubyns and Bolithos?

They are a group apart; they socialise with each other but we are away from them. They still have a tremendous presence in terms of land ownership but unless you are a tenant they have little influence over everyday life. They are a fact of life which isn't going to change.

Q12. Penzance was a closed restricted society in the past. How has it changed since then?

Celebration and having a good time are not frowned on; indeed they are encouraged. Former reticence was based on what people might have thought had completely gone.



Q13. This celebration is part of the increase in Cornish iconography since the 1960s?

In the 1950s and 60s we didn't feel threatened. We didn't need to express our Cornishness because Cornwall was all around you. Most people were Cornish. Cornish people in Penzance are possibly still in the majority. The influx of tourists and incomers means that minorities respond and in Cornwall we have symbols by the bucket load to express our identity. We pulled the iconography from obscurity; it makes us special and links to our history. When I was growing up people didn't feel the need to express themselves as Cornish. Now identities are much more fluid and people want something to latch onto.



Interview with Dick Cliff – 9 March 2012 at ‘Elmsdale’, Alexandra Road, Penzance. Topic, Penzance

Q1. How would you describe Penzance?

It's a mini county town with more substance and more permanence than in most coastal towns like St Ives or Newquay. It has all kinds of professional services acting as the hinterland to Penwith serving all functions.

Dp



Q2. It is also a visitor centre?

Yes, this is currently being debated; Penzance as the gateway to Penwith. Visitors can use it as a centre for a large number of attractions both man-made and natural. It's the centre for a spectacular area. People will stay here in preference to St Ives which is a difficult place to visit. But we under-sell ourselves. Penzance itself has a lot to offer; it's also an artistic centre with a lot of creative activity.

Dp



Q3. Do you see a conflict between the perception of Penzance as a market town – business centre and as a tourist destination?

Penzance is not a destination in its own right. People stay in Penzance because they want to visit the area rather than Penzance itself. Local people feel aggrieved because they feel the town is treated rather cursorily but I don't see a major conflict as 23% of employment in Penzance is related to tourism.



Q4. But you are saying that tourists pass through Penzance rather than see it as a destination?

There is a criticism that Penzance is a bit like a dormitory for Penwith tourism. But it has a good range of restaurants and comparison shops. People come all though the year and it's a comfortable sized town to visit.

Q5. Is there a case for promoting these unique selling points?

Yes, Penzance hasn't been forced in the past to sell itself like St Ives. It's unfavourably compared with Falmouth. We have missed opportunities and been complacent. We whinge rather than do things.

Dn







Q6. What are the main characteristics of the town from the perspective of an outsider?




Penzance has been riven by cliques and disputes largely due to a lack of political leadership. There hasn't been a consensus to rally around. The harbour issue has had a negative impact. We are remote down here and that can have negative consequences; everything tends to be reflected back into the town. It tends to look in on itself and doesn't look as far a Truro. It tends to be sidelined in Cornwall. Penzance has a history of saying no to projects of any kind. It's perceived of not trying hard enough; for example' to locate the university campus in Penzance. The Chamber of Commerce and Town Council were not in favour of Marks and Spencer coming to Penzance. We lost business as it eventually located at Hayle. There are a lot of issues where the town hasn't been prepared to embrace or seek change. There is a sense of entitlement in Penzance and a feeling that it deserves more without preparing the justification.

Dn



Dn

<p>Q7. What's the town's relationship with the rest of Penwith? Penwith is seen as its natural hinterland and therefore because of its geography it assumes that it will focus on Penzance. Therefore Penzance sees itself as a self contained town but if it was more outward looking it would perhaps appreciated that is it not really competing.</p>	<p>Dn </p>
<p>Q8. How long have you lived in the area? I moved in 2007. My wife comes from Treneere so I married a Cornish woman. I am aware of the issues such as the economy but I was not aware of the in-fighting until I got involved. I learnt a lot volunteering from the Citizens' Advice Bureau and I became conscious of the area as one of extremely low incomes. There are people who are comfortably middle class but the majority are living on very modest incomes, much lower than say Somerset, where I previously lived. So people are prepared to move to Cornwall to do identical work for 20% lower wages.</p>	<p></p>
<p>Q9. Have you seen the area change? Yes, Penzance has been on the up. In the early 90s it was a desperate place and it looked shabby. But Cornwall has become more desirable. There is an influx of younger people starting up businesses and buying up property. This has injected a degree of vitality into the area. The creative side has always been here; there are an amazing number of galleries. Now middle class comfortable families come down here for holidays rather than the bucket and spade fortnight of previous visitors.</p>	<p>Dp </p>
<p>Q10. But there is a perception that the town is going through a bad patch? There are failures in the High Street. It is claimed that there have been 99 shop closures but only 14 or 15 are still empty. Closures cluster in high rent locations but this is a structural change in high streets going on all over the country. Penzance has a vulnerable economy; it's dependant on disposal income but has done better than you would expect. It's not worse than anywhere else.</p>	<p>Dn</p>
<p>Q11. What are the main issues currently facing the Town? The town centre is suffering; regeneration is an issue. The future of the Scilly link is fundamental. But there isn't a strategy to maintain the ferry. The town functions as a communication centre, retail centre, was a major administrative centre and a tourism centre. Tourism is bearing up well; last year it did quite well, the place is still popular. Administrative employment has shrunk, communications are under threat; for example, the helicopter link which will mean 90 to 100 jobs will go and the future of the sea link is uncertain. The Minister will not get involved in the replacement vessel: the private sector should provide. This is having an adheres impact on the Isles of Scilly, it should be seen as a suburb of Penzance, we gain from visitors to Scilly staying in Penzance, wholesalers provide supplies to the islanders as do town centre stores.</p>	<p>Dn </p>
<p>Q12. Is one of the problems that Penzance is at the 'end of the line'? It is a jewel at the end of the line. The end of the line is not necessarily</p>	

