

Cornish Devolution in the Aftermath of the 2015 General Election: Towards a more Sustainable Governance?

Political Quarterly Themed Special Issue: Answering the English Question(s)? 'New Regionalism' and the Politics of Decentralisation. Dr Joanie Willett, University of Exeter

Abstract

This paper considers the Devolution Deal won by Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly in the summer of 2015. It asks if the Deal constitutes a more sustainable governance, concluding that whilst there are some factors that help to enhance sustainability, other areas urgently require more attention. These claims are made with the help of the biological metaphors of complexity based ideas, the political and social theories of Deleuze and Guattari and Manuel Delanda, and the evolutionary economics of Kenneth Boulding. These help to show that although power is significantly dispersed in aspects of the Deal relating to Cornwall, it does little to alter the highly centralised nature of British politics in general, or provide spaces where local actors can feedback into central policy. This problematises the information-gathering potential of Cornwall as an organism, and its capacity to adapt to changes in niche, or socio-economic environmental conditions.

Keywords Cornwall Devolution; UK decentralisation; sustainable governance; Local Government; Resilience; English Devolution

Cornish Identity and Political Decentralisation

Following the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, devolution and decentralisation have become an important part of the UK-wide agenda. In this paper I will look at Cornwall's recent grant of devolution to ask if this represents a shift towards a more sustainable governance. In terms of broader context central government are still working on the Devolution Bill, and a number of regions – including Cornwall, Manchester, and Sheffield, have already received forms of 'Devo' deals.

Political decentralisation has been a hot topic in Cornwall for decades, with a major petition in 2001, a 2009 Private Members Bill by then MP Dan Rogerson, and frequent polls reaffirming support for decentralised governance. What is new, is for discussions about Cornish devolution to occur at the same time that central government are also considering decentralisation to cities, or 'county'

regions. In this paper, I will briefly review Cornwall's context, and consider the Local Government Association's interpretation of devolution, asking if this *is* devolution. Next, I set out my version of sustainability, before looking at the devolution deal itself, and considering if this helps us towards a more sustainable governance.

In the past, Cornish identity has been a contested part of the relationship between civil society and local governance, and Cornwall County Council (until it became a unitary authority in 2008) was frequently constructed as being more comfortable with the idea of a homogenous British identity, than as reaffirming Cornish difference. This began to shift from the early 1990's. For complex bureaucratic reasons, despite being one of the poorest parts of the EU and the UK, Cornwall was unable to qualify for EU Structural Funding, designed to provide investment in social and physical infrastructure in order to improve the regions fortunes. The campaign to make Cornwall a NUTS 2 region for statistical purposes began in the early 1990's. Identity provided a crucial part of the success of this campaign, and represented a significant break with previous institutional discourse.ⁱ

Over the past few decades, Cornish identity has played an important role in local political life, operating as a movement (or series of movements) based on an emancipatory politics and civic definition of Cornish identity.ⁱⁱ At the same time, attempts to ameliorate regional economic inequalities have altered from an emphasis on tackling particular economic sectors, to one that deals with the competitiveness of regions. Identity forms a large part of this competitiveness, with how regions are perceived, imagined, and governed playing an important role in their ongoing reputation.ⁱⁱⁱ This moves beyond simplistic branding, to reputation development and management. The images, symbolisms, ideas and beliefs that underpin authentic, lived, regional identity; is believed to have a function in differentiating one region and its products, from another. Cornwall has by no means been exempt from this process, and in many respects the strength and mobilisation of its identity has been very helpful in this. The food and drink sector in particular have been quick to trade on reinterpretations of traditional symbolisms, which have proliferated as a consequence, with positive feedback loops for the development and growth of local identity. Moreover, Cornwall Council's most recent economic strategy is a culture *and* economic strategy, fusing the interplay between the two.^{iv}

This has left Cornish identity in an interesting position. Some quarters retain an older scepticism towards identity-based narratives, whilst others use it to pursue a range of agenda's. Appeals to Cornish identity can be interpreted as indicative of a navel-gazing parochialism that does the region

more harm than good. For others, a strong attachment to place is a gift which local governance needs to use more frequently. Many of this latter camp are situated within what we might call the Cornish Cultural movement, who are also involved in maintaining the language and traditional practices. Because of this history, there can be a tendency for discussions about political decentralisation of any type to be characterised in terms of an inaccurate mis-depiction of cultural campaigners. Sometimes ‘political decentralisation,’ devolution, and a Cornish Assembly are interpreted by onlookers as a move towards Cornish independence, which no group in Cornwall is actively calling for. The debates about devolution in Cornwall, and a Cornish Assembly, are so familiar and widespread that locally it is easy to forget that this current round is linked up to an England-wide agenda.^v

