

The Importance of Cornish Identity in West Penwith: A Comparative Study of Intergenerational Differences in Minority Identities

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Signed:

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...

'For this is My Cornwall,

And this is My Home'

- Harry Glasson

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List of Abbreviations

MK – Mebyon Kernow

NMS – National Minority Status

FCPNM – Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (sometimes referred to as simply the Framework Convention)

NMWG – The National Minority Working Group

ONS – Office for National Statistics

Abstract

Identity is a natural part of human development and our psychological wellbeing. Minority identities are complex, multi-faceted and face continued threats and denial of their importance and relevance. The case of Cornwall has long been part of the British geopolitics debate and still remains unresolved, despite National Minority Status being granted in 2014. Understanding how minority groups identify, express, and assert themselves across different generational factions is important because it will affect the political and cultural future of their identities. This study explores the experiences of different generations of residents in West Penwith, Cornwall using online surveys and interviews to gain insight into how people self-identify as Cornish (or not) within the nested cultures or dual identities. The results suggest there are generational differences in the strength of Cornish identity, with older ones being more likely to have the strongest native identity compared to younger ones. The study also demonstrates the complexities of dual or nested identities, with a clear distinction between Cornish folk self-identifying as Cornish and *Not* English. This study highlights the importance of minority identities to those that have them and how these needs are denied by dominant power structures, thus creating greater opposition to colonialist powers.

Keywords: Culture, Nation, Identity, Dual Identity, Generational Change, Cornwall.

1. Introduction

Identity is a natural part of human development and our psychological wellbeing (Smith and Silva, 2011), providing us with social stability and improved mental wellbeing. Being recognised and affiliated with others who are similar to us is beneficial, as suggested by structural consensus perspectives in sociology and psychosocial research (Durkheim, 2008; Huddy and Khatib, 2007). However, minority identities are being challenged by globalisation (Saddiqa, Garcia and Ali, 2019). Whilst globalisation has positive impacts on technology, trade and modernisation, they are limited. Due to increased exposure to 'global identities' smaller regional and minority identities become less significant as the world becomes more 'Westernised'. Sharing and experiencing cultures from around the world is a wonderful thing but not at the expense of minority identities being ignored or forgotten.

Some literature suggests that older generations within a minority identity are more likely to hold onto their native heritage and affiliation, whilst younger ones are able to move more freely between groups, cultures, and identities (Benton and Gomez, 2014). Globalisation has been argued to be part of the cause, due to integration and homogenisation of cultures across the globe as we exchange information with each other, (Kaul, 2012) particularly through social and creative media (Kaul, 2011). Schofield and Szymanski (2016) point out that members of a community can feel threatened by change. Local knowledge and emotional connections to place may not always be considered by planners or those in power and thus their needs may be dismissed as trivial or are seen as dismissive of progress.

This then considers the impact of other groups on the local community and how the authenticity of their experience of place can be put at risk. For example, in Cornwall there is a significant ethnonationalist movement which purports the difference of the Cornish from England. This has arguably been used by heritage co-ordinators and the tourist industry to focus on cultural tourism and has been met with some resistance, particularly against English Heritage, which has been accused of lacking authenticity in the representation of Cornish history (Hale, 2001). This also considers how we ascribe identities to minority groups and whether their differences or similarities are taken seriously by majority groups. Research into LGBTQ+ groups (Parmenter, Galliher and Maughan, 2020) and identity denial experienced by second generation Asian-Americans (Wang, Minervino and Cheryan, 2012) can demonstrate this.

Consequently, to understand identity and the experience of place for different generations of Cornish people in the modern world, local expression and affiliation to

Cornish identity needs to be explored from the perspective of residents of the Peninsula. To confront this matter, a mixed methods approach has been adopted for this study, relating to wider literature from a variety of disciplines and applying their ideas to the geographical concepts of sense of place and cultural identity. By referring to initiatives such as the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM), local ideas and expressions of identities can be explored to understand their place in relation to the UK but also globally, focussing on the principle of free self-identification which is argued to be “the cornerstone of minority rights” (Council of Europe, 2022, n.p.).

2. Cornwall and Identity: understanding ideas of national identity in history and the social sciences

Cornish identity has been an area of debate in British geopolitics for at least 1000 years and has not received as much academic or political interest as it deserves. Stoye (1999) reminds us of the independence of Cornwall well into the 10th century, when the people of West Britain were taken in under Saxon rule, making Cornwall “the first part of the Celtic periphery to be incorporated within the English state” (pg.424). The political party Mebyon Kernow and the National Minority Working Group (NMWG) are lobbying and campaigning for increased political autonomy and cultural recognition from Westminster. As of 2014, Cornwall was granted National Minority Status (NMS), awarding it the same rights of the other minority identities of the UK. The British government signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM) in 1995 and ratified in 1998, agreeing to “respect the rights of people belonging to national minorities ... [and] preserve and develop the culture and identity of national minorities” (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2014, n.p.). Whilst this was a step forward for recognition of Cornwall, MK and the NMWG argue that more work needs to be done and the government need to uphold the terms of the treaty they signed and ratified before the Millennium.

With the Cornish debate still unresolved, it is worth exploring how different generations view their Cornish national identity and how they associate with others (such as British or Celtic). This literature review will use an interdisciplinary approach, discussing work from politics, racial, ethnic and gender studies, and history, applying these fields to the cultural geography concepts of place and identity to provide a theoretical background for the basis of generational research into self-identification.

2.1 The Nation and Cultural Identity

We commonly associate identities with that of nations and collectives or groups, with the most obvious example of this being demonyms and their associated nation (e.g. England and English, France and French etc). Nations can be broadly defined as a 'governable space' referring to "a specific configuration of territory, identity and rule" (Watts, 2004, pg.53), which involves politics of scale across different sectors of society (Smith, 1990). However, it is worth noting that a nation is not merely a 'governable space' but, more importantly, "a large group of people said to be bound together by a shared history, culture, language, religion, and/or homeland" (Castree, Rogers and Kitchin, 2013, pg.453). The definition is arguably more important in terms of minority identities as it provides more meaning to the national and individual identity, rather than its administrative status in the context of governments alone. As Layder points out, "an overly social constructionist notion of self and identity obliterates individual characteristics and unique subjective responses, producing a defective understanding of the relationship between the individual and society" (2006, pg.274).

The academic understanding of the concept of national or social identity can be attributed to social psychology in the 1980s. Researchers such as Tajfel (1982), Turner et al. (1987), and Hogg and Abrams (1988) have commented on the idea that national identities are entrenched with emotion and are built on the sense of attachment or belonging to a specific place and are an important element of social identity in the wider social space. We see this now in the geographical concept of sense of place which can be described as the "intrinsic character of a place, or the meaning people give to it, but, more often, a mixture of both" (Mayhew, 2015, n.p.) and the "specific feelings, perceptions, and attitudes generated in people by the particular qualities of a locality, or the events that they experience there ... **which only arises if a locality is thought of as distinctive** in terms of its built and/or natural environments, and/or its site/location" (Castree, Rogers and Kitchin, 2013, pg.603, emphasis added). These definitions consider the social and historical aspects of identity that are intertwined with a locality and the landscape or territory of those claiming a national or minority identity.

Whilst discussing nations and identities, it is not possible to ignore the contributions of Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1991) in which he defines the nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (pg.6). He argues that identities are narrated by older generations in which tales and histories are passed down to others, which helps to bind their collective identity and

group consciousness. Therefore, nations or identities are socially constructed, are performance based, and linked to an intrinsic loyalty to the nation and its cultural identity shared by its inhabitants. These 'performances' can be described as "naïve or strategic responses to an external enquiry" and as a result is not concrete or absolute (Anderson, 2011, xv). The idea of the nation then can be described as a narrative or narration which acts as a unifying "symbolic force" (Bhabha, 1990, pg.1) and has become a powerful representation in Western identity politics. However, it is possible to argue that an individual can claim their identity as a form of protest, using their collective national identity to mobilise sentiments of difference to wider denial of their existence or message (Cerulo, 1997) and advocate for legitimate rule and self-determination (Calhoun, 1993).

Furthermore, Guibernau (1996) argues rather comprehensively the nation is "a human group conscious of forming a community, sharing a common culture, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, having a common past and a common project for the future, and claiming the right to rule itself" (pg.47). He proposes five dimensions to the concept of the nation including psychological, cultural, territorial, political, and historical. This definition of the nation and its five dimensions is very significant as it shows the extent to which national identities are multi-faceted. We can examine identity through geography (territory), psychology, sociology (culture), politics, and history. This helps to narrow down to a field of cultural geo-politics which includes aspects of these disciplines, crossing boundaries of academia that need to be explored in the context of minority identities as in Cornwall.

Additionally, Smith introduces the term *ethnies* which overlap with states and nation-states. These are full of tension between ethnicity and the state, and cultural and political power (Smith, 1985). They can be described as "looser collective cultural units ... which we can define as 'named units of population with common ancestry myths and historical memories, elements of shared culture, some link with a historic territory and some measure of solidarity'" (1995, pg.57). These *ethnies* have been discovered in different eras, many of which remain alive and present in the modern age, with numerous nations being formed on ethnic models (1996). Smith notes how peripheral *ethnies* (e.g. the Bretons, the Welsh and the Scots) stand against "alienation and subordination to larger, dominant *ethnies*" (1995, pg.60) who forcibly took control of their lands and assimilated them into larger communities. He says that the territory of a community and its people are bounded together arguing that there is "a close correspondence, **even union**, between the homeland and its resources and the people" (1995, pg.56, emphasis added) which characterises their identity and thus their difference from expansionist *ethnies*.

Whilst Smith argues this point well, Cornwall is still left out of his examples of which there are plenty, including the Westward decline of the Cornish language after the assimilation of Cornwall into the English state (Dunmore, 2011).