<p>negative, it makes us distinctive and different; special but reducing the railway to a branch would be a major blow. I'm optimistic about Penzance. It has a varied environment and is architecturally interesting. It is a human sized town which you can get to know. It's full of interesting nooks and crannies and has a magnificent sea front.</p> <p>Q13. What is the role of the Chamber of Commerce in addressing some of these issues?</p> <p>It is the voice of business and gives priority to the local economy. It has between 90 and 100 members but will start to expand. We are now beginning to get a good press. It is an organisation which people feel they can do business with, for example the regeneration of the town centre. Penzance is one of largest chambers in Cornwall. We had to get involved with the harbour issue as it is vital for business and the local economy. One of the problems with Penwith is that there are a lot of people who are not economically active, most retired. They regard the harbour issue as heritage rather than vital for the local economy. They don't have an infinite with the local economy and understand the importance of the link to the islanders. They bought into the view and environment and when a freight facility is proposed it isn't what they aspire to. They come to Cornwall to get away from development. They are a well educated incoming class who are ambivalent to some of the things you need in an up to date economy.</p>	 Dp  Dp
<p>Interview with Inspector Jean Phillips – 28 January 2013. Penzance Police Station. Topic, Treneere</p>	
<p>Q1. How would describe Treneere at the moment?</p> <p>I think Treneere is brilliant. I worked here in the 1990s as a Sergeant in my twenties. Treneere was awful. It was that stereotypical location with cars on blocks, gardens full of old sofas and people would shout at police cars. The police were hated. We only went there if we had to: we fire brigaded it. We didn't solve any problems; we sticking plastered it. I came back again 18 months ago and although I was aware that a lot of work had been done, I found just driving through that it looked more attractive. It didn't look untidy, the police now knew people on the estate, they talked to people on the estate. To me it was a transformational change.</p> <p>Q2. Why do you think this improvement happened?</p> <p>I think that agencies addressed the needs of the community. We stopped telling people what they wanted but asked people what they wanted. We assumed we knew what people wanted such as their gardens being tidied up, rather than listening to what they wanted; what their concerns were. They were as concerned as we were about the unruliness of the children and the mess on the streets. But we didn't give them any reason to trust us. All agencies put resources in there which made them feel that people cared and that the community was worth investing in. We had different meetings at different levels and suddenly gave them a reason to trust us. Now Treneere is a much more pleasant place.</p>	 Dse Dse

Q3. Who instigated the listening approach?

This happened in the 2000s when the agencies got funding. Community safety was the starting point.

Q4. There seemed to be a view both from within Treneere and the agencies involved that up to that point, whatever we are doing isn't working?

Yes, there was a different attitude towards the RA. The dialogue at that stage was often accusatory. We were defensive. The police blamed other agencies saying that some of the issues were not our job. The RA was often battered from pillar to post. There comes a time when you have to stop being defensive and listen.

Q5. The availability of funding paid for two Community Support Officers?

Yes.

Q6. What did they do as opposed to the duties of a policeman?

It was about becoming known; having continuity with a police presence; a known face who feeds back on what has been done. They engage with the community, particularly the youngsters. They listened to young people, introduced activities like street games and trips. The CSOs could spend quality time with residents. Our intelligence on criminality for example drug dealing improved; we knew where and when it was happening. The residents could see action being taken with the issuing of arrest warrants and could see a link between their requests and action. We were able to create a positive cycle for crime reduction.

Q7. In Cornwall parts of adjacent areas are not notably different from former council estates for example Treneere and the Battlefields area?

For various reasons Council/Housing Association properties like Treneere and Gwavas have always been on the radar. I agree that Battlefields is little different from Treneere but you don't drive through it. Battlefields is more of a closed area and unless you live there you don't really know. If we were to look at the Battlefields you would find many of the same problems but no one has looked and no one has wanted to look.



Dn

Interview with Carol Bosworth, Caroline White and Jess Metcalfe - 18 December 2012 at the Lescudjack Centre. Topic, Treneere

Q1. Where did the money come from for the Treneere RA?

Caroline

The RA got £1.6m in 2005/06 to be spent over 4 years but then it tailed off. We then got funding from Cornwall Council for policing, PCSs, photo-voltaic panels, mentoring, a homework club and other activities. We employed a project manager. We think that the original Treneere project made a difference but people said why does Treneere get all the money? Rather than concentrate on the estate we felt it could be spread to other estates.



Q2. What impact has all this activity had on Treneere?

Carol

I've lived on the estate for about 30 years. I always thought Treneere a wonderful place to live but it changed with drugs coming onto the estate. Policing made a big difference. Children realised that adults were taking an interest. There were 2 or 3 houses which were centres for drug dealing and we lost a lot of youngsters to these people.

Caroline

This problem has gone to a certain extent. We surveyed the residents and people are becoming more and more proud of the estate and the fear of crime has reduced.

Jess

There are some very subtle but important changes. I've lived here for 10 years but when I was a teenager I wouldn't walk through Treneere. It was a no go area but now the outside perception has changed. It is more comfortable and a safe place for everyone. Treneere has always had a very tight community feeling which some estates don't but it has relaxed enough possibly due to the amount of community based work so it is now about the whole community.

Q3. Does being Cornish play any part in being part of Treneere?

Carol

No, I don't think it does. Londoners arrived when the war was on. It's not about being Cornish but about how long you have been a resident. You need an original connection or you need to have stood the test of time.

Jess

When a new kid came on the estate they would be bullied until another new one came along. That still happens and also with adults but it doesn't matter where you come from there are little things which indicate whether you are part of the community or not.

Q4. Does being Cornish help to become part of the Community?

Carol

No, not really.

Q5. Why therefore are all the RA members Cornish?

Carol

Because they are family; Debbie, Trudy's Mums were on the original RA. There have been other people but they haven't lasted long. It's difficult to slot into a group which is also a social group.

Dse



Interview with Stephen Hall – 9 January 2014, at his home in St Just. Topic, Golowan Festival

Q1. Looking at the period up to 2006, can you describe how Golowan started?