English Devolution and the Local Government Association

Decentralist movements in the English area are coming from both central government discourse, and the Local Government Association (LGA). In some of their consultations Cornwall Council discussed their ask as being ‘on the trajectory towards a Cornish Assembly’. This aspect was downplayed in its documentation, which framed the goal of devolution in terms of sustainability and resilience, and certainly was not present in the Devolution Deal. Devo-Cornwall’s version of a sustainable Cornwall is one that ‘is prosperous, resilient and resourceful; where communities are strong, and the most vulnerable protected’. This shyness around the language of devolution is not echoed by the The Local Government Association, which is much more forthright in the language that it uses. In a document entitled ‘*English Devolution: Local Solutions for a Successful Nation*’, the LGA make the case for a range of measures which it believes that regions need for successful governance in the 21st Century. Echoing contemporary regional development, these include the aim to improve the competitiveness of regions through:

- Bringing about a new relationship between Councils, Central, and Local government.
- Devolving some forms of taxation back to local areas.
- Better integration of services, aligning the footprint of Council provision with other, similar services
- Structures should be tailored to local levels. This does not mean developing new layers of government, but of developing new structures that are locally applicable.
- Where possible, budgets should be devolved to local areas, to provide the opportunity for a step-change in local service accountability.

The LGA also provides a tool for Local Authorities to get some indication of the types of deals won by other regions across a range of policy areas; together with key questions that local authorities need to be asking. The crucial factor in the LGA's support of devolution to regions in England seems to be based on the projected efficiency savings to be gained from localised governance systems. Moreover, although they use the language of devolution, this is a very different model to that of the UK's first devolved nations, or regions. Scotland has its own Parliament, and the lesser model of the Welsh Assembly has the capacity to create its own legislation. The devolution proposals outlined by the LGA refer to the cascade of power from the centre to the region, with regards to 'freedoms and flexibilities' around delivery only. There is no similar mechanism for devolved regions to create their own policy agendas, or to develop legislation to address local issues, or to feedback policy requirements back to central government. Moreover, unlike in Scotland and Wales, delivery is not to have 'more layers of government' raising questions about the location of the accountable bodies for devolved regions. In the light of the Cornwall ask, the assumption seems to be that the dispersal of political power from the centre to the regions will enable more sustainable service delivery. In the following analysis we will consider the extent to which the calls for decentralisation in Cornwall constitute any real kind of devolution, and evaluate their claims to sustainability. The model of sustainability that we will use is based on Deleuze and Guattari's rhizomatic assemblage.

Deleuze and Guattari, the Rhizomatic Assemblage, and the biological organism

I use Deleuze and Guattari as an analytical tool because there are significant overlays between the concepts that they develop, and the 'resilience' underpinning many interpretations of sustainability.^{vi} For example, both work with networks and flows of information, based around non-hierarchical power relationships that can be used to underpin complex adaptive self-organised systems. Cornwall Council specifically state in their '*Case for Cornwall*' that the purpose of decentralisation is to develop a more sustainable and resilient governance, inviting analysis in this direction. The ideas that Deleuze and Guattari develop in *A Thousand Plateaus*, provides a metaphorical system which helps in the making of this kind of analysis, especially for visualising abstract concepts such as non-hierarchical power relationships, networks, and flows of information which underpin complex adaptive systems.

