4 ‘Torches aloft’ to Glastonbury

The discursive construction of heritage events in Cornwall

Laura Hodsdon and Sjoerd-Jeroen Moenandar

Visitors to Padstow May Day – a centuries-old annual celebration at a small coastal town in Cornwall, with festive, highly ritualised processions (see Appendix 1) – may not always come with the right expectations. This is partly due to how the event is described on tourism and hospitality websites that try to attract tourists to Cornwall. At least, that is the opinion of one Padstonian:

> I think the people who write about it don’t fully understand it. They describe it as a festival, and there is a big difference between May Day and Glastonbury. I think people are expecting something like Glastonbury but with folk music. […] It’s not the same, but you attract the same kind of people with the same vibe.
>
> (K88)

The problem seems to lie in the word ‘festival’ and the ensuing mismatch between the event’s reality and some visitors’ expectations: Padstow May Day is not like the Glastonbury Festival, but thinking it *might* be may lead to behaviour that this interviewee finds inappropriate. More than this, at stake is a power dynamics where some people, organisations, or companies leverage their platform to describe, and potentially ‘sell’, the event. This illustrates one of the key challenges facing minoritised European cultures: resilience in the face of the dominance of a national majority, a dominance that comes with political, economic, social, and cultural imbalances, and also an imbalance of gaze – with the minority and its culture often becoming an object to be studied or marvelled at, or a spectacle played out for amusement (Salazar 2012). This distribution of roles – who can look and who is to be looked at – is an important and constitutive aspect of minoritisation (cf. Sotto-Santiago 2019). And, as the quotation above shows, minority members are aware of how they are looked at by the majority – often considering the majority gaze when presenting themselves, either resisting it, as this interviewee, or catering to it.

Nothing is in itself heritage: heritage – including intangible cultural heritage (ICH) – is produced and performed (Smith 2006). Buildings, artefacts, or events need to be mediated as such before they become heritage (Gielen & Laermans 2005; cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004), even though this can take a broad variety

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of forms, ranging from a plaque announcing that this is where some famous writer wrote her masterpiece, to a guide explaining local rituals to a tour group. Particularly when it is also a form of 'cultural transmission' – i.e. the 'mediation [of] artefacts, notions, texts […] from one culture in the context of another' (Moenandar 2014) – we need to pay careful attention to the gestures, discourses, and media through which something is represented as heritage, and thereby constructed as being of value and interest (Gielen 2007). In this chapter, we analyse such transmission of two events in towns in Cornwall – Padstow May Day and Penzance Golowan midsummer celebrations – in the context of public discourse and the narratives and perspectives it constructs in mediating ICH. As we will show, perceptions about the events and the culture of which they are part are not static, but subject to an ongoing process of social construction that both shapes, and is potentially shaped by, imaginaries and preconceptions.

As Van Rekom and Go (2006) have argued, tourism can lead to an increase in status and distinctiveness for minoritised cultures and, in turn, increase resilience and identification with that culture among its members. And yet tourists' presence can also be problematic or harmful (e.g. Ballengee-Morris 2002; Bunten 2008; Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos 2004). Even when the power relationship between minoritised culture and national majority is more ambiguous, the dynamics often remain uneasy. Cornwall is physically and economically peripheral in the UK: tourism brings around £2bn to its economy each year, a double-edged sword for social and cultural identity. Its popularity as a tourist destination, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic in which UK travellers sought holidays or longer-term 'escapes' from cities, has led to holiday rentals and second homes displacing local populations and creating a market in which many local buyers cannot compete, and tenants are evicted to make way for the more lucrative holiday market. This has led to division and a great deal of generalised resentment towards incomers.

