

RURALITY BITES

Current agricultural and rural policy in Australia, among governments and major industry groups alike, is a recipe for continued rural decline and the increasing dominance of agriculture by global agribusiness. Indeed, so is a retreat to the past.

RURALITY BITES is the first comprehensive book on the social and environmental transformation sweeping rural Australia at the beginning of the 21st century.

RURALITY BITES proposes that the society of the future in rural Australia is an increasingly knowledge intensive one and the concerns, issues and identities of these Australians must be addressed if a positive future is to be realised. In this book, it is apparent that the seeds of a new approach – one that acknowledges the increasingly globalised context for all activity, but also builds social and natural capital locally – have already been sown. The issue now is to nurture them and ensure that they allow for new enterprises, forms of knowledge, types of community service and forms of governance to develop, and evolve, in the face of ever shifting circumstances.

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RURALITY BITES

THE SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL
TRANSFORMATION
OF RURAL AUSTRALIA



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Rurality Bites

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Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1 Rural Australia: An introduction (L. Bourke and S. Lockie)	1
Part 1: Theoretical perspectives	15
2 Rural sociological perspectives and problems: A potted history (S. Lockie)	17
3 'Out there': Spaces, places and border crossings (D. Stehlik)	30
Part 2: Rural cultures and politics	43
4 The rural as urban myth: Snack foods and country life (J. Finkelstein and L. Bourke)	45
5 Beyond life in 'the bush': Australian rural cultures (I. Gray and E. Phillips)	52
6 Bush politics: The rise and fall of the Country/National Party (A. Green)	60
7 Power and politics: Debate over native title (V. Watson)	72

Part 3: Social life in rural communities	87
8 One big happy family? Social problems in rural communities (<i>L. Bourke</i>)	89
9 The more things change, the more they stay the same: Health care in regional Victoria (<i>Y. Collins</i>)	103
10 Rural communities (<i>L. Bourke</i>)	118
11 Rural community development (<i>B. Cheers and A. E. Luloff</i>)	129
12 The collective and individual philosophy of research relating to an Indigenous nation (<i>R. Henderson and J. Muir</i>)	143
 Part 4: Agriculture	 151
13 Globalising agriculture: Structures of constraint for Australian farming (<i>P. McMichael and G. Lawrence</i>)	153
14 Industrialised agriculture: Agribusiness, input-dependency and vertical integration (<i>D. Burch and R. Rickson</i>)	165
15 Getting big and getting out: Government policy, self-reliance and farm adjustment (<i>V. Higgins and S. Lockie</i>)	178
16 Cultural diversity, economic change and family farming in the Australian sugar industry (<i>J. Elder</i>)	191
17 Farming women and the masculinisation of farming practices (<i>A. P. Davidson</i>)	204
18 A job of one's own (<i>L. Bryant</i>)	214
 Part 5: Rural environments	 227
19 Agriculture and environment (<i>S. Lockie</i>)	229
20 Community environmental management? Landcare in Australia (<i>S. Lockie</i>)	243
21 Property rights and natural resource management: Tiptoeing round the slumbering dragon (<i>I. Reeve</i>)	257

22 Biotechnology to the rescue? Can genetic engineering secure a sustainable future for Australian agriculture? (<i>J. Norton</i>)	270
 Conclusion	 285
23 Positive futures for rural Australia (<i>S. Lockie</i>)	287
 <i>The Contributors</i>	 301
<i>Endnotes</i>	307
<i>References</i>	357
<i>Index</i>	393

To Shiva, Robyn, Mickey and BJ

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CHAPTER 1

Rural Australia: An introduction

Lisa Bourke and Stewart Lockie

Rural Australia is important!

Introducing books and media reports with the statement that rural Australia is in 'crisis' has become so commonplace as to seem clichéd. For a decade or more our newspapers and televisions have been regularly littered with images of drought-stricken, salt-infected and barren landscapes; worthless livestock being shot and buried; bank foreclosures; the grieving relatives and friends of suicide and accident victims; boarded up and derelict buildings; and angry political meetings. As emotive and at times clichéd such images are, they do speak to what are substantial and serious issues. In too many ways rural Australia *is* in crisis. But the rapid and profound change which rural Australia is undergoing is at times as exciting as it is worrying. At the same time that many rural communities face considerable problems, they remain a potent source of national identity and a focal point for the development of more ecologically sustainable production

processes and for processes of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Rural Australians are not merely the passive victims of change. While rural activism has become visible to urban Australians through the rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party — a populist right wing political group offering to secure markets, property and jobs by restricting imports, Indigenous land rights and migration — a multitude of quieter revolutions have been underway through, for example, the rural women's and landcare movements. Indeed, the prominence given to One Nation in both politics and media tells us a great deal more about those particular spheres than it does about rural Australia more generally. For while the focus on One Nation reinforces stereotypes of rural Australians as conservative, traditional, patriarchal and intolerant of difference, it ignores the many challenges to these stereotypes. This book attempts to provide a succinct and coherent discussion of rural Australia in a time of change, disenfranchisement and misrepresentation. Such a time raises questions about rural policies, politics and the place of rural Australians in the general population. The following chapters attest to the diversity of rural Australia, the many issues confronted by its residents, and the myths and everyday assumptions associated with rurality.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, many issues threaten the future of rural Australia. These include land degradation, community decline and the need for agricultural change. While rural areas contribute significantly to the national economy, local rural economies tend to be poor; this is indicated by high rates of unemployment, underemployment, poverty and little economic growth. The daily struggles of financial pressures coupled with the effects of economic decline have impacted on the social organisation of community life in rural areas, resulting in population decline, declining employment rates in primary industries and less time for participating in community and social activities. In conjunction with economic and population decline, 'economic rationalist' policies have promoted the closure of vital social services, including hospitals and banks, and have done little to address related problems, such as the shortage of rural doctors. They have also increased the cost of goods and services, such as petrol and telephone services. Globalisation, international markets, reliance on technology by primary

industries, the feminist movement, the environmental movement and advances in telecommunications have all had their own impacts. In turn, these have influenced employment rates, farming practices, markets for primary products, what products are produced, and environmental impacts on soil, water and landscapes more generally. No one issue can be isolated from others; the interconnectedness of issues means that a change in one leads to a myriad of changes throughout rural Australia.

The ways in which these issues are understood and acted on are pervaded by myths. Many urban Australians see their rural neighbours as backward, 'redneck', homogeneous, harmonious and conservative. Contrary to this, rural Australians are diverse; their communities experience conflict; like urban residents they face a range of social problems; they successfully compete in global markets; rural women have challenged male cultures; and change is embedded in rural living. Two other common myths assert that rural services are subsidised and that urban areas provide young rural residents with employment and educational opportunities. What these perceptions ignore is that rural Australia provides two out of every three export dollars and contributes substantially to providing urban Australians with food and energy sources, as well as other primary products. While these industries are not large employers, they are capital intensive and constitute a substantial component of the national economy. In addition to economic contributions, rural Australia is a source of national identity, both to Australians and to others.¹ Images of tough, rugged Australians, the outback and the 'true blue Aussie' stem from our settlement of rural Australia. Rural Australia also offers diverse natural environments which are used extensively for recreation by both Australians and international visitors. In sum, urban Australians are highly dependent on the primary products, cultural heritage and natural environments rural Australia offers. The image of rural Australia as dependent on, rather than interdependent with, urban Australia promotes an understanding of the rural as merely secondary to the urban. Because of this understanding rural Australians must accept fewer services, less political representation, minimal assistance and an image of themselves as the 'other' or 'non' in contrast to the urban.

These myths, issues and rural Australia more generally

have been studied from a variety of perspectives, including viewing rural life as patriarchal, heterogeneous, restructuring and/or disadvantaged. Studies have focused on social issues in rural areas, including the lack of services, economic decline and high rates of suicide among young males. Even if rural issues are similar to urban ones, the solutions differ markedly. Other studies of rural Australia have focused on agriculture and how changes in agricultural industries have led to economic and technological changes in these industries. In a global economy, changes in agriculture have impacted on rural residents, communities and economies throughout Australia. These changes have also impacted on natural environments. As natural resource industries struggle to remain viable and technology increases rates of extraction and production, sustaining natural environments becomes critical. Finally, studies have approached rural Australia from perspectives of community, suggesting that residents turn to local communities to respond to economic changes and social issues. Furthermore, broader cultural changes (including policy changes), theoretical developments and general discussion of rurality means that the ways in which rural Australia is understood, debated and studied has also changed. There remain many unanswered questions about rural Australia, including restructuring of the rural economy, the influence of rural women, globalisation, rural youth suicide and community participation, and critical, feminist and poststructuralist theories are continually addressing them.