Making no claims to biological factuality, they claim that the single stem tree root is a vulnerable type of power as it can be (relatively) easily be cut down, destroying the organism. The rhizome

(such as Japanese knotweed or couch grass), in contrast has no centre and no periphery, but is all 'middle'. One piece of severed rhizome, can grow up into an entirely new plant. Alternatively, the decision on behalf of the gardener to remove rhizomatic vegetation requires that the *whole* rhizome is removed in order to ensure against any further regrowth. This is because unlike the taproot, each part of the rhizome is connected to – or feeds back into - other parts in a complex network of informational and nutrient flows, that is dependent on no other part of the plant. For Deleuze and Guattari, this is the ultimate in dispersed power, and they liken social movements to a rhizome, capable of taking off and expanding in new ways, growing the organism well beyond the footprint of the original flower. Moreover, this dispersal of power means that the rhizome is also the ultimate in being able to sustain itself, because it is flexible enough to be able to better adapt to changing environmental conditions. This is a fluid, mobile concept, relating to ideas which resonate coming together in some spaces, and breaking apart in others. Assemblages can literally 'plug in' to each other in mutually reliant relationships. Equally, when little is left holding it together, assemblages can break apart and scatter. DeLanda^{vii} sees cities and regions as an assemblage, full of dense, overlapping, interlocking relationships between ideas, things, institutions and spaces.

Rhizomes of ideas, institutions, symbolisms and signs are called 'assemblages'. Like the rhizome, the dispersed power of the assemblage means that ideas are much harder to destroy. Nutrients, or information sources connecting to all other parts of the complex system also ensures resilience and sustainability, and feedback mechanisms mean that adequate information about the surrounding environment is passed to other locations. This helps to facilitate adaptation, and the resilience of the organism. To understand this better, we can borrow from the evolutionary economics of Kenneth Boulding.^{viii} Boulding likened economies to biological organisms, which need to find their own evolutionary niche in order to be able to exist, survive, reproduce, and adapt. An effective economy or product is an assemblage, adequately supplied with resources (fuel), communicating effectively with all aspects of the local environment through a dispersed, networked approach to power. This latter point is important, as adequate, accurate informational feedback loops enables the economy or product to better adapt to meet market needs, and therefore retain its niche. Adaptability is a crucial characteristic here. Time is not static but constantly mobile, changing, growing and developing. An organisms' survival is dependent on being able to mediate these changes successfully. Pursuing Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor further, the multiple power sources and superior communication between all parts of a rhizomatic assemblage (rather than always having to go through a single, isolated power source) enables more successful adaptation. The key is that assemblages work as organic whole's, rather than disparate, loosely connected elements.

Regions and spatial territories can also be conceptualised as assemblages of overlapping, interlocking ideas, thoughts, movements, symbolisms, practices, cultures, objects and institutions,¹ imagining the region as a complex adaptive system.

To transfer this across to *sustainable* regions, we might assume that devolution and political decentralisation is by definition creating dispersed forms of power and interconnected systems. But we need to examine this claim in more detail, and we can look at the Case for Cornwall to do this. We also will need to look at the ways that information can be passed around the organism, the assemblage, or region in order to be responsive to changing conditions in the physical and natural environment, facilitating adaptability. Finally, we will want to understand the degree to which adequate levels of fuel (or access to fuel) is supplied for the organisms ongoing growth and development.

The Cornwall Devolution Deal:

In this section I will set out the main achievements of Cornwall's Devolution Deal. Later, we will explore these developments in terms of a rhizomatic assemblage and sustainability, before considering the role of power and connectivity within the assemblage, and the extent of political decentralisation achieved at this time. I ask whether the deal is enabling the evolutionary capacity of Cornwall as a complex adaptive system, thereby improving its sustainability and resilience.

The Cornwall Devolution Deal is published by Cornwall Council, HM Government, Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP), and Kernow Clinical Commissioning Group. It sets out 10 policy areas.

Integrated Public Transport

Cornwall Council will have the power to franchise bus services, enabling improvements in service quality through better integration, ticketing, and bus infrastructure. The new rail franchise will ensure half-hourly mainline services to Cornwall, and smart ticketing will enable combined travel on the bus, rail, and ferry networks. Where this is not already the case (for example, monies allocated to the Local Growth Fund), central funding for local transport will be devolved to Cornwall.

¹ DeLanda, M. 2006, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (Continuum)

Education, Training and Learning and Apprenticeship Opportunities

Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Partnership's Employment and Skills Board will work with the government to shape education and learning provision for adults, with regards to local economic needs, and partnership of local organisations and central government to identify and develop apprenticeships. The Deal intends to "improve the system's responsiveness to local labour market need and economic priorities through a strategic approach led by the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Partnership's Employment and Skills Board" (page 9). The LEP will work with local partners to better align training and learning provision, utilising the Adult Skills Budget, other existing local budgets, EU structural funding, as well as any private investment that may be available. Additionally, these plans will improve careers advice and support for people to re-enter the labour market.