2.2 Dual Identities – who or where do we identify with?

With an understanding of how the nation, national identity and cultural identities have been theorised in previous research, it is therefore also important to explore the complexities and nuances of cultural identity through the concept of dual identities. As noted by Deaux (2001), national identities are “flexible and subjectively defined” (pg.1061) and as a result people are able to decide how they identify and do not need to self-categorise into one ‘box’ but can adopt “dual identification ... as the basis for a new emergent form of social identification” (pg.1061). This notion has been studied by Moreno (1988; 2006; 2018) in which he argues that ethnoterritorial identities are becoming more influential in identity politics and are a direct challenge to unitary governments and states. In his research (2006) and those with others (Moreno and Arriba, 1996; Moreno, Arriba and Serrano, 1998) he explores the effects of dual identity on people in Catalonia and Scotland within their ‘wider’ national identities of Spain and Britain, respectively. This distinction between being Catalanian or Spanish, and Scottish or British (or a combination of the two identities) suggests that national and minority identities are complex, often intertwining each other.

Even the ONS understand the complexities of identities and note that “national identity is multi-dimensional” (2012, n.p)., allowing respondents to tick multiple boxes. As Keating (2001), McCrone (1998) and Paterson et al.,(2001) point out, Scottish people have long recognised their dual identity, often combining their Scottish identity with a British one, suggesting it is complementary. Paterson et al. (2001) argue that national identities determine how politics operates and can be used as a tool for mobilisation, often uniting people across the political spectrum. This suggests that national or regional identities can transcend party boundaries because the ethnic and cultural ties are more important to one’s individual identity within their collective national or regional one. Research by Park, Bryson and Curtice (2014) for the British Social Attitudes Survey further examines this concept, finding that ethnic and civic components of identity need to be considered when assigning and claiming identity, which arguably is most relevant to minority identities.

2.3 Identity Denial and Generational Differences in Experiences of Identity

Identity denial is a process in which individuals or groups are refused their attribution to a specific culture, nation, or community because those within that identity deem them not to be associated with it (Barreto and Ellemers, 2003; Cheryan and Monin, 2005). This denial usually impacts those in minority ethnic or sexual identity groups. Much research has been done into the impacts on those in sexual identity groups both in hetero-normative arenas and within the LGBTQ+ community (Fraser, 2008; Goltz, 2014; O'Byrne et al., 2014; Parmenter, Galliher and Maughan, 2020) however, less attention has been paid to the studies of local and national identity denial of minority ethnic groups.

Much of the research that does exist for minority ethnic groups focuses on the impacts on migrant communities who may have blended or dual identities after moving to a new country (Lalonde, Moghaddam and Taylor, 1987; Lalonde, Taylor and Moghaddam, 1992; Van Oudenhoven, Prins and Buunk, 1998). Matera, Stefanile and Brown (2011; 2012; 2015) discuss acculturation strategies between migrants and host members of a community and how there are generational differences and the acceptance of second-generation migrants of their own heritage, but Wang, Minervino and Cheryan (2012) discuss how second generation Asian-Americans struggle with being accepted into American culture, despite being of dual identity.

This is significant in the context of Cornwall but in a different way where Cornish folk are told that their claims of difference from the English state is not founded in enough evidence in accordance with the Ethnic Group Prioritisation Tool (ONS, 2021) that would allow them to have a tick-box on the census for example. Cornwall is unique in that its administration has been assumed by the English state since Medieval times, and unlike its Celtic sister nations, it has not been granted a devolved government or a tick-box on the census. Where the Scottish and Welsh face denial of their self-determination, Cornwall faces being denied its distinction from English or 'Anglo-centric' culture and politics.

2.4 Diffusion of the local into the global

The previous literature shows that minority identities are bound to the landscapes in which they originate. However, in the context of an ever-changing world, it is worth exploring the impacts of globalisation on identities. When various scales of identity are introduced, it is important to note that space and place are highly relevant and equally political and geographical. Gottlieb and Shields (2013) point out that the concept of the nation is both phenomenological and geographical and consequently "the social and the

spatial [are] mutually constitutive of our experiences of place” (pg.3). Differing scales of identities (such as localities to global identities) change how we “define and experience these forms of place” (Ibid, pg.3). These larger identities potentially threaten local and minority identities, because their scale is much smaller and appears less significant. Guibernau (1996) further argues this point by suggesting that our ideas of space and time have been changed as a result of globalisation and “the perceptions of the physical limits of space are altered” (pg.128).

A study by Saddiqa, Garcia and Ali (2019) suggests that globalisation is a serious threat to regional identities, as Western influences become more influential in other cultures. For adolescents in Lahore, class differences also impact how global cultures are consumed, with wealthier families being more open to sharing or exposing their children to western festivities such as Black Friday, Valentines Day or Thanksgiving, whereas poorer Urdu families held onto their cultural heritage more closely. Differences in financial stability are also a factor in the formation of identities and those who hold more wealth (and indirectly, power) aid in the diffusion of identities by adding ‘foreign’ dimensions to their culture.

Other studies of Japan and the USA (Adair, Okumura and Brett, 2001), urban Pakistan (Kayani, Ahmad and Saeed, 2013), and France (Gordon and Meunier, 2001) reflect on the challenges that globalisation and the increase of multi-culturalism pose to native and indigenous cultural identities. They show declines in traditional cultural practices, often with younger generations being the most vulnerable to the adoption of signifiers that are seen to be ‘foreign’ to them by their elders.

The way that space is governed becomes of increasing importance when territories, and those who inhabit them, are under threat from external factors such as globalisation. Minority identities are forced onto a battleground to defend their identity against those that perceive them to be irrelevant, with parliamentary representation the only route to acknowledgement (Alam, 2017; Coomaraswamy, 2002). In cases such as those of the Celtic nations in Britain, we witness the campaigning of the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) for independence from the UK, and the granting of NMS in Cornwall, awarding similar rights to those of Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. This identity is not always recognised or taken seriously, with a primary example of this being the denial of Westminster to give Scotland a second independence referendum, and their lack of recognition of the separate national identity of the Cornish people.

2.5 Putting literature into practice

This literature review incorporates past interpretations of how the nation is defined and what cultural or national identity has been described by a variety of theorists. These definitions (Anderson, 1991; Guibernau, 1996; Smith, 1995) remain influential today and all assert a common theme – identity is complex and nuanced. With this, dual identities as researched by Moreno (1988; 2006; 2018) can help us to understand these complexities. As the ONS recognise the importance of identifying with multiple nations or cultures, this study will explore dual identities using Moreno's framework but in the context of Cornish and English identities. A further delineation of identity is generational differences, with the literature suggesting that older generations hold onto their native or indigenous identities more so than their descendants (Wang, Minervino and Cheryan, 2012). However, this study will explore this in the Cornish context based on the way the literature seems to suggest that the global cultural influences of the modern world are more effective on younger generations due to their perceived impressionability. It is important therefore to understand how minority identities cannot be studied through the lens of geography alone, but must in fact consider the impacts of social science, politics, and history to reach a more holistic conclusion about minority identities in West Penwith.

3. Aims and Rationale

3.1 Aims

- a. To understand the self-identification of different generations of Cornish folk (and what makes someone able to classify themselves as Cornish)
- b. To understand what local people consider to be crucial to Cornish identity (i.e. language/dialect/traditions/customs etc.)
- c. To determine if Cornish identity is still relevant in our modern seemingly 'globalised' culture

3.2 Hypothesis

Older generations are more likely to have a stronger connection to their Cornish Identity than those in younger generations

3.3 Objectives

Generational differences in self-identification (aim A) and the components of Cornish identity (aim B) will be studied using a public survey of those aged 18-76 who reside in the West Penwith area of Cornwall. The relevance of Cornish identity in our modern world (aim C) will be explored in more detail using interviews with political, and cultural members of the Cornish community.

3.4 Context and Scope

There appears to be a significant gap in Cornish studies literature that explores self-identification generally, then more so in terms of generational differences. This study aims to kickstart more detailed research into minority identities in Cornwall, with the scope to expand to other minority identities elsewhere across the world. This could include understanding migrant identities and the identities of those who live in diasporic regions originating from a singular location or culture. This could apply to regions of the Cornish diaspora such as Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, and South Africa.

4. Methods

This interdisciplinary study, will adopt a mixed-methods approach, using both quantitative and qualitative methods to gain a wide range of data that complement each other (McQuirk and O'Neill, 2010) by compensating for that which the other lacks. Both online surveys sampling a population from West Penwith, and online interviews sampled from a range of figures in the political and cultural sectors in Cornwall will be conducted.

4.1 Study Site

The investigation area (for the surveys) was contained to West Penwith (Figure 1) because it has arguably held onto its Cornish identity and heritage for longer due to the way in which the Cornish language declined through the 17th and 18th centuries (Dunmore, 2011). Areas closer to the Tamar by default then are more Anglicised, most notably from “Truro eastward” (Ibid, pg.97). Cornwall is split into ‘hundreds’ similar to the Welsh administration during the Middle Ages of *cantrefs* which facilitated the “collection of the dues and the holding of the courts” (Rees, 1972, p.24). The Western-most