Alongside this socio-economic context, another aspect of Cornwall's relationship with tourism is the way in which, in the tourist gaze, the region and its inhabitants can become a spectacle. Rather than voicing elements of Cornishness that many who identify as Cornish would argue are key identity markers, stereotyped narratives of Cornwall abound, with pirates, quaint seaside villages, or rugged mining communities as romanticised representations that have a long tradition in depictions of the region by outsiders (e.g. Deacon 1997; Moseley 2013). These narratives are readily available in the imaginaries of popular culture: in television programmes such as *Doc Martin* (ITV 2004–2022), *Poldark* (BBC 2015–2019); or the myriad of programmes accompanying celebrities as they walk, drive, or move into idyllic Cornish landscapes. There is often a similarity between some depictions of the Cornish 'Other' as representing the strange – both reprehensible and desirable (Spivak 1985: 255) – and depictions of the 'Orient' that Edward Said discussed in his seminal work on the topic. As Said puts it, it is especially in descriptions of the encounter between representants of the West and the Orient that the dichotomy between the two is established, as Western visitors approach 'Orientals' and their customs 'almost in the manner of an audience seeing a dramatic event unfold' (Said 1995: 131). Such representations, juxtaposed to the bemused Western onlooker,

stem from the conviction that there is a fundamental difference between both, a conviction that is, at the same time, confirmed by them. It is in such encounters that the assumed difference between both parties becomes most pronounced – and that is exactly the purpose that these representations serve: 'both East and West fulfil their destinies in the encounter' (Said 1995: 131). The questions we pose in this chapter, then, are: in the ICH encounter that is promised to visitors on hospitality and tourism websites of Cornwall, which 'destinies' are prescribed for both parties? What are the likely ramifications on visitors' perspectives and expectations of the minority culture and its heritage practices?

Mapping the mediation of minority intangible cultural heritage

Before giving our analysis, we first introduce a model with which the discursive positioning of minority ICH targeted at a majority audience can be mapped (cf. Kockel et al. (2020: 6) on home and public identities). If we look closer at the quotation with which we started this chapter, we see that in this encounter between tourist and local, between outsider and insider, two aspects regulate the way in which the ICH is made sense of by both. First, the interviewee reacts against the word 'festival', as it arguably turns May Day into something visitors *already know*: it normalises the event for them, and turns it into something that, according to the interviewee, it is not. Second, the interviewee speaks about a 'vibe' that is created by describing the event as a festival. This points to another regulating aspect, more implicit here: the perspectives available for (majority) people from which to relate to the event. Visitors to a music festival may reasonably expect to be entertained: the performances are staged for their benefit, and they can be thought of as its insiders and that is why the interviewee seems uneasy with this description (as another interviewee puts it, 'It's not being performed for anyone' (K85)). This representational strategy, where the boundaries of distinctiveness and belonging are discursively collapsed, is the opposite from that described at the end of the preceding section, where Cornwall and the Cornish are presented by majority narratives as strange and exotic.

Thus, in its mediation to majority audiences, there seem to be two ways in which minority ICH can be related to the majority culture within which it is embedded: (1) by assuming perspectives of self and other, and (2) by assuming positions of integration and rejection. The first corresponds to a dichotomy introduced by Bakhtin (1981), in which he posits two opposing ways of dealing with linguistic variation: centripetal and centrifugal. Adapting Bakhtin's terms, a *centripetal* representation of what, from a majority standpoint, amounts to 'other people's' ICH, aims at 'guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding' (Bakhtin 1981: 171). This representational strategy denies the ICH a life of its own, and pulls it *towards* the dominant culture. This can be done either by glossing over any differences between the two cultures, or through appropriating it, leading to subjugation, or 'enslavement', as Bakhtin calls it (Bakhtin 1981), of the minoritised ICH to the dominant culture. A *centrifugal* representation, instead, pushes the ICH *away* from the dominant culture, in a process of 'decentralization and disunification' (Bakhtin

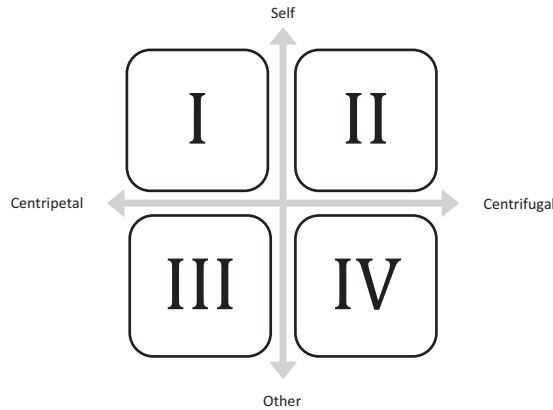

Figure 4.1 Mapping the mediation of minority intangible cultural heritage.