Whilst the *Case for Cornwall* pitched this section in terms of improving the economy of Cornwall as a region, the *Deal* emphasises a commitment to reduce unemployment and raise the skills level of the workforce. Whilst the two are not mutually unexclusive, it is the question of particular emphasis, that privileges the needs of the national, rather than the requirements of the local. The *Deal* is also designed to be fiscally neutral for both central Government, and for Cornwall, with neither party incurring extra costs. Presumably in instances where extra costs are incurred, these will be met through 'efficiency savings'.

Intermediary Body Status for European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), and European Social Fund (ESF).

Until 2010 and the abolition of regional governance in Britain, Government Office Southwest and latterly, the South West Regional Development Agency had administered these funds. More recently, this responsibility to select projects and ensure compliance had shifted to the Department of Communities and Local Government (ERDF) and the Department of Work and Pensions (ESF). Whilst the *Deal* does not shift responsibility for European Structural Funding (ESiF) to Cornwall, it provides the powers for Cornwall Council to be an intermediary body to select and fund projects, supported by the input of the LEP and the Council of the Isles of Scilly. The improved efficiency projected by this, has led to a commitment that Cornwall will a gain quantifiable additional outcomes, and will contribute £57 million extra match funding. What this does *not* enable, is for Cornwall to interact directly with the EU with regards to the negotiations over structural funding, or how Cornwall can shape the Single Programming Document which sets out the agenda for structural funds over their duration. This places UK structural fund recipients in a uniquely centralised position

in terms of the EU, demonstrating the highly centralised nature of British politics. Instead, Cornwall is given back some of the powers of delivery which it had previously, but lost in the post 2010 Austerity centralisation.

Integrate Local and National Business Support Services

A Growth Hub will be developed by the LEP and the Government, joining up and simplifying business support including referrals, marketing, diagnostics, evaluation and customer acquisition; with regard to local business and economic needs. The aim is to use tailored support to help businesses to grow, innovate, become more productive, and contribute better to local economic growth. The Growth Hub also involves significant local additional financial investment. This provides the capacity to support and grow local businesses, but not feedback to a central government level about what these needs are, and how they might contribute to developing national policy if required.

Energy and Resilience projects including a Low Carbon Enterprise Zone and Energy Efficiency Improvements in Homes

This section considers the potential of Cornwall for renewable energy generation, such as wind, geothermal energy, solar technology, and geothermal potential. The *Deal* recognises this as a site of clear potential for economic growth, and research and development. Additionally, working with Cornwall Council, Government will explore local knowledge to consider the role that Cornwall could play in energy network constraints, and local energy projects. Much of this involves the Government working with Cornwall Council, with the exception of the Enterprise Zone which, as with all economy-facing measures, comes under the auspices of the LEP.

Integration of Health and Social Care Services

This element is with regards to creating a business plan by Cornwall Council, the Council of the Isles of Scilly, NHS Kernow, and local health organisations, to develop an integrated approach to health and social care arrangements. At present, resources are fragmented across a number of organisations, but this plan will move towards a single budget and commissioning arrangement. Due to the complexity of existing services, this necessitates the re-shaping of the whole system. It is not clear here if Cornwall gains any more powers per se, other than the power to consider how to deliver health and social care more efficiently. Moreover, it is also clear that this decentralisation provides for more efficient delivery mechanisms, rather than being able to contribute and feedback to central policy.

Efficiency Making in the Public Estate

This is a One Public Estate initiative to improve Government and local public sector joint working, improving efficiency where public assets such as land buildings are owned by a broad mix of local and national bodies. The aim of this element is improvement and savings through co-location, collaboration, and asset rationalisation. Eventually 'Public Sector Hubs' may be established to bring public sector organisations into shared accommodation. This may result in under-utilised or surplus property into Cornwall Council ownership, if they will have a leading role in the re-use of this property. Equally, surplus land and buildings may be released for new housing and development through the Homes and Communities Agency, which, with the Government Property Unit, appear to be the lead agencies here.

Cornish Heritage Environment Forum

This is a very small section of the *Deal*, pitched in terms of its economic importance to the local economy through tourism and business migration. Cornwall Council and the LEP will create a Cornwall Heritage Environment Forum to develop Cornwall's vision at a local level, informed by a study with Historic England into Cornwall's cultural distinctiveness, and working with the Framework Convention for National Minorities.