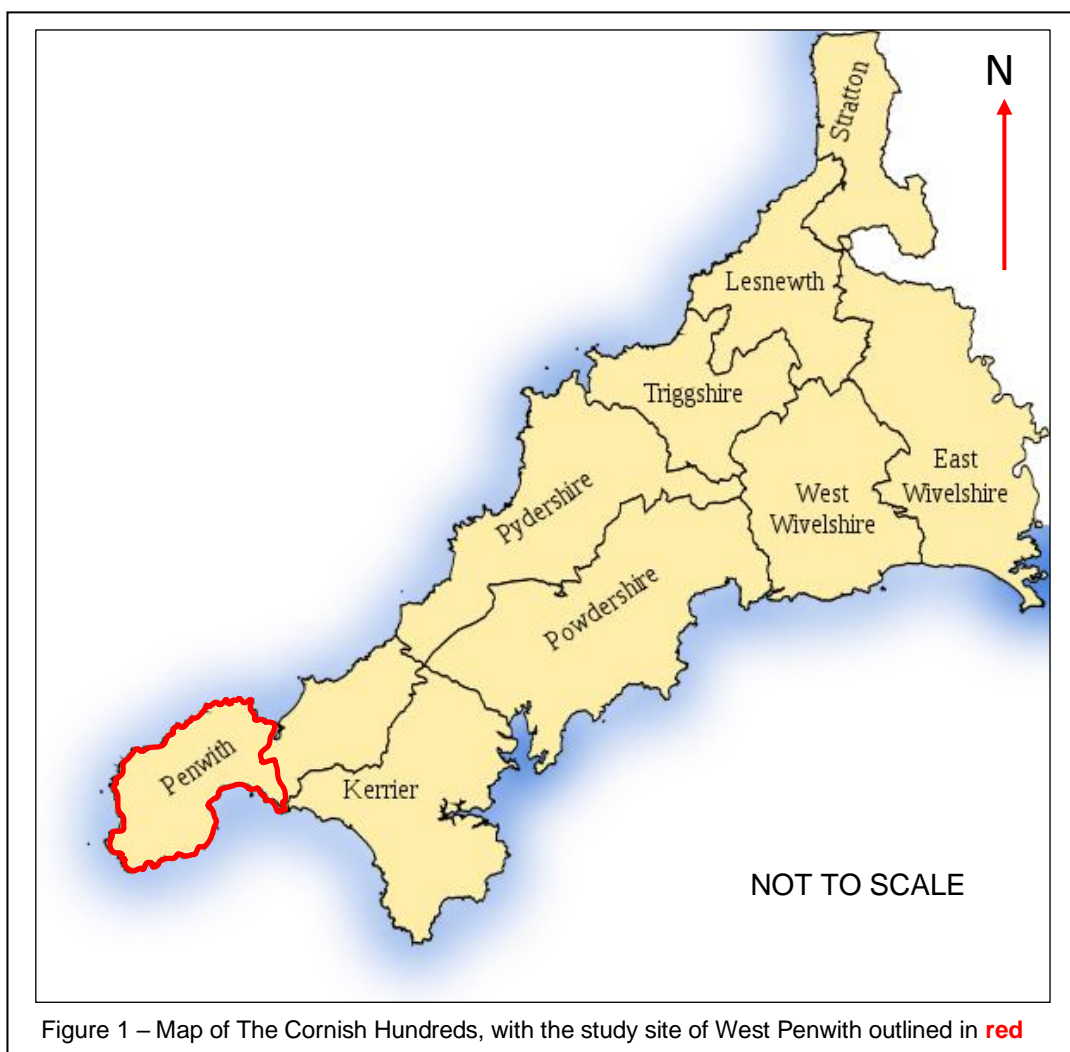


Figure 1 – Map of The Cornish Hundreds, with the study site of West Penwith outlined in red

hundred, Penwith, was too large an area to cover sufficiently with the inclusion of East Penwith. Thus, with a population of 40,000 (Cornwall Council, 2017), West Penwith alone has been used for the study site.

4.2 Survey Data Collection

The data included online surveys, aimed at 18–76-year-old participants of any gender, living in the West Penwith postcodes of TR17, 18, 19, 20, 26 and 27. These were shared and distributed on social media for 2 weeks. Generations were based on Beresford Research (2022) standard definitions of generations and Postcodes were decided based on their approximate location within West Penwith as close to a Parish Map as possible. Postcodes (were chosen over Parishes as participants are far more likely to know their postcode from memory).

Social media is a useful tool for distributing surveys as it can increase its potential reach and requires less time from the researcher to create and manage (McLafferty, 2016). Facebook was used to post in a variety of local parish billboard and news groups, alongside nostalgic groups which showcase photos and memories of the past for locals and visitors alike. A list of the Facebook groups where the surveys were distributed is displayed in Appendix D.

It is likely, that people are members of multiple groups for a variety of reasons and thus may have been exposed to the survey distribution more than once. In addition, some participants who had completed the survey would share to their friends who they knew were also eligible to participate, again increasing its reach through ‘chain-referral sampling’ (Mirabeau, Mignerat and Grange, 2013). This can be particularly helpful if a topic is highly specific or if the sample being researched is hard to access due to remote locations or if the cost to produce mailed questionnaires is too high.

Questions in the survey explored a variety of themes and topics including: personal self-identification as Cornish, Cornish identity and culture, Cornish language, Mebyon Kernow (MK) and Devolution, and National Minority Status (NMS). A list of the survey questions can be found in Appendix C.

4.2.1 Using the Moreno Question to understand dual identities

The Moreno Question explores the concept of dual identity and personal self-identification of individuals (Moreno, 2006; Moreno, 2018). It is an important framework to study dual identity in Cornwall due to the increase in nationalist sentiment. This was accelerated by the introduction of NMS in 2014 recognising the political, social and cultural differences of Cornish folk to the rest of England and the British state. The Moreno question can help shed light on the views of members of an ethnoterritory because, “in general, the quest for self-government by stateless nations and regions is in full accordance with the variable manifestation of this duality: the more the primordial ethnoterritorial identity prevails upon modern state identity, the higher the demands for political autonomy” (Ibid, pg.70). This method will be used in Questions 7-10 for English, British, European and Celtic dual identities (Appendix C).

4.3 Interviews

The data also consists of semi-structured interviews including a range of different participants. A short description of the interviewees can be found in Appendix F. Interviewees were approached via email addresses, to gauge their interest and availability which when confirmed was followed up with a participation information sheet (Appendix G) and consent form (Appendix H).

Interviewees were asked about their work and contributions to Cornish culture and politics to gain an understanding of the variety of ways in which someone can participate in or promote culture. The interviewees were knowledgeable folk in their various sectors including politics, language, history, music, and dance. This demonstrates a range of viewpoints and perspectives about Cornish identity and culture, whether it be widely known or not.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed in real time using Otter.ai. After the interview was complete, they were edited accordingly alongside the recording to increase accuracy and reduce misquoting of interviewees for indicative quotes.

4.4 Data Analysis

Due to the varying nature of quantitative versus qualitative data, the analysis was more complex. IBM SPSS Statistics (SPSS) and NVivo were used for the quantitative data and qualitative data respectively.

4.4.1 Surveys

After the surveys were closed, any responses that did not comply with the eligibility criteria were removed. The results were exported into an Excel workbook, where they were coded numerically for easier analysis in SPSS. String data (worded responses) were transferred to a table in a Word document and imported and analysed in NVivo to detect recurring themes. Codes were sorted per question and split into themes and sub themes.

4.4.2 Interviews

After transcription, the interviews were exported into NVivo where recurring themes were coded. Due to the nature in which the interviews were conducted, themes remained similar to the string data from the surveys, thus the same codes were used. Indicative quotes were sourced to further illustrate and support the quantitative and qualitative data as collected in the surveys.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

To comply with university guidelines on GDPR, survey data was anonymised, and demographic data are not attributable to specific participants. For potentially sensitive or controversial questions/topics, there was a 'prefer not to say option' and all questions after the demographic section were programmed to be optional. My contact information was provided to participants before and after completion of the survey should any queries or concerns need to be raised. Survey data would only be collected if formally submitted at the end of the survey, so participants were always able to withdraw at any time.

Before interviews were conducted, information sheets (Appendix F) and consent forms (Appendix G) were sent out to interviewees. The consent form considered the anonymity of participants and provided an opportunity for interviewees to select their preference (to remain anonymous, pseudonymised, or with their name), thus, not to cause harm through defamation. Participants also had a window of two weeks to contact me should they change their preference of anonymity or to withdraw from the study entirely. Interviews were conducted using Microsoft Teams where possible (4 of 6) and on Zoom for the ease of participant familiarity with the software.

5. Results and Discussion

The survey received 236 responses during the active two-week period, spanning the range of demographic factors explored, including generation and current postcode as shown in Appendix E. When compared to population estimates of West Penwith by Cornwall Council (2017), generational representation and postcode distribution appears to be a rather reliable sample. One response was omitted due to a respondent not meeting the eligibility criteria for participating in the research.

Six interviews were conducted ranging in duration from one to three hours, due to their semi-structured nature and tailored questions based on the role of the interviewee in the Cornish Community.

The hypothesis and aims will be compared with the survey results and interview data as follows: Hypothesis (5.1), aim A (5.2), aim B (5.3), and aim C (5.4)

5.1 Older generations are more likely to have a stronger connection to their Cornish Identity than those in younger generations.

Data from the surveys confirms the hypothesis that older generations have a stronger Cornish identity than younger generations (

Figure 2). A Chi-Squared analysis suggests this difference is significant and is therefore not caused by chance ($p < 0.001$). 42.7% of Baby Boomers and 52.6% of Generation X have an identity described 'Very Strong' compared to 30.3% for Millennials and 40.9% for Generation Z. Despite there being a generational difference, younger generations (Gen Z and Millennials) display fewer counts of 'Weak' and 'Very Weak' identities (

Figure 2). This suggests that your age has an impact on how strongly you are attached to a place and/or its associated national or ethnic identity. Whilst older generations did have stronger identities, younger generations also display them too with 60% of GenZ and 66% of Millennial participants identifying with a 'Strong' or 'Very Strong' Cornish identity.