Analysis in this book of the issues, topics and myths discussed above will not only provide an alternative perspective but will also be able to inform policy and a range of government departments and agencies at both the state and federal level. In addition, decision-makers at the community and regional levels as well as activists, community leaders and residents are likely to gain from the following discussions. Finally, students of rural sociology specifically, and the social sciences more generally, are provided with theoretical and empirical studies of major issues and case studies of rural Australia. It is important, therefore, that the field of rural sociology continues to expand, that the rural continues to be studied, and that the concerns, issues and identities of rural Australians and rural Australia are brought to the fore.² It is the goal of this book to assist in this process.

What is considered 'rural'?

Australia is unique in that it is one of the world's most urbanised, and yet also least densely populated nations. More than 80% of Australians reside within 50 km of the coast, almost 70% live in a capital city and nearly 40% live in Melbourne and Sydney.³ Depending on the definition of rurality employed, between 10% and 30% (2 million and 5.5 million) of Australians live in rural and remote areas.⁴ This proportion has declined throughout the century from around 35% in 1910. Rural populations are continuing to decline as urban areas, particularly our larger cities, grow in both numbers and proportion.⁵

While rural and urban residents are not generally different, some demographic differences have been identified. Slightly more men than women live in rural areas, proportionally more residents are married, and the rural population is aging, consisting primarily of families and retired people. More than one-third of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander residents live in rural and remote areas of Australia and, while specific rural areas tend not to be ethnically diverse, this does not mean that rural residents are overwhelmingly Anglo.⁵ However, these general trends do not describe the diverse, heterogeneous and changing populations, environments, economies and cultures of rural Australia, including Indigenous, mining, farming and tourist communities, landscapes ranging from desert to rainforests, and residents who commute to cities or who are dependent on the Royal Flying Doctor Service. This diversity means that rural Australia continues to be vital, contributing two-thirds of the nation's exports, providing food and other primary resources, housing up to a quarter of the population and being the holiday destination for the majority of tourists.⁶

Culturally, rural Australia provides an important identity and heritage that we are reluctant to forego.⁷ Rural Australia is as varied as the many different people, environments, cultures and economies across the nation. But what do we mean by 'rural' and how do we know 'when we are standing in it'?⁸

Definitions of what constitutes the 'rural' have been debated for decades. Traditionally, definitions of rurality have been classified into three types: occupational, sociocultural and ecological.⁹ Occupational definitions associate rurality

with the primary industries — specifically farming, forestry, fishing, hunting and mining. An area may be defined as rural because a large percentage of its workforce is employed in the primary industries or because a large proportion of the land is in agricultural use. However, employment changes over the past several decades have resulted in less than a quarter of rural Australians being employed in primary industries,¹⁰ raising problems with this definition and excluding communities based on tourism and service industries.

Perhaps the easiest criteria to determine are ecological indicators of rurality.¹¹ Population size is the most frequently used criteria, ranging from the rural that includes all areas outside capital cities to the rural that includes those areas and towns with less than 1,000 residents. The Australian Bureau of Statistics provides census data based on four different population sizes: more than 100,000 (major urban), 1,000–99,999 (other urban), 200–999 (locality) and less than 200 (rural balance). While useful for some analyses, grouping towns of 2,000 with centres of 80,000 residents into one category is clearly problematic for others. Some definitions distinguish larger towns, like Mount Isa or Port Hedland, which are relatively isolated from smaller towns close to urban centres, such as Maroochydore (Queensland) and Moe (Victoria), by incorporating population density (number of people per square kilometre) or isolation, usually measured by proximity to a large urban centre. However, technology is often said to have lessened the effects of isolation, suggesting that it is no longer an important criterion. Studies of health and services often use access to services whereby residents are considered rural due to their limited access to medical care, government services or other facilities, such as the absence of traffic lights.¹²

The 1996 census recorded 17.9 million Australians. Of these, 4.7 million, or 26%, live in regional and rural areas and another 600,000 or 3.4% live in remote areas.¹³ When rural is defined as areas with population centres of less than 25,000 which are located more than 200 km from a capital city, 1996 census data revealed the following about the rural population of each state and the Northern Territory in Australia.

TABLE 1.1
Sociodemographic characteristics of the rural population^a by state/territory

Characteristic	NSW	Vic.	Qld	SA	WA	Tas.	NT	Aust.
Population	6,399,110	3,098,200	4,626,310	1,277,560	2,508,240	514,130	651,270	19,074,820
% of Australia								
rural pop.	34.0	16.0	24.0	7.0	13.0	3.0	3.0	100.0
% women	50.0	50.0	48.0	48.0	46.0	50.0	49.0	49.0
% Aborig./TSI	5.0	1.0	8.0	4.0	11.0	5.0	38.0	7.0
% Aust. born	89.0	89.0	84.0	86.0	79.0	88.0	81.0	86.0
% unemployed	11.8	8.6	8.2	8.8	6.8	11.6	6.0	9.3
% employed in:								
extracting, ^b	18.6	19.6	24.6	21.8	27.9	15.6	10.3	21.5
manuf./whlsal ^c	16.5	19.0	16.4	20.5	13.7	23.8	10.9	16.8
services ^d	55.0	52.0	47.7	47.0	46.4	50.0	69.1	51.2

a Rural population was defined here as residents of postcodes with less than 25,000 people, located more than 200 km from a capital city.

b Includes those employed in agriculture, fishing and forestry, as well as mining, as defined by the ABS.

c Includes those employed in manufacturing, wholesale and trade, plus transport and storage, as defined by the ABS.

d Includes those employed in retail and trade; accommodation; café and restaurants; communications; finance and insurance; property and business; government, administration and defence; education, health and community services, cultural and recreational services; and personal and other services, as defined by the ABS.

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997, *1996 Census of Population and Housing*, ABS (CDATA), Canberra.

Sociocultural definitions assume that rural residents have their own subculture and differ culturally from urban residents. Thus, sociological analysis should focus on the cultures of the rural region being studied.¹⁴ However, such definitions are extremely difficult to pinpoint¹⁵ and imply that rural Australia has a specific and almost homogeneous culture, raising doubts about the diversity of rural Australia. Taking this argument further, it implies that changes in culture lead to changes in the rurality of a region. Such definitions become problematic for individuals who move: either they take their culture with them to the city or such a move changes their culture. In light of technological advances over the past 30 years which allow people in rural areas to access information and news more readily, it would seem that fewer cultural differences between rural and urban areas remain. Suggesting that rural areas are culturally specific tends to reinforce myths about rural residents being more traditional and even 'backward'.¹⁶ While cultural differences between rural and urban areas may not be distinct, culture and history influence perceptions and understanding of rurality and, therefore, cannot be ignored.¹⁷ Many Australians currently identify with rural or urban living:¹⁸ 'cow dung on your boots in the city would be a cause for ridicule, in the country it's great food for the roses'.¹⁹ 'Rural', therefore, can be understood in contemporary contexts as a social construction,²⁰ whereby meanings and identities have been constructed over time with our culture.²¹ Ideological constructions of rural Australia tend to adopt one of two opposing perspectives: the first posits an idyllic quality of life, picturesque scenery and the sunburnt stockman, while the second constructs rural residents as backward, simple and ignorant. Both these sets of shared meanings are more imagined than descriptive of contemporary rural living.²² As a result, Kapferer²³ argued that rural-urban distinctions are not appropriate because they are so historically and culturally ingrained in ideological myths, including a history of urban people settling in rural Australia and a belief that social problems occur in urban areas.

