

***And shall Trelawny die? Not in my classroom!*** An exploration of how the construction of Cornish identity affects the pedagogic practices of teachers who define as Cornish, within Further and Higher Education in Cornwall

**Catherine Mary Camps**

**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the  
Professional Doctorate in Education**

**School of Social Sciences**

**Cardiff University**

**November 2017**

## **Dedications**

For John, who - in the cruellest of circumstances - has remained steadfast in his support for the *rerighting* of this injustice.

For Ross, James, Charles, Lewis, Noah and Freddie, whose contributions to Cornwall's present as well as its future, fill me with pride and hope.

## **Omriansow**

Rag John, neb - yn kasys an fella - re drigas fyrv yn y skoodhyans rag dasewnans an gammhynseth ma.

Rag Ross, James, Charles, Lewis, Noah ha Freddie, anedha an kevrohow dhe'n jydh hedhyw a Gernow ha'y thermyn a dheu magata a'm lenow gans gooth ha govenek.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Gabrielle Ivinson, and Professor Paul Chaney for their friendship, advice, and long term support which enabled this thesis to be written and submitted. I would also like to extend my grateful thanks to Professor Valerie Walkerdine, whose thoughtful guidance has been much valued.

My thanks also go to colleagues who, in the absence of official data, helped locate participants for this study and, of course, the participants themselves. It was a privilege to talk to Cornish lecturers about their personal pedagogic philosophies and practices.

The focus of this study has been a topic of conversation with many educators - Cornish and non-Cornish - over the years. Many interesting discussions have contributed to the honing of perspectives, as well as confirming the value of this study. I am grateful to you all.

## **Aswonvosow**

My a garsa godhvos gras dhe'm gorwolysi Professores Gabrielle Ivinson ha Professor Paul Chaney a'ga felshyp, kussul, ha skoodhyans hirdermyn hag a'm gallosegis skrifa ha profya an assay ma. My a garsa keffrys ystynna ow grassow synsys dhe Professores Valerie Walkerdine anedhi an gidyans prederus o talvesys meur.

Ow grassow a dhanvonav ynwedh dhe gowethysi neb, dre fowt a dhata sodhogel, a weresas kavos kevrenogyon rag an studhyans ma ha, heb mar, an gevrenogyon aga honan. Yth o pryvylej kewsel orth arethoryon gernewek a-dro dh'aga filosofiethow ha praktisyow dyskansek personek.

Fog an studhyans ma re beu testen a geskows gans lies adhyskanser - Kernewek ha di-Gernewek - dres lies bledhen. Meur a dhadhlow dhe les re gevres dhe lymma gologvaow, ow fasthe keffrys bri an studhyans ma. Yth o'ma synsys dhywgh hwi oll.

## Summary

The study explores the way further and higher education lecturers, who identify as Cornish, view their cultural knowledge and identity and how this informs their pedagogic practice. The study took place in the context of the newly established Combined Universities in Cornwall, following the allocation of European Union funding.

Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy (1990, 2000), specifically the pedagogic device and pedagogic identity provided an analytical framework to explore knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction and the extent to which lecturers contributed to the production of a localised pedagogic identity. Holland and Lave's (2001) concept of "history-in-person" enabled further consideration of individuals' relationships to Cornish culture and identity.

Three research questions were identified: how do historical and contemporaneous contexts impact on lecturers' practice? In which educational contexts does identity become salient? And, what role do lecturers play in the creation of a localised pedagogic identity? In-depth semi-structured interviews, with 14 lecturers based in 1 HEI and 2 FEIs, were undertaken during 2010 and 2011. The subsequent thematic analysis helped identify key aspects of Cornish identity, such as the importance of relationship to geographical place, and a range of values including that of hard work. Key practice issues identified included a desire to create and transmit localised identities.

The findings established that lecturers consider their Cornish culture to be distinct, yet marginalised by non-Cornish peers, institutions and wider society. Opportunities for lecturers to relay Cornish culture to the next generation were shown to be context dependent on the type of employing institutions, position in the institutional hierarchy and the types of programme taught. However, where lecturers were able to implement their ambitions localised pedagogic identities became available to students.

This study furthers understanding of how minority lecturers' discursively-informed pedagogic practices co-exist with - and seek to challenge - hegemonic discourses.

## Contents

<b>Declaration.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Dedications.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Summary.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Contents.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Figures and Tables.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>Acronyms used.....</b>	<b>xi</b>

## Chapter 1: Introduction to the thesis

1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. “Telling the tale”: my experience of bringing Cornwall into the classroom .....	2
1.3. Responses to “telling the tale” .....	5
1.4. Institutional structures and culturally relevant pedagogic practice .....	7
1.5. Study aims .....	9
1.6. Consideration of “ethnicity”, “nation” and “national minority” within this study.....	10
1.7. “Local”, “regional”, “global” and “place”: usage within this study.....	14
1.8. Outline of the thesis.....	20

## **Chapter 2: The Cornish context: socio-political considerations**

2.1.	Introduction.....	23
2.2.	Episodes contributing to a continuing yet fractured identity	25
2.2.1.	A “country” no more: the continuation of a Cornish identity.....	25
2.2.2.	Rebellion against the expansionist English project...	26
2.2.3.	Contributions to the global Industrial Revolution.....	27
2.2.4.	The Celtic revival: authentic or performance? .....	28
2.2.5.	Cornish identity: swept away by the tide of in-migration? .....	30
2.3.	Identity: rallying point for self-determination.....	32
2.4.	Concluding remarks.....	34

## **Chapter 3: The Cornish post–compulsory education field**

3.1.	Introduction.....	35
3.2.	The establishment of the CUC: boundaries, regulation and the production of knowledge.....	36
3.2.1.	The CUC project.....	36
3.2.2.	Boundary marking and regulation.....	39
3.2.3.	The production of knowledge as a marker of boundaries.....	42
3.3.	“Gaps and spaces” - potential for change?.....	45

## **Chapter 4: Theoretical frameworks and concepts**

4.1.	Introduction.....	46
4.2.	Situating the experience of the minority lecturer: a review of UK based studies.....	47
4.3.	Knowledge creation and its transformation within the educational sphere - the pedagogic device.....	51

4.4.	Knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction in higher and further education.....	54
4.5.	The pedagogic device and the projection of pedagogic identities.....	58
4.6.	History and place in identity making.....	60
4.7.	Summary and research questions.....	62

## **Chapter 5: Methodology**

5.1.	Introduction: research questions and the area of study.....	64
5.2.	Choices of approach and research methods adopted.....	66
5.3.	Designing the research instrument.....	68
	5.3.1. Piloting the instrument.....	70
	5.3.2. The instrument.....	71
5.5.	Access to participants.....	72
5.6.	Participants.....	73
5.7.	Ethical considerations .....	75
5.8.	Carrying out the study.....	76
5.9.	Study timetable .....	77
5.10.	Data analysis ... ..	78
5.11.	Summary.....	82

## **Chapter 6: FE and HE lecturers' perceptions of Cornish identity**

6.1.	Introduction.....	84
6.2.	Belonging: articulation of generational and non-generational expressions of Cornishness.....	85
6.3.	Behaviour, Values and a Cornish mentality.....	89
	6.3.1. Hard work.....	90
	6.3.2. Contribution to family and community.....	92

6.3.3. Respected personal attributes.....	95
6.4. Migration as a key Cornish cultural practice.....	97
6.4.1. Displacement and loss.....	98
6.4.2. The Cornish: “Stayers”, “Leavers” and “Returners”... ..	101
6.5. Cornishness: Resistance and challenge.....	103
6.5.1. Resistance and community.....	104
6.5.2. “Dreckly” - celebrated resistance.....	107
6.6. Concluding remarks.....	108

## **Chapter 7: Cornwall within and beyond the classroom: Cornish lecturers, ethnicity and pedagogic practices**

7.1. Introduction.....	111
7.2. Professional identity: pedagogic practices and Cornish identity.....	113
7.2.1. Claiming a professional identity as a Cornish lecturer in higher education.....	115
7.2.2. Further education: Cornish “ethnicity” and pedagogic practices.....	127
7.3. Towards a Cornish pedagogic identity? .....	131
7.3.1. Pedagogic identities: the extent to which Cornwall's Educational institutions offer a distinctive collective base... ..	132
7.3.2. Lecturers' practices: creation and transmission of a Cornish pedagogic identity.....	140
7.4. Discussion.....	148
7.5. Summary.....	154



## **Chapter 8: Summary of the thesis and concluding recommendations**

8.1.	Introduction.....	157
8.2.	Identification of the professional issue for enquiry.....	157
8.3.	Research questions.....	158
8.4	Overview of the study's main findings in relation to each research question .....	158
8.5	Implications for existing theory .....	166
8.6.	Reflections on the research study .....	170
8.7.	Policy recommendations.....	171
8.8.	Concluding thoughts.....	174

## **Appendices**

Number	Appendix title	Page
1.	Grey literature sources	176
2.	Copy of letter from Cardiff University SOCSI Research Ethics Committee .....	178
3.	Information Sheet for Interviewees .....	179
4.	Consent Form for Interviewees .....	181
5.	Identified prompt questions for interviews.....	182
6.	Words to “Song of the Western Men” or “Trelawny” by R. S. Hawker (1825) .....	183

<b>References.....</b>	<b>184</b>
------------------------	------------

## Figures

Figure 3.1.	Geographical locations of HE and FE institutions within Cornwall at the time of the study.....	38
Figure 3.2.	CUC representation- “Hub and Rim” model.....	39
Figure 3.3.	CUC “Hub and Rim” model based on the influence institutions have within the Cornish higher education sector.....	44
Figure 4.1.	Relations between “history-in-person” and “enduring struggles”.....	61
Figure 7.1.	Detail of influences on Cornish lecturers’ pedagogic decision making.....	152

## Tables

Table 5.1.	Preferred and actual sample location .....	73
Table 5.2.	Participants’ details.....	74
Table 5.3.	Fieldwork timetable.....	78
Table 5.4.	Codes, categories and themes identified relating to pedagogic practices .....	81
Table 5.5.	Codes, categories and themes identified during the analysis of the construction of Cornish identity.....	82

## Acronyms used

BTEC	Business and Technology Education Council
CUC	Combined Universities in Cornwall
ERSC	Economic and Research Council
FdA	Foundation Degree – Arts
Fdf	Foundation degree forward
FEI	Further Education Institution
GCE A-Levels	General Certificate of Education Advanced level examinations (normally undertaken in Year 12).
HEA	Higher Education Academy
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HEI	Higher Education Institution
LLUK	Lifelong Learning United Kingdom
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
ORF	Official Recontextualising Field
PCMD	Peninsula College of Medicine and Dentistry
PGCE(PCET)	Post-graduate Certificate in Education (post-compulsory education and training)
PI	Pedagogic Identities
PL U	Plymouth University
PRF	Pedagogic Recontextualising Field
QAA	Quality Assurance Authority
SOMUL	Social and organizational mediation of university learning
UKHE	United Kingdom Higher Education
UKPSF	United Kingdom Professional Standards Framework
UoE	University of Exeter
WIMCW	‘Why is my curriculum white?’

## Chapter 1: Introduction to the thesis

1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. “Telling the tale”: my experience of bringing Cornwall into the classroom .....	2
1.3. Responses to “telling the tale”.....	5
1.4. Institutional structures and culturally relevant pedagogic practice .....	7
1.5. Study aims .....	9
1.6. Consideration of “ethnicity”, “nation” and “national minority” within this study.....	10
1.7. “Local”, “regional”, “global” and “place”: consideration of the usage within this study.....	14
1.8. Outline of the thesis.....	20

### 1.1. Introduction

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Professional Doctorate in Education. It details how members of a minority ethnic group (Deacon 1999; Saltern 2011) seized the possibilities that opened up following the allocation of European Union Objective One funding to their region (One partnership 2000). The study explores how Cornish lecturers, working within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall, used the Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC) project, alongside other national government policy initiatives, to help reproduce their minority culture. Bernstein’s (1990, 2000) frameworks of the pedagogic device and pedagogic identities helped illuminate how lecturers navigated different aspects of their roles, whether as knowledge producers, curriculum makers or classroom teachers, to relay their culture and help perpetuate values they perceived as important. Additionally, the concept of “history-in-person” developed by Holland and Lave (2001) offered opportunities to appreciate how teachers individually embody, interpret and shape aspects of Cornish culture in their pedagogic practice.

In this introductory chapter I set out why this study is of professional concern to me as a teacher educator. The drivers for exploring how identity and pedagogic practice intersect are made clear in the “tales” detailed in the following sections. These tales, however, are a combination of the professional and the personal. What prompts me to present these in this manner? Primarily, because it is a culturally relevant thing to do: at the beginning of any acquaintance within the Cornish context the exchange of personal details is regarded as a necessary pre-requisite (Tregidga 2009). So I offer these as a means of establishing my authenticity as a Cornish person and also as an educator.

Second, it illuminates the role that sharing stories has in helping to sustain, renew and invigorate communities (Portelli 1997; Magowan 2001; Kovach 2009; Rodriguez 2010). Cornwall, like other communities, places great importance on storytelling (Phillipps 1995; Bottrell 1996) and “telling the tale” has been noted as a community-based tradition that is still very much alive (Dunstan 1997). The stories or tales set out in this chapter offer, along with an appreciation of how the topic of study has emerged, a lived example of how their usage helps create spaces for Cornish educators to recuperate, resist negative images and share transformative pedagogic practices.

In the next section, I set out an overview of the drivers that contributed to the emergence of this project, followed by a consideration of the study aims. I conclude by setting out the structure of the thesis.

## 1.2. “Telling the tale”: my experience of bringing Cornwall into the classroom.

As someone entering teacher education in the late 1990s I was encouraged by the professional freedom afforded to me. The ethos of the PGCE (PCET) course I taught on demanded the adoption of a critical approach and, drawing heavily on post-modern theorists such as Foucault (1976; 1980), Butler (1990) and Giroux (1992), encouraged beginning teachers to critique accepted epistemological authority, its effect on curriculum development and enactment by practitioners.

Examinations of curricula, a staple of the teacher education course, were

influenced heavily by the work undertaken by Pinar et al. (1995). Notably how the curriculum could be reconceptualised using different perspectives - such as race, gender, and sexual orientation. As a result of this critical examination I strove to encourage my students to begin to consider reconceptualising the curriculum from a Cornish perspective using, as a vehicle, a number of tales drawn from encounters I had personally experienced. Underlying this decision was the belief that by doing so I was responding to Giroux's (2005, p.72) call for educators to "develop pedagogical practices that not only heighten the possibilities for critical consciousness but also for transformative action".

These episodes, which I used as a means to question pedagogic practices, all occurred in a short space of time and raised a number of issues about the use of specified curricula, and the practices of Cornish educators as they sought to enact these. Two of these tales arose from school meetings that I attended as a parent and the other was a result of a corridor conversation with an acquaintance.

The first episode saw me donning my parental hat and dutifully attending an evening meeting with the new form teacher at my son's primary school. After a short introduction by the Head Teacher, the new form teacher introduced herself and outlined her career which had brought her, from London to Cornwall. Following this, details were given about the forthcoming annual class field trip. What was remarkable to me about this information was not that there was a move away from the normal venue, the local authority run outdoor activity centre, but the rationale given for the change to a location outside of Cornwall. The parental group were advised that the venue was altered because it was thought that Cornish children were too parochial in their outlook and needed to be "shown the world". The rationale offered here to parents begged further consideration. The utterance about Cornish pupils being parochial was a construction that is likely to have arisen from a number of different sources. It was this that offered a starting point for discussion in my PGCE classroom. Students were asked to consider how political, social and cultural views held by a range of groups within the United Kingdom have contributed to constructions of Cornish identity. Other considerations included how such constructions might impact on the professional practices of individual

teachers and their perceptions of students. These practices might include what Bruner (1996) identified as folk pedagogies, in other words, practices influenced by the folk theories held by teachers which may have been reinforced or created through conversations held with other professionals in staff rooms or elsewhere.

The second episode occurred at a school progress evening. Here I met the form tutor of an older son. Unlike the meeting with my younger son's form teacher, this was a meeting between individuals who had established shared interests and mutual contacts within education in Cornwall. Conversation turned, as it was prone to do, to the promotion of Cornwall and Cornish resources in the classroom. During the conversation my recent experiences at the primary school (set out above) were recounted, and a discussion followed which included the role of school management. It was during this discussion that my son's form teacher offered me her views as to why it was difficult to effect significant curricula change within schools. To a whisper and looking around to - it could be presumed - check who was in the vicinity, she stated that she felt the lack of Cornish secondary school head teachers in post was key to limited progress on this. She went further and stated that the non-appointment of Cornish teachers to such posts was due to a policy drawn up by the local authority. This exchange, when subsequently recounted to my PGCE students, offered them other issues to consider. First, what effect do the hierarchies within the educational system have on individual teacher practices in the classroom? And second, how might the ways in which such processes, whether or not explicitly articulated, limit groups of practitioners?

The third episode occurred after the conversation with my older son's form teacher. I chanced upon an acquaintance who lived locally, with whom I shared several mutual contacts, and who also worked in education. After pleasantries were exchanged and professional updates given I related the school stories and was, by way of reciprocity, given a further example of classroom practice. A pupil, in a French lesson was undertaking an activity requiring the completion of a worksheet. The task called for the pupil to annotate a map of Europe using the French names of the European countries. The pupil had noted Cornwall on the map using its French name but was instructed by the teacher to replace

this entry with the word “Angleterre”. This request was challenged by the pupil in the lesson and subsequently raised by the parents in a meeting with the teacher. Following the sharing of this tale, my acquaintance and I discussed the level of Cornish history knowledge held by teachers who were currently working in Cornwall. Use of this episode within the PGCE classroom offered a vehicle to consider how teachers’ understandings of their students’ differences could be extended. This episode can be contextualised with reference to Giroux (2005, p.25) who observes there is a need for:

a pedagogy in which occurs a critical questioning of the omissions and tensions that exist between master narratives and hegemonic discourses that make up the official curriculum and the self-representations of subordinated groups as they might appear in “forgotten” or erased histories, texts, memories, experiences, and community narratives.

These episodes proved valuable vehicles for student explorations of teacher practice and the hierarchical relationships that are situated within education. I anticipated therefore, as Lewis (1992, p.168) suggests, that transformation would come as individual students began to “see how social practices are organised to support certain interests”. My experiences of introducing such case studies into the classroom, however, resulted in a number of different responses. I will explore some of these in the next section.

### 1.3. Responses to “telling the tale”

I was sometimes met, although it has to be acknowledged only in very rare occasions, by indifference when these “tales” were introduced into the classroom. In such instances students expressed puzzlement at the need to question the curriculum or pedagogic practice in this way. The majority of PGCE students expressing such an opinion, often from a non-Cornish background, could not see the *raison d’être* for issues to be discussed in this manner. They posited the view that the students in their classes were not interested in issues of identity. On other occasions non-Cornish students responded stridently to the introduction of the case studies. There were instances when these students, often driven by heightened emotional



response, refused to participate in the discussions or even left the classroom. Clearly for some non-Cornish teachers being confronted with an alternative view of themselves was disconcerting and, in some cases, painful. Yet the majority of Cornish students showed a very different reaction to the case studies: a consequence perhaps of being offered a legitimate space to articulate their feelings of distinctiveness. On such occasions discussion was animated and often included personal examples of keenly felt repression within education and society at large. Further discussions would then explore how individual teachers might be able to consider the specified curriculum and, in order to include Cornish dimensions, enact it differently.

Certainly, for some time I was content with the use of these episodes within my teaching after all it brought to the fore issues that I, and the majority of the Cornish students, felt was an important topic. I believed legitimacy was offered to Cornish issues through their inclusion in an authorised educative space. Whilst I considered that the inclusion of such activity offered a number of valuable learning experiences for student groups (I am often reminded about these sessions by past students) the outcomes of these classes were mixed. Following such sessions I have been able to trace links between the discussions in the PGCE sessions and practices adopted by student teachers in their classrooms. Some student teachers were observed addressing issues of Cornish identity, culture and place within their lessons. Of these, the overwhelming majority were practitioners who self-defined as Cornish. Such teachers considered that there were opportunities to make changes in professional practice and they took them; others however, including practitioners who defined as Cornish, did not. This posed the question as to why the difference in pedagogic practice?

An analysis of the stories used in the PGCE classroom offers potential areas for investigation. One of the key issues to be drawn from the tales told in class concerns hierarchies in education, the influence that resides in particular levels or roles and, importantly, how those who labour within the system regard their relationship to these patterns and processes. The statement made by the secondary school teacher about a policy being held at the local authority restricting the appointment of Cornish Secondary head teachers gave an

indication of how institutional decision making has the potential to impact on teachers' practice. Support from others within the immediate workplace can also be important in encouraging, or alternatively limiting, the impact of changes of curriculum (Delpit 1993). The case of the primary school teacher offers an example of the extent to which the views of practitioners within a school, team or department can predominate. This prompts the question as to whether the views that practitioners hold about their position within local hierarchies influence the pedagogic practices that are adopted?

Another aspect to consider is the way in which the tales used in the PGCE classroom were gathered. It is possible that informal networks might also play a central part in supporting and helping teachers to effect change. Those student teachers who undertook to utilise Cornish resources and cultural perspectives in their classrooms could have been supported, like my own practice is, by a network of informal contacts which bolsters positive feelings of a sense of purpose informed by identity.

#### 1.4. Institutional structures and culturally relevant pedagogic practice

Over a period of time, as I reflected on the influences that facilitated or impeded changes in pedagogic practice again my own experiences offered further food for thought. I began to focus on the possibility that the structure of the PGCE course itself might be having a bearing on whether or not trainee teachers chose to incorporate Cornish aspects in their classroom. The management of the Programme was such that groups of students experienced a number of lecturers throughout the course, often with several different tutors delivering sessions on individual modules. Whilst this afforded lecturers opportunities to teach sessions that aligned to their academic interests it also presented the possibility of disjointed delivery, which might have reduced students' capacities to develop understanding of practices and concepts over a period of time. For example, concepts might be introduced by one lecturer but not be developed by others leading to the possibility that such topics were seen as "exotic" or disposable thereby increasing the likelihood they would be dismissed by students. The chosen course structure may also, I began to hypothesise, have contributed to the adverse reactions displayed by some

students in my PGCE curriculum classroom. Furthermore, the restricted opportunities for students to build relationships with individual tutors in the Programme may also have had an impact on the practice I observed in some student teachers' lessons. For example, those students, who did not adopt or trial a culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings 1995) may, in the absence of their own informal networks, have felt unsupported and unable to do so.

A new working environment afforded me an opportunity to adopt a different approach. Upon moving to another FE institution within Cornwall my working practices changed. In my new workplace the PGCE programme qualification was structured differently. Here individual tutors worked with a group of students throughout the two years of their part time programme. Accordingly I was able to model a pattern of pedagogic practice across the whole of the curriculum (not just when leading the module directed at curriculum understanding). In doing so, I sought to offer students a learning experience that privileged local knowledge whilst being aware of the possible limitations of a culturally relevant pedagogy. In this regard I was mindful of Hedegaard and Chaiklin (2005, p.197) who caution against using local content to merely help motivate learners, without relating it to broader educational concepts.

The effect that management decisions exercised at an institutional level have on individual teaching practice is therefore writ large in my own professional experience. The change of post offered me a number of outcomes that I thought were positive. My professional practice was certainly more rewarding as I was able to introduce and reinforce a variety of culturally informed teaching strategies. In addition, I was able to promote issues of social justice and introduce the possibility of transformative classroom practices. These are issues I now believe are best served by structures that allow for them to be mainstreamed instead of incorporated into the curriculum merely as "one offs" or exotica. I was, however, acutely aware that this was my individual personal practice and that my peers were not undertaking similar approaches. Overall, my experience of moving institution highlighted that institutional contexts, and the systems adopted by colleges, were influential in giving practitioners space to engage in the professional approaches they felt were appropriate.

In summary, the introduction here of my own stories is designed to illustrate a number of things. First, that this project has a professional focus that is firmly located in my practice as a teacher educator. Second, that my stories and those of my Cornish peers, offer examples of individuals who perceive that they are marginalised because of their minority ethnic identity.

The experiences set out above highlight that there are educators who wish to challenge their perceived marginalisation and revise the dominant order. However, my experiences also suggest that there are a number of factors that inform educators' choices. This is a key area of practice, one that I wished to explore further. Accordingly, the following section sets out the intentions of the study.

### 1.5. Study aims

This project aimed to capture, in some detail, the pedagogic practices of Cornish educators. Importantly, as part of this their views on their Cornish identity were sought. The study was not, however, an enquiry into identity construction. Rather the gathering of data was undertaken with the sole intention of enabling a better appreciation of what aspects of their identity lecturers' valued, what particular challenges they faced within their institutions because of their "ethnicity", and importantly, how this shaped their pedagogic choices.

Regrettably, there is very little published academic research with a focus on educational issues in Cornwall to draw on. Findings arising as a consequence of other research foci, (e.g. Aldous and Williams' (2001) enquiry into the self-identification of young people of school age), was helpful in discussions with practitioners, particularly in Further Education. In addition, Husk's (2009) study - which offered an exposition into the decision making of GCE Advanced-level students when considering entering higher education, was also helpful but was an isolated study. In terms of research that has, as its focus, the work of educators in higher education, Deacon and Westland's (1998) paper for the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual SCUTREA conference, which builds on work previously undertaken by Westland, stands alone.

The paucity of empirical data and analysis means that any resources relating to Cornwall in a professional course such as the PGCE (PCET), of necessity, often rely on personal experiences such as those shared here. Such experiences, however, can easily be rejected by critics on the grounds of being anecdotal and/or atypical and therefore used to variously justify student indifference or outrage. Accordingly, at the outset this study aimed, in a closely defined and original way, to help address the lacuna about the pedagogic practices of Cornish lecturers in the post-compulsory sector and contribute to resources for teacher education programmes based in Cornwall; as well as making a contribution to wider academic debates about Cornwall.

A review of the published literature, concerning the ways in which the culture of lecturers intersects with different aspects of their roles as pedagogues, established that whilst such studies had been undertaken, these were predominantly outside the UK (see Section 4.2). There were few empirical studies undertaken within the United Kingdom and none looking at the position of national minority groups (see section 1.6 below for a definition of a national minority). This study, therefore, will offer a further contribution to the wider field of UK-based sociology of education. The next section will offer consideration of the meaning of key terms used within this thesis.

#### 1.6. Consideration of “ethnicity”, “nation” and “national minority” within this study

As stated above, the focus of this study is the pedagogic practice of Cornish lecturers working in the post-compulsory sector within Cornwall. This study will, therefore, not include an in-depth exploration of the construction of lecturers’ Cornish identity. However, the terms “ethnicity”, “nation” and “national minority” are utilised within the thesis, and a brief exposition of their use is set out below.

##### *1. Offering a definition of “ethnicity”:*

Defining “ethnicity” is particularly challenging, as Hill Collins and Solomos (2010, p.3) observe, because of the way it is frequently used interchangeably with the term “race”. They further note that, “race and ethnicity are terms often

used in conjunction, or in parallel” - as can be seen in the sub-section below which considers the term “ethnic minority”.

Ethnic groups have variously been defined in terms of “language, culture, place of origin or common membership of a descent group” (Hill Collins and Solomos 2010, p.3) or through identification as belonging to a region, religion, or “race” (Predmas 2010). The use of the term “ethnicity” as a tool for social analysis is regarded as increasingly difficult, as its usage and underpinning theoretical perspectives, have diversified (Hill Collins and Solomos 2010). Key to this diversification has been the ways in which an academic understanding of “ethnicity” has moved beyond the idea of it being “fixed” or essentialised (including work alluding to genetic distinctiveness (see Blair and Cole 2000; Solomos 2003)), towards a more sophisticated position that regards “ethnicity” as socially-constructed and therefore fluid, dynamic and situational in nature (Barth 1969). Key areas where “ethnicity” is socially constructed can be found (Modood 2005) within a public articulation of a distinctive linguistic community or territory, the distribution of a particular social and creative cultural capital, and narratives which indicate ways of mobilising against perceived community injustices (Berthoud et al. 1997). It is the latter formulation of “ethnicity” that is employed within this study i.e. that it is socially constructed, which is in line with most of the contemporary academic work based on Cornwall that is utilised within this thesis (see Section 2.1).

The lecturers in this study are also regarded as relationally positioned, with boundary maintenance and negotiations key to their subjective understandings of their Cornish ethnicity. There is, however, an increasing call - when undertaking an examination of the subjective perceptions of individuals with regards to “ethnicity”, to recognise the impact and influence of material aspects of their lived experiences (Knowles 2010). This study therefore also details material processes - such as government policies and institutional structures set out in Chapter 3, which participants have identified as significant.

## 2. *Defining “national minority”*

The term “national minority” is utilised in this thesis with specific reference to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities which was

drawn up by the Council of Europe in 1999. Whilst offering no general definition, the Framework sets out key considerations for recognition which are culturally based i.e. related to language, traditions and shared heritage. It remains the responsibility of the individual member states, who are signatories to the Convention, to assess and confer recognition to particular groups (Council of Europe 2016).

This study's position is further validated by the fact that the Cornish were recognised as a national minority by the UK government in 2014 (Cornwall Council 2014). However, whilst this form of official recognition has been granted, the Cornish have not been formally recognised as a racial group under the provision of Article 9(3), Chapter 1, Part 2 of the Equality Act (2010). The UK government has advised this recognition can only be conferred by the court (Advisory Committee 2017). The latter is an important point of note for being formally recognised under such provision would afford the Cornish legal protection from discriminatory practices.

### 3. *The use of "nation" within this thesis*

There are contrasting definitions of, and what constitutes, a "nation" with writers falling into two broad camps; the primordialists - that consider nations as natural and universal manifestations of social organisation or as flowing from bonds of kinship - and modernists (Anthias 2010). Modernist approaches variously regard the "nation" as a more recent social construction (Anderson 199, p.7), "an imagined" community of understanding supported by narrative(s) that confirms and enables its continued existence. Such accounts of nationhood can be seen as response to, and having a central role in, the growth of industrialisation (Gellner 2006) and the support of capitalism (Hobsbawm 1990). In them the place of state bureaucracy often occupies a central position. In short Anderson (1991, p.6) observes the "nation state" - as currently experienced - is a Nineteenth Century invention - centred on a culturally constructed sovereign community that enables the political and economic administration of a geographical area. Allied to this, a burgeoning literature also charts the fortunes of "stateless" nations, or national communities generally lacking the full range of state or public institutions; often

these were incorporated in to 'union' states (Kay 2005) (see Keating 1997, Weis Friend 2012).

The claim for recognition and inclusion of Cornwall as a "nation" of the United Kingdom is often primordialist in nature, and primarily located in the work of historians. In their work on the Dark Ages Halliday (2000, p.109) and Padel (1999, p.88) refer to Cornwall as a "country" and as a "nation" respectively, arguing that Cornwall, at the time, had a system of rule that was separate and distinctive. Whetter (1988, p. 114) too utilises the term "nation" in his discussion of the Cornish uprising of 1549 (see section 2.3.2. below) although his basis for this is unclear. Drawing on the work of Anderson (1991, op cit), more recent commentators, however, have called into question the usage of the term "nation" by authors such as Halliday and Padel. This literature offers a differing range of understandings (ethno-historical in the case of Deacon's (2016, p.16) work on the Dark Ages) that challenge the use of "nation" in pre-modern periods when discussing Cornwall's claim for recognition. However, a unifying factor is that these writers continue to privilege what Anderson (1991, p.206) terms a chronological "narrative of purpose" that helps position understandings of the present.

This underpins the current use of "nation" for the historical outline set out in Chapter 2 which offers a specific "narrative of purpose". It knowingly offers the reader a chronological timeline of chosen key episodes and, in doing so, an appreciation of how writers have contributed to the building of a range of circulating narratives of Cornwall and the Cornish, including those, who view Cornwall as holding a longstanding claim as a constituent UK "nation". Accordingly, it recognises that any representation of a "nation", whether positioned by authors writing about modern or pre-modern periods, is a social construction and, as such, might be regarded as a "fiction". Its place, nonetheless, as a principle in organising social relations (Laclau and Mouffe 2014) is of interest and relevance here. Specifically, in the present study it is an expressed motivator for lecturers' pedagogic practice. The views of participants - detailed in Chapters 6 and 7, indicate that, for some, their Cornish identity is linked to the notion of Cornwall as a "nation". However, - as



it lies outside the scope of this study, there is no attempt to interrogate participants' conceptual usage of the term.

### 1.7. "Local", "regional", "global" and "place": usage within this study

In addition to the terms "nation", "national minority" and "ethnicity" which were detailed in the above section, this thesis also utilises the terms "local", "regional" and "global". This section will briefly set out how these terms are used in this study.

#### *1. Understandings of the terms "local", "global" and "place".*

The link between the self-identification of participants (i.e. as Cornish and their relationship to Cornwall), is explored in this study in order to establish what - for them, is a key part of their identity and how it impacts on their professional practices. The creation, and holding of an identity, has long been regarded by academics as subjectively created (Cohen 1985; Jenkins 2008), with boundaries holding a crucial role in distinguishing differences between groups, for example, "us" and "them", or in the case of geographical location "here" and "there", or "local" and "global". Therefore, boundaries are to be seen as key points of reference for both individuals and the groups and communities to which they belong. Boundary marking, whether material or culturally symbolic, is often linked to relationships within and between social groups and the distribution of power between them, as Massey (1995) and Bernstein (2000) observe. Boundaries also determine how individuals and groups ascribe meaning to, and relate with others within, a specific "place".

In this study it is possible to see Cornish identity is positioned both as having a relationship with a geographical "place", and a range of subjective symbolic meanings that have accrued concerning Cornwall and the Cornish. For example, the River Tamar - the boundary between Cornwall and Devon, has been recognised by Cornish writers both as a geo-political border (Bryant 2003; Payton 2004) and also as a cultural border that symbolises the distinctiveness of Cornwall, and the Cornish (Angarrack 2002; Kent 2000).

What constitutes culturally symbolic borders (i.e. what is, and is not, regarded as Cornish), and their subsequent contribution to individual identity, is, however, less clear. Claims for a distinct Cornish “ethnicity” and recognition as a “national minority” have perhaps understandably - as Kohn (1946) observes, focused on recognising and promoting common cultural features. McArthur (1989) cautions, however, that within any given geographical area there will be no single “local consciousness” and there will be variety between different social networks and groups.

The co-existence of different social groups and networks within Cornwall, and their corresponding “local consciousness” has been noted by Kennedy (2016). In particular Kennedy notes how different “local” practices can constitute, and contribute to, a person being defined as Cornish. He offers a range of definitions of what it means to be Cornish including what he has termed “Proper Cornish” - which is demonstrated through a range of behaviours that have, as their focus, “intimate, family-based and community networks” (2016, p.103): all of which have a spatial dimension. Dickinson’s (2010) study of Cornish farmers’ views on their Cornish identity also highlighted the value placed on social interactions as a means of defining *what* and *who* was Cornish. The focus of both the work of Kennedy and Dickinson is focussed on the subjective meanings individuals hold about their Cornish identity. In this it is possible to gain an understanding of what is meant by the term “local” in this context. For example, Dickinson (2010, p.86) notes when discussing intra-Cornwall accents, that “local” was, for some participants, a micro-specific geographical area only a few miles in radius.

This study will go onto offer examples of how “local consciousness” self-regulates social interactions (Massey 1994), as well as helping to understand what constitutes, for individuals, key boundaries. Participants’ use of the term “local” is one such instance. For example, when being interviewed by the researcher about where they grew up, the term “local” was often used in a very specific micro-geospatial way - similar to the usage reported by Kennedy (2016) and Dickinson (2010), i.e. “local” *within* Cornwall. However, when discussing interactions with non-Cornish people, the participants were more likely to use the term “local”, to refer to the larger geographical space of

Cornwall, suggesting a relational appreciation of how those, without the group, are positioned. That is to say, “local” is defined in relation to the rest of the UK - this is the way in which the term is utilised most frequently within the thesis (see below for further discussion about the how the term “local” is utilised in terms of political governance). The ability to “code-switch” in such a way offers an insight into how, for this particular group of Cornish educators, cultural understandings reinforce, and also act as boundaries within, and between, social groups.

Location, material form and meaningfulness are inter-related features of “place” (Gieryn 2000). The conceptualisation of “place”, however, can be regarded as bounded, leading to a more reactionary personal identity (Harvey 1989). Whilst the views of the Cornish and their relationship to “place” is often regarded as bounded, i.e. an inward-regarding reactionary one based solely on geographical location (see Kennedy 2016, p.110), it is this which Harvey (1993) posits as being something that should be valued - in an increasingly homogenous globalised world. Yet, for others, viewing the concept of “place” in a more flexible and porous manner better recognises the complex, ever changing and inter-related meanings that individuals and groups ascribe to the location and their social relations (Massey 1994).

The relationship between “place” and the “local” and “global” is illuminated within this study. Massey (2007) notes that the “global” and “local” are not binary positions, with “global” being situated in some imagined place with little relationship to the “place” in which individuals reside. Instead she suggests that there are often concrete (i.e. material forms) of the “global” being visible within the “local”. An example of note in this study is related to the migration patterns of the Cornish since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. Here the experience, and recognition of the “global” can be located in the documented stories of individuals involved in migration from Cornwall, and those who remained in the community (Rowse 1942 cited in Deacon and Schwartz 2007). These migratory destinations were given material form and meaning within Cornish towns and villages, through the naming of housing stock which bore names that reflected the “global” reach of the outwardly bound migrants (Schwartz 2008). Similar place-identification can be seen in way that towns and villages within the receiving countries, were

also given names of the locations that the Cornish migrants left behind. In this act of naming it is possible to see Gieryn's (2000) three defining features of "place". The naming of the material environments - that is to say housing stock or settlements located outside Cornwall, offers an indication of how meaning, as it criss-crossed the globe, drew together aspects of the "local" and "global" into a unifying narrative(s).

The importance of "global" place-identification can be recognised in active Cornish diaspora networks (Hale and Payton 2000). It remains a significant part of a widely circulating Cornish narrative of the global contribution Cornish miners made to hard rock mining (Payton 2004; Cornwall County Council 2008). It also, interestingly, acts as a driver for the continuing narrative of forced Cornish migration because of Cornwall's persistently weak economy (Mitchell 1993; Willett 2013). Its significance as a narrative for confirming community identity is seen in this study (Chapter 6) both for those who have been economic migrants, as well as those who have not.

The next sub-section will explore the usage of the terms "local" and "regional" in relation to political governance within Cornwall. The examination is limited in nature as political governance was not a major focus here; its inclusion being a contribution to the situational context of the study.

## *2. Cornwall and political governance: "local" vs "regional".*

The term "regional" is contested in a broad academic literature that spans regional geography, international relations, economics, and political and policy science. A full explication of the different uses of the term is outwith the present purposes. The unifying feature of these diverse literatures is that the term is used to denote spatial boundedness across a given territory. However, the spatial scale or resolution that the term is applied to varies depending upon the discipline, object of study and author. For example, from broad swathes of international territories ("global regions" in the international relations literature), to urban centres (for example "city regions", see Deas, 2014; While et al. 2016). In turn, the term region is linked to the broad literature on governance. This emphasises the need for a systemic approach to understanding the complex and shifting relations between government and the state and the

private and public sectors - and civil society (see for example, Rhodes, 1996, 2017). In the present study the term “region” is used to denote both a spatial territory and the governance of Cornwall that is to say the relationships between the UK based government in Westminster, the locally elected Cornwall County Council (later the Cornish Assembly) and different civic groups.

Thus the use of term “region” in relation to Cornwall needs to be set in its historical and political context. Political governance across the UK has become increasingly complex and is part of the international rise of multi-spatial governance (see Jessop 2016). In the case of the UK it is a result of the ways in which the constituent nations became part of the larger administrative United Kingdom (Bradbury 2008). “Sub-National” devolved governance, in various forms, in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland has been a long-term common feature of UK politics, although, until recently, in England governance has always remained largely centralised (Pearce 2005; Pearce and Ayres 2012; Cox 2016; Willett 2016a).

Against this backdrop, there is an important relationship between “local” geographical areas and the structural processes of political governance in the UK. Governance at a “local” level offers communities the opportunity to affect outcomes of local importance, and to militate against what is sometimes viewed as unwanted political control from a remote centralised administration (Pratchett 2004). It also acts as an instrument for better social inclusion (Mill 1991).

During the 1990s it was increasingly recognised, however, that the UK governance structure was not adequately addressing longstanding social and economic inequalities across the UK (Morgan 2006). Regional elected assemblies were identified as offering an additional localised tier of government. These were nearer to communities than the UK government in Westminster, and were regarded by proponents as a means to challenge some of these inequalities. In the 1990s increased calls for a further devolution of power were led by the Labour Party. This call for devolved power was also

heard in the increasing demand for self-governance by sub-national groups, such as Cornish nationalists (Deacon et al. 2003).

Upon their return to government in 1997, the Labour administration published a White Paper (DETR 1997) which included proposals for greater self-governance in designated “regions” alongside its plans for devolution in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland (Mather 2000). Whilst the intended devolved governance in Wales, Scotland and Northern Island corresponded to regional historically identifiable geographical areas, the identified regions in England were less recognisable (with perhaps the exception of the Greater London Authority). The proposed Assemblies were to cover the same reach as the pre-existing Government Offices for the economic planning regions, Regional Development Agencies and un-elected regional Chambers. This unrealised vision for revised governance in England would see Cornwall included as part of the South West Region Assembly with its central offices located in Bristol (National Archives 2010).

The proposed inclusion of Cornwall within this wider South West Assembly was, however, resisted (see 2.3 below). Instead a counter-proposal was put forward that called for the establishment of a devolved Cornish Assembly - similar to that proposed for Wales. Accordingly, “local” governance within this thesis revolves around the question of whether or not Cornwall should be recognised, not as a part of the larger South West Assembly, but instead as an independent “region”.

The role that representatives from the nationalist parties had in Cornwall in making, and mobilising the call for Cornwall to be recognised as a distinct “region” with a form of self-governance cannot be understated. As Willett (2016a) has noted, Cornish identity was one of the core arguments in the spatial distribution of EU regional aid, playing a central role in helping secure European Union Objective 1 funding. The literature utilised within this thesis reflects the growing call in some quarters for the recognition of Cornish cultural distinctiveness to be utilised as a core feature for reforms to contemporary governance (Saltern 2011; Cornwall Council 2017). In this there has been an increasing emphasis on the economic development of Cornwall, mirroring a

core thrust of the UK government's regionalisation ambitions. The economic deprivation experienced by Cornwall, both historically (Payton 1993), and in the period since the Second World War (Perry 1993; Mitchell 1993), positioned as long-standing economic neglect by London based administrations, has become an accepted contribution to the discussion in Cornwall of the need for devolution of powers to a Cornish assembly (Willett and Giovanni 2014).

As noted, the focus of this study is not the intersection between the local political context and the Cornish identity of post-compulsory lecturers. Rather, the foregoing review of Cornu-focussed political literature is part of the context-setting for the study. However, as later findings chapters reveal, some study participants did offer views on the local political context and how this impacted on their identity. Others commented on how this linked with their professional practice. Although, beyond the present purposes, the shifting structures and processes of governance in the UK and the contested use of the key terms noted above offer rich and propitious potential for further study - to complement the present research on pedagogical identity.

### 1.8. Outline of the thesis

This thesis comprises of eight chapters. In this first introductory chapter I have attempted, through the sharing of personal experience, to illustrate how the focus for this study emerged. The following chapter, "The Cornish context: socio-political considerations", sets out a number of key historical episodes in order to help locate the study participants' perceptions of their ethnic identities which are later explored in Chapter 6. Chapter Two concludes with an examination of how recent political activity has galvanised discourses of Cornish difference to open up debates about the possibility of Cornwall moving towards self-determination.

Chapter 3, "The Cornish post-compulsory education field", contextualises the post-compulsory environment that lecturers work within, thereby providing background information for the empirical findings chapters that follow. Drawing on a review of grey literature, (see Chapter 5 for details), the relationships between the key institutions within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall, are explored. A model is proposed that indicates the internal stratification and

regulation of key players in the Combined Universities in Cornwall project (the Universities of Exeter, Plymouth and Falmouth and the Cornish further education colleges). Bernstein (2000, p.60) notes that such internal stratification provides a referent group for institutional recontextualising of knowledge. Ways in which the internal stratification within the CUC impacts on the ability of Cornish lecturers to exercise autonomy in constructing pedagogic discourses is considered.

Chapter 4, "Theoretical frameworks and concepts", details the theoretical frameworks and concepts that guided the design of the study. In particular, Bernstein's (1990, 2000) pedagogic device enabled an exploration of how FE and HE lecturers operate within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall. The framework offers tools that recognise that potential for transformation. Bernstein's (2000, p.32) work on the pedagogic device, suggests that pedagogic discourse is an empty discourse which appropriates other discourses for the purpose of "their selective transmission and also acquisition". As discourses move between different sites they are transformed. He refers to this process as the recontextualising of pedagogic discourses. These theoretical concepts point to the role lecturers have in introducing all kinds of discourses, when they produce, or recontextualise, official knowledge. By seeking to establish what the lecturers' perceptions of their identity are, and using the concept of recontextualisation, potential sites for the reproduction of Cornish culture were identified. Although Bernstein's framework is helpful when looking at the social identity of lecturers, it has been augmented here by Holland and Lave's (2001, p.5) concept of "history-in-person", which places a greater emphasis on the conscious and unconscious meanings of lecturers' experience - factors that may be brought to bear on their pedagogic discourse and practice.

