



**Hawkesbury Harvest: Panacea,  
Paradox and the Spirit of Capitalism  
in the Rural Hinterlands of Sydney,  
Australia.**



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Paradox and the Spirit of Capitalism  
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Australia.***



**FARM GATE**

*The Country Experience  
On the Doorstep of Sydney*

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***Doctor of Philosophy***

**WESTERN SYDNEY  
UNIVERSITY**







# *Dedication*

**This work is dedicated to my daughter Teresa 'Tess' Campbell-Knowd.**

**Tess was one of the world's special children, her life lived in defiance of the odds with spirit and grace.**

**Tess reminded us every day that just because it's possible, doesn't mean it should be, and that sometimes things just are the way they are, and should stay that way.**

**She was a living example of how interventions can fix a part, but make the whole more fragile and vulnerable. She showed us that by concentrating on parts, we lose sense of the whole, and the perfection that imperfection can contain.**

**She confounded us with her capacity to understand yet incapacity to communicate, and make herself known to us. She made it possible for those who loved and cared for her to be more than they ever believed they could be.**

**She was a living paradox.**

**In Loving Memory of**



**Our Beautiful Tess**

**5<sup>th</sup> February, 1997 – 26<sup>th</sup> September, 2014**

**Full Trisomy 18 (Edwards Syndrome)**



# *Acknowledgements*

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Members of Hawkesbury Harvest Inc., particularly its farmer members, and the Steering Committee, NSW Agriculture (now the NSW Dept. of Primary Industry), and particularly Leigh James, District Horticulturalist (Vegetables) from the Windsor Office, for images used in this thesis that show the impact of urban development and mining on farming lands in the Hawkesbury region. Ian Sinclair of Edge Planning has also generously provided exhibit material.

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John Reid - for use of his photos and artwork from the *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* Field Study (ANU) – extracts of the Exhibition Catalogue are used as chapter dividers in this thesis, and in the Appendix: A Fertile Ground of Contested Landscapes.

Mrs Joyce Stevens (the late) – for sharing her autographed copy of *The Good Old Days* by J.C.L. Fitzpatrick (1900) and her own and husband Stan’s passion for all things Hawkesbury.

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My supervisors, Dr Russell Staiff and Associate Professor Robyn Bushell for their patience, support and guidance, especially in times when the journey seemed as if it may never end.

## *Chapter Dividers*

The exhibited artworks are selected from the *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* (2010) catalogue. They are used to compliment the opening piece of phenomenological data used in Chapter One, and provide samples from the exhibition and its dialogue with the public.





## *Abstract*

This study presents a phenomenological exposition of Hawkesbury Harvest (Harvest), a community-based, not-for-profit that formed in the year 2000 to address the systemic threats to farming in the Sydney Basin, threats to farm viability, and community health issues related to changes in the food system. Revealed from the perspectives of its four longest-serving actors and taking a grounded inductive stance within an emancipatory research paradigm, the study documents and interprets Harvest's archeo-legacies in the Sydney development dialogue.

Within institutional settings there were no linkages between policy and action and the challenges Harvest actors recognized affecting agriculture, food, farming and health. The 'panacea' that tourism is promoted to be by government gave Harvest access to neo-liberal programs of support capable of creating the links, the nexus between Sydney's future and a future for farming, and so Harvest's first funded initiative was a Farm Gate Trail.

Harvest began a process of communicative action expressed through a range of economic initiatives which created agri-tourism, open farms, farmer markets and food events. These engaged the wider Sydney community through experiential animations in a critical and paradoxical dialogue about urban development, food, health and farming with a core message that farming in the Sydney Basin needed to be retained and protected, for the sake of both rural community and city dwellers. A repertoire of messages developed that are contingent on a dynamic engagement with Sydney's development discourse, messages that have evolved and self-reference Harvest in the prosecution of its dialectic. This phenomenology presents empirical evidence for Harvest as a 'carrier' (after Weber) of moral imperatives in support of agriculture in the Sydney Basin. As a place-based reaction to global forces it made possible the expression of its actors' personal 'calling' into service for a greater good and mobilized discourses about local food systems, regional identity, cultural landscape and local farming mythology as components in its agri-cultural economic initiatives. This placist dialectic activated and harnessed the classic Weberian conundrum of formal versus substantive rationality, and gave expression to Weber's own concession about rationality, that without a teleology, a values-informed rationality, it simply reinforces what he famously described as the Iron Cage of modernity. Harvest's mechanisms make available the expression of a spirit in capitalism, one Weber believed would be snuffed out in a secularized world, but one which we can still find in the small places that throw up resistance to the Iron Cage in forms like Hawkesbury Harvest.



***Statement of Authentication***

***The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.***

.....

***Ian Knowd***

***2013***





# Table of Contents

Abstract.....	9
Statement of Authentication .....	11
List of Tables .....	2
List of Exhibits .....	3
List of Figures .....	4
List of Appendices .....	5
List of Acronyms.....	5
Related Works.....	8
Chapter One: On the Absence of Nothing Happened.....	21
In a Nutshell .....	21
Our Telling Begins - Something Happened .....	25
“It’s what this is all about really!” .....	27
What’s it all about, really? .....	33
An Embedded/Grounded Phenomenology .....	43
Why Was a Dialectic Needed? .....	47
How Can ‘Nothing’, ‘Happen’? If it Does, How is it ‘An Absence’? .....	53
Chapter Two: Journeying with Harvest.....	63
My Approach to Tackling the Harvest Phenomena .....	63
Insider-ness .....	69
A Weberian Frame .....	75
What other frames?.....	79
Participation: Internal and External Dialogue.....	83
Participative Emancipatory Action.....	88
Data and Collection.....	93
The Farmer, The Bureaucrat, and The Operations Guy.....	98
John Maguire - The Farmer.....	101
David Mason - The Bureaucrat .....	105
Alan Eagle – The Operations Guy.....	112
I Theoros: Hermeneutic Tourist, Theoristic Vector.....	118
Chapter Three: On Fertile Ground .....	127
A Harvest Rhetoric .....	128
The Problem with Planning.....	130
The Problem of Food Systems .....	134
The Problem of Connection .....	137
The Problem of Disharmony .....	138
The Problem of Knowing.....	140
Conflict – The Absence of Nothing Happened.....	142
The Community Compass .....	144
Chapter Four: A New Harvest .....	161
Tourism and Opportunity .....	163
A Harvest Pre-History and Early Initiatives .....	164
Harvest Projects .....	170
Hawkesbury Harvest’s Stakeholder Relations .....	177
The Hawkesbury Harvest Brand.....	180
Harvest’s First Dialogic Mechanism – The Farm Gate Trail .....	185
Harvest’s Second Dialogic Mechanism - Farmers Markets.....	200
Harvest’s Other ‘Projects’ – Slow Food and Schools Harvest .....	213
Theorizing Harvest’s Pedagogical Strategies .....	222