1981: 272). Here, the difference and autonomy of other people's ICH is acknowledged and foregrounded. Alongside this assumption of the ICH's proximity to (or distance from) a majority culture, there is, secondly, also a sense that the implied majority audience is positioned somewhere on a scale encompassing an insider (where the ICH aligns with their sense of Self) and outsider (where the ICH feels Other) spectrum.

These two ways of conceptualising the relationship between minority ICH and the majority culture regulate both how it is presented to majority audiences, and how it is potentially made sense of and positioned by those audiences. We can visualise these two ways as (1) a scale with centripetal and centrifugal as its opposite poles; and (2) a scale from self to other. If we present these as two crossing lines, we get the model shown in Figure 4.1.

The horizontal axis charts the extent to which the heritage is represented as having a place in the majority culture or not – the extent, as we said, to which the ICH is pulled to, or pushed away from, a dominant culture. The vertical axis plots the extent to which a majority audience member is invited to internalise the heritage as part of their majority identity (cf. Jeuring (2016) who creates a similar model for the analysis of regional tourism marketing based on the encounter between the global and the local, and the type of tourists that the marketing is aimed at). It is important to stress that the ensuing forms of mediation of minority heritage are ideal-typical – that is to say, the borders between the different types and their manifestations may not always be so clear-cut, and actual mediations will likely move up and down the two scales.

In their purest form, however, these ideal-types may look something like this. Type I (Self-Centripetal) represents appropriation of the minority heritage by the majority. The ICH no longer belongs to 'them' (the minority), but to 'us' (the gazing majority). This type constructs majority and minority as belonging to a common culture – 'us' is made to include 'them' in a universalised notion of humanity's heritage where the boundaries between cultures vanish; or, the majority has made

the ICH its own and has come to perceive it as not just something it owns, but part of its own culture. Type II (Self-Centrifugal) assumes that the heritage is not alien to the majority audience, but nevertheless is not something they would consider as part of their current identity. Often, this is embedded in a rhetoric where the ICH resembles the majority culture's past (cf. Hafstein 2012). The mediation might, for instance, present the minority culture as 'backwards', or 'old-fashioned'. This can be done negatively, presenting the culture as still in the dark ages, for instance; however, this may also be more positive, such as suggesting that the minority culture retains something that the majority culture has lost with modernisation. Type III (Other-Centripetal) resembles Type I in that it reflects appropriation by the majority, but the distinctiveness of the ICH remains such that is still ostensibly presented as 'other' from the majority culture. Thus, a clear distinction between insiders and outsiders is maintained, but with the suggestion that the minority ICH has some kind of use value for the outsiders – either positively, as it may offer enriching experiences, or yield new perspectives; or more problematically, as a commodified product. Type IV mediation (Other-Centrifugal), finally, presents the minority heritage as belonging to an unknown and unknowable Other. For members of the majority it is, at best, a source of wonder and bemusement; at worst, a kind of freak show.

The way the interviewee quoted above interprets them, descriptions of May Day as a Glastonburyesque festival can be located somewhere between Types I and III. The normalising of the event as a festival for a majority audience suggests Type I, a discursive erasure in which the event is subsumed into a majority cultural frame of reference and ownership. But the 'vibe' that results in people coming to gaze at the ICH also makes the interviewee uneasy – as they say elsewhere, 'it feels as though people have come to watch you' – moving the event along the scale where the heritage gazed upon is different from that of the majority and an object of curiosity for them, more resembling Type III. This is in line with the romanticised touristic gaze that Cornwall — alongside Frisia, the Livonian Coast, and other regions in the European peripheries where we find historical minorities (Urry 1990; Jensma 2018) – has, historically and contemporaneously, been subject to. This gaze can become further exoticised to fall within Type IV. There also seems to be discomfort, in the quote, about who gets to decide how the ICH is presented to the majority audience. An unease, in other words, with a more or less authorised heritage discourse (Smith 2006), which has mostly been shaped by outsiders. Such narratives are given currency by the imaginaries already in place, while they equally serve to reinforce them.