Chapter 5, "Methodology", sets out details of the research design and the rationale for using semi-structured interviews with people who self-identify as Cornish. Identifying participants for this type of study was challenging and subsequently the network technique was adopted to access individuals. This resulted in particular ethical issues which needed to be addressed. A thematic analysis of interview data was undertaken and the codes and themes arising



from the interviews are detailed in this chapter.

Chapter 6, “FE and HE lecturers’ perceptions of Cornish identity”, presents findings about how lecturers articulated their Cornish identity. Participants viewed their identity as distinctive and linked to socio-geographical views of place. They also articulated values and practices, some historically located, that connected individuals to their family, as well as to their local communities within Cornwall, and contacts overseas formed through successive waves of out-migration (see Schwartz (2002) for an exploration of how migration flow impacted on Cornwall historically). Furthermore, the chapter provides detailed insight into their experiences as Cornish lecturers within FE and HE institutions, including their moral choice-making when their identity and values were challenged.

Chapter 7, “Cornwall within and beyond the classroom: Cornish lecturers, “ethnicity” and pedagogic practices”, presents findings on how lecturers spoke about being part of an ethnic minority culture and how this influenced their pedagogic practices in HE and FE institutions - variously as knowledge producers, curriculum makers or knowledge reproducers within the classroom. A thematic analysis identified a number of emergent themes; the relationship that lecturers have with their discipline knowledge, professional relationships with others and the creation of opportunities for the transmission of cultural values. These findings are discussed within the context of the literature presented in Chapter 4.

The final chapter, “Conclusion and recommendations”, discusses how the findings in chapters 6 and 7 address each of the research questions. The chapter then offers a number of recommendations before concluding with a call for further enquiries into post-compulsory education in Cornwall.

## Chapter 2: The Cornish context: socio-political considerations

2.1.	Introduction.....	23
2.2.	Episodes contributing to a continuing yet fractured identity.	25
2.2.1.	A “country” no more: the continuation of a Cornish identity.....	25
2.2.2.	Rebellion against the expansionist English project...	26
2.2.3.	Contributions to the global Industrial Revolution.....	27
2.2.4.	The Celtic revival: authentic or performance? .....	28
2.2.5.	Cornish identity: swept away by the tide of in-migration? .....	30
2.3.	Identity: rallying point for self-determination.....	32
2.4.	Concluding remarks.....	34

### 2.1. Introduction

Bernstein (2000, p.xxiii) observed that education is a “crucial device for writing and rewriting of national consciousness, and national consciousness is constructed out of myths of origin, achievements and destiny”. The educational arena therefore should be seen, he noted, as a place where struggles over the production and reproduction of national consciousness and culturally specific identities inevitably occur. The curriculum is one such arena of struggle where the most dominant discourses determine what is taught and to whom. The result is that less powerful or marginalised groups are effectively written out of the curriculum, and therefore national consciousness.

The political and social history of Cornwall is not a topic included in the national school curriculum. Cornish history is also rarely taught to students in Cornish schools although the Cornwall Council sponsored “sense-of-place” project has sought to redress this through the development of locally focussed curriculum projects to supplement the National Curriculum in recent years (Azook [no

date]). It is unsurprising that this is the case. The position of subjugated groups at best is peripheral and at times, unrecognised. There is a unique twist to the position of the Cornish however. Unlike the peoples of Wales and Scotland, who are openly recognised as subject to internal colonisation, the Cornish have long been considered as having assimilated into England (Hechter 1975; Erikson 1993). This assumption may well be influenced by the extended period since “nationhood” had been lost: Cornwall was the first constituent UK “nation” to be absorbed into the English state (Insley 2013). However, the perceptions that participants in this study have of difference and colonisation indicate that the assimilation of the Cornish into England has not occurred to the extent that Erikson and Hechter claim.

In order to assist in contextualising this enquiry a number of historical episodes are detailed in this chapter. Other historical episodes, perhaps with equally legitimate claims to importance, have been omitted but the choice here was determined by the contribution each episode would make to the situating of data emerging from this study and the subsequent analysis. It is also recognised that this chapter - as well as being a partial account, offers the reader a particular interpretation of events with texts being predominantly drawn from the field of New Cornish Studies. This area of study, unlike its predecessor which had an historical bias, seeks to explore Cornwall's position through interdisciplinary approaches (Payton 2002). It is necessary, however, to recognise that the field is a multi-faceted one (Williams. C. 2002) and although most of the writing is underpinned by claims for social justice there is no universal agreement about what these could constitute. What all these contributors have in common is, however, a desire to both *reright* and/or *rewrite* the position and contributions of the Cornish whether historically or currently. The reference list of this thesis offers an access point to a range of literature situated across the ideological and discipline continuum of New Cornish Studies. Contributions from long established academic writers on Cornwall and the Cornish such as the historian Philip Payton (1993; 1997; 2002; 2004), social scientist Malcolm Williams (1993; 2002), multidisciplinary scholar Bernard Deacon (1993; 1997; 1999; 2013; 2016a and b), cultural theorist Neil Kennedy (2016) and author and poet Alan Kent (2000) can be found alongside the growing list of new contributors to the debate such as Joanie Willett (2013; 2014; 2016a 2016b) whose interests

include the politics of identity, and sustainability. The contributions of writers not affiliated to educational institutions are also represented with John Angarrack (2002) being the most important to note.

The first section of this chapter will focus on the following historical episodes: independent identity following English political subjugation; rebellion against the English expansionist project; contributions to the global Industrial Revolution; the Celtic revival; and countering the tide of in-migration. The final section sets out how Cornish identity has been recently used as a key claim for difference in the political demands for devolved power and a degree of self-determination.

## 2.2. Episodes contributing to a continuing yet fractured identity

### 2.2.1. A “country” no more: the continuation of a Cornish identity

Cornwall's independence as a “nation” has long been regarded as coming to an end in 936AD when, in return for the definition of a boundary between England and Cornwall along the River Tamar and the cessation of aggressive military raids, it became the first of the Celtic “nations” to be subjugated by the English in their bid for domination of the British Isles (Bryant 2003; Halliday 2000; Padel 1999; Payton 2004). The approach taken by the English in the Athelstan Settlement, and the subsequent creation of the Duchy of Cornwall, was pragmatic in nature (Deacon 2016 a). Keen to maximise the economic benefits of its relationship with Cornwall (i.e. through mining revenues), the incumbents of the English throne - aware of the political sensibilities of the Cornish - allowed Cornwall's separate legal and political systems to continue, some of which remain on the statute book (Angarrack 2002; Kirkhope 2014).

In the five hundred years that followed the Athelstan Settlement Cornwall's previous position as a separate “nation” within the British Isles, and its continuing distinctive culture and language, was often noted both within England and elsewhere in Europe. Cartographers, for example, routinely identified Cornwall as one of the “nations” of the British Isles until after the Middle Ages (Angarrack 2002). Cornish difference and culture would appear to have remained largely untouched by the English. However, the Tudor period heralded a distinct change and Cornwall, like other parts of the country, felt the exertion

of control from London which resulted in significant challenges to Cornish cultural difference and independence. The Cornish were, however, willing to resist these and the next fifty years saw a number of bloody rebellions against the English crown.

#### 2.2.2. Rebellion against the expansionist English project.

Within these fifty years the Cornish instigated three significant rebellions. When taken together these resulted in significant loss of life and subsequently had notable impact on the social and economic lives of those who remained in Cornwall. The first of these arose in 1497, as a consequence of Cornwall's political independence being challenged when the independent Stannary parliament was suspended in order to allow direct taxation by the English. The 15,000-strong Cornish army was defeated outside London and further humiliation followed later that year when a second rising failed. The political status quo resumed in 1508 when the Charter of Pardon reinstated the Cornish Parliament.

The next rebellion, in 1549, proved to be much more damaging culturally. The Prayer Book Rebellion was a response to the imposition of the English language in Cornish churches, replacing the commonly used Latin and Cornish. It resulted in both significant loss of life and the acceleration of the demise of the Cornish language, an important indicator of culture and difference. The introduction of English into church services, when combined with the dissolution of Glasney College - the centre of Cornish language literary writing - in Penryn, achieved with spectacular effect the subjugation intended by London. Thus Whetter (1998, p.114) noted that, in his view:

the defeat of the rising signalled the end of overt opposition ... a nascent Cornish nationalism was also stifled ... and in many ways the end of Glasney was a damaging blow to the history and spirit of the Cornish nation.

Whetter's comment highlights an important issue for this study about the ways in which resistance and challenge have subsequently been managed. His observation about overt opposition to England being killed off propels into view the possibility of the Cornish changing their mode of operation. Colley's (1992a)

observation that from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century onwards English calls for Cornish support did not always receive a positive response, would seem to support this possibility. Only when there was an alignment of needs did the Cornish collaborate, suggesting that resistance and challenge had become more careful and nuanced, utilising English concerns where possible in order to secure their own objectives.

### 2.2.3. Contributions to the global Industrial Revolution

The next important influence on Cornish identity can be seen as resulting from their economic and social contribution to the Industrial Revolution (Deacon 1997). Cornwall was the UK's first industrialised area and was uniquely placed to make a substantial contribution to wider industrial changes. As a consequence it was recognised as a centre of industrial excellence. The significant technological and engineering advances were made possible by the adoption of flexible financial measures (Pollard 1981, cited in Deacon 1997), and a system of independent contributions from individuals at all socio-economic levels. As a result there were opportunities afforded for social mobility and, subsequently, a class system developed that differed from other industrial areas in the UK. Culturally, all sections of society were required to be hard working and adaptable with a necessary self-reliant streak which was firmly supported by community and, following the arrival of Wesley, the Methodist churches (Jaggard 1999).

The Cornish were increasingly noted by those located outside Cornwall as holding the requisite attributes for a successful industrial economy including being inventive, civil in nature and well mannered. This went some way to countering another, possibly more widely circulating, earlier view of the Cornish detailed in the quotation below:

The common people here are very strange kind of beings, half savages at best. Many thousands of them live entirely underground, where they burrow and breed like rabbits. They are as rough as bears, selfish as swine, obstinate as mules, and hard as the native iron.

Anon cited in Deacon (1997, p.10)

The Cornish contributions to the Industrial Revolution were not however,

restricted geographically to the British Isles. In response to a growing demand for mining expertise Cornish engineers and miners increasingly undertook well paid short-term contract work across the globe. The 1840s saw the commencement of what has subsequently been regarded as the Cornish diaspora (Schwartz 2002; Deacon and Schwartz 2007). Initially this involved whole families leaving Cornwall but by the 1870s this pattern had altered, fuelled by crisis, as the copper price crashed. Migration continued but with young people, predominantly men, seeking work elsewhere.

The collapse of the mining industry also had an impact on how the Cornish were perceived. Externally, as Cornwall's position as a prominent industrial centre faded, so did the narrative about the positive attributes of its people. In Cornwall, however, Cornish identity continued to revolve around the powerful conceptions of creativeness, hard work and of being a transnational people at the forefront of human endeavour.

#### 2.2.4. The Celtic revival: authentic or performance?

As the commencement of the Industrial Revolution saw a revision of external narratives of the Cornish from “half savages” to “industrious workers” so there was a larger and more ambitious revisionist project afoot. This project aimed to significantly revise British history (Payton 1997) in support of the country's expanding colonial designs. The revised narrative superimposed fresh loyalties over previous ones and in doing so enabled, what has since been recognised as an imagined British (most often synonymous with English) identity, to evolve (Anderson 1992; Gellner 2006). Whilst recognising Colley's (1992b, p.326) claim that a reading of the new national narrative, “primarily in terms of an English core subduing and exploiting a “Celtic” periphery”, would be inadequate it can nonetheless be seen as resulting in furthering Cornish concerns about a lack of recognition of difference and former self-governance. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that Reverend Hawker's poem “Song of the Western Men” (see Appendix 6 for a complete version of the poem) was written at this time. Evoking the historical event when Bishop Jonathan Trelawny (a Cornish man) and six other Bishops were imprisoned by James II, the poem alludes to a rebellion by the Cornish in support of their leader. Although a blatant re-writing

of history, the re-constituted events have subsequently become part of popular Cornish consciousness (Kent 2000). Weber's (1978, p.389 cited in Guibernau 2006) suggestion that memories of self-determination are likely to persist for "long periods after ... communities have lost their political independence" seems to ring true in this instance.

Hawker, however, also played a part in the rise of a different form of Cornish identity. As an important contributor to the Romantic Movement Hawker helped to lay down markers that were drawn upon in the subsequent development of a new Celtic Model which, in turn, laid the foundations of the current Cornish nationalist movement, and the revival of the indigenous Cornish language.

The growth in a "romantic" Celtic perspective offered Cornwall a tantalising opportunity for expressing difference as well as becoming a legitimate member of the pan-Celtic movement. The romantic Celtic Model foregrounds pre-history; privileges folklore (both authentic and invented); and a range of identity signifiers, such as impulsiveness and wildness. These identity signifiers acted as a counter to the prevailing Victorian Anglicised norms of the time although, importantly, these conflicted with the valued Cornish practices and attributes described in the previous section. It is a tension that continued to exist despite efforts to incorporate the lived experience of Cornwall's industrial past into the wider Celtic Model (see Tregidga, 2012 cited in Kennedy, 2016).

The Celtic Model also foregrounds indigenous languages and therefore one of the key decisions made by those involved in the movement was support for, and privileging of, Kernewek (the Cornish language). No doubt mindful of the Cornish phrase (Pryce 1790, cited in Kent 2000) "*bes den heb tavaz a gollas e dir*" (*but a man without a tongue shall lose his land*) those involved regarded Kernewek as a means to reinforce claims to ancient residence of the land, and therefore a distinct identity. The demise of monoglot Kernewek speakers had, over the centuries, resulted in the growth of Cornu-English which contains a wealth of Kernewek speech patterns and words (Kent 2000): the use of which, for some, remains a marker of prestige, and an important indicator of identity (Phillipps 1993). The privileging of Kernewek by the small group of (mostly middle class) activists (Husk and Williams 2012) over the widely spoken Cornu-



English furthered the rift between those who promoted a Celtic Cornwall and those who did not.

As a result many Cornish, until the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, chose to reject the revivalist/celtic movement in totality (Payton and Deacon 1993; Dickinson 2010). However, aspects introduced by the movement can now be seen across all sections of Cornish society (Kennedy 2016). For example, whilst recognised as being non-traditional, Cornish National Tartan and the flag of St.Piran are often seen at key social occasions such as weddings and sporting events. The Cornish language is also becoming more widely recognised although its position is noticeably different to the foregoing symbols due, perhaps, to the perceived lack of ownership.

However, the Celtic Model has had, as Saunders (1983) argued, a wider impact in that it has coloured all subsequent perceptions of Cornwall. Importantly, Celticity has become a site of appropriation and commodification by others (Bowman 2000; Emerich 2012). The Cornish, regardless of whether or not they have adopted the identity of Celticness, are required to “perform” this identity for those who visit (see Kneadfsy 2000 for similar experiences in Brittany and the West of Ireland) or - increasingly - for those who choose to settle permanently (Kennedy 2016).

#### 2.2.5. Cornish identity: swept away by the tide of in-migration?

It is the impact of tourism and subsequent in-migration that I will discuss in this final part of this section. Although the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was termed as one of ‘paralysis’ for Cornwall, due to its poor economy, the tourist industry continued to expand (Payton 2004, p.241). This laid the foundations for the tide of in-migration that has, arguably, been one of the reasons for the growth of a more assertive Cornish identity at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

At first, in-migration to Cornwall was predominantly located around the coastline of Cornwall; spectacular and charming in turn it is deemed as offering much to the relocating individual in terms of space and the cultivation of a preferred lifestyle (Perry et al. 1986). This resulted in a displacement of Cornish people

from a large number of communities around the coast, although this has to be placed in context. The physical displacement has been something that has occurred over a considerable period of time and the demographic is not consistent across Cornwall. There have been several reasons for the movement of the original community; poor levels of the housing stock which saw people relocated from the centre of villages to better social housing - often on the periphery of villages or further inland (Mitchell 1993); the growth of second home ownership resulting in inflated house prices which has mostly taken the housing stock out of the reach of most Cornish working people (Williams 1993); and the decline of fishing and its related employment (Perry 1993). As the twentieth century progressed, however, the patterns of in-migration settlement continued until most parts of Cornwall were affected. Population levels rose as a result from 339,935 in 1951 to 501,300 in 2001 and, at the time of this study, it is estimated at 535,300 (Cornwall Council 2011).

The consequence of this growth in population was an increasing perception of Cornish culture being under threat of extinction (Buck et al. cited in Williams 1993; Deacon 1993). As the perceived threat to Cornish culture became more clearly articulated there was a corresponding demonstration of cultural pride at social gatherings. Thus it was no coincidence that the mass following of the very successful Cornish rugby team in the early 1990s was affectionately known as “Trelawny's Army” (Williams. M. 2002). This growing assertiveness did not surface only in recreational areas. There was a similar awakening in the field of politics and a growing call for closer working between politicians, administrators and business people to advance the position of Cornwall drawing on Cornish distinctiveness. This could be seen in the concerted efforts to portray Cornwall as a distinctive region, in part as supporting evidence in the application to the European Union for Objective One economic development funds (Willett 2013; 2016a). The subsequent allocation of Objective One status in 1999 enabled a number of legitimate discussions to take place about the underlying reasons for Cornwall's peripheral economic status. It also helped to put the issues and concerns of the Cornish people firmly in the minds of those in London and elsewhere in Europe.

This activity needs to be placed within the wider political scene. Calls for

recognition of difference and self-determination were openly discussed in other parts of the United Kingdom. In the next section I will set out how Cornish identity became the locus for political action calling for self-determination.

### 2.3. Identity: rallying point for self-determination

The possibilities afforded by the devolution legislation, proposed by the Labour Party during the 1990s, were not lost on Cornish political groups. The potential to effect a degree of self-determination a thousand years after the Athelstan Settlement saw a concerted effort to raise what Hetherington and Tomaney (2000) referred to as the “Cornish question”. A case for devolution of power to Cornwall was to be made on the basis of a distinct Cornish “ethnicity”.

There was a growing call for the adoption of a strategic approach which resulted in the brokering of a cross-party, cross-sector alliance. Central to the success of this was the nationalist platform. For a long time the position that nationalist parties in Cornwall had adopted could be recognised as having a “retrospective” focus drawing on notions of belonging, the past and a shared culture (Bernstein 2000). However, there was a significant change when Mebyon Kernow, the main nationalist party in Cornwall, rejected its previously insular ethnic nationalism and replaced this with a more inclusive civic approach. Although other parts of the nationalist platform, such as the Stannary Parliament and the CNLA (Cornish Nationalist Liberation Army), continued to hold to a more ethnic-based approach, Mebyon Kernow was able to adopt a position that had a broader appeal enabling it to take a major role in the alliance (Deacon et al. 2003). Thereby illustrating perfectly what Castells (2004, p.8) terms “project” identity whereby social actors use “whatever social material is available to them [to] redefine their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure”.

The approach taken by the alliance (it later adopted the name Cornwall Constitutional Convention) purposely addressed a number of different constituencies. It sought to emphasise a distinct Cornish heritage, including Celtic aspects, yet purposely mirrored the language of government by positioning Cornwall as a modern region with aspirations for self-governance. It openly engaged and negotiated on Cornwall’s behalf with administrations in

London and also Europe in order to maximise Cornwall's claims. However, when the UK Government in London ratified the European Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities in 1999 the Cornish were not recognised as an ethnic minority. The Convention made appeals to the European Union with the hope that this decision would be re-righted (Deacon 1999). Further petitions to Europe for the recognition of Kernewek were also made (MacKinnon 2002). These met with partial success with the government withdrawing its resistance to the recognition of Kernewek as a minority language under the European Charter but resolutely refusing to recognise the Cornish as an ethnic minority.

The Convention, however, was also mindful of the possibilities offered by changes in national policy as a result of the 1997. The publication of a White Paper (DETR 1997) which outlined the government's intentions to introduce directly elected regional assemblies within England, saw the Convention seeking to gain government agreement for a devolved assembly for Cornwall, similar to that of Wales. It thus sought public support through a petition. This petition was presented to government in advance of the publication of a further White Paper (see DoTLGR 2002) which set out detailed proposals for the introduction in England, of regional directly elected assemblies with a range of devolved powers. Encouraging signs were received from Westminster. In responding to a question Lord Whitty (2001), advised the House of Lords that Cornwall "was a special case ... it could not... determine its economic, transport and planning infrastructure ... nevertheless some aspects of devolution will apply in relation to Cornwall".

The government's planned regional devolution was shelved in 2004, when the referendum result in North East England saw voters reject the proposal for the additional tier of government. The political call for recognition of Cornish difference and for a degree of self-representation, however, did not subside (Cornish Constitutional Convention 2009; Saltern 2011). Public campaigns repeatedly seek to mobilise support for resisting political decisions made by the Westminster government where they threaten Cornish interests, or claims for political self-governance (see Mebyon Kernow 2010). Moreover, prior to Brexit the European Union and its initiatives, continued to be regarded by advocates of independence as being a positive force for bolstering claims for political self-

determination (Willett 2016a). A claim strengthened by the UK government decision in 2014 to recognise, albeit belatedly, the Cornish as a national ethnic minority under the European Framework Convention (Cornwall Council 2014).

#### 2.4. Concluding remarks

This chapter provides a brief historical overview detailing a number of key episodes and periods since Cornwall lost its independent “nationhood” in the tenth century. The overview, as noted in the introduction to the chapter, is recognised as being partial in its scope and draws significantly on work undertaken in the field of New Cornish Studies which seeks to critically examine hegemonic discourses about Cornwall and the Cornish.

The episodes included in this chapter were chosen because they were considered important political and socio-economic contributors in the construction, and continuation of, a distinct Cornish identity(s). The chapter also explores how the Cornish have responded, through different forms of resistance, to a range of drivers perceived as threatening this distinctiveness. It has detailed the forms that this resistance has taken. This has included open challenges to the London administration, (such as 1497 Rebellion), to what Colley (1992a) has termed as subversive activities, (for example, failing to respond to requests for support unless they aligned with Cornish concerns).

The chapter has concluded with an examination of how Cornish distinctiveness has been used as a key element in recent political demands for devolved power and a degree of self-determination. It has detailed the important role the European Union (EU) has had in supporting Cornish claims of cultural difference. The highlighting of a continuing distinct culture in Cornwall was used in successive bids for economic support from the European Union, and was a factor in securing Objective One monies (Willett 2013). The funding that flowed into Cornwall, following the awarding of Objective One status, has had an impact on all sectors of the Cornish economy. How the funding impacted on the higher education sector in Cornwall is explored in the following chapter.

### **Chapter 3: The Cornish post-compulsory education field**

3.1.	Introduction.....	35
3.2.	The establishment of the CUC: boundaries, regulation and the production of knowledge.....	36
3.2.1.	The CUC project.....	36
3.2.2.	Boundary marking and regulation.....	39
3.2.3.	The production of knowledge as a marker of boundaries.....	42
3.3.	“Gaps and spaces” - potential for change?.....	45

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This study has, as its focus, the perceptions of how the Cornish identity of lecturers impacts on their pedagogic practices within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall. However, as noted earlier (section 1.6) when seeking to explore the subjective perceptions of individuals, it is important to be cognisant of the impact of the wider material aspects of their lives. This short chapter will set out details of the material circumstances of the post-compulsory sector, and the institutional relationships between the establishments, in which the participants in this study worked.

Underpinning this analysis is literature identified during a grey literature review (see section 5.1 for details of the methodology adopted). Cornu-focussed literature, including documentation from Combined Universities in Cornwall stakeholders, was analysed and coded resulting in three themes; hierarchy, boundary making, and knowledge production (Appendix 1 details examples of the results located). These are addressed below. National education policy - for example, the introduction of Foundation Degrees (DfES 2004), is also included in an effort to identify its contribution to the creation of locally specific material circumstances.

The analysis of the sector has enabled a model to be proposed (Figure 3.3 below) which seeks to illustrate the boundaries that exist between the different members of the CUC project, thereby impacting on the types of activities institutions undertake.

The chapter will conclude with a discussion about how opportunities - following the establishment of the CUC, offered individual Cornish educators possibilities, particularly when recontextualising knowledge, to incorporate aspects of their culture within their professional practice.

In the next section, the members of the CUC will be detailed along with an exposition of the ways in which institutions have utilised both the project, and policies from the UK government, in order to strengthen their position within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall.

### 3.2. The establishment of the CUC; boundaries, regulation and the production of knowledge

#### 3.2.1. The CUC project

The CUC is an unincorporated association of universities and colleges with a declared remit to develop and expand higher education provision in Cornwall. Specifically, its remit includes; meeting the needs of local students (PASCAL 2010a), undertaking academic research, and aiding economic regeneration (CUC 2010). The membership of the CUC, at its inception, consisted of the two Further Education colleges, Falmouth College of Arts (now Falmouth University), and a number of HEIs with an interest in the provision of HE within Cornwall but whose bases are located outside Cornwall. The HEIs included the University of Exeter (UoE), Plymouth University (PL U), the Open University and the University College of St. Mark and St. John (now University of St. Mark and St. John).

Following the creation of the CUC the University of Exeter has developed its provision at Tremough, a campus funded by European Union monies, and shared with Falmouth University. The Peninsula College of Medicine and Dentistry (PCMD), (a joint venture initially founded by the University of Exeter

and Plymouth University although - since 2012 - run as two independent Medical Schools), also had a location at Truro. The other HEIs involved in the CUC project continued to work from their bases located in Plymouth. Both the Open University and the University of St. Mark and St. John continued to offer programmes independently, as they had done before the creation of the CUC. Plymouth University, however, worked in partnership with the FE Colleges (Cornwall College and Truro and Penwith College) validating the expanding HE provision that was delivered within them. The geographical location of the FE and HE locations within Cornwall is detailed in Figure 3.1. below.



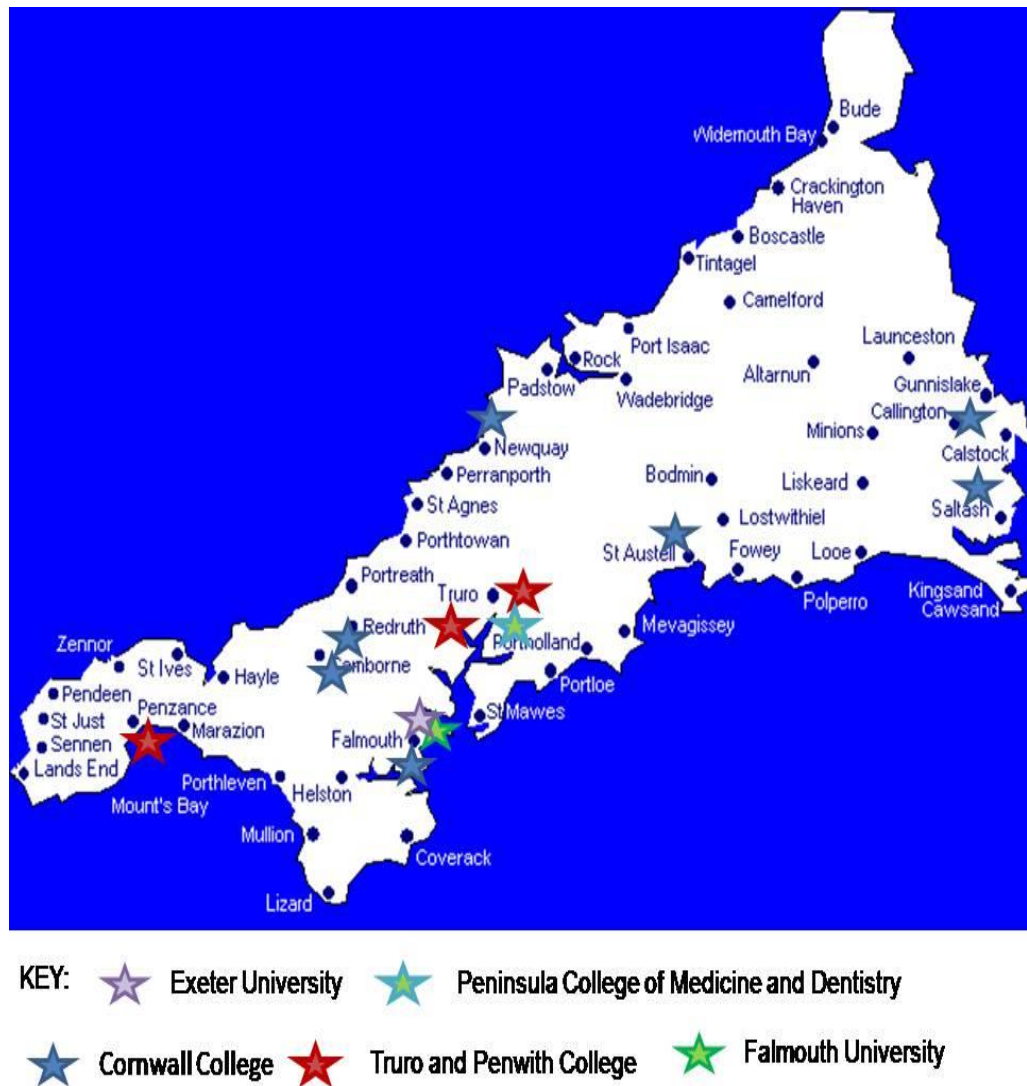


Figure 3.1. Geographical locations of HE and FE institutions within Cornwall at the time of the study.

The CUC project was supported by a small central staff, whose responsibility it was to liaise with the funding agencies and administer the monies received. A partnership group, mainly consisting of the University Vice-Chancellors and College Principals, was responsible for the strategic vision and subsequent curricula decisions. The CUCs preferred representation of the association is as a “Hub and Rim” model (CUC 2010). This is set out below in Figure 3.2.

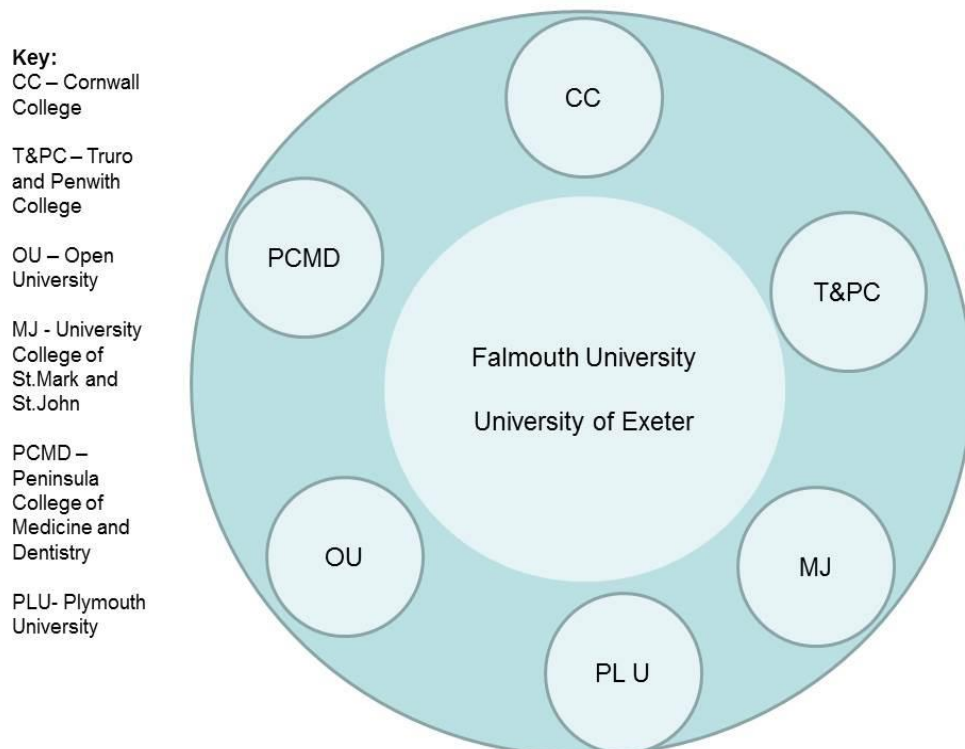


Figure 3.2. CUC representation - “Hub and Rim” model

### 3.2.2. Boundary marking and regulation

The model set out above is, however, a generalised representation of the partnership. It fails to give an indication of the relations and boundaries that exist between the various CUC members. Bernstein’s work is of value in considering the CUC Hub and Rim model. In particular, he (2000, p.206) advises that:

there is *a/ways* [italics added by author] a boundary. It may vary in its explicitness, its visibility, its potential and in the manner of its transmission and acquisition. It may vary in terms of whose interest is promoted or privileged by the boundary.

He further notes that the unequal distribution of “discourse, material and social resources...makes crucial boundaries permeable to some and impermeable to others” (2000, p.207). As a result of this, boundary maintenance will occur and

inevitably, therefore, this will affect the pedagogic practices of those working within the different institutions. However, some boundaries prove to be more permeable than others. Permeable boundaries, Bernstein suggests, offers the possibility of “new futures” (2000, p.206). Such opportunities allow educators, who choose to seize the moment, to effect change by their pedagogic practices. An analysis of the boundaries that exist within the Cornish field of post-compulsory education as a result of the CUC project will help contextualise the interviews in this study.

There are a number of different boundary markers within the field of higher education. These are seen in the relationships institutions have with government regulation, access to funding and the ability to validate awards. Yet other boundaries relate to the production of knowledge. Regulation within higher education, is considered by Bernstein (2000, p.60) to be different in nature to other sectors of education due, in part, to its relationship to the production of knowledge and the means by which official government control of pedagogic discourses and practices is exerted. External bodies such as the Higher Education Funding Council England (HEFCE), the Quality Assurance Authority (QAA) and the Research Councils exert indirect regulation upon the sector. Higher education in Cornwall has an additional regulatory body in the form of the European Commission and an executive agency in Whitehall. The receipt of Objective One funding to establish the CUC has been accompanied by financial audits to ensure that the expenditure complies with European regulations.

A different form of regulation, Bernstein posited (2000, p.60), is the institutional self-regulation and positioning that occurs as a result of the competitive hierarchy of the HE marketplace. In this regard the UK HE system is a stratified one and this has resulted in institutions adopting different roles (Osborne 2005). Thus all of the HEIs within the CUC are positioned differently within the HEI sector. Falmouth University and the University of St. Mark and St. John are specialist in their provision (arts and teacher training respectively). The Open University has a nationwide remit and, unlike any of the other providers, specialises in distance learning. The Universities of Exeter and Plymouth, although both campus-based, have had different strategic visions - with Exeter being a research-intensive institution. Because of their positioning within the

internal marketplace, the Universities of Exeter and Plymouth have appealed to different segments of the HE market. The further education sector also experiences internal self-regulation as institutions are usually directly in competition for students with their near geographical neighbours. As CUC partners, Cornwall and Truro and Penwith Colleges both hold substantial portfolios of higher education programmes. Both have robust further education provision which reflects their different development trajectories: Cornwall College has a strong vocational focus and Truro and Penwith a nationally well-regarded 16-19 provision. Whilst working collaboratively as higher education partners they nevertheless compete directly to recruit further education students.

As a result of the systemic inequalities that exist within the higher education sector the CUC can be regarded as having inherent tensions within it. Perhaps the most crucial aspect of the inequalities revolves around the access that the partners have to funding and the funding body HEFCE in particular. Whilst Universities receive funding directly from HEFCE, further education colleges are mostly dependent on support that has been channelled through their HEI partners, which in this instance is predominantly from Plymouth University. Maintaining a good relationship with an HEI is therefore important and any growth in provision is only likely to occur only where it is deemed mutually beneficial. In this instance it is possible to see that the boundary between the HEI (Plymouth) and the FEIs (within Cornwall) is a strong one with the University holding the role of gatekeeper to HE funding. Post 1992 universities, however, are often seen as being less well insulated from government agendas than other more established institutions due, in no substantial part, to their lack of financial independence. Such vulnerability results in boundaries that are susceptible to government policy shifts, such as the widening access agenda in higher education agenda. The introduction of Foundation Degrees, a central plank of this agenda, was accompanied by substantial lead funding (DfES 2004; Harvey 2009), which was welcomed by institutions such as Plymouth. The result of this new initiative was that the strong boundaries between HEIs and colleges became more permeable. The relationship between the Cornish FEIs and Plymouth University changed as funding became available for new college based provision. The FEIs were, as a consequence, able to exert some

influence because of the incentives offered by central government, and so extend their higher education provision. However alluring the fiscal benefits of working with FEIs might be, Plymouth University has continued to be aware of its position within the sector as a whole, and has sought to enhance its overall ranking position where it can. It has chosen to do this within the CUC project by engaging with the University of Exeter on a number of research projects (PCMD 2010; PL U 2013). This more recent activity can be seen as a form of “boundary work”, which has resulted in a re-strengthening the boundary it has with the non-research focussed FEIs.

### 3.2.3. The production of knowledge as a marker of boundaries

The changes that have occurred since the inception of the CUC, within the area of knowledge production, can be regarded as important markers of boundaries between the partners of the CUC. Prior to its creation knowledge production in Cornwall was small in scale with Falmouth University being the prime location. There was also a small University of Exeter presence consisting of Camborne School of Mines (located in Camborne on the Cornwall College campus), the Department of Continuing and Adult Education, and the Institute of Cornish Studies both of which were located in Truro. The knowledge production in this small field was supplemented by other research activity, often the result of individual endeavour (for example see Angarrack 2002), which was reliant on a mixture of formal and informal co-operative networks to assist in publication (Payton 1993).

Looking to examine this, a Bernsteinian perspective (1990, p.155) suggests that knowledge should be viewed as residing in a market place with two independent constituent markets: that of “knowledge” and “knowers”. Bernstein further noted that knowledge has become a commodity similar to money and as such its value will be decided upon by ‘knowers’ who see it as having currency. Using this model it is possible, therefore, to posit the view that the knowledge produced in Cornwall - prior to the advent of the CUC - was one that, in the main, offered poor returns. The stock of the once famous Camborne School of Mines collapsed as Cornwall’s central place in hard rock mining was extinguished by a fall in the global market. Other work, often co-ordinated

through the Institute of Cornish Studies, was targeted primarily at the small internal Cornish market. Only in the area of the arts - which Falmouth University contributed to, it might be argued, was Cornwall's market value high.

Post CUC formation there has been an increase in the volume of knowledge production, although it has to be noted that this has been the experience across a range of fields in higher education (Singh 2002). Research linked specifically to Cornwall has increased in volume as a result of funds becoming available to the CUC project. Often the research activity had to meet explicit community objectives. For example, the Cornwall Research Fund, set up by the CUC in 2004 and managed by the University of Exeter with a £5.8million budget, is one example where the CUC sought to "assist individuals and organisations in the development of intellectual capital in Cornwall" (CUC no datea). This drive for extending knowledge production, under the aegis of Cornish Objective One status, has continued with CUC partners bidding successfully for further monies from European funding. The Universities of Plymouth and Exeter received £5.3 million from the European Convergence Fund in 2009 (PL U 2013) and an additional £3 million was awarded to the PCMD in 2010 (PCMD 2010). In 2011 the University of Exeter also received £22.9 million from Convergence funding for its Environment and Sustainability Institute (UoE 2011) and further monies were available for the HEIs as part of the CUC Collaborative Postgraduate Research project (CUC 2011). The receipt of this funding has further strengthened the research capabilities of the non-Cornish based Universities and as a consequence the boundary between them and the non-research orientated FEIs. As a result of these developments the local knowledge market, and the independent researcher, have been made more peripheral than before.

This examination of the CUC has highlighted a number of key issues in the field of higher education in Cornwall. Perhaps the most critical revolve around the influence that is located within the field and the boundaries that institutional partners use to both protect and extend their positions. The model of the "partnership" advanced by the CUC, as seen in Fig 3.2, can be seen as wholly inadequate as it fails to reflect the complexity of the field. By utilising Bernstein's concept of boundary classification, a more complex model can be proposed (see Fig 3.3 below).

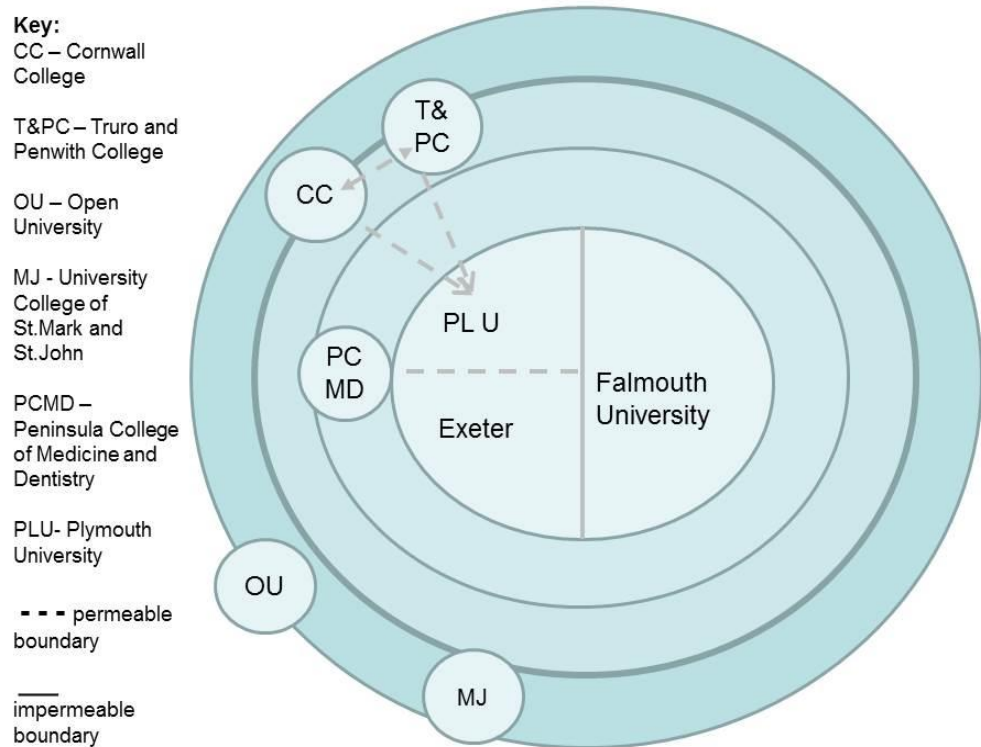


Figure 3.3. CUC “Hub and Rim” model based on the influence institutions have within the Cornish higher education sector

This model recognises the inherent inequalities within the CUC. In this revised model the hub, or centre, is not represented as a geographical location but rather denotes the institutions which exert the most influence within the pedagogic device. Falmouth University continues to be located at the hub of the CUC due to its ability to maintain its boundaries and its insulation against the demands of the other partners. Its geographical presence has been enhanced by the establishment of the Tremough campus. Falmouth University is joined in the centre by both Plymouth and Exeter Universities. Although occupying different places in the higher education hierarchy, the Universities are depicted here as being of equal standing as they have secured a joint boundary between them and other institutions because of working in partnership to secure significant research funds. The PCMD is shown as being attached to the UoE and Plymouth University, who were, at the time of data gathering, its founding partners. The remaining CUC partners, however, are positioned differently within

the rim. The FEIs are closely linked to Plymouth University as well as with each other. These links are shown to be permeable as these institutions are less able to resist the influence of Plymouth University, due to the issue of funding and validation discussed in the previous section. The Open University and the University of St. Mark and St. John have the most limited contact and influence with the hub, and so are placed in the most peripheral position.

### 3.3. “Gaps and spaces” - potential for change?

In this chapter aspects of how the creation of the CUC has impacted on Cornwall’s post-compulsory education sector, have been explored.

A major aspiration of the CUC was to grow higher education provision, and this has been achieved, albeit not always in a uniform way, across all partners. The establishment of the CUC, however, (especially when coupled with other national directives such as the new Foundation Degree award and the widening access agenda), had the potential to create what Bernstein (2000, p.32) recognised as “a gap or rather a space” within which new curricula could be created. The creation of curricula requires the recontextualisation of texts, and the resultant gaps and spaces offer lecturers the possibility of incorporating texts which “in *their own right* may be considered illegitimate, oppositional, originating in counter-hegemonic sites of the production of discourse” (Bernstein 1990, p.202).

As this chapter has shown institutions within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall are varied, and as a result the professional practices of educators are wide-ranging. The diversity of lecturer practices required a framework that would enable a careful examination of such complexity. In addition, this study’s focus on how “ethnicity” intersects with pedagogic practice, necessitates a theoretical framing which incorporates a consideration of wider structural issues. The next chapter offers an exposition of the theoretical concepts used to frame this study.



## Chapter 4: Theoretical frameworks and concepts

4.1.	Introduction.....	46
4.2.	Situating the experience of the minority lecturer: a review of UK based studies.....	47
4.3.	Knowledge creation and its transformation within the educational sphere - the pedagogic device.....	51
4.4.	Knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction in higher and further education.....	54
4.5.	The pedagogic device and the projection of pedagogic identities.....	58
4.6.	History and place in identity making.....	60
4.7.	Summary and research questions.....	62

### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter will set out the theoretical framing that underpins the analysis of data gathered during this study. In turn, the theoretical frameworks and concepts used will highlight the different types of educational spaces that lecturers in further and higher education in Cornwall work within, and show how their ethnic minority status impacts on their working life, and also their pedagogic practice.