Panacea in Action .....	251
Enniskillen Orchard, Grose Vale .....	252
Chapter Five: Claiming Higher Ground .....	273
Sustainability: A Harvest Dialectic Credential .....	275
Chapter Six: The Hybrid Cultivar .....	311
The Bridging Dynamic .....	324
Hybridity .....	344
Governance and Harvest .....	353
Sect-ness .....	366
Chapter Seven: Portentous Palimpsests .....	373
Weber’s Dismal Speculation – The Iron Cage and The Spirit .....	374
The Iron Cage and the Prisoners’ Dilemma .....	392
Harvest and the Prisoners’ Dilemma .....	405
Traditional Capitalism .....	409
Providentiality and the Animation Experience .....	411
Portentiousness - “Well, It’s For Posterity You Know” .....	414
A Macquarie Legacy? A Harvest Critique of Planning .....	417
Path Dependence and Planning .....	419
Final Reflections On A Modern Parable .....	424
References .....	431

## ***List of Tables***

Table 1: The ‘Harvest Study’ Design .....	68
Table 2: Locating the Harvest Case in a Participatory Action Framework .....	90
Table 3: Harvest’s Substantive Rationality Expressed as ‘Oughts’. .....	129
Table 4: Fertile Ground for Harvesting Tourism .....	161
Table 5: Harvest Experiences and Sub-regional Tourism Brands .....	184
Table 6: Sustainable Development Integrity and Harvest’s Projects .....	287
Table 7: Tourism as a Potential Panacea for the Ills of Agricultural Communities .....	292
Table 8: Characterization of the Farm Gate Trail in Theoretical Terms .....	297
Table 9: Sustainable Tourism Characteristics of the FGT .....	301
Table 10: Tourism as a Mechanism in Sustainable Agriculture .....	306
Table 11: Harvest Actor Categorization in Social Entrepreneurship .....	332
Table 12: Hawkesbury Harvest’s Hallmark ‘New’ Governance Characteristics .....	354
Table 13: Organisational Strengths and Weaknesses .....	364
Table 14: Harvest’s Prisoner Dilemma .....	397
Table 15: Harvest and Food Planning Models for Action .....	415

## *List of Exhibits*

Exhibit 1: Art for Agriculture? .....	26
Exhibit 2a: John Maguire, Enniskillen Orchard, Grose Vale .....	101
Exhibit 2b: John Maguire’s childhood home and ‘Government House’, Emu Plains.....	104
Exhibit 3: David Mason, Leader - Urban Agriculture. ....	105
Exhibit 4a: Alan Eagle, Management Consultant.....	112
Exhibit 4b: Alan Eagle’s home town of Richmond, NSW .....	113
Exhibit 5a: Ian Knowd, Academic, University of Western Sydney .....	118
Exhibit 5b: The Ellis’ Place, Belmont, QLD. ....	120
Exhibit 5c: The Ellis’ Place, Belmont, QLD.....	121
Exhibit 6: Sydney Food Fairness Alliance’s call for a Food Summit November 6th, 2008 .....	135
Exhibit 7: Selected newspaper items from Hawkesbury and Sydney daily press.....	143
Exhibit 8: Extracts from the Preface of <i>The Good Old Days</i> , J. C. L. Fitzpatrick, 1900 .....	157
Exhibit 9: Professor Hill and David Mason’s ‘Holistic Process to Engage People’ .....	169
Exhibit 10: Hawkesbury Harvest founding group, May 2000 .....	170
Exhibit 11: The Hawkesbury Harvest Brands .....	181
Exhibit 12: Re-branded Farm Gate and Harvest Trails and Markets Logos .....	185
Exhibit 13: Harvest’s Vision, Ideals and Values.....	185
Exhibit 14: A Harvest Ode .....	186
Exhibit 15: Harvest’s PR and Communications .....	189
Exhibit 16a: Farm Gate Trail Maps 2000-2010.....	190
Exhibit 16b: Map Formats.....	191
Exhibit 17: Edition 7 FGT Map and Taste, Buy and Learn .....	191
Exhibit 18: Harvest’s associated brands .....	193
Exhibit 19a: 6 <sup>th</sup> Edition Map Content.....	192
Exhibit 19b: 6 <sup>th</sup> Edition Map Content.....	193
Exhibit 20: How the Maps Bundle Components to Create Experiences.....	195
Exhibit 21: Social Capital Initiatives and Harvest .....	199
Exhibit 22: Rouse Hill Regional Centre.....	205
Exhibit 23: RHRC and its wider region .....	205
Exhibit 24: Lend Lease/GPT/Hawkesbury Harvest Ideas Framework April 2004 .....	207
Exhibit 25: Key Learning Area RHRC – Ag & Hort and Harvest Positioning, 2005 .....	208
Exhibit 26: Agriculture and Horticulture, The Hornery Institute and Harvest.....	209
Exhibit 27: Slow Food pages from the Farm Gate Trail map .....	214
Exhibit 28: UWS Tourism Students conduct a Slow Food Event – Bacchanalia.....	215