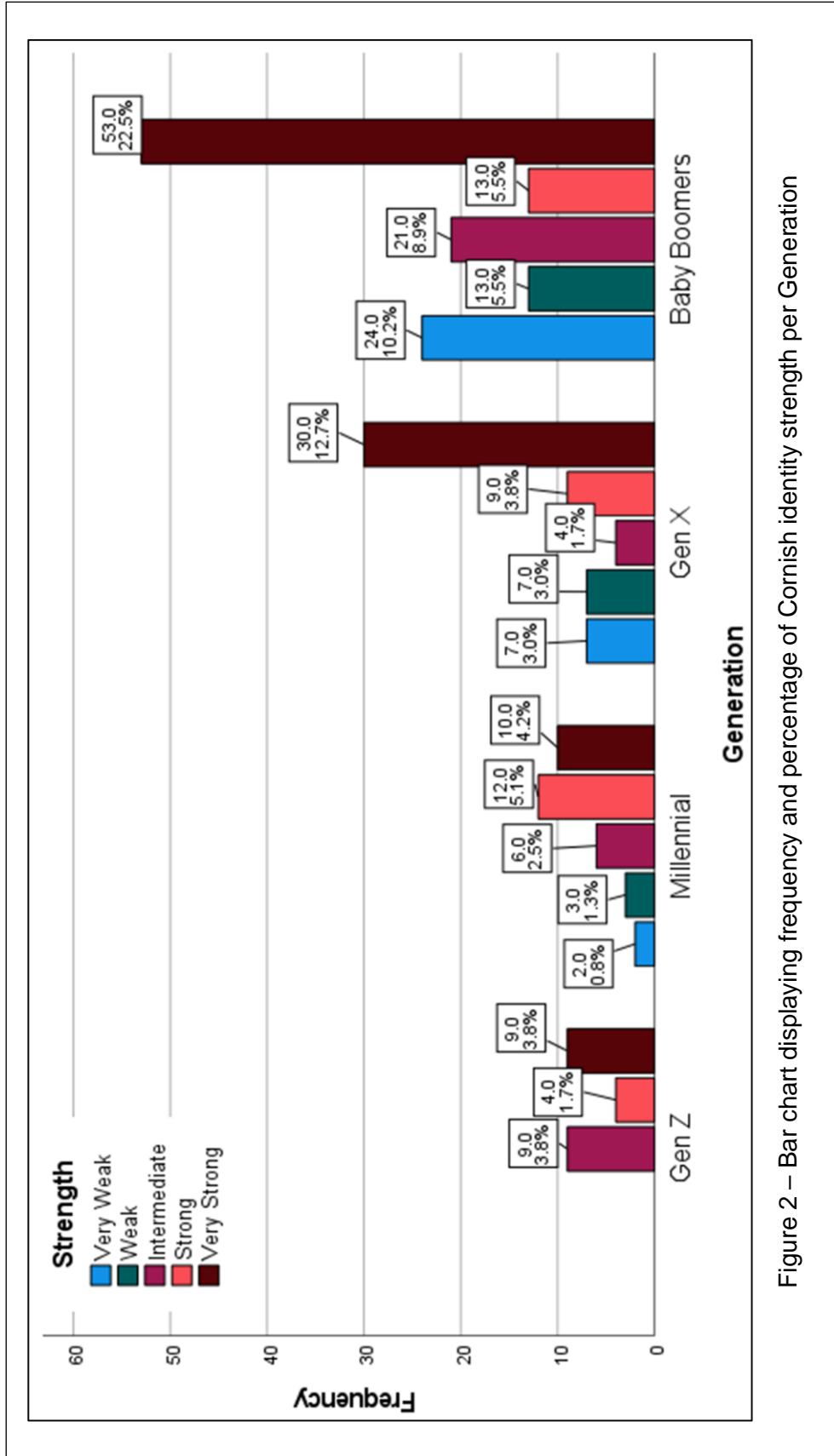


Figure 2 – Bar chart displaying frequency and percentage of Cornish identity strength per Generation

It is possible to argue that this can be further supported by the seeming lack of age diversity in the Cornish Gorsedh. It could be interpreted then that if younger people have weaker identities on the whole than their older counterparts, as a result they would be less likely to be interested in studying more about Cornwall.

As mentioned by Judith Lawrence:

“The Gorsedh is a little on the mature side, shall we say? They make me look young!” (Interview, April 8th)

And also by Ian Saltern:

“I think if you if you look at a Gorsedh, and this isn't being critical, it's just an observation, the majority of people are older.” (Interview, April 4th).

Ian goes on to mention though that this is not necessarily due to the Gorsedh being exclusive, but rather a telling fact of how Bards are recognised in the first place, which requires a nomination and citation from an existing bard, without the knowledge of the nominee (Gorsedh Kernow, 2021b). It does appear though however, that the Gorsedh are taking steps to challenge this idea through the ‘Young People’s Scheme’ recognising “whole school classes, groups, and individuals” (Gorsedh Kernow, 2021a, n.p.) and through the updating of their Award scheme in 2021 will provide “a more flexible system to enable us to recognise and celebrate a much greater range of Cornish cultural activity” (Ibid, n.p.). One bard Anastassia Swallow was 19 when she received her award in 2013 (Gorsedh Kernow, 2022) and is a co-director of SurfHouse St Ives (Companies House, 2022), set up to promote societal understandings of surf-lifestyles, surf-science and its history (SurfHouse St Ives, 2022). Whilst we associate surfing with Cornwall and it is now very influential in our culture and tourism (with 87,453 people in Cornwall taking up the sport and noted to be worth at least £64 million by Mills and Cummins, (2013)), it is arguably something that is not as ‘traditional’ in our understanding of Cornwall such as the language or studies of the diaspora for example.

5.2 To understand the self-identification of different generations of Cornish folk (and what makes someone able to classify themselves as Cornish)

The Moreno Question results (Table 1 and Figure 3) show that for both the 'Cornish vs English' and 'Cornish vs European' categories that participants self-identify as 'More Cornish' or 'Only Cornish'. For 'Cornish vs British' the result was evenly split between 'More Cornish' and 'Equally Cornish and British' with 28.4% of the responses each. All other categories were represented but in smaller quantities (Figure 3). There is a difference in identifying as 'British' and identifying as 'English' as shown by the larger group of participants also self-identifying as 'Equally British and Cornish' (28.4%). This is further demonstrated by the clear difference between Chart A and B in Figure 3 showing a decrease of 53% in those who identify as 'Only Cornish'. A Chi-Squared analysis suggests the difference between these two categories is statistically significant and are not caused by chance ($p < 0.001$). This suggests that dual identities are most common for being Cornish-British and Cornish-Celtic compared most starkly to Cornish-English identities. This makes a clear distinction that an English identity is not something that Cornish folk wish to be identified with. However, they are much more comfortable being considered British and/or Celtic.

Moreno Question Scale	Modal Categor(y/ies)	Percentage (%)
<i>Cornish vs English</i>	Only Cornish	28.4
<i>Cornish vs British</i>	More Cornish than British AND Equally Cornish and British	28.4
<i>Cornish vs European</i>	More Cornish than European	28.8
<i>Cornish vs Celtic</i>	Equally Cornish and Celtic	40.7

Table 1 – Modal Categories for each Moreno Scale with % of respondents

It is possible this has been caused by the storytelling of older generations to younger ones of how they described themselves. For example, Deacon (2007b) points out the way in which Cornish folk would identify as 'ancient Britons' based on their language, with some in the 1850s referring to the Cornish as "Cornu-Britons' – that small but strongly characterised Celtic people" (p.14). Later in the 1860s, the Royal Institution published an archaeological paper which pinpointed the wish for the Cornish to "connect our local antiquities with the antiquities of other Celtic tribes" (Deacon, 2007b, pg.14).

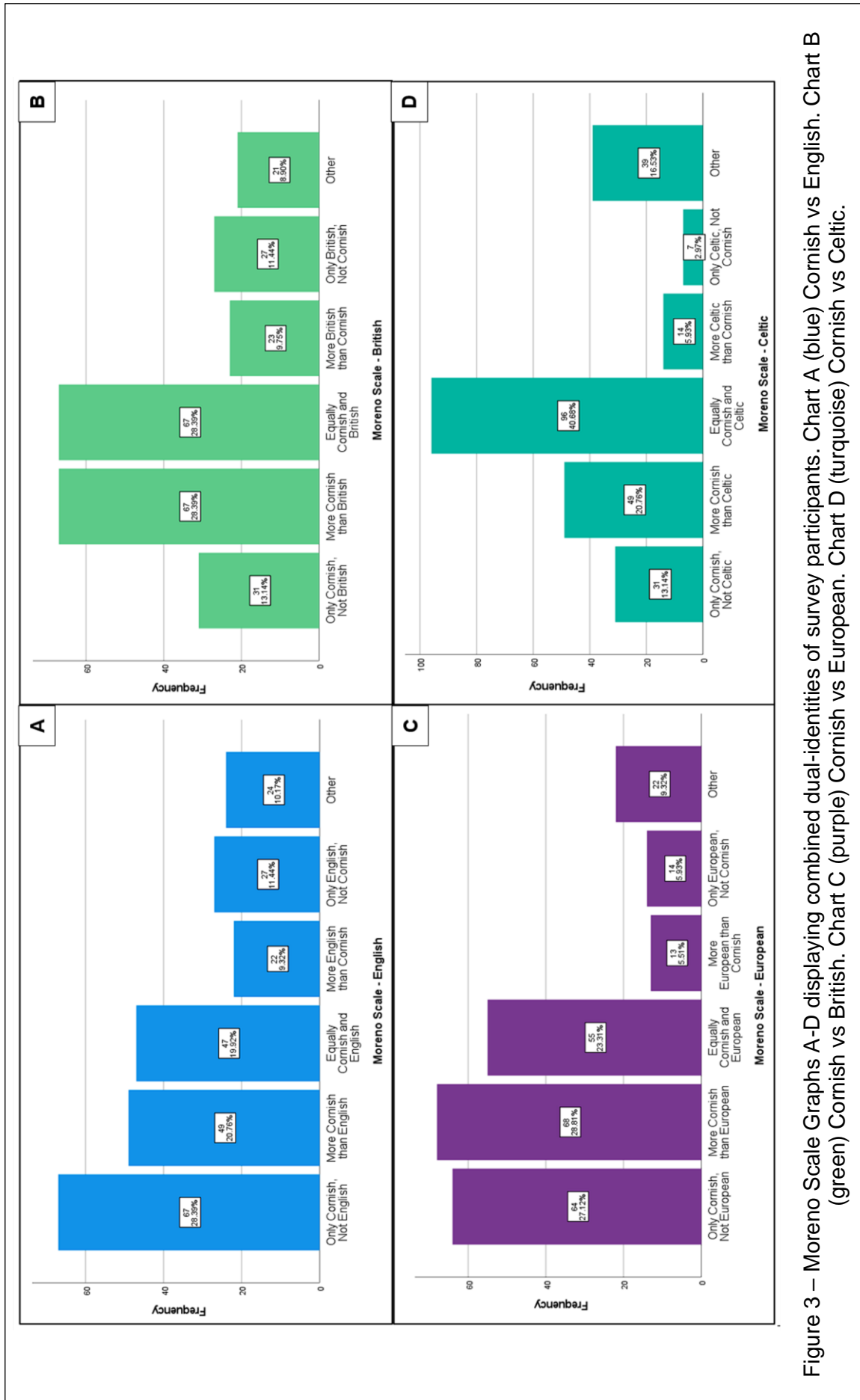


Figure 3 – Moreno Scale Graphs A-D displaying combined dual-identities of survey participants. Chart A (blue) Cornish vs English. Chart B (green) Cornish vs British. Chart C (purple) Cornish vs European. Chart D (teal) Cornish vs Celtic.