In the 1980s I started a community archive project sponsored by Cornwall County Council, based on local history which involved lots of interviews. It lasted 3 or 4 years and in the process we came across Golowan. We did an exhibition about it. I felt connected because I was born on the 24 June and come from a Penzance family. This led to schools becoming interested, particularly, Alverton. They became fascinated by the serpent dance. I applied to be the Project Director of the Penwith Peninsula Project which was looking at the culture, heritage and landscape of Penwith funded by The Countryside Commission, The Tourist Board and Penwith District Council. Things like local celebrations came up. I had some budget as was able to do work with Alverton School. There was a view that we wanted a special day in Penzance. The Chamber of Commerce wanted a Poldark Day.



Q2. By that time there were other festivals forming in Cornwall, for example Trevithick Day?

Trevithick had an industrial background. We wanted something similar to Padstow. A meeting was called and some people came on board but many were resistant.

Q3. Who was resistant?

Anyone. The Council were not in favour; they didn't know what it was all about. The Tourism Officer was cool about the idea. We discussed at the meeting basing an event on what Penzance had done before. I was able to put some money in from The Penwith Project. We chose to call it Mazey Day because of the Cornish expression to be mazed.

Q4. It started as one day?

Yes, but we linked it to the feast of St. John although people know it as Mazey Day. We wanted it to be June 24th but the Council wanted it to be held on a Saturday. We also wanted to push the traditional celebrations of bonfires and Quay Fair. We were enthusiastic. It was my idea but I needed to work with other people. I became the champion of it. We managed to get funding from the County Council but we were all volunteers.



Dp

Q5. What did the first Mazey Day consist of?

It poured with rain but we had a procession, involvement by schools, banner workshops which were hugely popular and Kneehigh performed in Penlee Park.

Q6. In the original St Johns' feast celebrations there were many things happening only some of which have survived into the modern day Golowan. Some things have remained, others have been added on. How did you decide what to include?

It was most important to get young people and schools involved. The

serpent dance was important. We wanted to take from the past but place it in a modern context. 'Blowing on the embers of yesterday with new imagery and ritual' was our slogan. We knew we had to belong to the world we are in. We took Quay Fair, the Mock Mayor (although there was concern about the misrule aspects), a bonfire but we didn't want to challenge The Old Cornwall Society. We decided to select what we thought was important. We liked the idea of Penglaz but there was opposition. We were not trying to force anything down peoples' throats. We had nothing to do with paganism.



Q7. But that was an accusation by those people opposed?

It was only when it started to be a success that the Town Council and Penwith DC began to take an interest. The District was slower to get involved. There was a lot of passion at this stage. It was still voluntary but we always paid the bands and performers. We worked with Kneehigh's community team who made the first Mazey Day possible. Kneehigh paid for the community team. They designed the logo. We managed to get through the first year and then people said they wanted a second one. It then gradually built up. We would like to have brought back the Pennyworth of Sea, the Quay Fair was good, we had swing boats to start off. We eventually decided we could bring back Golowan as the Feast of St John and that Mazey Day would be the highlight.



Dp

Q8. At this stage what were the aims of the festival?

To have pride in where we lived; a celebration of place. We had other ideas, Poldark, Pirates but they didn't have anything to do with Penzance.



Dp

Q9. Where there other motivations. Did some stakeholders have different ideas?

I don't think the Tourism Officer understood any of what we were trying to do. Traders in the town didn't like market stalls. People didn't understand what our agenda was but we didn't have an agenda except to celebrate the town. The Town Council wanted to influence what was going on and, at the same time, cock-a-snook at the District Council. Working with the Acorn we tried to get business involved. As time went on the local papers were supportive so people gradually became more supportive. We won an award from The English Tourist Board so it started to have status, which the District Council didn't like. We unconsciously were pressing topical buttons like community involvement and participation. We were not trying to compete. We didn't want the festive to deteriorate into a cynical commerce operation. Business didn't like it and it was a bit of a fight with them.



Q10. Golowan is an inclusive festive embracing a wide range of people from the surrounding area?

We didn't try to encourage it. We didn't anticipate that it would get as big as it did. A lot of people in the beginning had a sense of their Cornishness or being a part of Penzance. Although I was born in Penzance I went away and it took some time before people accepted me again. I did try to ensure that I employed local people and local bands in the programme.



Q11. Padstow is a more insular event than Golowan in the sense that it is very much confined to the town?

What resistance we had was sometimes due to the core values we had. We celebrated some of our traditions but in a controlled way for example Penglaz. In Padstow the 'Obby 'Oss was paraded outside the town. With Golowan they were people trying to read more into the festive than was there for example controversies over paganism. Padstow should not have been the spectacle. Golowan should have been similar. Our traditions should be respected although we realise they have been reported and described through an antiquarian filter.



Q12. You were involved between 1991 and 2006 which is a long time. Were you doing this on a voluntary basis?

I did it on a voluntary basis for 7 or 8 years. We were picking up grants, contributions from schools and were making money from stalls. Golowan had got big and there were people with other agendas such as the possibility of a fringe festive. It was getting more and more difficult to manage so it became obvious that it needed a paid director. Prior to this it was managed by a committee, but it was all getting too much. The Barbican came up as a venue, which we rented as a base. We decided it could no longer be run on a voluntary basis so I was elected Director. We formed a trust, had a proper constitution and I got an assistant.



**Interview with Simon Glasson - 15 June 2005 at the Town Council Offices.
Topic, Penzance Harbour**

Q1. Did the Town Council come out against Option A?

Yes, the divisions in the Town were reflected on the Town Council. But it was by no means a unanimous vote, there was a small majority against it.



Q2. After Cornwall Council withdrew the Town Council provided funding?

Yes, through The Department of Transport.

Q3. The Council also appointed Consultants?

Yes, we appointed Hyder.

Q4. The Seafront Forum was an attempt to take the heat out of the situation?

The Seafront Forum was anti Option A and had a limited membership. It was chaired by Hadrian Piggott. John Maggs was a member. The Town Council also had a representative on the forum.



Q5. The Seafront Forum had a wider remit than simply focusing on the harbour?

Yes, it was linked to other things like climate change and its consequences. The Town Council was involved but it was regarded as yet another pressure group. It no longer operates.

Q6. The Penzance Harbour Management Board, what was its status?

It was an organisation set up by the Town Council with funding from The Department of Transport to work out an alternative scheme based on the technical advice from Hyder.