Cornish events in the public discourse

In this section, we consider public discourse relating to the events under study, focusing on how they are mediated in the media and on tourism and hospitality websites, alongside our own interviews with those involved in the events. The media dataset comprises the results of a Google search for 'Padstow May Day' and 'Golowan' within websites with substantive (i.e. more than a single line or calendar entry)

informational content. Although clearly not a comprehensive picture of the overall discursive manifestation of these events, nevertheless they provide a snapshot of the 'rich range of readily accessible stories and perspectives' (Hodsdon 2022) that are likely to be encountered in the course of quotidian engagement with them, and so provides a multifaceted corpus for analysis (Jaworska & Kinloch 2018). The content is interrogated via critical discourse analysis, revealing 'representations of aspects of the world which […] contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation' (Fairclough 2003). As an approach to textual analysis, it involves interrogating language at a micro level (Fairclough 1995), thus enabling even a seemingly innocuous description to be understood in the context of the wider dynamics at play. However, CDA alone is only one piece of the discursive jigsaw (Bartlett 2017; Martin 2004; see also Koreinik & Hodsdon, this volume), with what has been called 'positive' discourse analysis providing a useful complement in showing how alternative discourses are shaped and deployed. As has been argued, 'peripheries need to have the agency to create their own knowledges about their regions, independently of peripheralising core representations of place...' (Willett 2018: 498). The CDA is therefore triangulated and complemented with primary data from our interviews with event 'insiders', enabling their voices to respond to – and potentially contest – outsider discourse.

Whose heritage? Categorisation and perspective

As we have now seen several times, at the most basic level there is often ambiguity around what exactly is being talked about when we talk about minority ICH. The Golowan website has 'Golowan festival'; Padstonians know their event as 'May Day'. But the dataset contains a multitude of negotiations and framings of where the event is culturally situated. The connotations of whichever word is chosen – festival, event, tradition, ritual – can act as the discursive template for further content, evoke particular connotations, and potentially shape attitudes and behaviour. *Golowan* in Cornish means 'feast of St John', a Christian feast day that has different connotations from the pagan origins of its role as a midsummer festival; and different again from a food or music festival. As with the Padstow example above, one Golowan interviewee was alert to the potential for misalignment: 'What do you call Golowan? I try and avoid "festival" because *it makes it sound like you're off to Glastonbury*' (K77 – our emphasis here and throughout). Another Padstow insider described the potential for comparison with other well-known festivals: 'People are like, *is it like Notting Hill?*' and the commensurate need for them to negotiate and define May Day in those terms 'I'm like, no, *I don't think it is, no: it's more*, because everybody's involved' (K85). One of the issues with the word 'festival', clearly, is its ambiguity: it may evoke links to the solar calendar or other natural or pagan connections; but in a normative context, many people are more likely to think of music or food festivals (as indeed our interviewees did when asked what other ICH events they had been to) – and this ambiguity is aptly demonstrated by the varying vocabulary used by field interviewees at the two events. Asked if they are enjoying themselves, one tourist at Golowan replies 'Absolutely,

it's a fantastic *initiative*' (K73): where 'initiative' evokes a public sector discourse, a place-making intervention rather than something owned and organically lived as heritage. One of those responsible for reviving Golowan in 1990 chooses 'tradition' as their preferred description (K80) – and indeed even in the space of one generation it is clear from our data that it is passed on intergenerationally. Similarly, a Padstonian interviewee agrees, 'It's a tradition, I'll call it a tradition' (K86), although the disclaiming modification ('I'll call it') points to a lack of shared currency of the word within the insider community, as well as projecting a temporality that guards against the obligation to reproduce it in future uses. Another describes May Day as 'like a big party, but it's *a party with a bit more meaning'* (K88). To some – and the interviewee is referring to other local people – there has evolved a vernacular way of referring to Golowan where 'Some people *don't even know it's called Golowan: to them it's "Mazey"*. You get down to the prom and have a good time' (K92). This detachment reveals the ambiguity of the ICH context itself in its tension between its existence as an un-selfconscious, everyday cultural practice, and its metacultural status as a heritage object (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). Even within a small sample of insiders, the event can mean very different things.