Similar results to those in this research were found by Willett (2008). Willett found that people have a Cornish “primary identity” (2008, p.195), which displays a reluctance to identify as English in particular. Deacon (2009) points out that Celticity and Cornishness are now “fused” (pg.19) and as a result, English and Cornish identities are as such incompatible, forcing “more people in Cornwall towards a more oppositional sense of Cornishness” (pg.20). This lack of compatibility can arguably be attributed in part to the rebellions in the Early modern period including the 1496 rebellion against Henry Tudor’s increase of taxes to fund the war against Scotland, and the 1549 Prayer Book Rebellion which saw the introduction of English Books of Common Prayer as Henry VIII departed from Vatican Catholicism (Deacon, 2007a). Both these events signify the importance of Cornish folk fighting for and standing against the forces of English assimilation thus making their differences concrete.

Each generation included participants who self-identified as ‘Only Cornish, not English’ and ‘More Cornish than English’ (Figure 4). The generation with the largest proportion of ‘Only Cornish’ and ‘More Cornish’ identities was Gen X, however all groups but the Baby Boomers had percentages of 50 or more respondents sharing this view of their Cornish identity comparable to an English one (Table 2). This suggests that all Generations of Cornish folk have a distinctive Cornish identity that is less likely to include a nested identity with England. As has been previously mentioned, British and Celtic identities appear to be more familiar and comfortable for those with Cornish identities (Figure 3), suggesting an acceptance of being a national minority identity within a larger British or Celtic one. This British and Celtic distinction is less clear and often interlinked, with Celtic and British identities (e.g. the other nations of the UK) being classified by participants in a similar way.

Generation	Percentage self-categorising as ‘Only Cornish, not English’ and ‘More Cornish than English’ (%)
<i>Gen Z</i>	50.0
<i>Millennial</i>	51.5
<i>Gen X</i>	56.1
<i>Baby Boomers</i>	45.2

Table 2 – Percentage of each generation self-identifying with ‘Only Cornish’ or ‘More Cornish’ identities (adapted from Figure 4)

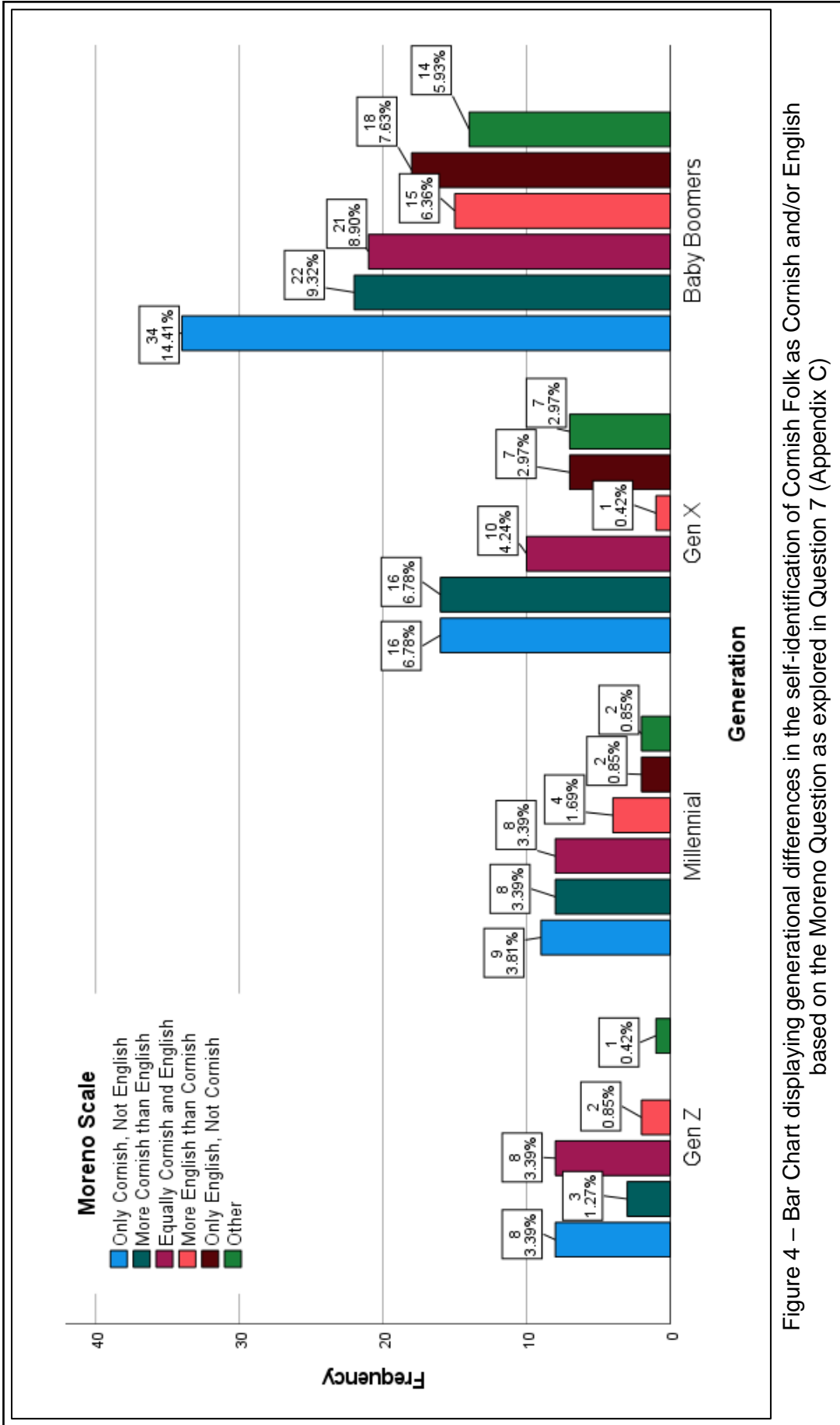


Figure 4 – Bar Chart displaying generational differences in the self-identification of Cornish Folk as Cornish and/or English based on the Moreno Question as explored in Question 7 (Appendix C)

This claim can be further substantiated by the cultural connections that participants felt most strongly affiliated with. 101 participants (43%) felt most connected to the other Celtic nations, and approximately half of that (52 participants or 22.1%) felt most connected to Britain. One participant noted: “Celticness is intertwined in our culture, a love of music and the arts”, suggesting a purely cultural link. Whereas another commented on their ethnic roots: “Happened to do an ancestry DNA kit and the results were mainly Cornish, Welsh and then Scottish and Irish in lesser amounts”.

5.3 Crucial aspects of Cornish identity that demonstrate its uniqueness

Local people consider language and sense of community to be of crucial importance to Cornish identity and uniqueness (Figure 5). The data as analysed in NVivo find that there were 108 occurrences of the word ‘language’ in response to Question 20 of the Survey (Appendix C) and 65 coded references which includes references to dialect, accents and placenames. This was closely followed by ‘history’ with 78 occurrences. This focus on language suggests Cornwall is unique from the rest of England and is more like its Celtic brethren. As Pol Hodge notes, the Celtic League and Celtic Congress reached a definition of a Celtic country: “where a Celtic language is spoken or was recently spoken” (Interview, April 6th). The Celtic League themselves state the following in their constitution: “A territorial branch may be formed in those areas where a Celtic language is spoken as a historical community language” (2022, n.p.). This definition of being Celtic then, is extremely important for the survival of a community and its culture as the anonymous councillor posits: “For community, traditions and culture to survive and thrive, you need people to be coming together and interacting, continuing that culture and welcoming new people into it as well [those] who enjoy and embrace that culture” (Interview, April 5th).

Another part of Cornish culture that continues to stand out is its sense of community and connectivity. A number of participants point this out: “our sense of kinship with each other”; “Cornish people feel a strong natural affinity with other Cornish people and place, creating an intrinsic and powerful bond”; “we tend to have to work together to sort our own problems out”. Tim Hosken points out the links this has to the farming and mining industries: “This is down again, to the community spirit, the camaraderie within the community of everybody helping each other. [...] You had people you could rely on ... [and] you build up that trust with each other” (Interview, April 5th).

agreement. Pol Hodge succinctly describes such comments as “micro-aggressions of English imperialism” (Interview, April 5th), which further shows the complexities and threats to Cornish identity in the larger context of the UK.

5.4 Relevance of Cornish Identity in our modern globalised culture

As the previous results show, residents of West Penwith have shown their Cornish identity to be distinct from an English one and that language and sense of community are important to Cornish culture. Globalisation has been shown to negatively impact cultural identities (Saddiqa, Garcia and Ali, 2019) and Cornwall has arguably been affected by it. With increased amounts of information and cultures being accessible to us, smaller identities are lost amongst larger ones. Since cultures and identities are in a “more congested space”, it has become more difficult for the Cornish voice to be heard. However, no matter how “battered” the national identity of the Cornish has been, it is still a “strong identity fighting back” as pointed out by Cllr Dick Cole (Interview, 4th April). Whilst this has lots of meaning on a small scale, it is worth examining the results from questions 26, 27, 31, and 32 to understand the place of Cornwall in a more global context.