Q7. Cornwall Council at this stage seemed to be obstructive. They chose not to participate and promoted a view that a Harbour Revision Order would be required?

They spent money on seeking legal advice that a Harbour Revision Order would be necessary. The Town Councils response was that if you want to go ahead then okay; if the Order was needed to secure funding then the Council were not going to oppose. In our opinion they spent money on saying 'No' rather than saying 'Yes'.

Q8. What the role of Andrew George?

He felt that Option A was the wrong option but that there was an option that would suit all parties. Nobody was sure whether this was in fact the case but he came down on the side of opposing Option A.

Q9. But he did promote Option PZ?

Option PZ was promoted by individuals loosely associated with some of the anti-groups. But they didn't have any credence. They proposed an outline solution only which was not costed. At the time the Department of Transport wanted concrete proposals. There was nothing behind Option PZ; it was only a veneer of a plan.

Q10. There was a contradiction that a new option at that time would have delayed the project even further and put the question of funding even more at risk?

Yes, that's fair comment. Our scheme took 12 months of intensive work to prepare in the knowledge that more money might be available in the future but only if we could obtain extensive geo-technical expertise.

Q11. His position therefore seems strange since he ended up by saying that Option A seemed to be the only game in town?

I couldn't comment.

Q12. What is the Town Council's position regarding the eventual solution?

The Town Council broadly supported any harbour improvements but since these were approved, minor amendments have been made so elements of the approved scheme have been dropped. We supported particularly the dredging the harbour which was a major element in improving it.

Q13. Most of the money went to St Mary's?

Yes.

Q14. Is the ownership of the harbour still with Cornwall Council?

Yes, the Harbour Board is an off-shoot of Cornwall Council so the ownership remains with that Authority.



Q15. Do those who oppose the original scheme see it as an opportunity lost or do they think they won the argument?

It is difficult to say. The supporters of Option A regard it as an opportunity lost. I still hear that we threw away £65 million. But the opposers have no sense of victory. As the dust settled both sides realised that Penzance was the biggest loser. They was a growing realisation that with all this argument and in fighting positions had become so entrenched that even the Department of Transport thought that is was all too difficult. It had an impact on harbour businesses but also indirectly on the wider business community.



Dn

Q16. The motivations of the people who were opposed, were they Nimbys although few people were directly affected?

Penzance has a unique charm. The harbour is recognised by English Heritage by having a listed pier where most of the work would have gone on. The view about Penzance harbour is that if you change it then it will be a disaster. It will become just like any other port in the country if you cover its environment with rock armour and concrete.



Q17. Were the arguments primarily technical about operating the link or were they a cover for other things?

Everyone became an expert in the operation and management of harbours, the economic viability of large boats and operating from Falmouth. The opponents did a fair amount of research, but it was based on conjecture and opinion.

Q18. Solutions which were tested by consultants indicated that the proposed solutions didn't stack up?

Yes, the argument for Falmouth emerged from frustration about the process. The Steam Ship Company didn't say anything about its practicality. It was mentioned in Cornwall Council press statement that they had spent money on an option to consider Falmouth but our consultants said how are they going to get around food handling regulations with a 2 hour journey being extended to between 4 and 6 hours?

Q19. But Towns in Cornwall always fight each other?

Yes of course Falmouth saw it as an opportunity to exploit a business opportunity so it would have had support from both Cornwall Counsellors in Falmouth and the Falmouth Town Council.



Interview with Hadrian Piggott and Keith Ball - 8 December 2015 at Hadrian Piggot's home. Topic, Penzance Harbour.

Q1. How did you get involved with the harbour development?

Hadrian

I first got involved as someone who thought the harbour proposal was insensitive to the fabric of the town. I felt this on a personal level as I swim off the small beach (Battery Rocks) and I enjoyed the ancient granite of the South Quay and the setting of that site. This is very important to me. I live

here, its 2 or 3 minutes walk away from where I live; it's a daily or weekly experience. So when plans were put forward by Cornwall Council for consultation I was upset. My reaction was the same as many people and after a period of months with letter writing and so on it was clear that what was being proposed was a very short sighted scheme that wasn't going to serve Penzance well in the future. So I became one of the founding members of The Penzance Business Network.



Q2. Were you one of the Friends of Penzance Harbour?

Hadrian

No I was not but I knew John Maggs. Once you started making your position public you become known but for me straight forward public protest was not going to be the answer. What we needed to do was to make an effort by the community or part of the community to come up with alternative proposals to show a better way forward both for short term gain and long term promise. This was a different approach to the Friends of Penzance Harbour.



Q3. What role did Andrew George play?

Keith

Andrew was never part of the Penzance Business Network. As MP he was completely independent. He certainly had a great deal of interest in the harbour. He saw that the issue was being dealt with in a heavy handed way and that local voices were being drowned out by the Local Authority irrespective of what those voices were saying. I was born and brought up here and can remember as a 15 year old being interested in the economic future of this place. When the proposals for the harbour started to happen, I trained as an architect and had between 15 and 20 years experience, I saw a bad project. I didn't have the same associations with the beach (like Hadrian) but the collective voices were against the whole scheme rather than any part of it. There were many reasons why this was not a good scheme. The primary one for me was to put a freight yard on the beach (Battery Rocks) bringing heavy freight lorries in to an inaccessible area in perpetuity.



Dp

Hadrian

When something is suggested, the immediate reaction is a personal response but other people step back and say, where is this coming from? With the proposals being pushed through by Cornwall Council, the more you stood back the worse it became.



Q4. As well as Battery Rocks and freight handling in the middle of the Town, what other bits were you particularly concerned about?

Keith

The freight handling was the primary issue because that was going to happen beyond the site itself and was totally unnecessary. That's what I found so frustrating. What was also frustrating was that so much about the

project was unnecessary. We were constantly being told that there were no alternatives.

