



SEGRA 2013

Sustainable Economic Growth for Regional Australia
Coffs Harbour, NSW 16–18 October 2013

Perceptions of the place of agriculture in regional economies: a scoping study

Survey Report

Dr Geoff Cockfield

Kate Charters

& Dr Elizabeth Saxon

Acknowledgements

Some of the background information and conclusions for this report are based on the joint research of Geoff Cockfield and Linda Botterill (University of Canberra)

The authors

Dr Geoff Cockfield is Professor in Government and Economics at the University of Southern Queensland and a member of the National Steering Committee for Sustainable Economic Growth in Regional Australia (SEGRA) conference. He has authored more than 35 journal articles and 15 book chapters, mostly in the area of natural resources management and rural policy. His research interests include adaptation to climate change in agricultural industries, structural change in agriculture and values conflict in relation to land use choices in rural areas.

Dr Elizabeth Saxon is Director of Consulting and Principal Tourism Analyst (Projects) for Tony Charters and Associates and Management Solutions (Qld) Pty Ltd. Elizabeth also has an extensive academic and research background in sustainable tourism, environmental policy and planning, community engagement, conflict resolution and resource economics. Here, she focused on the design and delivery of a range of innovative and inclusive face to face and online education and training programs involving partnerships with broader industry and community organisations.

Kate Charters is a Director of Management Solutions (Qld) Pty Ltd, a professional development and training company with a particular interest in responding to regional and rural issues at public policy and service delivery levels. Kate Chairs the National Steering Committee for the *SEGRA* conference and co-authors the annual Speaking up for Regional Australia *SEGRA* Communiqué. Kate is also the co-editor of the recent publication, *Regional Advantage and Innovation Achieving Australia's National Outcomes*. (Springer 2012)

Table of Contents

1. Introduction and objectives.....	4
2. Methodologies.....	6
3. Summaries of results.....	7
3.1 Attitudes to rural communities and practices.....	7
3.2 Attitudes to land uses in rural areas.....	8
3.3 Perceptions of the roles of primary industries in regional economies.....	9
3.4 SEGRA Discussions.....	11
4. Discussion and conclusions.....	12
Appendix 1: SEGRA survey results.....	14
A1 The importance of primary industries.....	14
A2 Economic Reliance.....	15
A3 Economic Future of the Region.....	15
A4 Potential Regional Contributions of Agriculture, Fishing/Aquaculture and Forestry.....	16
A5 Regional Development Planning and Policy.....	18
A6 Relevance of Broader Planning Activities.....	19
A7 Government Programs and Initiatives.....	21
A8 Important Indicators.....	22
A9 Respondent Profiles.....	24
List of references.....	29

1. Introduction and objectives

The establishment and support of primary industries and enterprises has been a major element in Australian governments' encouragement of regional (non-metropolitan) development in Australia. In some ways it was extremely successful, with the redistribution of land in closer settlement schemes leading to the foundation of a myriad of country towns and major industries such as the wheat industry. Irrigation schemes also supported or boosted particular towns and regions and the rice and cotton industries generated major exports. Over time though, agricultural industries did not necessarily or even long sustain regional economies and there are two categories of reasons for this.

First and perhaps most critically, agriculture-dependent areas in developed countries tend to be characterised by depopulation. The loss of people from farms is partly a result of the 'treadmill effect' (Levins and Cochrane 1996), whereby farmers are generally price-takers and, in pursuit of profitability, they strive to reduce costs through technological innovation which also enables aggregation and potential economies of scale. As more and more farmers adopt the same technology, for example zero tillage, competitive commodity markets keep prices down and so the treadmill of innovation and competition continues. This competitive pressure is exacerbated by trade-distorting practices, such as subsidies in international markets. The decline of the on-farm population then flows through to a decrease in the number of people in support and service industries, accelerating regional depopulation. There were two broad policy responses that may have had some impact on regional population retention, these being the array of agricultural support programs (Cockfield 2009) and various subsidies on rural services (Gerritsen 2000, Tonts 2000) but the overarching trend of the last 30 years has been to expect self-reliance, both on farm and in rural communities (Beer, Clower et al. 2005, Cockfield 2009).

Unlike Europe, there has been no sustained policy focus on non-agricultural rural development, although this might be part of a lack of interest in strong industry policy more generally (Beer *et al.* 2005, 55). There was some effort at planned regional development towards the end of the second world war (Stilwell 1974, 154, Beer 2000, 173), including efforts to promote regional manufacturing (Jones 2002, 324) but these faded with changes of government and the agricultural, and then mining booms of the 1950s and 1960s respectively. There were attempts at planned decentralisation in the early 1970s and then some renewed interest in the 1990s, through indirect support to encourage local leadership and clustering (McGrath-Champ and Searle 2005, 8) and efforts to 'build capacity' (Martin 2006, 218). The net result of this is that regional economies and communities remain highly dependent on, and vulnerable to, autonomous business (including agricultural business) decisions.

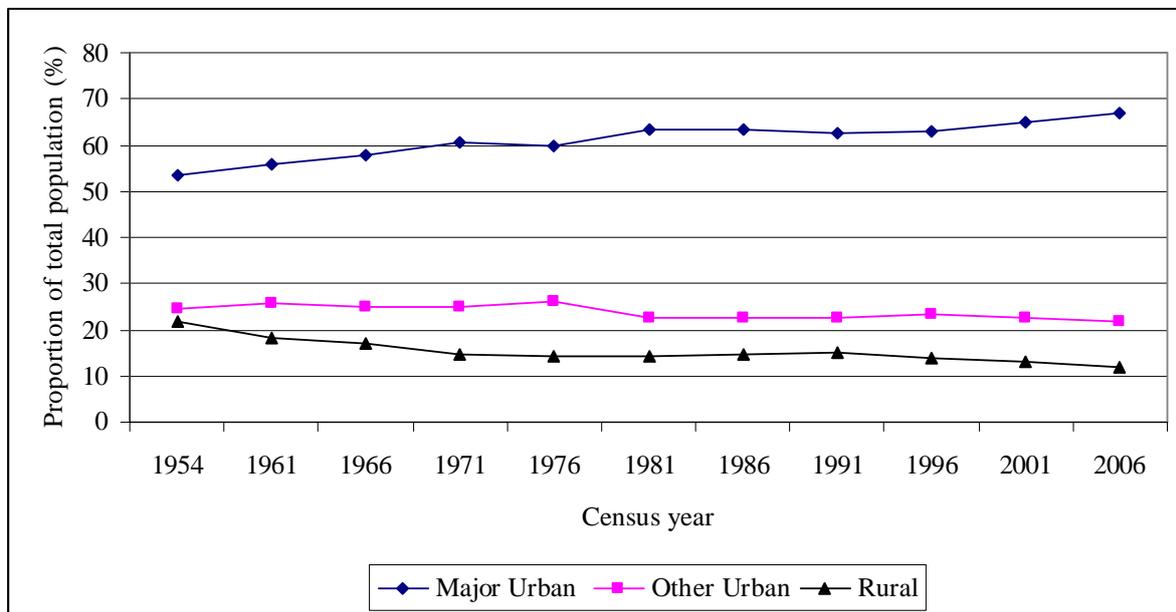
Investment and consequent employment decisions are however not the only driver of depopulation, though these factors tend to dominate policy and media discussion. Technological developments and improvements in communications and transport enable people living in rural areas, including farmers, to bypass local businesses. Better roads and internet make living in the regions easier in many ways but they are also 'pipelines' for monetary flows to other regions, often urban ones. Then, there is the social pull of urban living, which is apparent in almost all developed and developing countries (see Figure 1¹). Urban areas provide more education choices and more job and social

¹ The increase in urban share is not just a function of rural-urban drift, since inward migration largely concentrates in major metropolitan areas.

opportunities and, if wanted, the anonymity that is often lacking in rural communities. Finally, there is the services deficit in some regions, especially remote ones.