Participants who believe Cornish devolution is both necessary and important also share the view that Cornwall should be represented in the census with its own tick-box (Figure 6). In the same vein, those who deem it neither necessary nor important share the same thought that Cornwall does not need a tick-box. Responses cover both reasons posited in the questionnaire, but the most common response for these participants is due to Cornwall being a part of England. This suggests that the national identity of Cornwall is still not deemed to be separate from English identity by all parties. However, whilst not everyone believes Cornish devolution to be necessary, participants can recognise its importance to the people of Cornwall. A common theme that is addressed is the housing crisis and the concerns of an extra layer of bureaucracy if devolution is not negotiated properly. For example, one respondent commented: “Greater devolved powers would allow policies and decisions that are more in the interests of Cornwall”. Another said: “All we are doing is putting another layer of difficulty between being 'Cornish' and the ability to survive in a Global society”.

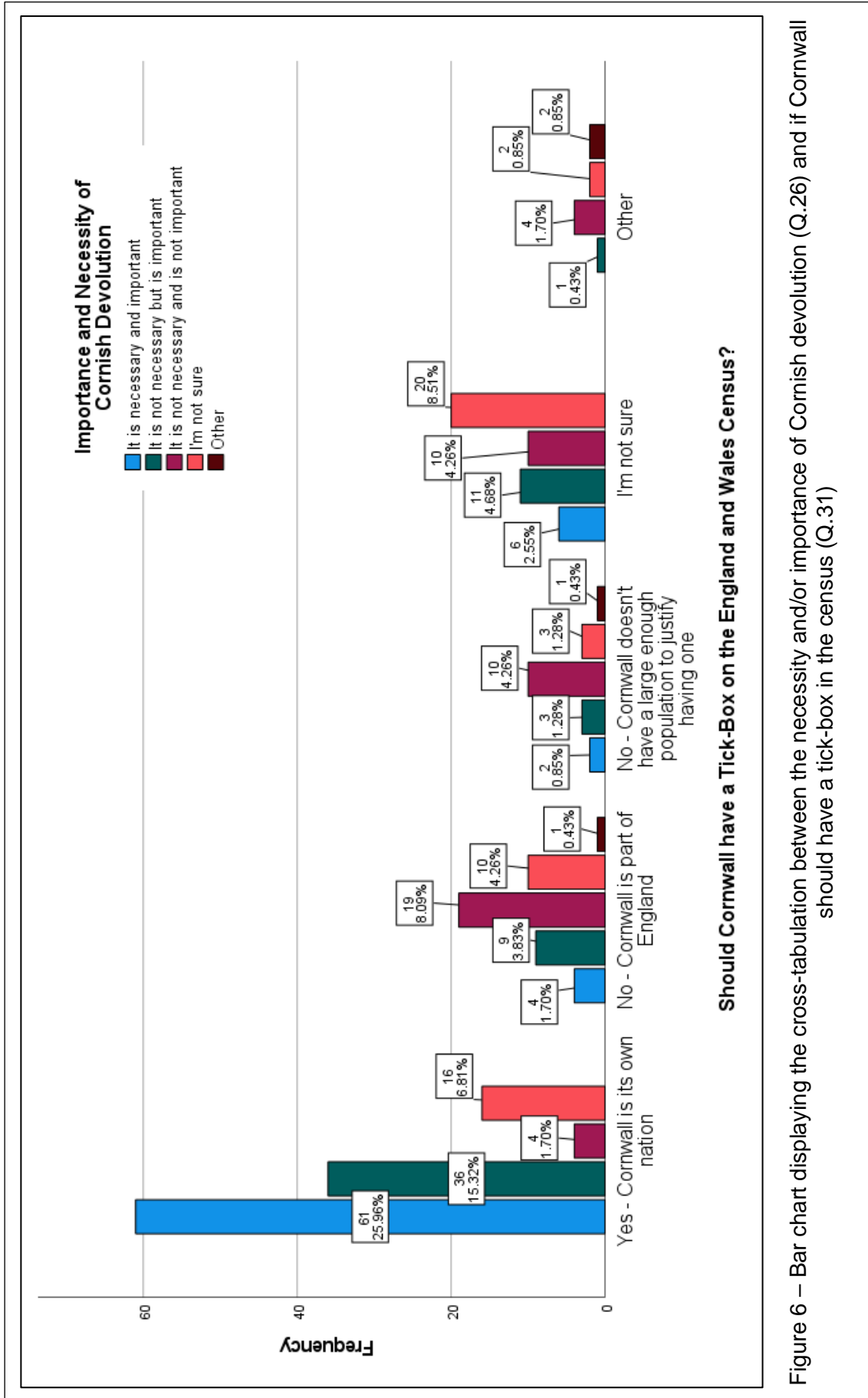


Figure 6 – Bar chart displaying the cross-tabulation between the necessity and/or importance of Cornish devolution (Q.26) and if Cornwall should have a tick-box in the census (Q.31)

This can be analysed with reference to previous census data. In 2011, the England and Wales census included a write-in option under the 'Other' category which allowed minority groups like the Cornish to formally declare their national identity on an official public document for the first time in which 83,000 people – 73,000 of which resided in Cornwall (CNMWG, 2019) – identified their national identity as Cornish (ONS, 2012). Whilst this is a start to formally expressing cultural and national identity, 'Cornish' was not recognised as a national identity by the ONS that was necessary to have its own tick-box. In the following decennial census in 2021 the Cornish folk were denied a tick-box of their own again, despite evidence suggesting that having a tick-box increases its usage. Steve Double (MP for St Austell and Newquay) raised this in Parliament in June 2018 in which he drew a parallel between the 14% of Cornish residents self-identifying, arguing that "if a tick box was provided, we would see a similar increase in the percentage of people choosing Cornish as their identity. A dropdown menu provision for "Other" is not good enough" (HC Deb., 11 June 2018, n.p.). In the case of Wales, around 65% identified as Welsh or Welsh/British in the 2011 census (ONS, 2011) after the inclusion of a tick-box compared to just 14% identifying as Welsh on the 2001 census via the write-in 'Other' option, thus suggesting Mr Double's argument has definite clout.

6. Conclusion

The study of generational differences of Cornish identity in West Penwith is a complex and intimate matter. Most significantly, the survey has shown that there is a link between age or generation and attachment to minority identities, but younger generations in Cornwall do in fact have very strong Cornish identities. The Moreno Question has proven to be a useful tool in uncovering the different layers of nested and dual identities, showing that people in West Penwith feel more Cornish than English and feel more comfortable identifying with British or Celtic identities. Cultural connections are mostly linked to the other Celtic nations due to their similar traditions and arguably their ethnic roots. Language and sense of community are some of the most crucial aspects of Cornish identity because they are truly unique to the experience of place and space for its residents. Cornwall can make a stand on the global stage, raising its own voice and is somewhat resistant to the forces of globalisation. If anything, Cornish identity is fighting back and is making its case heard, particularly in the cultural world. More work needs to be done in the political sphere regarding devolution and a tick-box in the census, but Cornwall is in a league of its own – the Celtic Nations.

6.1 Improvements to be made

Whilst the study explored a range of topics, the survey requires some adjustments to make it as comprehensive as possible. Questions surrounding language for example could have extended to institutional languages and their applications versus the local use of the Cornish language. In addition, arguably the survey was too broad to be reviewed in its entirety, meaning some interesting findings were not able to be explored at all due to the limited relevance to the hypothesis and research aims. As a result of this, the same issue occurred with the interview data. Whilst they were enriching and full of information, sacrifices had to be made to ensure the initial hypothesis and aims were answered.

6.2 Future Study

With more words, this dissertation could explore how participant lineage and length of time living in Cornwall could be compared in more detail across generations, to understand if having ancestors with Cornish heritage and the length of time living in Cornwall, can impact the strength of Cornish identities. Furthermore, the same survey could be used for each district in Cornwall and even be adapted to work in diasporic communities across the world. It would be of great use to the Cornish political movement to explore dual identities in significant detail, to allow in-migrants from across the UK to declare their identification with Cornish culture, and how locals can make incomers feel welcome and part of a holistic and inclusive Cornish identity.

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Appendices

a. Ethics Board Approval

Gweni Orchard e-Ethics Application outcome decided (eCORN002851 v3.3)

 ethics@exeter.ac.uk
Tue 16/06/2020 10:53
To: Orchard, Gweni

Dear Gweni Orchard,

Application ID: **eCORN002851 v3.3**
Title: **The importance of Cornish Identity in Penzance: A comparative study of intergenerational differences in local identities**

Your e-Ethics application has been reviewed by the CLES Penryn Ethics Committee.