Bernstein's work has been noted as "globally relevant" (Delamont 2014, p.473), enabling "analytical precision" (Donnelly 2016, p.1), and - unlike other meta-theorists, extends beyond a diagnosis of pathological educational relations by recognising the possibility of transformation (Moore 2006, p.37). For this reason Bernstein's framework of the pedagogic device - a detailed model of interdependent relational practice, was identified as being of particular relevance for this study.

For Bernstein (1990, 2000) pedagogy is positioned as a central feature of the framework. It offers a means by which to explore how dominant discourses and specifically, pedagogic discourse, is relayed between different sites within the

educational system. The creation of knowledge that contributes to the discourse(s) and its subsequent relaying across sites, Bernstein posits, is impacted upon by a number of different interrelated rules. This chapter will undertake an exposition of these rules enabling a consideration of how different agents can influence the pedagogic discourse as it is recontextualised at different sites. It is at the key point of recontextualisation that, Bernstein (2000, p.30) claims, transformation can occur.

The model of pedagogic identities set out by Bernstein (2000, p.74) has also been operationalised here in this study. The framework's detailing of the structural processes that impact on the creation of the pedagogic identities offers a means by which to highlight the contributions and fashioning undertaken by lecturers and students. However, the focus and the scale of the framework has limitations and, as Daniels (2003) has suggested elsewhere, there is a need to augment this with a further framework in order to better consider how individual lecturers socially position themselves within their working environment. Accordingly, Bernstein's theoretical framework has been supplemented by the use of Holland and Lave's (2001, p.5) concept of "history-in-person" in this study. As in Bernstein's model, Holland and Lave's concept recognises the influence of the historical on contemporary struggles, as well as contributing to an imagined future - but the scale of their focus differs. With its focus on groups or individuals, the concept of "history-in-person" pursues a more individualistic understanding of educators' choices and practices thus its adoption here will better enable an understanding of lecturers' accounts.

Prior to setting out the theoretical frameworks and concepts used in this study the chapter will commence with a brief overview of studies concerned with the ways in which lecturers' cultural backgrounds influence their pedagogic practices.

#### 4.2. Situating the experience of the minority lecturer: a review of UK based studies

In this section a brief overview of earlier studies which have explored the intersection between teachers' cultural background and their pedagogic practice, is given. As this study is based within the United Kingdom the focus of

this overview, as far as possible, has been on British higher education. This has been augmented, however, with studies deemed apposite from outside the UK where they illuminate the experience of teachers subjected to colonisation.

The cultural background of those involved in all sectors of education has been a fruitful area of academic enquiry; one that has seen an increasing number of studies being undertaken owing to the enduring concern within UK social science about how social structures influence educational success.

Predominantly, these have revolved around how the socio-cultural backgrounds of individual teachers impact on the educational success of students. There are significantly fewer studies with a focus on how individual teachers, from different cultural groups, experience being a teacher in UK higher education.

Where cultural concerns have been raised by teachers working within further and higher education in the UK these have often been class-based, and framed around how their class origins do not prepare them for working within the sector. Such studies often highlighted teachers' anxiety about how, if their class origins were exposed, they might be negatively positioned by others (Acker 1993; Mahony and Zmroczek 1996). Accounts by female working class academics further highlight such concern by offering examples of the intersection between gender and class and its negative impact on women's work and career trajectories (Reay 2004; Archer 2008). The identity work that working class academics undertake in order to reconcile what Lather (1991) has identified as different senses of the self is of significance to this study. Such activity has been noted by Walkerdine (1990, p.158) as being powerful, as it offers a "place from which to struggle, a sense of belonging". Whilst some, as Walkerdine notes, see identity work as a positive experience, not all academics agree. For others, entering academia requires a refashioning of self which can be a painful process; demanding an examination, and possibly rejection of, previously held cultural values (see Brine, 2010 - for a reflexive account of how the refashioning of self is on-going).

As mentioned UK studies examining the impact of class predominantly focus on the experiences of students. The extent to which differences in cultural background, (i.e. between a student and a teacher), impacts on student success

has been explored extensively. The difficulties experienced by working class students has been the subject of research across all sectors of education from primary schooling (Evans 2006) through to further and higher education (Skeggs 1997; Tett 2004; Reay et al. 2005). Issues concerning the ways in which male and female students are taught as a result of teachers' cultural expectations have also been a focus for enquiry within the UK (Mac an Ghaill 1994; Ivinson and Murphy 2003; Renold 2005; Ivinson and Murphy 2007). Misalignment of ethnic backgrounds also has been studied. The issue of race within the educational system, and specifically the interaction between white teachers and black students, has illuminated the disproportionate authority held by teachers with a majority (white) background. Such studies have also shown the ways in which students, from other ethnic backgrounds can be peripheralised (Mac an Ghaill 1988; Gillborn 1990; Gillborn 2008; Ball et al. 2013), to the extent that they are excluded (formally or otherwise) from education (Blair 2001).

There is significantly less research into how students from the United Kingdom's national minority groups, subject to internal colonisation in the past, have fared. There has been - encouragingly, a growing interest in various aspects of students' social identity and their educational success following the establishment of the devolved legislatures in the UK (Ridell and Salisbury 2000; Hamilton and Weiner 2003; Davies and Trystan 2012). However, most literature about the experience of groups of people subjected to colonisation processes within state educational systems, continues to come from researchers outside the UK. Studies of indigenous groups such as the Maori in New Zealand (Smith 1990; Rubie et al. 2004), Hawaiian and Native American tribes within the United States (Kawakami 1999; Martinez 2006) and Aboriginal peoples within Australia (Ford 2013; Goodson and Deakin Crick 2009; Jackson-Barrett 2011) offer illuminating insights, although these do not transfer easily to the UK context.

There is, however, a welcome growth in research which seeks to explore how European ethnic minority groups progress within their national educational systems, which has potential to contribute to this area of enquiry. A number of studies point to the impact of a range of material factors in the maintenance, and support of, students' minority cultures. For example, the internal political

systems and governance structures of individual nation-states, are identified as a key determining factor. Where minority groups, within a larger nation-state are afforded political recognition such as in the case of Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain, and there is a corresponding opportunity for control over the educational system, then curricula (Sant et al. 2015) and resources (Sant 2017), are likely to better reflect the narratives, language and culture(s) of minorities. Where nation-states maintain stricter, (often centralized), control over the educational system then indigenous minority groups, driven by concern for the maintenance of their language and culture, may seek alternative educational provision outside the state controlled system (Hornsby 2017).

Studies with a focus specifically on the European higher education also confirm the role that material factors, such as the curriculum and resources, have in meeting of needs of minority groups. The provision of culturally relevant curricula, often through the medium of the indigenous language, has been shown as being a crucial factor in supporting the declared needs of both staff and students from minority groups (Doiz et al. 2013; Henriksen 2016).

Minority language medium teaching within HE, often occurs as a direct consequence of being recognised as an official state language, as is the case in the Basque Country in Spain (Cenoz 2012). Although in practice, provision is often patchy. This is due in part to a lack of qualified academic staff - a consequence of historical suppression of minority languages (Cenoz 2012), and also because of the forms of spatial-compression that drive curriculum timetabling systems in higher education (see Bonutti et al. 2012). In Wales, the only region in the UK where a minority language is given the status of an official language, similar patterns can be identified. Welsh-medium HE provision too is inconsistent across the sector (Camps 2014; Williams 2014; Collins et al. 2015) with curriculum offering, and resources, often dependent on the contributions of a small group of minority lecturers (Garett et al. 2012).

Accounts of how teachers from minority cultures mediate their work with students within educational establishments, again are predominantly based outside the UK (Delpit 1993; hooks 2004; Lynn and Jennings 2009; Sarra 2011; Ongtooguk 2013; Tilley and Taylor 2013). Whilst this is an area that is of

increasing interest in the UK, studies principally focus on minority groups' professional engagement with the academy (see Ahmed 2012, and Bhopal and Jackson 2013 - as examples). The emergent "Why is my curriculum white?" (WIMCW) movement, however, does include explorations by Black British teachers on how UKHE curricula can be extended to better meet the needs of black students (Coleman [no date]).

Against this backdrop the next section offers details of Bernstein's theory of knowledge creation, its transmission and transformation and detailing the fields of pedagogic practice.

#### 4.3. Knowledge creation and its transformation within the educational sphere - the pedagogic device

Bernstein's (2000, p.25) pedagogic device offers a means by which to explore the "general principles underlying the transformation of knowledge into pedagogic communication". This section will detail different features of the pedagogic device which will be operationalised in the data analysis commencing with the internal rules that govern knowledge transmission and transformation.

##### *1. Rules governing knowledge transmission and transformation*

Bernstein argued (1990, p.180) that the pedagogic device operates through a set of internal rules that are interrelated and hierarchical in nature. The rules "regulate the relationships between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice". These same rules "mark and distribute who may transmit what to whom and under what conditions and they attempt to set the outer limits of legitimate discourse" (2000, p.31).

The "distributive" rules regulate the distribution of knowledge between groups, and as this knowledge moves between sites it is regulated by the "recontextualisation" rules. The recontextualised knowledge alters again prior to being put into practice by individual practitioners. This final move is regulated by "evaluative" rules. On this point Bernstein (1990, p.180) commented that:

Distributive rules regulate the fundamental relation between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their

reproductions and productions. The recontextualising rules regulate the constitution of specific pedagogic discourse. The rules of evaluation are constituted in pedagogic practice.

The movement of knowledge from one classification to another is possible due to its relationships with other knowledge, societal structures and the existence of what Bernstein (2000, p.30) termed the “potential discursive gap”. In this potential transformative opportunities are noted:

This gap or space can become (not always) a site for alternative possibilities,...the site of the unthinkable, the site of the impossible, and this site can clearly be both beneficial and dangerous at the same time.

The potential afforded by this gap will, therefore, need be regulated, in order to limit or, if needed, to block alternative orders or different power relations from developing. Bernstein (2000, p.31) further notes, however, that this cannot be undertaken with total efficiency. Any challenge by a group therefore has the potential to result in alterations to societal positioning and the gaining of access to, and influence on, knowledge. Existing cultural norms, therefore, can be altered and transformative practices adopted.

## *2. Fields within the pedagogic device*

With regards to education Bernstein (2000) identified three main fields within the pedagogic device; the fields of production, recontextualisation and of reproduction. Like the rules of the pedagogic device these are hierarchical in nature with the reproducers dependent on the activity of those within the recontextualising field, who act upon the work of those who produce the knowledge. The creation of knowledge, whether in areas of science, art or literature, is often located within higher education institutions (HEIs) or private centres of research (Bernstein 2000; Castells 2004). With the expansion of HEIs in the latter part of the twentieth century there has been an exponential rise in the amount and types of knowledge available derived as a result of capacity building, or network projects, as well as empirical research activities. The consequences of such a growth of knowledge has, according to Singh (2002, p.575), “enormous implications for educators” who are required to transform the

knowledge into a form suitable for distribution within educational institutions. This transformation is in two parts.

The first, according to Bernstein, is located within the field of recontextualisation which consists of two subfields of activity. Bernstein (2000, p.33) distinguishes these as:

an *official recontextualising field* (ORF) created and dominated by the state and its selected agents and ministries, and a *pedagogic recontextualising field* (PRF). The latter consists of pedagogues in schools and colleges, and departments of education, specialised journals, [and] private research foundations.

Additionally, each of the recontextualising fields has the opportunity to produce sub-fields within it each with differing degrees of autonomy, and influence on others, situated within the system. Importantly, Bernstein (1990, p.192) also highlights that the scope of influence extended beyond the educational system to:

fields not specialised in educational discourse and its practices, but which are able to exert influence both on the state and its various arrangements/and/or upon special sites, agents and practices within education.

The ability of those situated within the PRF to exert influence on the creation of pedagogic knowledge is, according to Bernstein, dependent on the relationship that exists with the state. Where autonomy is experienced by the agents within the PRF, then opportunities for challenge to the ORF and its knowledge creation are possible. If, however, the ORF seeks to curtail this autonomy then it may do so through measures, such as the prescription of curricula, or through other forms of controlling behaviour. An example of this could be seen in England and Wales when in 2007 new professional standards, and accompanying highly prescriptive teacher education programmes, were introduced for teachers in the Lifelong Learning Sector (Osborne and Sankey 2009). The relationship between the ORF and the PRF alters as it is dependent on the ideological position held by the most powerful groups in society at any given time.

The second transformation of knowledge occurs within the field of reproduction. Here the outcomes of the field of recontextualisation (such as textbooks or



published curriculum documents) are subjected to further transformation by teachers. This transformation sees the adaptation of recontextualised knowledge before it is brought into the classroom. This can be undertaken as a means of increasing the efficacy of regulative and moral classroom practices (Singh 2001a; Singh 2001b) or as a response to the influence of community and peer relations on the practice of institutions or individual teachers (Bernstein 1990).

### *3. Principles of pedagogic communication*

Bernstein (1990, p.34) considered that pedagogic communication is legitimated by the governance of two interlinking principles termed the interactional and the locational. In the field of knowledge production the interactional principle of communication is one that regulates the ways in which the new knowledge is selected, organised, and positioned in relation to other potential contributors. The second principle governs location which regulates both the location of the communication, and the relationship that occurs between different forms of objects and attributes. The positioning of individuals/groups within a social hierarchy controls the extent to which the privileged pedagogic discourse can be challenged. This has particular importance in this study as it seeks to identify to what extent the voice and/or the message of Cornish lecturers is heard and received by those groups in dominant positions.

This section has outlined aspects of Bernstein's pedagogic device that are pertinent to this study. The next section will detail empirical studies, with a focus on higher education, which have also operationalised Bernstein's framework of the pedagogic device before focussing on the work of Geirsdóttir (2011) and Vorster (2011) whose work has been identified as being of particular relevance to this study.

#### 4.4. Knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction in higher and further education

Following the development of Bernstein's (1990, 2000) work on the pedagogic device empirical studies have successfully utilised the framework to highlight, both informal and formal educational relationships (Delamont 2014). However,

in contrast to extensive scholarly activity with a focus on schools (examples include Singh 2001a, 2001b, and Power et al. 2003) there have been significantly fewer studies with a focus on tertiary education and UKHE in particular (Donnolly 2016).

Where UK based studies have been undertaken these have predominantly considered the issues of class, and the internal hierarchy of the higher education sector (Brennan and Osborne 2008). Studies have explored areas such as the intersection between curriculum design and the creation of student identity (such as McLean et al. 2012, 2015) and the structure of HE teaching and learning (McLean and Abbas 2009; Crozier and Reay 2011). The ERSC funded “Social and Organisational Mediation of University Learning” (SOMUL) project, utilising Bernstein’s (1975) concepts of “classification” and “framing” as part of the theoretical framework, offers a useful and comprehensive exploration of spatial curriculum organisation, internal characteristics of different academic subjects, and their subsequent influence on student learning across the UKHE sector (Brennan et al. 2010).

Of particular note to this study has been the work of Ashwin et al. (2015) which, when examining documents published by HE ORF actors during the period of this study - i.e. 2009 to the end of 2011, observed the dominance of a government market-orientated discourse. Whilst this study does not directly explore activity within the ORF it is recognised that the dominance of this discourse is likely to be seen in the actions and practices of lecturers and others.

A wider examination of empirical work failed to reveal any studies that have utilised Bernstein’s pedagogic device as a theoretical framework - especially concepts of recontextualisation and reproduction, to explore the intersection between lecturer “ethnicity” and pedagogic practices.

Studies by Geirsdóttir (2011) and Vorster (2011) offer particularly helpful contributions - because of their utilization of the device to explore discipline knowledges and curricula similar in type to programmes delivered by CUC institutions.

Geirsdóttir's work (2011) reveals how different types of academic disciplines determine the ways in which knowledge is regulated, opportunities presented for curriculum development and subsequent knowledge reproduced. Where disciplines have a strong tradition of knowledge regulation, as is the case of physics, lecturers are shown to be more unified in their views of what the curriculum should constitute and, as a result, were less likely to affect personal curriculum changes. However, Geirsdóttir (2011) noted that applied disciplines such as engineering - also with a strong tradition of core knowledge regulation, did make curricula changes in order to accommodate local economic demands. This contrasted with the discipline of anthropology where the subject knowledge was found to be less well-regulated enabling lecturers to recontextualise the curriculum to suit their personal foci and ideologies.

These findings chime with the work of Deacon and Westland (1998), who explored the rationale behind a newly validated part-time University of Exeter degree offered in Cornwall. The new curriculum was located within a Humanities Faculty and Deacon and Westland detailed how they were able to design a degree which they considered to be place appropriate. They noted that following the validation of the degree they "began, as teachers, to re-think our teaching methods in order to maximise our local resources". In pedagogic device terms they recognised that the new provision offered a "gap or space" (Bernstein 2000, p.30) and utilised this to offer a curriculum with a different learning experience to its predecessor.

Vorster (2011) found that locational factors also impacted on lecturers' recontextualisation of knowledge. These include how the teachers were positioned within the discipline itself. Vorster (2011, p.121) noted that when lecturers were research active, they had sway over the recontextualisation of knowledge - both in terms of curriculum making and the ways in which it was taught. The findings also indicated that the recontextualisation of knowledge in professional programmes, where teaching staff was often drawn from both vocational and academic backgrounds, it was the agenda of academic-orientated staff that was perceived as having greater influence.

In addition, Vorster also found that institutional culture was important. Tierney (1988) noted that all institutions, even those sharing similar curricula and missions, can have very different institutional cultures; the values, goals and processes adopted by those making decisions within the institution help to create a specific institutional culture. It is, Tierney notes (1988, p.3), the institutional culture that 'is reflected in what is done, how it is done and who is involved in doing it'. Hotho's (2013) examination of neo-liberal higher education, found that academic middle-managers - such as department or faculty heads, were key players in establishing the departmental culture lecturers worked within. Academic middle-managers, aware of their positions in-between senior management and academic teaching staff, sought to create an alignment of personal, corporate and school based objectives often through the careful mediation of dominant discourses.

The impact of the cultural climate created within a specific institution or academic faculty or department, was also observed by Geirsdóttir (2011, p.100). In the area of curriculum design Geirsdóttir found that HE lecturers, where curriculum decision-making was viewed as part of normative practice decision-making, had a "muted appreciation of themselves as curriculum-makers". Rarely was the moral order of the discipline questioned and the power residing in the role held by teachers - either as recontextualisers, or reproducers of knowledge, was not recognised. Instead most discussions about curriculum-making were mundane and related to issues of continuity of provision.

These studies draw attention to the relations between the status of the disciplinary knowledge (e.g. science versus humanities) and the extent to which lecturers felt it was legitimate to modify the curriculum. This suggests that a Cornish lecturer may feel able to recontextualise a humanities subject to include more Cornish elements which a science lecturer may not. A further consideration is the difference between HE and further education and the extent to which the status of the institution has some bearing on how knowledge is recontextualised.

The further education sector has been subject to significant government intervention since the incorporation of colleges in 1992 (Simmons 2010). This

continual policy change may have resulted in FE lecturers being aware of the political drivers and influences that impact on their curriculum making. As a consequence, they might articulate their possibilities as curriculum makers differently to those located in HEIs. Lecturers in FE may have less control over the curriculum as increasingly this has been subject to increasing state regulation, especially in politically important areas of GCE A-Level provision. Paradoxically, FE lecturers might have a greater awareness of the limited role they have in the recontextualising process and instead bring their influence to bear in other parts of the educative process such as supporting students emotionally (Jephcote and Salisbury, 2009). Avis et al. (2011) found that lecturers in FE perceive their role as pastoral as well as academic.

The previous two sections have set out key concepts which will be operationalised within the forthcoming empirical chapters. The most important of these relates to the ways academic knowledge is recontextualised across different HE and FE institutions, the hierarchy of the discipline and the status of the lecturer. The next section explores the relationship between the pedagogic device and the projection of pedagogic identities, where pedagogic identity is understood as a “particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration, embedded in particular performances and practices” (Bernstein 2000, p.65).

#### 4.5. The pedagogic device and the projection of pedagogic identities

Bernstein suggests that the pedagogic device is a relay for discourses beyond itself. Disciplinary knowledge is highly contested, and who has influence over what knowledge is taught in educational institutions, involves struggles. How these conflicts come to be resolved as pedagogic discourse influences who recognises themselves in instructional discourse. In effect, pedagogic discourse projects social identities.

The type of pedagogic identities available alters as governments seek, through curricula reform to respond to “contemporary, cultural, economic and technological change” (Bernstein 2000, p.66). Bernstein described three types of pedagogic identities; retrospective, prospective and de-centred. In their construction of identity these pedagogic identities recontextualise chosen aspects of past knowledge in the present which, in turn, projects a particular

view of the future.

A retrospective position will seek to reproduce itself in the next generation through drawing upon a number of grand narratives such as those related to national, religious or cultural positions. Bernstein (2000, p.75) notes, retrospective identities are “unambiguous, stable, intellectually impervious, [and] collective” and often draw on “mythological resources of origin, belonging, progression and destiny”. The position also includes an elitist position that also draws on the past but fails to include most individuals in society. It is unlikely to be seen within this study as individuals with this type of identity are usually located in agencies operating outside the pedagogic device.

Prospective, or future orientated, identities are, “narratives of becoming, but a new becoming not of an individual but of a social category [and] create a new basis for social relations, for solidarities and for oppositions” (Bernstein, 2000, p.76). These social categories can include, race, gender or a region. However, Bernstein notes that just as the adoption of a retrospective pedagogic identity requires a consummation of the self within the wider group aspiration, this is also required within the new prospective identity.

The “de-centered” identity has two branches and, unlike the retrospective and prospective identities that link to the past and future, the de-centred identities are concerned with constructing the present. This position seeks to provide individuals with an identity that has market value, and which is responsive to the needs of the economic community at large.

Tyler (1999) cautions, however, that pedagogic identities are rarely found in their pure form. Relationships between the positions should, in his view, be regarded as dynamic.

The creation of the Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC) and its stated aims (set out in more detail in Chapter 3), involved the creation of new pedagogic identities for staff and students working and studying in educational institutions in Cornwall. The challenge facing the CUC in its projection of new pedagogic identities - for both staff and students, will be explored in the chapters which follow.

As was noted in the introductory section of this chapter, Bernstein's pedagogic device framework, and his subsequent concept of pedagogic identities, offers a valuable means by which to examine the ways in which curricula and pedagogy are linked to the social order. However, the scale of these frameworks can only give an indication of how individual players position themselves within their working environment (Daniels 2003). To address this lacuna Holland and Lave's (2001, p.5) concept of "history-in-person" suggests close attention to how individuals, informed by place and history, mediate their day to day lives.

#### 4.6. History and place in identity making

All forms of social existence are constituted in the daily practices and activities that individuals undertake and produce. It is in locally situated practices that cultural production is mediated and reproduction of identities occurs. Holland and Lave (2001, p.29) note that:

subjectivities and their more objectified components, identities, are formed in practice through the often collective work of evoking, improvising, appropriating, and refusing participation in practices that position self and other.

In turn, Holland and Lave call for the recognition of the multiple phenomenon and inter-subjective positioning that underpins the formation of identity. They argue that any analysis of identity construction should include the historical, as well as the personal, and social. The inclusion of the historical enables the individual, their practices and the subsequent relationship with broader structural forces to be more fully recognised. It also assists in the investigation of how the individual mediates broader historical contexts or struggles that encompass localities over a period of time.

Analysing such complex social practices successfully is, Holland and Lave assert, a challenging undertaking. Long term struggles extend into, and impact upon, the practices of individuals and can result in localised activity that is not open to view as it may be masked or cordoned off. This importantly raises the possibility of "shifting inflections" of identity. Holland and Lave (2001, p.30) highlight how, as part of the "enduring struggles" participants from minority groups engage in, some aspects of identity remain non-negotiable and yet

others are instrumentally salient. When individuals are involved in a number of different enduring struggles at any given time, they mediate their practices - with the result that one or some aspects of their identity may be privileged.

Such multi-idiom struggles can be seen in this study. Participants are, as employees of educational institutions, working within the CUC framework and therefore, subject to tensions as a result of the position that their institution holds (Chapter 3 explores this in detail). Simultaneously they are also part of a more enduring struggle about recognition of their Cornish identity, as well as struggles relating to other aspect of their practices such as their gender or religion.

This relational approach to identity creation allows for structures to be regarded as a process, on-going and occurring as a result “of” struggles or “in” struggles. The “history-in-person” framework, detailed in Figure.4.1 offers a means by which to recognise the struggle for domination that occurs in terms of both individual and collective practices.

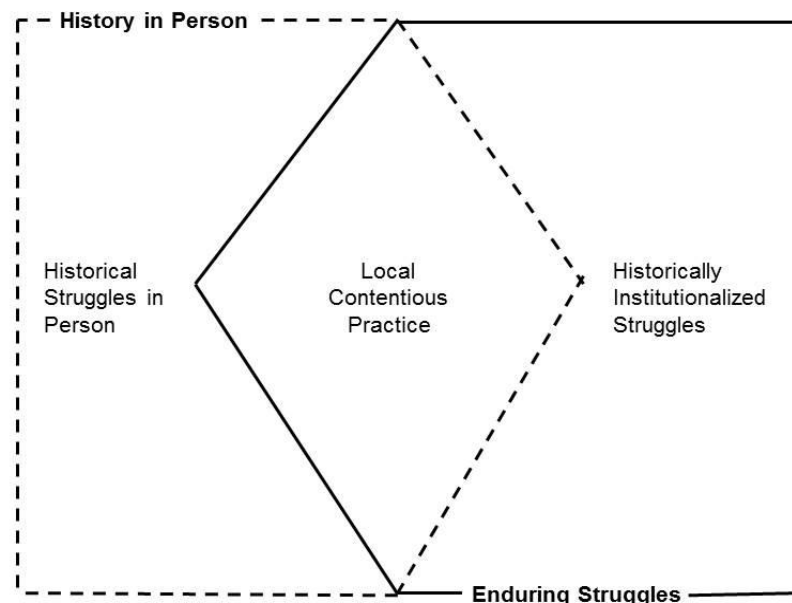


Figure 4.1. Relations between “history-in-person” and “enduring struggles”.  
Taken from Holland and Lave 2001, p.7



The significance of these struggles for both individuals and groups, important in terms of daily practice, are especially influential in contributing to, and shaping “futures”. As the future, like history, is constrained by practices of the past and those of the present, participants' perceptions of the past and present may offer a window into how they envisage Cornish futures.

#### 4.7. Summary and research questions.

This chapter commenced with a review of UK based studies with the intention of situating the role of the ethnic minority lecturer. Whilst recognising that there was a significant and growing body of knowledge about the role of ethnic minority educators across the globe it was established that there were fewer UK based studies. Further database research failed to identify any UK based studies investigating how ethnic minority lecturers, subject to internal colonisation within the British Isles, mediated their “ethnicity” and sought to relay their cultures through the educational system. This study therefore offers a contribution to this identified lacuna.

The chapter then went on to elaborate on a number of theoretical perspectives that will be used in this study. First was Bernstein’s (2000) work on the pedagogic device and pedagogic identities which offers a clear framework with which to examine, and analyse the data gathered.

The pedagogic device reveals the relationships that exist between the different institutions working within the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall. Specifically, by utilising the relationship between the Official and Pedagogic Recontextualising Fields, it is possible to offer an exposition of how different institutions are positioned. Chapter 3 explores how the internal stratification of the higher education institutions which make up the CUC, is influenced by external relationships with other agencies within the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) such as the Higher Education Funding Council of England (HEFCE) and the European Union.

The stratification that occurs within the ORF, as different educational institutions are placed within a hierarchy, also filters down to the micro level where it has an impact on the practices of individual lecturers. Examples of this, introduced

initially in Chapter 6, are fully explored in Chapter 7 when Cornish lecturers, involved in knowledge production, detail how their “ethnicity” becomes a barrier to their legitimate participation in research.

The main areas of lecturer activity, however, noted in this study consist of curriculum development, and the reproducing of knowledge (i.e. teaching in the classroom). Here the concept of recontextualisation of pedagogic discourse will be used to illuminate how, and when, discourses that reproduce Cornish culture and values are introduced. The relationship between the Official and Pedagogic Recontextualising Field will again be used here to highlight where and why lecturers’ practices are limited.

Whilst Bernstein’s theoretical stance is of significant value for this study it can, as raised earlier in this chapter, only offer a broad indication of how individuals seek to position themselves within institutions and their immediate working environment. Holland and Lave’s (2001) concept of “history-in-person” will enable the individual practices of lecturers to be interrogated at a more micro scale of analysis. Participants’ perceptions of how social, cultural, and historical aspects of being Cornish informs their individual subjectivities and, in turn, their pedagogic practices are explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

The examination of literature set out in this Chapter enabled specific research questions to be devised. These are as follows:

1. To what extent do the historical and contemporaneous contexts of Cornwall impact on the pedagogic practices of lecturers who self-define as Cornish?
2. In which educational contexts do lecturers who self-identity as Cornish become actively aware of their Cornish identity and
3. What role do lecturers who self-identify as Cornish play in the creation of localised pedagogic identities?

The next chapter will detail how the study was designed and undertaken.

## Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1.	Introduction: research questions and the area of study.....	64
5.2.	Choice of approach and research methods adopted.....	66
5.3.	Designing the research instrument.....	68
	5.3.1. Piloting the instrument.....	70
	5.3.2. The instrument.....	71
5.4.	Access to participants.....	72
5.5.	Participants.....	73
5.6.	Ethical considerations.....	75
5.7.	Carrying out the study.....	76
5.8.	Study timetable .....	77
5.9.	Data analysis.....	78
5.10.	Summary.....	82

### 5.1. Introduction: research questions and the area of study.

This study seeks to explore the relationship between the pedagogic practices and identity of lecturers working within HE and FE institutions in Cornwall who self-define as Cornish. The research questions that this study seeks to address are set out below:

1. To what extent do the historical and contemporaneous contexts of Cornwall impact on the pedagogic practices of lecturers who self-define as Cornish?
2. In which educational contexts do lecturers who self-identity as Cornish become actively aware of their Cornish identity and
3. What role do lecturers who self-identify as Cornish play in the creation of localised pedagogic identities?

In order to answer these questions a study was designed with two key phases. The first phase involved a review of grey literature. As previously noted (see section 1.5) there is little published academic literature on the post-16 educational sector in Cornwall and therefore the review it was anticipated would

contribute to filling this lacuna (Adams et al. 2015). Specifically, the review was intended to offer a contextual overview (Hammersley 2001) thereby enabling a more nuanced understanding of the recontextualisation fields within the sector.

Definitions of what constitutes grey material continue to be the subject of debate (see Adams et al. 2016). For the purposes of this study, however, the grey literature review sought to include both familiar items, such as local government or institutional reports (Schöpfel 2011), as well as extending to ephemeral resources such as websites, on-line newspapers and Facebook accounts (Levin 2014).

The initial electronic search, utilising Google and Google Scholar, consisted of a combination of keywords including “Cornwall”, “CUC”, “Higher Education” and “European funding”. Results were sought until it was considered that saturation of the literature had been reached (Fingeld-Connett 2010). The results list was subjected to an initial sorting with results being subject to evaluation and triangulation. This was undertaken in a synchronous manner, enabling irrelevant or duplicate literature to be discarded at an early stage (Bates 2007). The edited list included possible websites, on-line newspaper articles, minutes of meetings, and Reports to review (see Appendix 1 for a list of indicative resources, examples of the types of literature located and the final resources used).

The second stage of the review saw hard copies of the remaining literature being coded by hand. When, as part of this second stage, possible literature for inclusion was indicated, further searches of specific websites were undertaken. The coding of this literature initially was undertaken in as open, and inductive manner, as possible. However, my reading of Bernstein’s (2000) theoretical frame of boundary maintenance and power relations within the recontextualisation fields, (detailed in section 4.3), sensitised me to the usefulness of this as a tool later in the coding process enabling a more nuanced exploration to be undertaken. This activity resulted in three themes being identified; hierarchy; boundary making; and knowledge production. These are explored in some detail in Chapter 3.

The second phase involved the design and implementation of a study, which sought to establish the views of lecturers who self-defined as Cornish, working

within the post-compulsory sector, and the analysis of the collected data. This chapter sets out below, in some detail, how the research instrument was created utilising a focus group (n=3), a pilot with a small group of lecturers (n=3), and its subsequent usage in the main study (n=14). The chapter also details issues that impacted upon the collection of data.

## 5.2. Choice of approach and research methods adopted

Studies of professional practice within the field of education often adopt an interpretative approach (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). This broadly recognises the existence of multiple realities and the fact that knowledge and understanding is something that is co-authored between individuals, shaped by those undertaking the research and informed by their historically situated backgrounds. Utilising an interpretative approach can, therefore, assist understanding of context, structure and agency. Such a research approach would enable the key theoretical approaches identified in Chapter 4, (Bernstein's (2000, p.37) concept of recontextualisation, and Holland and Lave's concern with "history-in-person" and "enduring struggles"), to be appropriately operationalised.

Gathering of data using such an interpretative approach can be undertaken by a number of means. Methods of data gathering aligned with a quantitative approach, such as a structured interview or questionnaire survey, offer the possibility of capturing a fine level of detail but are constrained by the requirement for prescriptive adherence to predefined areas of enquiry (Bryman 2004). As this study sought to establish the meanings held by individuals it was recognised that flexibility within the data gathering stage was a crucial requirement. It was considered, therefore, that the most appropriate approach to adopt would be a qualitative one.

A number of different qualitative methods were deemed potentially suitable for this study. Taking a cue from Coffey and Atkinson (1994, p.14), who suggest that the adoption of a combination of research techniques is useful because it encourages "the recognition and exploration of ...complexity", a multi method approach to data gathering was initially considered particularly as it offered a means of triangulation. A number of possible methods were explored.

Undertaking a case study, for example, would offer opportunities to investigate perceptions of lecturers in one particular institution. However, as the preliminary enquiries about locating Cornish lecturers detailed in Section 5.6 (below) shows, choosing one institution could result in few opportunities to gather data if the Cornish lecturer numbers were very small. Within the context of this study, this was deemed too much of a risk.

Other methods, such as the use of focus groups that drew on staff from across institutions, were also considered a possibility, particularly as they are known to offer the potential for a number of different perspectives to be raised. However, it was recognised that using this form of data gathering also had drawbacks: participants might be reticent about revealing biographical events or professional issues and concerns within such a forum (a methodological issue previously noted by Madriz (2000) and Morgan (2002)). Additionally, the challenge of arranging such events, due to the geographical dispersion of the educational institutions, was seen as mitigating against their successful usage.

The use of individual single interviews as a method of data gathering, were regarded as an appropriate method as it aligns well with the epistemological drivers of the study. Because of the intention to explore what Miller and Glassner (1997, p.100) note as “the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds” semi-structured interviews, which enable in-depth questioning and responses, were deemed ideal and therefore adopted as the principal method of data gathering.

The frequent use of in-depth interviews within educational research would appear to support this choice of method. Whether used, either as the sole method of data gathering or as part of a mixed method approach, interviews have provided an illumination of the feelings and concerns of individual educators in a number of areas including the introduction of new pedagogic practices (Goodson and Sikes 2001; Muchmore 2002), an exploration of professional expectations (Cunningham and Gardner 2004), the importance of personal identities (Newman 2010; Furman 2011), and identity and pedagogic practice (Harper 2004; Sikes and Everington 2004).

Mindful of the opportunities offered by the triangulation of data noted by Coffey

and Atkinson above, further potential sites for data collection were considered. These included observation of practice within classrooms and lecture halls; examination of teaching artefacts; student focus groups; or use of a forum on a purposely constructed website. Whilst noting the potential benefits that might flow from the use of a number of different sites and methods, the final decision about the method of data gathering was underpinned by pragmatic considerations (Bryman 1988). Key to the decision was the demands that employing a range of methods and sites would place on the researcher. With a limited window available for the fieldwork, and the recognition of the logistical demands associated with arranging permissions for student focus groups and the observation of practice, I decided that the data gathering would be conducted using a series of individual interviews only.

The next section will detail how the main research instrument for this study, the interview schedule, was designed.

### 5.3. Designing the research instrument

The choice and design of the instrument was informed by the theoretical frameworks explored in Chapter 4. Bernstein's (2000) work on the pedagogic device offers researchers a framework that, because of its complexity and focus on relations within education, is context dependent. It is a vehicle that generates a number of possibilities with which it is possible to explore the relationships experienced both within, and between, the fields and "arenas" and also how these are influenced by the struggles for power that are enacted within them. The form that these possibilities take as they are realised in the world by individual educators are in practice, therefore, likely to be influenced by a number of factors including: local, national and international historical discourses, professional and personal histories and the value systems espoused by interviewees. This is consistent with the work of Holland and Lave (2001) who highlight the importance of historical struggles in both the production of a subjective identity and the practices undertaken by individuals.

The first phase of the study (detailed above) sought to explore the wider material circumstances, and institutional relationships between the establishments in which the participants in the study worked. The second phase

was designed to explore the perspectives of participants working within this specific environment. Both the first phase of the study, along with the chosen theoretical frameworks offered a useful starting place for the consideration of interview questions.

In order to ascertain what issues were of significance to Cornish lecturers, and as a preliminary measure to enable careful development of the interview schedule, a focus group was convened (Merton 1987). Although cognisant of the recommendation to include group members who do not know each other well (Morgan 1988 cited by Flick 2014, p.251) I decided to recruit individuals from one institution because the main study was time sensitive. The identification of participants for this study was challenging (see Section 5.4 below) so group members for this activity were selected using the network technique. The final number of participants was three (1 female and 2 male) and the group discussion lasted an hour. The lecturers were experienced teachers, represented programmes across a broad range of the NQF, and held different management responsibilities within the institution. In order to effectively scope areas of interest/concern for Cornish lecturers an informal atmosphere was encouraged (Puchta and Potter 2004) through the use of open-ended questions.

The transcription of the focus group activity confirmed the ways in which biographical information is used by groups of Cornish individuals - as previously noted in Section 1.1. Although the members of this group were known to each other professionally the lecturers still exchanged biographical information as a means to establish their socio-geographical relationship with the wider Cornish community. It was this discussion that revealed aspects of identity valued by the focus group members. As a result I decided to commence each interview with questions which recognised this phenomenon, and thereby offered the opportunity for biographical data to be exchanged.

The group also confirmed another key area of inquiry. Although the participants were working as part of the Combined Universities of Cornwall, I was not sure how significant this was in terms of individuals' pedagogic practice. The discussion between the focus group members indicated that the CUC project had a central role in their practice. It also highlighted that they regarded the



political interactions between CUC group members as having the potential to impact on their professional identities as lecturers.

Following the review of the focus group discussion a number of questions were devised for piloting. It was anticipated that this pilot activity would help confirm the usefulness of the type of instrument chosen, and highlight the efficacy of the chosen questions.

#### 5.3.1. Piloting the instrument

Participants for the pilot study (n=3), with its intention to trial the semi-structured interview schedule, were identified through personal and professional networks. Individual interviews were undertaken lasting, on average, 90 minutes. All participants in the pilot study were male but offered a number of other recognised variables. Three different institutions (2 FEIs, and 1HEI) were represented. All participants were experienced teachers and were working across a range of FE and HE National Qualification Framework (NQF) levels. As was the case of the focus group attendees, most of the participants were not involved in political activity.

The pilot activity revealed that the devised questions were productive. The biographical questions elicited stories that, although individual in nature, included instances of repetition when references to communal histories were made. These communal references, both historical and contemporaneous in nature, suggested the potential existence of a shared cultural framework of understanding amongst Cornish educators.

Discussions about professional practices were also detailed although, when asked questions about their professional practices, participants articulated these using a variety of descriptions, suggesting the likelihood of different constructions of professional identity. Variables such as length of time within the profession and the position within the post-16 education sector were therefore potentially seen as an important consideration when investigating the intersection between Cornish identity and professional practices in the subsequent phase of data gathering.

### 5.3.2. The instrument

The pilot study, therefore, indicated that the aims of the study were likely to be met by using individual semi-structured interviews. The devised questions were therefore adopted as the instrument for the study. The questions fell into four broad categories; biographical, professional practices, institutional influences and student perception. An indicative list of questions, and their links to the research questions, is located in Appendix 4.

The next section will detail the ways in which access to participants was gained, followed by information about the actual sample.

### 5.4. Access to participants

This study has, as its focus, a minority group and, as a consequence, it was anticipated that there might be difficulty in locating individuals to be interviewed (Browne 2005). Prior to the commencement of the study enquiries were made of a selection of FE and HE institutions to ascertain what data were collected and held on the “ethnicity” of their staff, and their Cornish lecturing staff in particular. The availability of such data would, it was hoped, allow for a targeting of participants and potentially result in a representative sample.

The enquiries, however, revealed that none of the institutions sought to gather data over and above that which was required by the relevant government departments and funding bodies. In terms of identity, these currently do not include “Cornish” as a category. In the absence of such data, an accurate appreciation of the size of the field, or the spread of potential interviewees across academic levels, disciplines or institutions was not possible. Whilst it was recognised that the eventual sample would not easily be controlled the ideal spread of participants by institution, levels taught and gender was scoped (see Table 5.1 below). It was appreciated that more nuanced variables such as length of teaching career, or previous professional experiences would most likely be outside the control of the researcher.

Because of the inability to enumerate the target population a snowballing or “network” technique was seen as a means of identifying possible participants.

The use of networking to locate participants brings with it a number of challenges: those who participate might be politically motivated to do so and so not be representative; generalisations cannot be extrapolated from such a small sample; and control over who participates may well be limited.

The use of personal and professional networks as a means to identify participants also has the potential for demands to be made of individuals that that might be difficult to reject. To obviate such concerns initial contacts, in both the pilot and first stage of the study, were purposively chosen because of their known ability to refuse an invitation if it was deemed to be an inappropriate request. In the case of nominations suggested by those interviewed, or by other peers, this was not possible. Rather, it was necessary to take these nominations at face value but to be mindful of the possibility of peer coercion. A decision was made, therefore, that any failure to respond, at any stage of the process, on the part of a nominee, would be respected. Lack of contact was to be interpreted as a decision not to proceed and viewed as a positive example of participant empowerment.

The network technique, as a method of gaining access to participants, was used initially to good effect. Most, although not all, worked in the two FE institutions. Locating participants in the HEIs was a more challenging task. One early participant, who was employed by an HEI, advised in the course of the interview, that there were no other Cornish lecturers working in the Department and after some thought could only suggest one further person to approach (who subsequently declined to take part). After the normal network technique failed to identify potential participants a gatekeeper within the higher education institution was sought. A former colleague was identified and contacted with the result that assistance was offered. Individuals responded to an internal mail sent by this former colleague and these were then followed up. The bid to locate participants within the other HEI proved even more difficult. With no individual name proffered by interviewees as a potential starting place, a gatekeeper similar to that used in the other HEI, was seen as a possible way of making contact. A previous work colleague was identified but no response was received. Websites were analysed for potential participants and an unsolicited mail sent to a staff member who might have been Cornish. In an e-mail exchange he remarked that

it was surprising that he could not identify one Cornish lecturer to approach. As a result only one of the HEIs was represented within this study.

#### 5.4. Participants

The final sample for the in-depth semi structured interviews totalled 14. The participants were drawn from both FE colleges and one of the HE institutions located within Cornwall. Table 5.1 (below) details the preferred, and actual location of the sample. It also separates the intended and actual level of teaching practice, (utilising National Qualification Framework (NQF) levels as a guide), into further and higher education courses. The total number exceeds the 14 because one lecturer worked in both a FE and HE institution.

Instit'n NQF Level	FE1				FE2				HE1				HE2			
	M P	M A	F P	F A	M P	M A	F P	F A	M P	M A	F P	F A	M P	M A	M P	M A
Entry levels 3 – level 3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1								
Level 4 - 8	1	4	1	0	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	2	1	0	1	0

Key: NQF National Qualification Framework  
M Male and F Female  
P Potential and A Actual

Table 5.1. Preferred and actual sample location

The professional practice of the participants, at the time of the study, saw them working with students studying on a range of vocational and academic courses spanning levels 2 to 7 on the NQF. The student groups taught by them were diverse in many ways. Students were drawn from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, with ages that spanned 16 – 60 years. The students also came from a number of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, including those who

defined as Cornish. Participants also worked with students with a range of learning difficulties and disabilities, as well as those who had none.

Some of the sample had always been resident within Cornwall: yet others had moved away for educational or employment reasons and chosen to return at a later date. All self-defined as Cornish. A more detailed breakdown of the actual sample, including professional data, is set out in Table 5.2 below.

