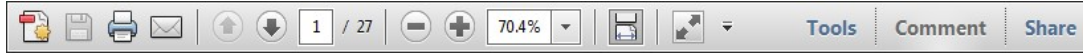
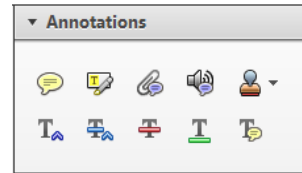


Once you have Acrobat Reader open on your computer, click on the [Comment](#) tab at the right of the toolbar:



This will open up a panel down the right side of the document. The majority of tools you will use for annotating your proof will be in the [Annotations](#) section, pictured opposite. We've picked out some of these tools below:



### 1. Replace (Ins) Tool – for replacing text.

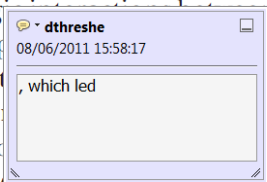


Strikes a line through text and opens up a text box where replacement text can be entered.

#### How to use it

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on the [Replace \(Ins\)](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Type the replacement text into the blue box that appears.

standard framework for the analysis of microeconomic activity. Nevertheless, it also led to the development of a number of strategic approaches. The number of competitors in an industry is that the structure of the industry is a main component. At the industry level, are externalities important? (M henceforth) we open the 'black b



### 2. Strikethrough (Del) Tool – for deleting text.



Strikes a red line through text that is to be deleted.

#### How to use it

- Highlight a word or sentence.
- Click on the [Strikethrough \(Del\)](#) icon in the Annotations section.

there is no room for extra profits as mark-ups are zero and the number of firms (net) values are not determined by market structure. Blanchard and ~~Kiyotaki~~ (1987), perfect competition in general equilibrium. The effects of aggregate demand and supply shocks in a classical framework assuming monopolistic competition and an exogenous number of firms

### 3. Add note to text Tool – for highlighting a section to be changed to bold or italic.



Highlights text in yellow and opens up a text box where comments can be entered.

#### How to use it

- Highlight the relevant section of text.
- Click on the [Add note to text](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Type instruction on what should be changed regarding the text into the yellow box that appears.

dynamic responses of mark-ups consistent with the VAR evidence

sation by Markov processes. The number of competitors and the impact on the structure of the sector is that the structure of the sector



### 4. Add sticky note Tool – for making notes at specific points in the text.

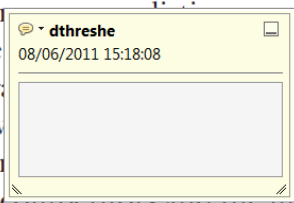


Marks a point in the proof where a comment needs to be highlighted.

#### How to use it

- Click on the [Add sticky note](#) icon in the Annotations section.
- Click at the point in the proof where the comment should be inserted.
- Type the comment into the yellow box that appears.

and supply shocks. Most of the time, the number of competitors and the impact on the structure of the sector is that the structure of the sector



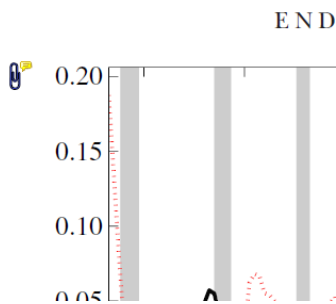
**5. Attach File Tool – for inserting large amounts of text or replacement figures.**



Inserts an icon linking to the attached file in the appropriate place in the text.

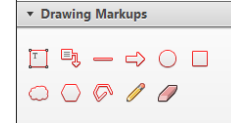
**How to use it**

- Click on the **Attach File** icon in the Annotations section.
- Click on the proof to where you'd like the attached file to be linked.
- Select the file to be attached from your computer or network.
- Select the colour and type of icon that will appear in the proof. Click OK.



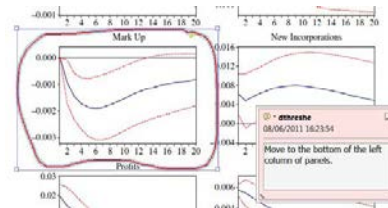
**6. Drawing Markups Tools – for drawing shapes, lines and freeform annotations on proofs and commenting on these marks.**

Allows shapes, lines and freeform annotations to be drawn on proofs and for comment to be made on these marks.



**How to use it**

- Click on one of the shapes in the Drawing Markups section.
- Click on the proof at the relevant point and draw the selected shape with the cursor.
- To add a comment to the drawn shape, move the cursor over the shape until an arrowhead appears.
- Double click on the shape and type any text in the red box that appears.



# Landscape narratives in practice: implications for climate change adaptation

VERA KÖPSEL\*, CORMAC WALSH\* AND CATHERINE LEYSHON†

\*Institute of Geography, University of Hamburg, Bundesstr. 55, 20146 Hamburg, Germany

E-mail: vera.koepsel@uni-hamburg.de, cormac.walsh@uni-hamburg.de

†Department of Geography, University of Exeter, Cornwall Campus, Treliiever Road, Penryn TR10 9EZ

E-mail: c.brace@exeter.ac.uk

This paper was accepted for publication in November 2016

Research on the societal dynamics of climate change adaptation has advanced during recent years from merely focusing on technical and economic factors to taking into consideration people's individual perspectives and personal values. Within this context a growing literature on the relationship between people's place attachment and climate change adaptation has emerged. This literature seeks to explain how individuals' relationships with the places in which they live influence current and potential future responses to climate change at the local scale. Nevertheless, critical limitations are evident in the conceptualisation of place and people-place relationships within this literature. In particular, differences between individual place constructions and their possible implications for landscape management are given insufficient attention. To address these shortcomings, we mobilise research on the societal construction of landscapes to uncover how actors in landscape management perceive 'their' places and changes to them. Drawing on qualitative interviews with key actors in landscape management in Cornwall (UK), we present four contrasting narratives about local landscapes and climate change and highlight their potential implications for adaptation to climate change.

KEY WORDS: climate change adaptation, landscape management, landscape perception, place attachment, narratives, Cornwall (UK)

## Introduction

The stories of who we are, which are often connected to the stories of where we live, act as a backdrop against which decisions are made. These decisions can affect both the physical and symbolic constitution of a place.

Alkon (2004, 165)

In times of a changing climate, future landscape change must be understood in terms of the complex interaction of socioeconomic and environmental processes such as storms, flooding, shoreline erosion and physical mitigation and adaptation measures undertaken by humans (Adger *et al.* 2013; Agyeman *et al.* 2009; Climate UK 2012). To the local population of affected areas, such changing landscapes are lived spaces and places of everyday life, valued for cultural heritage and personal attachments (Adger *et al.* 2009 2011; Brace and Geoghegan 2010; Devine-Wright 2014; Ratter

and Gee 2012). It is increasingly recognised in human geography and related disciplines that societal adaptation to environmental changes requires public participation and close attention to the specificities of individual places. Plans for climate change adaptation developed by national committees often fail to address the particular problems on the ground, or are not accepted by local populations (Adger *et al.* 2009 2013). A growing number of studies are therefore dedicated to understanding processes of climate adaptation as culturally embedded within specific local and regional contexts.

In her article on heritage narratives in California, Alkon (2004) shows that a dominant story about a place can strongly influence its governance. Here, we argue that competing narratives about landscape, change and climate have implications for climate change adaptation at the local level. The local construction of climate change is grounded in the landscape through which this global phenomenon is given local meaning (Brace and Geoghegan 2010; Greider and Garkovich 1994). In this paper we focus

on constructions of place and landscape among actors in landscape management<sup>1</sup>. Previous studies have demonstrated the influence of particular narrative frames in structuring policy debates on nature protection and environment–society relations (Greider and Garkovich 1994; Hajer 1995; Leyshon and Walker forthcoming). However, subjective constructions of place and landscape among governance actors remain under-researched in work on climate change adaptation. While insights from the rich body of place attachment literature have already travelled into the field of climate adaptation research (e.g. Amundsen 2015; Devine-Wright 2014), two perspectives are under-developed but crucial for understanding the societal dynamics of climate adaptation on the local level. First, existing research on place attachments often overlooks what happens when different attachments come into conflict with each other. Second, although the attachments and meanings people associate with places lie at the core of this field, place is problematically separated out from its constitutive social relations (Devine-Wright 2015; Tomaneý 2015).