This ambiguity is also evident in discussions about ICH more broadly, as mentioned above. Asking field interviewees what other sorts of ICH they engaged with, even establishing a shared understanding as the basis for the interview was a challenge. The discursive object remains elusive, needing extra definition – the distinction between traditional practices passed on by communities and groups, and events that are not heritage so much as commerce and active place-making. Examples came to interviewees' minds such as 'The *Looe food festival* that we went to, that was particularly good' (K17). And this already-familiar term 'festival' is reflected in the media dataset as a general discourse of normativity. At Golowan, according to the BBC, 'The *line-up* this year is *jam packed'* – a description that would not be amiss of Glastonbury; a holiday park describes activities that could be found at any town, at any time: 'The festival has *a packed programme* of artists in celebration of *music, performing arts and theatre'* (Beachside Holiday Park). The distinctiveness of Cornish – or Penzancian – heritage is discursively erased in these descriptions' normalised language. Again, the boundary between merely ambiguous semantics and an increasingly ethically dubious co-option of heritage looms. On one tourism website, May Day is packaged as a visitor attraction that is 'zany', open to 'anyone' and 'free' to access. It then invites visitors to attend: 'What are you doing for Obby Oss 2023?' (Proper Cornwall) – even though as an event run for and by locals the right to extend an invitation is far from clear (as Hodsdon, Ozolina & Zijlstra discuss, this volume). Although these normative descriptions are to some extent understandable – both events do after all include a funfair, food trucks, and other such attractions common at other types of festival – it is useful to question the broader effect of this incomplete picture that discursively erases difference; and in so doing may miss an opportunity to articulate and celebrate a distinctive local culture whose voice is marginalised in relation to the national majority.

The fact that there *is* something clearly distinctive in the practices at both these events – most notably the paganesque 'oss' ('horse'-like) figures, and the dances

specific to each context – means that they are not always simply slotted into this normative paradigm. We might expect, then, to see something of this in the descriptions. Indeed we do – but it is striking how the presentation of these non-normative traits is manifest in the discourse. They range from evoking discourses of discovery via a somewhat exoticising tone, 'with *traders* selling *all manner of goods* as well as food from all around the world *to delight the taste buds*' (Kenegie Manor). Another describes 'food stands with *world* and *Cornish* foods' (Sea Swim Cornwall): that is, anything *but* normative. Elsewhere, we find clearer exoticising language: '…you hear the *thudding of the drums,* the *repeated rhythmic trance* echoes its way around, *people* dance, *people* sing and *people* drink' (Sail Lofts Apartments). Mention of 'drums' and 'repeated rhythmic trance', and the raw immediacy of the tricolon of 'people…' locate the practice in an othering, exoticising gaze. *Penglaz*, the Penzance Oss, is a horse's skull with a foliage garland and as such does strike a somewhat unusual figure. But, in this description from a tourism website, not the Oss but the *people themselves* are described in archaic, othering terms: a 'throng of townsfolk' is led by Penglaz with 'torches aloft' through 'the moonlit streets', the description arguably evoking a mob of medieval peasants more than anything at all contemporary (Cornwall Guide). And again, an article in *Folklore Thursday* about May Day claims that '*There remains a lingering belief* that any woman captured beneath the apron of the 'Oss will be married or pregnant within the year' (James 2019). One author visiting Penzance draws more explicitly on an authorised heritage discourse exhorting their readers to 'grab your good *seafaring Cornish pirate*', since 'some Cornish folklore experiences are worth reinventing, particularly the ones that go with a *certain swash and buckle*' (Burns 2015). The visitor can even 'expect to see the town filled with *a few Jack Sparrow lookalikes*!' This appeal to the language of popular culture functions as a 'translation' to a wider audience situating the sights into familiar terms, while at the same time retaining a promise of sheer weirdness.

This uncertain placement of the non-normative content relative to contemporary majority time and space, shifting between types III and IV, also manifests in other ways. For some, it is a contemporary practice: in this example conveyed via present tense: 'Golowan […] *means* the Feast of St John and *it is* on St John's Eve […] that the *festivities begin for this revived tradition* (Cornwall Guide) – 'revived tradition' acknowledging the complex temporality of the event. For others, it appears as an anachronistic window into a culture frozen in the past, archaic language stating that 'Padstow will be *making merry the old-fashioned way* with its famous Obby Oss' (Cornish Traditional Cottages), or that 'The town is *bedecked* in flags and greenery' (Boutique Retreats). For yet others, it seems to be more of a selfconscious re-enactment of that past, acknowledging that 'Although [Golowan] is an old tradition, it was revived by a group of artists and local schools in 1991 *in order to remember* the local area's heritage' (Purely Penzance).