The expectation of regional and industry self-reliance is seen to have hastened the withdrawal of services, especially from smaller towns (Tonts 2000 63) and contributing to a loss of jobs (Gerritsen 2000, 126). In the late 1990s, the Productivity Commission found considerable concern about the withdrawal of services, the centralisation of management functions and the threshold effects of services losses (Productivity Commission 1999, 10). The Commission concluded though that some regional areas gained more than most metro areas, while some fared worse and in the end, the greater threats to communities came from the major external forces (Productivity Commission 1999, XXXIX, Banks 2000). Where there were regional disadvantages, then the best approach was to use existing ‘assistance measures’, such as welfare payments and job placement services to facilitate ‘adjustment’ (Productivity Commission 1999, XLI), rather than designated regional development programs.

Figure 1: Population shares by area type



Sources: (Hugo 2000, Hugo 2008)

The second set of factors that contribute to a decreasing role for agriculture in regional economies encompasses the drivers of land use changes that lead to a decline in the relative importance of agriculture in some local economies. There is the conversion of rural land to metropolitan residential areas and to rural residential and rural recreational/lifestyle uses, which particularly affects areas around major cities but can also be seen around regional towns and cities. Lifestyle areas become more reliant on service industries and perhaps new investment in employment-generating areas. This can be most dramatically seen in ‘sea change’ areas where dairies and small crops give way to lifestyle uses and there is a growth of the service sector, although some of these regions can struggle to attract major investment from non-agricultural sectors. There can also be less obvious but economically significant reductions in agricultural output in areas that remain predominantly rural. That is, over time more intensive forms of production (eg cropping) give way to less intensive activities (eg extensive grazing). Drivers of this endogenous change include increasing reliance on off-farm employment, land degradation or declining productivity, aging with no family members

interested in agriculture and declining profitability with limited opportunity or inclination to increase the farm scale.

In some areas, non-agricultural industries are becoming economically and socially important, even physically displacing agricultural production. Most obviously there is mining which was largely confined to remote pastoral areas for the first mining boom of the 1960s but exploration and extraction are now widespread in cropping areas. In some regions, plantation forestry displaced cropping and grazing, although the expansion of that activity seems to have slowed with the financial problems of some major timber companies. Some pastoral, native timber and even agricultural areas have also been converted to conservation or cultural (Indigenous) purposes and while both of those purposes have potential to generate tourism income, not all communities will benefit from them. Mining has also become more apparent in rural areas, even high value agricultural areas, due to the resources rights system in Australia whereby mining licences can override even freehold title. Furthermore, mining has effectively, if perhaps temporarily revived some communities that were formerly highly dependent on agriculture, so it is attractive for local decision-makers. Similarly, though at a much more modest scale, energy generation from wind farms is providing another form of income and there is also some obvious displacement of agricultural activity, or at least the perception of displacement.

Hence, agriculture has become relatively less important in some areas but remains an economic mainstay in other regions. This report starts to examine how people see the contemporary place of agriculture² in rural areas and communities. This would then provide the basis for more comprehensive survey work. There are four sets of findings in this report:

- A summary of a survey of attitudes to agriculture amongst the general population;
- A summary of a survey of attitudes to different types of land use in rural areas, also amongst the general population;
- A survey of delegates to the 2013 SEGRA Conference in relation to the roles of agriculture in regional economies; and
- A brief summary of some discussions and presentations in a session at the 2013 SEGRA conference on regional development.

The report concludes with some discussion of the various findings.

2. Methodologies

The first data are from a 2009 survey. Questions about the importance of agriculture and support for agricultural practices were based on literature about attitudes to rural people and industries and previous survey work in Europe (European Commission 2008) and the US (W. K. Kellogg Foundation 2002). The questions were included in the regular ANUpoll, based on telephoning 1200 respondents (for further detail see Botterill and Cockfield 2012). Variables for the respondents included:

- Age, gender and country of birth

² The Conference survey includes consideration of forestry and fisheries and the land use surveys by Botterill and Cockfield included some consideration of forestry but crop and livestock production were the main focus of respondents and discussants at the SEGRA Conference and the main focus of most research on attitudes to rural industries. Aquaculture is not yet considered a mainstream rural activity.

- Connections to rural life through family and friends, turned into an index of social proximity
- Voting intention at the next Federal election, with voting intention being presumed to be an indicator of values orientation
- Location based on postcode and classified into: *major cities, inner regional, outer regional, or remote and very remote*
- Knowledge of agriculture in the form of an index derived from a set of true/false questions about agriculture and rurality following the approach used in the Eurobarometer (European Commission 2008)
- Strength of attachment to agrarian ideas which centre around the assumption that agricultural activity and rural life have special roles in society and economy (Griswold 1946; Flinn and Johnson 1974; Montmarquet 1989; Coleman 1998). This sentiment has been extensively discussed in relation to Australia (Aitkin 1985; Duncan and Epps 1992; Botterill 2006) but there is little empirical evidence so we developed the questions from the work of Flinn and Johnson (1974) from the US.

Respondents were then asked about the importance of agriculture and rural areas and what they thought about current farm practices (food safety, animal welfare and so on).

The second survey was undertaken in late 2012, to broaden the work from the first survey. The same demographic variables were collected, along with a more refined version of agrarianism. This was a net-based survey of 1200 people (stratified). The dependent variables were however about the desirability of specific land uses and these responses were sub-divided according to the location hypothetical location of the activity (remote and very remote; outer regional which included the cropping areas; and inner regional, closer to major centres and populated coastal areas). These questions were expected to elicit responses based on visual amenity, what people think is the best form of use of rural spaces, possibly national and regional benefit and possibly what people are used to.

For these two surveys, only results that were statistically significant are reported here.

The SEGRA survey was conducted online using *Survey Monkey*. There were a total of 77 respondents with slightly more males than females represented. They were mostly from NSW, QLD and VIC and resided mainly in a regional city or major centre (34% of respondents) or in a small community less than 5000 (34% of respondents). Respondents included a cross section of representatives from: Government, Academic/Science/Economics and Planning Professionals; Community Development & Communications Professionals; and representatives from Business and Farming.

Finally the second survey and the SEGRA survey were discussed at the 2013 SEGRA Conference, along with other presentations on agricultural development.

3. Summaries of results

3.1 Attitudes to rural communities and practices

From this survey there appear to be very positive attitudes to agriculture amongst the general population with almost 99 percent of respondents indicating that agriculture was *very important* or *fairly important* for 'our future' and there were similar results with regard to the importance of rural

areas. The younger age groups are less likely to consider agriculture to be *very important* to the future (72 percent compared to 88-93 percent), although very few think it is *not very important* or *not at all important*. There is a very similar pattern in relation to the future of rural areas. Nationals (90 percent) and Liberal (88 percent) supporters were more likely to consider that agriculture is *very important* for the future, although responses from Labor and Greens supporters were still above 80 percent.

In a surprising result, given the policy directions of the last 30 years, more than 28 percent of people thought farmers should receive *much more* assistance and a further 38 percent thought they should receive *more*. Women were slightly more in favour of support than men but surprisingly those with a high knowledge (of agriculture) score were less enthusiastic about support than others. Indeed, it is the two lowest knowledge groups that are most favourably disposed to the idea of *more* and *much more* assistance. Nationals voters favour *more* assistance, relative to other groups, but this is also the group with the lowest support for providing *much more* assistance.

In regard to agricultural practices almost 34 percent of respondents *strongly agree* that farmers are producing clean, safe food and another 53 percent *agree*. In relation to animal welfare, again there is an overwhelming majority who at least agree that farmers are adequately looking after animal welfare. More than 26 percent of respondents *strongly agree* and another 57 percent *agree*. For sustainable farming practices, less than 20 percent of respondents *strongly agree* that these occur but a further 57 percent *agree*. There are fewer women who agree or strongly agree that farmers are undertaking sustainable farming practices (74 percent compared to almost 80 percent of men) and looking after animal welfare (80 percent compared to 90 percent of men). Those with high knowledge are likely to *strongly agree* that farmers are undertaking sustainable farming practices. Finally, there are differences based on voting intention, with the Greens notable less supportive on all three statements, especially that relating to sustainable farming. Those in major cities are less supportive of the statement on sustainable farming practices. There are no statistically significant differences relating to age or place of birth for any of the statements on farming practices.