We demonstrate that differing personal perceptions of places and landscapes can lead to contrasting approaches to climate adaptation amongst landscape managers. The application of adaptive measures – even those drafted by national bodies – always takes place on the ground (Agyeman *et al.* 2009). Local staff of national or regional landscape management organisations are bound by organisational guidelines and policies, but their decisions are embedded in local framings of climate change and the places in which they live and work. Thus, local landscape managers act at the interface between expert thinking and contextualised, culturally mediated, personalised understandings of climate change and adaptation (Geoghegan and Leyshon 2014). It is these hybrid perceptions of change to places and landscapes that we argue play an important role in local decisionmaking around climate change adaptation. To explore them further, we turn to a narrative approach – an analytical tool from sociological studies, but so far rarely applied in geographical research on climate change adaptation (Alkon 2004; Soliva 2007). A narrative approach exposes contrasting stories about what a landscape is, what characteristics are attached to it, and what it means when it is altered by a changing climate. Before explaining the use of narratives as a tool of qualitative inquiry, we first embed our research into a wider theoretical framework of place attachment and constructivist landscape research.

### Place attachment and climate adaptation

For about three decades scholars from the social sciences generally and human geography in particular have been researching the connections bet-

ween people's identities, their attachment to places, and their responses to change (Devine-Wright 2013). For Agyeman *et al.* (2009), it is the consideration of these attachments to places which is lacking in the design and application of policy decisions around climate change, often resulting in a feeling of neglect among the local population. Yet, a changing climate threatens place-based cultural values by physically altering locations to which people feel attached (Adger *et al.* 2011). Other studies indicate that people are more likely to fight for places when the symbolic meanings associated with them are threatened by change (Burley *et al.* 2007; Devine-Wright 2014; Walker and Ryan 2008). Thus, existing research into the role of place attachments and emotional bonds with places is an important basis for understanding the influence that people–place relationships have on societal responses to climate change. These studies, however, with few exceptions, assume place to be a given, an object outside of social relations. The literature thus focuses on processes of attachment and belonging to place and fails to address the ways in which places themselves are constructed through socio-spatial processes and practices.

The literature focusing on place attachment introduced above acknowledges the need to consider both societal and individual values in processes of environmental management and decisionmaking. 'Elucidating place meaning', Fresque-Baxter and Armitage (2012, 260) argue, 'can help to explore how people feel about certain types of activities'. This becomes particularly important when adaptation measures implemented by one group impact negatively on what another group values (O'Brien 2009). In this paper, we show that such divergent values are likely to be found between actors from different organisations, impacting on their approaches to adaptive landscape management under a changing climate. To comprehend better the local contexts in which climate adaptation happens on the ground, it is vital to expose the different perspectives on the places in focus that exist among actors in landscape management. In this context, a conceptual framework from another line of research deeply rooted in human geography provides helpful insights: that of constructivist landscape research.

### Landscape as societal constructs

In the UK and elsewhere, many environmental management policies and interventions are designed and applied at the 'landscape scale' (see e.g. Natural England 2011). This approach mirrors essentialist understandings of landscapes as discrete spatial entities, commonly found in the natural sciences. Another approach has emerged among sociologists and human geographers during the past decades which conceptualises landscapes as lived and

1 subjectively perceived constructs rather than  
2 focusing on the quantifiable, 'objective' charac-  
3 teristics of spaces (compare e.g. Ingold 2010;  
4 Gailing 2012; Kühne 2013). We draw on recent  
5 German-language literature which places analytical  
6 attention on the relationship between the social and  
7 the material in the construction of landscapes.  
8 Following Kühne's (2013) moderate social  
9 constructivist perspective, we understand landscapes  
10 as social constructs individually and collectively  
11 created in close relation to the physical environment  
12 (Gailing 2012; Kilper and Gailing 2013; Kühne  
13 2013). Which elements of a physical space are  
14 considered part of a landscape, and what meanings  
15 are associated with them, can vary significantly  
16 between different individuals and groups within a  
17 society. Understanding the role of the physical,  
18 material environment in landscape construction  
19 contrasts with a discursive constructivist approach in  
20 which material aspects only become 'socially  
21 relevant' if they are communicated through dis-  
22 course (Gailing and Leibenath 2015, 131). Rooted in  
23 a sociology of knowledge perspective following  
24 Berger and Luckmann (1966), the social con-  
25 structivist strand of landscape research concep-  
26 tualises landscape constructions as an amalgamation  
27 of a person's cultural socialisation, individual  
28 experiences, and professional education (Kühne  
29 2013). It asks both how different groups of people  
30 subjectively perceive landscapes based on their  
31 cultural values and worldviews, as well as how  
32 different sectoral systems within a society – e.g.  
33 urban planning or nature conservation – construct  
34 landscapes and with what (political) purpose  
35 (Gailing 2012; Kilper and Gailing 2013).

36 Kühne (2013) and Kilper and Gailing (2013) see  
37 the construction of landscapes as nonlinear,  
38 mutually interdependent processes consisting of (1)  
39 subjective landscape constructions of individuals; (2)  
40 collective constructions based on shared societal  
41 understandings of landscapes; and (3) physical-  
42 material alterations of the environment through re-  
43 sulting societal actions. Landscape change thus  
44 results from the interplay between locally contex-  
45 tualised subjective, collective and physical-material  
46 construction processes. These constructions are deep-  
47 ly embedded in how the *current* landscape is  
48 societally and individually interpreted, making the  
49 process of landscape construction both reciprocal  
50 and continuous (Greider and Garkovich 1994; Kilper  
51 and Gailing 2013; Kühne 2013).

52 Greider and Garkovich (1994) appeal to the  
53 importance of contrasting perceptions of landscapes  
54 in negotiation processes around environmental  
55 management. Constructivist landscape research in  
56 the context of climate change adaptation remains  
57 underdeveloped, notwithstanding. One exception, in  
58 the British context, is Brace and Geoghegan's (2010)  
59 call to investigate how everyday practice in the

1 landscape influences local perceptions of the global  
2 phenomenon of climate change. The authors call for  
3 climate change research which is 'grounded and  
4 localized through the concept of familiar –  
5 embodied, practised and lived – landscapes of  
6 everyday life' and argue that focusing on the  
7 material manifestations of a changing climate in the  
8 landscape helps to re-focus on the actual physical  
9 spaces in which climate change takes place (p.  
10 296). We seek to take up their demand to 'ground  
11 the idea of climate change in landscape' (p. 293) by  
12 revealing differing constructions of local landscapes  
13 and their implications for climate change  
14 adaptation.

### 15 Narratives in qualitative research

16 Alkon (2004, 148) understands narratives about  
17 places as 'emergent stor[ies] appropriated by actors  
18 that make ... choices seem relevant and natural'.  
19 Soliva's (2007, 63) work on landscape change in the  
20 Swiss Alps shows that '[p]eople tell different "stories"  
21 about changes in land use, landscape ... and about  
22 how these changes interdepend. Their perception  
23 and assessment of past changes influence the way  
24 they think about present changes and future  
25 developments'. In the context of landscape and  
26 climate change, Leyshon and Geoghegan (2012)  
27 found that such narratives can circle around  
28 seemingly insignificant structures in the landscape –  
29 in this case cattle grids on the Cornish Lizard  
30 peninsula (UK) – and yet have decisive weight in  
31 different actors' understandings of climate change.  
32 The focus of working with narratives, DeSilvey  
33 (2012, 34) argues, is not on comparing the stories  
34 people tell with a presumed 'truth', but on  
35 understanding the storylines and underlying motifs in  
36 a certain narrative frame. Examining how different  
37 actors in landscape management frame the  
38 phenomena which are the focus of their work,  
39 Leyshon and Walker (forthcoming) argue that  
40 different storylines around a problem in its local  
41 context decisively shape management outcomes.  
42 Thus, uncovering different narratives about  
43 landscape can provide valuable insights into the  
44 shared and contrasting ways in which actors in  
45 landscape management make sense of the places  
46 where they live and work, changes to these places,  
47 and climate change. Although the narrative  
48 approach is an established approach in the  
49 qualitative social sciences that has already been  
50 used to research how people make sense of the  
51 phenomenon of climate change (cf. Daniels and  
52 Endfield 2009), its potential for understanding  
53 societal processes of adaptation to climate change is  
54 to date unexplored.