The outcome of the decision is: **Favourable**

Potential Outcomes

Favourable:	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
Favourable, with conditions:	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. These conditions are detailed below.
Provisional:	You have not been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
Unfavourable:	You have not been granted ethical approval. The application has been rejected by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

b. Risk Assessment

GENERAL RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

College/Department		Date of Risk Assessment		20/03/2022	
Name of person carrying out assessment		Job Title		BA Geography Student	
Gweniver Orchard					
<p>DESCRIPTION Give details of the process, task, activity, event etc. being risk assessed</p> <p>Work will be carried out at home on a PC using a DSE Self-Assessment. All work completed is for an undergraduate dissertation including research, data collection, analysis and the final write up.</p>					
<p>HAZARD IDENTIFICATION Hazard - something with the potential to cause harm within the process, task etc. you are assessing. NB: Consider things that you can "foresee" / imagine going wrong and how this could happen?</p>		Hazard		Who and How Many can be harmed? e.g. student, staff, contractors etc.	
Ref:					
A		Visual problems caused by an incorrectly positioned screen, glare, reflections, poor lighting, poor work organisation, and/or insufficient changes in activity or an uncorrected sight problem		Student Temporary eye strain (not damage) and headaches	
B		Postural problems due to poorly adjusted equipment, insufficient information and/or training, poor work organisation, and/or insufficient changes in activity		Student Upper limb disorders, back ache and repetitive strain injury	
C		Fatigue and stress		Student Difficulty concentrating, decreased mental wellbeing, postural and visual problems	
D		Risks of contracting or passing on COVID-19 (CV19) or other viruses		Student Illness with potential to be fatal	
E		Electrical Hazards from IT equipment		Student Electric shocks, fire and explosions, potentially fatal	

	F	Lone working	Student	If accidents occur student might not be found for considerable time
<p align="center">EXISTING CONTROL MEASURES IN PLACE</p> <p>What control measures are already in place to reduce the risk of the hazard becoming a reality?</p> <p>Refer to the hazards identified above i.e. A B C D etc.</p>	Ref:	You may combine some of the hazards together if one control measure addresses more than one hazard e.g. A, C & E to save repeating the same information		
	A	Lighting levels are sufficient for all tasks at the workstation e.g. reading and keyboard work. Measures will be taken to avoid reflections and glare. Always take at least one 5-minute break per hour during computer work. Follow the University DSE guidelines.		
	B	Set up desk space and computer properly according to DSE guidelines. Ensure the chair being used provides proper support. Take appropriate breaks. Ensure space is sufficient for postural changes and to provide freedom of movement while seated, and while moving between furniture and equipment.		
	C	Dealing with postural and visual problems, suitable task design to incorporate breaks. The main purpose of incorporating breaks into the work pattern is to ensure that the user varies their posture and changes visual demands. For mental health and wellbeing issues refer to the Penryn student welfare and support page http://www.exeter.ac.uk/wellbeing/support/studentwelfare-penryn/		
	D	Follow all university guidelines regarding Covid-19 safety. Use remote tools to communicate with participants, interviewees, and University staff such as Microsoft Teams and Zoom to minimise risk. If Covid-19 is contracted via external channels (i.e. a family member contracts it from work), Government and University guidance on self-isolation and distancing will be adhered to.		
	E	User to visually inspect IT equipment at home before use. If problems are noted these should be addressed before use.		
	F	Avoid lone working if possible, but if lone working ensure a robust buddy system is in place. A buddy system should include arranging to contact someone at a set time when you have finished lone working and the buddy should be aware of who to contact if you do not make contact. i.e., relative or family member.		

+

RISK ASSESSMENT SCORE	Risk	Consequence (1-5)	X	Likelihood (1 - 5)	Risk Score (1-25)
	A	2		1	2
	B	2		1	2
	C	2		2	4
	D	5		3	15
	E	5		2	10
	F	5		2	10



NB: Take into account existing controls

□

ACTION PLAN – things that need to happen now to control / reduce risk further			
Risk	Further Action Required To Control Risk	By Whom	Date Complete
A	All actions and control measures required to mitigate such risks have been completed at the time of the creation of this risk assessment.		
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			

NB: When actions are complete, they need to be transferred to the section above as now being 'control measures already in place'. The risk rating scores may also need to be amended to acknowledge that these additional controls measures are now in place.

⊕

ASSESSMENT SIGN OFF	
Assessor's Signature	
Approver's Name	Jane Wills
Date signed/mailed	21.4.22
Review Period: (please circle as appropriate)	
Risk Assessment Review Dates:	
Approver's Signature or confirmation that email has been received	
Local monitoring to be performed by:	
Copies of Assessment to: (please identify)	

c. List of Survey Questions

About You:

1. Please select which generation you are classed as, based on your year of birth:
 - a. Gen Z (1997-2012)
 - b. Millennial (1981-1996)
 - c. Gen X (1965-1980)
 - d. Baby Boomers (1946-1964)

2. Please select your gender:
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
 - c. Non-binary
 - d. Agender
 - e. Other
 - f. Prefer not to say

3. Where in the UK were you born? If you were born outside of the UK, please name the country.

4. Please select which postcode you currently live in:
 - a. TR17 – Marazion
 - b. TR18 – Penzance
 - c. TR19 – Pendeen & St Buryan
 - d. TR20 – Penzance & Ludgvan
 - e. TR26 – ST Ives & Zennor
 - f. TR27 – Hayle

5. How long have you lived in Cornwall?
 - a. All my life
 - b. Moved here as a child
 - c. Moved here as an adult
 - d. Moved here to retire
 - e. Other

6. Were any of your family born in Cornwall? Please select all that apply:
- a. One of my parents are Cornish
 - b. Both of my parents are Cornish
 - c. One of my paternal grandparents are Cornish
 - d. Both of my paternal grandparents are Cornish
 - e. One of my maternal grandparents are Cornish
 - f. Both of my maternal grandparents are Cornish
 - g. I have older generations that are Cornish
 - h. None of my family is Cornish

Your Cornish Identity and the Moreno Question:

7. Please select ONE from the options below which is the most accurate description for your cultural identity in terms of 'Cornishness' and 'Englishness'.
- a. Only Cornish, Not English
 - b. More Cornish than English
 - c. Equally Cornish and English
 - d. More English than Cornish
 - e. Only English, Not Cornish
 - f. Other
8. Please select ONE from the options below which is the most accurate description for your cultural identity in terms of 'Cornishness' and 'Britishness'.
- a. Only Cornish, Not British
 - b. More Cornish than British
 - c. Equally Cornish and British
 - d. More British than Cornish
 - e. Only British, Not Cornish
 - f. Other
9. Please select ONE from the options below which is the most accurate description for your cultural identity in terms of 'Cornishness' and 'Europeanness'.
- a. Only Cornish, Not European
 - b. More Cornish than European
 - c. Equally Cornish and European
 - d. More European than Cornish
 - e. Only European, Not Cornish
 - f. Other

10. Please select ONE from the options below which is the most accurate description for your cultural identity in terms of 'Cornishness' and 'Celticness'.

- a. Only Cornish, Not Celtic
- b. More Cornish than Celtic
- c. Equally Cornish and Celtic
- d. More Celtic than Cornish
- e. Only Celtic, Not Cornish
- f. Other

11. Do you feel more culturally connected to England, Britain, Europe, or the Celtic Nations?

- a. England
- b. Britain
- c. Europe
- d. Celtic Nations

12. If you so wish, please provide a short explanation as to why you feel more culturally connected to the option you selected in the previous question. (Optional)

13. On a scale of 0-10 (where 10 is I'm Cornish and will only ever be and 0 is Not Cornish at all), how **strong** is your Cornish identity?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not Cornish at all					I'm Cornish and will only ever be					

Cornish Identity and Culture:

14. On a scale of 0-10 (where 10 is Of utmost Importance and 0 is Not important at all), is Cornish identity important to **express**?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all					Of utmost importance					

15. On a scale of 0-10 (where 10 is Of utmost Importance and 0 is Not important at all), is Cornish identity important to **be proud of**?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not important at all					Of utmost importance					

16. If you so wish, please provide a short explanation as to why you think or why you do not think Cornish identity is something to be proud of and/or to express, based on your answers to the two previous questions. (Optional)
17. If you have ever identified as Cornish in a public space (in person and/or online), do you experience, or have you ever experienced, any negative reactions or responses to your statements? (i.e. have you been dismissed, belittled, or discriminated against because of your Cornish identity?)
- Yes, I have received negative responses to my opinions because of my identity
 - No, I have not received negative responses to my opinions because of my identity
 - I haven't identified as Cornish in a public space for fear of being judged for my identity
 - I haven't identified as Cornish in a public space because I do not feel the need to
 - I haven't identified as Cornish in a public space because I do not share my opinions
 - Other
 - Prefer not to say
18. If you answered Yes or Other to the previous question and feel comfortable, could you please provide some examples of the discrimination you have faced in a public space because of your Cornish identity? (Optional)
19. If you answered that you do not identify as Cornish for fear of judgement, or because you do not feel the need to in the previous question and feel comfortable, could you please provide some examples of the reason why you choose not to identify as Cornish in public spaces? (Optional)
20. What other aspects of culture and heritage make Cornwall unique from other places? Please give some examples that you can think of in the box below.

The Cornish Language:

21. Is the Cornish language important to Cornish identity and culture?
- Yes

- b. No
- c. Somewhat
- d. I'm not sure

22. Should Cornish be taught in schools as part of the curriculum?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Maybe
- d. I'm not sure

23. Do you know, or are you able to speak any of the Cornish language? Please select the closest description of your Cornish language knowledge.

- a. Yes – I'm fluent
- b. Yes – I've taken some exams or know a considerable amount
- c. Yes – I know enough to hold a small conversation with someone
- d. Yes – I know basic words and phrases in Cornish
- e. No – I do not know any of the Cornish language

Mebyon Kernow (MK) and Devolution

24. Have you heard of Mebyon Kernow (MK)?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I'm not sure

25. Do you know what MK are lobbying for and aiming achieve?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. I'm not sure

26. Is a devolved government/assembly/parliament for Cornwall important and/or necessary?

- a. It is necessary **and** important
- b. It is not necessary **but is** important
- c. It is **not** necessary and is **not** important
- d. I'm not sure
- e. Other

27. Please provide a small explanation for your answer to the previous question on the importance and/or necessity for a devolved government/assembly/parliament for Cornwall. (Optional)

28. Is a devolved government/assembly/parliament for Cornwall worth fighting for?

- a. Yes
- b. Somewhat
- c. Not at all
- d. I'm not sure
- e. Other

29. Please provide a small explanation for your answer to the previous question on the need for fighting for a devolved government/assembly/parliament for Cornwall. (Optional)

National Minority Status (NMS):

30. Have you heard of The Cornish Tick-Box Bus?

- a. Yes – and I have attended events associated with it
- b. Yes – I have heard of it and know what it is about
- c. Yes – I have heard of it but know very little about it
- d. No – I have not heard about it at all
- e. I'm not sure

31. Do you think that Cornwall should have a separate Tick-Box on the census, comparable to Wales and Scotland?

- a. Yes – Cornwall is its own nation
- b. No – Cornwall is part of England
- c. No – Cornwall doesn't have a large enough population to justify having one
- d. I'm not sure
- e. Other

32. Please provide a short explanation for your answer to whether or not Cornwall should have its own Tick-Box. (Optional)

33. Has the UK Government done enough to recognise the National Minority Status of Cornwall?

- a. Yes – the government recognise Cornish identity

- b. Somewhat – the government have some recognition, but more could be done
- c. No – the government have not done anything/anywhere near enough to recognise Cornish NMS
- d. I'm not sure

34. Please provide a short explanation for your answer to whether or not the UK Government have done enough to recognise Cornish National Minority Status. (Optional)

Thank you for your participation in this survey!