Hadrian

The proposal overstepped the barrier between the commercial and the social. Option A overstepped that mark. That was quite a shocking move. A lot of the local response was about that even if not expressed in those terms for example people said it would spoil the view or will isolate the rocks. This was proposed without consultation or justification to reclaim land in terms of the use of the place or identity of the place. The seafront is important to Penzance but historically it has been chipped away at and degraded. The building of the road along the front in 1838 was decisive and was put in for commerce. But there might have been another way; that's what we were looking for with Option A. We came up with Option PZ as an alternative.



Dp

Q5. Andrew George became associated with Option PZ. How did that happen?

Keith

I can't speak for him. Andrew felt the injustice of the scheme being foisted on the town and Option PZ showed that there was an alternative when they said there wasn't. We did Option PZ voluntarily; we had absolutely no money, we did it off our own bat without any support from anybody. We came up with proposals, which might have been in some respect flawed, which cost us nothing as opposed to the £5 million spent on the harbour study.



Q6. You were trying to find different ways of using some of the existing buildings around the harbour?

Keith

The buildings like the green sheds were going. The harbour buildings on the other side of the road had nothing to do with us. We were looking to use the old buildings around the end of Quay Street as a back drop to the harbour. The harbour is part of the town, it is not an adjunct to it. It is not a separate thing; it's not behind high fences like Falmouth. It's the historic part of our town; it's our town. Cornwall Council may be the local authority and the harbour authority but it is our town. The Port activities need to respect the town. It was clear that Cornwall Council did not respect the town. To put such an insensitive, demanding building would have brought freight into the town which admittedly still happens. It's said that it's our fault that freight still comes through Penzance but it would have happened with Option A. We have been told repeatedly that we were going to throw away £65 million of funding which was a complete fallacy; £16 million was ear-marked for the Isle of Scillies and £14 million for Penzance only. We were kept being told that we were disloyal to Penzance and we were bringing Penzance down because Option A was good for Penzance. The fact is that it was designed to get people to the Isles of Scilly as quickly as possible.



Dp

Q7. What did you expect to happen from Option PZ?

Keith

We didn't expect anything at all as they (Cornwall Council) showed no sign of listening.

Q8. But the Town Council became interested?

Keith

The Town Council were. What we were trying to show is that there were alternatives and towards the end of the process we looked as something which took freight completely out of the harbour. My position is that I made a fatal error of professional judgement which was that to achieve a compromise we still had to take freight into the harbour. We came up with a solution where lorries could queue and we went to The Design Council and they came down and assessed the scheme. We took on board their advice. It was an interesting exercise and the community were interested in that exercise. Up until that point we had been denied involvement. Cornwall Council went to CABA and CABA gave then a shocking response. They could not believe that Option A had ever come forward.

Q9. Cornwall Council was established in 2009 but the politics of the harbour decision was not made any easier with the organisational changes which were taking place at the time?

Hadrian

There was some interesting work done by Penwith DC using the same consultants. Once we started researching the history we began to say "hang on we've already had many of these issues considered already". Once Cornwall Council took over all those ideas went out of the window and a new set of studies was done. Hundreds of thousands were spent on consultants going over the same ground but the answers were already there.

Keith

'One and All', as the motto for Cornwall is ironic. Cornwall is the most disparate group of communities. They are strong communities but not at a County level and what we found was happening was that with Cornwall Council becoming a corporate entity, people had power over a place for which they had no understanding or care for. Certain egos were trying to establish their position in the new authority and they dug their heels in.

Q10. When the Government decided that they were not going to fund the project and Cornwall Council withdrew where did that leave the Business Network?

Hadrian

The Network morphed into the Seafront Forum. The majority of members were from The Business Network. The main idea was to try and bring the warring factions of the town together. I was furious that the town was so



divided over the issue. Cornwall Council were very manipulative about that. They divided and ruled. I was quite incensed. It was worth trying to put that aside and start again.

Interview with Andy Hazlehurst – 13 December 2013 at his home in Penzance Theme, Montol/Festivals

Q1. How did Montol start?

It started off with a couple of us who were working for Golowan. We thought it would be great to have a winter solstice...people thought that Golowan was pagan but when we got to Montol the reaction was even stronger, it was considered even more pagan. We talked to Simon Reed about celebrating Cornish winter traditions which were dying out. There happened to be a pot of money around which we could use from central government I think to do with organising community events. The format was fed in from a number of Cornish cultural groups; people like Helen Musser who knew about dance. We pulled together a number of ideas based on customs many of which had only died out during the Second World War. The men were all off fighting but there was a pre-war memory of guise dancing and the use of the 'Oss' in the winter which came out after dark. The name Penglaz refers to the keeper or the Oss and not the Oss itself. The historical memory is that those who took part in the pre-war celebrations were all good Methodists who didn't have a pagan thought in their heads. The elements we included were perhaps from past cultures but it was more based on what people traditionally did around Christmas time.



Dp



Q2. So Methodism and modernity replaced rather than banned or prevented the continuation of folk customs?

Yes, around the 21 December solistic fires were lit, Lescudjack is a child's version, there was a tradition of burning the mock which symbolised the taking away of the sins of the community.



Q3. But in Chapel Street the spirit of carnival was abroad?

Yes, in the second part of Montol you have the Lord of Misrule with the Church of England and the Catholic Church involved. The date of Montol also celebrates St. Thomas's Eve. Montol starts with a carol service and on the Montol banner there is the emblem of St Thomas. So a number of different strands are pulled together. In the 19th Century the Penzance mid winter celebrations were said to rival Venice with a lot of dressing up and blacking and whiting up. These were banned about the same time as Golowan. The area around the docks was a bit raucous and the town was trying to gentrify itself although vestiges survived until the Second World War. In St. Ives something similar continued until the 1970s.

Dp



Turkey Rhubarb is a community band and people can join in even if they

can't play an instrument. You don't know who will turn up but they can be trained and may go on to join other bands. We have 40 musicians in Montol; we can always find them something to play. It doesn't have to be prim and proper and you don't have to pass an audition. You can come and bang a drum or be a dancer.

Q4. How is it organised?

It's not as big as Golowan and doesn't have any real funding except from the Town Council with a grant and they pay for the insurance. There is a small group who organise it with band members helping out. It's really taken off, we've had enquiries from all over the world about it. It seems to touch something in people.