Exhibit 29: Students working with Crowne Plaza kitchen brigade, November 2008.....	218
Exhibit 30: The Schools Harvest Model.....	219
Exhibit 31: Thought for food – Schools Harvest at RNPS.....	221
Exhibit 32: Harvest’s Genuine Grower, Producer and Reseller Markets Banner.....	231
Exhibit 33: Jafari’s original tourist experience model figures.....	241
Exhibit 34: Jafari’s tourist non-ordinary – resident’s ordinary relationship.....	243
Exhibit 35: Enniskillen Orchard, Grose Vale, NSW.....	253
Exhibit 36: Enniskillen’s Physical Presence.....	256
Exhibit 37: Enniskillen’s Typical Tourism Day.....	257
Exhibit 38: Enniskillen’s Virtual and Media Presence.....	259
Exhibit 39: Enniskillen’s Tourist Brochure.....	260
Exhibit 40: Enniskillen Orchard and Networks.....	261
Exhibit 41: Gary Larsen’s The Magnificent Lippizaner Cows.....	264
Exhibit 42: Grasping the Nettle.....	266
Exhibit 33a: The Jafari Overpass (Modified).....	317
Exhibit 43: Harvest Actor Temporal Network Map.....	319
Exhibit 44: Hawkesbury Harvest’s Values and Ideals.....	327
Exhibit 45: Harvest Potentials Model – Paddock-to-Plate 2002.....	338
Exhibit 46: Harvest and Paradigms of Public Interest.....	346

## *List of Figures*

Figure 1: The Community Compass.....	145
Figure 2: Health and Farming Agendas Converge, Tourism Agendas Paralleled.....	165
Figure 3: Harvest’s Projects Building Opportunity.....	176
Figure 4: Hawkesbury Harvest Service Delivery Trinity.....	179
Figure 5: Tourism Flows Exploited by the Farm Gate Trail - Hawkesbury.....	197
Figure 6: The Harvest System of Food and Farm Based Attractions.....	198
Figure 7: Hawkesbury Harvest as a Tourism Brand.....	200
Figure 8: Castle Hill Market Growth.....	203
Figure 9: Food and Wine Tourism Conceptual Framework.....	228
Figure 10: A touristic model of the farmers market experience.....	247
Figure 11: Enniskillen’s Farm Gate Evolution.....	254
Figure 12: Vertical and Horizontal Integration at Enniskillen.....	256



Figure 13: Tourism and Agriculture’s Common Interest in Landscape.....	276
Figure 14: Sustainable development spirals and feedback loops.....	280
Figure 15: A descending spiral of development for The Hawkesbury? .....	282
Figure 16: An ascending spiral of development for The Hawkesbury? .....	285
Figure 17: Rural Tourism and Weaver’s Broad Context Model .....	295
Figure 18: Butler’s Resort Cycle and Rogers’ Diffusion of Innovation Models .....	297
Figure 19: Summary Positioning of the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail.....	302
Figure 20: Hawkesbury Harvest – A Bridging Organisation .....	323
Figure 21: A Bridging Dynamic of Governance and Development. ....	325
Figure 22: Harvest’s Changing Role .....	336

## ***List of Appendices***

Appendices are supplied on disc – see inside back cover.

Appendix One: A Harvest Chronology

Appendix Two: Contested Landscapes and Fertile Grounds

Appendix Three: Farm Gate Trail Map PDFs

Appendix Four: Hawkesbury Harvest Business Plan

Appendix Five: Farm Gate Trails – Mornington Peninsula and Tasmania

Appendix Six: Hawkesbury Food Program Action Plan ’98-’99

Appendix Seven: Hawkesbury Harvest Formation Workshop Minutes, 11 May, 2000.

Appendix Eight: *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* exhibition catalogue 2010

## ***List of Acronyms***

ABC – Australian Broadcasting Corporation

AFMA – Australian Farmers Market Association

APO – Asian Productivity Organization (Colombo Plan)

ARTN – Australian Regional Tourism Network

ATDP – Australian Tourism Development Program

BHSC – Baulkham Hills Shire Council (now The Hills Shire Council)

CAUTHE – Council of Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Educators

CFS – Community Food Security

CHIP – Centre for Health Innovation and Partnerships (NSW Health)

CoSyd – City of Sydney  
CSA – Community Supported/Shared/Sponsored Agriculture  
DAFF – Cwth Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry  
DCP – Development Control Plan  
DEWRSB – Cwth Dept. of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business  
DGR – NSW Department of Gaming and Racing  
DIPNR – NSW Department of Infrastructure, Planning, and Natural Resources  
DoTaRS – Cwth Department of Transport and Regional Services  
DUAP - NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning  
ESD – Ecologically Sustainable Development  
FG – Farm Gate  
FGT – Farm Gate Trail, specifically the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail  
GPT – General Property Trust  
GRW – Great River Walk  
GWSEDB - Greater Western Sydney Economic Development Board  
HCC – Hawkesbury City Council  
HEN – Hawkesbury Environment Network  
HFP – Hawkesbury Food Program  
HH – Hawkesbury Harvest Inc. abbreviated to ‘Harvest’  
HHF&FFM - Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers’ and Fine Food Market  
HHF&GFM – Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers’ and Gourmet Food Market  
HHTTF – Hills-Hawkesbury Tourism Task Force  
HotH – Heart of the Hawkesbury (originally ‘Brand Windsor’)  
HRN – Hawkesbury Rainforest Network  
HSADS - Hawkesbury Sustainable Agriculture Development Strategy  
HSC – Hornsby Shire Council  
ICTC – International Cities and Town Centres (State of Australian Cities Conferences)  
ILSI – International Life Sciences Institute  
LEP – Local Environment Plan  
LGA – Local Government Area  
LL – Lend Lease  
NSW – The State of New South Wales  
NSW Ag – NSW Department of Agriculture  
NWSRDO – North West Sydney Regional Development Organisation  
OHN – Office of the Hawkesbury Nepean

PCC – Penrith City Council

PFP – Penrith Food Program

RAP – Regional Assistance Program

RAS – Royal Agricultural Society, NSW

RCE-ESD – Regional Centre of Expertise on Education for Sustainability (UN University)

RHRC – Rouse Hill Regional Centre (later The New Rouse Hill)

RHTC – Rouse Hill Town Centre (aka The New Rouse Hill)

RNPS – Richmond North Public School

RP – Regional Partnerships (Program)

RTWP – Regional Tourism Working Party

SD – Sustainable Development

SFFBN – Sydney Fresh Food Bowl Network

ST – Sustainable Tourism

TNRHCC – The New Rouse Hill Community Committee

TNSW – Tourism New South Wales

TROPO – Tweed Richmond Organic Producers Organisation

UWS – University of Western Sydney

UWSH – University of Western Sydney – Hawkesbury

UWSHF - University of Western Sydney Hawkesbury Foundation

VIC – Visitor Information Centre

WPC – World Planners Congress

WSAHS – Western Sydney Area Health Service

WSC – Wollondilly Shire Council

## *Related Works*

The following table lists significant documents and presentations of the Harvest phenomenon. These are in addition to curriculum materials produced for teaching purposes for the following University of Western Sydney units between 2001 and 2014.