55 Methodologically, the use of narratives demands a  
56 qualitative, interpretative inquiry. The policy nar-  
57 rative outlined below is based on an analysis of  
58  
59

1 policy documents published by Cornwall Council  
2 following an interpretive policy analysis approach  
3 (see Wagenaar 2016). Nineteen semi-structured  
4 qualitative interviews conducted in Cornwall (UK) in  
5 late 2015 revealed competing constructions of the  
6 local landscapes under a changing climate. The  
7 interviewees were identified through a purposive  
8 sampling strategy as key actors in local landscape  
9 management either due to their position within  
10 respective organisations or because of their en-  
11 agement as Parish or Cornwall Councillors (Richie  
12 and Lewis 2003, 78). From a constructivist  
13 landscape research perspective, the uncovered nar-  
14 ratives form a bridge between individual perceptions  
15 of landscapes and collective constructions shared  
16 across a society<sup>2</sup>. The identification of different  
17 overarching narratives about landscape and climate  
18 change emerged from a three-step process similar to  
19 that suggested by Feldman *et al.* (2004). First,  
20 individual stories about landscape, landscape  
21 change, climate change, and adaptation were  
22 identified within each interview. Second, these  
23 separate stories were analysed relative to each other  
24 to identify the larger line of argument stretching  
25 through the entire interview. Third, storylines circling  
26 around similar phenomena and following similar  
27 internal logics were grouped together to form what  
28 Feldman *et al.* (2004) term ‘encompassing  
29 narratives’.

### 31 The case study region: Cornwall (UK)

32 Cornwall is a rural peninsula in the South West of  
33 England stretching into the Atlantic Ocean, and with  
34 a history of human settlement since prehistoric  
35 times. With a population of half a million,  
36 Cornwall’s economy is largely based on agriculture  
37 and tourism, and thus on its physical environment.  
38 Aside from a few small towns, Cornwall is  
39 characterised by scattered villages, farms and a  
40 variety of protected landscapes (Cornwall Council  
41 2012 2016). Climate change impacts are already  
42 visible in the Cornish landscape in the shape of  
43 coast and catchment flooding (Environment Agency  
44 2012). Climate change projections for South West  
45 England forecast a significant increase in such  
46 episodes, along with more frequent extreme weather  
47 events and a shift in rainfall patterns (Climate UK  
48 2012; Environment Agency 2012). Flood man-  
49 agement is the responsibility of various organisations  
50 in Cornwall, including the Environment Agency,  
51 Natural England and Cornwall Council, but an  
52 overarching climate adaptation strategy for the area  
53 does not exist. Although the Council emphasises the  
54 need for ‘significant adaptation in the design and  
55 location of buildings and infrastructure’, official  
56 statements about climate change are mainly limited  
57 to mitigation and renewable energy development as

1 a profitable income source (Cornwall Council  
2 2015b).

3 Over one third of Cornwall’s land area is under  
4 designations such as AONB or SSSI<sup>3</sup>, with sections  
5 of its 290 miles of coastline managed by the  
6 National Trust (Cornwall Council 2016). In view of  
7 its economic dependence on agriculture and  
8 tourism, landscape does not only have particular  
9 relevance for local policymaking and planning, but  
10 also plays an important role in Cornwall’s regional  
11 identity, branding and economic profile (Cornwall  
12 Council 2016). The prominent ‘Poldark’ television  
13 series, for example has contributed significantly to  
14 establishing Cornwall’s industrial heritage from the  
15 sixteenth to the nineteenth century mining era and  
16 related relict landscapes, as foundational elements of  
17 Cornish identity (Beer 2016). Thus, considering the  
18 prominent role which the issue of landscape has in  
19 the region and its exposure to climate change  
20 impacts, Cornwall serves as a particularly suitable  
21 example for researching the relevance of differing  
22 landscape constructions for climate adaptation.

23 As we will show in the following section, one  
24 particular landscape narrative is actively promoted  
25 by Cornwall Council and serves as the basis for a  
26 variety of policy decisions (Cornwall Council 2015a  
27 2016). However, it is not the only one that exists in  
28 the region. Entering into dialogue with local actors  
29 in landscape management exposes competing  
30 narratives about the Cornish landscapes and climate  
31 change which challenge the way in which Cornwall  
32 is being portrayed by its Council. We will now  
33 introduce the Council’s policy narrative as well as  
34 the landscape narratives derived from the empirical  
35 data before we outline their implications for climate  
36 change adaptation.

### 37 Uncovering landscape narratives

38 Along with policy documents by Cornwall Council,  
39 the interviews conducted in Cornwall revealed a  
40 number of competing narratives about the local  
41 landscapes. These different landscape constructions  
42 are based on varying understandings of nature, the  
43 human–environment relationship, and the impacts  
44 climate change will have on Cornwall. The narrative  
45 officially promoted by Cornwall Council in various  
46 documents and in their Local Plan 2010–2030 –  
47 with far-reaching policy implications – thereby  
48 stands against a number of other framings of the  
49 Cornish landscapes. Acknowledging that these  
50 narratives are only a selection of all existing  
51 perspectives on Cornwall’s landscapes, we will now  
52 introduce this official policy narrative, and then  
53 contrast it against three different landscape narratives  
54 identified from the empirical data: (1) the natural  
55 landscape; (2) the lived landscape; and (3) the  
56 productive landscape.

### The policy narrative

The policy narrative promoted by Cornwall Council<sup>4</sup> highlights the important role landscape plays in Cornwall's regional identity and economic development. It centres on distinctiveness and diversity, natural and cultural heritage, and an ethos of protection. Cornwall is presented as a place shaped by human activities benefitting from the area's natural resources for thousands of years. The relics of this longstanding human–environment relationship make up today's landscape character: fishing villages, ancient field patterns and the ruins of engine houses from the mining era complement a stunning coastline and a beautiful natural environment (Cornwall AONB Partnership 2011; Cornwall Council 2011 2016). For the Council, 'landscape is about the relationship between people and place ... It can mean a patch of local green space as much as a mountain range. The Cornish landscape is stunning, diverse, unique' (Cornwall Council 2014). From this perspective, the local landscapes serve a threefold purpose: they make up an important part of the regional identity, accommodate wildlife and cultural heritage, and thus underpin Cornwall's economic activities, particularly in the tourism sector. The recently drafted 'Cornwall Local Plan 2010–2030' clearly connects the beauty and uniqueness of the Cornish landscapes with their potential for economic benefit by 'attract[ing] locals, visitors and businesses' (Cornwall Council 2016, 9). A key strategy to achieve higher economic value of the landscape is the preservation of local distinctiveness through characteristic building styles and the protection of existing heritage sites. The Council's understanding of Cornwall's landscapes is thus given a clear policy imperative (Cornwall Council 2016, 9).

While portraying the area's landscapes as a visually attractive mosaic of natural and cultural heritage, the official policy narrative masks the exploitation of Cornwall's natural resources and environmental damage through past industrial activities with a layer of romanticised constructions of a people living and working in harmony with a beautiful landscape. This perspective entails a clear imperative to protect the historic landscape character against inappropriate development and greying-out of local distinctiveness (Cornwall Council 2011 2014 2015a). This focus on preserving the beauty of Cornwall's landscapes comes with an ambivalent relationship to change. While the importance of visually attractive landscapes as an economic resource is acknowledged, an increasing number of large-scale housing and renewable energy projects has been permitted by the Council's planning department in recent years (Cornwall Council 2011). Seemingly torn between preservation and economic development, the local landscapes are seen as both

the foundation of Cornwall's regional identity and its main economic resource. Thus, the policy narrative outlined here provides indications of unresolved underlying tensions and suggests the coexistence of a diverse plurality of landscape constructions informing the policy approach within Cornwall.