Q5. Are other events associated with it?

There is a Kayleigh, mummers' plays and a church service at which they are happy to play the old Methodist carols. There is a service of Merrit's Carols where elderly people come and people from all over Cornwall so that they can sing Cornish carols.

Q6. How do you judge the success of the event?

People want to do it again. Each year it has grown. There is interest shown all around the world. For instance, there is a fiddle player who comes all the way from The Orkneys. No-one knows who she is, she just turns up. People come uninvited because it is something they just want to be part of. The public feel that it is a community event so it's primarily for themselves but at the same time they would be disappointed if nobody else took any notice.



Dp

University of Exeter, College of Humanities

Proposal and Consent Form for Research Projects

Locating identity and ethnicity in Cornish civil society: a case study of Penzance

Name and title of Researcher:

Richard Harris, part time post graduate research student studying a Master of Philosophy in Cornish Studies, completion date 3 May 2016, self funded.

Details of Project:

My research addresses the question, 'Does civil society in Cornwall reflect its cultural difference and ethnicity?' I am interested in whether Cornish identity influences how organisations and institutions behave in present day Cornwall and am using examples in Penzance to investigate this question. I intend to research the Golowan and Montol festivals, the community on the Treneere estate and the controversy surrounding the link to the Scilly Isles as these appear to represent many of the issues which are of concern in contemporary Cornwall. To pursue my research I will need to interview people representing those organisations involved with these three examples of Penzance civil society. I intend to conduct between 30 – 40 interviews and this phase of my research will take place between 2012 to mid 2014.

Definition of invited participants:

The majority of interviewees will be representatives of the various organisations which operate in the three settings outlined above. My focus will be to ask about how their organisation or community performs rather than for personal information. Participants will be recruited based on recommendations from initial contacts. It is unlikely that interviewees will be under 18 or from vulnerable groups. However, depending on the direction of the research, I appreciate that if it is necessary to interview participants who are under 18 then further ethics clearance will be required.

Data or information to be collected, and the use that will be made of it:

The interviews will be of approximately one hour duration and will be recorded with the consent of the interviewee. Transcripts of the recordings will be used in writing up the research but the interviewees are able to opt to remain anonymous.

How will the information supplied by participants be stored?

I intend to keep them until the end of my research which would mean for a period of five years before being deleted.

Contact for further questions:

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Contact in the case of complaint or unsatisfactory response from the above named:

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Ethics Officer, College of Humanities
Drama Department
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G.K.H.Ley@exeter.ac.uk

Consent:

I voluntarily agree to participate, and agree to the use of my data for the purposes specified above. I can withdraw consent at any time by contacting the interviewer.

Note: Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data.

Printed name of participant:
Signature of participant:
Preferred contact - email or telephone:
Signature of researcher:

One signed copy to be retained by the researcher, and one by the participant.

Appendix Two

Table 6.1 Study Area; 2011 Census Population Age Structure

	0-15 %	16-29%	30-64%	65+%	Total Population
Penzance Central	12.9	15.7	47.0	24.4	4237
Penzance East	20.9	17.4	47.2	14.5	4955
Penzance Promenade	12.6	11.7	43.3	32.4	3236
Penzance	16.0	15.3	46.1	22.5	12428
Cornwall	16.9	15.0	46.4	21.6	
England	18.9	18.7	46.0	16.3	

Notes:

Data is derived from 2011 Census, (Table KS102EW - Age Structure) for the Penzance Central, Penzance East and Penzance Promenade Wards.

Source: NOMIS, Neighbourhood Statistics
<http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadTableView.do> accessed 19th February 2013.

Table 6.2 Study Area; NOMIS, Labour Market Profile: Selected Data, 2011.

	Unemployed %	Economically Inactive %	Retired %	Part-time working %
Penzance Central	8.6	29.3	7.6	38.2
Penzance East	9.2	28.4	5.4	39.2
Penzance Promenade	7.5	28.4	10.6	37.6
Penzance	8.6	28.7	7.3	38.5
Cornwall	5.9	23.9	7.3	34.1
England	7.6	23.2	4.9	29.3

Notes:

Unemployed are a percentage of all people who are economically active between the ages of 16-64.

Economically inactive includes retired, students, looking after family home and permanently sick and disabled between the ages of 16-64.

Retired are a category of economically inactive between the ages of 16-64.

Part-time working is defined as working 30 hours or less a week and are a percentage of all people economically active in employment.

Data is derived from 2011 Census (Table DC6107EW – Economic Activity by sex by age)

Source: NOMIS official labour market statistics, 2011 ward profiles for Penzance Central E36001422, Penzance East E36001423 and Penzance Promenade E36001424.
<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/ward2011/1140852112/report.aspx> accessed 18th April 2015

Table 8.1 IMD Deprivation scores for Treneere 2010

Domain	Rank within 32,482 LSOA's in England	Percentage (lower % = worse)
Overall Deprivation (1)	926	3%
Income Deprivation	785	2%
Employment Deprivation	764	2%
Health Deprivation and Disability	1177	4%
Education, Skills and Training	2767	9%
Barriers to Housing and Services	9418	29%
Crime	16087	50%
Living Environment	4799	15%
Outdoor Environment	29496	91%
Economic Deprivation Index 2008 (2)	505	2%
Local Index of Child Wellbeing 2009 (3)	5056	16%

Notes: 1 The IMD combines a number of indicators and data sets, arranged by themes, into a single deprivation score for each area in England, allowing each LSOA to be ranked according to their level of deprivation.

2 The Economic Deprivation Index is built from the indicators within the IMD Income and Employment domains.

3. The local index of child wellbeing is not an index of deprivation as it includes variables not related to deprivation.