Rural Tourism (B. A. Tour. /App. Sci. EM&T)	Tourism & Regional Development (B. Tour. Mgmt.)
Destination Management (B. Tour. Mgmt.)	Tourism in Society (B. Tour. Mgmt.)
Tourism Policy and Planning (B. Tour. Mgmt.)	Sustainable Tourism in Practice (B. A. Tour. /App. Sci. EM&T)
Community Studies (B. A. Tour./App. Sci. EM&T)	Working With Communities (B. Soc. Sci.)
Development & Sustainability (B. Soc. Sci.)	Tourism in Rural Contexts ( M. Tourism Planning)

Year	Author(s)	Title
1999	Ian Knowd Robyn Bushell John Streckfuss Russell Staiff	<i>Developing Rural Tourism on Urban Peripheries: A Community Development Case Study</i> , Conference Presentation. In: <i>Delighting the Senses, The Ninth Australian Tourism and Hospitality Research Conference</i> , CAUTHE 1999. Adelaide: University of South Australia.
2001	Ian Knowd	<i>Rural Tourism: Panacea and Paradox - Exploring the Phenomenon of Rural Tourism and Tourism's Interaction with Host Rural Communities</i> . Richmond, NSW: School of Environment and Agriculture, University of Western Sydney.  <i>Rural tourism: Panacea and paradox. Tourism Geography CD, July 2001</i> , Sydney: University of Western Sydney, Hawkesbury.
2002	Ian Knowd	<i>Grasping the Nettle: Farmers and Tourism</i> . Richmond, NSW: University of Western Sydney, Hawkesbury, Australia.  The Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail, case study in Kelly, I., (ed), <i>Australian Regional Tourism Handbook: Industry Solutions 2002</i> , CRC for Sustainable Tourism Pty Ltd, Coffs Harbour.
2003	Ian Knowd	<i>Grasping the Nettle: Farmers and Tourism</i> . In: RW. Braithwaite, and RL. Braithwaite, eds., <i>Riding the Wave of Tourism and Hospitality Research Proceedings of the Council of Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference</i> . Coffs Harbour. Lismore: Southern Cross University  <i>Food and Wine Trails: A "Theoretical" Orientation</i> . Paper and Presentation delivered to Experience the Difference, NSW Food and Wine Tourism Seminar, University of NSW, Sydney, February 11-12.  <i>The Role of Tourism in Regional Community-Based Action for Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Community Development</i> . Presented at <i>Tourism...Your Pathway to Regional Prosperity</i> , Regional Executive Development Programme Southern Cross University, Lismore, 17-19 March.  <i>Food and Wine Trails: Understanding the Experience'</i> , Paper and Presentation to Hawkesbury Harvest Training Seminar, 4 June, TAFE Richmond.  <i>Business Plan: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</i> , Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.
2004	Ian Knowd David Mason	<i>Regional Development Through Community-Based Action for Sustainable Agriculture</i> . Agri-food Forum, University of Western Australia
2005	Ian Knowd	Tourism As Panacea: Exploring The Role Of Tourism In Non-Tourism Development

Year	Author(s)	Title
		<p>Agendas. In: P. Tremblay, and A. Boyle, eds, <i>Sharing Tourism Knowledge, Proceedings of the Council for Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference</i>, Alice Springs. Northern Territory: Charles Darwin University. Bill Faulkner Award for Best PhD Paper.</p> <p><i>At Heart is a Healthy Heart: The Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail'</i>, Case Study and Presentation to Taking the Pulse of Regional Tourism; innovation and connectivity, the 2005 Australian Regional Tourism Convention, Busselton, September 14-17.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest's Role in the Leisure and Learning Life of Rouse Hill Regional Centre</i>, for the Hornery Institute. Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers Market Concept Proposal</i>, for Lend Lease/GPT. Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>Five Years of Achievement and Challenge for Harvest</i>, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>Commentary on The Draft Sydney Hills Tourism Strategy</i>, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p>
	Ian Knowd David Mason Andrew Docking	<i>Urban agriculture: the new frontier</i> . Paper presented to the State of Australian Cities Conference, Griffith University, Brisbane, 30 Nov. – 2 Dec.
2006	Ian Knowd	<p>Tourism as Mechanism for Farm Survival. <i>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i>, 14: 1.</p> <p><i>Old Wine in New Bottles: The Case of Hawkesbury Harvest</i> in proceedings of Governments and Communities in Partnership: From Theory to Practice, Centre for Public Policy, University of Melbourne, 25-27 September. Victoria.</p> <p><i>Farming and Urbanising Environments: Hawkesbury Harvest and The Cultural Landscape of Western Sydney</i>. Presented at ANZSYS 2006, Theme 6: Livelihood, Innovation and Opportunity, 3rd – 6th December 2006 Carrington Hotel, Katoomba, Blue Mountains.</p> <p><i>Farming and Urbanizing Environments: Hawkesbury Harvest and The Cultural Landscape of Western Sydney</i>, Paper published in Roger Attwater and John Merson (Eds) 2007, the 12th Australia New Zealand Systems Society Conference, Sustaining our Social and Natural Capital, - ISCE Publishing,</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.: Food, Farming and their Future in the Sydney Basin</i>. Presented to the 6th Plant Health Australia Annual General Meeting, Old Parliament House, Canberra.</p> <p><i>Our Hawkesbury</i>, Presentation to Your Land, Your Lifestyle, Our Hawkesbury, Community Land Use Forum, 27th August, University of Western Sydney.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Submission on the Draft Cultural Plan 2006-2011</i>, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p>
	Ian Knowd David Mason Ian Sinclair	<p><i>Growing Food and Growing Houses: It's a Landscape Thing</i>. Paper presented at the World Planners Congress, Vancouver, 17-20 June, Vancouver, Canada.</p> <p><i>Growing Food and Growing Houses: It's a Landscape Thing</i>. Paper presented at the 7<sup>th</sup> International Cities, Town Centres and Communities Society Conference, 6-9 June, Newcastle City Hall, Newcastle NSW.</p>
2007	Ian Knowd	<i>DIY Sustainability "Hawkesbury Harvest Style"</i> , EcoSteps Workshop, 29th