### Coexisting landscape narratives in Cornwall

The interview data clearly show that differing understandings of the Cornish landscapes exist alongside the Council's policy narrative. The considerable significance of Cornwall's landscapes for its regional identity, however, is mirrored in all interviews with actors in local landscape management. No matter what story about landscape and climate change develops, all collectively share an appreciation of the Cornish landscapes as visually attractive, and express strong emotional bonds to Cornwall as a place. Although interviewed in their professional roles, all interviewees relate to Cornwall's landscapes through very personal, experiential stories:

It's quite rugged and robust and tough. You DO feel nature here! And I like it! I'm looking forward to wild nights walking on the beach in the dark with a torch and my dog in the winter ...

I-5, Visit Cornwall

I'm an environmental consultant, that attaches me to the landscape a lot, particularly this one. Because my main subject is the mining landscapes and Cornish hedges. And I used to be a Cornish Hedger once – the smell and the noise of it is really lovely

I-10, Parish Councillor

This melding of professional and personal accounts is particularly interesting against the background of the growing debate challenging the role and objectivity of experts both within and beyond the field of human geography (see e.g. Geoghegan and Leyshon 2014). Surprising commonalities between the interviewees' choice of words indicate a shared prevalent discourse in the region about the iconic visual elements of its landscape: on the collective level, Cornwall is constructed as a beautiful maritime area with rolling hills, pretty estuaries, a rugged and stunning coastline as well as important cultural and industrial heritage from past eras. Although all interviewees share a high appreciation for aesthetic qualities of Cornwall's landscapes and highlight the role of its industrial heritage, further analysis reveals substantial differences in the interpretations of these landscapes. Taking a closer look at the individual constructions of the local landscapes and changes to them, the commonalities

soon end and different narratives unfold. As outlined on p. 3, subjective landscape constructions are results of individual combinations of socialisation, experiences and education (see Kühne 2013). It is therefore no surprise that none of the interviewees' perceptions of Cornwall's landscapes resemble each other entirely. While each story is coloured by personal experiences, certain stories do focus on very similar landscape elements and vocabulary. To crystallise the different narratives, we identified key phenomena addressed in each interview; emotions articulated in relation to the landscape, perceptions of change as well as implications of all these for landscape management (see also Feldman *et al.* 2004). By particularly emphasising the way in which the relationship between the landscape and human activity is conceptualised, as well as the overarching goals of landscape management, we uncovered three distinct narratives of Cornwall's landscapes which contrast with the policy narrative: landscapes as natural systems; as lived-in places; and as spaces of production. The results of the interview analysis are summarised in Table 1. As Soliva (2007) and Leyshon and Walker (forthcoming) suggest, each of these narratives has different implications for landscape management and implies distinct approaches to climate adaptation. In the following paragraphs we will expand on these three perspectives on Cornwall's landscapes to outline their implications for climate change adaptation.

*The natural landscape narrative* In the policy narrative by Cornwall Council, Cornwall's landscape is a representation of its natural beauty and past human activity on the one hand and a valuable economic resource on the other. The natural landscape narrative, however, understands Cornwall's landscape in terms of wildlife and habitats, fields and wetlands, and a distinct assemblage of plant and animal species. Referring to management at the 'landscape scale' and habitat types with clear boundaries, this narrative represents a classic natural-scientific understanding of landscapes. The Cornish landscape is viewed as a sensitive natural environment under threat which needs protection through specific management. To Interviewee 11, an employee of the Cornwall Wildlife Trust:

... the way the landscape looks is largely a result of the wildlife and of land use. Many of the areas that you think of as being important for the landscape are also really important from a wildlife and biodiversity point of view – coastal habitats, moorlands, woodlands.

In this narrative, the natural and the human are perceived as largely separate systems – the former under pressures from the latter. Constructing the landscape in terms of natural systems influenced by human activity places emphasis on its importance

for sheltering local wildlife and ensuring environmental resilience. The interviewees following this narrative express attachment primarily with natural elements of the landscape and are concerned about unsustainable practice, especially in the farming sector, which leads to wildlife and habitat loss. This concern comes with a feeling of custodianship over the natural environment. Interviewee 1, a Lead Advisor for Natural England, perceives the Cornish landscape as vulnerable to unsustainable management practices:

You only need three months of rain and you've lost your top soils. And you've damaged important freshwater ecosystems ... But people have this need to develop land. And there's not given much thought on sustainability issues. ... That's one of the reasons why we do what we do. We're looking after it, that's very important.

Change here is perceived as a natural process leading to changes in habitats and ecosystems. As the vulnerabilities of Cornwall's natural environment are largely caused by manmade changes, however, it is understood to be the responsibility of management interventions to improve wildlife and habitat resilience. The landscape is thus seen as a mosaic of fragile natural systems in need of protection from harmful human intervention. Thus, the aims of landscape management are to create a resilient natural environment, reduce adverse human impacts and restore habitat connectivity.

*The lived landscape narrative* For other interviewees, Cornwall's landscapes are much more the result of interactions between human activities and the natural environment. From this perspective, landscape is a reflection of the long history of human settlement in Cornwall, a braid of natural and manmade elements, and a place for local communities to live and work in. This perspective mirrors the ways in which Rose and Wiley (2006, 475) theorise landscape as 'embodied, perceived, affected' places of dwelling. For Interviewee 18 who works for the Cornwall AONB Partnership:

the landscape ... influences what humans do ... The protected landscapes make provision for sustainable communities that live in the area. And you can't put a ring around the landscape and say 'We can't do anything in here' – people live there! ... But we're still in that sort of old track of 'Yeah, but we can't do this, because it's protected!'

Whereas in the Council's policy narrative the historic landscape is portrayed as an important economic resource in need of protection, the notion of preservation is seen more critically in the lived landscape narrative. Here the landscape, both natural and manmade, is perceived as the result of



**Table 1** Landscape narratives – overview

Phenomena addressed	Emotional articulation	Perception of change	Management implications
<b>The policy narrative</b>			
Natural and cultural heritage; long history of settlement; aesthetic qualities of landscape; economic benefits; regional identity; landscape designations as proof of uniqueness	Positive, persuasive wording in the policy document; highlighting the importance of its landscapes for Cornwall; omits negative connotations, e.g. regarding mining era	Important to maintain distinctive character of Cornwall's landscapes; need for resilience to change of whatever sort; demand for sustainable approach to change	Focus on maintaining local distinctiveness clashes with need for economic development; local design guides for building; attempt to integrate social, economic and environmental sustainability
<i>The natural landscape</i>			
Wildlife and habitats; farming, fields, land use; hedgerows, wet-lands; farmland <i>versus</i> biodiversity; rare plant and animal species; management at landscape and catchment scale	Attachment to natural elements of the landscape; responsibility for healthy wildlife; concern about unsustainable practice and wildlife loss; concern about unsustainable farming practice	Change is natural and inevitable; change in farming practice emphasised; critiquing increase in built development; manmade change and practices endanger healthy habitats	Sustainability, resilience; fragile landscape; protection and custodianship; wildlife and habitat loss; shared responsibility; managing the landscape for species and habitat connectivity
Humans = outside the landscape, influencing it externally			
Landscape management = protecting and restoring habitats for healthy wildlife			
<b>The lived landscape</b>			
Manifestation of human practice in the natural environment; basis for and result of human dwelling; place for communities to live and work in; expression of past human activity and local distinctiveness; significant cultural heritage of past fishing and mining activities	Attachment to relicts of past human practice; landscape as important part of Cornish identity; sadness about loss of local distinctiveness; sense of belonging; Cornwall as a special and unique place due to long-standing history of human activity and natural beauty	Landscape as living and lived-in; change is a natural by-product of human dwelling; critiquing 'greying out' of local distinctiveness; landscape and cultural practice in it change concurrently; critiquing short-sighted and indistinctive built development	Interaction between people and landscape; cultural practice; management at local level; focus on communities and their activities; local distinctiveness; responsibility for future generations
Humans = living in the landscape, their activities reciprocally shaping and being shaped by it			
Landscape management = embracing change, but preserving local distinctiveness through sustainable human practice			
<b>The productive landscape</b>			
Intensive farming, food production; primarily manmade; highly developed and industrialised; barely any bits of nature left anywhere; subject to exploitation through mining and agriculture; purpose of landscape is extraction of food and other goods	Utilitarian understanding of landscape; no high attachment expressed; no notions of romantic or aesthetic in landscape description; disappointment in agencies for unsustainable management and overprotection; dislike of emotional debates about landscape management	Change is positive and natural, but not much change noticed in recent decades; large built structures in the landscape are not a problem; strong critique of efforts to preserve relicts of the past	Agricultural use, functionality, human modification; food production; critique of preservation; need for renewables in the landscape; landscape = resource; scientific debates and factual decisions
Humans = living off the landscape, replacing nature with economic activity			
Landscape management = providing food and goods for people			