Participant	Gender	Age	Pos.	Current Sector	Length of Time Teaching	Teaching Qual'ns
Kensa	F	30-40	L	HE	12 months	None
Myghal	M	40-50	L + PL	HE	Over 10 years	Not known
Goron	M	40-50	L	HE	Over 10 years	None
Jacca	M	30-40	L+PL	HE in FE	Over 10 years	PGCE (PCET)
Bryok	M	40-50	L+ PL	HE in FE	Over 10 years	PGCE (PCET)
Cador	M	60-70	L+PL	HE in FE	Over 10 years	C.Ed. (PCET)
Hedrek	M	40-50	PL+ MM	HE in FE	Over 10 years	BEd
Tamara	F	30-40	L+PL	HE in FE	Under 10 years	PGCE
Kerensa	F	30-40	L	HE and HE in FE	Over 10 years	PGCE (PCET)
Hocken	M	30-40	MM	HE in FE and FE	Over 10 years	PGCE (PCET)
Meryn	M	50-60	L	HE in FE and FE	Under 10 years	C.Ed. (PCET)
Sowenna	F	50-60	L	HE in FE and FE	Under 10 years	PGCE (Sec)
Jeffra	M	40-50	L+ PL	HE in FE and FE	10 years	C.Ed (PCET)
Peswera	F	50-60	PL+ MM	FE	Over 10 years	C. Ed (PCET)

Key: M Male F Female  
L Lecturer PL Programme Leader MM Middle Manager

Table 5.2. Participants' details

Detail about the post - 16 institutions and their locations, within Cornwall, is found in Figure 3.1.

### 5.6. Ethical considerations

Prior to the commencement of research activity ethical approval was sought from the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at Cardiff University. In line with professional guidelines (BERA 2004) due consideration was given to ethical issues surrounding the design, implementation and impact of the project. This included a recognition of the need to support participants, obtain informed consent, and importantly maintain participant confidentiality.

The initial ethical approval application, therefore, included a discussion about the wider education community (Ntseane 2009). The education landscape in Cornwall is small in size and so, in order to maintain a professional distance between the researcher and the participants - and to eradicate any potential conflicts of interest, it was decided to apply a filter. Peers and current students were not invited to take part in the study.

The concern for individual participants in this study included recognition of the ways in which the relationship between the researcher, and those being interviewed, might impact on the interview itself. The manner in which participants were accessed meant that interviewer details were known to participants. Such familiarity could encourage the disclosure of sensitive information by participants. For example, the issues discussed during the data gathering might result in participants revealing instances of bullying within the workplace, or feelings of marginalisation and oppression. It was necessary therefore, to be aware of the impact of any questioning, and to be sensitive at all times to participants' needs. A strategy for dealing with such disclosure, if it should arise, was identified. In the event of distress being shown the interview would be interrupted and time given to enable the interviewee to recover. The interview would then commence when, and only if, the interviewee wished to do so. A range of professional agencies who could help support distressed individuals, were identified as potential referral points before the schedule of interviews commenced.

Prior to their interview all individuals were forwarded a copy of the information sheet (Appendix 2) and consent form (Appendix 3) which were previously agreed by the Ethical Approval Committee. All interviews commenced with a verbal summary of the information contained in these documents with attention drawn to the right to withdraw from the study if desired.

The importance of maintaining both “external” and “internal confidentiality” as outlined by Tolich (2004, p.101) was borne in mind throughout the research process. The allocation of pseudonyms as a means of maintaining external confidentiality was adopted (Robson 1993; Delamont and Atkinson 1995). It was considered, however, that this strategy alone would be insufficient to ensure internal confidentiality i.e. to stop individuals being identified by those fellow insiders who were also part of the research (see Tolich 2004 and Christians 2005 for examples of such instances). The method of locating participants also made the recognition of fellow contributors by insiders much more likely, if not through published comments then possibly by tracing the chain of connection (i.e. by working out who was connected to a known participant). The possibility of potential harm to participants from insiders, or those with a close knowledge of the FE/HE sectors, was recognised - with participants themselves noting that some of the views expressed would be harmful to their professional careers if they were identified. Ethical issues were therefore reviewed on an ongoing basis as recommended by Muchmore (2002). Accordingly, interview extracts used within Chapters 6 and 7 have been carefully chosen. Jessee (2011) has identified the ease with which it is possible to identify individuals even following elimination or minimal use of personal detail. As a consequence, when deemed necessary, references or verbal phrases that might identify individuals have been paraphrased or, in exceptional instances, omitted.

### 5.7. Carrying out the study

The individual interviews, (undertaken as part of the main study), were conducted at a time, and location, identified as convenient by the participants. Aware of the potential for sensitive discussions participants were encouraged to choose a setting that offered confidentiality. Most responded positively to this and, as a result interviews were undertaken at locations that afforded privacy.

These included individual offices at places of work, and in one instance at the participant's home. Yet others took place, through the choice of individuals, in a range of public spaces including canteens and staff work rooms where others were present. This did impact, in one instance, on an interview; a participant, aware of others in the room, chose not to discuss an issue but indicated it would be discussed later out of earshot. All interviewees seemed at ease and relaxed during the study.

The average length of the interviews was about seventy five minutes, although some lasted significantly longer than this. The approach to interviewing adopted in the pilot work was continued during the main data gathering phase with participants encouraged to take control of their contributions. This resulted in an offering of information that varied in detail. Prompt questions were used to elicit information where it was not forthcoming organically. Often, the most interesting material was offered after the recorder was turned off (see Warren 2012, p.138 - who notes the frequency of such an incidence). Where this occurred it has been noted in the discussion chapters although not detailed or attributed.

Digital recordings were undertaken of all of the interviews in the study. Recordings in the pilot study were collected using a minidisc recorder. The recording equipment was superseded in the main study by the use of an Olympus (WS-311M) digital voice recorder which afforded easier transfer of data to computers, thereby aiding transcription. The following section details the timings of the study.

In addition, a research diary was maintained during this study, in order to capture detail of any issues that might arise as a result of the fieldwork (Gunter 2005) and to record activity within interviews (as detailed by Hallowell et al. 2005). Its role in providing a place to note ideas as thoughts occurred was particularly useful during this pilot stage of the study. The entries formed part of a reflective feedback loop into the research process (Lather 1995; Coles and Knowles 2001).

#### 5.8. Study timetable

The fieldwork commenced, after an evaluation had taken place, in September



2010. The interviews in this study were carried out over a six month period which finished at the end of March 2011. The interviews were then transcribed and data analysis unundertaken.

Participant number	Date of interview	Name of participant
1	27.9.10	Kensa
2	29.9.10	Bryok
3	18.10.10	Jeffra
4	22.10.10	Cador
5	22.11.10	Jacca
6	15.12.10	Hedrek
7	16.12.10	Meryn
8	10.1.11	Peswera
9	22.2.11	Sowenna
10	22.2.11	Hocken
11	10.3.11	Goron
12	11.3.11	Myghal
13	16.3.11	Kerensa
14	30.3.11	Tamara

Table 5.3. Fieldwork timetable

### 5.9. Data analysis

This study was designed to explore lecturers' perceptions of their pedagogic practices and how these intersect with their Cornish identity. The relationship between me (the researcher) and the area of study was a matter of consideration during this phase of the study. The challenges of being an insider were foremost in my mind when undertaking the analysis of data. As Delamont (2002, p.46) has noted there are a number of challenges when undertaking research in a familiar area even more so when the subject has, as its focus, a group of which the researcher is also a member. The possibility of overlooking key issues, through familiarity with the subject is well documented (Delamont and Atkinson 1995). However, being an insider also has advantages. It offers the possibility of there being a particular sensitivity to the ways in which discussion was being framed but also how, at times, meaning can be implicit rather than explicitly stated (Portelli 1991; Gorard and Taylor 2004).

Nonetheless, in order to ensure that the analysis was not informed by personal experiences, or sentimentality, I regularly returned to re-read the transcripts. I wished to ensure that I did not fall into the trap of uncritical familiarity but instead sought to utilise this knowledge and understanding in a reflective manner.

It was anticipated that the use of in-depth interviews in this study would result in a significant amount of data. Notwithstanding, it was considered beneficial for the interviews to be transcribed, in full, by me (Henwood and Pidgeon 2009; Kawulich 2017). The value of this immersive process was that it enabled me to become very familiar with my data. I also chose to code the data manually using a mixture of hard and electronic copy of the transcripts. The decision not to utilise a software package for this activity was also informed by the opportunity of an initial level of analysis that incorporates an awareness of cultural knowledge underpinning the talk (Baker 1997; Fielding and Thomas 2008). Particular care was taken during the transcription process to also note the non-verbal expressions of emotions and meanings such as laughter or the adoption of particular accents to highlight points being made (Cohen et al. 2011). This was supplemented by detail drawn from the research diary, which noted physical reactions of the participants to the issues under discussion, such as the averting of eyes, tapping of fingers or hiding behind a mask of fingers.

When undertaking coding of data significant challenges and decisions face the researcher, not least achieving a balance between reduction and complication (Coffey and Atkinson 1996); generality; and detail (Weaver and Atkinson 1994). Similarly, there is a choice to be made about the initial approach to coding i.e. should it be inductive or deductive. I decided to utilise, in the first instance, an inductive approach to coding, i.e. not pre-defining codes prior to the collection of data: an approach that draws on the work of Glasner and Strauss (1967) although it is recognised that this study is not a grounded theory project. This, I considered, would better enable me to be open to emerging patterns or new categories when working with the transcripts (Richards and Richards 1994).

Initial codes were allocated in as open a way as possible. It was during this phase of the coding that I sought to identify and include potential outliers to the main developing patterns, and in doing so consider their significance in terms of

the overall data (Delamont 2002).

As the codes were refined that is to say when combining these initial codes to broader related categories, I was keen to ensure that meanings within the text were not lost (see Coffey and Atkinson 1996). I sought to mitigate against this possibility by returning to the original transcriptions and, in conjunction with the codes already allocated, select relevant passages of text, to place under category headings. This enabled me to consider, and where necessary amend, the headings in order that the original data was appropriately represented.

However, as Kawulich (2017) notes, it is difficult to view data in a totally neutral way. I recognise that I was sensitised to, and informed by, Bernstein's (2000) framing of the concepts of pedagogic discourse and recontextualisation of knowledge. I was also cognisant of my findings following the review of grey literature, detailed in Section 5.1 above, and utilised in Chapter 3. I became aware that later in the analysis process I was employing both inductive and deductive reasoning as I moved between the activity or description and interpretation, as observed by Merriam and Tisdell (2016).

Through refining the list of categories a number of main themes evolved. The identified codes and categories for issues of pedagogic practice, and the emergent themes of relationship to discipline knowledge, professional relationships and creation/transmission of pedagogic identities are set out in Table 5.4 below. The table should be read from left to right.

Stereotypes Institutional hierarchy	Within Discipline	<b>Professional Relationships</b>
Approach to work Challenge/resistance Professional aspirations Exotica	Within Institution	
Supporting community Networks	Within Cornish community	
Academic Researchers	Producer of knowledge	<b>Relationship to discipline knowledge</b>
Writers of Programmes and Modules for Cornwall and the needs of Cornish students	Curriculum makers (Recontextualisers)	
Adaption of pre-specified national syllabi	Pedagogic Reproducers	
Role model Aspirations Adaptability	Transmission of values	<b>Creation/ transmission of identities</b>
Importance of place Foregrounding of local contributions Larger project of human development.	Glo-local relations/citizenship	
Opportunities	Economic	

Table 5.4. Codes, categories and themes identified relating to pedagogic practices

Relating to the construction of Cornish identity four main themes of movement, belonging, place and values were identified. The codes, categories and related themes for identity are set out in Figure 5.5. below.

Stayers Leavers Returners Diaspora Geographical displacement from coast Difficult thing		Cornish	<b>Migration</b>
Culture Identity Values Accent	Dilution	Incomers	
Generational – 100% Generational - 50% or less Non generational	Family	Cornish	<b>Belonging</b>
Local Cornwall Celtic Global players Class Professional Gatekeepers	Community		
Community breakers Gentrifiers Colonisers Refugees/Lifestyle changers	English		
Sea Moor		Geography	<b>Place</b>
Cornish environments Non Cornish environments		Environment	
Independent Dreckly/Resistance Hardworking Community Shared History Pioneers Innovators Different Perspective Global citizens		Cornish	<b>Values</b>

Table 5.5. Codes, categories and themes identified during the analysis of the construction of Cornish identity

#### 5.10. Summary

This chapter has set out a discussion about the methodological choices which guided the final choice of research design in this study. The chosen research instrument, the semi-structured interview, was constructed with the help of a focus group. The questions were piloted before being used with the final sample of 14 lecturers. Detail of the final sample including their employment history, and the type of employing institution, has also been outlined.

The most challenging aspect of this study has been the difficulty in identifying a representative sample. Institutions do not hold data about the “ethnicity” of their staff beyond that which is required by the funding agencies. There were no available institutional data about Cornish staff in the sector. The participants for this study therefore, were located using the network technique. This approach, it was recognised, poses a number of issues including the extent to which the data gathered is representative of Cornish lecturers working in the sector. Another issue arising from the technique was the need to protect participant confidentiality. It was accepted that there was an on-going need to be sensitive to the needs of individuals, which was extended to the ways in which the participants’ comments have been utilised in the remainder of the thesis.

The chapter also includes detail of the codes and emergent themes that followed the analysis of the data. These have been separated out into two sets. The first, as detailed in Table 5.4 shows the emergent themes relating to Cornish identity; migration, belonging, place and values. There will be an exploration of these in Chapter 6. The second set details the themes that emerged about pedagogic practice; relationship to discipline, professional relationships and the creation and transmission of identity. Chapter 7 will explore these findings in greater depth.

## Chapter 6: FE and HE lecturers' perceptions of Cornish identity

6.1.	Introduction.....	84
6.2.	Belonging: articulation of generational and non-generational expressions of Cornishness.....	85
6.3.	Behaviour, Values and a Cornish mentality.....	89
6.3.1.	Hard work.....	90
6.3.2.	Contribution to family and community.....	92
6.3.3.	Respected personal attributes.....	95
6.4.	Migration as a key Cornish cultural practice.....	97
6.4.1.	Displacement and loss.....	98
6.4.2.	The Cornish: “Stayers”, “Leavers” and “Returners”... ..	101
6.5.	Cornishness: Resistance and challenge.....	103
6.5.1.	Resistance and community.....	104
6.5.2.	“Dreckly” - celebrated resistance.....	107
6.6.	Concluding remarks.....	108

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores how lecturers spoke about their Cornish “ethnicity” in relation to both their professional and personal identities. It offers an exposition of what they consider to be distinctive aspects of their culture and identity. The chapter also details how the marginalisation of Cornish “ethnicity” in wider UK society results in lecturers being subjected to oppressive and challenging practices. It also details how, and when, lecturers choose to resist such discrimination.

As was outlined in Chapter 5 the data collected during this project were subjected to a thematic analysis which resulted in four themes emerging: these are discussed below. The first and principal theme is that of belonging. There

are several views proffered of how belonging could be demonstrated, but the predominant one regards generational links to a particular geographical area, as a core aspect of Cornish identity.

A second theme revolves around cultural practices, and what participants highlight as contributing to a Cornish approach to life. The valued practices include a commitment to family and community. The centrality of this as a cultural practice can be seen in discussions about other prized attributes namely hard work, loyalty, the valuing of learning and the acquisition of knowledge.

The third theme that will be explored here is migration. All participants referred to issues of migration, and here it will be shown that this continues to be regarded as a practice which impacts on all Cornish people. The historical antecedents of migration, (explored in Section 2.2.3), are shown to have resonance in current Cornish lives, with migration regarded as part of the lifecourse for a large number of Cornish people. Another aspect of migration was also raised by interviewees and this concerned the impact of in-migration. Incomers were seen as having a negative impact on Cornish communities and Cornish culture.

The final theme discussed in this chapter concerns resistance. There is, however, a discernable valuing of resistance throughout much of the sections within this Chapter and again in Chapter 7. The next section will explore the theme of belonging.

## 6.2. Belonging: articulation of generational and non-generational expressions of Cornishness

*“No, it’s quite, it’s quite deep in me. Defining it? I don’t know ... a sense of social history, belonging.” Meryn.*

*“I do very much feel like I’ve got a core here. Like my roots, are here um...I’ve thought about that. When I go travelling, you know, if I go to different places, I’m also glad to get back. Um..I don’t know that I could live anywhere.” Tamara.*

Contrary to the view put forward by Taylor (2010) that a place-identity was a largely western, romantic and unachievable ideal, this project saw all participants firmly locating their identity geographically. The majority defined



their Cornish identity through familial links with Cornwall: often over generations and sometimes spanning several hundreds of years.

The ability to point to generational links to Cornwall was important for the majority of participants interviewed for this project. Jacca offered his view, in which it was clearly stated, that being Cornish was a matter of lineage on both maternal and paternal sides of the family:

*“People that I deem Cornish have got you know, parents, grandparents, who are Cornish.” Jacca.*

Closely linked was a long familial association with a particular geographical location and community, whether this was a substantial town such as Camborne, a village, or a hamlet of a few houses. Indeed, the close association with a geographical location was often the first indicator of belonging that was introduced, even before participants spoke of being Cornish. Meryn is one such example:

*“I grew up on the Lizard, over near Mannacan a little hamlet there ... my family, I’ve done my family history, we go back three hundred years within...Cornwall.” Meryn*

In this interview, it was only after his geographical locus was established that reference was made to Cornwall, and yet later to being Cornish. Thus suggesting that for this group, the identification of themselves within a specific, often micro, location was sufficient to establish their Cornishness - at least when interviewed by a fellow Cornish person who was deemed sufficiently cognisant of the value of such fine geographic detail.

The importance of the location and community to individuals can also be seen in the way that several of the participants, such as Kerensa and Hocken, (neither of whom had migrated from Cornwall), were currently living in the area where they had been raised as children. Of those who had left Cornwall, the majority, on their return, chose to relocate to the geographical area where their extended family resided whilst they were growing up. This decision seemed not to be affected by the length of time spent away from Cornwall. Sowenna was one such returner who, after a period away, decided to return with her growing family. She explained her thought processes on returning:

*“I’ll deliberately move to Camborne. That’s where I’m from, that’s where I grew up”.* **Sowenna**

For other returners the relocation to Cornwall was even more geographically specific. Meryn, for example, returned to the Lizard to live in the house where he grew up as a child and Jacca, at the time of interview, was living in a bungalow that had been previously owned by his grandmother.

Similar comments about the importance of geographical location and community were also received from participants who had only one Cornish parent thus suggesting that, where there was more than one set of possible geographical identities, the Cornish one was privileged. This seemed to have been the result of a combination of family pressures and community reinforcement.

The importance placed on generational contact with Cornwall, as a means to establish Cornish identity, was mentioned also by the only participant whose links with Cornwall differed. Kensa was the sole participant whose link with Cornwall might be seen as “non-generational”. None of Kensa’s family had been born in Cornwall, nor indeed had she. There was, however, a family linkage in that her father, although not Cornish, had been raised as a child in North Cornwall. This was the driver for the family to come to Cornwall when Kensa was a small girl. However, although her father had lived in Cornwall for a considerable part of his life, and even though the whole family had lived there since Kensa was a toddler, there was no family narrative of being Cornish. Indeed Kensa’s mother had instilled in her that to be seen as Cornish required any individual to be able to trace their lineage back three generations. A commonly held view, as was indicated in Jacca’s earlier illustrative quote. In the absence of familial support it fell to a Cornish dinnertime assistant at school to validate Kensa’s claim for Cornishness:

*“I was always aware that there was a distinct Cornish identity. I remember having discussions about it with sort of dinner ladies at school and my mum had said ‘you can’t be Cornish unless you’re three generations’, ‘like OK then’. No, the dinner lady was, she was called Mrs. [REDACTED] ‘Well, you’re here aren’t you?’ [in a Cornish accent] ‘You’m Cornish’ [laughter] ‘Cheers’.”* [thumbs up] **Kensa**

Whether this was an individual and humane reaction on the part of the dinnertime assistant to a young person’s keen awareness of not being Cornish,

or perhaps a considered political position cannot, at this stage, be known. Kensa's experience of Cornishness being conferred by an insider gatekeeper was not, however, noted by any of the other participants, suggesting perhaps that this was an atypical occurrence.

Another means of claiming identity - namely through self-election - was, however, discussed. The growing acceptance within society of identity having a fluid form was something that was noted within participant interviews. It was appreciated that the holding of multiple identities - such as being Cornish and British, Cornish and English, or Cornish and Celtic, or other combinations was possible. The place of individual agency in the selection of multiple facets that might be brought together in a personal identity was recognised, but for many of the generational participants self-election of a Cornish identity was not to be entertained. A note of disdain could be detected when the issue was raised:

*“There's a lot of people who've moved down and bought a big house in Fowey and reckon they're Cornish after ten years.” **Jacca.***

The exception to this, however, was Bryok. A lecturer with a life-long interest in Cornish history and culture Bryok was heavily involved with the Cornish language revival at the time of his interview. Admitting he was influenced by post-modern and post-structuralist thought Bryok outlined what he saw as the importance of individual choice:

*“you don't have to be genetically pure Cornish, you don't have to have a lineage to be Cornish, you don't have to be born in Cornwall, you don't have to live in Cornwall, you can identify yourself as Cornish by the things you do and don't do and one of the things you can do is learn the language.” **Bryok***

Whilst Bryok's position was not held by the other generational participants it is possible to identify a strand of potential commonality between his viewpoint, the stance of others, and Kensa's experience of her Cornishness being conferred by an insider gatekeeper. The strand of commonality being the importance of engagement in validated community practices. For Bryok, the learning of the Kernewek language was one such activity (although the use of Kernewek as an indicator of Cornish identity is contested as was shown in Section 2.2.4). In Kensa's case it is likely that her involvement in social events, held in the rural

community in north Cornwall where she grew up, was valued by her gatekeeper as a legitimate practice and so contributed to the conferment of her claimed identity.

This section has highlighted that, for the majority of participants in this study namely those who were generationally Cornish, the place-identity nexus was very important. It was, for most, the first indicator of their Cornish identity that they articulated. This is perhaps unsurprising. Its use offers an immediate, albeit somewhat crude, classification and thereby allows, with some ease, a means of differentiating the Cornish from others. Interestingly, what the interviews did highlight was that, even where a generational relationship to a specific geographical place existed, it was not the sole indicator of Cornishness. In addition, a range of practices was discussed by participants (see Dickinson 2010 and Kennedy 2016 who report similar findings). Practices identified, and adopted, by members of a group or community can be regarded as manifestations of socio-cultural understandings, which are historically located, and underpinned by shared value sets. However, the usage of practices change over time and the engagement people have with the activities they are undertaking demands that the perspectives are explored carefully. The section that follows will detail the values, shared history and practices articulated by participants when talking about their Cornish identity. In doing so, it will be possible to detect a number of positions that point towards a distinct Cornish culture.

### 6.3. Behaviour, Values and a Cornish mentality

*“It’s never been a big issue [being Cornish] it’s never been brought up as in a positive or a negative light in my life particularly it’s just something I’ve enjoyed being.” **Tamara***

*“I think we are happy about where we are really aren’t we? [laughter] we don’t have to be, try to be, well I don’t think, try to be something I’m not. I just am and that’s it. I’m Cornish.” **Kerensa.***

The holding of shared values and practices is recognised as an important element of group construction (Tajfel 1974; Turner 1975). The ways in which these are utilised as a means of distribution, and control, can be seen in the ways in which stereotypes are employed by non-Cornish lecturers.

Thus the strength, and continued currency, of negative stereotypes and assumptions, (for example, about the Cornish being parochial and naïve), surfaced in the interviews in this study. Cador, for example, noted that *“being Cornish is not easy [sigh] we’re sort of looked upon as the turnips in the field sometime, aren’t we? We’re sort of not like civilised”*. Hedrek also chose to address a similar issue. Posing the question *“What is Cornishness, is it something yokel?”* he responded in a strident fashion *“this was what people see as Cornish. Well, that’s not what a Cornish person is at all!”*

The negative views encapsulated in stereotypes were challenged by participants, and examples of these will be detailed below. Not all participants utilised abstract concepts when discussing these challenges. Instead, at times, the views were offered as illustrative “tales” of morals and acceptable practices which, in turn, illuminated the existence of a shared history and value sets. The use of such tales, in preference to a conceptual discussion, gives an indication of the strength and depth that the practices hold for individuals. Examples of resistance were also shared.

In the following sections a range of practices, and the value sets that underpin these, will be explored. Within the interviews there were three key overarching clusters identified: contribution to family and community, personal attributes, and hard work - the latter will be addressed first.

#### 6.3.1. Hard work

Hocken has generational links to the geographical area of Cornwall he currently resides in. During his interview Hocken highlighted that he felt his family lacked a narrative about being Cornish. Instead, he offered a number of different vignettes of family exploits which, he felt, highlighted how Cornishness extended beyond domicile, and place of birth, to include practices, which appeared to be located within a particular set of values. The most dominant of the examples offered revolved around the notion of hard work, which all members of his current family, and previous generations, had embraced. Hocken detailed his father’s working practices:

*“now, what he would do then... would leave home about half past seven/ eight o’clock in the morning, come home again about six, do that every day. Saturdays would often do a little bit in the mornings, and then he was involved with the football [Int: right yeah] and do that in the afternoon. And Sundays a bit of work somewhere, so the idea of having a laid back lifestyle as it were, was , was not.... that’s just normal. I would imagine that is normal working ten to twelve hours a day ... so it’s hard to get anything out of that except for like, if you were to define Cornish in that sense it would be incredibly hard working.”*  
**Hocken**

Other participants also offered examples of their families being hard working. These examples specifically countered the stereotype of the lazy Cornish person. This group of people included the only non-generational person Kensa, who noted that her father worked hard whilst she was growing up. For Kensa, however, there seemed to be a different familial frame of reference being utilised here. Instead of the suggestion made by Hocken, (namely that hard work was an indicator of Cornish identity), Kensa’s explanation saw it as a necessary response to challenging economic times:

*“growing up in 1980s was terribly hard , absolutely terrible, you know, I mean, I remember my parents literally down to their last 20p wondering how they were going to feed us until payday. It was very hand-to-mouth right the way along. And Dad, Dad worked hugely long hours.”* **Kensa.**

It was unlikely, however, that Kensa’s family was the only participant family struggling to make ends meet during the 1980s raising the question as to why she used a different frame of reference. It would also be inaccurate to suggest that other participants, if not struggling financially, were unaware of the wider economic situation. Instead, the privileging of hard work could be noted as an indicator of identity, and a highly regarded one at that. Other references to the industrious nature of the Cornish were proudly made by generational Cornish people. Whilst the types of occupation mentioned were varied, by far the most referred to type of employment was mining. Goron was one of many who drew attention to his family’s mining heritage:

*“I can trace elements of my family well back into the early 1800s, mostly as mine captains in Cornwall.” Goron.*

Often aligned with hard work were other attributes such as creativity, and innovation. Such references often were located within the participants’ individual family histories, which were frequently contextualized within community-based activity including the diaspora that followed the cyclical downturns of the mining industry.

As well as discussing the working traits of others, the practice of hard work was illustrated by the participants themselves, the majority of whom were involved in activities that were external to their employment in education. This community engagement was often significant in terms of time and commitment; several were school governors (one of more than one school), there was involvement with youth groups, environmental campaigns, marine and biological conservation, as well as cultural activities including politics and Old Cornwall Societies. Kerensa was fairly typical in her activity. She was involved in a range of community activities, in addition to managing her portfolio of employment across a number of educational institutions. She offered an explanation why, for her, hard work was important:

*“I’ve got to work hard because, I’ve got to work hard because I’d be letting the place down, wouldn’t I if I didn’t. [Int: you say letting the place] I’d be letting Cornish people down wouldn’t I if I didn’t. [Int:right] work hard, extra hard, to show people about Cornwall I’d be letting the culture down wouldn’t I!” Kerensa*

The above extract offers an illumination of the drivers behind her hard work. In her explanation it is possible to sense a moral imperative built on a cultural expectation of engagement. The next section will explore more fully how the participants regarded the value of, and contributions to, family and community.

### 6.3.2. Contribution to family and community

The importance of the family and the wider community was spoken of by all of the participants. Peswera, when discussing identity, highlighted the ways in which the community was important for constructing a sense of Cornishness.

Using her son as an example she stressed the central place that the community had:

*“He’s got a sense of Cornish identity, so the sense of Cornish identity came through, not through school, [Int: uh ha], college, it came through the family, and the people that you meet outside.” Peswera*

This extract from Peswera’s interview offers a telling insight into the relationship between individuals, their family and the wider community. Her choice of words conveys a sense of movement and fluidity, in terms of interpersonal relationships, which is something that will be returned to later. Importantly, here she privileges the role of the family and community, above other aspects of society including educational institutions. The significance of the community was also mentioned by Meryn who considered that community within Cornwall was different than elsewhere. Musing upon the impact of incomers to his small community he highlighted what, for him, the Cornish community offered its members:

*“Is it the community, do you think, that makes Cornwall different?”  
Int “Yeah, I do, because if you break that down you haven’t got the same bonds, you haven’t got the same understandings, you haven’t got the same history, [Int: uh ha] beliefs, and yeah it does.” Meryn*

Other participants also felt that the community was significant in their upbringing. Jeffra saw the closeness of the community in a positive manner:

*“That’s one of the things I like about Cornwall is that, certainly in the past, from my childhood, you knew a lot of people. It’s changed a bit now. But I like that close bond. I never found it claustrophobic, I found it comforting, protecting in a way, [Int: supporting?] very supportive.” Jeffra*

The collective bonds, and shared knowledge, of individuals and their histories cannot, clearly, always be a positive thing for all members of the community. What the quote from Jeffra’s interview offers, however, is an appreciation of the strength that can be drawn from such bonds. But what practices are key to successful functioning of the community, and could be seen as illustrative of Cornish distinctiveness? Might there be structures that are also context specific and unique to Cornwall?



All communities have a system of hierarchy and in an industrialised society these are often based upon class. Cornish society, as was previously observed in Chapter 2, although at the forefront of the industrial revolution was noted for not adopting the same societal structures as other parts of the United Kingdom. Several generational participants seemed to support this assertion and registered their view that Cornish society was different to other parts of the UK. Perhaps the most radical of statements came from Kerensa. Echoing the view posited by Jaggard (1999) that there was a different type of class hierarchy in Cornwall she stated that:

*“Cornwall’s kind of classless, Cornish people I think are classless, Celtic people, there’s more of a class culture in England” Kerensa.*

This comment is a particularly striking one and suggests that there is, for Kerensa at least, a societal framework that might be seen as drawing on an earlier structure. So what might this look like? In her interview Kerensa gave examples of a community which recognised the interdependency of all its members, and the need to contribute relative to the skills and knowledge that are held. This almost seems akin to a recognition of a communal duty, identified earlier in Kerensa’s given rationale for hard work.

Interestingly, none of the participants referred to religion. Yet, it might be possible to see some resonance here of values espoused by the non-conformist religions which were influential in 19th Century Cornwall. Whether or not these values are indeed traces of this religious influence, or even of older pre-Christian bonds, is not for this study. But it is worth noting that in addition to privileging hard work, and the subjugation of individual need for community benefit, there was an explicit rejection of materialism by some generational participants.

Jeffra was one such participant whose discussion of his own family history brought this into relief. His paternal family was from the south east of England and, in this extract, he explains the difference between their outlook and that of his Cornish maternal side:

*“I have never felt comfortable with them, they had different, I suppose more materialistic [Int: right] outlook on life ... Umm , it*

*meant a different sort of mindset [Int: right] and I've always felt much more closer towards my Mum's family, who are very practical and not worried too much about materialistic—yes, they've all got nice houses but they're not palaces - it's not about the money aspect in quite the same way ... mum's family is much more practical. It's much more about family, supporting each other."*  
**Jeffra**

Jeffra's comment about his family being practically-orientated was echoed by others, specifically the generational Cornish. A practical manner, combined with a belief in being self-sufficient and adaptable, can be an indicator of a pragmatic and almost stoical approach to life. Such an attribute might reasonably be seen as a natural outcome of the frail Cornish economy and a sensed lack of political empowerment, as was noted by Payton (2004). However, the ways in which participants, both generational and non-generational, presented these suggested that the attributes were positively regarded. In their discussion of the need to contribute to family, and the wider community, there was also recognition of other highly valued personal attributes. These will be addressed below.

### 6.3.3. Respected personal attributes

The discussion about the value placed on family and the wider community could be regarded as privileging these ahead of the individual. The place of the individual within such communities, and ways in which individual needs are accommodated, will be explored later in this chapter but in this section attributes participants valued in individuals will be detailed. Perhaps, understandably, where community links are regarded as important affirmers of identity, there may well be a natural disposition towards a set of attributes that overtly contribute to the continuation and sustainability of these. The attributes offered by participants would seem to support this claim.

One of the most important individual attributes discussed in the interviews was the love of, and quest for, knowledge. In a manner reminiscent of Gramsci's (cited in Portelli 1991) notion of native organic intellectuals, several interviewees related how learning, often self-propelled, was deemed important within the family. Hocken offered insight into his own grandfather's quest for learning:

*“My other grandad, he was sort of self-taught, that sort of thing. So he was a labourer, self-taught, but I remember he had this, I used to go up his house, he had this big book, of law, a big book of English law.”*

**Hocken**

Autodidactic learning was part of Hocken’s current family life with both his mother and his brother keen to extend their knowledge:

*“That’s what my mother grew up with so my brother’s the same. My brother doesn’t do the same as me, he’s the manager of [name of firm], he’s the manager but he still reads books and stuff, stuff that probably, on the other side of the coin he plays football, and like I say, he’s interested in horticulture but he’ll read books on philosophy and stuff.”* **Hocken**

Another key individual attribute was loyalty; which included loyalty both to individuals and to the community. Sowenna gave a flavour of this when discussing a stereotype mentioned earlier in the introduction to this section - namely that the Cornish were not welcoming as a people:

*“No, I don’t think we are ... my grandfather used to say this about the Cornish. It was to give them time ... They take a while to sort of make up their mind ... I think once you’ve got a Cornish friend they tend to be there for life.”* **Sowenna**

Hedrek interpreted the perceived lack of a welcome in a different manner; for him it was due to what he termed Cornish “reserve”. This is something that Sowenna also recognised, and suggested was a useful means of safeguarding both the individual, and the wider community:

*“It’s a form of perhaps not wanting to take the first step or just observing. You need to be much more of an observer of what’s going on before you feel safe.”* **Sowenna.**

The need to safeguard the community will be explored further in the final section of this chapter where participants’ views of challenge and resistance will be considered.

The discussion in the first two sections of this chapter has highlighted the ways in which Cornish identity, for the participants in this study, is strongly positioned within a socio-geographical nexus. The importance of community and the ways in which shared bonds, history and understandings contribute to a feeling of

Cornish difference for these participants has been explored. As Jacca's earlier quote (p. 75) illustrated, for most of the Cornish participants in this study their identity one largely exclusive in nature and not elective: literally something that is their birthright. Being part of such a group, however, presents challenges to an individual. For example, it raises questions about what agency is afforded the individual in a community that - seemingly - has such a high level of interdependency? What of those whose aspirations are different, or who wish to leave the community, and by what means are the aspirations and needs of individual members accommodated and validated by the community at large? The answer to this might well be located in the most commonly significant cultural practice discussed by the participants: migration. Within this practice it is possible to establish how the interaction between individuals, and the wider community, allows for personal agency to be enacted. As has been noted in earlier sections, tales were told of personal, familial and social migration illuminating how identity was built, reinforced or indeed reclaimed, through such a practice. This, and its importance to this study, will be explored further in the next section of this chapter.

#### 6.4. Migration as a key Cornish cultural practice

*"It's been interesting coming, actually I've only been back two years - no - it's nearly three years. Like the Cornish diaspora, you know you end up in different parts of the world. I did."* **Sowenna**

*"The vast majority of young people in Cornwall, even when I was young, had to move out of county to find meaningful employment. Umm, I'm one of the lucky ones. I've been able to come back. Not all of them can permanently."* **Meryn**

One of the themes present in all interviews was that of migration, giving an indication of the important position it holds as a cultural practice. References were both historical and contemporary. Discussion of historical migration was framed in terms of Cornwall's global contributions, mainly as a result of its mineral wealth; the hard work, ingenuity and creativity of its people as a whole; and the innate pioneering spirit of individuals.

The sole contributor who failed to engage in this sort of discussion was Kensa, the non-generational Cornish participant. The lack of such a narrative on her

part might have been a conscious decision. She could have, being cognisant of the number of different narratives available and rejected those she felt did not align with her personal position. Or alternatively, it might have been as a result of the absence of familial narratives with a similar theme. It is not surprising, therefore, that the emotional and cultural bonds to Cornwall held by Kensa's family differed from those described by participants who had acquired such knowledge over generations.

Whilst the historical migration themes, set out above, were often relayed in a positive mode the contemporaneous themes gave a more nuanced view of current practices, and their contentious nature. These included the continued out-migration of the Cornish to take up opportunities, whether for education, or employment. The other theme mentioned by a significant number of participants was that of in-migration which will be discussed next.

#### 6.4.1. Displacement and loss

A geographical space becomes criss-crossed with cultural meaning as emotional and sentimental bonds are built up by those living, and working within an area, (see Gieryn 2000 for an overview of studies on place attachment). Any alteration to the manner in which physical space is utilised will potentially impact in a number of ways including on the economy, and the emotional wellbeing of individuals. In-migration has, as noted in Chapter 2, had an effect on the demographics of Cornwall. In their discussion of the impact of in-migration the preferred vehicle of discussion for the participants was the physical environment: the most oft-given examples of the impact of in-migration made reference to the coast.

It is unsurprising that the sea has an important role in the Cornish consciousness. Cornwall's geographical position as a peninsula means that all of its people have a relationship, of some kind, with it. This was apparent in the interview comments. Jeffra for example noted, when discussing the geography of Cornwall, that you could "*walk ten miles in three directions and get your feet wet*". Inextricably linked to the views the Cornish hold of themselves as a global people (see 2.2.3 below) the coast therefore, is an important place for the Cornish. The beach and the horizon can be regarded as sites of symbolism

where both the past, and indeed the future, are located in the present. Any alterations to the coastline could be seen as a potential challenge to the stability of this cultural symbolism. It is possible to regard any restrictions to the coast, and the all-important horizon, whether actual or perceived, as a rupture of collective bonds and impacting on collective history, memory and identity.

The symbolic value of the Cornish coast was apparent in comments made by some of the participants, who were returners to Cornwall. For them its emotional pull was tangible. One noted that, along with family, it was a reason for her returning to live in Cornwall:

*“I love you know the fact we are so close to the beach. To me, if it weren't for the beach I probably wouldn't have come back. [Int: uh huh] so it's pretty powerful.” Sowenna*

The lure of the coast is not, of course, limited to the Cornish. In-migration to Cornwall has been predominantly located around the coastline of Cornwall resulting in a significant displacement of the Cornish inhabitants (as outlined in Section 2.5). As a consequence, detrimental changes to seaside towns and villages have occurred. Some locations become “ghost towns” in the winter, following the seasonal exodus of second home owners. The scale of the emotion that results from this can be seen in Meryn's comment:

*“Porthleven - 73% of properties there are second homes or holiday lets. That's a quintessential Cornish fishing town [INT: absolutely] you know, and it's been destroyed. And that is happening all the time.” Meryn*

As well as in-migration resulting in the breakup of longstanding communities, other effects were highlighted as being negative for the Cornish community. Sowenna noted that there had been a growing gentrification of the housing stock and the growth of the types of businesses that were not Cornish in nature:

*“It kind of riles me - that kind of a whole restaurant in Newquay or St.Ives or somewhere, and it's all been done to a particular design, and you could go to New Zealand, or you could go to California and you could go to South Africa. You could go to a lot of places and you would see exactly the same thing ...and that really annoys because I think, “That's not Cornwall”. ” Sowenna.*

The impact of in-migration on other aspects of the built environment was also

raised. The link between the built environment, and the Cornish way of life, was made explicit by Tamara who articulated the difference between where she currently lives on the coast, and Troon, near Camborne, which she identified as an example of a Cornish place:

*“[the name of the town] it doesn’t feel particularly Cornish to me. You know like the town somehow - a lot of the people who live here aren’t Cornish very much - not very many of them - are they? ... So, I think, you know my friend lives in Troon, that’s Cornish, [laughter] with little Cornish hedges and there’s Cornish people around you and it’s like, the countryside is Cornish, it’s really Cornish whereas even the countryside here to me isn’t particularly Cornish. It’s more English. It’s just a bit more generic. It’s not got that same characteristics.” **Tamara***

Again, here Tamara highlights the view that incomers choose to alter the physical space to resemble where they have come from, with the result that the space is irrevocably changed. For her, and also for several of the other participants, these changes were lamentable. Some chose to challenge the loss of their valued Cornish environment. Goron told of how he directly asked local government officials about the drive to install mini roundabouts:

*“I had a bit of a discussion with the Chief Executive of the Camborne Pool regeneration company because I complained that their strategy for regeneration of the area appeared to be, to Swindonise it, basically they wanted to put in lots of houses, housing and to replicate Swindon. Roundabouts started to appear all over the place. He said well actually they had hired a planner from Swindon.” **Goron***

In-migration was therefore regarded, by most participants, as a form of colonisation which was damaging in a number of ways; through the built environment; through the breaking up of longstanding communities; and subsequently through the erosion of identifiers such as accent; a shared social history; and the all-important community values. The term “dilution” was often used as an illustrative term to describe the effects of in-migration.

However, all participants recognised the economic interdependency that exists between those who come to Cornwall, either as a visitor, or as a longer term resident. The key issue of economic stability and growth following the collapse of the hard rock mining industry has been explored in Chapter 2. The continuing precariousness of the Cornish economy undoubtedly underwrites discourses of migration, and the individual life choices that people make. The next section will

show how the narrative of migration was talked about by the participants signaling its continuing potency.

#### 6.4.2. The Cornish: “Stayers”, “Leavers” and “Returners”

As part of the life-course of young people, migration from their community of birth or childhood has been, and continues to be, a common occurrence. Such a departure is seen as a consequence of a growing maturity and a normal step in terms of the life-course. The reasons for movement away from a community are many and are likely to be affected by gender, class, education, personal aspirations and the opportunities offered by the geographical locality. However, the larger social understanding about moving away from Cornwall is undeniably linked to the widely circulating narrative that once young people leave they may not return. This migration, therefore, has caused a collective sense of sorrow.

The seepage of young people from Cornwall as they seek education and employment opportunities, and the difficulties prohibiting their return at some later stage, was referred to in all the interviews undertaken as part of this study. Whilst changes in educational provision have occurred (Cornwall Council 2013a), as a result of the circumstances set out in Chapter 5, the discussion about whether to leave or stay is one that is still prevalent within Cornish society. The existence of such a narrative places individuals in a difficult position. Those who do not wish to leave Cornwall, (i.e. “stayers”), can be perceived by the non-Cornish as having little aspiration. Others may feel forced to go and leaving the familiar seek to become “returners” as soon as possible, although some leave knowing that opportunities to return might not present themselves. Yet others may be anxious to embrace opportunities elsewhere and have no intention to become “returners”. For some individuals the existence of a narrative that legitimates migration, and also permits agentic behaviour on the part of those who wish to leave, may well be a welcome path away from their community. Regardless of the choices made by individuals, it is necessary to recognise that these are more strongly anchored within wider community concerns than might be the case in other parts of the United Kingdom.

Irrespective of whether the participants in the study were “stayers” or “returners”, they incorporated examples of migration that drew on both familial



and community stories, suggesting that the individual experience is best recognised and has validity, when connected to a larger social understanding. Of the 14 participants involved in this study only four had grown up and never moved away from Cornwall. All of the remainder had left Cornwall to undertake higher education or to take up employment. What was distinctive in terms of these two groups? The distinction was not the chronological age of the participants but rather the trajectories of their lives. Those who were “stayers” had undertaken their higher education as mature students, having taken advantage of the opportunities offered as a result of the recent growth in local provision. Most other participants obtained their higher level qualifications outside Cornwall. Only one gained a higher education qualification in Cornwall before leaving to locate work. For these participants their decisions to leave were often described as being in line with historical narratives involving travel and global contributions. Some participants recalled being apprehensive but overcame this whilst away. Yet others relished the opportunity to experience the world with a number choosing to work abroad for several years. Of the 10 returners none returned to Cornwall to take up the position they held at the time of the interviews, but rather obtained other available work once back in Cornwall. Suggesting that returning to Cornwall is, in part, emotionally driven.

The value of the opportunities offered outside Cornwall was, however, recognised by these interviewees. Several acknowledged that it was through such opportunities that the skills, which subsequently enabled them to secure posts in education, were acquired:

*“And I think a lot of my generation who went away over the years have drifted back. I think that’s been good for Cornwall. We’ve brought a lot of skills with us. If I hadn’t gone away to get the skills I wouldn’t be doing the work that I do now because I wouldn’t be qualified to teach what I’m actually teaching. [Int: absolutely] so an indigenous Cornishman who had never been away would find it very difficult to come here and take up the jobs at the University.”*  
**Goron.**

Interestingly, those interviewed here talked about the inevitability of their return to Cornwall: a return migration pattern with historical antecedents (Schwartz 2002). An interesting comment was made by Myghal about his return to Cornwall. He highlighted how the commonly held model of the “return” (i.e. one

made towards the end of a working life) was challenging for him:

*“See, at the time I was very reticent about returning. Reticent in the sense of I just felt that it was rather early. I knew my family were here, and nothing major was going to change, and it was always a possibility, [...] I felt I was quite happy to go on to do another job somewhere in Africa, or wherever, and I chose not to [...] I’m still not sure why I didn’t, but I came back into academia which was a strange choice at a relatively young age.”* **Myghal**

With such a widely circulating expectation for young people to leave Cornwall, those who chose to remain can find their decision-making a fraught process. As mentioned previously, stereotypical narratives that classify the Cornish “stayers” as individuals who lack ambition and the drive to succeed, were seen as damaging. This classification was one that all participants referred to. All had a personal engagement with this stereotype at some stage of their lives which added pressures in the conundrum of whether or not to leave Cornwall. The interviews also indicated that it was possible to hold a number of different viewpoints, about the cultural practice of migration, simultaneously. Hedrek typified this. He was quite clear about the benefits that travel and living outside Cornwall might bring, but equally felt that it was entirely possible to remain in Cornwall and to be perfectly content. He rejected totally the notion that choosing the latter reflected a lack of aspiration:

*“There’s being happy, and there’s being successful, competent and happy and striving to be the best you can, but you can do that within Cornwall ...there is nothing wrong with achieving within your abilities and being happy where you are.”* **Hedrek**

Their discussions point towards migration practices being an enduring site of personal and community struggle (Holland and Lave 2001, p.7). The way in which this key cultural practice of migration has influenced pedagogic practices will be explored more fully in the Chapter 7. Prior to this, however, resistance as an indicator of identity will be examined.