Whose performances? Actors and audiences

Another important element of the public discourse is who the events are *for*: who participates, who spectates, what their relative roles are, and how might

they negotiate them. Some websites stress inclusivity: a Penzance-based website describes its festivals throughout the year which 'provide spectacles and entertainment *for both locals and visitors alike*' (Purely Penzance). Other examples cast locals as the central actors, at Golowan where 'Penzance comes alive with colour and *the people of the town enjoy* a feast of celebrations' (BBC). Many authors nevertheless do not hesitate to insert themselves as actors in the construction of audience-performer. Some use the second person, addressing the reader directly: '*I am sure if you follow* Cornish Culture *you have heard of* the Golowan Festival' and assuring them that the author can provide the necessary insight: '*If you don't know* Golowan – read on!' (Kenegie Manor). The intimate and confiding tone gives a sense of including and even inculcating the interlocutor into an insiderness, regardless of the author's positional authority to enact such inclusion. A similar effect is achieved elsewhere by imperative verbs, which evoke the discourse of 'must see' tourism destinations in which decisions about where and how to interact are discursively removed from the visitor. A holiday cottage agency exhorts its customers to '*Imbibe* west Cornwall's artistic landscape' at Golowan (Aspects Holidays); another to '*See* Penzance come alive with dance, music and fun in Cornwall's biggest street festival!... *Spend time* on the harbourside…' (Porthleven Holiday Cottages). In both instances, the authors' language positions them as insider, addressing themselves to the constructed-as-outsider visitor.

The nature of engagement in the examples so far has been spectating: but how does a visitor negotiate how and when to take part? This is much less clear. Even when verbs are imperative, there is something passive about the nature of the participation: visitors can '*Walk the promenade and enjoy* the atmosphere *or get involved in the streets* lined with thousands of people' (Porthleven Holiday Cottages). The apparent invitation here to 'get involved' only comprises becoming part of the gazing masses. Elsewhere are clearer signals that visitors are expected to remain observers: 'As well as the hundreds of *local performers taking part,* Golowan is pleased to welcome a host of *national and international artists visiting to participate'* (Visit Cornwall TV). At the furthest end of these signals about participation are clues about how to negotiate the locals, one holiday rentals company warning that 'Mazey Day is *loud. It's wild, untamed* and oftentimes won't make sense' (Sail Lofts Apartments). Another local website advises that Quay Fair Day 'has a much more *laid back* feel to it and *is an ideal day to be part of* the celebrations' (Purely Penzance): avoiding the locals may be to visitors' advantage. Indeed, an outsider gaze is sometimes constructed more explicitly, drawing attention to the crowds to create a sense that here is a spectacle to be gazed upon: '*Thousands of people line the streets to watch local* schools, artists and community groups parade' (Porthleven Holiday Cottages); or promising '*the chance to see* what the local schools and colleges have created […] they're *a sight to behold*' (Sail Lofts Apartments).

An outsider gaze is also constructed in the nature and amount of information given. Some examples purporting to share information ironically display a lack of it, omitting explanations of esoteric terms and so maintaining the distance between audience and descriptive object. Visit Cornwall describes how 'The "*osses",* swirling and dancing proceed through Padstow's streets *taunted by a Teazer'*

(Visit Cornwall); a holiday cottage company speaks of 'events such as *Mazey Eve*, the election of *the Mock Mayor* of the Quay*, Penglaz,* Penzance's own *'Obby 'Oss*' (Boutique Retreats). No gloss is given of these terms. Others seek to establish their own insiderness by appearing to reveal local specialist knowledge: 'May Day (*or 'Obby 'Oss Day as it is known*) is the biggest day in Padstow's calendar' (Visit Cornwall). However, as one interviewee from Padstow said:

> I get annoyed when they call it Obby Oss Day: it's May Day. "Come to Padstow Obby Oss festival" – things like that annoy me, as they don't really know what they're talking about. But because they are quoting it on their website, the people that come down think that that's true, because they think that the people who own the holiday house live here.
>
> (K88)

The implied outsider discourse self-perpetuates, disconnected from insider reality: this is not only a conceptual gap but also one that has real potential implications for visitors' understanding of and appropriate engagement with the event.