1 past and current cultural practice in Cornwall. Since  
 2 such cultural practice takes various shapes, so the  
 3 argument arises that there are many perceptions of  
 4 these landscapes among the local population. The  
 5 relationship between the landscape and its  
 6 inhabitants is reciprocal, and continuous change is  
 7 seen as a natural consequence of human dwelling.  
 8 Interviewee 17, Flood Resilience Manager for the  
 9 Environment Agency, explains:

10 The landscape ... is an interaction between where we  
 11 work with the land and where we build ... If you look  
 12 at our fishing communities for example or the mining  
 13 communities, the landscape has shaped those  
 14 communities – where they are, why they're there ...  
 15 why they were facing the challenges they did.

16 The human and the natural system are viewed as  
 17 intertwined, jointly constituting Cornwall's  
 18 landscapes. This understanding of landscape as a  
 19 preliminary result of human dwelling leads to an  
 20 acceptance of change both through societal  
 21 developments as well as natural processes. Since  
 22 Cornish landscapes as relicts of past human activity  
 23 are viewed as an important part of the regional  
 24 identity, interviewees following the lived landscape  
 25 narrative express sadness and concern about the  
 26 greying-out of local distinctiveness through large-  
 27 scale housing and supermarket developments and the  
 28 loss of local shops and gastronomy. Consequently, the  
 29 aim of landscape management is to embrace and  
 30 work with change, but preserve local distinctiveness  
 31 through sustainable human practice in the landscape.

32 *The productive landscape narrative* These two  
 33 narratives – even if to different extents – both  
 34 acknowledge the natural environment as an important  
 35 part of what constitutes the Cornish landscapes. The  
 36 productive landscape narrative, however, reveals a  
 37 divergent perspective on the natural elements of the  
 38 local landscapes. Interviewee 3, a Parish Councillor  
 39 born in Cornwall and running a family farm, has a  
 40 very contrasting perception of the place where he  
 41 lives. He sees the land as considerably shaped  
 42 through intensified farming, and thus as a surface for  
 43 economic activity. Having a largely functional view of  
 44 the landscape, his description of the landscape is free  
 45 of romantic or aesthetic notions:

46 I would describe it as a highly developed post-industrial  
 47 landscape ... There is very, very little what you might  
 48 call 'natural' about our landscape at all. I would think  
 49 there is hardly one square foot of the county which has  
 50 not been very, very heavily modified by men.

51 Also Interviewee 4, an elected Cornwall Councillor  
 52 representing three rural villages on Cornwall  
 53 Council, has a very sober view of the local  
 54 landscapes. Although not having a background in

55 farming or land management, to him the landscapes  
 56 of Cornwall:

57 ... have been affected by men's activities over centuries  
 58 and over thousands of years, there are not many  
 59 primitive landscapes ... The landscape that we all see  
 from our windows and cars is actually a food factory  
 which has been crafted by men with hedges and fields.

This unromanticised view of the landscape comes  
 with a strong critique of the efforts by the National  
 Trust and other organisations to preserve local  
 distinctiveness and limit built development in  
 Cornwall. Instead, the view is that decisions should  
 be made on the basis of what is rationally necessary  
 to address the pressures local communities are  
 facing. In this productive landscape narrative,  
 human interventions and larger-scale built features in  
 the landscape are not viewed as visual disturbances.  
 The aim of landscape management is seen as  
 making ideal use of Cornwall's natural environment  
 for farming and food production. The strong focus  
 on preservation of the relicts of past human activities  
 in the landscape is perceived as an impediment to  
 sustainable development rather than as having a  
 positive influence.

The four narratives presented in the previous  
 paragraphs construct Cornwall's landscapes very  
 differently and are in parts strongly divergent. An  
 alternative narrative often encountered in the context  
 of coastal erosion is the one of anxiety and loss (see  
 e.g. Adger *et al.* 2014) – this perspective, however,  
 was not featured in the interviews in Cornwall. From  
 the four viewpoints outlined above result equally  
 diverse approaches for landscape management in  
 times of a changing climate. To highlight the  
 narratives' relevance for climate adaptation, we will  
 now outline how climate change is being  
 understood from the different perspectives and what  
 implications these understandings have for the  
 implementation of adaptation measures.

### Implications for climate change adaptation

As outlined on p. ~~xx~~ the Cornwall case study shows  
 that a common attachment to and appreciation for a  
 landscape are not necessarily predictors for a  
 consensus on how best to manage it. By identifying  
 contrasting narratives about the local landscapes, we  
 show clearly that Cornwall as a place is  
 conceptualised very differently by different actors,  
 with diverse implications for landscape management,  
 especially under climate change; and for how  
 adaptation activities are operationalised in practical  
 terms. Cornwall Council's policy narrative underlines  
 the '... need to protect the quality and natural  
 beauty, including the landscape ... for its own sake  
 but also as an economic driver and to build and

maintain resilience to climate change' (Cornwall Council 2016, 17).

Although climate change is framed as a potential threat both to Cornwall's historic heritage and current settlements (Cornwall Council 2015b; Environment Agency 2012), references to climate change in the Council's policy documents seem rather perfunctory in terms of actual practical recommendations. Coordinated efforts by local government to approach adaptation in the region thus appear to be in their early stages and as yet a transformative perspective on adaptation has not been developed in Cornwall.

Whereas a consistent policy narrative about climate change does not exist in Cornwall, the three coexisting narratives about Cornwall's landscapes provide key insights into the management implications of landscape change with direct relevance for climate adaptation. In the natural landscape narrative climate change, even if anthropogenically accelerated, is part of a natural cycle and therefore inevitable. Whereas the notion of preserving the landscape features in both the policy and the natural landscapes narrative, the need for preservation in the latter is limited to the protection of the natural environment. Consequently, responses to climate change should focus predominantly on creating sustainable ecosystems and healthy wildlife through suitable management of the natural landscape, a view shared by Cornwall Wildlife Trust and Natural England.

You know, our work is about climate change adaptation largely ... So one of the challenges in climate change adaptation is to look after the wildlife that we've got ... It's one of the reasons why we do what we do, to look after it.

Interviewee 1, Natural England

The imperative to manage the natural landscape sustainably is expressed in terms of a strong sense of stewardship over the natural environment. The natural systems narrative thus operationalises climate change adaptation through working with or restoring natural processes wherever possible and protecting the landscape from harmful human interventions such as hard engineering structures, especially regarding coastal protection and the alleviation of river flooding.