#### 6.5. Cornishness: Resistance and challenge

*“you know even now we still talk about a separate ethnicity in Cornwall because it doesn’t matter how much England shouts from the rooftops that ‘hey you, you know, you’re just the same as us, You’ m English boys! ’ you know. That doesn’t actually resonate strongly enough with*

*people's lives to the extent that the ethnicity dies out.” Kensa*

*“they think they can down talk us - people like myself –into um submission by using big words and basically putting us in position where we can feel intimidated by them. I never get intimidated...I question them.” Cador*

The data gathered for this study, and explored thus far in this chapter, clearly affirm that, for the participants, there are a number of values and practices that define Cornish identity and culture. These findings directly challenge the assertions found in the literature (Hechter 1975; Erikson 1993) that suggest the assimilation of the Cornish into the larger English nationalist project. The continued survival of a perceived separate identity is, Tajfel (1974) asserts, the result of challenge and resistance. Holland and Lave's (2001, p.7) framework, which seeks to explore the relationship between enduring struggles and individual action, offers a useful lens with which to explore the ways individual and community action intersect here.

The use of the term “struggle” by Holland and Lave suggests aggression and an ongoing engagement that is both challenging, and relational in nature. Extracts from the interviews presented earlier in this chapter, appear to indicate that participants do indeed see their experiences in such terms. Participants shared examples of resistance to attempts to colonise aspects of their culture or assimilate them into the wider English project. The remainder of this section will detail some of these examples and consider why resistance and challenge should be regarded as an indicator of Cornish identity.

#### 6.5.1. Resistance and community

Examples offered by the study participants suggest that they recognize the wider historical struggles when working in more localised ways. Earlier in this chapter Kerensa set out her views on how the class system in Cornwall differed from that found in England. For Kerensa a more egalitarian approach to social interactions was to be expected and this was evident also in the extract below. Here she directly challenges a senior manager in the HEI whose behaviour she deemed inappropriate:

*“One of them was rude to me once. I had a go back at him, he was quite high up but I thought I’m not having you speaking to me like that, because he was going on about the Cornish and I thought ‘well hang on matey!’ I said ‘You’re not going to get on down here. People aren’t going to like your attitude. You’re going to be run out. People, you know, won’t like it’. Cornish people are nice people, who don’t like that sort of snotty attitude that people don’t speak to each other and things like that.”* **Kerensa**

Cador also relayed another example of a direct challenge to a perceived hierarchical position: his own. As an internationally known and well regarded professional, Cador is positioned by colleagues at the pinnacle of his specialism. In the extract below he relays part of a conversation that had occurred with a peer from another part of the UK, who clearly was struggling to reconcile Cador’s international profile with his Cornish identity. Again, as in the example given by Kerensa, this extract illustrates how easily instances of explicit stereotyping surface in the lives of Cornish individuals:

*“Cornwall. You’re actually not born in Cornwall, you must have lived there recently, you were born in America... Canada’. I said ‘No, I was born [emphasis on the word born] in Cornwall, I was brought up in Cornwall, I learnt my trade in Cornwall and New York. Alright?... ‘Yes, I’m Cornish umm...you know.....I’m, everybody has to be born somewhere, I’m a Cornishman so what’s the big deal? I speak to you.”* **Cador**

Here interestingly Cador’s response indicates his understanding and appreciation of a number of cultural expectations and frameworks. He assertively claims his right to his place in the hierarchy of his specialism, by emphasising the learning of his craft or trade, but this is overshadowed by the repetition of references to Cornwall. In doing so he draws attention to his identity in way that could be seen as aggressive, yet his response is seemingly tempered by the final few comments. The comment “*everybody has to be born somewhere*” is perhaps an example of him recognising the position he holds within the professional hierarchy. But the final statement Cador makes about speaking to the peer is a double-edged one. To the peer the comment might well reinforce Cador’s position in the hierarchy (and it would surely be the case that Cador recognises this) but he is also clearly drawing on a Cornish cultural practice, namely being inclusive to all members of the group - in this instance through conversation - regardless of position. Here, as in Kerensa’s case, the

immediate exchange with a particular individual is located within wider historical struggles, yet mediated by Cadour's own cultural values.

The intersection of individual and historical struggles, and the resulting impact on individuals, was something participants were cognisant of. One example of this can be seen in Jacca's observation about incomers to Cornwall. Although recognising the negative impact of in-migration on Cornish communities Jacca was able to appreciate the challenge that this might pose for individual outsiders:

*"If you move down to Cornwall or something, then it's bloody hard, because it's still that kind of small, local community where if you don't know someone, it's difficult to get into it."* **Jacca**

Whilst during the interviews the word "English" was used by participants it was often replaced by the term "people". The usage of the term was not, however, restricted to incomers. The Cornish themselves were often noted as a "people" suggesting that they found this a more acceptable term of self-definition, than the more complicated and politically charged concepts of "nation" and "nationhood" as set out in sections 1.6 and 2.3.

Whilst all in this study were happy to be identified as Cornish this did not extend automatically to being seen as Cornish nationalists. Two of the participants talked openly of supporting the nationalist party Mebyon Kernow, but others were quite specific about not wanting to be seen as jingoistic flag waving nationalists:

*"I was born in Cornwall, I was brought up in Cornwall...I'm Cornish. but I don't go round and say I'm Cornish and I'm proud of it. I can't stand that ...so what I'm kind of saying Cath is yes, I am proud to be a Cornishman. I don't fly the flag and go around flying it on my bloody car every day for instance, alright?"* **Cador.**

Jeffra was even more blunt:

*"I'm not a Cornish nationalist."* **Jeffra**

These responses suggest perhaps, a suspicion of organised politics, and nationalistic political parties in particular, with their push for homogeneity and

conformity (Kohn 1946), or possibly a cultural reluctance to allow others to speak for them. Others were, however, comfortable utilising St. Piran's flag as a symbol of difference. Hedrek commented that his students often chose to paint St. Piran's flags on their equipment (see Kennedy (2016, p.161) for further detail on this cultural adoption). The drivers of nationalist resistance were not fully explored here, which offers potential for further consideration at a later date. It is possible to surmise, that the reluctance of the participants to align themselves to a form of political nationalism, might have been a rejection of the nationalist position as originally conceived, and adopted by revivalists, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Unlike the experience in Brittany (McDonald 1989) Cornish nationalists have had limited success in infiltrating the group consciousness of the wider Cornish population. Erikson (1993) makes the important point that writing ethno-history, as the revivalists attempted to do, required genuine contact with the lived experience of the wider society they were seeking to influence, if they were to be successful. The comments of the majority of participants in this study certainly suggest that, in the case of Cornwall, success has been limited, in spite of the political activity mentioned earlier (see Sections 2.2.4 and 2.3).

Other additional examples of resistance to authority, whether placed within the family setting or as part of community activity, were abundant. Examples of historical resistance were cited including the brazen "walking home" of items from company stores when needed to support familial activity, to stories of community resistance that were more current. These included the mobilization of like-minded people to challenge perceived threats to long standing communities such as the decisions to build a waste incinerator outside a mid-Cornwall village or a proposed new eco-town. The examples of resistance given by those in the study, offer an important insight to how such activity affirms and maintains Cornish identity. In the final part of this section one aspect of resistance that was mentioned and celebrated above others - namely the use of "dreckly" - will be explored.

#### 6.5.2. "Dreckly" – celebrated resistance

The neo-liberal rhetoric of individual responsibility for self and the need to

engage energetically in the market place is one that assigns, with some ferociousness, negative labels to those who fail to adhere to the hegemonic position. Stereotypical classifications of the Cornish as lazy, therefore, have serious ramifications for individuals. As was seen earlier in this chapter participants stridently challenged this stereotype. Instead they privileged the ethic of hard work. Yet there was recognition by several generational participants that a “dreckly” approach was integral to their lives. Cador, when commenting on his upbringing, even went as far as to suggest it might well be a trait that is conferred at birth:

*“But in Cornwall, of course, I think they give us a “dreckly will do”, kind of thing, umm and, fortunately, that is.” Cador*

The “dreckly” approach is one that allows for, and promotes the agentic self. In practice, when a request is made of a Cornish individual the “dreckly” approach means that it is subjected to careful scrutiny and rumination before given a weighting - often personally determined - alongside other competing demands. However, as well as being seen as a philosophical approach to life, informing decision-making and subsequent activity, some participants acknowledged that “dreckly” at times was used as a means of asserting their agency when being pressured by others. It was, in effect, used as a form of resistance to external pressures.

## 6.6. Concluding remarks

This chapter has set out, in some detail, how participants in this study viewed their Cornish “ethnicity”. For them, Cornish identity was a live and significant issue challenging the assertions made by Hechter (1975) and Erikson (1993) of the Cornish having been assimilated into England. Those interviewed were clear that, although they considered their identity was currently under threat by English in-migration, a distinctive Cornish identity still existed.

Aware of the tension that exists between different perceptions of identity construction (Calhoun 1994; Jenkins 2008) most participants were unwavering in their view that Cornish identity was firmly located in place. This runs contrary to the view put forward by Taylor (2010) of place-identity being a romantic unachievable ideal.

Belonging was regarded as a critical indicator of this identity, and generational links to Cornwall were regarded as a central plank of this. Where generational links were absent, as in Kensa's case, a gatekeeper conferred Cornishness possibly as a result of her personal association with her place of upbringing. An alternative means of claiming Cornishness, (i.e through the embracing of certain cultural activities), was suggested by one of the participants. This approach was, however, rejected by the remaining participants who claimed Cornishness through generational links. The strength of feeling behind the position adopted by most generational Cornish participants was clearly evident within the interviews. Such strong positioning of a generational link to place as an indicator of "ethnicity" is not unproblematic. At first reading it suggests that the position taken by the participants is essentialist in nature. However, Niezen (2009) warns against making simplistic assumptions when considering the responses of members of minority groups. Instead Neizen suggests that such groups, often faced with a conundrum about how to persuade others of the intrinsic value of their identity and heritage, choose to privilege a distinct claim of difference - such as the one discussed by the majority of participants in this study. By doing so the more difficult challenge of articulating the complex meaning behind the ways in which identity is performed is averted. Such a reading is supported by this study where the experiences, offered by participants, illustrates the complexity of Cornish identity.

The insights offered in this chapter also illuminated that participants regard Cornish culture as privileging a set of values and practices that link the individual to the family, as well as to communities located within Cornwall, and across the world, as a result of migration. Resistance is regarded as a necessary counter to perceived challenges to their culture.

The interviews also indicated how the participants currently draw upon a range of historical reference points to illustrate the distinctiveness of their culture. These illuminated what Holland and Lave (2001, p.20) recognise as the:

complex relations between the struggles in which people are caught up in the everyday world and the broader struggles that encompass many localities and longer periods of time.

These complex relations can be seen to contribute to the construction of their



lecturer subjectivities which, in turn, influence the knowledge and moral choices the participants make within their locational context (i.e. Cornish post-compulsory education). Examples of the types of moral choice made by lecturers, (for example when Cador's academic identity was questioned), have been offered here. The range of roles undertaken by educators (i.e. as knowledge producer, curriculum maker and teacher), necessitates a detailed exposition of how these moral choices intersect with the complex context of Cornish post-compulsory sector. These aspects are explored in the next chapter. The chapter will also elucidate where and when lecturers' Cornish identity is made salient.

## Chapter 7: Cornwall within and beyond the classroom: Cornish lecturers, “ethnicity” and pedagogic practices

7.1. Introduction.....	111
7.2. Professional identity: pedagogic practices and Cornish identity.....	113
7.2.1. Claiming a professional identity as a Cornish lecturer in higher education.....	115
7.2.2. Further education: Cornish “ethnicity” and pedagogic practices.....	127
7.3. Towards a Cornish pedagogic identity? .....	131
7.3.1. Pedagogic identities: the extent to which Cornwall’s Educational institutions offer a distinctive collective base...	132
7.3.2. Lecturers’ practices: creation and transmission of a Cornish Pedagogic Identity.....	140
7.4. Discussion.....	148
7.5. Summary.....	154

### 7.1. Introduction

This chapter will detail participants’ practices as pedagogues and consider how these are informed by aspects of their Cornish identity. An analysis of interview data relating to lecturers’ pedagogic practice, (detailed previously in Table 5.4, p.81), identified three key themes. The first concerns professional relationships, and the impact that institutional and discipline hierarchies have on lecturers’ practices. Here participants discussed the different communities of practice they inhabited as lecturers, including the institution in which they worked, the larger academic networks they belonged to - along with those outside education. The second theme revolved around the relationships that lecturers have within their chosen discipline and, specifically, with the creation of discipline knowledge. The third theme concerned the creation and transmission of pedagogic identities. The significance and contribution of

external relationships with communities or networks outside education was identified as an important finding.

In order to help elaborate these themes a number of frameworks will be used. Bernstein's (1990, 2000) pedagogic device, utilised in Chapter 5 to explore the post-compulsory sector in Cornwall, will once again be operationalised. In this chapter it will be utilised in two ways. First, to shed light on instances where Cornish lecturers experience challenges (whether as knowledge producers, curriculum makers or as reproducers of knowledge in the classroom) and second, to make visible the use lecturers make of what Bernstein (2000, p.30) identified as the "discursive gap" to recontextualise or reproduce curricula that reflect their culture and identity.

The chapter will also consider the extent to which a localised pedagogic identity is available for Cornish students. By using Bernstein's (2000, p. 65) framework of pedagogic identities, an exposition of participants' views on pedagogic identity creation will be offered. Holland and Lave's concept of "history-in-person" will also be employed to enable a closer examination of individual lecturers' reported pedagogic practice choices.

Commencing with a section which seeks to explore themes one and two, this chapter will detail how lecturers' Cornish identity seems to impact on their practices when working within higher and further education. It will explore how and when lecturers' "ethnicity" is expressed and how it mediates social interchanges and how this remakes the social and material circumstances that they practice within. Following this a subsequent section will address the third theme. The latter has two foci. The first, considers the extent to which educational institutions whether, as part of the larger CUC initiative, or as individual establishments, align with the Cornish values articulated by lecturers. The second explores the contribution lecturers believe their chosen professional approaches, both within and without the classroom, make to a localised pedagogic identity. The section concludes with an examination of the extent to which participants may have become explicit role models for Cornish students.

Throughout these sections examples, often recounted in the form of "tales",

illuminate how lecturers' professional relationships are formed and sustained as well as how they experience, and respond to, perceived discrimination because of their "ethnicity". These examples, which differ from those reported in Chapter 6, offer a consideration of the extent to which educational institutions within the sector can be regarded as "sites of struggle" (Holland and Lave 2001, p.21). The chapter concludes with a discussion about the social interactions that Cornish lecturers engage in and the extent to which their mediation is successful in remaking the social and material circumstances they practice within.

## 7.2. Professional identity: pedagogic practices and Cornish identity

*"Cornish people aren't academic, Cornish people aren't successful. Well, they bloody well are and if you're one of them then you should shout about it." **Hedrek***

*"I came back into academia, which was a strange choice, at a relatively early age...I've been very lucky because I am able to integrate much of my work and still travel...but lucky to be able to come home....the glue is always here" **Meryn***

As was discussed in Section 4.4, the pedagogic practices of lecturers are often dependent on the interplay of a number of elements. This section explores how lecturer choices are shaped by the type of institution they work within, their position within academic hierarchies, as well as the support received from peers. When setting out his framework for the pedagogic device, Bernstein commented that individuals were unlikely to be active across all of the different fields of the pedagogic device i.e. of knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction. He noted, for example, that "recontextualisers are rarely the producers of knowledge" (2000, p.38). Recent studies in tertiary education (Geirsdóttir 2011; Vorster 2011) counter this assertion, as does this study. Of the participants in this study 11 identified as producers of knowledge and were also involved in recontextualisation of curricula, either as curriculum makers or teachers. Such activity, describes a complex array of practices - all of which require high levels of skill.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants' interviews demonstrated they were cognisant, and appreciated, the impact of policy decisions - made by

administrations at regional and national level - on their day to day practices. Therefore some of the views expressed in this study - such as the concerns about the GCE A-Level curricula detailed below, are likely to be reported anywhere within England. However, concerns with how European policy directly impacts on the post-16 compulsory sector within Cornwall, places these lecturers apart from their peers in England.

In terms of European policy the most important, for these academics, was the allocation of Objective One economic development funding to Cornwall and the subsequent creation of the CUC. Key developments resulting from this offered what, in Bernsteinian (2000, p.32) terms, might be referred to as a potential “space” to challenge and change previous educational policies. Interviewees also referred to several related national policy initiatives. By far the most significant of these concerned the then Labour Westminster Government’s widening participation agenda, and specifically the introduction of the Foundation Degree Award (DfEE 2000).

Other policy changes were also mentioned by those working in further education. Arguably, the most notable one concerned the suite of qualifications available to 16-19 year olds. Changes made to the GCE A-Level curriculum as a result of the Curriculum 2000 project, with the introduction of modularised, fact-focused syllabi, were viewed by lecturers as being detrimental to students’ experiences of education. Respondents felt that teacher practices were becoming more assessment driven as a result (Neary 2002; Ofsted 2003). Another key change noted by participants was the growing concern raised by the Westminster government about access to opportunity for all students, regardless of socio-economic background or previous attainment (DfES 2002; DCSF 2006; DBIS 2009). The sustained focus on equality and diversity, especially relating to issues of “ethnicity” and inclusion, during Ofsted (2009) inspections, was seen as a noteworthy operationalisation of this concern.

At the time of study, the coalition Government, which superseded the previous Labour administration, had just announced its intention to raise the fees for degree courses (DBIS 2010). Participants voiced their opinions about how post-compulsory education would, yet again, come under pressure as

members of the CUC sought to reposition institutional needs and aspirations. The research interviews indicated that this group of educators had a high level of professional political awareness and appreciation of the importance of institutional context. The next section explores the extent to which this awareness may have influenced lecturers' understandings, their academic identity formation, roles, and perceived practices. It also presents findings that relate to experiences of lecturers working in higher education - as they were expressed in interviews.

#### 7.2.1. Claiming a professional identity as a Cornish lecturer in higher education

The participants in this study who worked in higher education described a number of challenges that they faced when their "ethnicity" became salient within their professional practice - whether it was research-related, concerned working with peers within their institutions, or arose in their interaction with students. These are explored in the sections that follow.

##### *1. Knowledge production, communication and "ethnicity"*

The type of discipline activity that lecturers in higher education undertake is dependent on the employing institution. Some are teaching-focused, others are primarily concerned with undertaking research and others are a mix of the two (Kreber 2010; Shattock 2014). However, research activity is regarded as fundamental to a successful academic career and access to research funding a key touchstone for career progression (Becher and Trowler 2001; Holligan 2011). All participants in this study involved with higher education were engaged in the field of knowledge production, (which included capacity building and networking projects as well as undertaking empirical research), necessitating the writing of academic papers and presenting at academic conferences. Such participation is an academic expectation (as well as often being an employer contractual requirement), and offers opportunities for the circulation and communication of new knowledge, preparation for publication in peer reviewed journals and establishment of professional networks.

These important areas of academic activity, like others, are subject to the regulation of social relations and practices by those seeking to regulate

consciousness (Bernstein 2001, p.38). In this regard the distributive rules which determine “what knowledge will be privileged and who will be involved in its creation” (Bernstein 2000, p.31) are of key importance as it impacts on the positioning of individual academics. When considered within the educational settings of the current study the immense influence exercised by the distributive rules cannot be overstated.

Participants, through their telling of experiences and the pedagogical practices they adopted, indicated their understanding of how “powerful others”, within the area of knowledge production, utilised a number of different positioning tools, to exclude them from networks that offered access to research opportunities because of their “ethnicity”. Key to the discussion here is the communicative context and the potential this affords individuals and groups to transmit their knowledge. Participants gave examples of how they sought to disrupt the positioning tools, and manipulate communicative contexts (such as social media discussed later in this section) for individual and communal benefit.

Kerensa was one participant who discussed how her “ethnicity” had impacted on her work as an academic. Kerensa considered that UK based peers, often marginalised her because of her Cornishness, limiting her opportunities to extend her research. So, she made a conscious decision to seek out international research opportunities which, she considered, would enable her to progress her career and potentially offer circumstances where her ethnicity would even be welcomed.

Alert to the possibility of opportunities emerging as a consequence of Cornwall being awarded Objective One status, Kerensa monitored calls for research funding bids issued by the European Union. She subsequently sourced, and secured European Union funding for a pan-European research project which sought to explore aspects of European minority cultures. In doing so she had made effective use of the opportunity (or gap) that opened up following European recognition of the Cornish language, and the Cornish as a minority ethnic group.

One of the stated outcomes from this EU funded project included the establishment of a new collaborative sub-group drawn from Universities and

place-based communities. Because this project privileged specific minority knowledge(s) Kerensa was able to position herself as a central contributor and, in the process, authenticate an academic position she felt she had been previously denied in her employer institution.

However, Kerensa's interview also suggested that this contribution to knowledge production was subjected to local regulation by her employer. Although Kerensa led the pan-European project to a successful conclusion, it failed to secure her recognition within her department. Despite the direct relevance of the knowledge produced to both undergraduate and postgraduate programmes within the institution, and the possibility of her being able to offer much-lauded research-led teaching, Kerensa's contract was terminated. A decision, Kerensa believes, influenced by her employer not appreciating the value of the socio-geographic research she had undertaken to Cornwall or the wider region. As a consequence she needed to seek employment elsewhere. The conferment of legitimacy through the European project has, however, contributed to her professional confidence and her continued promotion of Cornish issues within her academic work. For example, Kerensa chooses to use Kernewek, the Cornish language, when making presentations to the academic community both as a mark of difference, and a challenge. As she puts it, she purposely wants her audiences to know that they have been "*bomb blasted by a Cornishwoman*".

The most commonly discussed aspect of academic activity connected to knowledge production by those interviewed in this study was the experience of conference participation. It was here that an important signifier of ethnic difference was made salient, namely by having a regional accent (Findlay et al. 2004; Kyriakides et al. 2009). Not all of those interviewed in this study had a Cornish accent but those who did remarked how this impacted on their work as an academic. Hocken, one of the participants with a noticeable Cornish accent, articulated how he felt that this resulted in his work being marginalised by fellow British academics. The detrimental effect of having a Cornish accent in academia is something that has been recognised for some years. The late Cornish academic A. L. Rowse wrote openly about the perils of identification through this obvious ethnic signifier (Ollard 1999; Kent 2000). So concerned



was Rowse, as an early career academic, not to unconsciously slip into the “dialect” he jettisoned when carefully crafting his academic persona, that only carefully chosen colleagues would be allowed to accompany him on journeys to Cornwall.

Hocken, however, has not chosen to modify his speech patterns. In response to perceived marginalisation by British academics Hocken has chosen to adopt other working practices. Like Kerensa he too seeks out opportunities to work with international colleagues including those working in the UK. His rationale being that such groups of *academics* “*don’t realise you’ve got an accent as it were, and you notice, maybe it’s just me, obviously projecting, they obviously are talking to you differently*”. By choosing to align with peers who were not cognisant of the implicit hierarchy and tacit rules of recognition that control production of knowledge in higher education in the UK, Hocken can be seen to be proactively seeking to circumvent the position he perceived he had been assigned.

What seems to have contributed to the possibility of Hocken’s self-adjustment of his position was the growing internationalisation of the UKHE sector (HEFCE 2015) at the time of study. The influx of overseas academics over the past decade has resulted in the UK academic field becoming more heterogeneous. As a consequence, it is possible to posit the view that there has been a corresponding weakening of the distributive rules which has afforded the growth of sub-groups: some with differing forms of practice and knowledge to the ethnic majority. The hierarchical principles that regulate the field of production, and by extension, the principles that govern the communicative context, would always seek to limit the growth of such groups. Nevertheless, in spite of these pressures, the possibility of alternatives emerging as a consequence of minority groups strengthening their support base remains.

Other participants also offered examples of being challenged by fellow academics from Britain because of their “ethnicity”. Cadot gave details of an instance when, attending an international conference, he considered his legitimacy as an academic was purposely undermined:

*“all the top lecturers are there from all over the world. [Int: right:] not just England, from all over the world.. this guy was bugging me all night ... he said ‘you’re a Cornishman from this [name of degree]’. You know winding me up.” Cador*

Such continual, unwelcome, and unnecessary references to Cador’s “ethnicity” was interpreted as an, albeit somewhat rudimentary, application of racist stereotyping. This encounter occurred at an event where authentic discipline knowledge was shared via a number of media including public performance. As a response to the public challenge Cador felt impelled to demonstrate his academic credentials thereby legitimating his standing within the academic community: he decided to take to the stage. Although frustrated that he was forced to respond in this manner Cador believed that this spontaneous performance had a number of positive outcomes due, in part, to the support of the wider academic community in the audience. Peers, who recognised the high level of expertise, both in terms of creation and demonstration of discipline knowledge, publically articulated their support. His position, as an academic, was therefore legitimated and as a result his “ethnicity” was no longer an issue. The possibility of Cador being able to challenge discrimination in this way emphasises the importance of context and how academics are subject to the hierarchical principles of their own discipline (Vorster 2011). In this instance, performance as a manifestation of the discipline’s pedagogic communication, was used as a means to negate an attempt at marginalisation by a more powerful other. What Cador’s example also highlights is the ongoing vigilance required of Cornish lecturers because their “ethnicity” can become salient, and their position challenged, at any time.

Whilst Hocken and Kerensa utilised opportunities that occurred as a result of socio-political changes, within the area of knowledge production, to circumvent their perceived positioning within academic hierarchies other participants sought to use different material changes to redress the marginalisation of Cornish academics. Tamara discussed the opportunities afforded by digital technology.

The interview with Tamara occurred shortly after her return from an international conference in Europe attended by academics from a number of Cornwall based institutions, including the University of Exeter. Her frustration

indicated that she perceived that there was a need to raise the profile of knowledge production undertaken by **all** academics based in Cornwall, regardless of their employing HEI:

*“I was thinking we need to have a little flag and say “Look, this is all the good stuff we are doing in here in Cornwall” **Tamara.***

Tamara’s account of her experiences suggested that she felt that there was a peripheralisation of knowledge producers, which extended beyond those who self-identified as Cornish, to any academic who is located within, or indeed has Cornwall as a research focus. This perhaps points to the possibility that non-Cornish academics working within the field of knowledge production are also likely to be subjected to marginalisation through place association. Tamara spoke of conversations that suggested that non-Cornish academics located within Cornwall, were also keen for regionally created knowledge to be promoted implying that there was an appreciation of being located on the periphery; although Tamara considered that the philosophical underpinning of the discipline itself, and the types of people attracted to work within it, meant that rather than discriminatory behaviours, other elements were likely to be driving this peripheralisation. Tamara, however, chose not to elaborate further on her thinking suggesting perhaps a gulf existed between her views on what her discipline was, (i.e concerned with social justice issues), and her personal lived experience as an academic working in Cornwall. Instead Tamara detailed her intention to set up a community-based website and associated forum, independent of any HEI, with the intention of better promoting her intellectual work and that of peers working across the Cornish HEIs.

The use of digital technology as a communication tool is now commonplace and a variety of forms of self-promotion are widely used (Rowlands et al. 2011; Weller 2011; Carrigan 2016). Tamara’s intention seems to be in line with observations (Kirkup 2010; Pausé and Russell 2016) that some academics utilise Web 2.0 technology to take ownership of the means of production and dissemination of their academic identities, and, in doing so, bypass the regulation imposed by others. However, Tamara’s intention differs here in that she appears to be seeking to construct an academic communicative context

that extends beyond the individual, specific institution, or ethnic group to a geographical area. In setting up the website Tamara was keen not to replicate what she regarded as a downside of academic life, namely “*competition and people being funny with everybody*”. Her aspiration, that her forum would be “*above all that*”, seems to be underpinned by Cornish approaches to community along with a dislike of externally imposed hierarchy (as detailed in Sections 6.3 and 6.5).

The experiences set out here can be regarded as manifestations of the enduring struggle over Cornish legitimacy and self-determination. The responses to these challenges detailed by participants offer an insight into the means and extent to which they are willing to resist marginalisation by others; the creativity they employ in enabling greater self-determination as academics; and the personal and professional effort expended as a result. These activities can be seen as embodying the attributes raised in Chapter 6, such as hard work and resistance to outsider challenges. Most discussion, however, about professional identity centred around the production of curricula. It was in these discussions that Cornish values, discussed in the previous chapter, surfaced. The next section explores the impact of this on the curriculum.

## *2. Cornwall and Discipline knowledge within the curriculum*

The relationship that participants in this study had with the curricula they taught varied. Some of those interviewed suggested that they had little control over the structure, or content, of the programmes that they delivered. Bryok, was one such lecturer. Working on a professionally endorsed national programme there was, he intimated, limited opportunity to effect curriculum change (suggesting that within his discipline area there were a number of key agencies who held significant levels of control within the PRF). Most interviewees, however, considered that they had more freedom regarding their curriculum and several had been responsible for writing and validating the Modules or Programmes they taught. Where participants had been responsible for the writing, validation and publication of curricula they were asked about their thinking around, and influences on, curriculum design. Responses from participants indicated that context - both institutional and societal, was often a

key element, as were discipline expectations.

The role of discipline expectations within curriculum design was, unsurprisingly, mentioned by participants situated across all parts of the higher education sector, including those working within FEIs. Jacca was one such participant.

Jacca's discipline is an applied science. The curriculum is designed specifically to meet the needs of a growing sector in the Cornish economy – which includes a number of niche areas. The programme's contribution to the meeting of the developing sector's needs has resulted in an exponential growth in programme numbers. An outcome of this has been the development of close social networks between the programme team and employers, as students move between the FEI and organisations when undertaking placement and voluntary work. However, Jacca, when discussing the Foundation Degree - which he, as part of a programme team developed, was adamant that it was not to be regarded as Cornu-specific. He went on to assertively comment that the degree *"could be delivered anywhere. It's nothing to do with being Cornish students. It could be delivered anywhere"*.

As a lecturer within a science based discipline Jacca may have considered the emphasis of the programme's adherence to a legitimated, and strongly bounded, universal body of discipline knowledge an obvious professional articulation to make. Interestingly, a similar claim for universality was made by Myghal, who worked in the HEI, within the applied discipline of engineering.

*"The examples I've used, which are based around - some of the examples obviously - are based around methods we use in Cornwall. ... but the teaching has to be universal."* **Myghal**

Myghal and Jacca's comments of the relationship between their applied curricula and the underpinning universal body of discipline knowledge, resonates with Geirsdóttir's (2011) findings in her study of engineering lecturers: as did the focus on meeting of the needs of local industries. It is perhaps worthy to note the communality in Myghal and Jacca's comments which seems to transcend the different reputational positions of their employing institutions. This has echoes of findings identified by Brennan et al. (2010, p.167), where similar discipline curricula, across all parts of the sector,

maintained a level of broad consistency.

Kensa also spoke, like Myghal, about how she introduced Cornwall and Cornish issues within her curriculum. As a member of a social science faculty with the HEI, Kensa remarked that it was an institutional expectation that academic staff, designated as module leaders within a programme of study, were also responsible for curriculum design. In practice this meant that Kensa was able to locate her own research and interests within the curriculum, but this was bounded by the expectations of her specialist research field and the wider discipline. Kensa considered, however, that the nature of her discipline - a social science, and in particular the scope of her own field of expertise, enabled Cornwall and Cornish related issues to be regarded as appropriate disciplinary topics. Kensa's detailing of how discipline knowledge impacts upon her curriculum design too has resonance with findings outlined by (Geirsdóttir 2011), and (Brennan et al. 2010), who identified similar curriculum practices undertaken by academics working in the fields of Anthropology and Sociology respectively.

Underpinning her curriculum choices in respect to Cornwall, and the Cornish was Kensa's awareness of the ethnic make-up of the student body; most of her students were not Cornish. She therefore chose to adopt an approach that aimed to indirectly challenge, what she called the "*knowledge patterns*" held by students about Cornwall and the Cornish. She wished to resist the temptation to introduce what she termed Cornish "*exotica*" into the classroom, instead she intended to "*treat, just treat what goes on in Cornwall as normal*". Thus suggesting that Kensa appreciated that, unless handled with care, any inclusion of Cornwall or Cornish issues in the curriculum might result in continued objectification and marginalisation (hooks1994; Tuhiwai Smith 2012; Ladson-Billings 2014).

Field trips were to be utilised as a means to introduce students to areas of Cornwall that they were unlikely to have encountered whilst studying, or when visiting previously as a tourist. Kensa's decision to integrate field trips into the curriculum was welcomed by colleagues who advised her that she could undertake as many trips as she liked because "*nobody likes organising them*" -

suggesting that within her Department teaching was often spatially bounded i.e. it followed standardised institutional timetabling. By choosing to introduce fieldtrips, however, not only was Kensa challenging accepted Departmental spatial contingencies for learning (Nespor 1994) but also the “encapsulated” (Engestrom 1995) nature of discipline knowledge offered to students within the HEI’s classrooms. Nespor (1994, p.132), in his work exploring the spatial aspects of students’ learning has identified how the concentration of “student activity within bounded material organizations of space-time” in curricula , directs students’ mobility with other social groups - both within, and without, the institution. The inclusion of field trips within the curriculum, therefore, can be seen as a particular form of mediation, through which students’ social networks are mobilised, with the purposeful intention to disrupt previously held “knowledge patterns” about Cornwall.

Not all participants, however, chose to discuss the ways in which their discipline impacted on their curriculum design choices. What all higher education lecturers working in FEIs did touch upon, however, was the impact of economic drivers on their practices. The intersections between the wider economy, pedagogic practices and curriculum, saw lecturers concerns about Cornwall being a central feature of design.

For example, when asked his rationale for the vocational degree he had co-written Jeffra highlighted the ways in which he saw his provision contributing to the growth of the Cornish economy:

*“I would like to be helping, you know the right kind of industry ... coming to Cornwall...and that we have the right kind of training in place, so people could be trained up, like for example here at [name of College], and could then go into those jobs.” Jeffra*

Jeffra’s comment about providing training and employment appears well aligned to the UK government’s policy discussed earlier. The provision of new economic opportunities was something repeatedly returned to in his interview. This language use might, at first sight, suggest that neo-liberal policy and process has been effectively incorporated into pedagogic discourse and into curriculum design practices.

Jeffra offered an insight into his programme choices:

*"[In the] first year they have to do ... a bit of everything. That's that adaptability. Trying to get them used to that ... the bulk of what they do in their second year is negotiated ... which makes life a little bit challenging. But at the same time it's quite rewarding because again the students can start helping each other and adaptability comes through again... But I do sometimes, encourage them, most students in their second year to ... base it around a Cornish company or something like that. Taking advantage of what's here." Jeffra*

Again, on first reading, Jeffra's choices could be regarded as responding to the overarching neo-liberal discourse that permeates the sector - that is to say by privileging student choice, and focussing on student employability, and economic contribution (Tomlinson 2012). Further discussion, however, suggested that the repeated use of such language may well have been a deliberate act on his part: the use of neo-liberal language would not confront the hegemonic discourse prevalent within the institution; ideas would be less likely to result in challenge and so effectively offer a "smoke screen" for his strategical framing.

Jeffra's subsequent interview responses exposed a number of additional motivations. These were often couched in one of the community narratives explored in Section 2.2. Jeffra was quite clear that the practice detailed above enabled students to negotiate and co-author their own learning to some extent, and promote Cornish values of adaptability, recognition of others and contribution to the wider community. This was something echoed by Cador. Although working in a different discipline area, Cador also highlighted how, through his degree design (which included engaging students with the wider community through work experience), his students would be able to become adaptable and hardworking: suggesting that for lecturers, the structure of the degree programmes was key to enabling students to experience values and attributes central to a Cornish identity. These experiences are located in both the "*how*" and "*where*" student learning takes place.

As well as wanting to offer opportunities to encourage and relay Cornish values and practices through a carefully designed curriculum Jeffra also indicated that his intention, when writing the Foundation Degree curriculum, was to disrupt



the historical narrative of migration:

*“I’d like people down here to have more chance without the feeling that they need to have to move away for 10/15/20 years try to make some money and come back.” Jeffra*

It is also possible to recognise in Jeffra’s account the successful mediation of a number of influences similar to the concept of “double ability” utilised by Willis, in his study of the social employment practices. It is possible to identify similar processes at play here. For Willis the “double activity” saw workers recognising formal codes and expectations, and yet simultaneously holding an awareness of the informal plane that exists beneath this, along with an appreciation of the minimum level of role compliance within any given circumstance. In addition, he suggests individuals who work with, and through this “double activity”, hold a sophisticated understanding of how to operationalise minimum compliance. However, Willis (2001, p.121) cautions, those who are “*role compliant*” should not be viewed as demonstrating a “*role commitment*”, which in turn cannot be read as holding “*role belief*”. Jeffra therefore, in Willis’ terms, could be seen as recognising the expectations of his role within the institution and, through the utilisation of marketised language appear “*role compliant*” as a curriculum designer. Jeffra’s initial articulated position, and the subsequent meanings he ascribes to his performance as a curriculum designer, offers an insight into how successful mediation of the formal (within the institution) and informal planes (those relating to Cornwall), can occur.

With Willis’ observations and concept of “double ability” in mind, Jacca’s comment about the universality of his curriculum begs further consideration. It is recognised there might be a number of possible drivers behind Jacca’s assertion about the universality of his programme curriculum including a response to widely circulating external criticism of College-based HE (Bathmaker 2016). However, when his comments about his pedagogic practice are considered in totality (see also section 7.3.2. below) then there is a possibility of “double ability” being operationalised here as well. That is to say Jacca, cognisant of professional and discipline exigencies, appears as *role compliant* by articulating the universality of his curriculum, whilst knowingly seeking to transgress institutional, and policy driven, hegemonic expectations.

The next section will detail how lecturers working in further education seek to mediate their “ethnicity”, professional identity and pedagogic practices.

### 7.2.2. Further education: Cornish “ethnicity” and pedagogic practices

As detailed in Section 5.6 (p.73), a number of lecturers participating in this study were working across both further and higher education courses (with only one lecturer working solely with further education students). Whilst some were actively involved in activities within the field of recontextualisation (such as working with Awarding bodies), most were focussed on the reproduction of knowledge within the classroom, predominantly as a result of the type of programme lecturers worked on.

As noted above, curriculum changes in the FE sector resulted in limiting lecturer practices, especially those teaching GCE A-Level syllabi. For example, Peswera had been teaching for some years on a number of programmes which, until recently, had included GCE A-Levels. Her interview confirmed how radical (in terms of altering the pedagogic approaches of teachers) the Curriculum 2000 project had been. Specifically, Peswera detailed how Curriculum 2000 had curtailed her ability to make curriculum decisions. Locally generated knowledge, in her opinion, was no longer able to be brought into the classroom and linked to wider discipline concepts:

*“For example ... um, um, from lectures I went to at Treliske Hospital with the psychiatrist working there, I brought in this research, to criticise what the text books were saying and that would have got very high credit in the old days [Int: yeah, yeah]. Since Curriculum 2000 that’s a no, no.” **Peswera***

This example illustrates the extent to which changes in national policy can impact on the pedagogic practices of individual practitioners. There are two key points arising from this example which illustrates how changes in the fields within the pedagogic device can ensure the effective introduction of policy within education. First, in reviewing the structure and syllabi of GCE A-Levels the project has succeeded in effectively delineating discipline knowledge into acceptable and non-acceptable knowledge for students working at this level. Second, this state-led review has succeeded in weakening the scope of individual pedagogues in this sector (Bernstein 2000, p.33). Peswera clearly

felt these changes were a challenge to her professional values and judgement. However, failure on her part to adhere to the teaching of centrally defined curriculum and appropriate knowledge could, she believed, compromise her students' chances of success. In an increasingly marketised post-compulsory sector she considered it was her responsibility to give students every possibility of gaining a good grade to ensure they could progress onto their chosen HEI.

However, Peswera did offer instances of how, when working with students on other less centralised and high profile courses, she still was able to adapt the curriculum and instigate the introduction of Cornish perspectives. For example, when working with mature students undertaking an Access to HE course she could include the types of knowledge generated locally that she no longer felt able to include within the GCE A-Level curriculum. Peswera's discussion about the rationale for her pedagogic decisions were interesting in that it offered slightly different motivations to those expressed by other study participants such as Jeffra; specifically the promotion of Cornish values and attributes and the disruption of the historical narrative of migration. However, like other lecturers she was clearly concerned with her students' learning, although this was often couched in terms about facilitation aiding the success of individuals: an indication perhaps of the pedagogic ideology underpinning her practice or possibly her place within the institution. This will be discussed further in 7.3.1 below.

Other further education courses were also regarded as offering opportunities to introduce Cornish perspectives. Jeffra, one of the lecturers whose practice spanned both HE and FE, commented on the specifications written for the National Diploma he taught. These, he noted, were "*worded nicely enough that you can bring in things you want to*". Failure to include Cornish issues would, he felt, be negligent suggesting, as Kerensa had previously (see Section 6.3.2, p.92), an expectation of professional practice making a contribution towards the maintenance of community.

Bryok, whilst not working on FE courses at the time of his interview, commented on the extra-curricular provision regularly offered by the two Cornish based FEIs. He highlighted ways in which Cornish lecturers could

positively affect this area of work. Specifically, he asserted that by undertaking an analysis of provision, identifying any spaces and gaps and proposing ways of meeting these to College management teams, Cornish lecturers might be able to bring “*Cornishness*” into the informal curriculum. The example Bryok offered related to Colleges’ needing to successfully demonstrate their engagement with equality and diversity issues, following Ofsted’s (2009) publication of guidelines, identifying these as key areas for investigation in future inspections. He posited the view that management were likely to be willing for extra-curricular provision to be amended or introduced, if it could be shown that doing so would have benefits in terms of contributing to the meeting of Ofsted equality and diversity requirements.

Lecturers working in both FEIs were able to give examples of how Cornish issues were introduced in extra-curricular provision, thereby suggesting that their strategies were having some success. Some of this provision, such as the teaching of the Cornish language, was regarded by those being interviewed as well-intentioned, but having limited impact. Often singled out for discussion was the decision to include aspects of Cornwall and Cornish culture in the annual equality and diversity awareness campaigns (see Bennett 2011 for a discussion of a campaign in Cornwall College). Youdell (2012, p.153) noted that such events have potential to offer minority groups a space to renegotiate the ways that they are recognised by others: a move away from “expropriation ...abjection, or a recognition of (as) exotic authenticity”. She does, however, recognise that this potential is often not realised which also seems to be borne out in Hocken’s recounting of his involvement in planning an equality and diversity campaign at his institution. Hocken spoke with some dismay of one discussion with peers about how Cornwall’s difference could be recognised in the institution’s campaign through a series of exhibitions. The proposed exhibitions, which Hocken regarded as “*remarkably twee*”, had an emphasis on what he termed “*gift shop*” interpretations of Cornish culture such as a pasty and a pencil (a notion that has been expanded upon by Howlett 2004). Mounting a challenge within the meeting he caused the group to reflect but he noted “*they had a pasty for them anyway*”. He lamented that those making the decisions did so at a superficial level, and failed to appreciate what Cornish culture meant to the Cornish within the institution.

So, whilst there might well have been opportunities available, as Bryok suggested, this example illustrates how hard it can be for Cornish lecturers to affect cultural change as part of their recontextualising efforts. In spite of Hocken's best endeavours, the "*gift shop*" interpretations of culture utilised within the institution's equality and diversity campaign, reproduced and reinforced historically fashioned stereotypes for both Cornish and non-Cornish staff and students.

Holland and Lave's (2001, p.7) concept of "history-in-person" is useful here in illuminating further Hocken's example. Holland and Lave (2001, p.22) note that the relationship between enduring struggles and the local practices, is one that is in a "constant state of movement and counter movement". The 2009 Ofsted requirement unintentionally opened up a new space, where the enduring struggle over Cornish self-determination, could surface. In this instance, (i.e. the meeting that Hocken attended), the struggle had been made visible in a local conflict over the choice of ethnic representation in a campaign. Hocken's intervention, although seemingly futile, could be regarded as a counter movement and a contribution to the desired transformation of cultural practice (Holland and Lave 2001, p.21).