Mediating heritage

We opened this chapter by observing a potential issue that can arise when (majority) authors mediate minority ICH. Having the power and voice to name a thing equates to the power to shape what that thing *is*, and can result in ICH becoming a different 'thing' to the majority than it is to the minority. And as our subsequent analysis has suggested, it is not only the naming but the descriptive content and positioning of the way heritage is mediated that has the power to shape the nature of the event and its relationality to a majority audience. In the examples presented here are differently constructed gazes that map onto the model presented above. We can plot these mediations as moving between the different ideal-types, variously landing or shifting along the axes from centripetal to centrifugal, and from self to other. In Type I (self-centripetal) sit the normative descriptions of 'jam-packed line-ups', family fun, and food festival comparisons. In the context of marginalised cultures' ICH – especially those whose group identity claims are contested or erased – this representational strategy risks negating claims to distinctiveness, along with broader societal awareness and respect for the group and its right to express itself culturally, socially, or politically. Into Type II fall those instances where heritage is constructed as belonging to the majority cultures' past or future: archaic descriptions of 'thronging' townsfolk with torches aloft, 'making merry', or superstitious beliefs. Waterton and Smith note this 'unpleasant paradox' where heritage is 'on the one hand something confined to the past or those who are excluded or "underdeveloped", and on the other, something to lament' (Waterton & Smith 2010: 7). In Type III are gazes as a 'sight to behold', although also potentially more positively valued descriptions such as 'revived traditions' taking place in the present, for the benefit of the tourist seeking to expand their horizons or be enriched by their holiday experiences. Type IV comprises those instances where

heritage is Other: this is clearly manifest here in the exoticising language describing 'traders' or 'thudding drums'.

At one extreme, then, lies a discourse of the self-same that pulls the minority ICH in and emphasises the shared habitus of both majority and minority in such a way as to discursively erase the minority's cultural distinctiveness. At another lies a focus on the different-other that pushes away the ICH and over-exaggerates and potentially exoticises cultural distinctiveness. This lack of consistency in the discursive construction of ICH events seems to some extent to reflect broader conceptions of ICH (or the lack of) in the UK. The sometimes uncomfortable relationship between ICH as, on the one hand, heritage construct and, on the other, as everyday, lived experience has been frequently noted. But also, as suggested in the opening section of this chapter, the AHD in the UK has not allowed for ICH to sit comfortably or confidently alongside tangible heritage within the national imaginary of its own heritage context (see Smith & Waterton 2009). In the face of the inherently elusive discursive object of 'ICH' in general, and the absence of a broader discursive framework to describe ICH in the UK, it is perhaps unsurprising that there is no clear strategy shaping the positions and perspectives that authors take up in mediating minority ICH. There are other ambiguities at play, too, in the realm of identity boundaries. As discussed by Hodsdon (this volume), there is no clear-cut boundary in this context between 'insider' and 'outsider', or national majority and a minoritised group within. Rather, the continuum wherein individuals (and indeed the heritage itself) are *both* Cornish *and* British; *both* distinct *and* same – in ways that may shift even within an individual according to context – may also contribute to the inconsistency of the way the ICH is manifest in the public discourse.

Assuming a majority authorship, it is germane to ask what the impact of othering language could be upon majority perceptions of an already marginalised culture. But there are examples of this discourse being produced by insiders, too: the author of the Sail Lofts Apartments article about Golowan states that they are a Penzance local. Casting the event into Type IV could represent an inculcation into the majority standpoint resulting in a 'self-orientalism' (Olsen 2008) manifesting a lack of confidence; or it could be a more deliberate tactic of strategic essentialism (Spivak 1985), to assert difference in the face of historic and contemporary erasure of that cultural distinctiveness. As van Rekom and Go (2006) describe, differentiation in an insider—outsider interaction context can yield positive benefits to social identification processes. And just as strategic essentialism may be reacting to a Type I majority gaze, the bifurcating discourse can also lead to the contrary assertion, negating difference from a minority standpoint. In a TripAdvisor exchange (2019), a traveller from India asks where to 'experience Cornish culture', and responses from people located in Cornwall become increasingly heated in asserting the very sameness that a strategic essentialism would deny: 'You seem to think that 'visiting' will provide a cultural experience. I'm afraid it won't, people in Cornwall live their lives in the same way as people all over the UK and the World in general. It is not a reservation or theme park' (TA user 'Penmere'). In this instance, minority voices mediating their own ICH by asserting a self-centripetal (Type I) positioning are reacting against a (perceived) majority Type IV discourse – not,