Landscape management in the lived landscape narrative is seen as a process of co-adaptation of the landscape and human practice in it. Central to this narrative is a criticism of the detachment of society from nature and the call to reverse this division. Regarding climate change, this emphasis on lived landscapes results in a call for locally embedded, bottom-up initiatives and community projects which focus on the local population as key actors for

change. An effective response to climate change is understood in terms of drawing on local knowledge and reattaching people to the physical environment in which they live:

They [communities] are our new partners in flood management. They will have a key role in adaptation because they understand their local landscape ... And that's important sometimes, to work with the people and make them understand how they work in the landscape and how the landscape works around them.

Interviewee 17, Environment Agency

Building resilience to climate change is perceived as joint adaptation of the landscape itself and, maybe more importantly, the ways in which communities live in and shape their places. From a human-environment interaction perspective, climate change adaptation is therefore understood in terms of community-led initiatives and the reconnection of people with the landscape they shape and are shaped by. Examples for such adaptation activities are capacity building around flood protection through a community flood forum and the installation of household-level installations such as flood gates and suitable drainage systems.

From the viewpoint of the productive landscape narrative, the impacts that climate change is likely to have on Cornwall's landscapes correspond with the perception of the dominance of the human system over the natural: 'I think there will be small changes from natural means, and big ones from men' (Interviewee 3, Parish Councillor). To the interviewees following this narrative, built features such as renewable energy infrastructure do not impact negatively on the landscape. On the contrary, Interviewee 4 sees the suitable response to climate change in engineered solutions:

Climate change is a real issue and I worry deeply about it ... In order to mitigate the effects of climate change we need engineering solutions ... And we do accept them in our day-to-day lives! We also accept road infrastructure which is a horrendous scar in the landscape.

Although appreciating the attractiveness of the Cornish landscapes, he heavily criticises the strong prevalent focus on preservation. It is exactly this tendency towards conserving the status quo, he argues, which is a barrier to adequately addressing climate change in Cornwall:

Some people get really obsessed with preventing change ... We can't stand still, and so the landscape will inevitably change ... I think the inherent sort of falling back upon the Cornishness<sup>5</sup> is an impediment to doing something about climate change because we won't

1 accept the big engineering solutions that we'd need for  
2 a change.

3  
4 Interviewee 4, Cornwall Councillor

5  
6 This utilitarian perspective on Cornwall's  
7 landscapes results in the demand for addressing  
8 climate change through mitigation infrastructure  
9 such as large wind turbines on the one hand and  
10 through effective flood alleviation measures on the  
11 other, even if visible in the landscape.

## 12 13 Conclusions

14  
15 Drawing on qualitative interviews with  
16 decisionmakers from landscape management  
17 organisations in Cornwall (UK), we discovered local  
18 narratives about Cornwall's landscapes as natural  
19 systems, human–environment interaction and spaces  
20 of production. These constructions stand in  
21 surprising contrast to each other and to the way in  
22 which the region is portrayed by its Council. Most  
23 notably, however, they dig under the surface of the  
24 images of Cornwall presented in popular media and  
25 the tourism sector as an area characterised by  
26 natural beauty and industrial heritage. We fur-  
27 thermore showed that people's shared appreciation  
28 of places and landscapes is not a guarantee of  
29 agreement about their management under a  
30 changing climate. The three competing narratives  
31 about Cornwall's landscapes reveal that divergent  
32 understandings of landscapes result in very different  
33 demands for adaptation activities. By comparing the  
34 narratives' implications for landscape management,  
35 it becomes clear that the concept of 'landscape' –  
36 even if superficially understood as one and the same  
37 thing – has various meanings for different actors in  
38 landscape management. The green fields and  
39 hedges, for example, which are seen as wildlife  
40 habitat in one narrative, are perceived as an  
41 industrialised food factory in another. Moreover, it  
42 becomes clear that the classification of landscapes  
43 as 'natural' or 'cultural' is highly subjective and  
44 depends on the perspective from which a landscape  
45 is viewed. Instead of making this distinction, we  
46 argue, all landscapes should be understood as  
47 cultural constructs aligned along different stories  
48 about the same material space.

49 Resulting from these different constructions of  
50 landscapes arise contrasting perspectives on how  
51 they are affected by climate change. Thus, the  
52 different narratives have significant potential  
53 implications for resulting physical-material alterations  
54 of Cornwall's landscapes. From preserving the status  
55 quo and rejecting any built interventions through a  
56 focus on community-led action, to a call for hard  
57 engineering – different constructions of landscapes  
58 result in potentially conflicting demands for  
59 adaptation measures. As O'Brien (2009) argues, this

1 is especially important when adaptation activities  
2 proposed by one group or organisation negatively  
3 impact on what another group value about a  
4 landscape. Not only does climate change thus alter  
5 places physically, it also has the potential to interfere  
6 with attachments and cultural values – people's  
7 mental constructions of those places also influence  
8 how they choose to adapt to a changing climate.  
9 Although the insight that different people perceive  
10 landscapes differently is not new, we could show  
11 that unravelling competing landscape constructions  
12 provides valuable insights into the unspoken  
13 assumptions that underlie decisions around climate  
14 change adaptation. Our findings thus contribute to  
15 bridging the gap between the theoretical  
16 considerations of constructivist landscape research in  
17 the academic realm and the policy relevance of  
18 different landscape constructions amongst  
19 practitioners in landscape management. By placing  
20 the focus on the different ways in which a landscape  
21 is perceived and emotions are articulated in relation  
22 to it, perceptions of change, and the resulting  
23 management implications, a narrative approach to  
24 researching societal processes of climate adaptation  
25 serves a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it  
26 enhances our understanding of how people make  
27 sense of their everyday, lived- and worked-in  
28 landscapes and changes to them, by uncovering  
29 their reasoning behind adaptation decisions and  
30 grounding those decisions in their perceptions of,  
31 and relationships with, the places where climate  
32 change happens. On the other hand, it contributes  
33 to overcoming the divide between the 'expert'  
34 knowledge of professionals in landscape man-  
35 agement, often referred to as rational and more  
36 'legitimate', and the viewpoints of the local  
37 population deeply connected to the landscape  
38 through emotional attachment and everyday  
39 practices (also Geoghegan and Leysdon 2014). Thus,  
40 this paper furthers existing work on the role of place  
41 attachments in societal responses to climate change  
42 by laying open the wider storylines behind different  
43 approaches to climate adaptation and their impli-  
44 cations for physical-material adaptation activities.

45 The fact that none of the narratives derived from  
46 the interviews can clearly be attributed to staff of  
47 one specific organisation highlights both the  
48 importance that individual perceptions of place and  
49 landscape have in decisionmaking on the local level  
50 as well as the need to understand how such  
51 personal perceptions differ. Uncovering different  
52 constructions of local landscapes, however, is only a  
53 first step to better understanding the role of people–  
54 place relationships in adaptive management.  
55 Analysing different landscape narratives in more  
56 detail and revealing the underlying understandings  
57 of nature, climate and human–environment rela-  
58 tionships constitutes an important next step towards  
59 comprehending the diverse rationalities behind

different approaches to climate adaptation. Viewing the narratives as a starting point, smaller-scale case studies of ongoing adaptation activities could unveil how different actors' constructions of particular landscapes translate into the implementation of physical-material changes to places. To understand the societal dynamics of negotiating landscapes in times of a changing climate better, moreover, further research should examine the consideration of different understandings of landscape and climate change in local decisionmaking and the politics, power relations, and responsibilities connected with these different viewpoints.

Leaving unarticulated the taken-for-granted constructions that landscape management actors have of their local landscapes holds great potential for misunderstandings and can constitute an obstacle for sustainable adaptation governance – especially, as Fresque-Baxter and Armitage (2012) argue, when adaptation measures implemented by one group of people threaten what another group holds dear about a place. We therefore argue in line with Agyeman *et al.* (2009) and Soliva (2007) that a better comprehension of the contrasting constructions of places can help to foster constructive dialogue between different actors in landscape and adaptive management and to consider diverse epistemologies of landscape, nature and climate change in decisionmaking and policy formulation. In Cornwall, such dialogue could well be based on the shared strong attachment to the area, but accentuate contrasting understandings of the local landscapes. Working out how these perceptions can be laid open, challenged and integrated into decisionmaking processes around climate change adaptation would thus be an important step towards a more interdisciplinary approach to joint landscape management in times of a changing climate.