Governance

Unlike other regions, Cornwall's *Deal* does not include a requirement for a mayor. This is because Cornwall's existing governance arrangements follow the territorial boundaries of Cornwall, unlike other regions which often have a complex patchwork of layers of interlocking and overlapping governance structures. For example, Cornwall is served by a single NHS Trust (Royal Cornwall Hospitals), a single Clinical Commissioning Group (NHS Kernow), a single LEP (Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly Local Enterprise Partnership), and a single Unitary Authority with a Leader/Cabinet model (Cornwall Council).

Of this group, only Royal Cornwall Hospitals does not have a leading role in any part of the *Deal*, or will act as an accountable body. The LEP has a leading role over large areas in the *Deal*, with especial regard to the aspects that touch on the economy. This means that there is no clear line of accountability for the *Deal* as a whole, and large parts of it are outside of the remit of democratically elected bodies. It is notable here that unlike for example, Welsh Devolution, no singular organisation acts as a central focus of this decentralisation, which is a clear partnership of many relevant bodies, local and governmental. Whilst a Mayor may well have provided an additional layer

of governance, it might also have meant for a clear focal point and lines of accountability. Elected representatives will play a role in the scrutiny function of Cornwall's governance, alongside business representatives. Further, the number of elected representatives as a whole of Cornwall Council is expected to be significantly reduced following a boundary review.

The Cornwall Devolution Deal: Towards a More Sustainable Region?

Can the Devolution Deal improve Cornwall's sustainability by improving its evolutionary capacity? To answer this, we can divide the Deal into two parts. Firstly, the document appears to provide greater *connectivity* and dispersal of power across a number of areas of public sector provision. Other parts emphasise how the assemblage can function more *efficiently*. But to understand better the sustainability offered in the Deal, we also need to look at feedback loops, and this is the aspect that is the most telling. If we imagine the region as a plant, animal, or other kind of biological organism; the organism needs to be able to find out what is happening in its immediate environment in order to understand what adaptive changes are needed to ensure survival. No part of the organism (or the region) exists in isolation from the entire ecology of social, environmental, and economic conditions. This means that layers and institutions of governance are reliant on and need to be embedded within, civil society and the actions of individuals, communities, and businesses. The region also needs to have conduits and flows of information between it, and organisations higher up the scale in the wider governance ecology, such as national government.

The integrated public transport offer supports ease of movement, enabling people and businesses to interact, communicate, develop and grow to a greater extent than is currently possible. We can imagine this as physical conduits between a multiplicity of parts within the assemblage, facilitating improved information gathering and passing amongst Cornwall's complex system. This is to be welcomed. Many other parts of the Deal also have the potential to transform connectivity within the system, enabling more accurate feedback to be presented, explored, used and developed. For example, we can see a small assemblage developing between the LEP, central government, and unspecified other organisations to identify and develop apprenticeship needs and educational provision. Better interaction between education provision and business needs has the potential to make significant impacts onto the economy, ensuring conduits of information feedback loops which provide a more accurate analysis of the economic needs of the system, and the environment within which it operates. This has clear potential to enhance adaptivity by improving the speed of which these needs can be met. Allowing Cornwall to have an intermediary body for the delivery of

structural funding, and the development of the Growth Hub are other areas which facilitate intra-connectivity within the assemblage of Cornwall. These measures also have a potential to allow better understanding of how the assemblage can respond to its market needs, and evolve with regards to its ever developing niche.

Other aspects of the deal are designed to make more *efficient* use of resources. For example, the integration of health and social care happens in a broader environment of increasing public sector cuts, and the requirements to deliver more, with less. What this means is that Cornwall will have greater capacity to shape delivery of health and social care services within the region, simplifying the current systems of delivery. Likewise the idea of ‘public sector hubs’ whereby different organisations share use of public assets, also offers efficiency savings in the context of a vastly shrinking State, and frees up public land for sale for development. Here, the assemblage is being pared of any excess in ways that may contribute to greater connectivity, whilst facilitating adaptation to national policy.