35. Do you have any closing remarks about any of the points raised that you would like to share with me?

d. List of Facebook Pages used for Survey Distribution

First NOT Second Homes	WE LOVE KERNEWEK, OUR CORNISH LANGUAGE
Cornish Politics Discussed	I pledge to become more fluent in Cornish
Not Nostalgic Penzance	Nostalgic St. Erth
Mutual Aid Penzance	FRIENDS OF PENZANCE ALL FOR ONE AND ONE AND ALL
Penwith	St Ives Local
Sennen Community Page	Was going on ere then? In this great place St Just
St Levan Parish	The Real Love St. Ives
Mousehole (Porthenys)	Newlyn Fishing Town
HEAMOOR WATS ON?	Madron, Gulval and Heamoor Churches, Penzance, Cornwall
Gulval Remembered	Yes Kernow
CORNWALL (GB FLAG)	CORNWALL IS NOT ENGLAND

e. Demographic distribution of the Survey Participants

Generation			Gender		
	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Gen Z	22	9.3	Male	71	30.1
Millennial	33	14.0	Female	163	69.1
Gen X	57	24.2	Non-binary	1	.4
Baby Boomers	124	52.5	Prefer not to say	1	.4
Total	236	100.0	Total	236	100.0

Postcode		
	Frequency	Percent
TR17	5	2.1
TR18	87	36.9
TR19	51	21.6
TR20	39	16.5
TR26	26	11.0
TR27	28	11.9
Total	236	100.0

Survey demographic distribution as adapted from SPSS displaying each respondents' self-categorisation of their generation, gender and current postcode prefix.

f. Biographies of Interviewees

Name	Description
Cllr Dick Cole	Cornwall Councillor, leader of Mebyon Kernow for 25 years. Previously worked as an Archaeology lecturer at Truro College.
Ian Saltern	Cultural Consultant, Bard of the Gorsedh, Member of the National Minority Working Group
Anonymous	Councillor
Pol Hodge	Grand Bard of the Gorsedh, Cornish Language Officer at Golden Tree Productions, Community Educator. Previously worked as a Science Teacher Specialising in Physics at Secondary School Level.
Tim Hosken	Musical Director of Four Lanes Male Voice Choir and Penzance Choral Society, Bard of the Gorsedh. Previously worked on the family farm in St Buryan. Methodist Chapel influenced Tim's interest and passion for Choral singing, Male Voice Choirs, and classical music.
Judith Lawrence	Cornish Language Student (Level 3). Member of Tros an Treys – a traditional Cornish scot dance group; Member of The Dawn Chorus – a casual community choir which meets in the mornings to sing Cornish songs; Member of Keur Heb Hanow – a skilled choir versed in Kernewek

g. Participation Information Sheet for Interviewees

The Importance of Cornish Identity in West Penwith: A Comparative Study of Intergenerational Differences in Local Identities

Invitation and brief summary, purpose of research:

This study will be exploring Cornish Identity in West Penwith. I have already conducted surveys with responses from those in the various postcodes of West Penwith. To further explore Cornish Identity, I will be conducting interviews with influential members of the community to find out about what their organisation or institution is currently doing and aims to do in the future for Cornish identity and its relevance today. This is part of the research I will be conducting for my undergraduate dissertation in Geography at the University of Exeter.

Please take time to consider the information carefully to make an informed decision on your participation. You can contact me should you have any questions on my university email address: go269@exeter.ac.uk

Why have I been approached?

You have been invited to participate in this study because you are an influential member of the Cornish community due to your employment, volunteering, or projects you have been or are currently a part of.

What would taking part involve?

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer questions about yourself and your work in the Cornish community, actions undertaken by your organisation/institution, and responses to surveys that I have already undertaken. A recording of the interview (a screen recording in the software used and an audio recording) will be taken. However, should you wish to conduct the interview unrecorded this can also be arranged. I will confirm your consent to being recorded in the attached consent form and at the start of the interview and the appropriate action will follow.

During the interview, the app Otter.ai will be used to create a transcript in real time, which will be edited accordingly. Any recordings (whether visual or audio) will be deleted after completion and submission of the thesis.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst I cannot promise there are any personal benefits to you for taking part, please be rest assured that your participation in this interview will be of utmost importance to Cornish Identity research. The scope of this study does fill a gap in current research about Cornish identity and more specifically in generational differences in how Cornish folk self-identify and are proud of their Cornish heritage/culture.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

This study has no foreseeable risks to participants. Participants can decline to answer any questions that may implicate their position or reputation, for any reason, which does not need to be disclosed.

Interviews will collect your name and the organisation or institution you represent. If you wish to remain anonymous, please let me know. This can be confirmed in the consent form and during the

interview itself. All data collected from survey responses will only be accessible by myself and will be stored on a password-protected computer.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide not to continue with the study, you may withdraw your consent at any time. Any recordings taken up to the point of your withdrawal will be deleted along with their associated transcripts at the earliest convenience to the researcher.

If you wish to withdraw from the study after the interview has taken place, **you must contact the researcher within 2 weeks** and the recording and/or transcript will be destroyed at the earliest convenience to the researcher. Requests to withdraw from the study after this time will not be able to be fulfilled because the thesis will have already been submitted for marking.

How will my information be kept confidential?

The University of Exeter processes personal data for the purposes of carrying out research in the public interest. The University will endeavour to be transparent about its processing of your personal data and this information sheet should provide a clear explanation of this. If you do have any queries about the University's processing of your personal data that cannot be resolved by the research team, further information may be obtained from the University's Data Protection Officer by emailing informationgovernance@exeter.ac.uk or at <http://www.exeter.ac.uk/ig/>

All recordings and transcripts will be stored on a password protected computer to protect your identity and occupation. There will be a debrief following the interview. Your transcript will be included in the Appendices, and potentially after the submission of the dissertation for marking or moderation purposes as requested by the University Examination Board.

What will happen to the results of this study?

This data that you submit will be included in the analysis and discussion sections of the dissertation. The project may be held in University of Exeter archives or used by academic staff at the University for reference for future students. Participants can request to be updated on the results of the survey and interviews by agreeing to this in the consent form, using the email address that current correspondence is using.

Who is organising and funding this study?

The sponsor for this study is the University of Exeter.

Who has reviewed this study?

This project has been reviewed by the CLES Penryn Research Ethics Committee at the University of Exeter (Reference Number: eCORN002851 v3.3)

Further information and contact details

To contact me (Gweniver Orchard) directly about any aspect of the study or any questions/requests you may have please use my university email address: go269@exeter.ac.uk

If, for any reason, you are not satisfied with any aspect of the project and wish to complain please contact one or more of the following:

1. **Jane Wills**, Project Supervisor
Director of The Environment and Sustainability Institute, Professor of Geography in the College of Life and Environment Sciences
j.wills2@exeter.ac.uk, 01326 253761
2. **Gail Seymour**, Research Ethics and Governance Manager
g.m.seymour@exeter.ac.uk, 01392 726621
3. The Research Ethics and Governance Mailbox: cgr-reg@exeter.ac.uk

Thank you for expressing your interest in participating in the research for this undergraduate thesis.

h. Consent Form for Interviewees



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: The Importance of Cornish Identity in West Penwith: A Comparative Study of Intergenerational Differences in Local Identities


Name of Researcher: Gweniver Orchard

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read the information sheet dated 22/03/2022 (version no.: 2.0) for the above project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without my legal rights being affected.
3. I understand that relevant sections of the data collected during the study, may be looked at by members of the research team and individuals from the University of Exeter, where it is relevant to my taking part in this research.
I give permission for these individuals to have access to my records.
4. Please read the below statements and confirm you have read and understood them in each box:
 - a. I understand that taking part involves identifiable, pseudonymised, or anonymised **interview transcripts** to be used for the purposes of analysis in an undergraduate dissertation as approved and supported by the University of Exeter.
 - b. I understand that taking part involves identifiable, pseudonymised, or anonymised **audio recordings** to be used for the purposes of analysis in an undergraduate dissertation as approved and supported by the University of Exeter.
 - c. I understand that taking part involves identifiable, pseudonymised, or anonymised **video recordings** to be used for the purposes of analysis in an undergraduate dissertation as approved and supported by the University of Exeter.

Please initial box

5. Please mark (a, b, or c) in the box to the right how you would like to be referred to in the write up of results and discussion:
- a. **anonymous** – a numbering system (interviewee 1, 2 etc)
 - b. **pseudonymised** – initials, the organisation you represent (a representative of X said)
 - c. **identifiable** – your name as provided to the researcher without any alterations
6. I understand that I have the right to change the decision in point 5 until **2 weeks** after the interview has taken place to allow alterations to be made to the dissertation and your associated transcript.
7. Please mark (a, b, or c) in the box to the right the methods in which you consent to have the interview recorded, these may be recorded on **more than one device simultaneously** to prevent data loss should one of the methods fail:
- a. Visual *and* Audio
 - b. Audio *only*
 - c. **No recordings** of any kind
8. I understand that I have the right to change the decision in point 7 until **1 week** after the interview has taken place to allow an alternative recording to be used and for a previous method to be deleted.
9. I understand that I can opt to receive updates on both survey results and the interview analysis, and the dissertation as a whole, via the email address that current correspondence with the researcher has been taking place.
- Please mark in the box if you would like to receive updates on this same email address.
10. I agree to take part in the above project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Date	Signature
<u>Gweniver Orchard</u>	_____	
Name of researcher taking consent	Date	Signature