### Acknowledgements

This research was supported through the Cluster of Excellence 'CliSAP' (EXC177), Universität Hamburg, funded through the German Science Foundation (DFG). Many thanks to the editor and the anonymous reviewers for their thorough and useful comments.

### Notes

- 1 In the Cornwall case study, the main actors in landscape management were identified as Cornwall Council, the Environment Agency, the National Trust, Natural England, Cornwall Wildlife Trust, the AONB Partnership, parish councils, as well as larger tourism organisations.
- 2 Although we are keenly aware of the multiple possible connotations of the word 'landscape', we deliberately did not provide the participants with a definition of the term prior to the interviews. Following a constructivist epistemology, the

focus of our research lay on uncovering the interviewees' subjective interpretations of the phenomenon.

- 3 Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) or Natural England Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI)
- 4 For practical reasons, we focused on the perspective of Cornwall Council for identifying the official policy narrative. We acknowledge that organisations such as the National Trust and Natural England are part of the wider policy context in Cornwall. As their understandings of the Cornish landscape differ from those of Cornwall Council, however, we chose to represent their views through the narratives which we contrast to the official policy one.
- 5 By Cornishness, he refers to the region's strong identification with its past and heritage, resulting in a preservation approach to landscape management.

### References

- Adger W N, Barnett J, Brown K, Marshall N and O'Brien K** 2013 Cultural dimensions of climate change impacts and adaptation *Nature Climate Change* 2 112–17
- Adger W N, Barnett J, Chapin III F S and Ellemor H** 2011 This must be the place: underrepresentation of identity and meaning in climate change decision-making *Global Environmental Politics* 2 1–25
- Adger W N, Dessai S, Goulden M, Hulme M, Lorenzoni I, Nelson D R, Naess L-O, Wolf J and Wreford A** 2009 Are there social limits to adaptation to climate change? *Climatic Change* 3 335–54
- Agyeman J, Devine-Wright P and Prange J** 2009 Close to the edge, down by the river? *Joining up managed retreat and place attachment in a climate changed world. Environment and Planning A* 3 509–31
- Alkon A H** 2004 Place, stories, and consequences *Organization and Environment* 2 145–69
- Amundsen H** 2015 Place attachment as a driver of adaptation in coastal communities in Northern Norway *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability* 3 257–76
- Beer H** 2016 *Poldark: behind the scenes* National Trust Magazine autumn 2016 ([www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/cornish-coast-stars-in-poldark-remake](http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/cornish-coast-stars-in-poldark-remake)) Accessed 29 September 2016
- Berger P and Luckmann L** 1966 *The social construction of reality* Anchor Books, New York
- Brace C and Geoghegan H** 2010 Human geographies of climate change: landscape, temporality, and lay knowledges *Progress in Human Geography* 5 284–302
- Burley D, Jenkins P, Laska S and Davis T** 2007 Place attachment and environmental change in coastal Louisiana *Organization and Environment* 3 347–66
- Climate UK** 2012 *A summary of climate change risks for South West England* (<http://climateuk.net/resource/regional-summaries-uk-climate-change-risk-assessment>) Accessed 26 June 2015
- Cornwall AONB Partnership** 2011 *Cornwall AONB management plan 2011–2016. Further Information to each strategic chapter: web-based appendices. 3: Climate change and energy* Truro

- Cornwall Council** 2011 *Cornwall landscape character: best practice guide* ([www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/3627266/Landscape\\_Best\\_Practice\\_Aug\\_2011\\_Full-version-Web.pdf](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/3627266/Landscape_Best_Practice_Aug_2011_Full-version-Web.pdf)) Accessed 3 March 2016
- Cornwall Council** 2012 *2011 Census at a glance* ([www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/data-and-research/data-by-topic/2011-census/](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/data-and-research/data-by-topic/2011-census/)) Accessed 14 June 2016
- Cornwall Council** 2014 *Environment and planning – Cornwall's landscape* ([www.cornwall.gov.uk/environment-and-planning/cornwalls-landscape/](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/environment-and-planning/cornwalls-landscape/)) Accessed 3 March 2016
- Cornwall Council** 2015a *Landscape character assessment 2007* ([www.cornwall.gov.uk/environment-and-planning/cornwalls-landscape/landscape-character-assessment-2007/](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/environment-and-planning/cornwalls-landscape/landscape-character-assessment-2007/)) Accessed 3 March 2016
- Cornwall Council** 2015b *What are the potential impacts of climate change in Cornwall?* ([www.cornwall.gov.uk/environment-and-planning/sustainable-development/climate-change-and-energy/what-are-the-potential-impacts-of-climate-change-in-cornwall/](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/environment-and-planning/sustainable-development/climate-change-and-energy/what-are-the-potential-impacts-of-climate-change-in-cornwall/)) Accessed 3 March 2016
- Cornwall Council** 2016 *Cornwall local plan* ([www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/17155253/local-plan-combined-version-jan-2016-small.pdf](http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/media/17155253/local-plan-combined-version-jan-2016-small.pdf)) Accessed 22 March 2016
- Daniels D and Endfield G** 2009 Narratives of climate change: introduction *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (special issue) 215–22
- DeSilvey C** 2012 Making sense of transience: an anticipatory history *Cultural Geographies* 1 31–54
- Devine-Wright P** 2013 Think global, act local? The relevance of place attachments and place identities in a climate changed world *Global Environmental Change* 1 61–9
- Devine-Wright P** 2014 Dynamics of place attachment in a climate changed world in **Manzo L C and Devine-Wright P** eds *Place attachment* Routledge, Oxford, New York
- Devine-Wright P** 2015 Local attachments and identities: a theoretical and empirical project across disciplinary boundaries *Progress in Human Geography* 4 527–30
- Environment Agency** 2012 *West Cornwall catchment flood management plan. Summary report June 2012* Exeter
- Feldman M, Sköldbberg K, Brown R N and Horner D** 2004 Making sense of stories: a rhetorical approach to narrative analysis *Journal of Public Administration* 14 147–70
- Fresque-Baxter J and Armitage D** 2012 Place identity and climate change adaptation: a synthesis and framework for understanding WIREs *Climate Change* 3 251–66
- Gailing L** 2012 Dimensions of the social construction of landscapes – perspectives on new institutionalism *Proceedings of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, Section A Social Sciences and Humanities* 3 195–205
- Gailing L and Leibenath M** 2015 The social construction of landscapes: two theoretical lenses and their empirical applications *Landscape Research* 2 123–38
- Geoghegan H and Leyshon C** 2014 Shifting shores: managing challenge and change on the Lizard Peninsula, Cornwall, UK *Landscape Research* 6 631–46
- Greider T and Garkovich L** 1994 Landscapes: the social construction of nature and the environment *Rural Sociology* 1 1–24
- Hajer** 1995 *The politics of environmental discourse: ecological modernization and the policy process* Calderon Press, Oxford
- Ingold T** 2010 The temporality of the landscape in **Preucel R W and Mrozowski S A** eds *Contemporary archaeology in theory: the new pragmatism* Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, UK
- Kilper H and Gailing L** 2013 Die politische Konstruktion von Kulturlandschaften als kollektive Handlungsräume in **Leibenath M, Heiland S, Kilper H and Tzschaschel S** eds *Wie werden Landschaften gemacht?* transcript Verlag, Bielefeld
- Kühne** 2013 *Landschaftstheorie und Landschaftspraxis* Springer, Wiesbaden
- Leyshon C and Geoghegan H** 2012 Anticipatory objects and uncertain imminence: cattle grids, landscape and the presencing of climate change on the Lizard Peninsula, UK *Area* 44 237–44
- Leyshon C and Walker T** forthcoming Framing risk: implications for delivering the ecological network approach in landscape management *Global Environmental Change*
- O'Brien K** 2009 Do values subjectively define the limits to climate change adaptation? in **Adger W N, Lorenzoni I and O'Brien K** eds *Adapting to climate change* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
- Ratter B and Gee K** 2012 Heimat – a German concept of regional perception and identity as a basis for coastal management in the Wadden Sea *Ocean & Coastal Management* 127–37.
- Richie J and Lewis J** eds 2003 *Qualitative research practice* Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi
- Soliva R** 2007 Landscape stories: using ideal type narratives as a heuristic device in rural studies *Journal of Rural Studies* 62–74.
- Tomanej J** 2015 Understanding parochialism: a response to Patrick Devine-Wright *Progress in Human Geography* 4 531–32
- Walker A J and Ryan R L** 2008 Place attachment and landscape preservation in rural New England: a Maine case study *Landscape and Urban Planning* 2 141–52