Year	Author(s)	Title
		<p>November, Baulkham Hills Shire Council.</p> <p><i>A Summary of Hawkesbury Harvest Achievements Since Birth</i>, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers Markets Strategy</i>, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>Building Opportunity, Building a Future, Reaping the Harvest</i>. Presented at The Macarthur Centre for Sustainable Living.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Inc. Food and Wine Coordinator Project 2006-2008: Provedore Model Research Project</i>.</p> <p><i>Re-Making Places: The Role of Farming, Tourism and Localization in Urban Development at the New Rouse Hill</i>, paper presented to Contemporary Geography for Australia, Institute of Australian Geographers Conference 1-6 July, University of Melbourne, Parkville.</p>
	Ian Knowd David Mason	<i>The Hawkesbury Harvest Story: Exploring the Socio-cultural Intersection Between Agriculture and Urbanization in the Sydney Basin</i> . Presented at Agri-Food XIV, 25 – 29 November, Emmanuel College, The University of Queensland, Brisbane.
2008	Ian Knowd	<p><i>Agri-industry Development and Advocacy: The Hawkesbury Harvest Story</i>. Presented at The Macarthur Centre for Sustainable Living.</p> <p><i>Submission to the Metropolitan Strategy Subregional Plans For the North and South West, March 2008</i>.</p> <p><i>Building Opportunity, Building a Future, Reaping the Harvest</i>, presented at Let's Farm: Agricultural Opportunity in the Hawkesbury, 15th May, Hawkesbury City Council Deerubbin Centre, Windsor What is Hawkesbury Harvest? Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Food and Wine Coordinator Project, 2006 – 2008, Final Report</i>, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.</p> <p><i>The Rural Tourism Industry; Global trends, opportunities and challenges</i>, Asian Productivity Organization, Workshop on Agro-tourism Development for the Creation of Rural Jobs and Diversified Income, 4-8 November, Bandung, Indonesia.</p> <p><i>Agro-tourism as a mechanism for improving farmer's income</i>, Asian Productivity Organization, Workshop on Agro-tourism Development for the Creation of Rural Jobs and Diversified Income, 4-8 November, Bandung, Indonesia.</p>
	Ian Knowd David Mason	<i>Hawkesbury Harvest - From Food Security to Food Sovereignty - A Hard Row to Hoe</i> , Agri-Food XV, 26 – 28 November, The Darlington Centre, University of Sydney, Sydney
2009	Ian Knowd	<i>Submission on Employment Lands Direction</i> , Baulkham Hills Shire Council Forward Planning Strategy Planning Team, Richmond: Hawkesbury Harvest Inc.
	Ian Knowd Gavin Ramsay Elka Simon	<i>UWS / Mamre Project / Hawkesbury Harvest Inc. Agri-business Employment and Learning Project (The Farms Project) Phase 1 – Scoping Report</i> . A Project Funded by the UWS Office of University Engagement.
2010	Ian Knowd	<i>Hybrid Cultivars: Exploring governance dynamics in sustainable development through the case of Hawkesbury Harvest Inc., Sydney, Australia</i> . Prepared for the 16th Annual International Sustainable Development Research Conference, May 30 – June 1, Hong Kong.
2010		<i>Submission to the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy Review Sydney Towards 2036</i> . City of Cities: A Plan for Sydney's Future, NSW Dept. of Planning.

Year	Author(s)	Title
		<p><i>Why do farmers get into tourism?</i> Curriculum material for The ArchiBulls Prize, Art4Agriculture initiative.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest.</i> Presented at Reducing Obesity in Our Communities – Symposium, July 26-27, Westmead Hospital, Sydney.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest.</i> Presented at the Centre for Health Innovation and Partnership Forum on Food Security and Health in Western Sydney, May 17, Penrith City Council, Penrith.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail – 2010 Greater Sydney Tourism Awards Category: Greater Sydney Tourism Champion – Winner.</i></p>
	Ian Knowd David Mason	<p><i>Agriculture at your back door – Feeding Sydney.</i> Curriculum material for The ArchiBulls Prize, Art4Agriculture initiative.</p> <p>A New Harvest: Hawkesbury Harvest and peri-urban farm innovation in the rural hinterlands of Sydney, Australia. <i>Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development.</i></p> <p>The emergence of urban agriculture: Sydney, Australia. <i>International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability</i>, 8 (1&amp;2), 62-71.</p> <p><i>Macquarie – A Legacy.</i> Presented to The National Trust of Australia, Macquarie 2010, held at Tizzana Winery.</p>
2011	Ian Knowd	<p><i>Building Opportunity, Building a Future, Reaping the Harvest.</i> Southern Harvest Trail Workshop, Wagga Wagga.</p> <p><i>School Garden Models: paddock-to-Plate Partnering and Schools Harvest.</i> Paper presented to the 2nd ILSI – Centre for Health Innovation and Partnership Symposium, 7th and 8th December, The University of Western Sydney Clinical School, Blacktown Hospital, Blacktown.</p> <p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail 2011 ENTRY GREATER SYDNEY TOURISM AWARDS CATEGORY: TOURISM MARKETING - Connecting the dots to reveal Greater Sydney's REAL tourism treasures. – Winner.</i></p>
2012	Ian Knowd David Mason	<p><i>The Road to Multifunctional Agriculture Policy Development: The contribution of Hawkesbury Harvest Inc., Sydney, Australia.</i> Presented in Working Group 16   Multifunctionality, rural policy and governance at Agriculture in and Urbanizing Society, First International Conference on Multifunctional Agriculture and Urban Rural relations, April 1-4, Wageningen, The Netherlands.</p>
2013	Ian Knowd	<p><i>GWS – Fertile Ground for Community-based Action on Food System Sustainability.</i> Presented at Securing our Food Future Workshop, Blacktown City Council, Nov 18.</p>
2014	Ian Knowd	<p><i>Hawkesbury Harvest: Community-based, agri-cultural regional development in the Sydney Basin.</i> Shikaoi International Friendship Conference – 3rd December, Discovery Centre, Hawkesbury Campus, University of Western Sydney.</p>





We accept it because we have seen the vision.  
We know that we cannot reap the harvest, but  
we hope that we may so well prepare the land  
and so diligently sow the seed that our  
successors may gather the ripened grain.