Source; Cornwall Council Community Intelligence Team 2012, intelligence@cornwall.gov.uk

Table 8.2 Selected 2011 Census Data

Key Statistics	Treeneere	Penzance¹	Cornwall	England
Population				
Population 2011 ²	1471	12428	532273	53,012,456
Population 2001 ³	1580	12589	499114	49,138,831
Percentage change	- 6.8%	-1.3%	+6.6%	+7.9%
Percentage Aged 0-15 ⁴	26.7%	16.0%	16.9%	19.0%
Percentage 65+ ⁵	11.2%	22.5%	21,6%	16.4%
Health				
Percentage of the population limited in day to day activities ⁶	15.0%	13.6%	10.0%	8.3%
Economically inactive; percentage of long term sick or disabled residents ⁷	14.9%	5.6%	4.4%	4.0%
Economy				
Percentage of Residents 16-74 in elementary occupations ⁸	22.0%	13.4%	12.0%	11.1%
Percentage of economically active full time employees ⁹	22.8%	27.7%	31.7%	38.6%

¹ Penzance is defined by the three wards Central, East and Promenade

² 2011 Census: Key Statistics, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

³ 2001 Census

⁴ 2011 Census: Age Structure, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

⁵ 2011 Census: Age Structure 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

⁶ 2011 Census: Key Statistics, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

⁷ 2011 Census: Economic Activity, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

⁸ 2011 Census: Occupation, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

⁹ 2011 Census: Economic Activity, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

Percentage of economically active part time employees ¹⁰	18.5%	16.4%	15.4%	13.7%
	Treeneere	Penzance	Cornwall	England
Percentage of Males in part-time employment ¹¹	12.2%	10.1%	6.8%	6.1%
Percentage of Females in part-time employment ¹²	23.9%	22.2%	23.6%	21.2%
Percentage of registered unemployed ¹³	6.1%	4.6%	3.3%	4.4%
Percentage of unemployed, never worked ¹⁴	0.9%	0.4%	0.3%	0.7%
Percentage of long term unemployed ¹⁵	2.7%	1.6%	1.2%	1.2%
Households				
Percentage of lone parents with dependant children ¹⁶	15.4%	7.7%	5.7%	7.1%
Education				
Pupils achieving 5+ A-C GCSE grades inc. English and Maths ¹⁷	18.5%		55.2%	58.2%
Approximated Social Grade¹⁸				
A/B Higher and intermediate managerial/administrative and professional	6.6%		16.7%	22.2%
C1 Supervisory, clerical, junior managerial/administrative/professional	18.1%		30.5%	29.7%
C2 Skilled manual workers	18.3%		18.7%	15.0%
D Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers	30.0%		16.9%	17.0%

¹⁰ 2011 Census: Economic Activity, 2011, KS601EW, Cornwall 067E

¹¹ 2011 Census: Economic Activity-males, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

¹² 2011 Census: Economic Activity-females, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

¹³ 2011 Census: Economic Activity, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

¹⁴ 2011 Census: Economic Activity, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

¹⁵ 2011 Census: Economic Activity, 2011, Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

¹⁶ 2011 Census: Household Composition, 2011, , Cornwall 067E (Lower Layer Super Output Area)

¹⁷ ONS Neighbourhood Ward Statistics, Sept. 2010 to Aug 2011, Education Skills and Training, Penwith LSOA 006E.

¹⁸ Approximated Social Grade, 2001. Penwith LSOA, 006E

E On state benefit, unemployed, lowest grade workers	27.0%		17.1%	16.0%
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Table 8.3 Penzance East; Out of Work Benefits¹⁹

	Penzance East	Penzance East (%)	Cornwall (%)	Great Britain (%)
Total Claimants	1065	27.4	14.3	14.8
Job seekers	215	5.5	2.7	3.8
ESA & Incapacity benefit	565	14.5	7.0	6.6
Lone Parents	100	2.6	1.1	1.5
Carers	65	1.7	1.5	1.2
Other income related benefits	55	1.4	0.5	0.5
Disabled	65	1.7	1.3	1,1
Key out of work benefits	935	24.0	11.3	12.3

Figures for Penzance East, Department of Work and Pensions (August 2011). The percentage figures show the number of benefit claimants as a proportion of resident population aged 16-64, Figures for Cornwall, January 2013

Table 8.4 National Identity 2011²⁰

	Treneere %	Gwavas %	Penzance %	Pengegon %	Cornwall %
Cornish only identity	18.1	15.5	12.9	16.2	9.9
Cornish and British only identity	1.7	1.8	1.2	1.2	1.0
Cornish and at least one of English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish Identities	3.3	2.4	2.9	3.6	2.9
Total	23.1	19.7	17.0	21.0	13.8

¹⁹ Ward Labour Market Profile 15UFGE; Penzance East,

www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/Imp/ward13086626337/report.aspx accessed 24th May 2012.

²⁰ Table KS202EW for Penzance Central, East and Promenade Wards and LSOAs 067E and 070D.

Appendix Three:

Development of the Research Process.

Between 2006 and 2009 I studied at the ICS for a MA in Cornish Studies. My dissertation in the final year of the course asked whether Cornish ethnicity had the potential to influence the implementation of national policies in Cornwall. I examined a case study of the reopening of a tin mine as part of regenerating a deprived area between Camborne and Redruth. My conclusion was that although there was little evidence of national policies recognising the distinctiveness of Cornwall and understanding the importance of mining for its identity, nevertheless there are spaces where civil society can exert an influence on how policies are applied via local authorities and partnerships between public and voluntary organisations. However, there was little sign in the Camborne, Pool, Redruth area of a civil society which was able to argue why local identity and culture should influence policy outcomes.²¹

This conclusion was the starting point for the current research. Hitherto local governance and civil society had only featured in Cornish Studies either as a backdrop to discussions of Cornwall's constitutional position (i.e. its categorisation as an English county) or dismissed as compromised, moribund and too weak to challenge English hegemony. The motivation for this research was two fold. Firstly, to investigate civil society more closely to see whether it is a space where collective ethnicity may be expressed and secondly, having looked at Camborne Redruth whether differences in what is generally understood to be Cornish identity would emerge from studying another part of Cornwall.