# Author Query Form

Journal: GEOJ  
Article: 12203

Dear Author,

During the copy-editing of your paper, the following queries arose. Please respond to these by marking up your proofs with the necessary changes/additions. Please write your answers on the query sheet if there is insufficient space on the page proofs. Please write clearly and follow the conventions shown on the attached corrections sheet. If returning the proof by fax do not write too close to the paper's edge. Please remember that illegible mark-ups may delay publication. Many thanks for your assistance.

Query reference	Query	Remarks
1	AUTHOR: Please confirm that given names (red) and surnames/family names (green) have been identified correctly.	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes
2	AUTHOR: Please give reference details for <i>Natural England</i> (2011).	see p. 2
3	AUTHOR: Please update the text 'As outlined on p. xx,' which appears twice.	<input type="checkbox"/> done
4	AUTHOR: Please give reference details for Rose and Wiley (2006)	see p. 6
5	AUTHOR: Please give page numbers for Devine-Wright (2014).	see p. 12
6	AUTHOR: Please give page numbers for Ingold (2010).	
7	AUTHOR: Please give page numbers for Kilper and Gailing (2013).	
8	AUTHOR: Please give page numbers for O'Brien (2009).	
9	AUTHOR: Please give volume number for Ratter and Gee (2012).	
10	AUTHOR: Please give volume number for Soliva (2007).	

# Author Services

Wiley-Blackwell Author Services can be accessed by visiting <http://authorservices.wiley.com/bauthor/> or by following the link from your email.

Wiley-Blackwell Author Services allows you to track the production status of your accepted articles, add co-authors and distribute your articles to your colleagues.

[Register for an account now](#). You'll have the chance to sign up for additional alerts at key stages, or you may just log in from time to time to check on your article's status.

Please note that you must have received an e-mail from a journal with your article ID in order to track the production status of your article. The format of the Unique ID is 123456-123456. Unfortunately the ScholarOne Manuscripts tracking number is separate and will not work in Author Services.

If you wish to submit a manuscript to the editorial office for review, please use the "Guidelines by Journal" at the right to find the specific journal.

The screenshot shows the Wiley-Blackwell Author Services website. The header includes the Wiley-Blackwell logo and navigation links for "Wiley Online Library" and "Home". The main heading is "Author Services". The page is divided into three columns:

- Author Services Menu:** A sidebar with categories like "Journal Authors" (including Home, Register, My Publications, Find a Journal, Editorial Policies, Author Resources, Author Rights and Benefits, FAQs) and "Book Authors" (including Book Authors Home, Life of a book, Preparing proposals, Preparing the text, Preparing illustrations, Accompanying material, Author Checklist, Permissions clearance, Sales and marketing, Links, Book Author Contacts, Royalties).
- Welcome:** A central text area explaining that Wiley Online Library replaces Wiley InterScience and listing benefits for authors, such as single sign-on, finding the right journal, tracking articles, and free access to published articles. It also includes "tips" for using the service.
- Sign in:** A login form with fields for "E-mail Address" (containing "name@email.com") and "Password" (containing "\*\*\*\*\*"). A "Sign in" button is present. Below the form are links for "Forgotten password?", "Register", and "Help".

At the bottom right, there is a section titled "Guidelines by Journal" (highlighted with a red circle in the image) which includes a dropdown menu labeled "Please select" and a note: "If you are interested in submitting a manuscript, view the author guidelines for each journal by selecting the journal title below (the guidelines will appear in a new browser window):".

The instructions contain the link to the manuscript submission website if applicable, which is separate from Author Services. If the journal does not offer online submission, the instructions will contain the address to which you should send your manuscript

Once you have received an article ID, you can add an article to your profile:

1. If you have previously registered in Author Services, click on the link in the e-mail and log in. If your login (e-mail address) matches the address where the initial alert was sent, then you will be connected automatically to your article.



2. If you have never registered, click on the link in the e-mail and register. If your username (e-mail address) matches the address where the initial alert was sent, you'll be connected automatically to your article.
3. If you wish to register at an e-mail address other than the one to which the alert was sent, you can add the article to your profile by following the instructions below.

## Add an article

To add an accepted article to your My Publications profile, click on the 'Add a new article' button and enter the Unique ID for your article. This is included in your initial email alert and the format is 123456-123456. If you have forgotten or mislaid your article code, please contact [e-help](#).

The screenshot shows the Wiley-Blackwell Author Services interface. At the top left is the Wiley-Blackwell logo. The main header reads 'Author Services'. Below this is a navigation menu with sections for 'Journal Authors' and 'Book Authors'. The 'My Publications' section is active, showing the user's name 'Ms N Wing (nancy.wing@oxon.blackwellpublishing.com)'. A red circle highlights the 'Add a new article' button. Other buttons include 'Amend my details' and 'Sign out'. Below the navigation is a section titled 'Your Articles' with two article entries. The first entry is for 'AREA' with the title 'Response to McFarlane and Hasty', showing 'Article Status' with a progress bar (1, 2, 3, 4) and 'Proofs sent' on 14 Jan 2011. The second entry is for 'Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers' with the title 'Resilience, ecology and adaptation in the experimental city', showing 'Article Status' with a progress bar (1, 2, 3, 4) and 'EarlyView' on 2 Feb 2011. On the right side, there are buttons for 'Add My Colleagues', 'Add My Co-Authors', and 'E-mail Journal Production Editor', along with a warning message about a missing copyright/license form.

Once you have added your article, you can track its current article status, view its production history, and order printed offprints.

The four stages you are able to track your article through are:

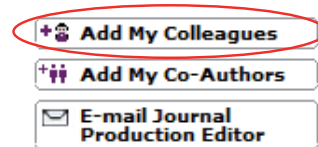
- Accepted article received
- Proofs sent
- Corrections received
- Issue published online

If your article is published as Early View online prior to appearing in an issue, a further notification will appear below the Article Status tracker and a 'View PDF' link will be added to allow you to view your article.



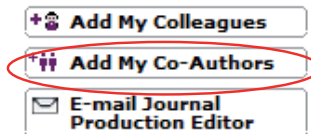
### Add My Colleagues

Enter the e-mail addresses of up to 10 colleagues to disseminate your paper to key readers. An invitation to register in Author Services will be sent to each colleague to invite him or her to view your article once it has been published online. If your colleague has already registered in Author Services, the e-mail will contain instructions on how to add the article to his or her account. The e-mail address will not be used for anything other than an invitation to register in Author Services. This feature is designed to support article usage as well as citations. Online usage is becoming increasingly important, so we encourage you to take advantage of this way of promoting your article.



### Add My Co-Authors

Enter the e-mail addresses of your co-author(s). An invitation to register in Author Services will be sent to each co-author so he or she can track production and view the article online using separate log-in details from yours. If your co-author has already registered in Author Services, the e-mail will contain instructions on how to add the article to his or her account. The e-mail address will not be used for anything other than an invitation to register in Author Services.



### E-mail Journal Production Editor

If you have any concerns over the progress of your article, you can use this button to contact the production editor directly.