Many definitions use more than one criterion. For example, Nichol²⁴ combined occupational, sociocultural and ecological criteria to develop a definition where rural areas included one of the following five types: company towns, Aboriginal communities, small rural towns, regional centres

and dispersed families. Commonly, the urban-rural dichotomy is rejected in Australia, replaced by four categories: urban, regional, rural and remote (capital cities differ from regional centres, such as Townsville and Bunbury, which can be distinguished from the many small towns across the nation which are different again to remote areas); these categories may conceptually provide a better description of Australia.²⁵ Regardless of the specific criteria, all definitions seem to be somewhat problematic, because classifications are imposed and arbitrary boundaries are used to distinguish urban from rural and one area from another. For this reason, it has been suggested that rural-urban can be understood as a continuum rather than a dichotomy but, because of the many factors influencing rural and urban status which cannot easily be ranked, a continuum is also problematic. Rurality is thus a multidimensional concept, symbolically constructed and both historically and culturally contingent, which is difficult to define and measure.²⁶ For this reason, it is generally accepted that one universal definition is not appropriate.

If defining the rural changes in every context, why then do we need to discuss the issue of what is rural? Is such discussion anything more than a purely academic exercise? Yes! Reflecting not only the physical characteristics of places that might be considered rural, but also the types of people living, and the activities undertaken, within those places, these commonsense understandings have a number of social and political consequences. Aitken,²⁷ for example, argues that a particular ideology, called 'countrymindedness', has underlaid the policies and activities of the Australian National Party (formerly the Country Party), a political party founded with the objective of representing 'rural Australia'. 'Countrymindedness', Aitken argues, presents the interests of farmers and graziers as the interests of all rural people. As farmers and graziers are primary producers, this ideology sees them as the only genuinely productive members of the community and, therefore, the bedrock on which all other business and employment is built. Farming is seen as an ennobling and inherently virtuous pursuit, symbolically opposed to the moral corruption and individualism of city life and the bureaucratic inadequacies and unnecessary interference of government. This ideology has indeed been accepted by many people outside the farming and grazing community, giving farmers

and graziers considerable political influence considering their relatively small number. Critics, however, claim that 'country-mindedness' has also served to legitimise opposition to: better employment conditions for agricultural workers and other paid labour; land rights for Aboriginal Australians (see chapter 7); access to property ownership and decision making for women;²⁸ and alternative forms of land use such as 'hobby farms' and plantation forestry.²⁹

Despite the difficulties involved in finding a universal definition, there are clearly a number of commonsense understandings about what constitutes the rural. At a very general level this has something to do with connections to agriculture, wide open spaces, isolation and self-reliance. Our purpose in this chapter is not to arbitrate in any of these particular debates, but to suggest that our sociological understanding of rurality is best guided by the particular context in which the concept is to be applied and by the meanings that rurality has for participants in those contexts. Therefore, throughout this book, a variety of definitions, categories and understandings of rurality will be used as they relate to previous writings and specific contexts.

Rural life, community, agriculture and environment: An overview

As we have already seen in this chapter, there is no shortage of challenges facing rural Australia. In many respects, few of these are unique to rural areas. Industrial restructuring, environmental change, withdrawal of social services, explosive growth in telecommunications technology, and increasingly cosmopolitan and culturally diverse communities have changed the face of both rural and urban areas. But if, in general terms, the issues are very similar, their detail and the manner in which they fit together can be very different. The final section of this chapter will concentrate on identifying the issues on which this book will focus more specifically and, in particular, some of the ways in which they do indeed fit together.

This book is structured around five major themes: theoretical perspectives, rural cultures and politics, social life in rural communities, agriculture and rural environments. While it may seem unnecessary to have separate a discussion on theoretical perspectives, this first section provides an overview of the major theories employed by rural sociologists, the new direc-

tions rural sociology is offering and the challenges facing the field. The second theme, rural cultures and politics, presents differing understandings of rural cultures and the policies and politics that have helped shape rural Australia at the turn of the century, ranging from television advertisements, farming practice and rhetoric, the Country/National Party and debates over Native Title and Wik. The third theme is equally broad addressing a range of issues and social relationships in rural communities: four social problems in rural communities (youth suicide, violence, poverty and education); Victoria's regional health care system; differing definitions of rural communities; strategies for communities and policy-makers for rural community development; and Indigenous authors' recommendations for working in their community.

It is fairly obvious that the five major themes dominating this book are closely related; that changes in agriculture — the most extensive form of land use and the major economic base in many rural communities — impact directly on environmental health, community vitality and rural cultures and politics. Similarly, environmental degradation potentially compromises the long-term ecological, economic and social sustainability of agriculture and agriculture dependent communities, while changes in community composition may promote changes in land use and thus the shape of agriculture and types of degradation hazard. These relationships are particularly evident when we look at communities characterised by considerable land use conflict or change. The town of Gunnedah, on the Northern Tablelands of New South Wales (NSW), has become a focus for debate over the aerial spraying of cotton crops. While a number of residents believe that health and lifestyles have been severely compromised by exposure to chemicals via spray-drift, many others, including town leaders, believe that theirs is a cotton town. In their view, the cotton industry has brought prosperity and anybody who can't live with it should leave.³⁰ By contrast, the migration of 'alternative lifestyle'ers to the NSW north coast following the 1971 Aquarius Festival led to a marked increase in organic (chemical-free) fruit and vegetable production; while the previously depressed central west town of Mudgee was revitalised following the subdivision of a number of large properties in the area and the subsequent influx of smallholders responsible for the development of boutique wine and cottage craft industries.

In addition to these relationships between the book's major themes, we think it is important to examine some of the less obvious threads or cross themes that astute readers will also note. In terms of current debates about the nature of rurality, the most important thread is arguably the changing and contested meaning of 'agricultural land' implicated in conflict over native title, property rights, catchment management and landcare. These issues are dealt with more specifically in chapters 7, 20 and 21. Although commonsense may tell us that land is land — an objectively definable and fixed entity — the ways in which we perceive a landscape, the features of that landscape that we value, and the moral and legal rights and responsibilities we have in relation to that landscape are all socially defined and vary considerably between different cultural perspectives.³¹ Groups — such as Aborigines, farmers and pastoralists, and environmentalists — do not simply compete for control over a given piece of land, they compete to define what that land means and the rights and responsibilities of those who use it. As chapter 20 argues, Landcare has helped many farmers to look at their farms through 'new pairs of eyes' — something Brian Roberts³² refers to as 'land literacy' — but time will tell whether many of those same farmers will be able to find ways to establish cooperative relationships with traditional owners claiming some form of ongoing native title. Despite vehement opposition to native title by the National Party and most farm lobby groups, some pastoralists have managed to do just that.

Another area of change that has received considerable attention over the last ten years has been the rise of the women in agriculture, or rural women's, movement (see chapter 18). While the central political strategy guiding this movement of gaining increased recognition for the contribution women make to agriculture may seem relatively straightforward, this raises a number of important and complex sociological issues about rural identities and power that warrant further investigation. It seems easy enough to blame an overtly masculinised culture for tolerating, if not encouraging, domestic and other violence, the economic and political marginalisation of women and minorities, and the dominance of nature. There is certainly plenty of evidence to support such conclusions.³³ But to what extent are male, as well as female identities, undergoing transformation? In what ways? And to what extent are

social problems like these exacerbated by challenges to traditional sources of male identity — other than the rural women's movement — such as agricultural restructuring and industrialisation? Put more simply, just how do men feel when their farming activities are subsidised by the off-farm work of their female partners; or when increasingly information-based technologies compel them to spend more and more time in the farm office rather than out in the paddock; or when they are forced to sell the farm because they can no longer compete with state-subsidised producers overseas; or when they are made redundant because the only major employer of wage labour in town shuts down? It has been suggested that men facing circumstances just like these form a large part of the constituency for populist right wing political groups like Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party. However, they also comprise a group that is seen to be at high risk of poor health, substance abuse and suicide. Our point is that we have really only begun to scratch the surface of the relationships between gendered sources of identity and power, agricultural restructuring, economic rationalist government policy and farming practice, and their social and environmental consequences. While questions of gender are most clearly addressed in chapters 17 and 18, the lens of feminist analysis might be productively applied to all the issues addressed in this book.

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Janet Norton has recently completed her PhD with the Centre for Social Science Research at Central Queensland University. Her research interests include biotechnologies in agriculture, consumer attitudes toward the genetic engineering of foods, and the role of science in society. She is co-editor of *Altered Genes: Reconstructing Nature, The Debate* (1998).