From this point, we need to ask what is included in the assemblage, and where the points of the rhizome are connected to. This is interesting, because the assemblage of Cornwall that is incorporated into the Deal appears to be predominantly based within a layer of strategic decision-making. The capacity to ‘plug in’ to a Cornish civil society layer is lacking in the format of ‘devolution’ that has been developed, despite the very clear need for accurate information about what is happening ‘on the ground’. For example the feedback loops with regards to understanding the needs of the economy begin and end with the Local Enterprise Partnership, and are entirely reliant on the skills and capacity that it has to communicate with civil society. However, many individuals within Cornwall (and indeed, many, many businesses) are unaware that the LEP exists, let alone have an understanding of what its role and function is. Engagement with and impact on the LEP appears to rely on a business’s willingness, ability, and time to be a member of a larger intra-Cornwall industry network. This complicates questions of how to feed into the decentralist provisions within the Deal.

This raises the issue that there is no organisational body with overarching responsibility for managing Cornwall’s Deal. Instead it is managed by a patchwork partnership of member organisations –Cornwall Council, the LEP, and the Kernow Clinical Commissioning Group. Of these, only one organisation has clear routes of democratic accountability, or (as importantly), clear routes through which the public can participate in decision-making. This sole accessible body is merely a

partner in a strategic governance network. This compromises the capacity of the general public to feed information to the strategic decision-making tier of governance, and consequently raises a structural challenge in terms of the capacity of decision-makers to make decisions based on the most effective and accurate information. In terms of Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage metaphors, this is a little like trying to connect with your local environment without having the ability to use one's hands.

Moreover, Cornwall's new governance network has little capacity to feedback further up the line towards central governance. Central government retains ultimate control over adaptation to a changing socio-economy, and Cornwall is not invited to contribute to the processes which help to shape that environment. Instead of being able to use local knowledge to help to *shape* the central agenda, the Deal invites Cornish governance to have more choice over how to *deliver* that agenda. This is apparent with regards to Health and Social Care, and Intermediary Body Status. In the latter instance in particular, the ability to decide which projects should be funded is limited by central policy and the Single Programming Document, prepared centrally, and setting out the agenda for Cornwall's Structural Funds programme. Equally, and betraying an intensely central rather than local focus, greater adaptivity over further education provision is not about improving Cornwall's economic capacity (as in the Case for Cornwall), but about meeting central targets about unemployment.

Conclusion

What does this mean for the sustainability of Cornwall's Devolution Deal? This question needs to be answered with regards to how it impacts on the ability of the region to adapt to changing socio-economic conditions. Cornwall's adaptability is compromised on a number of levels. Firstly, it means that governance in Cornwall sits in isolation from those below, who can provide information and energy to help to drive the adaptive process. Secondly, it is isolated from being able to feedback into helping to shape national policy. This means that power operates in a cascade from the centre, to the regions, and then to civil society, problematizing what is meant by 'devolution'. Where power *is* dispersed, is within the level of Cornish governance, and this is to be welcomed. However it is impossible to conclude that this amounts to a real decentralisation of power, and risks that civil society become disillusioned if their experiences of the policy are related to an inability to make the changes that they feel are necessary. The lack of adequate forms of feedback loops also

compromises the ability of UK PLC to adapt to the complexity of the changing social and economic environment, problematizing Britain's attempts to revitalise governance and the economy.

ⁱ Willett, J. "National Identity and Regional Development: Cornwall and the Campaign for Objective 1 Funding" *National Identities*. 15 (3, 2013) pp. 297-311.

ⁱⁱ Willett, J and Giovannini, A. "The Uneven Path of UK Devolution: Top Down vs Bottom Up Regionalism in England, Cornwall and the North East Compared" *Political Studies* 62 (2, 2014) pp. 343-360.

ⁱⁱⁱ Herrschel, T. 'Growth and Innovation of Competitive Regions: The Role of Internal and External Connections' *European Planning Studies* 18 (7, 2010) 1169-1172.

^{iv} Cornwall Council. *Culture and Economic Strategy*. New County Hall, Truro, 2014.

^v To describe Cornwall as a part of England is highly contentious. We refer to the administrative area that Cornwall is a part of, rather than to make any kind of national claims.

^{vi} Brown, K. 'Global Environmental Change 1: A Social Turn for Resilience?' *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (1, 2014). 107-117.

^{vii} DeLanda, M. *A New Theory of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*. London: Continuum. 2006.

^{viii} Boulding, K. *Evolutionary Economics* London: Sage, 1981.