In summary, this section has offered examples of how Cornish lecturers working within FE and HE experience the constriction of their pedagogic practices, specifically the ability to decide what is valuable knowledge within both informal and formal curricula. The regulation of power, particularly in the field of curricula, highlights this. The alterations and shaping of the GCE A-Level syllabus demonstrates government policy impact on the pedagogic arena. The strong control exercised by successive governments, and the awarding bodies, has resulted in Cornish lecturers perceiving that they have little scope to deviate from the prescribed GCE A-Level curriculum by the inserting Cornu-specific understandings. This control, however, is not uniform across the sector and the findings suggest that qualifications less highly valued or regulated by the centre, for example Access and BTEC courses, enable lecturers to have greater opportunities. Lecturers, such as Jeffra, were able to adapt the curricula and introduce Cornish issues into the classroom.

This section also revealed the extent to which the regulatory rules, which determine pedagogic discourse, have influence across other areas of educational provision including informal extra-curricular activities. The ordering of the curriculum extends to all aspects of the educational institution which, in turn, contributes to the construction of particular pedagogic identities (Bernstein 2000, p.65) for students. Against this backdrop the next section will explore participants' views on the extent to which Cornish students are offered a distinctively Cornish pedagogic identity. The particular social order within the higher educational sector in Cornwall, i.e. the ethos of individual institutions, the CUC project, as well as individual lecturer practices, will be considered.

### 7.3. Towards a Cornish pedagogic identity?

*"I bring other things from society when I'm teaching...that's part of the learning ...it's the whole person...and that does blend in with the Cornish thing because I am, they are." Hedrek*

*"I have ...been appreciative of that opportunity to teach, [...] because I feel I'm putting something back, back into the community. Hopefully for the next generation." Jeffra*

Bernstein (2000, p.65), when setting out his model of pedagogic identities, sought to offer a means by which to illuminate how such identities, i.e. "a particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration, embedded in particular performances and practices", are constructed. As was noted in Chapter 3, Bernstein claimed that pedagogic identities of students were shaped by being embedded within a collective base; the location of which determined the way in which the social context is ordered resulting in a number of different lived experiences and pedagogic identity possibilities. In this regard, the social context is influenced by a number of different actors including individual lecturers or educational institutions. The following section explores the extent to which individuals and institutions are considered as contributing to a distinctive Cornish experience and pedagogic identity. The latter will be detailed starting with the CUC project, the most distinctive feature of the post-compulsory landscape in Cornwall.

### 7.3.1. Pedagogic identities: the extent to which Cornwall's educational institutions offer a distinctive collective base

In Chapter 5 a brief overview of the post-compulsory landscape in Cornwall, at the time of this study, was set out. This drew attention to the ways in which higher education provision in Cornwall altered following the awarding of Objective One funding for the CUC project. In the section that follows lecturers' views on the ways in which the project has impacted on those working within the sector in Cornwall are set out.

#### *1. The CUC project: organisation, discourse, and the establishment of a new official pedagogic identity*

One of the specific intentions of the CUC project was to extend the provision of higher education within Cornwall (PASCAL 2010a). By offering an expanded - albeit dispersed - base for students to access higher education the CUC could be seen as making available a new model of pedagogic identity for students living within Cornwall and further afield. Supported by substantial research funding to help establish academic activity in the area of knowledge production, the project can be seen as offering a counter to circulating discourses about the paucity of Higher Education in Cornwall and the necessity of outmigration for its young people. The interviews, however, indicate that adoption of the new projected identity is complicated by the discourses used by different stakeholders.

All those interviewed mentioned a tension between the new pedagogic identity offered by the CUC project and older pedagogic identities such as detailed in 6.4.2 (p.101). Lecturers recognised the need for, and welcomed, an infrastructure that enabled Cornish students to remain in Cornwall whilst undertaking their higher education. Conversely, they also appreciated the benefits that studying outside Cornwall could bring - such as opportunities for travel, as well as accessing experiences not available locally. It was also acknowledged that in some instances, in spite of the CUC initiative, students could only fulfil their aspirations by leaving Cornwall, for example, to undertake veterinary studies not available locally. However, the pedagogic identity that the CUC sought to establish had to contend with a commonly circulating

narrative around decisions to leave Cornwall to study:

*“It’s not the case of going ... somewhere different...the narrative around Cornwall is around going somewhere better.” **Hocken***

This circulating belief, which Hocken described as “*folded over*” in that it enveloped the normal life-course discussions about leaving home, was recognised by most participants and regarded as something that needed to be challenged. Hedrek commented on the part that teachers had to play in promoting the value of remaining in Cornwall:

*“How do you promote that aspiration of being successful within [the] county? If we don’t teach it, how do we get the good students, the ones that are going to be successful to then want to stay?... that’s very, very difficult.” **Hedrek***

However, interviewees indicated that significant shifts in thinking were beginning to occur. The possibility for students to undertake some or indeed all of their undergraduate study in Cornwall (CUC [no dateb]; PASCAL 2010b) was becoming part of the prevailing discourse. Participants working in FEIs noted, however, that there were differences in how this was relayed to prospective students at the crucial time of applying to study at university. In turn, they remarked that it was dependent on the value individual staff members attributed to the CUC provision. The “ethnicity” of the staff member (i.e. whether or not the lecturer was Cornish), was seen as a critical factor in this regard. It was felt that those who were incomers were less likely to view the new CUC provision in a positive light. Possible reasons for this might include incomers’ limited exposure to the emergent discourse, or because their views were located within different (i.e. historical and cultural) contexts, which in turn restrict the adoption of different symbolic interpretations of Cornwall and the Cornish.

Jacca appeared confident when detailing the views that he considered were held by incomer colleagues about Cornish students’ higher education choices. This confidence suggests that these views were widely circulating in his department and college: this resonates strongly with the comments made by the form teacher set out in Chapter 1:



*“They definitely think you've got to, you've got to go away or else you've got no appreciation of what the world's like.” Jacca.*

He also noted that lecturers who *“aren't from here umm would find it hard to appreciate why someone would want to stay here”*, suggesting a perceived lack of cultural sensitivity on the part of the non-Cornish colleagues. It was these lecturers, Jacca noted, who would advise students to leave Cornwall to study for a degree. He commented that he could not think of an instance where a student had been advised by an incomer teacher that *“it would be better for you to stay in Cornwall”*; contrasting with his view that Cornish teachers would not take a similar stance.

Jacca also was concerned about the ways in which those non-Cornish lecturers, who considered that students should leave Cornwall, engaged with those who did choose to remain. His view was that such lecturers perceived such students as *“second class citizens. Definitely”*. Jacca also commented that incomers considered the college-based HE provision a *“soft option”*. He posited the view that there were possibly two reasons why this was seen to be the case. First, students choosing to remain in Cornwall were regarded as psychologically weaker (i.e. they were unwilling to jettison familiar surroundings for the less comfortable experience of encountering something new) and second, the types of higher education courses available in Cornwall were seen as less rigorous (a view which contrasts with the findings detailed in the HEA commissioned Report (King and Widdowson 2012) published shortly after the data collection).

However, the idea of college-based HE programmes being *“soft options”* was something that the lecturers working within the further education colleges strongly challenged. Jacca noted with some indignation that *“it's the same level of academic work you get at any University in the country”*. Whilst Jacca's response is seemingly naïve because of its apparent lack of recognition of the hierarchies noted as existing within the UKHE sector (as discussed in Section 3.2.2, p.39), it does perhaps indicate a frustration with incomer lecturers who are not aware of the range of academic practices of colleagues working in college-based HE and the distinctiveness of the CUC “hub and rim” model of provision.

Practitioners working within the HEI too were keenly aware of the distinctiveness of the CUC model and that the new campus facilities had been specifically established to open up higher education provision within Cornwall. However, at the time of the study none of them had significant numbers of Cornish students. Kensa observed that HEI admissions procedures were *“not necessarily servicing the local students in Cornwall in quite the way it was hoped”*. This was primarily due, it was felt, to the institution's vision and current focus i.e. operating a drive focussed on recruiting high achieving students, regardless of their original location, in order to enhance its international standing. Kerensa also considered that the position adopted by the HEI worked against Cornish students who would not be accepted because of the high entry tariff (see Wilson et al. 2005 for an account of UoE's concerns about institutional risks following a lowering of entry level tariffs). It was her view that Cornish students, without the necessary GCE A-Level tariff, would still achieve well through dedication and hard work. She felt such attributes could be assessed at interview - and because of their importance, weighted - with the consequence that more Cornish students would be accepted.

In sum, although the CUC project offered the possibility for a new official Cornish pedagogic identity through the extension of higher education opportunities the present findings suggest barriers, both formal and informal, working against its adoption. Kerensa's interview offered an example of this. In this instance, the HEI appeared to have altered its official discourse, in order to maximise its alignment with the stated CUC project. It had done this by articulating its intention to enable locally-based students to study within Cornwall, without reviewing whether or not there were any internal processes that would stop this coming to a satisfactory conclusion. This is a possibility which Bernstein (2000) noted could arise within the increasingly de-centralised market place of higher education. It would appear that elements of the institution's organisational processes and structures, seemingly based on retrospective discourses (Bernstein 2000, p.66) about who should have access to higher education, i.e. by demanding a continuation of high entry tariffs, which mitigated against the successful adoption - by Cornish students and staff - of any new official pedagogic identity.

In contrast, the contribution of the FEIs, however, to the creation of a new official pedagogic identity has been different. Supported by Plymouth University, they have actively designed, validated and delivered degree programmes on sites across Cornwall. The more inclusive nature of the FEI admissions procedures (i.e. lower entry tariffs and the acceptance of previous experience) resulted in higher local take-up. However, the participants highlight that there was still resistance to the new official pedagogic identity from some (mostly incomer) colleagues.

I will now turn to explore further the intersection between the socio-geographical location, the culture of institutions and the new pedagogic identity.

## *2. Local context: Cornish Institutions or Institutions located in Cornwall?*

As previously noted, the commitment of educational institutions to the furtherance of the vision of the CUC project, and the projection of a new official pedagogic identity has varied. The extent to which the internal ethos and culture of each institution supports this projection was something participants were keen to discuss.

Lecturers employed by the FEIs were cognisant of the marketised environment (Fulford et al. 2010; Fisher and Simmons 2012; Parry 2016) in which they worked, with its increasing concerns about income streams (AOC 2010; Feather 2011) and the achievement of successful outputs (Patel et al. 2011; Stoten 2011). Participants were quite clear that their organisation, like other colleges across England, operated within a further education market place (Lucas and Crowther 2016). Meryn noted that, as a result of this business orientation students were regarded solely as monetary units; education had become effectively a “*bums on seats job*”. It was the adoption of a market place ethos by his institution that Meryn saw as working against wider Cornish culture. He also criticised a number of practices adopted by his Management Team because they did not, in his view, align with Cornish values. He was particularly scathing about the institutional human resources (HR) processes that overlooked, in his view, current employees and the pool of skills and talent located in the local community:

*“So, if you're saying that 'has the College got any sense of you know, localism?' Then no, because the watchword by the power that be, 'We go to the market place for these posts'. So [...] is there any desire on behalf of the College as an organisation to develop Cornish beliefs and values? Probably not.” Meryn*

Whilst the actions of the institution in such instances might well be lawful, the impact of always going to the national market place was viewed as having negative outcomes. The most significant of which was the limited number of Cornish lecturing staff employed as a result. The numbers of Cornish lecturing staff within the educational institutions covered by this study, as noted in Section 5.5 (p.71), could not be established. Anecdotal evidence suggested that the figure was likely to be small and the participants' accounts corroborated this: Cornish lecturers seemed to be a small minority of the lecturing pool in Cornwall.

The geographical location of Cornwall and its draw as a place for retirement, or in order to effect a lifestyle change, was also regarded by lecturers as detrimental to educational institutions based in Cornwall. Hedrek posited the view that incoming staff were not *“necessarily up for working very hard when they are here”*: an approach which could impact on the effectiveness of the institution. Hedrek's comment echoes observations made by Perry (2002) and Bosworth and Willett (2011) who noted that incomers' relocation to Cornwall was often lifestyle driven with little impetus for the sustained hard work often associated with career advancement. Therefore, by appointing incomers institutions further minimised the possibility of an alignment between the institution and wider community values.

But not all interviewees found this line of questioning easy. Peswera, who held a managerial role within her FEI, displayed physical signs of ill-ease when asked whether or not the institution had a feeling of Cornishness. She turned her back and looked out of the window, paused, and after some time answered *“I don't know how to answer that”*. Peswera went on to discuss how hard the staff worked when she first joined the institution, and how she rarely had a weekend off. Peswera's reluctance to state an opinion on the Cornishness of the institution and her comments about hard work is thought provoking. Her physical response to the question suggests that there is a tension between her

multisite identities as a manager and Cornish person which could potentially result in a misalignment of values and expectations. By choosing to focus on the work she and colleagues had done for the college she sought to objectify it and, in doing so, confer cultural value which subsequently enabled the desired alignment to occur.

Those working within the HEI regarded the institution as detached from the needs, and wants, of the local Cornish population. Echoing the sentiment about the impact of HR policies in further education colleges, Goron noted that, although the institution had created a lot of employment this had been primarily for those who had moved into Cornwall. He advised that *“you’ll also find in this establishment that the Cornish are a small endangered minority”*. He went on to recall the time when he was introduced at a meeting as *“the token Cornishman”*. Whilst Goron was not the sole Cornish lecturer in his particular department (which he saw as a benefit), others were not so fortunate. Kensa, for example, was the only Cornish person in her department with the exception of the administrative support staff. Commenting on this Kensa noted that whilst there was a narrative circulating of how the new campus had permitted those with Cornish roots to return to Cornwall her view was that *‘for the most part that’s a little bit of wishful thinking’*.

Myghal's interview, however, stood alone from his peers within the HEI. The similarities between his discussion and that of Peswera were striking. Myghal also held, at the time of interview, a responsible position within his institution with the requirement to publically represent the University. His contributions seemed to be more guarded and his tone measured. It was only when talking about his students or his external work did he seem to relax, became more spontaneous, and offer a view that seemed more personal.

The other contributors from the HEI were less inhibited in expressing their views about the way the HEI viewed Cornwall in purely instrumental terms. One participant stated, after asking not to be named, *“I think that the University as a whole sees anything linked to Cornwall as a route to European money”*. Concern about the possibility of being noted as a dissenting voice was evident in a number of the interviews. Discussions which continued after the turning off

of the recording equipment were often more frank, (a common occurrence in interview-based research as Warren (2012, p.138) notes), and contained detail of how individuals felt pressured as a result of their institution's strategies, which were regarded as working against their identity, and culture.

Bryok's interview offered an illuminating example of this pressure. In his early discussions about curriculum design Bryok presented as a secure, thoughtful and articulate professional. He acknowledged that he felt confident discussing such issues with academic staff but institutionally he felt insecure. This was because the messages embedded within the curriculum design were not *"well received at the non-academic management level"*. The intensity of this emotion became clear later in the discussion when Bryok talked about his involvement in an external project. It was at this point that there was a visceral manifestation of Bryok's vulnerability. Using his hands to form a mask, with only his eyes visible, and speaking through his fingers Bryok intimated why peers and the institution were not told about the new role:

*"I didn't talk about it freely, or explain what it was, so they didn't know exactly what it was, umm, because it is easy to be sort of portrayed as something that I am not."* **Bryok**

The new role and the accompanying practices, it would appear, were considered by Bryok to be so contentious that he was unconsciously trying to shield these. Institutions, or more properly individuals holding certain positions within institutions, were clearly perceived as being able to exert influence, limit practice and sully professional standing. Bryok's powerful contribution to this study offered an example of the extent to which individuals carefully regulate practices to limit their vulnerability. Such an instance contrasted with the examples offered by other study participants where challenge and resistance were held up as valued cultural attributes (detailed in Section 6.5). Earlier discussion on the issue of Cornwall's inclusion within equality and diversity awareness campaigns saw Hocken openly challenging managers in a meeting (Section 7.2.2, p.129). Kerensa also gave examples of where she challenged institutional practices such as her account of confronting a senior manager, described in Chapter 6 (p.104). Meryn too shared a view on his willingness to challenge based on his espoused non-hierarchical approach to community and

recognition of reciprocal contribution:

*“I don’t give a monkey’s. These people are no better than I am, Umm if they don’t like what I’m saying then tough. It doesn’t matter to me .... I enjoy what I do. I like giving back to students who...are like I was all those years ago.” Meryn*

He did, however, acknowledge that maturity assisted his ability to challenge which he recognised younger lecturers might not find easy to do.

In this section it has been possible to see how institutions within the post-compulsory sector within Cornwall can be regarded as being “sites of struggle” as they failed to align their internal processes and ethos with the values and practices of the Cornish community they were geographically situated within. Individual lecturers relayed instances where they considered open resistance was necessary in order to make clear socio-cultural differences. Undertaking such acts of resistance, however, was recognised to have a level of personal risk for the individual lecturer. Examples of vulnerability shown in this section suggest that, at times, for some, the risk of making their Cornish identity salient was significant.

Having explored the participants’ perceptions of the extent to which the post-compulsory institutions contribute to a distinctive Cornish collective base, the next section will illuminate particular lecturer’s practices which model local identities.

### 7.3.2. Lecturers’ practices: creation and transmission of a Cornish pedagogic identity.

As noted at the beginning of this section (7.3), Bernstein (2000, p.65) saw pedagogic identities as being formed through exposure to “a particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration” and could be seen to be “embedded in particular performances and practices”. Additionally they were likely to draw from a range of particular discourses which have historical, contemporaneous and future-orientated perspectives. In the following sections participants can be seen as utilising a number of different circulating discourses (some of which were explored in Chapter 6) and in doing so offer a window into underpinning pedagogic philosophies which help illuminate the rationale for their pedagogic

practice choices. This exploration will consider the extent to which their pedagogic practices are helping to transmit Cornish values and practices.

### 1. *Cornish teaching practices*

A number of participants considered that they were “bringing” Cornish culture into the classroom through their adoption of teaching approaches, which they deemed culturally appropriate. One approach, addressed by many participants, was the purposeful inclusion of storytelling within sessions. Goron was one such lecturer who felt that his teaching approach was influenced by the value Cornish culture places on the “telling of tales” (Phillipps 1995; Bottrel 1996). Making reference to what he saw as a Celtic tradition, he noted that his lectures were light on presentation slides yet *“very heavy particularly on illustrating things through storytelling”*. The stories he used in class often drew on his own experiences. Other participants also used stories within their teaching thus utilising figures with strong cultural resonance for their students. Sowenna, for example, employed such storytelling, linking her own personal professional trajectory with that of Richard Trevithick.

Storytelling was also recognised as a useful tool to help students bridge the gap between their previous educational experiences, backgrounds and the new context of higher education. Such an approach was considered by Jacca as illustrative of what he termed *“Cornish mentality teaching”*. Cornish mentality teaching was, he asserted, the antithesis of approaches adopted by lecturers at other institutions. He considered that:

*“a lot of people in other places, see it as their job to take simple concepts, make it sound extremely difficult and something for their own personal gratification... whereas I think if you can take a technical concept and make it simple, and put it in a kind of context that they are aware of.” Jacca*

Whilst contextualising knowledge, in order to make it accessible to specific student groups is seen as part of a contemporary teacher’s pedagogic toolkit (Jarvis et al. 2003; Light et al. 2009; Hockings 2011), as indeed is the use of inclusive language in the classroom (Crosling et al. 2009; Weller 2016)), Jacca’s comment nonetheless suggests a specific Cornish cultural underpinning. His rejection of teaching as a form of personal gratification, or



the use of knowledge to reinforce hierarchical position could be seen to stem from Cornish views on community contribution and hierarchy (as discussed in Section 6.3.2).

However, whilst not all lecturers utilised this form of discourse there was a universal expectation of student success and many talked about the value they placed on hard work. The existence of a circulating narrative of Cornish individuals being lazy or non-aspirational was frequently referred to during interviews by participants; most often by those working in colleges outside the more affluent area of Truro. The view that Cornish students were unable or unwilling to achieve was something that interviewees flagged up as being disturbing. Some lecturers ventured the view that the discourse was being internalised by some Cornish students and also some staff members; this was seen as a challenge that needed addressing. Whilst some, such as Hedrek, detailed how strategic changes impacted on student aspirations, for example the instigation of a pan-College “gifted and talented” programme, most discussed how they were addressing this in the classroom. All seemed genuinely pleased with their efforts to enable student success. During these discussions lecturers were able to articulate how their Cornish cultural values underpinned their pedagogic practice.

Sowenna's interview was one such example. Adamant that academic standards should not be lowered, and that she held high expectations for all her students, Sowenna was vehement in her rejection of what she termed the *“too much tea and sympathy”* approach to failing students (see Atkins' 2008 study which gives an indication of how prevalent this approach is within FE). Such support was not helpful in her view as there should not be any *“excuse for their laziness or poor behaviour”*. Sowenna's comments on *“tea and sympathy”* as a pedagogic intervention potentially raises an issue for Cornish students supported in this way within institutions. As an intervention it runs counter to the community values of hard work (detailed in 6.3.1) that Sowenna and others hold. Young Cornish people, exposed to this form of support, might experience alienation from their wider community as a result (an example of how different forms of pedagogic regulation can cause dissonance for students can be seen in Singh 2001b). There is also, perhaps, a concern that the *“tea*

*and sympathy*” approach could be used by non-Cornish lecturers as a means to justify and validate the discourse of the non-aspirational Cornish.

It is important, however, to contextualise Sowenna’s rejection of the “*tea and sympathy*” intervention. It is by no means a rejection on her part of the need to support students; rather it can be regarded as an example of her actively working to ensure the continuation of Cornish cultural values. Other interviews confirmed that there was a desire to do this through the extension of these and Cornish cultural practices into other aspects of their pedagogic practices as well. Whilst recognising the limitations of the institutions in adopting Cornish cultural practices, lecturers still sought, within their sphere of influence, to create a feeling of belonging and inclusivity and to make the institution into a place where students felt at home. This was not institution specific. Lecturers adopted, for example, practices that contributed to a welcoming atmosphere. Kerensa gave the following example:

*“I make sure we have cups of tea and cake when we go on fieldtrips, and pasties. I stop at the shop and make sure that they load up.”*  
**Kerensa**

Goron noted that he believed that the family-like atmosphere he and others tried to facilitate, such as adopting an open-door policy, was appreciated by students.

The perceived need for students to feel that they belonged extended beyond the institution to the wider community. Curricula were purposely designed to integrate students into the wider Cornish community through the use of carefully chosen lecturer research projects, individual and group placements as well as community driven research and projects. Such activity encourages the mobilisation of staff and students resulting in the criss-crossing of the space between the institutions and the wider community and, by doing so, contributes to the reinforcement of social values, as well as offering opportunities for (re)creation of new understanding and meaning (Nespor 1994). Lecturers were the key to the successful mediation of this transference.

The effect that this movement between institution and community has on non-Cornish students was mentioned specifically by Myghal who noted that they

often become “*smitten ....they've been caught, caught by this Cornish glue that's grabbed them*”. Caught in a “*spider's web of Cornishness*”, he explained, and having completed their course, non-Cornish students often “*go away ... but they always return*”. This description interestingly sees Myghal applying the cultural narrative of migration widely used by the Cornish to the experience of non-Cornish students. It also seems to strongly support pedagogy as a conveyor of cultural values.

As well as detailing how they viewed their choices of pedagogic approaches contributors also recognised the part that they played in reinforcing Cornish practices through their enactment of these in dialogic exchanges they had with students.

## *2. Modelling Cornish identity as a pedagogic practice*

The importance of role models for Cornish students was discussed by a number of the generational lecturers across all institutions. Some participants had experiences of positive Cornish role models during their schooling. Others were unable to name any examples but all considered that positive role models were important for learners as they went through different stages of their pedagogic career.

The extent to which having a Cornish teacher mattered to students was seen as dependent upon age and background. Peswera, for example, felt that being Cornish was something students thought important only at certain stages in their life-course. Younger students undertaking their GCE A-Levels or BTECs were, she thought, less likely to be concerned about the “ethnicity” of their teachers. This view was also aired by Jeffra and Hocken. Instead of being concerned about teacher “ethnicity”, students - they believed - were more likely to be concerned about whether or not their teacher was effective, helped them achieve, and was friendly. Similar opinions were noted by Sowenna who taught younger HE students. These students were more likely, she posited, to be concerned about the academic credentials of lecturers such as whether or not they had a PhD (see Martinez 2006 who suggests that, contrary to the above, “ethnicity” can be regarded as important by young students).

Older Cornish students, most participants suggested, were more likely to welcome their lecturers being Cornish. However, regardless of the perceptions of the students, lecturers were clear that students were being exposed to Cornish role models. All considered that their “ethnicity” and personal experiences were important, and most gave examples of how they perceived being a role model helped individuals or groups (work undertaken by Frumkin and Koutsoubou (2013) offers a recent example of how this impacts on learners in further education). Cador was one participant amongst many who talked about this. He noted that his own personal achievements illustrated how, through hard work, personal success was possible:

*“I think the fact is [...] everybody can do it, if they work hard enough at it. That’s what I try to say. Because I can prove that’s what I did.”*  
**Cador.**

As well as offering an inspirational educational trajectory Meryn felt that he also could contribute in another way. He considered that as a returner he could relate to the difficult choices his students were to make about leaving or staying in Cornwall, and offer space and guidance for students. For Jacca being a visible role model was important in another way. It challenged, he believed, the unacknowledged but important message students received as a result of having few Cornish lecturers in the institution. He noted:

*“It doesn’t take a genius to sit there and think ‘Oh hell, how come there’s no Cornish people doing this’.”* **Jacca**

The importance of being a role model for students who were not Cornish was also discussed by some of those interviewed. Where there was a discussion this usually revolved around the benefits of having a presence to challenge the negative stereotypes about the Cornish. Examples given were not restricted to any particular institution, or level of programme, suggesting that this was something that could potentially be experienced by any Cornish lecturer. One example was given by Kerensa who overheard students discussing the reaction of a bus driver to derogatory comments made by one of their group about the Cornish. Kerensa, in this instance, intervened and explored with the students why the student’s behaviour was unacceptable. Hocken also offered examples of how he interjected when students used stereotypical and derisory

views of the Cornish. Hocken's interview gave the sole example of a lecturer being openly mocked by a student because of their "ethnicity". He mentioned in his interview that this was not an isolated incident, although occurrences were infrequent. His account of the approach he takes when this occurs is set out below:

*"I point out to them. "Would it be funny if I was black?" ....well no. It's a minority accent. Do you think it's OK? Is it? To do this? Would you want to put on a Pakistani accent next and try that? ....it's OK to discriminate against me in that way? Why do you think any of this is acceptable?"* **Hocken**

In this example, as with all of the others shared by participants, the approach adopted explicitly challenged discriminatory practices and values, in line with the expectations set out in the LLUK professional standards (LLUK 2007) and equality legislation (H.M. Government, 2010). What perhaps is of particular interest here is the way in which Hocken linked the mocking of his accent to the discrimination faced by those of Pakistani origin (see Cole 2012 for examples of this). His pedagogic choices here forcefully illustrate just how inappropriate he considered the actions of the students to be and, interestingly, how he links it to the issue of race.

Holland and Lave (2001, p.19) note that often, in the course of local struggles "marginalised groups form their own practices", and this appeared to be the case here. Whilst the challenge of discrimination is regarded as an integral part of the professional practice of teachers within UK education (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2011), the incorporation of Cornish "ethnicity", as a protected characteristic under the equality legislation, is a local practice. It is in the adoption of such local practices Holland and Lave (2001, p.19) assert that "subjectivities in the margins of power thicken and become more developed and so more determinant in shaping local struggles". Further, by choosing to adopt practices that openly challenge stereotypes and discrimination lecturers reinforce the message of difference and their claims for the recognition of Cornish culture.

As part of the research discussion about lecturers as role models participants were questioned about whether all lecturers should receive education on

Cornish history and culture in order to support the introduction of a Cornu-relevant curriculum. This discussion offered up an interesting window into the ways in which identity and pedagogic practices intersect. Kerensa, for example, was keen for this to be made a professional requirement for all lecturers; with incomer lecturers, if necessary, supported through the provision of mandatory training. She considered that this was something that should be universally embraced regardless of the geographical location in which a lecturer was working. Tamara's response, however, was less emphatic and gave an indication of the ambivalence felt by some of the participants about enforced embedding of Cornwall and Cornish culture into the curriculum. In the extract from her interview below it is possible to recognise the mediation work often undertaken by individuals when thinking about their identity and the curriculum. This extract contains an appreciation of the dangers of cultural dominance:

*"I'm not sure that it would worry me too much either way. I'm quite happy for it to be there. I wouldn't like to make a big effort to put it in because...I'm very proud of my identity but I don't like forcing things on people. I believe, I think too much danger coming from going the other way, too much tribalism and things sometimes, you know and that causes so much trouble in the world."* **Tamara**

A reluctance to tell people what to think or do was also apparent in Myghal's interview. It was not necessary, he considered, to *"take staff aside"* as it was *"up to them to decide"*. He thought, however, that most lecturers did seem to include Cornwall within their classrooms eventually through osmosis, in other words as a result of exposure to Cornish culture both within and without the institution.

Resistance to authority was also made clear by Sowenna who was emphatic in her rejection of a possible mandatory requirement to embed such knowledge within the curriculum. Such an obligation, in her opinion, would be *"awful"*. Sowenna further noted that she *"wouldn't want everyone to be Cornish...What good would that be?"* In this later comment Sowenna appeared to suggest that authenticity is important when bringing Cornish knowledge into the classroom and therefore seems to be positing the view that such introductions should be limited to those who are deemed culturally competent.

Other interviews also indicated that the introduction of mandatory training for non-Cornish staff to encourage use of Cornwall and Cornish culture within their classrooms was not widely supported (see Sarra (2011) and England-Ayres (2013) for alternative positions). The rejection of the proposal appeared to be located in concerns about self-determination and agency. The appropriation, commodification and likely distortion of culture by others, noted above and in Section 2.2.4, is clearly viewed as a material threat: one that would become yet another site of colonisation and subsequent loss.

An exposition about the professional experiences and pedagogic practices detailed above will be undertaken in the final section.

#### 7.4. Discussion

Chapter 6 offered a number of examples of how the lecturers in this study identified signifiers of Cornish identity: often by drawing on distinctive historical antecedents, including the issues of resistance and risk. This chapter has provided further examples of how Cornwall's distinctive historical and contemporaneous contexts have influenced participants' practices whilst working within the Cornish post-compulsory sector. The challenge of introducing such practices, set against this backdrop of cultural discrimination and marginalisation, has been clearly communicated here.

Utilising Bernstein's framework of the pedagogic device has enabled the identification of a number of sites where individuals' "ethnicity" becomes salient; when working as a researcher producing new knowledge; through the communication of this knowledge, for example when designing curricula or learning approaches for the classroom; and in relationships with other stakeholders including fellow academics, management, students and the wider community. In sum, this study has indicated that a challenge to a Cornish lecturer's "ethnicity" can surface at any time. The drivers of these can be identified in systemic processes, as was seen in the case of Kerensa's severance of employment by her HEI, or in personal prejudices (for example when Hocken's accent was mocked by a student). The nexus of these forms of marginalisation and discrimination is located in the hegemonic knowledge(s) and value(s) circulating about Cornwall and the Cornish.

Presenting a challenge to hegemonic knowledge(s) requires the identification and operationalisation of opportunities to produce and distribute counter-knowledge(s). The field of knowledge production in UKHE is heavily regulated; as can be identified in the examples offered by Cador, Kerensa, Tamara and Hocken which were set out in the preceding discussion. Their responses sought to contest this regulation through challenging the circulating narratives. However, what has been interesting to note is that the practices have not been uniform as some forms of resistance have been very public and others less so. The most public form of resistance was undertaken by Cador, (although this is unsurprising as his discipline highly values artistic methods), to demonstrate and validate academic expertise. The method Cador leveraged to validate his position as an academic was public performance where the audience, comprised of international peers, thereby affirming his standing within the discipline. The decision, however, was not without significant risk for Cador as any performance carries with it the potential for significant reputational damage. His account details the intensity of the occasion, (*“this guy was bugging me all night”*), and so it is perhaps understandable that his response would be similarly heightened.

International peers were also important for Kerensa as collaborators on a pan-European project. It was by consciously seeking out external research opportunities that she was able, she believed, to circumvent ways in which her “ethnicity” was being used to limit her role as a researcher. This work for Kerensa was a considered and calculated risk. She was aware of the possible ramifications of making herself visible in this way, there was every possibility that her employing institution would not acknowledge her research contributions, so her continued determination to proceed seems a particular and brave act (see Sang, (2016) for similar accounts by other minority academics seeking to challenge institutional norms). Interestingly, the episode has seemingly not diminished her resolve to continue her acts of resistance - such as including Kernewek in external talks to the academic community suggesting an appreciation of the “othering” that such a position offers.

Other interviewees also decided to work with others considered sympathetic to them as individual Cornish researchers, such as Hocken’s collaboration with



international peers, or Tamara's website created with colleagues whose own academic work was negatively impacted upon by place association with Cornwall. In these instances, however, because resistance is mediated in a less pronounced manner, that is to say by adopting more mainstream forms of activity, the risk to individual academic reputations is likely to be reduced.

Resistance and risk also emerged as concerns when lecturers discussed their pedagogic practices in the area of curriculum creation, and the reworking and reproduction of this when planning teaching and learning. It is in this area of practice that the intersections of power, knowledge, control and agency become more nuanced and complex. Lecturers are influenced by a number of things such as discipline expectations, (as Brennan et al. 2010, Geirsdóttir 2011 and Vorster 2011 note); government policy, (where lecturer agency might be limited to decisions about pace, sequencing and the forms and timing of assessment); and the internal cultures of their employing institutions.

Jacca's interview was one in which this complex intersection surfaced. During his interview he described with some confidence how his degree, an applied science, could be offered anywhere. Geirsdóttir's (2011) work (detailed in 4.4) suggests that this claim could be accurate. Further discussion revealed, however, that the curriculum design drew heavily on the natural environment of Cornwall, and both staff and students contributed extensively to the Cornish community during the degree programme. As a result of his decision making students were involved in activities that incorporated and therefore relayed Cornish values. The extent to which this activity was made visible is something to consider further for, as Jacca intimated in his interview, he was aware of the gaze of others on his professional practice. Such a gaze was recognised as being unwelcome. The Cornu-relevant curriculum might, for example, be viewed as of peripheral and therefore of lesser importance. In turn, this might see the programme being ignored or held up as an example of work of lesser value resulting negatively on both student and lecturer. It is also possible that the curriculum could be regarded as a direct challenge to the status quo and because of institutional inflexibility, destroyed (Lorde 1984). By purposely emphasising the universal content of the degree Jacca effectively deflects the unwelcome gaze.

A similar approach was seen in Jeffra's interview where the rationale for his curriculum mobilises the discourse of the neo-liberal market. This privileges the way in which the programme benefits the local economy, whilst purposely neglecting the important cultural drivers. Both of these contributions flag up the role and importance of political competence in practice decisions. Lecturers need to be able to recognise, and mobilise, the opportunities that reside in the sector wide systemic processes. Here, the interview data reveal how Jeffra and Jacca have utilised opportunities provided by the creation of the CUC (set out in Chapter 3) to design curricula that enables the relaying of Cornish culture. Through careful appropriation, and successful utilisation of dominant discourses, they have demonstrated that Cornish lecturers can minimise the risk of unwanted institutional regulation and so realise their ambitions. They are, in effect, covert actors, actively seeking to work under the radar of their perceived opponents, to disrupt the impact of internal colonisation on the Cornish and Cornwall.

As this chapter has shown, lecturers' pedagogic decision-making is influenced by two inter-relating areas namely the context within which the practitioner is located and their place within the hierarchy. Detail of the complexity of the arena in which Cornish lecturers practise their crucial cultural transmission is set out in Fig 7.1 below.

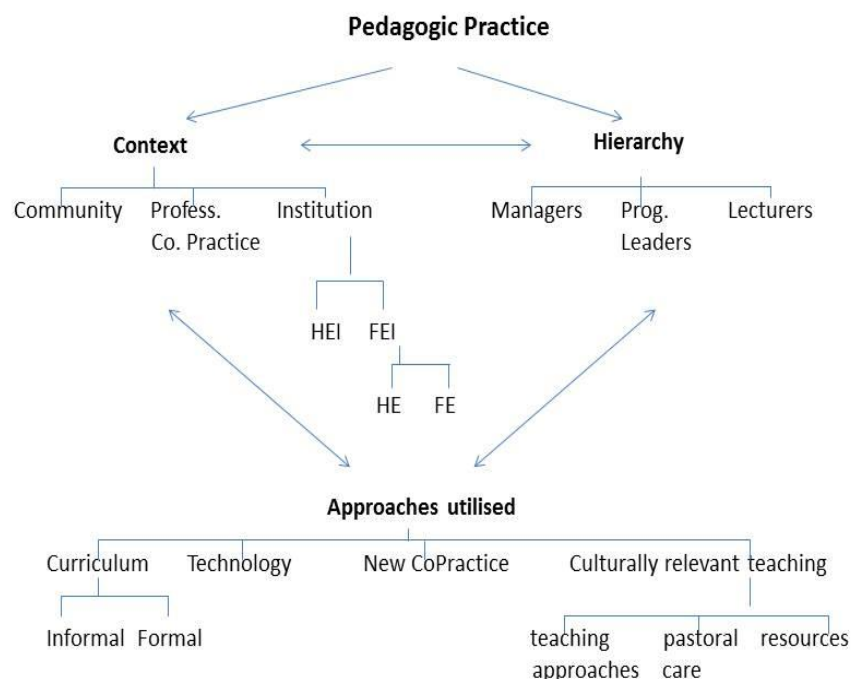


Figure 7.1. Detail of influences on Cornish lecturers' pedagogic decision making.

The importance of community, and belonging, is recognised as a key factor in practice choices. Specifically, the communities of professional practice they use as academics, the institutional communities that they work within and, the wider Cornish community. Curriculum design choices that directly engaged with the Cornish community/communities were regarded as having a number of benefits. First, doing so helps to mediate the lack of alignment between institutions and the community - which lecturers were often concerned about. This strengthening is likely to be of particular benefit to students who self-define as Cornish who, through the recognition of their cultural context, are likely to be empowered (Bernstein 2000, p.105). Also, by repeatedly moving between the two sites a web of connections is (re)created underscoring co-dependency - an important value involving place and community.

Where lecturers were advocating the promotion of Cornish values and attributes, and seeking to relay Cornish culture, it is important to recognise that

they were not wishing to replace their disciplinary knowledge with a form of Cornish social knowledge (see Hedegaard and Chaiklin (2005) and Lourie and Rata (2014) who discuss the limitations for students when such approaches are adopted). Rather, the practices primarily focus on what Bernstein (2000, p.32) termed the regulative aspect of the pedagogic discourse, i.e. the broader moral discourse that creates order, relations and identity.

But to what extent can the work of the lecturers interviewed in this study be regarded as creating a distinctive Cornish pedagogic identity? Earlier, in Section 7.3.1 (p.132), the impact of the creation of the CUC in enabling a different pedagogic identity for Cornish students to be offered was explored. The contributions of the major players, including the HEI and FEIs, were shown to be variable with the CUC's internal processes, in particular, seemingly at variance with its public stance on the creation of possibilities. The FEIs, however, were able to offer a more constructive contribution - with many of the examples of new degree courses discussed here being located within these CUC partners. However, the increased provision of higher education within Cornwall since the creation of the CUC is not disputable and the 2011 Census noted a demographic shift with increasing numbers of young people choosing to remain in Cornwall (Cornwall Council 2013b). Further work is needed, however, to explore whether there is any possible relationship here. For example, whether or not, some students recognised themselves in the classrooms of teachers such as Hocken or Tamara.

Bernstein's (2000, p.74) framework, which sets out an opportunity to understand the types of pedagogic identities offered to students, offers more detailed understanding of the types of pedagogic identities now being offered to students as a result of the work undertaken by lecturers in this study. Of the three contemporary identity positions offered by Bernstein (2000, p.74) the "prospectives" position i.e. one that is "constructed from past narratives to create a re-centring of the identity to provide for a new social base and to open a new future" appears best suited for this purpose. Central to this form of identity Bernstein (2000, p.76) posits is the construction of a new discourse that will enable a new basis for "social relations, solidarities and for oppositions" the ordering of which requires gatekeepers and licensers with the

accompanying struggle for supremacy of ideas. The selective historical basis on which such an identity is based helps the form that it takes as it engages with contemporary change(s).

The interview analysis detailed in Chapters 6 and 7 offered examples of historical discourses that were important to lecturers who currently identify as Cornish. There was an unequivocal agreement amongst interviewees about their difference as a distinct ethnic group, with a socio-geographical place association, and an historical narrative of colonisation. Specific references were made to widely circulating popular narratives such as mining and migration. Discussions that followed about the pedagogic practices adopted highlighted how these were clearly historically fashioned. Within the identified pedagogic practices relating to curriculum making, and reproduction in the classroom, there was an ambition to disrupt hegemonic narratives leading to the marginalisation and discrimination of Cornish students. Such challenges can be regarded as sites of local contemporaneous struggle against the ongoing project of English colonisation.

### 7.5. Summary

This chapter has illuminated how Cornish lecturers in this study have mediated the historically based contemporaneous discourses about Cornwall, and the Cornish, that surface in all fields of the pedagogic device. This chapter has highlighted the sophisticated awareness held by individuals of the intersection of knowledge, power, and individual agency within many educational contexts indicating that it is an integral part of their academic practices. The ways that they have enacted these practices, shared here, has enabled an appreciation of the individual moral choices which underpin their creative professional activities. The chapter found examples of determined active resistance to discrimination - both personal and systemic - as well as instances of affirmative action as they sought to continue valued Cornish practices, and cultural expectations, through their pedagogic choice making.

It was found that lecturers' decisions about pedagogic practice choices were made dependent on context, and cognisant of power relationships, and risk. The model set out in Figure 7.1 (p.152), illustrated the complexity of

experience and influences that this study has revealed. The pedagogic approaches that lecturers adopt are also influenced by the particular intersection that occurs between contexts at any given time. In effect, teachers are seeking to navigate a way through, to achieve the best “fit” bearing in mind the particular context they are working within. Four different types of approaches, linked to different pedagogic roles, were identified as being in use in this study; the design of curricula both formal and informal; use of technology and social media; creation of new communities of practice; and the use of a number of culturally relevant teaching approaches. The examples detailed in this chapter powerfully indicate the appreciation held by individuals of the power and transformative potential that resides in them as individual pedagogues, and their ability to inform the pedagogic identities of their students.

A further finding is that whilst lecturers draw from a mostly accepted, and agreed, set of cultural values and practices, these practices are enacted individually. Whilst two of the participants openly talked of supporting nationalist politics most did not and an adherence to any wider political or cultural movement - with its associated group uniformity (Kohn 1946) - could not be identified within this study. Yet all could offer a nuanced and thoughtful appreciation of how their pedagogic practices intersected with their Cornish “ethnicity”. For participants in this study their “ethnicity” could not be separated from who they were as teachers. Lecturers here are working *through* their institutions rather than *with* their institutions. They and their teaching are inextricably linked meaning that *they* therefore are the message (Kelchtermans 2009). What have been illuminated in this study are examples of pedagogy-as-identity. Hedrek’s comments, detailed below, can be seen as a representation of this:

*“That’s my approach [...] it’s not a job, it’s not an hour in the classroom...it’s the bigger picture than that....it’s the whole person, it’s the whole teaching thing, and that does blend with the Cornish thing because I am, they are, they’re living in Cornwall.” Hedrek*

The final chapter will offer a summary of the findings from Chapters 6 and 7

which will be used to address the research questions, and link findings to the review of theoretical frameworks undertaken in Chapter 4. It will conclude by offering some policy recommendations.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion and recommendations

8.1.	Introduction.....	157
8.2.	Identification of the professional issue for enquiry.....	157
8.3.	Research questions.....	158
8.4.	Overview of the study's main findings in relation to each research question.....	158
8.5	Implications for existing theory .....	166
8.6.	Reflections on the research study .....	170
8.7.	Policy recommendations.....	171
8.8.	Concluding thoughts.....	174

### 8.1. Introduction

This final chapter will offer a succinct resume of the research aims of this project, the arising research questions and a summary of the main findings, their significance, and theoretical underpinnings. Following this the limitations of the study are considered and policy recommendations presented.

### 8.2. Identification of the professional Issue for enquiry

In Chapter 1 the drivers for undertaking this study were set out and located within my localised practices as a PGCE (PCET) teacher educator. In the first sections of the introductory chapter I shared a number of examples of how fellow educators felt that the educational system in Cornwall marginalised and discriminated against those with a Cornish identity. I drew on these examples within my own classroom as a teacher educator to support the growth of student teachers' critical consciousness. In turn, doing this caused me to reflect and to observe both my own practices and those of colleagues. The resulting thoughts highlighted that Cornish educators appeared to resist their perceived marginalisation and seek to transform and revise the dominant discourse. Yet it was also clear that doing so was not without challenge and the factors informing



choices seemed complex. Accordingly, the general aim of the study therefore, was to illuminate the perspectives of educators who defined as Cornish and to consider what underlies their pedagogic decision making.

### 8.3. Research questions

A review of the literature in Chapter 4 helped identify areas of enquiry that would facilitate a better understanding of how the “ethnicity” of lecturers, who self-define as Cornish, influence their pedagogic practices. An exploration of related literature, (detailed in Section 4.2, p.47), indicated that there had been no comparable studies undertaken in the UK. This study therefore, offers a contribution to addressing this identified lacuna.