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Globalization and Agri-Food Restructuring (1996) and *Australasian Food and Farming in a Globalised Economy* (1998).

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Virginia Watson coordinates Sociology at the University of Sydney, Lidcombe Campus, for the applied health fields. Her research interests include the historical and discursive constructions of Indigenous policies in Australia.

Endnotes

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Chapter 6

1. See discussion in B. Costar & D. Woodward 1985, *Country to National, Australian Rural Politics and Beyond*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, pp. 2-4.
2. This followed the Labor Party split over conscription.
3. See L. Overacker 1952, *The Australian Party System*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 221.
4. As of July 2000, Independents hold five former National Party state seats (Nicklin in Queensland; Dubbo, Northern Tablelands and Tamworth in New South Wales; and Gippsland East in Victoria), and the notional National Party federal seat of Calare. In addition, the Liberal Party have lost four rural seats to Independents (Mildura and Gippsland West in Victoria, and Gordon and MacKillop in South Australia). The South Australian Liberal seat of Chaffey has also been lost to the National Party, which is not part of a Coalition in that state.
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7. *ibid.*, p. 188.
8. Overacker 1952, op. cit., p. 220.
9. *ibid.*, pp. 225-6.
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11. D. Jaensch 1997, *The Politics of Australia*, 2nd edn, Macmillan, Melbourne, pp. 299.
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13. Jupp 1964, op. cit., p. 171; Overacker 1952, op. cit., pp. 226-7.
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Chapter 7

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4. *ibid.*, p. 83.
5. HR Hansard (House of Representatives), No. 11, 16/11/93, p. 2883.
6. J. Deeble, C. Mathers, L. Smith, J. Goss, R. Webb & V. Smith 1998, 'Expenditures on health services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people', Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Canberra (based mostly on 1995 data).
7. Cited in N. Sharp 1996, *No Ordinary Judgement: Mabo, The Murray Islanders' Case*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 3–4.
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10. T. Rowse 1994, 'How we got a Native Title Act', in M. Goot & T. Rowse (eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 111–32.
11. *ibid.*, p. 122.
12. *ibid.*, pp. 111–32.
13. Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation 1994, *Addressing Disadvantage*, Key Issue Paper No. 5, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
14. As D. Marr (1998, 'John Howard has been walking towards this moment all his life', *Spectrum*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July, pp. 1, 6–7) points out on p. 7, John Howard was Treasurer during the Fraser years. Howard signed off cheques under the *Land Rights Act* 1976 for land acquisition and other purposes without protest.
15. Federal Coalition 1993, 'Mabo: A Policy Discussion Paper', Canberra.
16. Rowse (1994, *op. cit.*, p. 127) notes that both Dr Woolridge and Peter Nugent later said that they were in error in making a link between Native Title and reconciliation.
17. *ibid.*, pp. 111–32.
18. F. Brennan 1998a, *The Wik Debate: Its Impact on Aborigines, Pastoralists and Miners*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.
19. In 1957 the Queensland state government issued mineral leases to the mining company Comalco on the homelands of the Wik Munkin and Thayorre peoples on the east coast of Cape York, near the site of the Old Mapoon mission. Special legislation was passed to support the development of Comalco's mining operations. Aboriginal people at the Mapoon mission were placed under intense pressure to leave their land. All facilities provided by church and government were closed down — school health service, store, etc. Most people did leave as a result of this pressure. However, many elderly people were determined to remain on their homelands. The Queensland government then sent an armed police detachment to the area. They set fire to people's homes, the school, the store and the church. Comalco then established the Weipa bauxite mine. See J. Harris 1994, *One Blood: 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter With Christianity: A Story of Hope*, Albatross Books, Sutherland, pp. 495–6.
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21. Brennan 1998a, *op. cit.*
22. Edgerton 1998, *op. cit.*
23. Cited in Brennan 1998a, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
24. F. Brennan 1998b, 'The fearful prospect', *Eureka Street*, 8(4), pp. 4–6.
25. P. Keating 1993, 'Redfern Park Speech', *Aboriginal Law Bulletin*, 3(6), pp. 4–5.
26. HR Hansard, 12/8/1952, p. 169.
27. *Milirrpum & others v Nabalco Pty Ltd* (1971) 17 Federal Law Reports 141.
28. Notwithstanding this, the Liberal National government proposed a form of leasehold title to some land on Aboriginal reserves. To obtain this form of leasehold title, Aborigines would have to demonstrate that they were intending to develop the land.
29. A. E. Woodward 1974, *Aboriginal Land Rights Commission: Second Report*, Commonwealth Government Publishing Service, Canberra, p. 3.
30. The ALP would recognise Aborigines' rights to land according to five principles. These included the protection of sacred sites, land would be held under inalienable freehold title and Aborigines were to have control of mining on their land; see R. Libby 1989, *Hawke's Law: The Politics of Mining and Aboriginal Land Rights in Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Perth, p. 13.
31. *ibid.*
32. *ibid.*, pp. 152–3.
33. Mathers cited in J. Deeble et al. 1998, *op. cit.*
34. P. Keating 1994a, 'Prime Minister's Address to the Nation', in M. Goot & T. Rowse (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 236.
35. Rowse 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–32.
36. The Land Fund would provide funds for Indigenous people to purchase land on the open market. The Social Justice Package was to shift governments' responses to Indigenous disadvantage from welfarism to responsibility.
37. Keating 1994a, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
38. For an introduction to the work of Michel Foucault see L. McNay 1994, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, Polity Press, Cambridge. See also A. McHoul & W. Grace 1994, *Foucault: A Primer*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Chapter 8