Liberty Hyde Bailey

1858 - 1954



## The Hawkesbury



*The Hawkesbury* is the place where Australia's agriculture was first established. The Hawkesbury-Nepean River valley was first explored by European colonizers in 1789 and the rich alluvial soils soon put into service feeding the struggling colony established by Governor Phillip in 1788 at Sydney Cove. It has been called the 'granary of the colony' and 'food bowl' of Sydney. The farming areas along the river still supply food, flowers and fibre to the city.

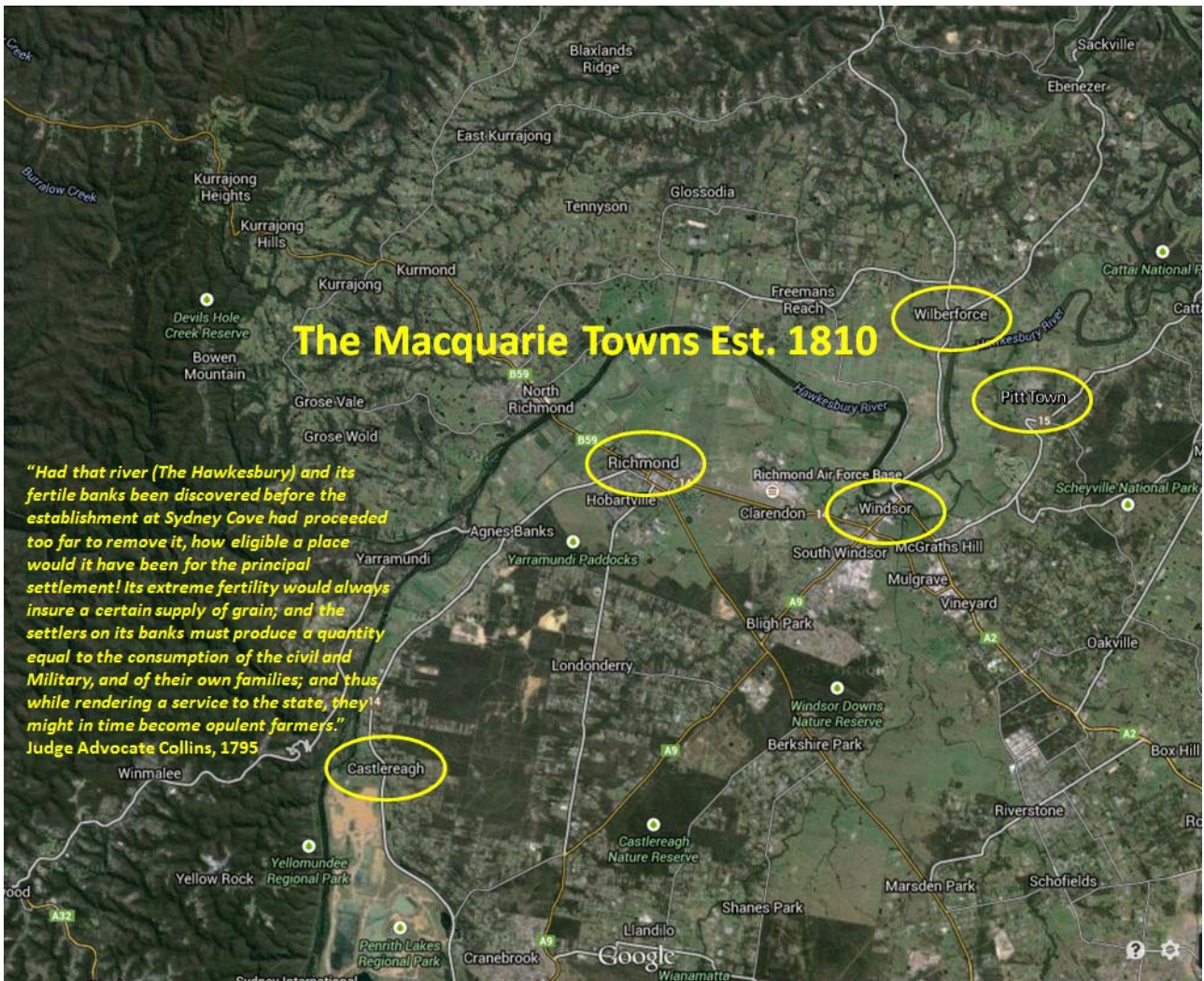
In this study, *The Hawkesbury* extends beyond Hawkesbury City Local Government Area into the LGAs of Penrith to the south, Baulkham Hills, Hornsby and Gosford to the north-east, and Blue Mountains to the west.

Governor Lachlan Macquarie established five 'Macquarie Towns' along the Hawkesbury River on the higher, less-flood-prone ground in 1810. Since the first recorded flood in 1799, the Hawkesbury Nepean River system has seen extensive inundation every few years. The last major flood occurred in 1992, the time now since that event being the longest on record.

Hawkesbury Harvest formed to defend something its constituents believe to be important to the City and the Nation – *Agri-Culture*. It would be this that was celebrated with the Inaugural Exhibition and Grand Opening at Hawkesbury City's Deerubbin Centre in June 2005, and at which Hawkesbury Harvest would feature.