The following research questions were posed.

1. To what extent do the historical and contemporaneous contexts of Cornwall impact on the pedagogic practices of lecturers who self-define as Cornish?
2. In which educational contexts do lecturers who self-identity as Cornish become actively aware of their Cornish identity and
3. What role do lecturers who self-identify as Cornish play in the creation of localised pedagogic identities?

An overview of the study’s main findings are set out in the following section beginning with the extent to which the historical and contemporaneous context of Cornwall impacts on the practices of lecturers who self-define as Cornish.

### 8.4. Overview of the study’s main findings in relation to each research question

In order to help situate the comments made by participants in this study a number of key historical and contemporaneous episodes were set out in Chapter 2. These, along with detail of the post-compulsory landscape in Cornwall set out in Chapter 3, enabled a contextual analysis to be undertaken.

*1. To what extent do the historical and contemporaneous contexts of Cornwall impact on the pedagogic practices of lecturers who self-define as Cornish?*

This study has identified that: the historical discourses of English colonisation (detailed in Section 2.2.1), contribution to the industrial revolution (set out in 2.2.3) and subsequent adjustments to economic deprivation – all continue to be part of lecturers' identity construction.

Lecturers were also cognisant of a range of contemporaneous issues including political and economic concerns particularly around self-government for Cornwall (see Section 6.5.1). Whilst not all lecturers were openly supportive of Cornish nationalist politics (see Section 7.3.2), in all instances the growing adoption of Cornish signifiers of difference (Kennedy 2016) such as the use of the flag of St. Piran - was discussed. The most significant contemporary issue for lecturers, however, was the creation of the Combined Universities in Cornwall, a consequence of Cornwall being awarded European Union Objective One status in 1999 (discussed in Section 3.2). This institutional development resulted in a unique Cornish-focused post-compulsory educational context for the first-time in the modern era.

The findings identified that not only did study participants' "ethnicity" continue to be a live issue but that it impacted on their practices as educators. In this regard, Holland and Lave's (2001) concepts of "enduring struggles" (p.3) and "history-in-person" (p.7) usefully offered a framework with which to undertake an exposition of how long term historical and open-ended socio-historical considerations intersect with contemporaneous Cornish concerns. In their interviews lecturers offered details on how the impact of internal colonisation continued to result in the marginalisation and discrimination of the Cornish. The findings details how this was perceived by them as a central "enduring struggle". In their interviews they also revealed how historical and contemporaneous contexts intersected and underpinned their pedagogic practices as they sought to engage with this struggle. Specifically, the study identified two major approaches taken by participants: resistance to colonising hegemonic discourses and the relaying of Cornish values and practices.

The operationalisation of Bernstein's (1990, p.202) pedagogic device illuminated the fields, i.e. of knowledge production, recontextualisation and reproduction, in which the "gaps and spaces" emerge enabling the adoption of oppositional,

counter-hegemonic discourses. The study identified that Cornish lecturers did identify such spaces and exploited these as they occurred. However, this was context contingent (Section 7.4) and dependent on the extent of influence of certain groups within the ORF and PRF (Bernstein 2000, p.33).

The analysis (Section 7.4) identified four key areas of pedagogic practice (set out in Figure 7.1) where lecturers utilised the gaps that emerged as a consequence of the contemporaneous post-compulsory context. These included the creation of new communities of practice (such as new research networks which circumvented the marginalisation exercised by “powerful others”); the use of technology to offer alternative and more democratic platforms which enabled alternative representations of Cornwall; design of culturally relevant curricula, both formal and informal, (for example the inclusion of Cornish Language classes as part of extra-curricular provision (7.2.2)); and lastly, the adoption of teaching approaches that relayed Cornish practices and values.

In this study, Bernstein’s framework also highlighted the extent of Cornish lecturers’ political awareness and their appreciation of the implicit rules (Bernstein 1990, p.180) that regulate the relations between power, social groups and the production and reproduction of consciousness. For example, they recognised the boundary work that is undertaken by “powerful others”, appreciated the cost of boundary transgression in professional terms, and demonstrated cognisance of the dominant sector discourses. Furthermore, they utilised this knowledge skilfully to carefully position their pedagogic practices (e.g. through the purposeful utilisation of neo-liberal language to deflect the dominant gaze (for example Section 7.2.1, p. 125), enabling the safe enactment of their chosen pedagogic practices).

## 2. Educational contexts where lecturers, who self-identity as Cornish, become actively aware of their Cornish identity

This study has also sought to identify where, and in what educational contexts, Cornish lecturers’ ethnic identity became a salient issue. It has been established (detailed in Figure 7.1 and set out in Section 7.4) that there are three main educational contexts where lecturers become aware of their Cornish identity, often due to the discriminatory practices of others.

### *Context 1- the wider academic community.*

One site within this community is the key professional area related to knowledge production and communication, such as networking at conferences or undertaking collaborative research activity. Lecturers detailed how they perceived their contributions had been marginalised because of their “ethnicity”. Examples (outlined in Section 7.2.1), indicated that this discrimination is intimately related to issues of, access to, and distribution of, knowledge. The research interviews suggested that there were key signifiers that made Cornish “ethnicity” visible, namely accent and/or place association. When lecturers’ Cornish “ethnicity” was made visible then a number of barriers to participation in this arena were perceived to be erected. These included the questioning of academic credentials (sometimes in a very public manner), the application of restrictions on research opportunities and, where contributions to the discipline canon had been made, not acknowledging these formally.

### *Context 2 –the workplace - employing education institutions.*

The second context where lecturers became aware of their Cornish identity is the institutions in which they are employed. Participants, working in both higher and further education, considered that their institutions failed to appropriately recognise, and incorporate into institutional processes, aspects of Cornish culture and community values. FEIs were regarded as failing to appreciate the importance of the indigenous culture to the Cornish within the institutions. Equality and diversity awareness events undertaken by the colleges, with their “gift shop” interpretations of Cornish culture (detailed in 7.2.2), were singled out as particular examples of this poor practice. The HEIs’ involvement in Cornwall was viewed by study participants as being instrumental and economically driven; that is to say, it provided a route to lucrative European funding (see 7.3.1).

### *Context 3 –interactions with non-Cornish peers and students within institutions.*

The third context where the Cornish identity of lecturers became salient was in their interactions with non-Cornish peers and students within their employing institutions. Non-Cornish colleagues who failed to recognise a distinct Cornish

culture and its associated practices and values were viewed as problematic for Cornish staff and students (Section 7.3.2). Discriminatory discourses about Cornwall and the Cornish were reported to have been experienced in all of the institutions in this study. The interviewees suggested that enacting Cornish values and practices, within an educational environment where discriminatory discourses about the Cornish and Cornwall were common place, presented particular challenges for them. Discourses that automatically place Cornish students as requiring additional support to offset their cultural background, (i.e. one which failed to provide them with suitable aspirations), were held up for particular criticism. Interviewees also lamented pedagogic approaches, such as the prevalence of a “tea and sympathy” approach to student support (see p.142), that undermined the work of Cornish lecturers, as they sought to reproduce community values, including that of hard work.

Work undertaken with students was another location where lecturers became actively aware of their “ethnicity”, often as a result of students’ use of discriminatory language. Stereotypes were another negative aspect that necessitated interventions by lecturers. The need to challenge such behaviour was not limited to any particular institution or level of education, suggesting that this was something all Cornish lecturers could experience. Direction of discriminatory language or behaviour towards individual lecturers was not, however, widespread - although it did occur. For example, Hocken cited an incidence of his accent being ridiculed by students (p.146). The usefulness of professional standards, as a means to guide educator practice in such instances, was also explored in this study. The LLUK Standards (2007) in place at the time of the study, supported the need for educators to intervene when discrimination occurs, including instances related to “race”. The approach that Hocken adopted however, is of particular interest as it can be regarded as an instance of “contentious local practice” (Holland and Lave 2000, p.5). Specifically, it is an example of local professional practice when the Cornish are projected as an ethnic group, that should be afforded protected characteristic status (as set out in the Equality Act 2010).

As this study has shown, the educational contexts where Cornish lecturers became actively aware of their “ethnicity” are multiple. They surface in all fields

of the pedagogic device (i.e. knowledge production, as well as recontextualisation and reproduction), necessitating the employment of a range of practices in response. Whilst recognising that the analysis of such social practices is complex, Holland and Lave (2001 p.30) cautioned against failing to appreciate the impact of long term “enduring struggles” on the contemporaneous choices of individuals. Importantly, for this study, they advise that localised activity is not always open to view as it can be cordoned off or masked. This prompted consideration of the ways in which participants’ deliberately hid practices from view. There were several examples given in this study. For example, Jeffra’s decision to include in his curriculum community-based teaching activities with the intention to help reinforce the importance of community and reciprocity, whilst still privileging neo-liberal discourses of economic growth (Section 7.2.1, p.125).

The consideration of historical struggles and the ways in which these are mediated in local practice can also help identify what Holland and Lave (2001, p.30) note as “shifting inflections” of a person’s identity. In such circumstances some aspects of identity remained non-negotiable even as other aspects were instrumentally salient. There were several examples of this shown in the study. For example, the interview with Myghal, (p.138) - who held management responsibilities within his employing institution, offered an example of shifting inflections in professional practice. His discussions about his work with students, and his personal consultancy work were where his own Cornish identity became salient. In consequence, his management activities were discussed in a more measured way. Other lecturers, such as Bryok (p.139), chose not to make certain aspects of their “ethnicity” visible because they perceived this would place them in a vulnerable position professionally. Yet others were not prepared to compromise their Cornish values and were willing to challenge institutional cultural norms. Meryn noted (p.140), for example, that when practices did not align with his espoused non-hierarchical approach to community and reciprocal expectations he was prepared to make a challenge.

Instances of resistance, as Holland and Lave (2001, p.21) advise, are important contributions to the desired transformation of cultural practice. Where resistance was not always successful (as in the case of the equality and diversity events

noted above) they should nevertheless be viewed as part of the “constant state of movement and counter movement” (Holland and Lave 2001, p. 22) that occur as part of enduring historical struggles.

### 3. The role played by lecturers who self-identify as Cornish in the creation of localised pedagogic identities

A specific intention of the CUC project, as noted in Section 7.3.1, was to extend the provision of higher education within Cornwall (Pascal 2010a) and in doing so, offer a new model of pedagogic identity for students in Cornwall. The present study indicates, however, that the implementation of this new identity was limited because of systemic processes located in the institutions of the CUC. This is a key finding. The study was able to identify a number of barriers that lecturers perceived worked against successful adoption of the new pedagogic identity. As noted, these were identified as systemic in nature. For example, the HEIs admissions system did not address the needs of local students (p.135). A further identified barrier was the discriminatory hegemonic practices of incomer academics. Participants working in FEIs considered that incomer colleagues were less likely (see Section 7.3.1, p.133) to view the CUC provision, and the new projected pedagogic identity, in a positive light - with the result that students were still being encouraged to leave Cornwall to study without consideration of newly developed local higher education provision.

The foregoing analysis also detailed how Cornish lecturers utilised their pedagogic practices in the area of curriculum design (as set out in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2) and classroom teaching (detailed in Section 7.3.2) in order to create a localised pedagogic identity. The interviews established that these pedagogic decisions were historically fashioned, sought to disrupt the hegemonic discourses that marginalised their culture, and through the use of culturally relevant teaching reproduce aspects of Cornish culture that the study participants deemed important.

The findings also revealed how the integration of Cornish values and practices into curricula occurred in a number of ways: instigating involvement with the Cornish community, mainstreaming Cornish issues and adopting structures, (e.g. when choosing modes of assessment), that reinforced particular values

such as group working. Some lecturers spoke of their intention to democratise the learning environment (discussed in Section 6.3.2). This can be conceived as a response to Cornish *communitas*, i.e. privileging of reciprocity and contribution to community.

The second site where lecturers worked to create a localised pedagogic identity was at the point of reproducing knowledge within classrooms. Here a number of specific pedagogic practices were identified that could be marked out as “Cornish mentality teaching”, or a Cornish pedagogy. Creating a non-hierarchical inclusive classroom was seen as being of cultural importance for a number of the Cornish teachers in this study, Jacca’s discussion (in Section 7.3.2, p.141) being one notable example. Other community cultural practices were also replicated. Thus, Goron, explained (p.141) how his use of storytelling in the classroom was an extension of the cultural practice of “telling the tale”. Further examples included the utilisation of group work which was seen as reinforcing community values and attributes; setting of high standards and the use of Cornish examples in order to co-locate knowledge and geographical space. The meeting of students’ emotional and physical needs, alongside their academic requirements, was correspondingly important. Lecturers provided opportunities to create a community through the sharing of meals, engagement with the wider Cornish community, as well as the adoption of “open door” policies.

Bernstein’s framework of pedagogic identities (set out in Section 4.5), has enabled an examination of Cornish lecturers’ intentions as localised pedagogic identity. Of the three main types of identities offered by Bernstein (i.e. retrospective, prospective and de-centred), it was anticipated (Section 4.5) that a retrospective position, that is one that is based on a number of “mythical resources of origin, belonging, progression, and destiny” (Bernstein 2000, p.75), was not likely to be adopted because of the central feature of this form of identity - namely, the desire to maintain the position of the elite. In contrast, the prospective pedagogic identity Bernstein posits (2000, p. 76), constructs a new basis for “social relations, solidarities and for oppositions” which is future orientated. In Chapter 3 Bernstein’s notion of boundary markers (2000, p.206) was operationalised to undertake an exposition of the ways boundaries were



used by different CUC stakeholders and to consider to what extent there were opportunities for promoting a new basis of identity through pedagogical practice. This exposition identified that although the powerful HEIs worked together by utilising strong boundaries to demarcate their position from the less influential FEIs in the area of research, the creation of the CUC, when placed alongside the UK Government's widening participation agenda (detailed in Section 3.2.2), did offer opportunities for the creation of a new, (i.e. prospective), localised pedagogic identity. Subsequent analysis (in Section 7.4) whilst indicating the limitations of the official localised pedagogic identity mentioned above, recognised the contributions individual lecturers make towards a localised prospective pedagogic identity based on culturally-situated pedagogic practices, i.e. one that incorporates Cornu-specific 'knowledges, sensitivities and manners' (Bernstein 2000, p.75). This use of Bernstein's framework also offered a detailed exposition of how localised pedagogic identities co-exist with, and also challenge, dominant pedagogic identities.

#### 8.5. Implications for existing theory

The literature review undertaken in Chapter 4 identified that there was limited published material offering insight into the work of the UK indigenous teachers and their contribution to the reproduction of their minority culture (Section 4.2), with empirical work relating to the Cornish landscape particularly sparse (noted in Section 4.4). The Chapter also set out the theoretical frameworks which were operationalised in the study; Bernstein's sociology of pedagogy (1990, 2000), specifically the pedagogic device and pedagogic identities, and Holland and Lave's (2001) concept of "history-in-person". In this section I will offer some implications for the existing theory used here.

The context of this study was the Cornish post-compulsory landscape and the Combined Universities in Cornwall project in particular. Bernstein's pedagogic device was valuable in enabling an examination, not undertaken before, of the power structures within the CUC. This study confirmed that the Combined Universities in Cornwall, with its unique hub and spoke model of higher education provision, offered new spaces and possibilities (Bernstein 2000, p.32) for challenges to hegemonic discourses about Cornwall and the Cornish. This

examination was, of necessity, limited and therefore further opportunities exist to both widen the scope of the study, to include staff working in the Open University for example, as well as bringing the enquiry up to date to take account of changes in the partnership (see Cornwall Online (2016) which details the University of Falmouth's decision to leave the CUC).

Bernstein's pedagogic device framework also enabled a powerful illumination and exposition of lecturer practices (i.e. the *where, when and how* they enacted their decisions), within the fields of knowledge production, recontextualisation and also reproduction. Previous work by Geirsdóttir (2011) and Vorster (2011), (which was detailed in Section 4.4), utilised Bernstein's abstract theory, to explore the practices of lecturers in higher education. Geirsdóttir (2011) revealed how academic disciplines regulated, in different ways, opportunities for curriculum development and subsequent knowledge reproduction in the classroom. The work of Deacon and Westland (1998), whose work is currently the sole study on Cornish higher education curriculum building, seems to support Geirsdóttir's model. Vorster's (2011) work offered an additional consideration, i.e. that it was those who were research active who were most likely to hold greater sway over curriculum recontextualisation and reproduction. The findings from this study have offered an extension to both Geirsdóttir's and Vorster's work. This study affirmed that higher education lecturers did experience differences in opportunities to influence the curriculum, however, these were related not to the creation of different instructional discourses i.e. discipline knowledge and skills, (as was the case in Geirsdóttir's study), nor levels of research activity, as Vorster noted, but instead were a moral - or regulative discourse - issue, (i.e. concerning the relaying and reproduction of a marginalised minority culture). Further, what determined the opportunities for lecturers to instigate alterations to the regulative discourse was context dependent on a range of factors, such as the position held within the institutional hierarchy or the type of institution the lecturers worked within (set out in Figure 7.1). Additionally, this study highlighted that FE lecturers too (Section 7.2.2, p.126) were able to effect change through their recontextualisation and reproduction practices, in areas where they worked on courses less well-regulated by the ORF, such as BTEC programmes.

The limitations of Bernstein's frameworks, (as set out in Section 4.5), when considering the individual drivers of participants' decision making, (i.e. the *why*), prompted the use of Holland and Lave's (2001, p.7) concept of "history-in-person". Its operationalisation here has confirmed the value of including the historical, as well as the personal and social within an analysis of identity construction. It enabled a nuanced appreciation of the subjectivities of Cornish lecturers. There are two points arising from the use of Holland and Lave's concept in this study worth noting here. First, that when distinctions in cultural identifiers are small, and as a result not visible to the non-initiated observer, the inclusion of the historical in any analysis enables an appreciation of the perceived relationship and struggles with broader structural forces. The second point of note is that the use of "history-in-person" illuminates how, in the absence of a wider political or cultural movement - with its associated group uniformity, minority lecturers can still be regarded as a group (Maylor 2009). It offers an example of how individually generated cultural activities can be regarded as collective action.

Holland and Lave's concept has been pushed through in this study by the foregrounding of geography in the construction of subjectivities and identity. Whilst Holland and Lave (2001, p.16) note the importance of place, as both a geographical and symbolic boundary that impacts on the relationships and practices of individuals, this study extends this.

Geographical "place", as a touchstone of ethnic identity (Knowles 2010), was exemplified through participants' discussions. The inter-related features of place identified by Gieryn (2000) of location, material form and meaningfulness can be seen in participants' discussion of their feelings of belonging (Section 6.2), concern with alterations to the physical landscape (Section 6.4.1) and how migration (Section 6.4.2) continues to influence their views of the fluidity of their community(s). The centrality of place to lecturers' identity and pedagogic practices in this study, is encapsulated in Hedrek's comment (p.155) about his practice *"That's my approach [...] that does blend with the Cornish thing because I am, they are, they're living in Cornwall."*

The study also has contributed an empirical example of Bernstein's (2001)

conceptual model of pedagogic identities. Tyler's (1999) observation on Bernstein's embryonic model, i.e. that pedagogic identities are rarely found in a pure form due to the dynamic nature of the relationships between them has been confirmed here. This study has offered an example of the ways established pedagogic identities interact with, and influence the construction of new identity projections. As was noted above, the newly created Combined Universities of Cornwall published an ambition to provide a new localised pedagogic identity for people living within Cornwall. Yet, as this study has shown, this new identity has, in operation, been influenced by the research-intensive HEI whose admissions requirements, (a key feature of the pedagogic identity it projects more widely), altered the potential conceived in the original localised pedagogic identity.

This study also extended Bernstein's model by offering an example of how unofficial pedagogic identities simultaneously co-exist with those projected by the official arena. The findings offered an example of how the confines of neo-liberal structures and its associated boundaries employed by official agents, across all fields of the pedagogic device, can be galvanised to support localised pedagogic identities offering a platform to counter, and replace, the hegemonic pedagogic identities of the dominant groups. Importantly, it cautions that this can occur without the support of an overarching co-ordinated counter movement.

The anti-colonial turn has, as noted in Section 4.2, been foregrounded in work primarily undertaken by scholars outside the UK. The recent emergence of the "Why is my curriculum white" movement within the UK is contributing to a growing debate on historical and contemporaneous colonialism within education. The WIMCW movement is assisted by equality legislation (H. M. Government 2010), specifically with "race"/ national origins being identified as a protected characteristic. However, what this study identified is the way this legislation has subsequently bounded discussions and definitions of inequality and discrimination. The lack of reference to internal colonisation, and its inequalities, in legislation (as noted in section 1.6) has effectively reaffirmed - for a 21<sup>st</sup> century audience - the preferred historical version of the creation of the UK; an example of what Tuck and Yang (2012, p.29) regard as morally convenient "not seeing". But the activities undertaken by Cornish lecturers, who

perceive themselves to be subjected to discrimination as a result of internal colonisation, challenged these boundaries and therefore extend understandings of colonisation in a UK setting and also contribute to global awareness of the impact of long-term internal colonisation on minority groups.

#### 8.6. Reflections on the research study.

This study was designed to be an empirically rich qualitative enquiry. Aware that adopting an interpretative approach to this enquiry would help assist in understanding of context, structure and agency I initially wished to interview a representative sample of Cornish lecturers from all of the further and higher education institutions based in Cornwall. However, as was detailed in Section 5.5, I was unable to gain needed baseline data as the educational institutions, at the time of the study, limited their “ethnicity” data collection to the requirements of government departments and funding bodies. In terms of identity, these currently do not include “Cornish” as a category.

In the absence of data, the “network” technique was identified as the preferred means of identifying possible participants. In doing so I recognised that my preferred range of participants (set out in p.73), was unlikely to be fulfilled. In the event I was successfully able to overcome the difficulty caused by the dearth of baseline data - and I was able to locate participants who were employed in all but one of the Cornwall based educational institutions (an HEI). The use of professional and personal networks to locate participants brought with it a number of considerations: how could I ensure that potential participants would (should they desire) be able to reject an approach for an interview; and how might I minimise the possibility of professional conflicts of interest arising from my role as a teacher educator? In response, I decided that it would be unethical to interview students who were currently undertaking the PGCE (PCET) course, thereby minimising any risk of professional conflicts of interest. The possibility of potential participants feeling unable to reject an approach to contribute to the study was more problematic. I recognised that the method by which potential participants were approached could result in individuals being placed under pressure to contribute. I therefore decided that I would extend an invitation only once and regard non-engagement in a positive way. Only 3 invitees failed to

respond to my initial enquiry which I considered to be acceptable.

Another limitation of this study has been its focus on the perceptions of lecturers. It was not possible, due to time and resource constraints, to explore the actual practices of pedagogues through direct observation in the classroom or examination of curriculum materials. It is also recognised that this study has purposely concentrated on lecturers' perspectives and it is anticipated that there is much to be gained by seeking the views of others; such as senior managers, non-Cornish lecturers in post-compulsory education - as well as peers and teachers in other educational sectors. Indeed, this is a propitious avenue for future research.

However, although there is value in extending this enquiry - including into other sectors, there is another important perspective that needs to be investigated. The pedagogic practices of those interviewed have, at their heart, the students whose voices have been noticeably absent. Chapter 7 detailed how Cornish educators were striving to create a localised pedagogic identity yet the part that students play in recognising, realising and influencing the pedagogic identities that are being transmitted (Bernstein 2000, p.75) is something that has not been explored here. Almost half (48%) of all school children in Cornwall currently self-identify as Cornish (Cornwall Council 2016). Future research studies that explore the views of students as they enter the post-compulsory sector would provide further insight into pedagogic recontextualising processes.

### 8.7. Policy recommendations

This study adds to existing understanding of how lecturers relay culture through their educational practices by offering new knowledge and insight into how lecturers from a British indigenous ethnic minority undertake this important cultural activity. In this study participants indicated the complexity of their decision making as they navigate their day to day professional practices. A number of implications for practice and policy have arisen from this. These are set out below:

*Recommendation 1: Professional Standards: making practice expectations explicit*

An important issue highlighted in this study was the way in which Cornish lecturers experience ethnic discrimination. When lecturers are called upon to tackle discrimination, for example when working directly with students, their professional practices are guided by professional standards. At the time of this study the post-compulsory sector was working to two sets of standards. Lecturers working within FE were bound by the LLUK Standards whilst lecturers in HE were subject to the UKPSF, (published by the HEA on behalf of the HE sector). Lecturers employed by FE institutions (but working solely on HE courses) were required to conform to either or both sets of Standards. In terms of supporting staff to challenge inappropriate behaviour including discriminatory remarks, there was a marked difference between the two sets of Standards. For example, the LLUK standards explicitly stated (Standard BP1.2) that lecturers should directly challenge inappropriate behaviours and attitudes. The UKPSF however, is not so direct. There is no explicit indication that such practices are expected of teachers in UKHE. The closest professional value set out in the framework to the LLUK Standard BP.1.2 is Professional Value 1, which is concerned with respecting individual learners and diverse learning communities. Although this value implicitly seems to recommend that lecturers, where necessary, will challenge such behaviours it does not offer any explicit instructions to lecturers. *All* lecturers are required, however, regardless where they work, to adhere to the responsibilities set out under the Equality Act (2010). The Act's public sector equality duty specifically states that lecturers should eliminate discrimination; advance equality of opportunity; and foster good relations. The lack of explicit direction for HE teachers is, I propose, a serious omission by the compliance and regulatory bodies concerned. By directly referencing the need to challenge inappropriate behaviour and attitudes the UKPSF can reinforce the need to be proactive in meeting the needs of individuals, and minority groups, as well as complying with the general duty of the Equality Act (2010). In sum, it is recommended that the HEA instigate a sector wide discussion about a revision of the UKPSF and issue a Code of Practice to address the foregoing issues.

*Recommendation 2: Systemic gathering of data in order to ascertain levels of engagement with the indigenous Cornish community.*

In spite of the recognition of the Cornish as an ethnic minority (Deacon 1999; Saltern 2011) participants considered that there has been little meaningful official recognition of Cornish culture by the institutions within the sector. Systemic processes within the institutions were perceived by a number of participants as not aligning with cultural expectations of the indigenous Cornish community(s). Considering the audit requirements that accompany the awarding and distribution of European Union Objective One economic aid, it is perhaps noteworthy that there has not been a local audit to establish the contribution of educational institutions to the vitality and well-being of Cornish culture and values. Any review might include data on numbers of Cornish teachers employed; the number of students who self-define as Cornish; how institutions support Cornish community(s) as well as how different aspects of Cornish culture are supported within both the formal and informal curriculum; thereby aiding better policy decisions (Bagilhole 2009, p.15).

Moreover, as was noted in Section 5.5, there is currently no means of gauging the number of staff or students who self-define as Cornish within the post-compulsory sector as a whole. By collaborating with Cornwall Council, who regularly collect data on the identity of students within the school sector (Cornwall Council 2016), a framework for auditing the number of students and staff could potentially be adopted across all sectors within Cornwall. Other means of gathering views and so helping to establish a benchmark of staff views, could also be considered such as the convening of a conference, where interested stakeholders from its FEIs/HEIs' partner institutions, their governing bodies, Cornish staff and students could explore these issues. In the absence of any desire on the part of the CUC to take this forward then perhaps the Council, under the auspices of its Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities Cornish National Minority working group, could take the lead. The current Council Action Plan (Cornwall Council 2016) has scope for such an action as the only noted area of educational activity within the sector currently relates to the Cornish language teaching for Adults.

*Recommendation 3: Provision of culturally relevant training for those working within the post-compulsory sector.*



This study has indicated that, although lecturers utilise their informal networks to sustain their Cornish culture and practices, the approaches they adopt are individual in nature drawing on their place within the wider Cornish community. The study participants were asked about whether or not, there should be mandatory induction training to support newly appointed non-Cornish lecturers, who do not hold such a relationship with the wider community. There was no consensus. The impact on both students and staff of non-Cornish Lecturers' lack of explicit appreciation of the socio-political position of Cornwall and its cultural difference, however, does strongly suggest that this is something that requires further action.

This final recommendation speaks to the original drivers of this study which were the personal and professional concerns I had as a teacher educator, (as set out in the introductory sections of Chapter 1). The study has indicated that there is valuable work being undertaken as Cornish educators ensure their marginalised culture is relayed to the next generation. The complex navigation of the contexts lecturers work within, and the decision making that is dependent on a multiplicity of influences is something, I propose, that should be included in any Cornwall based Initial Teacher Education programme. Failing to do so would enable hegemonic discriminatory narratives about the Cornish and its people to continue without challenge. The instigation of a culturally Cornu-relevant curriculum in teacher education would offer a model of curriculum design and inform the construction of beginner lecturers' academic identities. This is an area where again Cornwall Council's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities Cornish National Minority working group, in the absence of a CUC led directive, could take a lead.

#### 8.8. Concluding thoughts

One of the key drivers for undertaking this study, as set out in Chapter 1, was to offer an empirical contribution to an identified lacuna in the literature. My initial enquiries, when embarking on this study, indicated that published research into education in Cornwall was limited. Continued examination of the literature confirms that this remains to be the case. Similarly, an examination of UK based studies, revealed that there was little academic literature detailing how lecturers

from minority groups sought to reproduce their culture within the academy. There are none which considered lecturers subjected to internal colonisation. This study offers a contribution to addressing this lacuna.

The theoretical framing utilised within this study, i.e. Bernstein's concepts of the pedagogic device and pedagogic identities alongside Holland and Lave's (2001) work on "history-in-person" has enabled a close examination of the pedagogic practices of Cornish lecturers working in post-compulsory Cornwall. It has revealed details of how, in the face of long-standing marginalisation, this minority group utilises education as a site both for resistance and cultural reproduction. A review of work undertaken by Bernsteinian scholars (detailed in Section 4.4) identified that no previous use of Bernstein's frameworks to explore the intersection between "ethnicity" and pedagogic practices have been undertaken. This work, therefore, offers a substantive theoretical contribution to the field.

Final concluding thoughts on wider issues related the subject of this study: Cornwall and the Cornish. The data gathering for this thesis was undertaken during the period from September 2010 and was completed in March 2011. The Cornish post-compulsory sector has, since the commencement of this study, continued to evolve (as detailed previously) as have - to a significant degree - discussions about Cornish self-determination and Cornish culture (which have been touched upon in Section 2.3).

This study has identified that the position of the Cornish minority in Cornwall is precarious. When set against the expansion of the population in Cornwall through record numbers of in-migration (Deacon 2013; Deacon 2016), and the heightened concerns about dilution of the culture discussed by lecturers in this study, the need for further educational enquiry is perhaps more pressing than ever. Further enquiries can only help illuminate and support the work Cornish educators undertake, such as detailed within this thesis, to both *reright/rewrite* and *reproduce/reposition* the pedagogic identities presented to their students: work that is - in this author's opinion - of national importance.

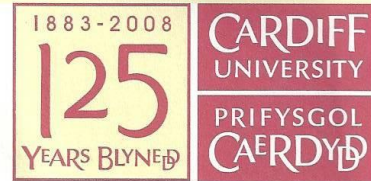
## APPENDIX 1: Grey literature sources

Indicative grey literature sources:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Websites of CUC partner institutions</li> <li>• Government (national, regional and local) websites</li> <li>• On-line news media</li> <li>• Personal websites</li> <li>• Facebook accounts</li> <li>• Professional websites such as LinkedIn</li> </ul>
Examples of located resources following initial search:	<p>BBC.2007. “<i>Head of Education Group appointed</i>” [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/cornwall/6327973.stm">http://bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/cornwall/6327973.stm</a>. [Accessed 6.9.09].</p> <p>Cornwall Council. 2012. “<i>Written evidence submitted to the Communities and Local Government Committee</i>” [Online]. Available at: <a href="https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmcomloc/81/81vw16.htm">https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmcomloc/81/81vw16.htm</a> . [Accessed 3.4.13].</p> <p>Combined Universities in Cornwall. No date. “<i>New Director for CUC</i>” [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.cuc.ac.uk/news/778-new-director-for-cuc">http://www.cuc.ac.uk/news/778-new-director-for-cuc</a> [Accessed 14.2.14].</p> <p>Cornwall Live. 2016. <i>Why has Falmouth University pulled out of the CUC?</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.cornwalllive.com/falmouth-university-pulled-combined-universities/story-29319052-detail/story.html">http://www.cornwalllive.com/falmouth-university-pulled-combined-universities/story-29319052-detail/story.html</a> [Accessed: 8.1.17].</p> <p>University of Cornwall support group. No date. <i>Facebook home page</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/ourcornishuniversity/">https://www.facebook.com/ourcornishuniversity/</a> [Accessed 29.11.16].</p> <p>Falmouth University. 2009. “<i>Major boost for University education in Cornwall</i>” [Online]. Available at: <a href="https://www.falmouth.ac.uk/content/major-boost-university-education-cornwall">https://www.falmouth.ac.uk/content/major-boost-university-education-cornwall</a> [Accessed 12.12.10].</p>
Examples of grey literature utilised in the study:	<p>Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). No datea. <i>The Cornwall Research Fund; Assisting individuals and organisations in the development of intellectual capital in Cornwall</i>. Penryn: Combined Universities in Cornwall.</p>

	<p>Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). No dateb. <i>FAQ: Are the CUC partners attracting local students?</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.cuc.ac.uk/about-cuc/cuc-faq">http://www.cuc.ac.uk/about-cuc/cuc-faq</a> [Accessed: 23.2.13].</p> <p>Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). 2010. <i>Homepage</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.cuc.ac.uk">www.cuc.ac.uk</a> [Accessed: 20.5.10].</p> <p>Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). 2011. <i>Collaborative Postgraduate Research</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.cuc.ac.uk/collaborative-postgraduate-research">http://www.cuc.ac.uk/collaborative-postgraduate-research</a> [Accessed: 2.3.13].</p> <p>Truro College. No date. <i>FdA Dance</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.Trurocollege.ac.uk/page.php?pageID=483">http://www.Trurocollege.ac.uk/page.php?pageID=483</a> [Accessed: 23.5.10].</p> <p>Peninsula College of Medicine and Dentistry (PCMD). 2010. <i>European Centre for the Environment and Human Health- Funding agreed</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.pms.ac.uk/news.php?id=113">http://www.pms.ac.uk/news.php?id=113</a> [Accessed: 7.6.10].</p> <p>Plymouth University (PL U). 2013. <i>South West South West receives £10.3m funding for marine energy research</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.plymouth.ac.uk/pages/view.asp?page=26921">http://www.plymouth.ac.uk/pages/view.asp?page=26921</a> [Accessed: 2.4.13].</p> <p>University of Exeter. 2011. <i>Environment and Sustainability Institute</i> [Online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.exeter.ac.uk/esi/news/title_145537_en.html">http://www.exeter.ac.uk/esi/news/title_145537_en.html</a> [Accessed: 23.5.13].</p>
--	--

## APPENDIX 2: Copy of letter from Cardiff University SOCSI Ethical Committee

Cardiff School of Social Sciences  
Director Professor Huw Beynon  
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol Caerdydd  
Cyfarwyddwr Yr Athro Huw Beynon



28<sup>th</sup> November 2008

Our ref: SREC/394

Catherine Camps  
Professional Doctorate Programme  
SOCSI

Cardiff University  
Glamorgan Building  
King Edward VII Avenue  
Cardiff CF10 3WT  
Wales UK  
Tel Ffôn +44(0)29 2087 5179  
Fax Ffacs +44(0)29 2087 4175  
www.cardiff.ac.uk/  
Prifysgol Caerdydd  
Adeilad Morgannwg  
Rhodfa Brenin Edward VII  
Caerdydd CF10 3WT  
Cymru Y Deymas Gyfunol

Dear Catherine

Your project entitled "*And shall Trelawney die? Not in my classroom !: an exploration of how the construction of Cornish identity affects the pedagogic practices of teachers who define as Cornish, within further and higher education in Cornwall and student identity*" has now been approved by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University following its meeting on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008 and you can now commence the project.

If you make any substantial changes with ethical implications to the project as it progresses you need to inform the SREC about the nature of these changes. Such changes could be: 1) changes in the type of participants recruited (e.g. inclusion of a group of potentially vulnerable participants), 2) changes to questionnaires, interview guides etc. (e.g. including new questions on sensitive issues), 3) changes to the way data are handled (e.g. sharing of non-anonymised data with other researchers).

All ongoing projects will be monitored every 12 months and it is a condition of continued approval that you complete the monitoring form.

Please inform the SREC when the project has ended.

Please use the SREC's project reference number above in any future correspondence.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sally Holland'.

Dr Sally Holland  
Deputy Chair of the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc: L James  
Supervisors: G Ivinson  
P Chaney

## **APPENDIX 3: Information Sheet for Interviewees**

### **Participation Information sheet: Cornish identity and teacher pedagogic practice**

You are invited to take part in a research study. This sheet sets out information about the study such as why it is being undertaken and what it will involve. Please read this and if you have any further queries then do not hesitate to contact me. Contact details are listed below.

#### **What is the purpose of the study?**

There has been considerable interest shown by social science researchers in the extent to which pedagogical choices made by individual educators are influenced by aspects of their identity such as their gender or their ethnic background. These might include what resources are used in the classroom or what is included in the syllabus.

This study will explore the extent to which lecturers, who self-define as Cornish, consider that their teaching practices are influenced by this aspect of their identity. The lecturers taking part in this research will all be currently working in the further and higher education sectors in Cornwall.

It is intended that data will be gathered in several stages. These are outlined below:

- An initial focus group with practitioners in the post-16 sector
- Individual interviews with lecturers

#### **Who is the researcher?**

My name is Cath Camps and I am currently undertaking a Doctorate in Education at Cardiff University. This research has been approved by the Cardiff University School of Social Sciences Ethics Committee.

#### **Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen to take part in this study because you teach within the post-16 sector and because you self-define as Cornish.

#### **What do I have to do?**

You are invited to take part in the initial focus group. The discussion in the focus group will be recorded and later transcribed. The views expressed in this focus group will be used to guide the forming of questions and topics asked of individual teachers.

**What will happen to the information that I give?**

The transcript of the focus group will be kept securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act. If you would like to see a copy of the transcript then this will be possible. Entries made on the website will be anonymised.

An analysis of the data will be made in my doctoral thesis and may appear in academic journals and/or presented to peers at academic conferences.

**Will my taking part be confidential?**

I will ask all who attend the focus group to keep what is said confidential. In the transcription and final report names will be changed.

**What if I wish to withdraw?**

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason.

**Contact details**

My contact details are:

E.Mail: [REDACTED] Telephone number: [REDACTED]

#### **APPENDIX 4: Consent Form for Interviewees**

**Title: Cornish identity and teacher pedagogic practice**

	<b>Please initial</b>
<b>I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, and to ask questions which have been answered satisfactorily.</b>	
<b>I understand my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason.</b>	
<b>I agree to take part in the study.</b>	

**Name of participant:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**

**Researcher signature:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**



## APPENDIX 5: Identified prompt questions for interviews.

Research questions identified for this study	Associated prompt questions
To what extent do the historical and contemporaneous contexts of Cornwall impact on the pedagogic practices of lecturers who self-define as Cornish?	<p><b>Professional practices</b></p> <p>How did you come to work in Cornwall?</p> <p><b>Policy influences</b></p> <p>What is the impact of policy here?</p> <p>Are there any particular policies that affect the introduction of Cornishness into the curriculum or other pedagogic practices?</p> <p>Do you feel supported in this? If so by whom?</p> <p>Do you talk to other Cornish practitioners about this?</p>
In which educational contexts do lecturers who self-identity as Cornish become actively aware of their Cornish identity?	<p><b>Professional practices</b></p> <p>What is your role(s) within your institution? What courses do you teach on?</p> <p>Do you have any external roles? How and why have you undertaken these roles?</p> <p><b>Institutional influences</b></p> <p>Do you think that the leadership in your institutions will approve of you bringing Cornishness into the curriculum or other pedagogic practices? If not, who do you think might disapprove? Why might that be the case?</p>
What role do lecturers who self-identify as Cornish play in the creation of localised pedagogic identities?	<p><b>Professional practices</b></p> <p>How long have you been teaching?</p> <p>Do you incorporate Cornwall into your teaching at all? What sort of things do you incorporate and why? Are there things you cannot incorporate? Why not?</p> <p><b>Student perceptions and experience</b></p> <p>Does your Cornishness matter to your students?</p> <p>Is there any impact on your students because of your Cornishness?</p>

**APPENDIX 6: Words to “Song of the Western Men” or “Trelawny” by  
R.S.Hawker (1825)**

A good sword and a trusty hand!  
A merry heart and true!  
King James's men shall understand  
What Cornish lads can do!

And have they fixed the where and when?  
And shall Trelawny die?  
Here's twenty thousand Cornish men  
Will know the reason why!

Out spake their Captain brave and bold:  
A merry sight was he:  
“If London Tower were Michael's hold,  
We'd set Trelawny free!

“We'll cross the Tamar, land to land:  
The Severn is no stay:  
With "one and all," and hand in hand;  
And who shall bid us nay?

“And when we come to London Wall,  
A pleasant sight to view,  
Come forth! come forth! ye cowards all:  
Here's men as good as you.

“Trelawny he's in keep and hold;  
Trelawny he may die:  
But here's twenty thousand Cornish bold  
Will know the reason why!”

## References:

- Acker, S. 1993. Contradictions in Terms: Women Academics in British Universities. In: Arnot, M. and Weiler, K. eds. *Feminism and Social Justice in Education: International Perspectives*. London: Falmer Press, pp. 146-166.
- Adams, R.J. et al. 2015. Sustainability-oriented innovation: a systematic review. *International Journal of Management Review* 18(2), pp.180-205.
- Adams, R.J. et al. 2016. Shades of Grey: Guidelines for working with the Grey Literature in Systematic Reviews of Management and Organizational Studies. *International Journal of Management Reviews* 19(4), pp.432-454.
- Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. 2017. *Fourth Opinion on the United Kingdom adopted on 25 May 2016*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Ahmed, S. 2012. *On being included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Aldous, P. and Williams, M. 2001. A question of Ethnic Identity. In: Payton P. ed. *Cornish Studies: Two*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.213-226.
- Anderson, B. 1992. *Imagined Communities*, Revised ed. London: Verso.
- Angarrack, J. 2002. *Our future is History: Identity, Law and the Cornish Question*. Bodmin: Independent Academic Press.
- Anthias, F. 2010. Nation and Post-nation: Nationalism, Transnationalism and Intersections of Belonging. Studies. In: Hill Collins, P and Solomos, J. eds. *The Sage Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*. London: Sage, pp. 221-248.
- Archer, L. 2008. Younger academics' constructions of "authenticity", "success" and professional identity. *Journal of Education Policy* 33(4), pp.385-403.
- Ashwin, P. et al. 2015. Representations of a high-quality system of undergraduate education in English higher education policy documents. *Studies in Higher Education* 40(4), pp.610-623.
- Association of Colleges (AOC). 2010. *AOC Funding Survey Number 1: Adult Learning Funding* [Online]. London: Association of Colleges. Available at: [www.aoc.co.uk/download.cfm?docid=8A4C4B4A-9D19-49EC-9E58662080097DBE](http://www.aoc.co.uk/download.cfm?docid=8A4C4B4A-9D19-49EC-9E58662080097DBE) [Accessed: 5.12.11].
- Atkins, L. 2008. *Tears of the Phoenix: How nurturing and support became the 'cure' for Further Education* [Online]. Paper given at BERA conference. Heriot Watt University, Edinburgh 4. 12. 2008. Available at: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/178881.doc> [Accessed: 23.3.13].

Avis, J. et al. 2011. 'Am I doing enough to help them?' Learners, care work and well-being: Further Education trainee teachers. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education* 16(1), pp.47-58.

Azook Community Interest Company. No date. *Sense-of-place* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.sense-of-place.co.uk/preview/> [Accessed: 3.5.10].

Bagilhole, B. 2009. *Understanding Equal Opportunities and Diversity: the Social Differentiations and Intersections of Inequality*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Baker, C. 1997. Membership categorization and Interview accounts. In: Silverman, D. ed. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage, pp.130-143.

Ball, S.J. et al. 2013. Social mix, schooling and intersectionality: identity and risk for Black middle class families. *Research Papers in Education* 28(3), pp.265-288.

Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture and Difference*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Bates, M. 2007. [Online] What is browsing— really? A model drawing from behavioural science research. *Information Research* 12(4). [Accessed 29.10.17].

Bathmaker, A. 2016. Higher education in further education: the challenges of providing a distinctive contribution that contributes to widening participation. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education* 21(1-2), pp. 20-32.

Bradbury, J. 2008. Introduction. In Bradbury, J. ed. *Devolution, Regionalism and Regional Development: The UK Experience*. London: Routledge, pp.1-22.

Becher, T and Trowler, P. 2001. *Academic Tribes and Territories: Intellectual Enquiry and the Cultures of Disciplines*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Buckingham, PA: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press.

Bennett, S. 2011. *Delivering Equality and Diversity in a White Working Class Further Education College* [Online]. Paper presented at BERA Annual conference. Available at: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/203927.doc> [Accessed: 1.4.13].

BERA (British Educational Research Association). 2004. *Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* [Online]. London: BERA. Available at: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications /guidelines/> [Accessed: 26.6.2008].

Bernstein, B. 1975. *Class, Codes and Control. Vol 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions*. London: Routledge.

Bernstein, B. 1990. *Class, Codes and Control. Vol.IV: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bernstein, B. 2000. *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*. Revised ed. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.

Berthoud, R. et al. 1997. *Ethnic Minorities in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Bhopal, K. and Jackson, J. (2013) *The Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Academics: Multiple Identities and Career Progression* [Online]. Southampton: University of Southampton. Available at: [http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/350967/1/\\_soton.ac.uk\\_ude\\_personalfiles\\_users\\_kb4\\_mydocuments\\_Diversity%20research\\_Final%20report%20April%202013\\_Final%20Report%208July%202013\\_Research%20Report%20The%20Experiences%20of%20Black%20and%20Minority%20Ethnic%20Academics.pdf](http://eprints.soton.ac.uk/350967/1/_soton.ac.uk_ude_personalfiles_users_kb4_mydocuments_Diversity%20research_Final%20report%20April%202013_Final%20Report%208July%202013_Research%20Report%20The%20Experiences%20of%20Black%20and%20Minority%20Ethnic%20Academics.pdf) [Accessed: 12.1.17].

Blair, M. 2001. *Why pick on me?: School exclusion and Black Youth*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham.

Blair, M. and Cole, M. 2000. Racism and education: the imperial legacy. In Cole, M. ed. *Education, Equality and Human Rights*. London: Routledge, pp.58-77.

Bonutti et al. 2012. Benchmarking curriculum-based course timetabling: formulations, data formats, instances, validation, visualization, and results. *Annals of Operations Research* 194(1), pp.59–70.

Bosworth, G. and Willett, J. 2011. Embeddedness or Escapism? Rural Perceptions and Economic Development in Cornwall and Northumberland. *Sociologia Ruralis* 51(2), pp.195-214.

Bottrell, W. 1996. *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*. Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers.

Bowman, M. 2000. Contemporary Celtic Spirituality. In: Hale, A. and Payton, P. eds. *New Directions in Celtic Studies*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.69-94.

Bradbury, J. 2008. Introduction. In Bradbury, J. ed. *Devolution, Regionalism and Regional Development: The UK Experience*. London: Routledge, pp.1-22.

Brennan, J. et al. 2010. *Improving What is Learned at University*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Brennan, J. and Osborne, M. 2008. Higher education's many diversities : of students, institutions and experiences; and outcomes? *Research Papers in Education* 23(2), pp.179-190.

Brine, J. 2010. 'I lived down the road from you': Exploring power, identity, then and now'. In Bathmaker, A. and Harnett, P. eds. *Exploring Learning, Identity and Power through Life History and Narrative Research*. London: Routledge, pp.130-143.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). (2007) "Head of Education Group appointed" [Online]. Available at: <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/cornwall/6327973.stm>. [Accessed 6.9.09].

Browne, K. 2005. Snowball sampling: using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8(1), pp.47-60.

Bruner, J. 1996. *The Culture of Education*. Harvard. Ma: Harvard University Press.

Bryant, C. G. A. 2003. These Englands, or where does devolution leave the England? *Nations and Nationalism* 9(3), pp.393-412.

Bryman, A. 1988. *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Bryman, A. 2004. *Social Research Methods*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.

Calhoun, C. 1994. Social Theory and the Politics of Identity. In: Calhoun, C. ed. *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell publishing, pp.9-36.

Camps, C. 2014. Valuing, harnessing and using the unique asset of working in a bilingual institution: introducing the Welsh language into a postgraduate certificate in higher education. In Hanesworth, P. ed. *Equality and diversity in learning and teaching in HE: compendium of papers*. HEA Scotland/ECU: London, pp.22-34.

Carrigan, M. 2016. *Social Media for Academics*. London: Sage.

Castells, M. 2004. *The Rise of the Network Society: Vol. 1*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Cenoz, J. 2012. Bilingual educational policy in higher education in the Basque Country. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 25(1), pp.41-55.

Christians, C. G. 2005. Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research. In: Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. eds. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Sage, pp.139-164.

Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. 1996. *Making sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Cohen, A. P. 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. Chichester: Ellis Horwood.

Cohen, L. et al. 2011. *Research methods in education*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Abingdon: Routledge.

Cole, M. 2012. Racism in the UK: change and continuity. In: Cole, M. ed. *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of gender, 'race', sexuality, disability and social class*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Abingdon: Routledge, pp.48-78.

Coleman, N. A.T. No date. *Decolonising my discipline by teaching research on race* [Online]. Available at: [https://www.academia.edu/6651199/Decolonising\\_my\\_discipline\\_by\\_teaching\\_research\\_on\\_race?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/6651199/Decolonising_my_discipline_by_teaching_research_on_race?auto=download) [Accessed: 16.1.17].

Coles, A. L. and Knowles, J. G. eds. 2001. *Lives in Context: The Art of Life History Research*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Colley, L. 1992a. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. London: Vintage.

Colley, L. 1992b. Britishness and Otherness: An Argument. *Journal of British Studies* 31(4), pp.309-329.

Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). No datea. *The Cornwall Research Fund; Assisting individuals and organisations in the development of intellectual capital in Cornwall*. Penryn: Combined Universities in Cornwall.

Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). No dateb. *FAQ: Are the CUC partners attracting local students?* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.cuc.ac.uk/about-cuc/cuc-faq> [Accessed: 23.2.13].

Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). 2010. *Homepage* [Online]. Available at: [www.cuc.ac.uk](http://www.cuc.ac.uk) [Accessed: 20.5.10].

Combined Universities in Cornwall (CUC). 2011. *Collaborative Postgraduate Research* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.cuc.ac.uk/collaborative-postgraduate-research> [Accessed: 2.3.13].

Cornish Constitutional Convention. 2009. *The Next Push* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.cornishassembly.org/publications.htm> [Accessed: 6.3.12].

Cornwall Council. 2011. *Cornwall 2011: Demographic evidence base* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.google.co.uk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDIQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.cornwall.gov.uk%2Fidoc.ashx%3Fdocid%3D0c946982-fea7-4ab6-b658-498eb4eaa431%26version%3D-1&ei=OVtEUdzpIKef0QXF7ICYCA&usq=AFQjCNHfp0EGtFMe4Pq4as01CW2TxKPkHw&bvm=bv.43828540,d.d2k> [Accessed: 14.3.13].



Cornwall Council. 2012. "Written evidence submitted to the Communities and Local Government Committee" [Online]. Available at: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmcomloc/81/81vw16.htm> [Accessed 3.4.13].

Cornwall Council. 2013a. *Census at a glance. First release July 2012* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/default.aspx?page=26945> [Accessed: 14.3.13].

Cornwall Council. 2013b. *2011 Census: An overview of the headline figures for Cornwall* [Online]. Available at: <https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/12900814/2011-Census-An-Overview-of-the-Headline-Figures-for-Cornwall.pdf> [Accessed: 26.8.16].

Cornwall Council. 2014. *Council welcomes Government decision to recognise the Cornish as a national minority* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/council-news-room/media-releases/news-from-2014/news-from-april-2014/council-welcomes-government-decision-to-recognise-the-cornish-as-a-national-minority/> [Accessed: 28.5.14].

Cornwall Council. 2016. *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities Cornish National Minority Action Plan* [Online]. Truro: Cornwall Council. Available at: <https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/21282837/action-plan-august-2016-v10.pdf> [Accessed: 25.8.16].

Cornwall Council. 2017. *Unitary bid: History and documents relating to the establishment of Cornwall Council*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/council-background/unitary-bid/> [Accessed 8.11.17].

Cornwall County Council 2008. *Mine and Yours: An activity guide to the Cornish Mining World Heritage Site*. Cornwall County Council: Truro.

Cornwall Live. 2016. *Why has Falmouth University pulled out of the CUC?* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.cornwalllive.com/falmouth-university-pulled-combined-universities/story-29319052-detail/story.html> [Accessed: 8.1.17].

Council of Europe. 2016. *FCNM factsheet*. Available at: <http://www.coe.int/en/web/minorities/fcnm-factsheet> [Accessed 28.7.17].

Crosling, G. et al. 2009. Improving student retention in higher education. *Australian Universities' Review* 51(2), pp.9-18.

Crozier, G. and Reay, D. 2011. Capital accumulation: working-class students learning how to learn in HE. *Teaching in Higher Education* 16(2), pp.145-155.

Cox, E. 2016. Devolution in England—Is the Genie out of the Lamp? *The Political Quarterly* 87(4), pp.565–571.



Cunningham, P. and Gardener, P. 2004. *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies 1907-1950*. London: Woburn Press.

Daniels, H. 1993. The individual and the organisation. In: Daniels, H. ed. *Charting the Agenda: Educational Activity after Vygotsky*. London: Routledge, pp.46-68.

Davies, A. J. and Trystan, D. 2012. 'Build it and they shall come?' An evaluation of qualitative evidence relating to student choice and welsh-medium higher education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 15(2), pp147-164.

Deacon, B. 1993. And shall Trelawny Die? The Cornish Identity. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornwall since the War*. Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies/ Dyllansow Truran, pp.200-223.

Deacon, B. 1997. 'The hollow jarring of the distant steam engines': images of Cornwall between West Barbary and the Delectable Duchy. In: Westland, E. ed. *Cornwall: the Cultural Construction of Place*. Penzance: Patten Press, pp.7-24.

Deacon, B. 1999. *The Cornish and the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. York: Joseph Rowntree Trust.

Deacon, B. 2013. The Unimportance of being Cornish in Cornwall. In Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies Twenty One: "Coming of Age"*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.17-32.

Deacon, B. 2016a. *Cornwall's First Golden Age: from Arthur to the Normans*. London: Francis Boutle Publications.

Deacon, B. 2016b. *Cornwall - a developers' paradise?* [Online]. Available at: <https://cornwalldevelopersparadise.wordpress.com/about/> [Accessed: 22.12.16].

Deacon, B. et al. 2003. *Mebyon Kernow and Cornish Nationalism*. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.

Deacon, B. and Schwartz, S. 2007. Cornish identities and migration: a multi-scalar approach. *Global Networks* 7(3), pp.289-306.

Deacon, B. and Westland, E. 1998. *Centering a degree on the periphery: curriculum design in Cornwall and the politics of place* [Online]. Paper presented at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual SCUTREA Conference. Available at: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/000000713.doc> [Accessed: 13.5.10].

Deas, I. 2014. The search for territorial fixes in subnational governance: City-regions and the disputed emergence of post-political consensus in Manchester, England. *Urban Studies*, Vol.51 (11), pp.2285-2314.

Delamont, S. 2002. *Fieldwork in Educational Settings*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge Flamer.

Delamont, S. 2014. The heavy shadow? Bernstein and his legacy. *Journal of Sociology of Education* 35(3), pp.469-474.

Delamont, S. and Atkinson, P. 1995. *Fighting familiarity: Essays on Education and Ethnography*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Delpit, L. 1993. The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in educating Other People's children. In: Weis, L. and Fine, M. eds. *Beyond Silenced Voices: Class, Race and Gender in United States Schools*. New York: Suny Press, pp.119-39.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, T.S. 2005. Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. eds. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London. Sage, pp.1-32.

Department for Business Innovation and Skills (BIS). 2009. *Skills for Growth: A National Strategy for Economic Growth and Individual Prosperity*. London: BIS.

Department for Business Innovation and Skills (BIS). 2010. *Progressive plans for higher education* [Online]. Available at: <http://news.bis.gov.uk/content/detail.aspx?NewsAreaId=2&ReleaseID=416343&SubjectId=2> [Accessed: 3.4. 11].

Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF). 2006. *Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances*. London: DCSF.

Department for Education and Employment (DfEE). 2000. *Foundation Degrees*. London: HMSO.

Department for Education and Skills. (DfES). 2002 . *Success for All*. London: DfES.

Department for Education and Skills (DfES). 2004. *Foundation Degree Task Force: Report for Ministers*. Nottingham: DfES.

Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), 1997. *Building Partnerships for Prosperity: Sustainable Growth, Competitiveness and Employment in the English Regions*. London: HMSO.

Department of Transport, Local Government and Regions (DoTLGR). 2002. *Your Region, Your Choice: Revitalising the English Regions*. [Online] Available at: [http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/10161/1/Your\\_region\\_your\\_choice\\_-\\_revitalising\\_the\\_English\\_regions.pdf](http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/10161/1/Your_region_your_choice_-_revitalising_the_English_regions.pdf) [Accessed 25.10.17].

Dickinson, R. 2010. Meanings of Cornishness: A Study of Contemporary Cornish Identity. In Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies. Eighteen*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.70-100.

Doiz et. al. 2013. Globalisation, internationalization, multilingualism and linguistic strains in higher education. *Studies in Higher Education* 38(9), pp1407-1421.

Donnelly, M. 2016. Inequalities in Higher Education: Applying the Sociology of Basil Bernstein. *Sociology*, pp.1-17. Available at: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0038038516656326> [Accessed 12.9.16].

Dunstan, M. 1997. Telling it as it is: Storytelling in the china clay villages. In: Westland, E. ed. *Cornwall: the Cultural Construction of Place*. Penzance: Patton Press, pp.143-153.

Emerich, M. 2012. A New American Dream: Taking the Celtic Cure in Mediated Landscapes. In: Tregidga, G. ed. *Memory, Place and Identity: The Cultural Landscapes of Cornwall*. London: Francis Boutle Publications, pp.80-89.

Engestrom, Y. 1995. Non scolae sed vitae discimus: toward overcoming the encapsulation of school learning. In: Daniels, H. ed. *An introduction to Vygotsky*. New York: Routledge, pp.151–170.

England-Ayres, K. 2013. Historical Trauma and Its Prevention in the Classroom. In: Four Arrows (Don Trent Jacobs). ed. *Teaching Truly: A Curriculum to Indigenize Mainstream Education*. New York: Peter Lang, pp.31-50.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2011. *Guidance on the equality duty*. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/advice-and-guidance/public-sector-equality-duty/guidance-on-the-equality-duty/> [Accessed: 23.6.13].

Erikson, M. 1993. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*. Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press.

Evans, G. 2006. *Educational Failure and Working Class White Children in Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Falmouth University. 2009. "Major boost for University education in Cornwall" [Online]. Available at: <https://www.falmouth.ac.uk/content/major-boost-university-education-cornwall> [Accessed 12.12.10].

Feather, D. 2011. Never mind the quality, take a seat! *Research in Post-compulsory Education* 16(4), pp.435-450.

Fielding, N. and Thomas, H. 2008. Qualitative interviewing. In: Gilbert, N. ed. *Researching Social Life*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Sage, pp.123-144.

Findlay, A. M. et al. 2004. In what sense English? An exploration of English migrant identities and identification. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(1), pp.59-79.

- Finfeld-Connett D. 2010. Generalizability and transferability of meta-synthesis research findings. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 66(2), pp.246–254.
- Fisher, R. and Simmons, R. 2012. Liberal conservatism, vocationalism and further education in England. *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 10(1), pp.31-51.
- Flick, U. 2014. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. London:Sage.
- Ford, M. 2013. Achievement gaps in Australia: what NAPLAN reveals about education inequality in Australia. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 16(1), pp.80-102.
- Foucault, M. 1976. *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. Trans Sheridan. London: Tavistock Press.
- Foucault, M. 1980. *The History of Sexuality. Volume.1. An introduction*. Trans Hurley. New York: Vintage.
- Frumkin, L. and Koutsoubou, M. 2013. Exploratory investigation of drivers of attainment in ethnic minority adult learners. *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 37(2), pp. 147-162.
- Fulford, A. et al. 2010. Teacher education for lifelong learning. In: Avis, J. et al.eds. *Teaching in Lifelong Learning: a guide to theory and practice*. Maidenhead: McGraw Hill and Open University, pp.18-27.
- Furman, L. J. 2011. *The Lived Experiences of a Lesbian Instrumental Music Educator* [Online]. Paper given at the Establishing Identity: LGBT Studies and Music Education Conference at University of Illinois 23-26 May 2010. Available at: <http://qmue.music.illinois.edu> [Accessed: 17.10.11].
- Garrett, P. et al. 2012. Internationalization and the place of minority languages in universities in three European bilingual contexts: a comparison of student perspectives in the Basque country, Catalonia and Wales. In Yiakoumetti, A. ed. *Harnessing linguistic variation to improve education*. Oxford: Peter Lang, pp. 139–166.
- Geirsdóttir, G. 2011. Teachers' conceptions of knowledge structures and pedagogic practices in higher education. In: Ivinson, G. et al. eds. *Knowledge and Identity: Concepts and applications in Bernstein's sociology*. London: Routledge, pp.90-106.
- Gellner, E. 2006. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Blackwell publishing.
- Gieryn, T. F. 2000. A Space for Place in Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, pp.463-496.

Gillborn, D. 1990. "Race", *Ethnicity and Education: Teaching and Learning in Multi-ethnic Schools*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Gillborn, D. 2008. *Racism and education: coincidence or conspiracy?* London: Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. 1992. *Border Crossings*. New York and London: Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. 2005. *Border crossings*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York and London: Routledge.

Glaser, B.J. and Strauss, A.L. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. New York: Aldine Publishing.

Goodson, I. and Deakin Crick, R. 2009. Curriculum as narration: tales from the children of the colonized. *Curriculum Journal* 20(3), pp.225-236.

Goodson, I. and Sikes. P. 2001. *Life History Research in Educational Settings: Learning from lives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gorard, S. and Taylor, C. 2004. *Combining Methods in Educational Research and Social Research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Guibernau, M. 2006. National Identity, devolution and secession in Canada, Britain and Spain. *Nations and Nationalism* 12(1), pp.51-76.

Gunter, H. 2005. *Leading Teachers - Improving Schools*. London: Continuum.

Hale, A. and P. Payton. 2000. Introduction. In Hale, A. and Payton, P. eds. *New directions in Celtic studies*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.1–14.

Hallowell, N. et al. 2005. *Reflections on Research: The Realities of Doing Research in the Social Sciences*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Halliday, F.E. 2000. *A History of Cornwall*. London: House of Stratus.

Hamilton, D. and Weiner, G. 2003. Subject, not subjects: Curriculum Pathways, Pedagogies and Practices in the United Kingdom. In: Pinar, W. ed. *International Handbook of Curriculum Research*. New Jersey and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp.622-636.

Hammersley, M. 2001. On "Systematic" Reviews of Research Literatures: A "narrative" response to Evans and Benefield. *British Educational Research Journal* 27, pp.543- 554.

Harper, H. 2004. Nomads, pilgrims, tourists: women teachers in the Canadian north. *Gender and Education* 16 (2), pp.209-224.

Harvey. D. 1989. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Harvey, D. 1993. From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity. In J. Bird, B. Curtis , and T. Putman. Eds. *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*. London: Routledge, pp. 3-29.
- Harvey, L. 2009. *Review of research literature focused on foundation degrees* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.heacademy.ac.uk/assets/documents/fdf/Review-of-research-literature-focussed-on-foundation-degrees.pdf> [Accessed: 12.6.13].
- Hechter, M. 1975. *Internal Colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British National Development 1536-1966*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Hedegaard, M. and Chaiklin, S. 2005. *Radical-Local Teaching and Learning*. Oxford, Aarhus and Oakville CT: Aarhus University Press.
- Henwood, K. and Pidgeon, N. 2009. Grounded Theory in Psychological Research. In: Camic, P. et al. eds. *Qualitative Research in Psychology: Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design*. Washington: American Psychological Association, pp.131-156.
- Henrikson, J.E. 2016. From housing campaign to multicultural understanding : The development of professional social work in Sámi areas of Norway. *International Social Work* 59(5), pp.587-599.
- Hetherington, P. and Tomaney, J. 2000. *Monitoring the English Regions. Report.1*. Newcastle: CURDS, University of Newcastle.
- Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). 2003. *HEFCE strategic plan 2003–08*. Bristol: HEFCE.
- Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). 2015. *Staff employed at HEFCE-funded HEIs: Trends and profiles 2003-4 to 2014-15*. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.hefce.ac.uk/analysis/staff/> [Accessed: 24.8.16].
- Hill Collins, P. and Solomos, J. 2010. Introduction: Situating Race and Ethnic Studies . In: Hill Collins, P. and Solomos, J. eds. *The Sage Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*. London: Sage, pp.1-16.
- Hobsbawm, E. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hockings, C. 2011. Hearing voices, creating spaces: the craft of the 'artisan teacher' in a mass higher education system. *Critical Studies in Education* 52(2), pp.191-205.
- Holland, D. and Lave, J. 2001. *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*. Santa fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Holligan, C. 2011. Feudalism and academia: UK academics' accounts of research culture. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 24(1), pp. 55-75.

hooks, b. 2004. *Teaching to Transgress*. London: Routledge.

Hotho, S. 2013. Higher Education Change and Its Managers: Alternative Constructions. *Educational Management and Administration and Leadership*. 41(3), pp.352-371.

Howlett, J. 2004. Putting the Kitsch into Kernow. In Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies Twelve*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 30-60.

H. M. Government. 2010. *Equality Act*. [Online]. London: HMSO. Available at: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15> [Accessed: 3.12.12].

Husk, K. 2009. Accessing Education in Cornwall: Exploring the Structure/Agency Debate among Potential Students. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies. Seventeen*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.157-172.

Husk, K, and Williams, M. 2012. The Legitimation of Ethnicity: The Case of the Cornish. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 12(2), pp.249-267.

Insley, C. 2013. Kings and Lords in Tenth-Century Cornwall. *History* 98(329), pp.2-22.

Ivinson, G. and Murphy, P. 2003. Boys don't write romance: the construction of knowledge and social gender identities in English classrooms. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society* 11(1), pp.89-111.

Ivinson, G. and Murphy, P. 2007. *Rethinking Single-Sex Teaching: gender, school subjects and learning*. Buckingham UK: Open University Press.

Jackson-Barrett, E. 2011. The Context for Change: Reconceptualising the 3Rs in Education for Indigenous Students. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 36(12), pp.21-32.

Jaggard, E. 1999. *Cornwall Politics in the Age of Reform: 1790-1885*. Suffolk: The Royal Historical Society/The Boydell Press.

Jarvis, P. et al. 2003. *The Theory and Practice of Learning*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Jenkins, R. 2008. *Social Identity*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: Routledge.

Jephcote, M. and Salisbury, J. 2009. Further education teachers' accounts of their professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 25(7), pp.966-972.

Jessee, E. 2011. The Limits of Oral History: Ethics and Methodology Amid

Highly Politicized Research Settings. *Oral History Review* 38(2), pp.287-307.

Jessop, B. 2016. Territory, politics, governance and multispatial metagovernance. *Territory, Politics, Governance* 4(1), pp.8-32.

Kawakami, A. J. 1999. Sense of Place, Community and Identity: bridging the Gap between Home and School for Hawaiian Students. *Education and Urban Society* 32(1), pp.18-40.

Kawulich, B.B. 2017. Coding and Analyzing Qualitative Data. In Wyse, D. et al. eds. *The BERA/SAGE Handbook of Educational Research*. London: Sage and BERA, pp769-790.

Kay, A. 2005. Territorial Justice and Devolution, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 7(4), pp. 544–560.

Keating, M. 1997. Stateless Nation-Building: Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland in the Changing State System, *Nations and Nationalism* 3(4), pp.689-717.

Kelchtermans, G. 2009. Who I am in how I teach is the message: self-understanding, vulnerability and reflection. *Teachers and Teaching* 15(2), pp.257-272.

Kennedy, N. P. M. 2016. *Cornish Solidarity: Using Culture to Strengthen Communities*. Portlaoise: Evertime.

Kent, A. M. 2000. *The Literature of Cornwall: Continuity, Identity, Difference 1000-2000*. Bristol: Redcliffe Press Limited.

King, M. and Widdowson, J. 2012. *Inspiring Individuals: teaching higher education in a further education college: exploring the pedagogy of HE delivered in an FE setting*. York: HEA.

Kirkhope, J. 2014. *An Introduction to the Laws of the Duchy of Cornwall, the Isles of Scilly and Devon*. Mhaigh Eo: Evertime.

Kirkup, G. 2010. Academic Blogging: academic practice and academic identity. *London Review of Education* 8(1), pp.75-84.

Kneafsey, M. 2000. Rural Tourism and Identity: Stories of Change and Resistance from the West of Ireland and Brittany. In: Hale, A. and Payton, P. eds. *New Directions in Celtic Studies*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.167-196.

Knowles, C. 2010. Theorizing Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Paradigms and Perspectives. In: Hill Collins, P and Solomos, J. *The Sage Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*. London: Sage, pp.23-42.

Kohn, H.1944 *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background*, New York: Macmillan.



- Kovach, M. 2009. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kreber, C. 2010. Academics' Teacher Identities, Authenticity and Pedagogy. *Studies in Higher Education* 35(2), pp.171-194.
- Kyriakides, C. et al. 2009. Racism, Muslims and the National Imagination. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(2), pp. 289-308.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. 2014. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Verso.
- Ladson-Billings, G. 1995. Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal* 32(3), pp.465-491.
- Ladson-Billings, G. 2014. Culturally Relevant Pedagogy 2.0: a.k.a. the Remix. *Harvard Educational Review* 84(1), pp.74-84.
- Lather, P. 1991. *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy with/in the Postmodern*. New York: Routledge.
- Lather, P. 1995. Feminist Perspectives on Empowering Research Methodologies. In: Holland, J. et al. eds. *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters and Open University Press, pp.292-307.
- Levin, L. 2014. *Understanding and Finding Grey Literature*. [Online]. Available at: [http://escholarship.umassmed.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1175&context=lib\\_articles](http://escholarship.umassmed.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1175&context=lib_articles) [Accessed 28.10.17].
- Lewis, M. 1992. Interrupting Patriarchy: Politics, Resistance and Transformation in the Feminist Classroom. In: Luke, C. and Gore, J. eds. *Feminisms and Critical Pedagogy*. New York and London: Routledge, pp.167-191.
- Lifelong Learning United Kingdom (LLUK). 2007. *New Overarching Professional Teaching Standards*. London: LLUK.
- Light, G. et al. 2009. *Learning and Teaching in Higher Education: The Reflective Professional*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Sage.
- Lorde, A. 1984. Age, Race, Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference. In Lorde, A. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*, Berkeley: The Crossing Press, pp.114-123.
- Lourie, M. and Rata, E. 2014. A critique of the role of culture in Maori education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 35(1), pp.19-36.
- Lucas, N. and Crowther, N. 2016. The logic of the Incorporation of further education colleges in England 1993–2015: towards an understanding of

marketisation, change and instability. *Journal of Education Policy*, 31 (5), pp.583–597.

Lynn, M. and Jennings, M. E. 2009. Power, politics, and critical race pedagogy: a critical race analysis of Black male teachers' pedagogy. *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 12(2), pp.173-196.

Mac an Ghaill, M. 1988. *Young, Gifted and Black*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Mac an Ghaill, M. 1994. *The Making of men: Masculinities, Sexualities and Schooling*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

MacKinnon, K. 2002. Cornish at the Millennium: An independent study of the language undertaken in 2000. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies: Ten*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.266-282.

Madriz, M. 2000. Focus groups in Feminist Research. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage. pp.835-850.

Magowan, F. 2001. Crying to remember: reproducing personhood and community. In: Attwood, B. and Magowan, F. eds. *Telling stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, pp.41-60.

Mahony, P. and Zmroczek, C. 1996. Working-Class Radical Feminism: Lives Beyond the Text. In: Bell, D. and Klein, R. eds. *Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed*. London: ZED books, pp.67-76.

Martinez, G. 2006. 'In My History Classes They Always Turn Things Around, the Opposite Way': Indigenous Youth Opposition to Cultural Domination in an Urban High School. In: Apple, M. W. and Buras, K. L. eds. *The Subaltern Speak: Curriculum, Power, Educational Struggles*. London: Routledge, pp.121-140.

Massey, D. 1994. *Place, Space and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Massey, D. 1995. *Spatial divisions of labour: Social structures and the geography of production*. 2nd edn. London: Palgrave.

Massey, D. 2007. *World City*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mather, J. 2000. Labour and the English regions: Centralised devolution? *Contemporary British History* 14(3), pp.10-38.

Maylor, U. 2009. Is it because I am Black? A Black female research experience. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 12 (1), pp.53-64.

- McArthur, R. 1989. Locality and small firms: some reflections from the Franco-British project, "Industrial systems , Technical Change and Locality". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 7, pp.197-210.
- McDonald, M. 1989. *We are not French! Language, Culture and Identity in Brittany*. London: Routledge.
- McLean, M. and Abbas, A. 2009. The "biographical turn" in university sociology teaching: a Bernsteinian analysis. *Teaching in Higher Education* 14(5), pp.529-539.
- McLean, M. et al. 2015. "Not everybody walks around and thinks "That's an example of othering or stigmatization"": Identity, pedagogic rights and the acquisition of undergraduate sociology-based social science knowledge. *Theory and Research in Education* 13(2), pp.180-197.
- Mebyon Kernow. 2010. *Key campaign priorities - May 2010* [Online]. Truro: Mebyon Kernow. Available at: <http://www.mebyonkernow.org/files/Mebyon%20Kernow%20policy%20document%202010.pdf> [Accessed: 23.5.10].
- Merriam, S.B. and Tisdell, E.J. 2016. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- Merton, R. 1987. The focused group interview and focus groups: Continuities and discontinuities. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 51, pp.550-566.
- Miller, J. and Glassner, B. 1997. The 'Inside' and the 'Outside'; Finding Realities in Interviews. In: Silverman, D. ed. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage, pp.99-112.
- Modood, T. 2005. Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications, *Cultural Trends*, 13(2), pp 87-105.
- Moore, R. 2006. Knowledge structures and intellectual fields. In: Moore, R. et al. eds. *Knowledge, Power and Educational Reform; Applying the sociology of Basil Bernstein*. London: Routledge, pp.28-43.
- Morgan, D. L. 2002. Focus group interviewing. In: Gubrium, J.F. and Holstein, J. A. eds. *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and method*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.141-160.
- Morgan, K. 2006. Devolution and Development: Territorial justice and the North-South divide. *Publius, the Journal of Federalism* 36(1), pp.189-206.
- Mill, J.S. 1991. *Considerations on Representative Government* [1861]. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, P. 1993. The Demographic Revolution. In Payton, P. ed. Cornwall Since the War. Institute of Cornish Studies/Dyllansow Truran: Redruth, pp. 135-156.

Muchmore, J. A. 2002. Methods and Ethics in a Life History Study of Teacher Thinking. *The Qualitative Report* 7(4), [Online]. Available at: [www.novas.edu/ssss/QR/QR7-4/muchmore.html](http://www.novas.edu/ssss/QR/QR7-4/muchmore.html) [Accessed: 12.10.06].

National Archives. 2010. Government Office for the South West. [Online] Available at: <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100528145123/http://www.gos.gov.uk/gosw/> [Accessed 12.11.17].

Neary, M. 2002. *Curriculum Studies in Post-compulsory Education: A Teacher's and Student Teacher's Study Guide*. Cheltenham: Nelson thornes.

Nespor, J. 1994. *Knowledge in motion*. London: Routledge.

Newman, E. 2010. Becoming a gay male primary teacher. In: Bathmaker, A. and Harnett, P. eds. *Exploring Learning, Identity and Power through Life History and Narrative Research*. London: Routledge, pp.39-54.

Niezen, R. 2009. *The Rediscovered Self: Indigenous Identity and Cultural Justice*. London: MQUP.

Ntseane, P.G. 2009. The ethics of the Researcher-Subject relationship: Experiences in the Field. In: Mertens, D.M. and Ginsberg, P. P. E. eds. *The Handbook of Social Research Ethics*. London: Sage, pp.295-307.

Ofsted. 2003. *Curriculum 2000: implementation* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/resources/curriculum-2000-implementation> [Accessed: 2.10.10].

Ofsted. 2009. *Handbook for the inspection of further education and skills from September 2009* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/news/handbook-for-inspecting-further-education-and-skills-september-2009> [Accessed: 2.10.10].

Ollard, R. 1999. *A man of contradictions: A Life of A. L. Rowse*. London: Penguin.

One Partnership. 2000. *Summary –Single Programming Document (SPD)* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.objectiveone.com/O1htm/O1-whatis/publications.htm> [Accessed 3.10.17].

Ongtooguk, P. 2013. Remarks on Alaska Native Education. In Merculieff, I. and Roderick L.eds. *'Stop talking: Indigenous Ways of Teaching and Learning and Difficult Dialogues in Higher Education'*. Anchorage: University of Alaska, pp. 47-51.

- Osborne, M. 2005. Introduction. In: Gallacher, J. and Osborne, M. eds. *A contested landscape: International perspectives on diversity in mass higher education*. Leicester: National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education, pp.1-17.
- Osborne, M. and Sankey, K. 2009. Non-vocational Adult Education and its Professionals in the United Kingdom. *European Journal of Education*, 44(2), pp.271-289.
- Padel, O. 1999. Place Names. In: Kain, R. and Ravenhill, W. eds. *Historical Atlas of South West England*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 88-94.
- Parry, G. 2016. College higher education in England 1944-66 and 1997-2010. *London Review of Education* 14(1), pp.86-105.
- PASCAL Observatory. 2010a. *PURE Regional Briefing Paper* [Online]. Available at: <http://pascalobservatory.org/library/pure/rvr1-devon-and-cornwall> [Accessed: 2.9.12].
- PASCAL Observatory. 2010b. *PURE Regional Visit Paper* [Online]. Available at: <http://pascalobservatory.org/library/pure/rvr1-devon-and-cornwall> [Accessed: 2.9.12].
- Patel, R. et al. 2011. *Raising standards in further education: improving quality in an age of austerity*. London: Learning Skills Network.
- Pausé, C. and Russell, D. 2016. Sociable Scholarship: The Use of Social Media in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Academy [Online]. *Journal of Applied Social Theory* 1(1). Available at: <http://socialtheoryapplied.com/journal/jast/article/view/29/6> [Accessed: 24.8.16].
- Payton, P. 1993. Introduction. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornwall since the War*. Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies/ Dyllansow Truran, pp.1-4.
- Payton, P. 1997. Paralysis and Revival: the reconstructions of Celtic-Catholic Cornwall 1890-1945. In: Westland, E. ed. *Cornwall: the Cultural Construction of Place*. Penzance: Patten Press, pp.25-39.
- Payton, P. 2002. Introduction. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies: Ten*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.1-23.
- Payton, P. 2004. *Cornwall: a History*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Fowey: Cornish Editions.
- Payton, P. and Deacon, B. 1993. The Ideology of Language Revival. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornwall since the War*. Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies/ Dyllansow Truran. pp.271-290.
- Pearce, G. 2005. Building regional governance in England: the view from Whitehall. *Policy & Politics* 33(4), pp.581-600.

Pearce, G. et al. 2012. Back to the Local? Recalibrating the Regional Tier of Governance in England. *Regional & Federal Studies* 22(1), p.1-24.

Peninsula College of Medicine and Dentistry (PCMD). 2010 .*European Centre for the Environment and Human Health - Funding agreed* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.pms.ac.uk/news.php?id=113> [Accessed: 7.6.10].

Perry, R. 1993. Cornwall Circa 1950. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornwall since the War*. Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies/Dyllansow Truran, pp.22-47.

Perry, R. 2002. The making of Modern Cornwall 1800-2000. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies: Ten*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.166-189.

Perry, R. et al.1986. *Counterurbanisation - Case Studies of Urban to Rural movement*. Norwich: Geo Books.

Phillipps, K.1993. *A Glossary of Cornish Dialect*. Padstow: Tabb House.

Phillipps, K. ed. 1995. *The Cornish Journal of Charles Lee*. Padstow: Tabb House.

Pinar, W. F. et al. 1995. *Understanding Curriculum*. New York: Peter Lang.

Plymouth University (PL U). 2013. *South West receives £10.3m funding for marine energy research* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.plymouth.ac.uk/pages/view.asp?page=26921> [Accessed: 2.4.13].

Portelli, A. 1991. *The death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories*. Albany NY: State University of New York.

Portelli, A. 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Power, S. et al. 2003. *Education and the Middle Class*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Pratchett. L. 2004. Local Autonomy, Local Democracy and the 'New Localism'. *Political Studies* 52, pp. 358-375.

Premdas, R. 2010. Ethnic conflict. In: Hill Collins, P and Solomos, J. *The Sage Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*. London: Sage, pp.306-331.

Puchta, C. and Potter, J. 2004. *Focus group practice*. London: Sage.

Reay, D. 2004. Cultural capitalists and academic habitus: Classed and gendered labour in UK higher education. *Women's Studies International Forum* 27(1), pp.31-39.

Reay, D. et al. 2005. *Degrees of choice: Class, race, gender and higher education*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Renold, E. 2005. *Girls, Boys and Junior Sexualities: Exploring children's gender and sexual relations in primary school*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Rhodes, R. A.W. 1996. The New Governance: Governing without Government. *Political Studies* 44(4), pp. 652-667.

Rhodes, R.A.W. No date. *Understanding governance: 20 years on*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.raw-rhodes.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/National-Governance-Review.pdf>. [Accessed 15.11.17].

Richards, L. and Richards, T. 1994. Writing: a method of inquiry. In Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage, pp. 516-529.

Ridell, S. and Salisbury, J. 2000. Introductions: Educational Reforms and equal opportunities programmes. In: Ridell, S. and Salisbury, J. eds. *Gender, policy and educational change: Shifting agendas in the UK and Europe*. London: Routledge, pp.1-16.

Robson, C. 1993. *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rodriguez, D. 2010. Storytelling in the Field: Race, Method, and the empowerment of Latina College Students. *Cultural Studies<=>Critical Methodologies* 10(60), pp.491-507.

Rowlands, I. et al. 2011. Social media use in the research workflow. *Learned Publishing* 24(3), pp.183-195.

Rubie, C. et al. 2004. Motivational and academic effects of cultural experiences for indigenous minority students in New Zealand. *Educational Psychology* 24(2), pp.143-160.

Saltern, I. 2011. *Cornish Minority Report 2*. Penryn: Azook Community Interest Company.

Sang, J. C. K. 2016. Gender, ethnicity and feminism: an intersectional analysis of the lived experiences of feminist academic women in UK higher education [Online]. *Journal of Gender Studies*. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2016.1199380> [Accessed: 23.8.16].

Sant, E. et al. 2015. How do Catalan students narrate the history of Catalonia when they finish primary education? *McGill Journal of Education* 50 (2/3), pp.341-362.

Sarra, C. 2011. *Strong and Smart -Towards a Pedagogy for Emancipation: Education for first people*. London: Routledge.

Saunders, T. 1983. Cornish Symbol and Substance. In Ó Luain, C. ed. *For a Celtic Future: a Tribute to Alan Heusaff*. Dublin: The Celtic League, pp.253-258.

Schöpfel, J. 2011. Towards a Prague definition of grey literature. *The Grey Journal* 7, pp.5-18.

Schwartz, S. P. 2002. Cornish Migration Studies: An Epistemological and Paradigmatic Critique. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies: Ten*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp.136-165.

Schwartz, S. P. 2008. *Voices of the Cornish Mining Landscape*. Cornwall County Council: Truro.

Shattock, M. 2014. Can we still speak of there being an academic profession? *History of Education: Journal of Education Society* 43(6), pp.727-739.

Sikes, P. and Everington, J. 2004. 'RE teachers do get drunk you know': becoming a religious education teacher in the twenty-first century. *Teachers and Teaching: theory and practice* 10(1), pp. 21- 33.

Simmons, R. 2010. Globalisation, neo-liberalism and vocational learning: the case of English further education colleges. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education* 15(4), pp.363-376.

Singh, P. 2001a. Speaking about 'cultural' difference. An interview study of 'Samoan' paraprofessionals in designated disadvantaged secondary schools in Australia. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 22(3), pp.317-337.

Singh, P. 2001b. Pedagogic discourses and student resistance in Australian secondary schools. In: Morais, A. et al. eds. *Towards a Sociology of Pedagogy: The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. New York: Peter Lang, pp.251-286.

Singh, P. 2002. Pedagogising Knowledge: Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23(4), pp.571-581.

Skeggs, B.1997. *Formations of Class and Gender*. London: Sage.

Smith, K.1990. The politics of reforming Maori education: The transforming potential of Kura Kaupapa Maori. In: Lauder, H. and Wylie, C. eds. *Towards successful schooling*. London: Falmer Press, pp.73-88.

Solomos, J. 2003. *Race and Racism in Britain*, 3rd. ed, Hampshire: Palgrave.

Stoten, D. W. 2011. Education, leadership and the age of austerity: an investigation into the experiences at college level. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education* 16(3), pp.289-301.

Tajfel, H. 1974. Social identity and intergroup behavior. *Social Sciences Information/Information sur les Sciences Sociales* 13, pp.65-93.

Taylor, S. 2010. *Narratives of Identity and Place*. London: Routledge.



- Tett, L. 2004. Mature working-class students in an 'elite' university: Discourses of risk, choice and exclusion. *Studies in the Education of Adults* 36(2), pp.252-264.
- Tierney, W. G. 1988. Organizational Culture in Higher Education: Defining the Essentials. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 59(1), pp2-21.
- Tilley, S. and Taylor, L. 2013. Understanding curriculum as lived: teaching for social justice and equity goals. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 16(3), pp.406-429.
- Tolich, M. 2004. Internal Confidentiality: When Confidentiality Assurances Fail Relational Informants. *Qualitative Sociology* 27(1), pp.101-106.
- Tomlinson, M. 2012. Graduate Employability: A Review of Conceptual and Empirical Themes. *Higher Education Policy* 25(4), pp. 407–431.
- Tregidga, G. 2009. *Narratives of the Family: Kinship and Identity in Cornwall*. Redruth: Cornwall Centre.
- Tuck, E. and Yang, K.W. 2012. Decolonization is not a metaphor [Online]. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1 (1). Available at: <http://decolonization.org/index.php/des/article/view/18630> [Accessed: 19.8.16].
- Tuhiwai Smith, L. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies; Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Turner, J.C. 1975. Social comparison and social identity: some prospects for intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 5(1), pp.1-30.
- Tyler, W. 1999. Pedagogic identities and educational reform in the 1990s: The cultural dynamics of national curricula. In: Christie, F. ed. *Pedagogy and the shaping of consciousness: Linguistic and social processes*. London: Cassell, pp.262-289.
- University of Cornwall support group. No date. *Facebook home page* [Online]. <https://www.facebook.com/ourcornishuniversity/> .[Accessed 29.11.16.]
- University of Exeter. 2011. Environment and Sustainability Institute [Online]. Available at: [http://www.exeter.ac.uk/esi/news/title\\_145537\\_en.html](http://www.exeter.ac.uk/esi/news/title_145537_en.html) [Accessed: 23.5.13].
- Vorster, J. 2011. Curriculum development processes in a Journalism and Media Studies Department. In: Iverson, G. et al. eds. *Knowledge and Identity: Concepts and applications in Bernstein's sociology*. London: Routledge, pp.107-123.
- Walkerdine, V. 1990. *Schoolgirl Fictions*. London: Verso.

Warren, C. A. B. 2012. Interviewing as Social Interaction. In: Gubrium, J. et al. eds. *Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Sage, pp.129-142.

Weaver, A. and Atkinson, P. 1994. *Microcomputing and qualitative data analysis*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Weis Friend, J. 2012. *Stateless nations: Western European Regional Nationalisms and the Old Nations*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weller, M. 2011. *The Digital Scholar: How Technology Is Transforming Scholarly Practice*. London: Bloomsbury.

Weller, S. 2016. *Academic Practice: Developing as a Professional in Higher Education*. London: Sage.

Whetter, J. 1988. *The History of Glasney College*. Padstow: Tabb House.

While, A. et al. 2013. The Competition State, City-Regions, and the Territorial Politics of Growth Facilitation. *Environment and Planning* 45(10), pp.2379-2398.

Whitty. 2001. *House of Lords Debate: devolution*. Hansard 21 March 2001 vol 623 cc1427-67. [Online]. Available at: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/2001/mar/21/devolution-england> [Accessed: 3.6.10].

Willett, J. 2013. National Identity and regional development: Cornwall and the campaign for Objective 1 funding. *National Identities*, 15(3), pp.297-311.

Willett, J. 2016a. Cornwall's Devolution Deal: Towards a More Sustainable Governance. *The Political Quarterly*, 87(4), pp.582-589.

Willett, J. 2016b. The Production of Place: Perception, Reality and the Politics of Becoming. *Political Studies* 64(2), pp.436-451.

Willett, J. and Giovanni, A. 2014. The Uneven Path of UK Devolution: Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up Regionalism in England - Cornwall and the North-East Compared. *Political Studies* 62, pp.343-360.

Williams, C. H. 2002, On Ideology, Identity and Integrity. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies. Ten*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, pp.66-79.

Williams, M. 1993. Housing the Cornish. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornwall since the War*. Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies/Dyllansow Truran, pp.157-180.

Williams, M. 2002. The New Cornish Social Science. In: Payton, P. ed. *Cornish Studies Ten*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, pp.44-66.

Willis, P. 2001. Teckin' the Piss. In Holland, D., and Lave, J. eds. *History in Person: Enduring Struggles, Contentious Practice, Intimate Identities*. Santa fe, NM: School of American Research Press, pp.171-216.

Wilson, J.P. et al. 2005. Reconfiguring higher education: the case of foundation degrees. *Education and Training*, 47(2), pp.112-123.

Youdell, D. 2012. Fabricating 'Pacific Islander': pedagogies of expropriation, return and resistance and other lessons from a 'Multicultural Day'. *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 15(2), pp.141-155.