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3. Jamrozik & Nocella 1998, op. cit.; Spector & Kitsuse 1987, op. cit.
4. J. A. Holstein & G. Miller (eds) 1993, *Reconsidering Social Constructionism: Debates in Social Problems Theory*, de Gruyter, New York.
5. D. Gaines 1991, *Teenage Wasteland: Suburbia's Deadend Kids*, Harper-Collins, New York.
6. Spector & Kitsuse 1987, op. cit.; J. Wyn & R. White 1997, *Rethinking Youth*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
7. J. Best 1993, 'But seriously folks: The limitations of the strict constructionist interpretation of social problems', in J. A. Holstein & G. Miller (eds), *Reconsidering Social Constructionism: Debates in Social Problems Theory*, de Gruyter, New York.
8. Holstein & Miller 1993, op. cit.; Jamrozik & Nocella 1998, op. cit.; Spector & Kitsuse 1987, op. cit.
9. P. J. M. Baume & M. E. Clinton 1997, 'Social and cultural patterns of suicide in young people in rural Australia', *Australian Journal of Rural Health*, 5, pp. 115-20; R. Hassan 1995, *Suicide Explained, The Australian Experience*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
10. Hassan 1995, op. cit.
11. E. Hunter 1991, 'Out of sight, out of mind — Emergent patterns of self-harm among Aborigines of remote Australia', *Social Science and Medicine*, 33(6), pp. 655-9; N. Kelk 1995, 'The Suicide of Young Men: Causation, Understanding and Prevention', in the Proceedings from the National Men's Health Conference, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra; S. McKillop (ed.) 1992, *Preventing Youth Suicide Conference Proceedings*, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.
12. Baume & Clinton 1997, op. cit.; R. Bush 1990, 'Rural youth suicide', *Rural Welfare Research Bulletin* 6 (December), pp. 25-7; R. King 1994, 'Suicide prevention: Dilemmas and some solutions', *Rural Society*, 4(3/4), pp. 2-6.
13. Australian Institute of Family Studies 1998, *Youth Suicide Prevention Programs and Activities*, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.
14. Hassan 1995, op. cit.
15. D. de Vaus 1996, 'Suicide among young Australians', *Family Matters*, 44 s(Winter), pp. 42-5; Kelk 1995, op. cit.
16. Kelk 1995, op. cit.
17. de Vaus 1996, op. cit.; Hassan 1995, op. cit.; Kelk 1995, op. cit.
18. Baume & Clinton 1997, op. cit.; McKillop 1992, op. cit.
19. Baume & Clinton 1997, op. cit.
20. *ibid.*; Bush 1990, op. cit.; S. Morrell 1995, 'Suicide: A historical perspective with some implications for research and prevention', in *Suicide Prevention: Public Health Significance of Suicide — Prevention Strategies*, Public Health Association of Australia, Canberra, pp. 34-46.
21. A. Davis 1992, 'Suicidal behaviour among adolescents: Its nature and prevention', in R. Kosky (ed.), *Breaking Out: Challenges in Adolescent Mental Health*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
22. de Vaus 1996, op. cit.; DHFS, Mental Health Branch 1997, *Youth Suicide in Australia: A Background Monograph*, 2nd edn, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
23. Distinguishing suicides and para-suicides suggests that intention equates with action. Further, it tends to trivialise attempts as 'attention seeking' and/or immature and compulsive behaviour, which contributes to negative constructions of suicide attempts by young people. Some even distinguish 'minor' suicide attempts from those that are 'severe', requiring medical treatment (see A. L. Beautrais, P. R. Joyce & R. T. Mulder 1996, 'Risk factors for serious suicide attempts among youths aged 13 through 24 years', *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 35(9), pp. 1174-82; D. M. Fergusson & M. T. Lynskey 1995, 'Childhood circumstances, adolescent adjustment and suicide attempts in a New Zealand birth cohort', *Journal of the American Academy of Child Adolescent Psychiatry* 34(5), pp. 612-22; DHFS 1997, op. cit., p. 10), implying that convincing a person to take a gun out of their mouth is 'minor'.
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26. DHFS 1997, op. cit.; McKillop 1992, op. cit.
27. Beautrais et al. 1996, op. cit.; DHFS 1997, op. cit.; Fergusson & Lynskey 1995, op. cit.
28. Beautrais et al. 1996, op. cit.; Bush 1990, op. cit.; DHFS 1997, op. cit.; Fergusson & Lynskey 1995, op. cit.; Hassan 1995, op. cit.
29. Bush 1990, op. cit.; DHFS 1997, op. cit.; Hassan 1995, op. cit.; King 1994, op. cit.; Morrell 1995, op. cit.
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31. Baume & Clinton 1997, op. cit.
32. Australian Institute of Family Studies 1998, op. cit.; Kelk 1995, op. cit.
33. Baume & Clinton 1997, op. cit.; de Vaus 1996, op. cit.; Hassan 1995, op. cit.
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38. G. Tait 1993, 'Youth, personhood and "Practices of the Self": Some new directions for youth research', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 29(1), pp. 40-54; Wyn & White 1997, op. cit.
 39. J. Epstein (ed.) 1998, *Youth Culture: Identity in a Postmodern World*, Blackwell, Cambridge, MA; Wyn & White 1997, op. cit.
 40. NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1998, *Crime and Justice Facts 1998*, Attorney General's Department, Sydney.
 41. M. Alston 1997, 'Violence against women in a rural context', *Australian Social Work* 1(1), pp. 15-22; R. Hogg & K. Carrington 1998, 'Crime rurality and community', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 31, pp. 160-81.
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 43. Irwin & Thorpe 1996, op. cit.; W. Weeks & K. Gilmour 1988, 'Women, Children and Violence', First Report of the Inquiry into Strategies to Deal with the Issue of Community Violence, Government Printing Service, Melbourne.
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 48. Weeks & Gilmour 1988, op. cit.
 49. Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (AGCIP) 1975, *Poverty in Australia*, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra.
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Chapter 9

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3. K. Alford & J. Ziffer 2000, 'Do Open Spaces Make People Sick?', paper presented at the Department of Rural Health, University of Melbourne Seminar Series.

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5. The recent federal budget has designated \$562 million to rural health, more than any other health and aged care component. This is the first time a health need has exceeded the Medicare budget. Attention here is focused on increasing the workforce, enhancing rural education and training, and improving services. Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care 2000, *More Doctors, Better Services: Regional Health Strategy*, Commonwealth Department of Health and Aged Care, Canberra.
6. See discussion by D. Owen 1965, *English Philanthropy 1660–1960*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA; R. Porter 1989, 'The gift relation: Philanthropy and provincial hospitals in eighteenth-century England', in L. Granshaw & R. Porter, *The Hospital in History*, Routledge, London.
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8. Legislation relating to funding was duly enacted. At the same time (1851) other legislation concerning public health was also enacted. Garbage collection, the control of epidemics and other public health matters were the concern of this legislation. Because they were regarded as charitable institutions, hospitals did not come under the jurisdiction of the *Public Health Act*. As stated above, a separate regulatory body for charitable institutions, including hospitals, benevolent institutions and societies, determined the manner of their funding and administration. See Y. Collins 2000, 'The Provision of Hospital Care in Country Victoria, 1840s to 1940s', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne.
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11. M. MacEachern 1926, *Hospital System of the State of Victoria: Summary of Recommendations*, H. J. Green, Melbourne.
12. *ibid.*
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 18. Primary Health Services, Victorian Government Department of Human Services, Healthstreams Information Kit, 1996, p. 1.
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 20. *ibid.*
 21. HR&EOC 1999, *op. cit.*
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 25. Corryong, situated 124 km east of Wodonga, has a population of 1,215 people. The total number of persons living in Corryong has dropped, since 1981, by 105. The population is aging and the proportion of over 75s has grown from 4.7% in 1981 to 8.6% in 1999. See Victoria Department of Infrastructure, Research Unit 1999, *Towns in Time*, Victoria Department of Infrastructure, Melbourne, p. 63.
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Chapter 17

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8. Pluriactive farms are those where at least one head of household has off-farm waged work or has developed a second enterprise in a para-agricultural or a non-agricultural area. Diversified farms produce a variety of commodities, often with different seasonal requirements (e.g. sheep properties with yabby farming and the cultivation of native trees). The difference between diversified and pluriactive farms with a second enterprise in this sample is that diversified farms diversify in agricultural commodities. Monoactive farms are mostly farms involved in traditional bulk commodity production, like

- broadacre farming or horticulture with no other income-producing strategy. The sample consisted of 24 pluriactive individuals, 6 with diversified farms and 14 who were monoactive.
9. Heads of households can refer to a range of family combinations but in this study refers especially to married couples and to one generation of farmers (the sample consists of 'nuclear' family households). Although in some instances the farm was divided among other family members, this division was legal as well as spatial and thus, each family principally worked as a separate farming household.
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13. There was an initial sample of six (three men and three women) from farming organisations. Each person then identified two or three potential interviewees. To limit the possibility of interviewing like people, only one person recommended by each initial interviewee was interviewed (e.g. six new people). Further, during the snowballing process interviewees were also asked to identify individuals who were not current members of a farming organisation.
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Index

A

- AAA package 187–8, 190
- Aboriginal people *see* Indigenous people
- absolutism 260, 298–299
- acidic soils 230
- advertising
 - agribusiness and 161–2, 239
 - rural image and 46–51
- agency 131, 140, 141, 225, 298–9
- Agforce 298
- agrarianism 18, 54
- agribusiness 24, 157–64, 299
 - control and international dominance of 169–72
 - dominance of food production processes 166–8, 170–3
 - Tasmanian potato growers and 174–7
 - links to US Administration 160
 - see also* chemical companies; multinational corporations
 - agricultural research, farmers and 25
 - sustainability and 240–1
 - agricultural stability 181–2
 - agricultural training 28, 223–4, 298
 - in management 180–90, 289
- Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry Australia (AFFA) 231–3
- Agriculture-Advancing Australia* policy 187–8, 190
- agrifood companies 165–77
- agrifood production
 - community building and 292
 - intensification 181
 - production processes 168–9
 - transformation of process 166–8
 - see also* food
- AgroEvo 159
- Aitken, D. 9
- alcohol consumption 104
- Alston, M. 57, 210
- alternative lifestyles 11
- Anderson, John 64
- animal health 281

animal production 274
 Anthony, Doug 64
 antibiotic resistance 281
 Aramac 35-6
 Arbor Acres 171
 Archer, Daniel Midlands 162
 Arulan 56
 Asia and Australia 71
 Asian markets 184
 assimilation 80
 Austin, Pennsylvania 134-5
 Australia New Zealand Food Authority (ANZFA) 282
 Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) 230-1, 233, 246
 Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) 139
 Australian Food Council 273, 281
 Australian history, debates around 83-5
 Australian Labor Party (ALP) 71
 land rights and 81-3
 native title and 79-83
 Australian Workers Union (AWU) 194, 196-7
 Avian 171

B

balance of payments 183
 banks 126
 Beazley, Kim 118
 Beazley Snr, Kim 80
 Becker, L.C. 258
 beef packing industry 170
 Bell, C. 33
 belonging 56
 Bendigo Health Care Group 115
 beneficiary pays 266
 best bet practices 254
 biodiversity 231, 280
 biological imbalances 280
 biopreservation 274
 biotechnology 162, 165, 170, 270-84
 sustainability and 236
 Bjelke-Petersen, Johannes 64
 Blue Mountains 260

Border crossings 34-37
Bradstow (Wild) 23
 Brennan, Frank 79
 Bretton Woods 155
 Broken Hill 55
 Bruce, Stanley 62
 Bryant, L. 28
Bt-cotton 273
 Burke, Brian 81
 Bush Nursing Hospital Association 107
 bushfires, and community 56
 business, farms to be run as 184-90
 business management 28, 184-90, 289
 Buttel, Fred 21, 173

C

Campbell, A. 244, 253
 canecutters 196-7
 Canegrowers Association 193, 194
 capacity building, for community development 137
 capitalism 18
Capitalism and the Countryside (Lawrence) 23-4
 carbon stores 231
 Cargill 158, 162, 170
 Carmichael, A.B. 101
 Casemix formula 110, 112-13, 117
 catchment community 267
see also Integrated Catchment Management
 Centre for Conservation of Traditional Farming Systems 163
 centre - periphery 32
 chain migration 199
see also immigration
 Charities Board 107-8
 Charoen Pokphand Group 171-2
 chemical industry 24, 159, 279-80
 sustainable agriculture and 236-7, 242, 261
see also multinational corporations
 Chester's Grill 172

Chicago School 33
 City-Country Alliance 164
 class structure and rural communities 22-3, 120-1, 135-6, 137
 closer settlement 199
 coastal development 68
 coastal sedimentation 231, 261
 Cobb Vantress 171
 Codex 160
 collective choice 262-4, 292
 COMALCO 78
 common property 259, 261, 263
see also property rights
 community 88, 131, 141, 288
 Aramac 35-6
 decline 2, 68-9
 Landcare and 244, 288
 meaning of 119-28
 social construction of 34-7, 118, 130
 community action 131
 Landcare as 244
 community agency 131-2, 140, 141
 community attachment 132
 community consultation 146-7
 community development 129-42
 community fields 131
 community development and 132-3, 135-6
 community health groups 110
 hospitals and 112-17
 community involvement
 Indigenous people and 147
 Landcare and 244, 250-3, 288
 rural regeneration and 292
 community leadership 141
 community planning 133-4, 136, 298-9
 community services 128
 community studies 22-3
 Aramac 35-6
 urban v rural 31-4, 127-8
 Conagra 170
 Confederation Paysanne 162
 conflict 122-3
 rural restructuring and 125-6

Connell, Bob 101
 conservation ethic 234
see also environmental issues
 conservation tillage 233-4, 253, 254
 conservationists 28
 constructs of the rural 31-4
 Continental Grain 158
 contract farming 168, 172-7
 contract harvesting, of sugarcane 201-2
 control 24-5
 agribusiness firms 159-64, 166-8, 169-74
 sugar cane growers 201-3
 sustainability and 239
 Tasmanian potato case study 175-7
 Cooper, William 144
 cooperation
 catchment management and 28, 269
 native title and 12
 rural regeneration and 292
 training 298
 cooperatives 297
 corporate agriculture 157-9
 Corryong Hospital 114, 115-16
 Costello, Peter 157
 cost-price squeeze 24, 67, 178-9, 182
 sustainable agriculture and 237
 cottage industry 296, 297
 cotton 11, 273
 Council of Australian Governments (COAG) water reforms 262-3
 country hospitals 107-17
 Country Party 54, 61-5
 Country Summit 54
 Country Women's Association (CWA) 123, 128
 countrymindedness 8-9, 54, 56, 59, 61
 Court, Richard 76
 Cowra 56
 Crean, Simon 187

crime and violence 101, 102
 rates 96
Crocodile Dundee 45
 Crookwell, NSW 102
 CSR 193–203
 cultural change 52–3
 cultural difference 198–201
 cultural sensitivity, Indigenous
 research and 143–50

D

dairy farming 205–13
 Davis, A. 93
 death rates 105
 deaths in custody 76
 debt repayment systems 156
 decade of Landcare 246, 247, 248
 demand crises 237
 Dempsey, Ken 23
 deregulation 67–8, 288, 292
 developmentalism 155–6
 diabetes 104
 diagnostics 274
 difference 38, 60
 cultural, in sugar industry
 198–201
 urban/rural 69–70, 122–3
 distribution system 168–9
 diversity 3, 53, 55–6, 122, 250–1
 division of labour 17
 gendered 206–8
 doctors, numbers and level of
 consultation 103
see also health
 Dow 159
 Drought Policy Review Taskforce
 (1990) 185
 Drysdale, Vic. 119–28
 Dungog, NSW 205, 208–13
 Dunolly Hospital 112, 113, 114
 Dupont 159
 Durkheim, Emile 17

E

ecologically sustainable
 development 1, 237
 economic rationalism 67–8, 71,
 287, 290, 291, 297

economic dependency 19
 economic restructuring 23–5, 55,
 67–8, 124–8, 288
 rural adjustment schemes and
 182–90, 289
 sugar industry and 201–3
 ecosystems 229, 280
see also environmental issues
 education 87, 99–101, 102
 efficiency 183–8, 293–4
 egalitarianism 55–6, 250
 Emerald Agricultural College 298
 employment
 off-farm and farm viability 211
 rural restructuring and 6, 55,
 67–8, 94–5, 124–8, 139, 141,
 288, 296–7
 sugar industry 201
 empowerment
 Indigenous people 146
 Landcare groups 249–50
 women on farms 224–5, 289
 entrepreneurism 185
 environmental issues 2, 11, 288
 agriculture's impact 229–33
 agribusiness power and 161
 farmers attitude towards 233–5,
 249
 property rights regimes 264
 enzyme engineering 273
 Eppalock Project 265
 estuarine systems 230
 ethics, research 148
 ethnicity 55, 58, 69
 Landcare groups 251
 sugar industry and 197, 198–201
 ethnography 53
 European Common Market, and
 Australian produce 182
 European Union, US trade
 pressure and 159
 eutrophication 261
 Excel Corporation 170
 exports, rural importance to 3, 67
 externalities 238, 291, 293

F

factory farming 167

Fadden, Artie 64
 family and community 33
 family farm 54, 57–9, 158, 191–2
 control and autonomy 172–7,
 201–3
 dairy industry 208–13
 off-farm employment and
 viability 211
 size and efficiency measures
 178–90
 sugar cane 192–203
 women as farmers 214–26
 women in and on 205–13
 farm adjustment processes
 180–90, 289
 farm debt 178, 182
 farm management 180, 183–8,
 289
 women and 216–22
 farm partnerships, women's role
 in 208–13, 219–22
 farmers
 attitude to environment 233–5,
 249
 loss of control 23–5, 166–7,
 172–7, 201–3
 maintaining autonomy 173–7
 native title and 12, 78–9, 260
 property rights changes and
 262–9
 rural townspeople and 56
 farming organisations 62
 women and 222–5, 251
 farming techniques
 ethnicity and 58
 technology 3, 20, 167–8, 233–5
see also conservation tillage
 Farmland National 170
 farms, numbers of 178
 feedlots 168
 feminism and rural sociology 25–6
 methodological problems 205
see also women
 Ferguson, William 144
 fertilisers and sustainability 236–7
see also sustainability
 financial deregulation 186
 Fischer, Tim 64, 78

fishing industry 125
 Fisk, J. 207–8
 Fitchen, J.M. 99
 Fitzroy Basin Elders Committee
 298
 food
 crops, genetic engineering and
 274
 preservation 165
 processing, genetic engineering
 and 274
 standards 281–3
 systems, agribusiness and the
 environment 161–2
 see also agrifood production
 Foucault, M. 37, 38, 84
 Fraser government 77, 81
 Friedland, Bill 21
 fundraising, for health services
 114–16

G

Garkovich, L. 28
 GATT 158
 gaze 32
gemeinschaft 19–20, 21, 32–3
 gender politics, women's
 consciousness of 220, 222–5
 gender relations of production 26,
 farming and 56, 57, 206–13, 214
 Genethics Network 162
 genetic determinism 278
 genetic engineering 270, 271–2
 bad science? 278–81
 economic aspects 277–8
 regulation 281–3
 supposed benefits 272–3
 Genetic Manipulation Advisory
 Committee (GMAC) 282
 genetic pollution 280
 genetically modified organisms
 (GMOs) 159, 162, 233, 269
 potential problems with 278–81
 regulation of 281–3
 soybeans 271
 Gerber Baby Foods 162
gesellschaft 19–20, 32–3
 Gibson-Graham, J.K. 40

globalisation 2, 132, 153-64
 Australian government support 158
 concentration of agri-foof system and 169-72
 Gold Kist 171
 gold standard 155-6
Good Old Rule, The (Poiner) 23
 Gove land rights case 80
 greenhouse and landcare programs 248
 Gregory, Derek 35
 Greider, T. 28
 Griffith 55
 growth hormones and trade bans 159-60

H

haemophilia 272, 279
 Hahndorf 55
 Hamilton, Vic. 114
 Hanson, Pauline 2, 13, 64, 153, 164, 292
 Hawke, Bob 81, 246
 health
 rural Australia 87-8, 103-17, 289-90
 of Indigenous Australians 74, 83, 104
 preventative approach 110
 healthstreams 111-13, 117
 Heffernan, W. 169, 170
 Heinz Watties 295
 hepatitis B 272, 279
 Herbert River district, FNQ 192
 Hesse Rural Health Service 114
 Hillery Jnr, G.A. 120
 Ho, Mae Wan 278-81
 hobby farms 11-12
 Hogan, Paul 45
 Holt, Harold 64
 hospital amalgamations 117
 hospital closures 112
 housework 211-13
 Howard, John 70, 72, 75, 77, 118, 246, 283
 Hubbard Farms 171
 Hughes, Billy 62

human health, and GMOs 281

I

IBP Inc. 170
 identity 38, 60
 male 13, 57, 94, 102, 214
 national 1, 46-7
 politics 70
 women as farmers 214-26
 Australian 46-7
 image, dominance of 46-7
 agribusiness and 161-2
 rural 3, 47-51
 immigration 69
 sugar industry and 197
 Independents, decline in National Party vote and 65
 Indigenous people 5, 11
 consultation with 146-7
 crime and violence and 96-7
 deaths in custody 76
 education 101
 empowerment 146
 health 74, 83, 104
 history and injustices 144-6
 inequality 74
 land rights 2
 native title 11, 12, 71, 72-85, 257, 293, 298
 organisations run by 145
 research philosophy 143-50
 rural social structure and 55
 self-determination 146
 individual ownership 259, 263
 industrial agriculture 18, 165-77
 biotechnology and 279-80
 inequality 56, 140, 142, 298
 Indigenous Australians 74
 globalisation and 155-7
 schools and 100-1
 information collection
 and community development 136
 Indigenous communities and 148-9
 information technology 270
 rural employment and
 population and 288, 296, 297

information, to farmers
 organics 295-6
 sustainability options and 239-41, 254
 infrastructure
 physical 129-30
 service 104, 128, 289
 inputs
 costs 24, 182
 farming techniques, sustainability and 236-7, 241, 296
 supplier concentration and control 166-7, 172-7, 239
 insecticide resistant crops 273
 insulin 272, 279
 Integrated Catchment Management 28, 247, 255
 property rights regimes 262, 264, 265-7, 268
 Integrated Pest Management programs 242
 interest rates 157, 187-8
 International Monetary Fund (IMF) 154
 irrigation 263-4, 268
 Italian people, in rural communities 55
 sugar industry 198-201

J

J.R. Simplot 174-7

K

Kanakas 193, 196-7
 Kantor, Mickey 160
 Kapferer, J.L. 8
 Karnataka Farmers Union 162
 Kautsky, Karl 18
 Keating, Paul 71, 73, 79, 83, 141, 183
 Kennett government 65, 76, 110
 Kentucky Fried Chicken 171
 Kerin, John 184
 Keynesianism 155
 Kosky, R. 92
 Kurri Kurri 55

L

labelling, GMOs and 282, 283
 labour process 18-19
 labour shortages, migrant labour and 200
 Lampard, E. 206
 land degradation 2, 70, 230-3, 290
 farmers approach to 233-5
 high input conservation farming and 236-7
 Landcare development and 245
 political economy of 237-40
 land ownership 258, 260
 land rights 2, 79-85
 land use conflict 11, 28
 Landcare 12, 28, 186, 234, 239, 243-56, 288
 achievements of 253-5
 genesis of 244-7
 property rights and 262, 265-7
 rural regeneration and 292-3
 self-help and government role 249-50
 state of play and evaluation 247-9
 who participates 250-3
 Lawrence, Geoffrey 22, 23-4
 Lea, S. 263
 Levitas, R. 40
 Liberal Party 62, 64, 66
 native title and 74-9
 Liberal - National Party 246
 licensing agreements 279-80
 lifestyle goals 189
 local area planning 139
 local society 130
 localism 55
 locality 130
 Loddon Mallee Consultative Committee 114
 Long, N. 24-5

M

McCain Foods 174-7
 McDonald's 175
 McEachern, C. 28
 McEwen, John 64
 McNamara, Pat 65
 Mabo case 11, 12, 71, 72-85

Macknade Mill 195
Mad Max 45
 Madhya Pradesh 163
 males and masculinity
 farmer label 214
 housework on farm 211–13
 identity 13, 57, 94, 102
 inheritance 261
 Landcare groups 252
 measures of productivity and 206–8
 suicide 90–5, 102
 Malouf, David 269
Man's Town, A (Dempsey) 23
 management
 of rural landscapes 231–3
 training 180–90, 289, 298
 Manangatang 114
 market rule 154–64, 291, 293
 marketing 165
 removing collective schemes 185–7
 systems 67
 markets for organic foods 294–6
 Marxism 18–19, 22
 masculinity *see* males and masculinity
 Massey, Doreen 34
 medical applications, genetic engineering and 272, 279
 medical technology 108
 mental illness 93–4
 Michin, Nick 77
 Mildura Base Hospital 115
 mill peak system 195, 196
 Mill Suppliers Committees 198
 Millennium Round (WTO) 160
 mining companies 77–9, 81–2
 mining leases 77–9
 minority groups 66–7
 Mohanty, C.T. 40
 Monsanto 159, 160, 162, 170, 277, 280
 Mudgee 11
 multinational corporations 24, 153, 170–2
 genetic engineering and 277–8
 Tasmanian potato industry and 174–7

see also agribusiness; chemical companies
 Multi-Purpose Service 111–12, 113–16, 117
 Murray River irrigation country 55
 Musgrave, W.F. 188
 mutual obligations 19–20, 58
 myth of rural Australia 3, 45–51, 59

N

National Farmers Federation (NFF) 67, 230–1, 233, 246
 national identity 1, 46–7
 national parks 260
 National Party 54, 61–71, 260
 National Soil Conservation Program (NSCP) 246
 Native Title 72–83
 natural capital 290–1, 293–4
 Natural Heritage Trust 246–7, 248
 Nestlé 169, 170
 New Zealand
 labelling and GMOs 282
 organics and 163
 Newby, Howard 21, 33
 newly industrialised countries 156
 Nichol, B. 8
 Nicholls, Sir Douglas 144
 Nixon, Peter 64
 North Queensland, community development 138–9
 Novartis 159, 162, 163
 Nugent, Peter 76, 77
 nursing, professionalisation 109
 Nurundjeri people 143
 nutrition 104
 genetic engineering and 274

O

O'Brien, Kerry 73
 O'Connor, J. 237
 objects 46–7
 One Nation 2, 13, 64, 153, 164, 292
 open access property regimes 259, 261–2

Orbost 113
 organic farmers 162–3, 294–6
 definitions of sustainability and 236–7, 240, 242
 GMOs regulation and 282–3
 Landcare and 254
 organic foods 162–3, 294–6
 Overacker, L. 66
 overproduction 237
 ownership 259, 299
see also property rights

P

participation 135–7, 255, 264–5, 298–9
 pastoral leases 78–9
 patents 160, 279–80
 Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party 2, 13, 64, 153, 164, 292
 Perdue 171
 perennial pastures 238
 Peru 156
 physical labour, on farms 209–10, 219
 Pile, S. 38, 39, 40
 Poiner, Gretchen 23
 population 6, 68–70, 127, 288
 pork packing 179
 Portarlington, Vic. 119–28
 poststructuralism 27–9, 74
 potato growing 174–7
 poultry industry 171
 poverty 2, 87, 97–9, 101, 102
 power 27–8
 Australian history and 84
 community analysis 121–2
 knowledge and space 37–41, 239–41, 254
 liberal conceptions of 73–9
 organic production and 295–6
 PRATEC Group 163
 Pretty, Jules 290, 292, 294, 296
 processing industry 165
 organics and 295
 productivity 183–8
 gendered measures of 106–13
 sustainability and 235–40, 241–2, 253, 254–5

property rights 257–69, 298–9
 changes in regimes 261–2
 Integrated Catchment Management, Landcare and 265–7, 268
 nature of 258–9
 transferable water rights 262–5, 268
 TRIPS 160
 protein engineering 273
 public hospital funding 107–17
 public policy 139
 farm size and efficiency measures 178–90
 health system 107–17
 Landcare structures and 247–50
 sugar industry 194, 195–6
 public/private spheres 26
 farm productivity measures and 206–8

Q

Queensland Cane Growers Council (QCGC) 198
 Queensland government 139–40
 sugar industry and 194, 195–6
 vegetation management legislation 257
 Queensland National Party 64
 Quixley, S. 100

R

rabbits 244
 Raby, G. 194
 racism 56, 60, 298
 Australian history and 83–5, 145
 sugar industry 193, 196–7, 198–201
 reconciliation 73, 76
 redneck image 3
 regional centres 68, 127
 regional development 127, 139, 140–1
 regional economic development organisations (REDOs) 141
 Reith, Peter 75, 77
 research
 Indigenous people and 143–50

women on farms 208-13,
214-26
resistance 38-9
to agribusiness 162, 164
Reynolds, Henry 145
Richmond, Qld 102
Rifkin, J. 271-2
risk management 185-6, 190, 289
sustainability and 240-1, 249,
254
Roberts, Brian 12
Rose, Gillian 33, 40
Ross Breeders 171
Roundup 280
rural
meaning of 5-10, 31
myth of 3, 45-51, 59
Rural Adjustment Scheme 182-90,
289
rural community 130-1
development 130-42
Landcare 244, 288
resistance to agribusiness 162,
164
restructuring 124-6
sociology and 20-1, 58
see also community; family
farms
rural culture 52-60, 69
autonomy of farmers and 173-7
rural decline 2, 68-9
rural ideology 8, 53-5
National Party and 65-8
rural political organisation 61-71
influence on national politics
62-5
Rural Reconstruction Scheme 182
rural regeneration 290-9
rural revitalisation 11-12
rural sociology
community, space and 30-7
development of 17-29
expanding borders 37-41
land degradation and 237-40
rural townspeople, and farmers 56
rural training courses 223-4
rural/urban split
advertising 49-51

poverty 98-9
tension 31-4, 38
rurality 27-9
Russet Burbank potatoes 175-6

S

Sachs, C.E. 57
Safeway 295
Sainsburys 162, 163, 295
salinity 230, 233, 252, 254, 261
Sanitary and Phytosanitary Stan-
dards (SPS) 160
schools 99-101
self-exploitation 19
self-reliance, of farmers 183-90,
289-90
Landcare and 249
7-Eleven stores 171
Shapiro, Robert 160
shock therapy, economic 156-7
Sikh communities 55
Simplot 174-7
Sinclair, Ian 64
Slaney, Dr Graham 115-16
social capital 123, 290-1, 293-4
social fields 130-1
social issues 4
social justice 140
social life 87
stratification 22-3, 120-1,
122-3, 135, 137, 250
social networks 122-3, 291
social obligation 260
social power 74, 135
see also power
social problems 89-102
youth suicide 90-5, 288
social relations 122-3
socio-economic structure 6-8,
23-5
soil erosion 2, 70, 230, 233, 244
Landcare and 246
prevention measures 233-4
Soja, E. 37, 38
soybeans 271
space
consciousness of 33-4
culture and 53, 69

space cont'd
power/knowledge and 37-41
rethinking 34-7
social construction of 30-1,
130-2
spatialised 37-41
sponsorship, and sustainability
measures 239, 247
sporting clubs 122
spray drift 261
see also chemical industry
state property 259, 263
see also property rights
states rights 76
stereotypes 47-51
strategic planning 139
streambank degradation 230
structural adjustment programs
156, 157
subsumption 172
sugar industry 191-203
cultural diversity in 198-201
development of 192-3
interest groups in 194-8
structural changes 201-3
transformation of 193-4
suicide 4
youth 90-5, 102, 288
sustainability 229, 290-1
agribusiness, farmer control and
profits 237-40
GMOs and 280
Landcare and 253-4
meaning of 235-7
targets 231-2
symbols 47-8, 51, 121
Synapse Consulting 186

T

tariffs 67
Tasmanian potato industry 174-7
Tatz, Colin 145
technology, farming techniques
and 3, 20, 167-8, 201, 233-5,
279-80
see also biotechnology
teleworking 288, 296
Telstra 247

terms of trade 178, 189-90, 238,
249, 289
terra nullius 144
Tesco 295
time, culture and 53
tokenism 224-5
Tonnies, Ferdinand 19, 32
Torres Strait Islanders 5
tourism 5, 125-8, 231, 288, 296
Trade Related Intellectual Prop-
erty Rights (TRIPS) 160
tradition 57-9
cane farmers and 192-3
transgenic crops 271, 275-6
potential problems 278-81
transportation of food 165
tree planting 241, 254
trust 291
Tysons Foods 170, 171

U

unemployment 6, 67-8, 94, 139
United Australia Party 62
Upper Murray Health and
Community Service 114
urban/rural split 69-70
advertising 49-51
poverty and 98-9
tension 31-4, 38
Uruguay Round 158
US government and agribusiness
159-60

V

vaccines 272, 279
value-adding, in rural Australia
290-9
van der Ploeg, J.D. 24-5
Van Maanen, J. 36-7
vegetation management 257
vertical co-ordination 168
vertical integration 168-9
Victoria Mill 195, 201
Victorian government
Kennett 65, 76, 110
health care delivery 111-17
health services and voluntarism
106-9

404 RURALITY BITES

violence 95-7, 101, 102
voluntarism

history and decline of 104-8
Landcare and 248

W

Waddi Waddi people 143
wage rates, rural areas and 157,
297
water quality 230, 233, 254, 290
water rights 262-5, 268
weeds 244
welfare state
farmer self-reliance and 187-90,
289-90
voluntarism and 104-9
Western District Health Service
114
wetlands 230
Whatmore, S. 57
whole farm planning 240
Wik decision 11, 72, 77-9, 260
Wild, Ron 23
Wilkinson, K.P. 130
Wilson, Elizabeth 33
wine industry 127-8
Wiradjuri people 143
women
dairy industry case study of
209-13

farmer label, claiming it 214-26
in agriculture 12, 25-6, 28,
57-8, 204-8, 289, 298
in Landcare groups 251
in rural communities 23, 126,
288

violence 96
see also feminism and rural
sociology

Women's Health Centres 110
women's rural organisations 222-3
Woodward, Justice A.E. 81
wool industry 181-2
Wooldridge, Michael 76, 77
Woolgoolga 55
World Bank 155, 156
World Trade Organisation (WTO)
154, 156, 159, 160
World War II 200

Y

Yorta Yorta people 143
Young, D.J. 100
youth
community development 134,
138
suicide 90-5, 102, 288

Z

Zeneca 159