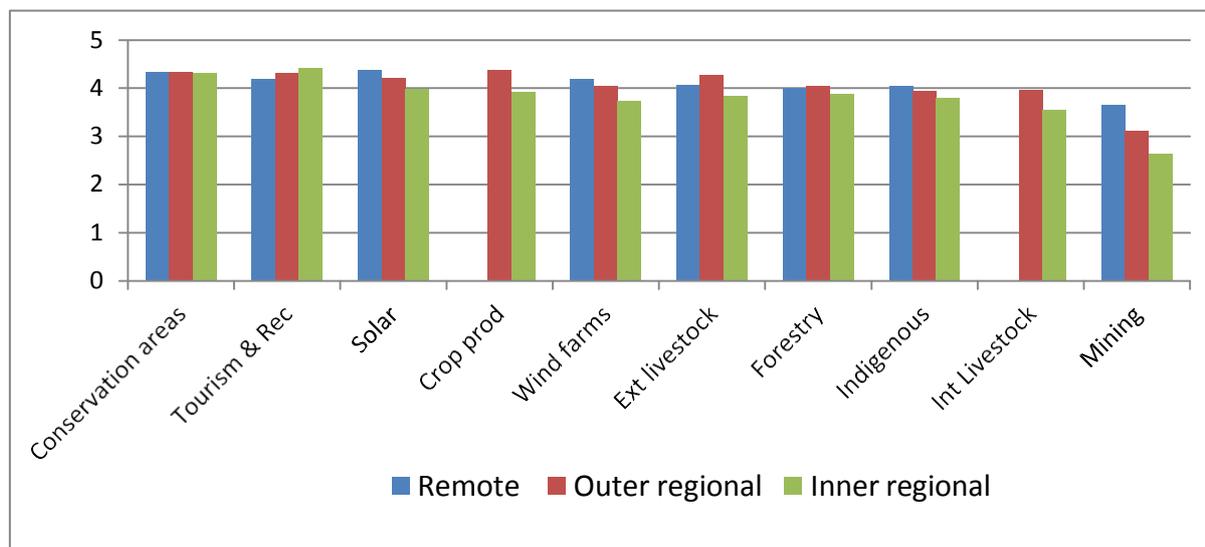
3.2 Attitudes to land uses in rural areas

From the second survey, as expected, mining was considered the least desirable land use option (Figure 2). What was surprising was the strength of support for conservation uses and there was also quite strong support for wind farms, though less so if those were located in inner regional areas. Further to that, respondents were asked about the desirability of government assistance to various sectors and industries. The strongest support was for assistance for renewable energy industries. The 'conventional' agricultural activities of cropping and extensive livestock production were also seen to warrant support, but this was less the case for intensive animal industries. In light of the findings in the previous survey, respondents were also asked about government assistance to manufacturing and generally there was also strong support for that industry, suggesting a more general protectionist sentiment for particular sectors.

There are however, some differences in attitudes to land uses by some characteristics. In regard to mining and energy extraction, there is a decreasing desirability rating by age. That is, younger people tend to be slightly more favourably disposed to these activities. Further to that, older people are more likely to disfavour mining and energy extraction in the less remote locations. Those in metropolitan areas tend to be more supportive of these activities than those in the regions, while

Greens and Katter's Australia Party (KAP) (intending) voters are the most opposed by voting intention.

Figure 2: Desirability of land use options



Converse to mining, support for forestry as a land use activity increases with age. With regard to wind farms, again there is more support in metropolitan areas and support amongst Greens, KAP and Nationals supporters. Again, with indigenous land uses, support is slightly higher amongst metropolitan people and also higher amongst women than men. Greens are most supportive and Liberals noticeably least supportive, with the Nationals, Labor, KAP intending voters all equally and quite strongly supportive

Higher scores on the agrarian index were associated with higher desirability ratings for: grazing and cropping; intensive animal production; and surprisingly forestry. Higher agrarian scores were also associated with lower desirability ratings for wind power (but not solar)

3.3 Perceptions of the roles of primary industries in regional economies

The detailed responses to the SEGRA survey are in Appendix 1, but the key points are:

- **Agriculture, services and fishing/aquaculture** were recognised by respondents as the most important economic sectors to the future of regional Australia. Almost 65% of respondents strongly agreed that secondary industries are important to the development of primary industries in regional Australia.
- **Agriculture and the service sector** were the two industries respondents indicated the highest reliance on (70% and 50% of respondents respectively). Respondents were least reliant on forestry.
- The majority of respondents (nearly 76% and 63% respectively indicated that the **agriculture and service** sectors were *very important* to the economic future of their region.
- The majority of respondents indicated that these industries were *very important* in providing **direct income in local economies** (80% of respondents), **supporting local service businesses** (71%) and in **contributing to the national economy** (70%). It is also worth noting that 67% of

respondents saw them as being very important to maintaining community identity and over half to maintaining landscapes appropriate to rural areas.

- These industries were seen to be particularly important in developing: **food and fibre security; employment** opportunities; contributing to **sustainable and integrated regional economies** via innovative development and diversification of business; value adding to **domestic and international tourism products**; maintaining **export market share**; and maintaining the **identity of rural Australia**.
- There was *strong agreement* by a majority of respondents that the industries nominated were important for: the development of **national and state regional development policies** (72% of respondents) and **local regional development policy** (over 65%). Almost a third strongly agreed that they were important in **regional planning**.
- Approximately 64% of respondents agreed that representatives of the industry **have a say in regional development policy** and regional planning.
- 43% of respondents held the view that **land use and planning regulations** at the local and regional levels **hinder the development and operation** of agricultural, fisheries and forestry enterprises to some degree while 35% did not share this view.
- Over 73% of respondents saw **planning for road transport for agricultural inputs and commodities** as *very important* to the development of their region. 68% held the same view of planning for **telecommunications** for agricultural and related businesses. Over half recognised land use planning and planning for **biodiversity protection** as *very important*.
- Respondents saw an **important role for regional planners in:** improving relationships and engagement between stakeholders and planners; improving integration/coordination of planning processes across local, regional and state levels; improving land use allocation/zoning to support growth and innovation; and improving infrastructure and services in regional rural communities.
- **Government programs and initiatives** rated as *very important* by the highest number of respondents were: the provision of transport infrastructure (road and rail etc.) (77% of respondents); research into disease and invasive species (74% of respondents); natural resources management (68% of respondents) and research and development for traditional agricultural commodities (e.g. wheat, wool, beef) (63% of respondents).
- **Potential government initiatives or programs** considered important included those targeted at: improving skills, training and the development of human and social capital; improving marketing and business management skills; assisting and encouraging business diversification and innovation; improving communication with farmers and indigenous stakeholders; supporting research programs aimed at building resilience to climate change impacts and gathering economic and social data at the regional level.
- Responses suggest that the **indicators** considered most useful by the largest number of respondents were estimates of the gross value of agricultural production (64% of respondents) and production statistics (e.g. crop area, livestock numbers) (50% of respondents). Those considered least useful were seeking the opinion of the leaders of

producer organisation (37%) and seeking the opinion of local government representatives (39%).

- The most useful 'other' indicators of the impact of agriculture in regions nominated included looking at: indicators of employment distribution across sectors; gross regional product comparisons between regions; the contribution or value add to the local region and social indicators that reflect population/business changes and social wellbeing changes.

3.4 SEGRA Discussions

The SEGRA and Land Use survey summaries were presented in a special spotlight discussion at the SEGRA 2013 conference. There was a presentation from Kim Houghton highlighting the treadmill effect on productivity (increasing) and employment (decreasing) in agriculture. There was also considerable discussion on 'northern development', both in that session and in other sessions at the conference. Breda McCarthy discussed 'alternative' food pathways with organic production and local sales. This would also allow for more of the supply chain to be located in the regional economy. The advantages would include the development of social capital, reduced carbon emissions, support for rural lifestyles and better prices for producers. She also identified potential barriers, notably the problem of seasonality of production, the lack of skills for this type of farming and the lack of interest from commercial growers. The ensuing discussion suggests that there is still a strong attachment to conventional production systems.

There was also extensive discussion of the Ord-East Kimberly expansion project in WA. This brought out five key points. First, was the revival of public discussion of northern development, after such talk faded in the wake of troubles with previous schemes, including Ord Stage One. Second, that northern development is very strongly connected to the 'food bowl' assumption, whereby Australia is in a good position to cater for the increasing populations and wealth in the world, especially in Asia. Third, the Ord expansion highlights the difficulties in raising domestic capital for major agricultural projects, with the expansion being largely funded by Chinese investment. This raises critical issues for some regions. Will local people be open to significant foreign investment as an economic driver and how can the supply chains be managed to deliver local and national benefits? Fourth, during discussions and with reference to the viability of previous state developments, it was acknowledged that the Ord expansion was significantly directed to the social development of the region, especially the development of Indigenous communities.

Finally, in another session on northern development the factors that contributed to the difficulties of earlier developments and those that would make contemporary developments difficult were discussed. These included:

- The distance to market problem remains for many northern areas;
- There is continuing concern about pest and disease threats, especially where 'new' crops are introduced to a region;
- It is hard to get an alignment of fertile soils and water storages;
- Evaporation rates from storages will be high;
- Climate variability may be difficult to manage. Even if, as commonly projected, rainfall is higher under climate change in some northern areas, there may be high rainfall events with long dry spells in between; and
- There is concern about environmental impacts.

In more general discussion the major additional topic was of farm viability. Participants from agricultural regions, especially those highly dependent on one commodity and/or where there have been a run of difficult seasons (ie WA wheatbelt), see their regions as economically vulnerable, with declining profitability on farms and regional depopulation.

4. Discussion and conclusions

These results suggest that agriculture and rural areas are still considered to be very important to Australia's future, both by those engaged in regional development and the population more generally. The long-postulated country/city divide does not seem particularly wide, with location not signifying obviously different views, with the exception that metropolitan people are inclined to be a bit more supportive of mining and wind farms. Nor is there much evidence that ensuring people 'understand' rural life will necessarily improve perceptions. People who know little about agriculture, or have few social connections to it are still quite supportive of the importance of agriculture and the appropriateness of current production methods and are more inclined to want farmers to have more support. Even those born overseas still the importance of agriculture to the nation and they have not been exposed to the same cultural influences. The respondents to this survey exhibit a very high level of support for the expected importance of agriculture and rural areas in the future, with response levels that are comparable to those from surveys in the EU (45 percent for *important* and 45 percent for *very important*) (European Commission 2008 p. 6).

There are some results here that suggest support for, and approval of, agriculture and rural life, may diminish over time as has been long predicted with urbanisation and the decline of economic importance of agriculture. Younger people are a little less enthusiastic about the future importance of rural areas and agriculture, while those with fewer social connections to farm life are slightly less convinced about the future of rural areas and less supportive of the notion of character differences. Younger people are more supportive of mining, perhaps recognising the employment opportunities. This needs further examination though, because this may be a generational response, in which case the attitudes will become more prevalent over time, or it may be age-related, with people becoming more attached to traditional industries and land uses over time. Young people don't have noticeably lower scores for agrarian sentiment. Perhaps people the idea that agriculture is a 'fundamental' sector, with food as a primary necessity is very strong. This will be further investigated through more detailed surveys and interviews.

The results from the land use survey suggest that there is general support for conventional agricultural land uses, perhaps reflecting that notion of fundamental importance and/or what people are used to and expect to see in rural spaces. It is evident from the SEGRA survey and the subsequent discussion that those from the regions are very strongly of the view that agriculture is important to regional identity and economy. The more general land use survey does however suggest that some other forms of land use are acceptable in rural spaces. The potential contradiction here is that high disturbance activities, such as mining is no more a disturbing activity than farming, which has a widespread and regular impact. Again, this suggests that activities that are culturally acceptable and historically established enjoy more support. This raises the question of whether or not even mining would become more accepted over time, although fluctuating activity and

investment levels and external investment may mitigate against it becoming a 'normal' part of regional economies and landscapes.

The SEGRA respondents clearly regard agriculture as economically important but also many see the importance of secondary and service industries. This is unsurprising given the sample comes from people who are engaged in regional economic development. Also unsurprising is that the respondents believe that infrastructure and communications programs are essential to the development of agriculture. These are perennially discussed at SEGRA. Also, respondents believe there is value in programs that help develop capacity and most would be well used to dealing with government programs that aim to do so. Hence, some care is needed in extrapolating from these results as the respondents have generally long experience in regional development and many would also have advocacy roles.

A possible dilemma that emerges from considering the different studies and discussions relates to the purposes of agricultural development and activity. Is the promotion of agriculture, for example in the north, aimed at nation-building, a regional economic development strategy, an employment maintenance strategy, a social development strategy or all or some of these? These goals are largely reconcilable but perhaps not necessarily by market forces alone and Australian governments have shown great reluctance to engage in ongoing regional development programs. Foreign investment, with social conditions attached could be one approach for some areas but this would have its own political issues.

There is also a problem with the discourse in that the surface discussion focusses on market demand while the social goals remain. It is worth noting agricultural development for social goals has a long and in some ways successful history. The goals of the earlier land settlement and intensification schemes, for example, included the reform of emancipated convicts (Connors 1970, Ward 1975); the 'civilisation' of the frontier (Pike 1962, Waterson 1968, Johnston 1988); offsetting the effects of a depression (Connors, 1970); and managing social unrest after the gold rushes and the first world war (Callaghan and Millington 1956, Connors 1970, Ward 1975, Lake 1987). The problem is that contemporary policy discourse has to strongly focus on the economics and farm viability remains a problem in some areas.

There is another question raised by the SEGRA discussions, which is the contrast between looking forward to the 'food bowl' opportunities, against the historical reality of the treadmill effect. More bluntly, higher agricultural commodity prices due to increasing population and affluence have been speculated about for more than 40 years, yet real prices do not seem to increase and by some estimates actually fall. Are predictions of high demand generating unwarranted optimism, or will there be a decisive break from previous and current market trends.

These and other issues will be key topics at future SEGRA conferences and will also provide opportunities for further research. Geoff Cockfield and Linda Botterill are preparing for further work on personal and policy values inherent in land use conflict and look forward to industry collaborations that will enable them to extend that work.

Appendix 1: SEGRA survey results

A1 The importance of primary industries

Question 1 asked respondents to select the degree to which they agreed with the following statements:

- Agriculture is important to the future of regional Australia
- Forestry is important to the future of regional Australia
- Fishing and aquaculture are important to the future of regional Australia
- Mining is important to the future of regional Australia
- Secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing) are important to the future of regional Australia
- Secondary industries are important to the development of primary industries in regional Australia
- Services sectors (such as finance, computing etc) are important to the future of regional Australia

Agriculture, services and fishing/aquaculture were recognised by a majority of respondents as important economic sectors to the future of regional Australia. Nearly 90% strongly nominated agriculture, 61% the services sector and 57% fishing/aquaculture). Almost 65% of respondents strongly agreed that secondary industries are important to the development of primary industries in regional Australia. A summary of the responses to Question 1 is provided in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Question 1 Response Summary
(77 responses in total)**

	Strongly Agree % of total responses Number of responses	Agree % of total responses Number of responses	Neither Agree nor Disagree % of total responses Number of responses	Disagree % of total responses Number of responses	Strongly Disagree % of total responses Number of responses
Agriculture is important to the future of regional Australia	89.61% 69	6.49% 5	2.60% 2	1.30% 1	0% 0
Forestry is important to the future of regional Australia	35.06% 27	44.16% 34	14.29% 11	5.19% 4	1.30% 1
Fishing and aquaculture are important to the future of regional Australia	57.14% 44	35.06% 27	6.49% 5	0% 0	1.30% 1
Mining is important to the future of regional Australia	42.86% 33	41.56% 32	9.09% 7	5.19% 4	1.30% 1
Secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing) are important to the future of regional Australia	64.94% 50	25.97% 20	7.79% 6	1.30% 1	0% 0
Secondary industries are important to the development of primary industries in regional Australia	64.94% 50	24.68% 19	9.09% 7	1.30% 1	0% 0
Services sectors (such as finance, computing etc) are important to the future of regional Australia	61.04% 47	35.06% 27	2.60% 2	1.30% 1	0% 0

A2 Economic Reliance

Question 2 asked respondents to select the degree of current economic reliance of their region, or the region/s they were most familiar with through their work or social connections, on the following industries:

- Agriculture
- Forestry
- Fishing and aquaculture
- Mining
- Secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing)
- Services industries (such as finance, health, information technology etc)

A majority of respondents indicated a high reliance on **agriculture and the service sector** (70% and 50% of respondents respectively). Only 17% considered their region highly reliant on forestry.

A summary of the responses to Question 2 is provided in Table 2 below.

	Highly Reliant % of total responses Number of responses	Some Reliance % of total responses Number of responses	Little Reliance % of total responses Number of responses	No Reliance % of total responses Number of responses
Agriculture	70% 49	22.86% 16	7.14% 5	0% 0
Forestry	17.14% 12	25.71% 18	38.57% 27	18.57% 13
Fishing and aquaculture	12.86% 9	37.14% 26	25.71% 18	24.29% 17
Mining	32.86% 23	24.29% 17	25.71% 18	17.14% 12
Secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing)	31.43% 22	42.86% 30	24.29% 17	1.43% 1
Services industries (such as finance, health, information technology etc)	50% 35	40% 28	8.57% 6	1.43% 1

A3 Economic Future of the Region

Question 3 asked respondents the extent to which the following industries were likely to be important to the economic future of their region:

- Agriculture
- Forestry
- Fishing and aquaculture
- Mining
- Secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing)
- Services industries (such as finance, health, information technology etc)

The majority of respondents (nearly 76% and 63% respectively indicated that the **agriculture and service** sectors were *very important* to the economic future of their region. Only 14% ranked forestry the same way.

A summary of the responses to Question 3 is provided in Table 3 below.

**Table 3: Question 3 Response Summary
(70 responses in total)**

	Very Important % of total responses Number of responses	Important % of total responses Number of responses	Somewhat Important % of total responses Number of responses	Not at all Important % of total responses Number of responses
Agriculture	75.71% 53	14.29% 10	7.14% 5	2.86% 2
Forestry	14.29% 10	31.43% 22	30% 21	24.29% 17
Fishing and aquaculture	17.14% 12	22.86% 16	32.86% 23	27.14% 19
Mining	31.43% 22	27.14% 19	21.43% 15	20% 14
Secondary industries (e.g. manufacturing)	41.43% 29	41.43% 29	15.71% 11	1.43% 1
Services industries (such as finance, health, information technology etc)	62.86% 44	30% 21	7.14% 5	0% 0

A4 Potential Regional Contributions of Agriculture, Fishing/Aquaculture and Forestry

Question 4 asked respondents to rate the potential contributions of agriculture, fishing and aquaculture and forestry to regions according to their degree of importance:

- Contribution to the national economy
- Direct income in local economies
- Supporting local service businesses
- Maintaining community identity
- Maintaining landscapes appropriate to rural areas
- Being a source of new commodities or industries

The majority of respondents indicated that these industries were *very important* in providing **direct income in local economies** (80% of respondents), **supporting local service businesses** (71%) and in **contributing to the national economy** (70%). It is also worth noting that 67% of respondents saw them as being very important to maintaining community identity and over half to maintaining landscapes appropriate to rural areas. Only 42% of respondents thought they were likely to be *very important* to being a source of new commodities or industries.

A summary of the responses to Question 4 is provided in Table 4 below.

	Very Important % of total responses Number of responses	Important % of total responses Number of responses	Somewhat Important % of total responses Number of responses	Not at all Important % of total responses Number of responses
Contribution to the national economy	70% 49	27.14% 19	2.86% 2	0% 0
Direct income in local economies	80% 56	14.29% 10	5.71% 4	0% 0
Supporting local service businesses	71.43% 50	20% 14	8.57% 6	0% 0
Maintaining community identity	67.14% 47	25.71% 18	7.14% 5	0% 0
Maintaining landscapes appropriate to rural areas	55.71% 39	38.57% 27	5.71% 4	0% 0
Being a source of new commodities or industries	42.86% 30	37.14% 26	15.71% 11	4.29% 3

Question 5 asked respondents in what other ways agricultural, fisheries and forestry might be important to the future of their region or regional Australia more generally. There were 55 comments in total.

The importance of these industries in the development of more **sustainable and integrated regional economies** was a common theme (16 responses). Examples included their role in:

- bringing the location of primary and secondary industries closer together to facilitate **value added manufacturing products** and to support investment in infrastructure
- modernizing agricultural systems to reflect current **best practice** farming
- participating in new **innovative business** (e.g. government schemes for biodiversity, carbon sequestration, bio fuel production) to **diversify regional economies**, improve investment opportunities and make regional economies more resilient
- contributing to **conservation objectives** (e.g. including the preservation of soils and biodiversity).

These industries were seen to be particularly important in developing overall **food and fibre security**, reducing reliance on imports and providing 'safe' products for both domestic consumption and exports (13 responses).

The development of **employment opportunities**, particularly to retain younger people in the regions and provide indigenous employment and business opportunities was also repeatedly mentioned (11 responses).

Several respondents also noted the potential importance of these industries **in value adding to domestic and international tourism products** (e.g. farm stays/farm gate businesses/selling local

produce/ cheese making, milk production/ branding and packaging regional experiences from *paddock to plate to tent*) (7 responses). Other saw the importance of these industries in **maintaining export market share** and catering to the growing new market opportunities in Asia (6 responses).

Six respondents highlighted the importance of these industries in maintaining the **identity of rural Australia** via conservation of lifestyle, family farms and a sense of community and identity within regions.

Three respondents also noted the potential role of these industries to **value add to research and education** activities and add to regional skills, productivity and knowledge.

A5 Regional Development Planning and Policy

Question six asked respondents to select the degree to which they agreed with the following statements:

- Agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry is/are an important consideration in the development of national and state regional development policies for Australia.
- Agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry is/are an important consideration in the development of local regional development policy for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with.
- Representatives of agricultural, fisheries and/or forestry industries have a say in regional development policy for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with.
- Agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry is/are an important consideration in regional planning for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with.
- Representatives of agricultural, fisheries and/or forestry industries have a say in regional planning for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with.
- Land use and planning regulations at the local and regional levels hinder the development and operation of agricultural, fisheries and forestry enterprises.

There was strong agreement by a majority of respondents that the industries nominated were important for: the development of **national and state regional development policies** (72% of respondents) and **local regional development policy** (over 65%). Their importance in **regional planning** was also noted with strong agreement by 36% and agreement by 42%.

Over 45% of respondents agreed that representatives of the industry **have a say in regional development policy** with a further 19% strongly agreeing. Over 44% of respondents agreed that representatives of the industry have a say in regional planning with a further 21% strongly agreeing. 43% of respondents held the view that **land use and planning regulations** at the local and regional levels **hinder the development and operation** of agricultural, fisheries and forestry enterprises to some degree while 35% did not share this view.

A summary of the responses to Question 6 is provided in Table 5 below.

**Table 5: Question 6 Response Summary
(61 responses in total)**

	Strongly Agree % of total responses Number of responses	Agree % of total responses Number of responses	Neither Agree nor Disagree % of total responses Number of responses	Disagree % of total responses Number of responses	Strongly Disagree % of total responses Number of responses
Agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry is/are an important consideration in the development of national and state regional development policies for Australia	72.13% 44	22.95% 14	4.92% 3	0% 0	0% 0
Agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry is/are an important consideration in the development of local regional development policy for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with	65.57% 40	24.59% 15	6.56% 4	1.64% 1	1.64% 1
Representatives of agricultural, fisheries and/or forestry industries have a say in regional development policy for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with	19.67% 12	45.90% 28	18.03% 11	9.84% 6	6.56% 4
Agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry is/are an important consideration in regional planning for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with	36.07% 22	42.62% 26	11.48% 7	8.20% 5	1.64% 1
Representatives of agricultural, fisheries and/or forestry industries have a say in regional planning for my region or the region/s I am most familiar with	21.31% 13	44.26% 27	18.03% 11	11.48% 7	4.92% 3
Land use and planning regulations at the local and regional levels hinder the development and operation of agricultural, fisheries and forestry enterprises	27.87% 17	16.39% 10	19.67% 12	26.23% 16	9.84% 6

A6 Relevance of Broader Planning Activities

Question seven asked respondents to select the degree of importance they attributed to the following planning activities with respect to the future of their region or regional Australia more generally:

- Planning for telecommunications for agricultural and related businesses
- Planning for road transport for agricultural inputs and commodities
- Land use planning and
- Planning for biodiversity protection.