## The Macquarie Towns



### Macquarie's Land

Ruby E. Ramm

*Here lies the Hawkesbury, fertile plain,  
Discovered long ago;  
Macquarie land, where hopes abound  
And willowed waters flow.*

*Was it Macquarie's vision  
That saw this fertile plain  
As a land of promised acres  
Covered o'er with golden grain?*

*Where lies a land so often blest  
With peaceful country scene  
Abundant beauty ever near  
In fields of summer green.*

*Could he see within its future  
All the years of faithful toil  
As the Hawkesbury families settled  
On this rich, beloved soil?*

*It is here the farmers battle  
Oft with drought or flooding rain  
Till their courage is rewarded  
And it's harvest time again*

*I have seen Macquarie's vision,  
I have watched it live and grow  
Through the courage of a country  
Where the willowed waters flow.*

*International Poet of Merit, 2003 awarded by the International Society of Poets.  
Ruby was born in Windsor in 1942 and lived in the Hawkesbury all her life*

## Hawkesbury Harvest's Vision

The Hawkesbury is valued locally, regionally, nationally and internationally as a wonderful place for people to live or visit to experience its local produce and products, cultural heritage, natural heritage, sense of community and the many ways in which people benefit from and celebrate these things.

### VISION IDEALS AND VALUES

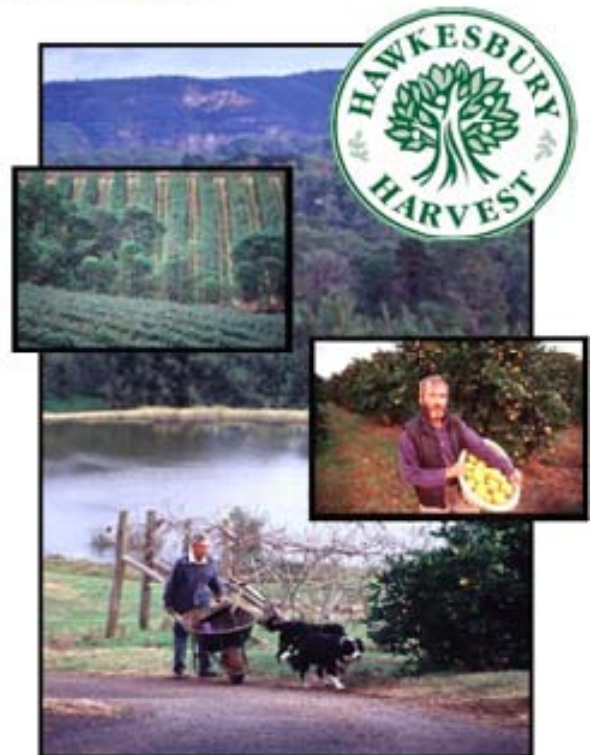
- Security of place for agricultural activities in the Hawkesbury region
- Security of resources such as land, labour, water, infrastructure and services for agricultural activities in the region
- Equity for Hawkesbury region agriculture as a land use and for those involved
- Economic viability of agriculture and associated business
- Agribusiness contributing to the region's social culture and environmental health
- Retention and enhancement of the Hawkesbury region's rural amenity
- Quality produce, products and services that reflect consumer requirements
- Human activity based on quality relationships between people and people and people and all forms of life
- Development of the global/regional interface at individual, corporate and government levels

RESPECT - RESPECT - RESPECT

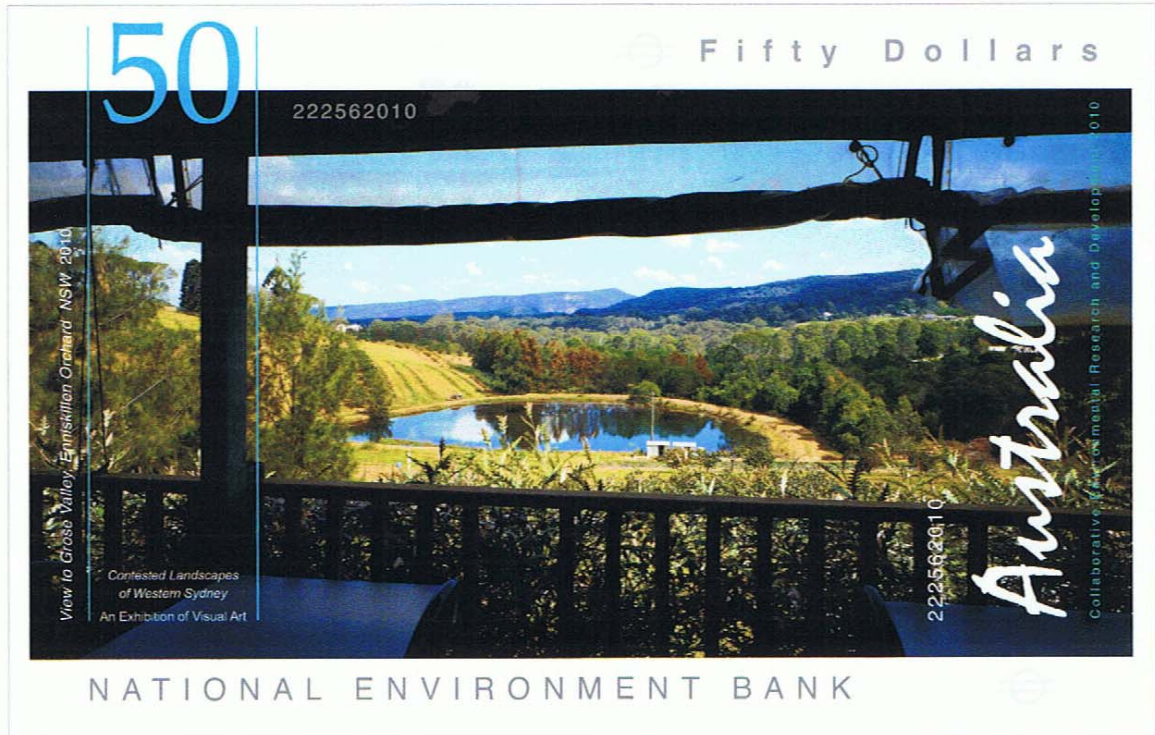
## Mission Statement

**Hawkesbury Harvest is a community based Association committed to improving the economic viability and sustainability of local agriculture.**

**Farm Gate Trail  
Grower Directory  
Business Development**







*John Reid*  
2012

### What price, rural heritage landscapes?

## National Environment Bank

### Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney Branch

**The National Environment Bank (NEB)** was established in 2002 to generate funds to support environmental research. The NEB also makes direct donations to community groups engaged in local environmental initiatives. The NEB raises capital by trading its banknotes dollar for dollar for Australian currency.