presumably, primarily of the original poster themselves but sedimented over time from an awareness of the ever present majority gaze. Eventually, someone changes mediation tack, and offers a suggestion for a pub where the visitor might watch a Cornish folk music session – shifting back into a more positive Type III. The result is a reproduction of the ambiguities of the public discourse in general, with minority cultural voices both asserting and denying distinctiveness.

This shifting sense of simultaneous sameness and otherness might also be reflected in what appears to be the audience of this discourse: tourists, or event outsiders from within Cornwall. Edensor argues that tourism, 'because it is not separate from the quotidian, is an exemplary site for an exploration of the ways in which the everyday is replete with unreflexive practice and habit but simultaneously provokes desires for unconfined alterity' (Edensor 2007: 201) and suggests that tourists are not simply seeking the exotic 'other', but navigate this via their own normative, everyday practices. Despite the search for liminality and touristic experiences as 'culturally coded escape attempts', this 'central [paradox] of tourism' is tempered by the need for the safety of the normative, 'for while the confrontation of alterity is desired, the disruption this creates can engender self-doubt or self-consciousness, not conducive to having a good time' (Edensor 2007: 202). Faced with ambiguity of both content and audience expectations, it is perhaps not surprising that the discourse veers between different ontological framings and the commensurately varying positionalities of the gaze. As minority groups seek to carve out a place in a contemporary Europe which reflects active participation in modern society alongside their continuing traditions, the discursive positioning of their heritage is not without practical consequence. The active role of such discourse in shaping outsider perceptions imbues it with an ethical imperative given its potential to shape behaviours, future discursive acts, and broader perceptions of the minority culture and others like it. It might be posited that an ideal scenario is for the minority culture to always be involved in shaping and voicing the narratives that are presented about them. But even if desirable, this is not a realistic recommendation, due to the proliferation of content and platforms available, as well as the obvious burden on representatives of that culture on policing the way they are described. Instead, then, we propose that a version of the model we present in this chapter might be proactively used by both minority and majority discursive actors as a tool to articulate and assess the way that they are voicing minority ICH. This, we suggest, offers a pathway for more appropriate discourse that is fully reflective of how a minority culture might fruitfully and ethically be voiced, whatever the positionality of the author. Types II and III arguably offer the more measured balance of sameness and distinctiveness. Although there is potential for an unwanted gaze, in Type III there also exists the potential to mediate minority heritage in a way that adds positively to social identification processes that provide potential resilience for the culture, rather than risk erasing or othering it. Here, heritage remains 'theirs', but – where this is treated respectfully and not co-opted – can widen 'our' horizons, provide enriching experiences, and give new perspectives. Likewise, while Type II risks rendering paternalistic perspectives on a culture stuck

in the past, it can also offer an enriching insight into aspects of modern society that have been lost, potentially to its detriment. As one Padstonian pointed out,

> Why do you [celebrate May Day]? It's just what you do. […] Almost the question should be turned around: why it isn't happening elsewhere? […] So much of this is taking as the normal situation something that is in fact nothing of the sort. Those who create the discourse happen to be in that situation, therefore that is taken as the normal status quo. It certainly isn't the status quo for probably the majority of people on earth.
>
> (K86)

While Types II and III are likely to be the most appropriate positions adopted by majority authors, that is not to say they are the only possible perspectives: as we noted above, the availability of Types I and IV to minoritised authors provides a means to contest reductive majority narratives, whether via strategic essentialism or countering exoticisation.

Proactively reflective heritage mediation can thus potentially allow national minority ICH to be understood and engaged with appropriately, with its distinctiveness acknowledged but not overstated, both in the nature of that engagement and in the positionality that one might adopt towards it. Revoicing ICH and contemporary socio-cultural practice via reflective mediation in this way, whatever the positionality of the author, could enable a more nuanced, thoughtful discourse around minority heritage so as to enable the majority to see it as belonging to a rich, contemporary culture; and the minority to feel that their culture is truly seen.

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