Over 73% of respondents saw planning for road transport for agricultural inputs and commodities as very important. 68% held the same view of planning for telecommunications for agricultural and related businesses. Just over 57% recognised land use planning and planning for biodiversity protection as very important.

A summary of the responses to Question 7 is provided in Table 6 below.

	Very Important % of total responses Number of responses	Important % of total responses Number of responses	Neutral % of total responses Number of responses	Somewhat Important % of total responses Number of responses	Not at all Important % of total responses Number of responses
Planning for telecommunications for agricultural and related businesses	68.85% 42	21.31% 13	8.20% 5	1.64% 1	0% 0
Planning for road transport for agricultural inputs and commodities	73.77% 45	19.67% 12	3.28% 2	1.64% 1	1.64% 1
Land use planning	57.38% 35	36.07% 22	3.28% 2	3.28% 2	0% 0
Planning for biodiversity protection	57.38% 35	39.34% 24	3.28% 2	0% 0	0% 0

Question eight asked respondents in what other ways regional planners could address the needs of, and issues from, agriculture. There were 50 comments in total.

Respondents indicated that regional planners could contribute to:

- **Improved relationships and engagement** (14 responses) – better engagement with farmers and agri-business operators to take advantage of innovative and experienced practitioners; consider agri-business cycles in engagement planning; better cross sectoral engagement (including producers, manufacturers, logistics and support sectors); and facilitate trade relationships at the local and regional level.
- **Improved integration/coordination of planning processes** (11 responses) – coordination of local, state and regional planners; integrated transport planning across road, port, rail and air (3 responses); planning across industries; coordination of export oriented and economic development oriented agriculture planning; integrated water allocation and conservation planning; integrated energy infrastructure planning; integrated natural resource management planning; and links back to cities.
- **Improved Land Use Allocation/Zoning** (12 responses) – maximise opportunities for highly productive land allocations to forestry and agriculture when planning for residential growth /mining; consider bio-security certification requirements; allow for rural industry diversification and innovation (e.g. bio fuel feedstock, new niche markets) (5 responses); provide buffers between conflicting land uses; consider co location of raw product processing industries; consider the maintenance of township and regional identity; and clarify definitions around what is and what is not allowable on agricultural land.

- **Improvements in Infrastructure and Services** (2 responses) – Improved community services (e.g. schools, doctors, health services, public transport that is reliable, phone access) and telecommunications.
- **Supporting the reduction of red tape** – (2 responses).
- Identifying **funding opportunities** for better connectivity between product and consumer.
- Facilitating the collection of regional economic and social **data** on the importance and current status of the food industry on a region by region basis.

A7 Government Programs and Initiatives

Question nine asked respondents to select the degree of importance to the future of regional communities and development that they attributed to a range of government programs or initiatives. There were 58 responses in total. These are summarised in Table 7 below.

The programs rated as *very important* by the highest number of respondents were:

- the provision of transport infrastructure (road and rail etc.) (77% of respondents)
- research into disease and invasive species (74% of respondents)
- natural resources management (68% of respondents) and
- research and development for traditional agricultural commodities (e.g. wheat, wool, beef) (63% of respondents).

**Table 7: Question 9 Response Summary
(58 responses in total)**

	Very Important % of total responses Number of responses	Important % of total responses Number of responses	Somewhat Important % of total responses Number of responses	Not at all Important % of total responses Number of responses
Research and development for traditional agricultural commodities (e.g. wheat, wool, beef)	63.79% 37	29.31% 17	6.90% 4	0% 0
Research and development for non-traditional agricultural commodities (e.g. tree crops, native foods etc)	51.72% 30	32.76% 19	15.52% 9	0% 0
Research into disease and invasive species	74.14% 43	24.14% 14	1.72% 1	0% 0
Assistance with commodity marketing	44.83% 26	46.55% 27	5.17% 3	3.45% 2
International trade negotiations	53.45% 31	36.21% 21	8.62% 5	1.72% 1
Export facilitation	55.17% 32	32.76% 19	10.34% 6	1.72% 1
Macroeconomic management (interest rates, government spending, exchange rates etc)	48.28% 28	32.76% 19	17.24% 10	1.72% 1
Telecommunications (such as the NBN)	56.90% 33	36.21% 21	5.17% 3	1.72% 1
The provision of transport infrastructure (road and rail etc)	77.59% 45	17.24% 10	3.45% 2	1.72% 1

Natural resources management	68.97% 40	24.14% 14	5.17% 3	1.72% 1
------------------------------	--------------	--------------	------------	------------

Question ten asked respondents what other programs or government initiatives would be important in ensuring that agriculture, fisheries and/or forestry contribute/s to regional development. There were 58 comments in total.

These included programs or initiatives that aimed to:

- **Improve skills training and the development of human and social capital.** More regionalised higher education services, training and capacity-building initiatives. Field and extension officers offering support, advice, programmes & courses. Increased focus on the training and attraction of skilled agribusiness entrepreneurs and producers. Programs to encourage younger people into rural industries (e.g. agricultural scholarships to Universities, promotion in schools). Access to business management training and advice (e.g. business planning, succession planning).
- Assistance with **marketing and managing a small business**, networking with like businesses, possible suppliers/customers and advocacy to Government at all levels.
- Incentives to **encourage manufacturing to be done in the regions.**
- **Targeted investment support to grow and encourage diversification and innovation.** Finding new ways to invest in regional infrastructure. Facilitating participation in biodiversity, carbon farming and other stewardship schemes. Tax incentives to assist new initiatives. Tax breaks for the management of ecosystem services. Improved access to low rate capital. Support programmes for new and existing business operators to encourage growth and development of a diverse range of agri-business enterprises.
- **Research and initiatives** into dealing with adverse weather and climate change and management of groundwater. Support CSIRO and other science based programs. Economic and social data collection at the regional level.
- **Communication programs:** Increase understanding of indigenous traditional land knowledge and local farmers. Bring researchers and policy makers into country areas to see first hand the problems that exist.
- More emphasis/resources for bush-fire management.
- Investment into local roads and bridges.
- Creation and or expansion of legitimate water markets

A8 Important Indicators

Question 11 asked respondents to rate the following indicators in terms of their usefulness:

- Production statistics (eg crop area, livestock numbers)
- Regional input-output tables
- Estimates of the gross value of agricultural production
- Seeking the opinion of the leaders of producer organisation
- Seeking the opinion of local government representatives and
- ABARE Farm Surveys.

There were 56 responses, summarised in the Table below.

Responses indicate that the indicators considered *very useful* by the largest number of respondents were **estimates of the gross value of agricultural production** (64% of respondents) and **production statistics** (e.g. crop area, livestock numbers) (50%). Those considered least useful were seeking the opinion of the leaders of producer organisation (37%) and seeking the opinion of local government representatives (39%).

**Table 8: Question 11 Response Summary
(56 responses in total)**

	Very Useful % of total responses Number of responses	Useful % of total responses Number of responses	Somewhat Useful % of total responses Number of responses	Not at all Useful % of total responses Number of responses
Production statistics (e.g. crop area, livestock numbers)	50% 28	37.50% 21	12.50% 7	0% 0
Regional input-output tables	44.64% 25	44.64% 25	10.71% 6	0% 0
Estimates of the gross value of agricultural production	64.29% 36	23.21% 13	8.93% 5	3.57% 2
Seeking the opinion of the leaders of producer organisation	37.50% 21	44.64% 25	17.86% 10	0% 0
Seeking the opinion of local government representatives	39.29% 22	35.71% 20	23.21% 13	1.79% 1
ABARE Farm Surveys	44.64% 25	44.64% 25	10.71% 6	0% 0

Question 12 asked respondents what other indicators of the impact of agriculture in regions they found were useful or think could be useful. There were 56 responses.

Indicators nominated included those in the following categories:

- **Employment based** (8 responses): numbers of people/businesses working in the food industry; breakdown by agriculture and food processing, retail and export; number directly and indirectly due to/dependent on, primary production. Job vacancies
- **Gross Regional Product** / relative contribution to GRP (6 responses)
- **Regional economic analysis** and the contribution to the local economy (5 responses)
- **Population trends** across regional populations (4 responses)
- Business trends: e.g. farm ownership, entry and exit of businesses (3 responses)
- Social data: e.g. age, education/skills, farm/fishing etc succession planning
- Effects on individual and community wellbeing (3 responses)
- Property prices
- Elasticity of labour and water demand
- Export volumes for particular crops at the regional level and
- Indexes for ecosystem services.

A9 Respondent Profiles

Question 13 asked for the respondent's main occupation. Respondents included a cross section of representatives from: Government, Academic/Science/Economics and Planning Professionals; Community Development & Communications Professionals; and representatives from Business and Farming. There were 55 responses as follows:

Government:

- City Councillor Warrnambool
- Local government
- shire councillor
- Western Australia - Department of Regional Development
- Councillor in Regional Local Govt Part time stud horse breeder
- Farmer's wife, councillor , casual teacher
- Local government
- Retired. Elected councillor
- Local Government Councillor
- mayor
- Economic Development/Regional development
- Councillor
- Councillor with Local Government and Registered Nurse Div1
- Elected representative
- Retired Government auditor, current elected member Shire of Murray
- Local Government strategic planning
- Chief Executive of Advocacy and Regional Development Organisation
- Intensive farm production and adviser to the Federal Minister on biosecurity/ State Minister for Animal Welfare

Academic/Science/Economics/Planning Professionals

- Academic research
- Researcher
- University and farming
- University researcher
- Scientist
- Research academic
- Academic
- Professional (tertiary education sector)
- Agricultural economist
- Economist
- Economic Development
- Environmental planning consultant
- Regional strategist
- Optometrist

Community Development & Communications Professionals

- Youth worker
- Communications
- Community development
- Artist Planner
- Innovation Facilitator

Business and Farming

- Deputy CEO
- CEO
- Tour Operator
- Business Development Officer
- Thoroughbred horse stud, cattle and lucerne farm manager.
- Beef producer
- Horse training and property development
- Formerly a dairy farmer, have worked in citrus and other rural industries and am now Mayor of the North Burnett.
- Manager
- Farmer
- Pastoral Management, Rural and domestic supply business proprietor... Retired
- Pastoralist
- Manager
- Manager
- Manager
- Company director

Question 14 asked respondents to indicate their key role in regional development. There were 55 responses, summarised in the Table and Graph below. Most respondents indicated a role in local government. 'Other' responses are listed below and were mostly business owners, tertiary sector or representatives of relevant boards or committees:

- Business
- Business owner
- Farmer and small business owner
- Own boutique winery, involved in regional research at university and involved in local progress association
- Advisor to all of the above
- President of Regional Chamber of Commerce
- Education provider
- University
- Academic and policy advisory interests
- University
- University
- University
- Tertiary education & R&D

- NGO - employment and training
- Several Boards and Committees
- RDA, numerous regional and local committees, research, etc
- Committee of the Hunter Thoroughbred Breeders Assoc.Inc.
- Board member of Rural Roads Group Australia

Q14 Role in regional development?

Answered: 55 Skipped: 22

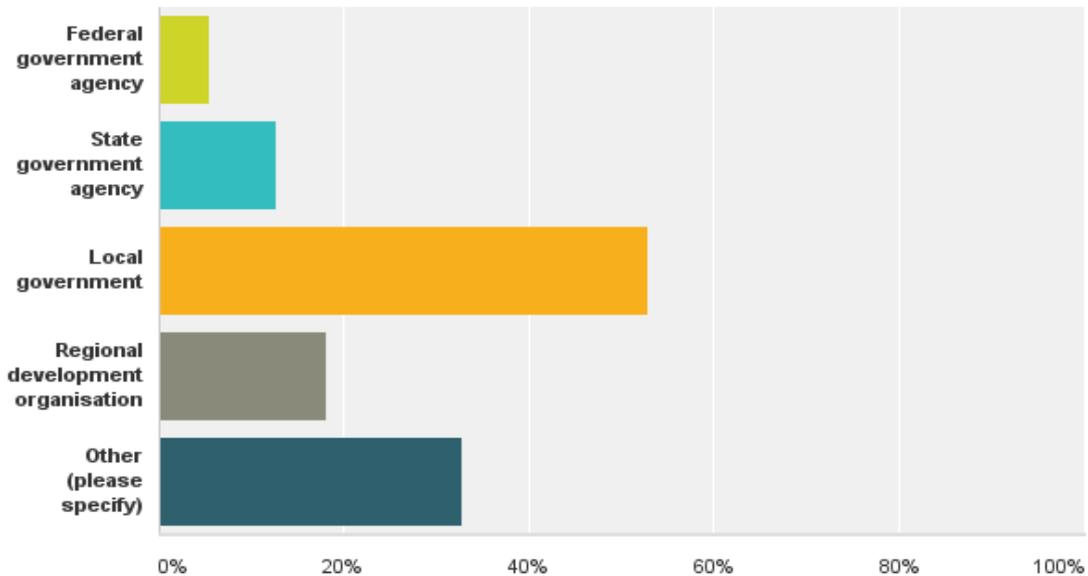
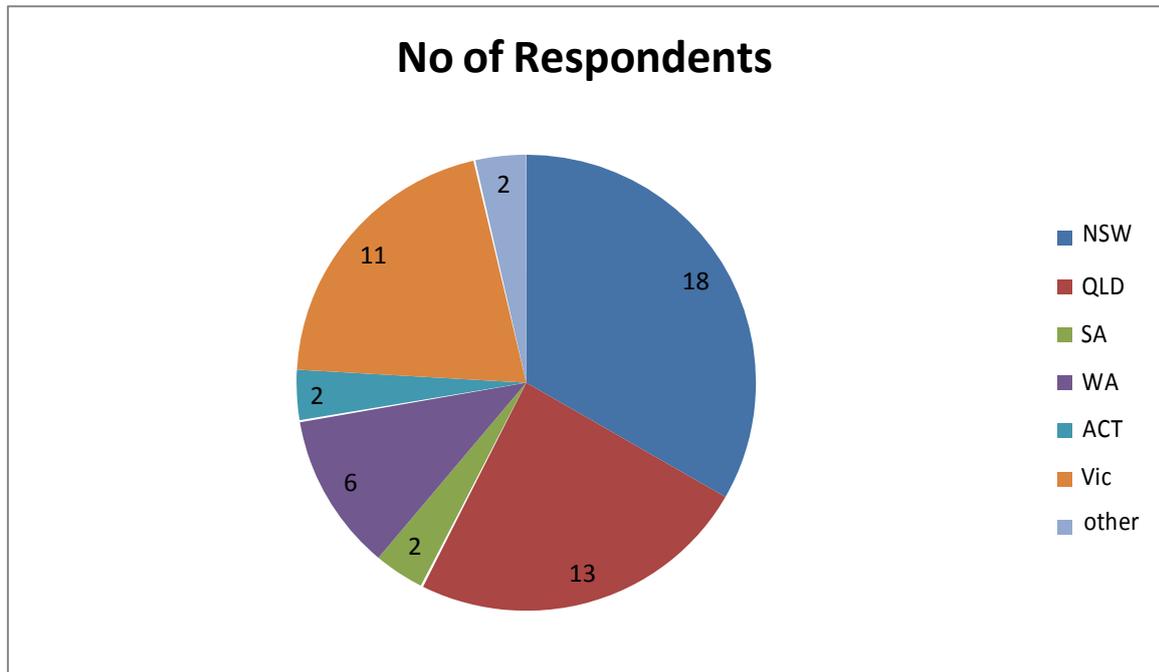


Table 9: Question 14 Response Summary (55 responses in total)

Role in Regional Development	Percentage of total responses	Total Number of responses
Federal government agency	5.45%	3
State government agency	12.73%	7
Local government	52.73%	29
Regional development organisation	18.18%	10
Other (please specify)	32.73%	18

Question 15 asked respondents their **gender**. There were 55 responses. Approximately 52% were male and 47% were female.

Question 16 asked respondents to indicate their **location**. There were 55 responses as summarised in the below Chart. There was also one respondent from New Zealand.



Question 17 asked respondents whether they lived in:

- a major city
- a regional city or major centre
- a small community (less than 5000)
- a rural area near a city or town or
- on a farm.

There were 55 responses, summarised in the Graph and Table below. Most respondents lived in a regional city or major centre (34% of respondents) or in a small community less than 5000 (34% of respondents).

Q17 Do you live?

Answered: 55 Skipped: 22

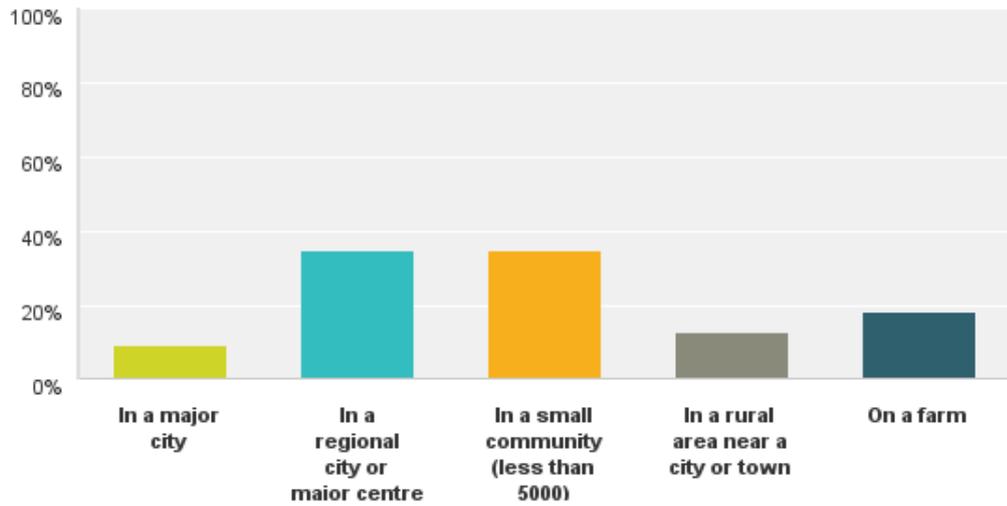


Table 10: Residential Type

	Percentage of total responses	Number of total responses
In a major city	9.09%	5
In a regional city or major centre	34.55%	19
In a small community (less than 5000)	34.55%	19
In a rural area near a city or town	12.73%	7
On a farm	18.18%	10

List of references

- Aitkin, D. 1985. "'Countrymindedness"- the spread of an idea.', *Australian Cultural History* 4: 34-41.
- Aitkin, D. 2005. 'Afterword: Return to "Countrymindedness".' In *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in Twentieth Century Australia*, eds G. Davison and M. Brodie. Melbourne, Monash University ePress.
- Banks, G. (2000). Meeting the challenge of change in regional Australia. Renaissance of the Regions. Melbourne.
- Beer, A. (2000). Regional policy and development in Australia: Running out of solutions? Land of Discontent: The Dynamics of Change in Rural and Regional Australia. P. McManus and B. Pritchard. Sydney, UNSW Press: 167-194.
- Beer, A., et al. (2005). "Neoliberalism and the Institutions for Regional Development in Australia." Geographical Research **43**(1): 49-58.
- Callaghan, A. and T. A. Millington (1956). The Wheat Industry in Australia. Melbourne, Angus and Robertson.
- Cockfield, G. (2009). Remembering agrarian collectivism. The National Party: prospects for the great survivors. L. Courtenay Botterill and G. Cockfield. Crows Nest, Allen & Unwin: 116-136.
- Coleman, W. 1998. 'From protected development to market liberalism: paradigm change in agriculture.' *Journal of European Public Policy* 5: 632-651.
- Connors, T. (1970). "Closer settlement schemes." Australian Quarterly **42**(1): 72-85.
- Davison, G. (2005). Country Life: The rise and decline of an Australian ideal. Struggle Country: The Rural ideal in twentieth century Australia. G. Davison and M. Brodie. Clayton, Monash University ePress: 01.01-01.15.
- Duncan, C. J. and W. R. Epps (1992). 'The demise of 'countrymindedness': New players or changing values in Australian rural politics.' *Political Geography* 11: 430-448.
- European Commission. 2008. Europeans, Agriculture and the Common Agricultural Policy. *Special Eurobarometer*. Brussels, European Commission.
- Flinn, W. L. and D. E. Johnson. 1974. 'Agrarianism Among Wisconsin Farmers.' *Rural Sociology* 39(2): 187-204.
- Gerritsen, R. (2000). The management of government and its consequences for service delivery in regional Australia. Land of Discontent: The Dynamics of Change in Rural and Regional Australia. P. McManus and B. Pritchard. Sydney, UNSW Press: 123-139.
- Hugo, G. (2000). What is happening in rural and regional populations? First National Conference on the Future of Australia's Country Towns. Bendigo.
- Hugo, G. (2008). Future Urban Population and Settlement Transitions. Transitions: Pathways Towards Sustainable Urban Development in Australia. P. Newton. Canberra, CSIRO.
- Johnston, W. (1988). A Documentary History of Queensland. St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.
- Jones, E. (2002). "Post-World War Two industry policy: Opportunities and Constraints." Australian Economic History Review **42**(3): 312-333.
- Lake, M. (1987). The Limits of Hope: Soldier Settlement in Victoria 1915-1938. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Levins, R. and W. Cochrane (1996). "The treadmill revisited." Land Economics **72**(4): 550-553.

- Martin, J. (2006). Local Government in the Australian Country Town: New Challenges in the 21st Century. The Changing Nature of Australia's Country Towns. M. Rogers and D. Jones. Ballarat, VURRN Press: 217-235.
- McGrath-Champ, S. and G. Searle (2005). "Regional Policies over the Last Decade: Imprinting Working Nation." Journal of Economic and Social Policy **9**(2).
- Montmarquet, J. A. 1989. *The Idea of Agrarianism*. Moscow, Idaho, Idaho University Press.
- Pike, D. (1962). "The smallholder's place in the Australian tradition." Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Papers and Proceedings **10**(December): 28-33.
- Productivity Commission (1999). Impact of Competition Policy Reforms on Rural and Regional Australia. Canberra, Productivity Commission.
- Roberts, S. (1924). History of Australian Land Settlement (1788-1920). Melbourne, Macmillan and Co.
- Schedvin, C. B. (1988). Australia and the Great Depression. South Melbourne, Sydney University Press.
- Skogstad, G. 1998. 'Ideas, Paradigms and Institutions: Agricultural Exceptionalism in the European Union and the United States.' *Governance* **11**: 463-490.
- Stilwell, F. (1974). Australian urban and regional development. Sydney, Australia & New Zealand Book Company.
- The W K Kellogg Foundation. 2002. *Perceptions of rural America*. Battle Creek.
- Tonts, M. (2000). The Restructuring of Australia's Rural Communities. Land of Discontent: The Dynamics of Change in Rural and Regional Australia. P. McManus and B. Pritchard. Sydney, UNSW Press: 52-72.
- Ward, R. (1975). Australia: A Short History. Sydney, Ure Smith.
- Waterson, D. (1968). Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper. Sydney, Sydney University.
- Wear, R. 2009. 'Countrymindedness and the Nationals'. In *The National Party: Prospects for the great survivors*, eds L. Botterill and G. Cockfield. Crows Nest, Allen & Unwin.
- Whitlam Years, 1972-75. R. Scotton and H. Ferber. Melbourne, Longman Cheshire. Volume 1 The Whitlam Years, 1972-75: 179-211.