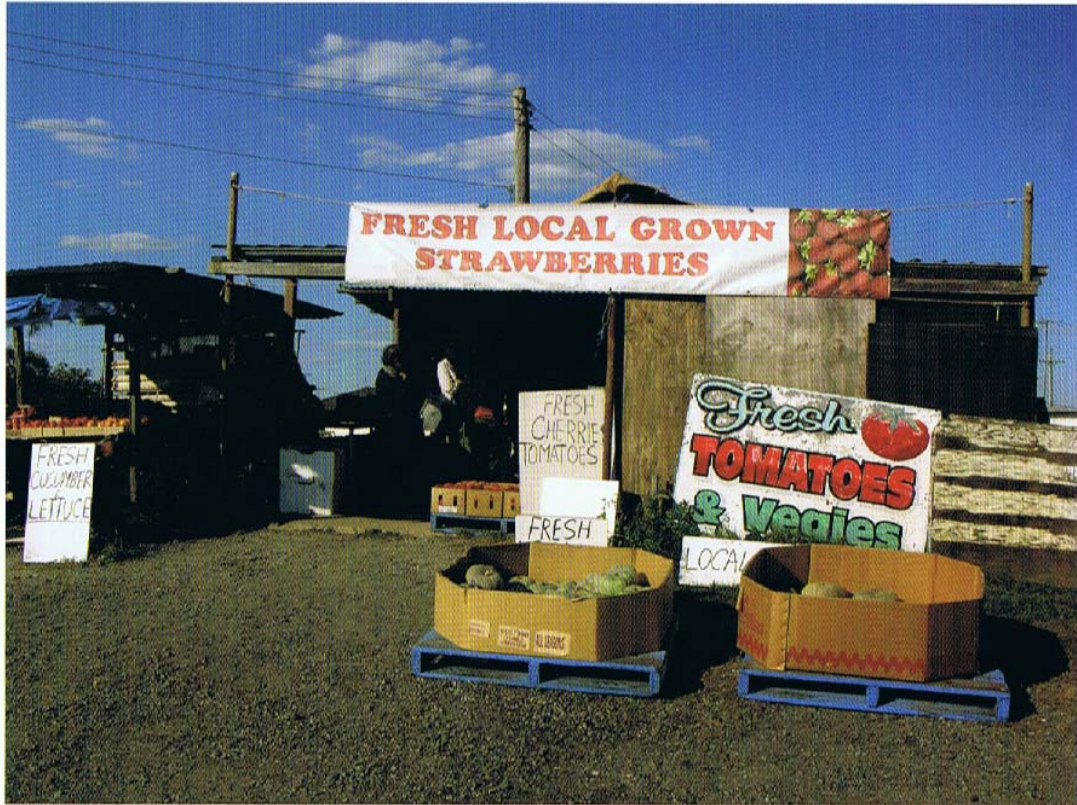
The NEB is not an Authorised Deposit-taking Institution and does not hold funds on behalf of any customer. NEB banknotes are receipts that acknowledge customer support for its endorsed projects.

In celebration of the exhibition, *The Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney*, NEB branches opened at the *Purple Noon Gallery*, Freemans Reach, and *Sassafras Creek Gallery*, Kurrajong, NSW. 3 commemorative banknotes have been issued.

Funds raised from the sale of these banknotes will be donated to the *Little Wheeny Creek Restoration Group*, *Hawkesbury Rainforest Network*. Little Wheeny Creek rises near Box Hill, flows north for 35 kilometres to join Wheeny Creek which flows into the Colo River.

**To Purchase NEB notes** Please email: [john.reid@anu.edu.au](mailto:john.reid@anu.edu.au)





Fresh Fruit and Vegie Stall, Luddenham, Western Sydney, 2010. Photograph: John Reid

### ARTIST BRIEFING

Mr David Mason (right), Churchill Fellow in urban agriculture and champion of agriculture in western Sydney, delivers an introductory briefing to artists. Carnes Hill, looking toward West Hoxton, Western Sydney, NSW, 3 March, 2010. Other consulting scientists present are Mr Ian Knowd (left), Dr Jane Dixon (white hat), Prof Tony Capon (blue shirt) and Ms Ferné Edwards (paper shade).



Photograph: John Reid





# ***Chapter One: On the Absence of Nothing Happened***

## ***In a Nutshell***

I want to tell you about a phenomenon known as Hawkesbury Harvest (Harvest). It formed in the year 2000 and created a Farm Gate Trail to start a dialogue with Sydney about the future of farming and food in the city. It is still conducting that dialogue.

The social entity, Hawkesbury Harvest, is a defender of 'The Hawkesbury', the rural homelands of Sydney's colonial 'food bowl', the site of Governor Macquarie's vision for an agrarian civil society in New South Wales. A rapidly growing Greater Sydney now threatens to write food and farming off the palimpsest of Sydney. What then of the vision? How could the food bowl and its status be ephemeral in the long view of the City? Wouldn't a good plan see that nothing happened to our farming heritage? In fact, this was absent.

What happened then was Hawkesbury Harvest, a social emergence called into action and taking form as a post-modern dialectic vehicle. It made possible my and my fellow actor's immersion and subsequent embodiment in the phenomenon. This grounded phenomenological exploration is our telling of the situation, the quest and journey inspired, the vision attained. We embarked upon this to do nothing more than something about the absence of nothing happened, and to seek an alternative future to the one seemingly set, both literally and metaphorically in concrete.

As an isophor of that quest, this study sets out in similar terms and with similar openness to what it ought to 'discover', and thus is true to its subject and subjects. Like the idiosyncratic dialogues conducted via Harvest mechanisms, *our* voices dominate the telling. My dialogue aims to immerse you in the internal and external dialectics of Harvest. Each of Harvest's mechanisms activate dialectics and seek transformational change in its actors, constituencies, publics and

consumers. It paradoxically mobilizes markets to do this, but imbues transactions with providentiality where this is sought. It activates archetypal constructs of Weber's Iron Cage and Game Theory's Prisoners' