11 The filmmakers' gaze

Navigating the zone of cultural osmosis in capturing heritage events

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Echoes of ancient voices: 'Oss Oss Wee Oss!'

Padstow May Day is a centuries-old tradition in which people play drums and accordions and sing while processing through the town's streets behind large, costumed 'Osses' (see Appendix 1 for detail). One of the earliest visual representations of May Day is an etching from around 1830 (see Figure 11.1). It shows a central figure wearing a large, black Oss costume, surrounded by a 'teaser' (who dances with the Oss), musicians, and a maypole. Fast-forward two centuries through celluloid newsreels projected in cinemas, evolving into live broadcast television beamed into homes, latterly exploded into the digital sphere of portable screen devices and social media, and the features of the event are still clearly recognisable from those depicted in this early etching. Each artefact perpetuates public curiosity, bringing ever greater numbers of spectating tourists, shifting the insider—outsider, or participant—audience, balance with a touristic gaze (Urry 1990), with which, as we explore in this chapter, audio-visual (AV) archive forms an increasingly reflexive discourse. The plurality of perspectives through which these artefacts have been (and continue to be) created and disseminated presents an opportunity for analysing AV archives' impacts across the changing social and technological contexts of the last two centuries. To explore these, we compiled a database of AV artefacts capturing Cornish cultural events, including May Day, from local, regional, and national archives; university collections, museums and folkloric societies; and families and private collectors. These make up over 200 entries – many thousands of AV artefacts – with varying degrees of accessibility: some, but not all, catalogued; fewer still digitised. Collating these fragmented and dispersed artefacts allows us to step back and consider the archive as a whole.

There is an extensive literature relating to intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and film, pertaining to ethics, copyright, and accessibility (e.g. Brunow 2017; Viken 2017; Erlewein 2015; Sherman 2008), implications of the increasing diversity of AV on archives and museums (e.g. Monova-Zheleva et al. 2020), and on proactive use of media to capture and share ICH (e.g. Lu et al. 2019; Skublewska-Paszkowska et al. 2022). Concerning the latter, UNESCO is clear that documenting ICH for preservation is not a valid means of safeguarding, whereas sharing and engaging with that documentation is (Curtis & Proschan 2009). This perspective,

DOI: 10.4324/9781003459149-17

Figure 11.1 Engraving of 'Padstow Hobby Horse'.

that embeds AV content on ICH within the society that practises it, provides an ideal standpoint to consider the interplay between insiders and outsiders from the perspective of filmic content and production. The power dynamics of filmmaking in an indigenous context – whether driven by ethnographic or artistic inquiry (or of course a combination) – has been discussed (Ginsburg 1991, 2018, 1994; Henley 2020; Wortham 2013). Stemming from the advent of more portable, accessible filmmaking equipment in the 1960s and 1970s, much of this literature concerns the shift in technology and ethical positioning enabling indigenous people, who had traditionally been subjects of the outsider gaze, to instead become authors of their own stories. In this chapter – two of whose authors are professional filmmakers – we draw on this work that considers the mediation, dynamics and ethics via film between insiders and outsiders in minority cultural contexts, and our own expertise and experiences, to consider the positionalities at play in both content and context in the creation and curation of ICH AV artefacts.

A triptych gaze

The ubiquity of the tourist gaze upon May Day makes the notion of 'gaze' particularly germane in this context. The tourist gaze is 'constructed through difference' and 'the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices' (Urry 1990: 1–2) – resulting in a potentially 'othering', minoritising narrative (see Hodsdon & Moenandar; and Koreinik & Hodsdon, this volume). In an AV context, though, we might draw more closely on another framing of the gaze more explicitly positioned in relation to film. First published in *Screen* in 1975, Mulvey described film's 'male

gaze', in which 'pre-existing patterns of fascination' are already at work within the filmmaking process, constructing 'woman as image', and man as 'bearer of the look of the spectator'. Mulvey suggested that

> there are three different looks associated with cinema: that of the camera as it records the pro-filmic event, that of the audience as it watches the final product, and that of the characters at each other within the screen illusion.
>
> (Mulvey 1975: 17)

We use this tripartite typology of 'looks' to adapt Mulvey's application of the gaze here as a 'filmmakers' gaze' comprising filmmaker, audience, and subject, replacing the male—female dichotomy and its power relations (Mulvey 1975: 11) with those of majority/outsider—minority/insider.

The primary *filmmaker* gaze refers to the act of making: selecting who and what to (and not to) film. It is used broadly here for the observer as filmmaker, photographer or sound recordist (including commissioning and editorial frameworks); the intention and editorial focus, which subjects, ideas or people are given greater or lesser weight (time or freedom to speak in their own voice, or a scripted or edited version of this) fashioned through a series of aesthetic choices. As creator, the filmmaker holds a position of power to direct the audience gaze and decides (consciously or not) whether or to what extent to engender empathy for their subject. The secondary gaze, a viewing *audience*, is (at least in theory) available to all and so encompasses both insider and outsider perspectives. An insider may view the material as nostalgia, a memory resource legitimising repetition; an outsider might view the same as a curiosity, of academic, cultural, or social interest, but removed from their own experience. Responses might of course oscillate between or span this dichotomy. Factors such as who holds the material, in what format(s), where and within what licensing or sharing context, filter the degree of accessibility, clearly impacting who can be an audience at all. The tertiary *subject* gaze describes any protagonist or 'character' within the film, and is the perspective on themselves and each other that they take on its content and action.

Bearing in mind the social contexts and power relations in which May Day takes place, then, we use this triptych to ask: what are the impacts of the relativity of the observer to the audience to the subject, and what impact if any might this interplay have on the ICH being gazed upon? In the sections below, we consider these dynamics to explore the complexities of identity and positionality in the filmmaking process.

The filmmakers' gaze: a dominant outsider view

The relationship between the archive and the ICH it captures is imbricated with power dynamics. As Erlewein asks, 'Who is involved in the production, consumption and regulation of representations and thereby also the (re)construction of ICH?' (Erlewein 2015: 26). Our database shows the ways that this primary observer's gaze evolves over time. Some of the earliest Pathé silent newsreel artefacts of May

Day – *Summer is Y… Comen in* (1930), and the first instance with sync sound *The Padstow Hobby Hoss* (1932) – demonstrate how, through framing and cataloguing choices, May Day footage has been editorialised from an outsider, othering gaze. These films 'signal the Cornish strongly as "weird rural folk" (and are often catalogued by Pathé as "entertainment and humour" as well as "culture and lifestyle")', intimating Cornwall's 'otherness' (Moseley 2018: 117; see also Hodsdon & Moenandar, this volume), and Pathé's editorial line follows a 'clear observation of a regional curiosity' (Moseley 2018). The camera position in these early newsreel films is typically detached, filming from a removed, higher perspective. Both films are introduced by a written title card with romanticised text, such as: 'whose origin is buried in oblivion & has been held from time immemorial' (British Pathé 1932: 01:23:54) and 'some say, dates back to Pagan days!' (British Pathé 1930: 01:39:07).

Lomax later echoes this rhetoric in his introduction to *Oss Oss Wee Oss* as 'a sexy, savage, springtime rite' (1953: 00:02:40). Despite this othering description, though, Lomax's positionality is more complex. *Oss Oss Wee Oss* was pioneering in its conversational narrative approach and form, pre-dating the participatory filmmaking movement of the 1970s and 1980s. While authored by an outsider, who created a fictional 'Londoner' voiceover character to interrogate the local accordion-playing fisherman and narrator Charlie Bate, this innovative filmmaking device engages the audience on a journey of discovery to experience the world of the film in a deeper way than would have been possible using the typical reportage approach of the time. Continuing this more participative, sympathetic outsider approach, since the 1960s folklorist Doc Rowe has been recording May Day and illustrates the complex, yet mutable, relationship between a filmmaker and an ICH community. He acknowledges both his outsiderness – 'For years, I had butterflies in the stomach. I've had feelings of anxiety, that I really shouldn't be there because I'm not Padstow, I'm not local' while at the same time expressing a deeply felt insiderness: 'And yet the overwhelming feeling is that I've got to be there, unthinkable not to be. So, I'm there' (Taylor 2008: 06:50) (elsewhere in this volume Moenandar, Moran-Nae & Hodsdon discuss this combination of boundary experiences as an oscillation between a heartfelt sense of belonging and the need for strict boundary maintenance). Eventually, from sharing his prints of rescued old photographs with locals at the Golden Lion pub in Padstow, to their familiarity with his recording the event over years, Rowe shifted his self-perceived imposition to acceptance:

> ... someone came up and said, "Doc, when are you starting filming?" And I thought, "Brilliant, that's how it should be. Remember this". Because we'd been filming since about 9 o'clock that morning and no one had noticed. And that's what should be happening, so I was really pleased with that.
>
> (Lines 2017 np.)

Positionality is paramount: It's not who you are but how you are

As the examples of Lomax and Rowe suggest, opportunities to reflect on and construct one's own positionality are part of insider–outsider interplay as it is associated

with the primary, filmmaker gaze constructed via a 'complex, often precarious and always negotiated process' (McDonald et al. 2019: 190). The following analysis of two TV segments, both created within the commissioning framework and editorial guidelines of the BBC, offers an illustration of the impact of this self-positionality. The presenters each visited May Day (in 2016 and 2017 respectively), yet their experiences differ significantly.

In *Coastal Path* (Horsey 2016) – a series title itself arguably evoking an idyllic imaginary – Paul Rose introduces Padstow from the perspective of an outsider touristic gaze (aimed at an outsider audience) as 'famed for its food' (a reference to celebrity chef Rick Stein's predominance in the town). Rose interviews members of the Old Oss party, asking 'What can I do to help?', before continuing *without pausing* for a response 'I can't join in, can I?' An exemplar of a filmmaker constructing their own outsider position, what might appear a culturally sensitive recognition of his outsider status is undermined by his lack of pause revealing the offer of help not to be genuine. Instead of opening a dialogue, he constructs his position as separate, thus one of the interviewees laughingly replies, 'Just keep of the way'. The next shot is Rose walking away with voiceover, 'Well that's me told' (Horsey 2016: 09:53): a seemingly defensive reaction even though the response was one that he discursively created. Voiceover (added in post-production) trivialises his obvious discomfort: 'It might be a serious business for some, but for the crowd it's a chance to let it all hang out' (Horsey 2016: 10: 05). The editorial position is further reinforced by a significant proportion of the segment (90 seconds (43%) of its three-and-a-half-minutes) occurring at Prideaux Place, where Prideaux-Brune (lord of the manor, framed as an authorised majority cultural voice) is similarly othering and adopts an outsider position (despite fulfilling an insider role as an apparent 'informant' to the filmmaker): 'But *the Padstonians* regard it as being something very, very special to *them*' (emphasis added: Horsey 2016: 11:44), a filmic subject colluding with the filmmaker themselves to construct the object being gazed at (Mulvey 1975: 17).

A more open approach results in a notably different outcome. In *Countryfile Spring Diaries* (Buffery 2017), Ellie Harrison similarly begins her feature with familiar shots of harbour and flags; but the London-centric *'down* on the Cornish coast' then gives way to a more respectful language of 'celebrate', 'custom or ritual' and an empathetic, personal response: 'there's something about the collective singing and the collective dancing. It actually kind of makes me a bit choked' (Buffery 2017: 39:29). Like Rose, Harrison says to her Old Oss interviewees: 'you can't join what you guys are doing if you're a girl from Gloucestershire can you?' and later makes a big deal of the 'special invitation from the lord of the manor' to have 'special access' to see the Blue Oss dancing inside Prideaux Place, where a similarly significant 41% (150 seconds) of the segment occurs. Prideaux-Brune again perpetuates a colourfully painted insider–outsider dichotomy, 'You have to be a sixth generation Padstowan. There are occasionally the odd fistfights about who gets in and who doesn't' (Buffery 2017: 42:41). However, in contrast to the *Coastal Path* example, this assertion is subverted by the reality of what ensues, as Harrison is asked if she would like to join in, and is shown dancing with the club: 'Me? Really? Can I? This is amazing… Thank you so much! I can't believe I got to have a go. What a privilege!' (Buffery 2017:

43:48). Whether because of the more open (than the Old Oss) tradition of the Blue Oss, the fact the presenter is more empathetic and willing, that she is a young woman rather than older man, or perhaps had engaged in better research: self-positionality results in quite different presentations of the nature of the event and those celebrating it. Importantly too, the implications of the presenters' positionalities for the secondary gaze of an outsider audience can also influence majority perceptions of a particular culture: welcoming and open, or backward and defensive?

Participation engenders representation

These are all ultimately editorialised views; the filmmaker's gaze is a filter through which ICH is observed, captured, edited and passed on. To what extent might a more participatory approach synthesise the space between outsider—filmmaker and insider—subject to overcome this dichotomy? Erlewein argues for a participatory cinema that encourages respect, dialogue, and the dissolution of the rigid concepts of Self and Other (2015: 20). Filmmakers such as Barbara Santi have done just this, embedding themselves within the community they are documenting, adopting a participatory approach less about objective observation and more about engaged dialogue. *King for a Day* (Santi 2022) is a poetic, archive-led 60-minute documentary reflexively repurposing AV archive in a contemporary framing, working collaboratively with the families and community it depicts. Here Santi reflects on how her practice and perspective shifted through the process of making of this collaborative documentary with the people of Padstow.

***King for a Day*: a collaborative film practice by Barbara Santi**

> 'I'm following in history, I'm following in tradition, that's what it's all about. It's your families' and your history' Jamie McOwen, Teaser of Old Oss party, *King for a Day*.

Unlike many TV programmes that perpetuate an outsider gaze, *King for a Day* aims to open up a contemporary dialogue about identity and Cornwall, seen from the unique viewpoint of the Padstow people. The Obby Oss is a powerful symbol of resilience, revealing a community protecting its boundaries. Padstow's AV archive enriches the community's unity and solidarity, and mobile phones and social media have empowered people with connections to Padstow far and wide to reconnect with their culture and share their narrative in their own way, exemplified by online presence such as *I Love Padstow May Day* on Facebook.

> 'If you move on too quick you'll forget your past…if you forget where you've been you're going to forget where you're going.' Alan Bate, Old Oss party, *King for a Day*.

Archive film of the Obby Oss led me to Padstow in 2010. *King for a Day* follows the descendants of the main characters depicted in *Oss Oss Wee Oss* 70 years later. Encountering community members after screening archive film in Padstow Social Club, it became strikingly evident that a more profound narrative than that typically presented underpinned the tradition. Initial interviews about May Day soon steered towards how Padstow had changed and how tourism was adversely affecting the community. Observations and questions during filming examined the multidimensional relationship between place, community, and filmmaker. Distinctively, *King for a Day* uses immersive documentary practice to interpret Padstow's cultural heritage, taking inspiration from the concept of 'deep mapping' as a layering of narratives of community and place (Pearson & Shanks 2001; Biggs 2019).

My filming methodology evolved during production. I embraced Padstow's AV archive and used it to engage with people. This exchange resonated given people's passion for their heritage. Other methods included ongoing conversations and screenings of work-in-progress, building friendships and networks outside of May Day, and, since the completion of the documentary, sharing any profits from its distribution. This has redefined the concept of the insider–outsider gaze in my work, presenting a more complex, fluid relationship, which ebbs and flows like the River Camel of Padstow. Being an outsider has given me the motivation and vehicle to 'find out', to ask questions; but as I live and work in Cornwall and am interested in cultural heritage and archives, these aspects have given me greater access than other filmmakers and ethnographers who have little engagement or common ground with its custodians.

These dialogic methods guided me towards an inclusive methodology that continuously assesses issues around ethics and power. Participants affect the film in various ways, including what they allow the filmmaker to record, so the boundaries of what is possible are constantly shifting, negotiated, and renegotiated. I have always been led by the families while attempting to push access restrictions to gather footage of unseen moments and present a more reflective explanation of the custom and community. This led to access that is not for non-Padstow people gradually becoming possible for me over the years, enabling me to present a more personal perspective not seen before from an outside filmmaker. Filming vignettes into people's lives which are not public facing – for example, fishing off rocks or cooking crab for May Day – are private moments that are ritualistic, spiritual aspects of the tradition. These scenes were filmed unobtrusively, as if I wasn't there. At other times, contributors talk to me directly and I to them, bringing me closer into their world.

Time and transparency have been key to gaining trust. For example, early in the filming process, party members would block access to the Obby Oss' first sightings, ensuring that locals had the best views. In recent years, the

> 'inner circle', as I call them, would actively encourage me to get nearer to the action. In some ways, the families have tested my 'worth', and 'giving back' to the community has made me an ally rather than an outsider. It has been a constantly shifting and, at times, challenging process, but always driven by my interest in two-way engagement. The need for a flexible approach is at the heart of the collaboration. Distinctively, in my film, for the first time, community members talk on camera, not in sound bites, but as a slow, reflective process in the form of oral histories. These interviews reveal people's opinions and inner thoughts, and the film becomes a powerful social record and testimony of the Padstow people and their living culture.

Audience gaze: representations of a future past

The secondary 'gaze' of the audience can be understood both in terms of context and of content. Much as the filmmaker holds power by selecting their subject, frame, and focus, so too does the commissioner, collector, curator (and organisational policy) act as gatekeeper to audiences' ability to access the archive: this is not a neutral process (Sabiescu 2020: 505). Where there is a benefit to majority stakeholders (where a title is, for example, considered to be of 'national significance'), it may be 'authorised' and collected, securing its preservation. In some instances, this does act to increase its visibility and accessibility for all, as is the case with Pathé newsreel and popular titles like *Oss Oss Wee Oss* (Lomax 1953), which is held in multiple formats across many settings and is therefore relatively easy to access (at least to view – rights for reuse are more complicated). Other artefacts are rare, fragile and practically inaccessible, such as a 1920 film from Truro-based amateur cinematographer Major Gill held on a VHS tape by Royal Cornwall Museum, and possibly also in its original celluloid format by The Box archive, Plymouth. Such artefacts are difficult to access due to lack of cataloguing detail and scant digitisation which can make it difficult even to verify their existence. Simply put, for an artefact to have an audience, it must be accessible to view. Within the context of ICH this has clear implications for AV material's capacity to be a tool for revitalisation: Curtis and Proschen give the example of recordings of Passamaquoddy and Zuni heritage being kept undigitised by the Library of Congress for 90 years before finally being shared with the cultures themselves (2009: 5).

Notwithstanding the accessibility or otherwise of an artefact, the implication is that it is aimed at an audience. Its perspectives and narratives, explicitly or implicitly conveyed, present the ICH for reception and interpretation, with potentially as many responses as there are audience members. In the case of many of the artefacts already mentioned – *Oss Oss Wee Oss* and the BBC clips, for example – the implication is that the intended audience are majority-outsiders, indicated by the explanatory tone, narratives activated (such as the touristic idyll), as well as the filmmakers' positionality, as described above. But on other occasions the audience is insiders, such as on

social media sites where film clips and artworks are shared and those commenting are clearly part of an insider community. These audiences' responses reveal much about different perspectives and narratives about May Day in particular and minority culture in general. For example, in the comments beneath *Oss Oss Wee Oss* on YouTube, discourse moves between a constructed-as-insider position ('Sincere thanks for this upload. My Dad was born in Padstow in 1946 and my late Gran who was born in 1916. Dad will be thrilled to watch this and I'm quite sure he will recognise a few people!' (@highten443)), and an othering outsider position ('English folk customs are so adorable and mad' (@pseudonamed)). Often, these two audiences meet and interact: sometimes positively, but not always. One commenter on a *Cornwall Live* video clip of May Day on Facebook opines 'Once is an experience twice is boring' and receives the response 'Feel free to leave it to the locals who the day is intended for then knobhead', the latter comment receiving 21 likes (Cornwall Live 2022). The audience gaze may be available to all, but that does not mean that responses are uncontested. The online audience similarly works together to moderate content to amplify the minority voice in response to a BBC Devon clip (Spotlight 2013) shared on Facebook that erroneously claims only the Red Oss is for Padstow locals, three successive commenters noting the mistake. In these examples, we see outsider responses commensurate with an 'othering' gaze; but we also see insider audience members contesting and reshaping the narratives. This may be via circumventing the majority construction altogether (as in the personal response of the commenter above who evokes his Padstonian relatives), or by actively contesting it, as in the *Cornwall Live* example (see Koreinik & Hodsdon, this volume). The particular affordances of social media, with the facility for any audience member to upload a comment, are of course what facilitate the more active participation and negotiation seen here.

Beyond reactions to a particular artefact, this insider-audience gaze upon their own ICH, even in response to that of a majority-filmmaker, can have profound ramifications. In *King for a Day*, Blue Oss Master of Ceremonies Michael England talks about May Day as

> a phenomenon that's been archived both by ourselves and a lot of other people. We owe a lot to the other people who have come along and provided recordings and pictures. If someone hadn't come in and recorded it, that would have been lost. It's something that we've got as a record and a testimony to May Days of that period. Without that we wouldn't have anything.
>
> (Santi 2022: 13:55)

This comment offers a more nuanced perspective on the outsider filmmaker's relationality to the ICH community that comprises the subject of their film. Filmmakers' fascination with the day, however its gaze is constructed, has created a rich archival resource that is not only valued for itself but is folded into the meaning and practices of May Day for the people of Padstow. By becoming the audience as well as the subject, a self-reflexivity is generated that arguably can increase the cultural value ascribed to May Day for the community as it moves into the future, potentially bolstering its resilience.

This shifting between a secondary, tertiary, and even primary gaze – again nuancing the passivity of the subject – is also linked to the affordances of digital and social media. Films and images from the last 60 years evidence growth of physical audience in the streets of Padstow on May Day. Larger crowds bring more media attention, which in turn can encourage larger crowds. Thus, an AV audience can become a real audience, potentially inserting themselves into the archive (shifting themselves from secondary to tertiary gaze should they appear in shot). In particular, evolving technology (digital video compared to celluloid) allows for mass acquisition and sharing of media, indicating a move away from simply experiencing the event to actively being involved via production of new material, not only by visitors but also the town's participants (mobile phones in hand) as documenters themselves – acting as subject, filmmaker and audience simultaneously. Social media sites like 'I Love Padstow May Day' provide a relatively unencumbered editorial freedom for self-reflexive representations by and for insiders. The democratising potential of social media in allowing anyone with an internet connection and smartphone to have a voice, though this still not neutral (Mansell 2016), has the potential to shift the locus of storytelling power onto individuals rather than institutions: as authors but also as audiences, motivated to share their ICH with others; and potentially too as subjects appearing in those films. The gazes in our triptych are thus becoming increasingly indistinguishable. What future ICH will make of an AV archive located as much in social media as in institutionally commissioned narratives remains to be seen: but the influence of AV artefacts on the transmission and representations of an ICH event may be increasingly integrated into a self-authorised heritage discourse as the bearers of ICH become their own commissioning editors.

The subject gaze: 'Christmas and birthday all rolled into one'

The archive also demonstrates how May Day performs a crucial social function for participants through the third gaze in our triptych: that of the participating subject. John Bishop's short documentary *Oss Tales,* shot in 2004 (revisiting Padstow 'to see if the festival had changed in the intervening fifty years' since *Oss Oss Wee Oss*) opens with images of Osses and Teasers dancing, then cuts to a smiling young man who says, 'I can't believe it. It's actually here again. It's like Christmas and birthday all rolled into one May Day' (Bishop 2007: 00:01:19). Throughout the archive, we return to successive (male) generations of the same Padstow family: Colonel Bate in BBC newsreel *Obby Oss Man of Padstow* (1962), Charlie Bate in *Oss Oss Wee Oss* (1953), Patrick Bate in *King for a Day* (2022), Anthony Bate in *Pass it On* (2023). In the latter film, made for the *Re:voice* project, Anthony Bate tells us (in an almost verbatim echo nearly 20 years later) 'the only thing that keeps me going really is May Day, it's like birthday and Christmas and everything, all rolled into one' (Browne 2023: 08:06). In *King for a Day*, Sid Porter calls May Day

> The most important day of the year. Christmas is nice. We have seven grandchildren, two great grandchildren, and another one on the way. And seeing

> them at Christmas is wonderful. But seeing that Obby Oss come out is something else.
>
> (Santi 2022: 00:21:22)

These multiple references to Christmas (whether consciously echoed from previous films or not) demonstrate the cultural importance of the event for the community and its centrality to their identity, cemented by conventions of dress, codes of behaviour, and rituals which have evolved to signify the May Day custom, here manifest in the on-screen interplay over time between the protagonists of the successive films. Colonel Bate, interviewed by a news reporter, explains that he has the job of 'bringing the Oss out' as a descendant of the family that has been doing this 'for a hundred and fifty years', and continues, 'After I go west, all the family will go right through for another thousand years… they'll follow in the footsteps' (BFI 1962: 00:52). Teaser Jamie McOwen responds to representations of his predecessor, explicitly couching his perception in relation to archive: 'If you see all the old films, he is there dancing and you think, oh my God' and reflecting on his part in continuing the tradition: 'But it makes me feel proud to follow in his footsteps. To think that I could do half the job he does, 'cos everyone used to say what a dancer he was' (Santi 2022: 46:29). Here, the subject in one film directly shapes the practice of the subject in another, via the latter's role as audience, speaking across the generations. Antony Bate in *Pass It On* (Browne 2023) likewise locates the event firmly within an inherited, living tradition, pointing out the extent to which his family is imbricated in May Day both diachronically 'That's my great, great, great grandad that is', and synchronically 'That one there's my second cousin, that's my second cousin'. He positions the purpose of the event explicitly in this context, inseparable and irreplaceable into other contexts: 'What you're… actually celebrating it for, is to do with family ties, and celebrating with your family, and what's been going on for hundreds of years' (Browne 2023, 00:04:02). Across the archive, we see and hear the reflexive subject gaze of Padstow's insiders echo the intrinsic significance of their event, the filmmaker's gaze both challenging or undermining the value of the ICH (by othering it and those who practise it) and being an intrinsic contributor to the construction of that value.

Discussion: navigating the zone of cultural osmosis

As we suggested at the opening of this chapter, the potential of the AV archive to shape and reshape both insider and outsider imaginaries and perceptions of minority ICH is significant, particularly where 'insiders' have been minoritised by broader socio-cultural processes. In commissioning frameworks, as exemplified in the Puttnam report on the UK's broadcast television sector (Freedman & Goblot 2016), while there have been moves to diversify content, there remains a significant block to a more pluralist worldview, where 'too many decision makers continue to walk the same metropolitan (and sometimes suburban) streets and eat in the same restaurants to truly appreciate and hence reflect a fast changing UK' (Freedman & Goblot 2016: 125). Thus, a majority cultural gaze tends to dominate

mainstream representations of minority expressions of ICH, whereas 'a devolved television system would simply allow distinct communities to decide what stories to tell and how to tell them' (Freedman & Goblot 2016: 122).

Desirable though such pluralisation might be, this is not to imply, however, that the outsider perspective should not be voiced, as we have seen throughout this chapter. Rather, it is the manner in which it is done that can be just as important. As Erlewein observes, since 'audio-visual representations of ICH are not windows into the world but are constructed in an encounter, the camera should not mark a demarcation line between cultures but rather a possibility for dialogue and exchange' (Erlewein 2015). Ginsburg, too, suggests that there is no clearly demarcated 'right' or 'wrong', but rather:

> Questions about the legitimacy of one's presence in a [setting…] in which power relations are unequal as an outsider with a camera should always be raised […]. The fact that the people one is dealing with also have cameras and choose to represent themselves with them should not diminish that concern, nor does it make the act of taking those images by outsiders illegitimate. Filming others and filming one's own group are related but distinct parts of a larger project of reflecting upon the particulars of the human condition, and therefore each approach raises its own sets of issues regarding ethics, social and power relations.
>
> (1991: 103)

As participatory filmmakers have long indicated, as does UNESCO's observation that AV archive can be a living, vital force for creating new audiences amongst insiders, in this fluidity lies a potential to both better understand the dynamics at play in historic AV artefact production as well as provide a basis for ethically capturing performances of living heritage in the future.

What, then, might this space for 'dialogue and exchange' look like in the filmmaker/subject encounter through ICH? This will inevitably vary with the impetus driving the film: other modes of documentary filmmaking may deploy the gaze in different ways, such as that described by McDonald (2019) which relies on a more explicitly outsider viewpoint. But for our context – where an outsider perspective seeks to adopt a position of more or less authority in relation to a minoritised practice – the relation between the gazes and the positionalities may require further reflection. In seeking a shared space in which power relations are appropriately navigated, we suggest that the well-known model of 'zone of potential agreement', developed by Fisher, Ury & Paton (2011) as an approach to negotiation leading to 'mutually acceptable' outcomes, may provide a useful framework (Figure 11.2). Adapting the 'zone of potential agreement', we propose a 'zone of cultural osmosis' (ZOCO) as a place of exploration, where each actor has a certain degree of agency over their position on the insider–outsider continuum in the filmmaking process. Framed by the outsider—insider spectrum (seen as shifting and relational rather than absolute (see Hodsdon, this volume)), on the top right is the insider subject (at its simplest, the object of the gaze), on the bottom left, the outsider filmmaker

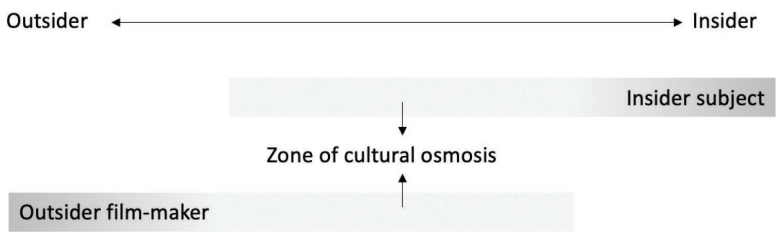

Figure 11.2 Zone of cultural osmosis, adapted from Fisher, Ury, and Patton 2011.

(at its most extreme, the othering primary gaze). As can be seen from the diagram, individuals in both positions have the ability to move inwards, towards the other end of the spectrum (although almost certainly never fully reaching it). Where those overlap is the *zone of cultural osmosis,* the place of 'mutually acceptable' outcomes, where – based at least on the way that the AV archive can be seen both shaping and being shaped by the ICH practice in the data analysed here – we might find fruitful ground for all actors to leverage the AV archive so as to contribute to the ICH's resilience, as well as for it to be a source of mutual understanding rather than contention.

Pathé newsreels can be plotted in the lower left quartile. Similarly, *Coastal Path*'s Paul Rose fixes himself firmly as an outsider, creating his own narrative of self-exclusion, whereas *Countryfile*'s Ellie Harrison progresses over the course of her segment from a similar starting position to Rose moving towards the right into the ZOCO, arguably (just) crossing over into the insider range when teasing the Blue Oss. Lomax used creativity to shift into the mid-zone, still an outsider but with a warmth and openness that granted access to capture scenes like dancing in the Golden Lion on the eve of May Day. Santi places the community at the heart of a participative process and over time, while retaining an outsider rootedness, *King for a Day* also moves towards the far right of the lower spectrum. Conversely, beginning firmly in the top right quartile, members of the Old Oss party, Bates and McOwens, in allowing access and insight into their community and even family rituals, reach down into the ZOCO, sharing insights for the curious outsider and future descendant alike. Likewise, in adopting a filmmaker and/or audience's perspective themselves by filming and sharing their own smartphone footage, an insider may drift towards the left of their range. We suggest that this model can be both observational, as above, and a tool for self-reflection. It can describe not only a self-conscious, behavioural approach; but it can also describe how, in a more nuanced understanding of who is gazing upon whom and by what means (coupled with the dialogic affordances of digital and social media), the triptych of gazes themselves can become fluid, and thereby make more permeable the divide between outsider-filmmaker and insider-subject. Further analysis using the model might illuminate other insider movements, such as how participating in a documentary or news feature interview elevates individual perspectives to be (perceived as) authority voices and so create internal distinctions along the insider range (Henley 2020: 206). It might also be used proactively as a tool for filmmakers to better

and more ethically reflect on their own positionality and engage with, record and represent minority culture – as filmmaker, academic, or casual visitor; or indeed by an insider-actor to be more conscious of the outsider context inherent in AV representations that have become part of the cultural fabric of their event.

Conclusion

From an 1830s etching, through over 150 years of captured light, and 100 or so years of moving image and sound recordings, the *Re:voice* AV archive database illustrates the longevity of this annual event along an evolving continuum, recording and reflecting subtle changes in the gazes at play. Despite representations often being via a remote, othering gaze, the filmmaker's starting position can change and become closer to (or indeed more distant from) the insider-subject. Through dialogue with insiders, particularly over prolonged periods, the filmmaker gaze of self-other, insider—outsider can become fluid. Similarly, the subject may also become audience and primary observer. And all are influenced as audience by the legacy of AV archive that exists as memory and resource, even as insiders in turn create and contribute to that legacy, participating in formal production, or simply capturing the event on their phone for posterity. And so, from Lomax's pioneering dialogic approach, through Harrison's respectful enthusiasm, to embedded participatory methods like Rowe's, or Santi's community-led approach, to the use of smartphones and social media by insiders acting as filmmakers, audience, and subjects simultaneously: social and technological evolution has enabled the edges of the triptych gazes to soften into a more holistic zone where the interplay between outsider and insider, observer and subject, majority and minority are constantly shifting negotiations of positionality, perhaps better expressed as a form of cultural osmosis. The three gazes can overlap, merge, and interact with fluidity.

The model above therefore resembles the hybrid identities possible in the filmmaking process (Ginsburg 1991: 106), and also the inherent plurality of roles, perspectives, and identities. The zone of cultural osmosis provides a framework and tool to contain and potentially guide this reflexivity and dialogue in a context of binary distinctions, as being reshaped as simultaneously distinct and more fluid (see Ginsburg 2018: 43). In the context of ICH, perhaps the question is whether such plurality is detrimental or instrumental in sustainable transmission of ICH in an increasingly homogenised mediascape, and how to ensure that sensitivity to the voice of the subject is enshrined in future representations. It is evident that – in Padstow as in other examples of AV artefacts capturing ICH – AV archive, even that produced by an outsider gaze, has a significant and valuable impact on the future performativity of the ICH event. So much is evidenced in the value ascribed to the archive by the Blue Oss Master of Ceremonies already quoted above (Santi 2022: 13:55). In this analysis, we have seen how filmmakers have largely operated at the far end of the outsider range, outside the zone of cultural osmosis; however, this seems to some extent to have been transcended by those films becoming embedded within the community's cultural life, 'reclaimed' by being co-opted by insiders as both audience and subject. Similarly, the participatory approach engenders a movement toward the ZOCO for all concerned. The answer to one of the questions posed

in this book – whether outsiders can, or should, contribute to the vitality of minority ICH—appears from this perspective to be a resounding 'yes'. But the ubiquity of numerous gazes on minority cultural ICH—compounding that of the tourist in any number of post-industrial touristic regions in Europe and globally – must still give future filmmakers pause. Continuing reflection (using a framework such as the one above) on one's self-positionality and how it is constructed; on the accessibility of the finished artefact and of the narratives about the minority culture that it creates and presents to a viewing public; and on the way in which participant-subjects can co-create or co-author their own stories: encountering the threefold gaze in these open, reflective standpoints is, we suggest, key to filmmakers ethically engaging in a dialogue through which all have a part to play in safeguarding the voices of a rich, vital culture.

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