On registering for an MPhil/PhD in 2010, I prepared a series of four papers which were partly summaries of literature searches and partly speculations about how social and political theory might be applied to the research question. They discussed civil society, identity and ethnicity, festivals and methodology and were the basis, in a heavily modified form, of Chapters Two

²¹ R. Harris, 2010

and Three. However, when starting to collect ethnographic evidence in 2011/12, I found that many of my assumptions based on initial reading needed to be revised or modified. Firstly, in seeking to understand more about civil society I found that much of the theory focused on its role within the nation state, was normative in its approach and only partly addressed how it operates at a neighbourhood level. In other words, I could find little previous work on how it is structured, how it may influence local agenda, its role in the production of discourses, its relationship with local government, public agencies, and the linkages between voluntary associations and organisations within it. Secondly, I looked at Cornish identity and culture, its fluidity and complexity driven by the influences of hybridity, resistance to English hegemony and inward migration. While recognising the changing nature of Cornishness, I assumed that in another part of Cornwall from that previously studied there would be an overarching consensus about the nature of Cornish ethnicity. I did not expect to find widely different interpretations of Cornishness and different ways of expressing it. I also did not anticipate the importance of place theory. In retrospect this should have been obvious since choosing to study ethnicity in one locality brings into play how places are perceived and how discourses about them are developed. But initially I had not taken into account the influence of place on identity. This opened up a field of exploration concerning linkages between the two which in turn suggested that incomers to Cornwall and their children (by and large treated negatively in Cornish Studies) may adopt elements of Cornishness which make a positive contribution to its cultural development.

Given the broad scope of the topic, there were two avenues which I spent some time exploring which initially seemed important but eventually did not help to address the research question. I looked at the relationship between national identity, nationalism and civil society which is touched on in Chapter Two. I concluded that given the complex and hybrid picture of Cornishness, much of the theoretical writing did not help me to understand the social practice of Cornish ethnicity which was emerging from the ethnographic research. Similarly, it would have been easy to be side-tracked by a more detailed analysis of the socio-economic background of both Penzance and

Treneere and although I considered it necessary to summarise the key points in Chapters Six and Eight to provide a context, I realised that a more comprehensive treatment would not have contributed to the direction of the research.

The development of my approach was helped by attendance and presenting papers at a number of seminars, conferences and symposia, the principal ones attended were:

Cornwall Research Group

- November 2010 ‘Cornish Ethnicity: Chimera or Means to an End?’
A critique of how Cornwall Council has promoted Cornish culture as part of its economic strategy.

- March 2011 ‘Cornish Civil Society: More Continuity than Change?’
A response to the assumption that there is no civic culture in Cornwall looking at its historical roots and drawing a distinction between civil institutions and civil society.

Cornwall Studies Symposia/Conferences

- September 2012 ‘Cornish Festivals: New Wine in Old Bottles?’
An outline of the reasons for the increase in festivals in Cornwall and how many are based on interpretations of history and former social practices.

This paper formed the basis for Chapter Seven

- October 2012 ‘Against the Grain: Some Reflections on the Impact of Recent Local Government Changes in Cornwall.’
An examination of the implications of the establishment of a unitary authority in the context

of the traditional independence of towns and communities in Cornwall.

- June 2013 'The Persistence of Difference: Voting behaviour in Cornish Local Elections.'
A comparison of the results of the 2009 and 2013 unitary elections and with similar unitary authorities in England. It concluded that the Cornish local elections were distinctive characterised by a continuing Conservative-Liberal Democratic contest, a high proportion of Independent candidates and a low level of party organisation.

The October 2012 and June 2013 papers were combined and published in *Cornish Studies* in 2015.²² They provide the background to the discussion of local government in Chapters Six and Nine.

- October 2013 'Daughters of Cornwall: Social Capital on a Cornish Estate. The Role of Women in a Deprived Neighbourhood.'
An examination of kinship ties on Treneere which included a videoed interview with the chair of the RA.

Some of the material was used for the sections in Chapter Eight on social capital and the role of women.

Collage of Humanities: Post Graduate Research Conference

- April 2014 'Shifting Cultural Interpretations of Ethnicity'
An outline of how festivals in Penzance have presented versions of Cornishness based on different historical interpretations and perceptions of place image.

²² R. Harris, 2015.

The presentation was based on the interim conclusions from research for Chapter Seven.

Institute of Cornish Studies: Sustainable Cornwall

- November 2014 'Can Cornish Identity, Culture and Ethnicity Influence how National Policies are Implemented in Cornwall?'
This suggested that there is limited scope given a dominant model of top down policy making, Cornwall's status as an English County, pressures for continuing development and a lack of political leadership.

Material for this presentation drew on some of the work for Chapter Nine.

Presentations at these seminars and subsequent discussion with supervisors helped to develop ideas during the course of the research. What evolved was a view that civil society could be a vehicle for exploring contemporary Cornwall and that this perspective revealed new insights into collective identity in terms of relationships within settings, the development of discourses emerging from localities and the complexity of interactions between neighbourhoods and local politics. I believe that the contribution of this study, using civil society as the basis for analysis, taking an interdisciplinary approach and applying it to a number of case studies in a particular place has enabled a more complex and nuanced idea to emerge of what it means to be Cornish.

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Cornwall Council www.cornwall.gov.uk/community-and-living

Cornwall Council www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy

Cornwall Council www.cornwall.gov.uk/intelligence

Devon and Cornwall H.A. www.dchgroup.com/contact-us/ouroffices/penzance/

FofPZh www.friendsopfzharbour.org

Golowan Festival golowan.org.
www.facebook.com/Golowan-Festival-Official-Page

Mebyon Kernow www.mebyonkernow.org

Montol montol.info/

Office of National Statistics	www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/
Office of National Statistics	www.ons.gov.uk/census/2011census
Old Cornwall Societies	www.oldcornwall.org/what_we_stand_for.htm
Penzance Business Network	www.pzbnetwork.com/
Penzance Chamber of Commerce	www.penzance.co.uk/chamber/
Penzance Civic Society	www.penzancecivicsociety.com
Penzance Town Council	www.penzancetowncouncil.co.uk
Trelya	www.trelya.com
Treneere Estate	www.facebook.com/Treneere-Estate-Cornwall
Trevithick Day	www.trevithick-day.org.uk
True Friends of Penzance harbour	www.truefriends.org.uk
Visit Cornwall	www.visitcornwall.com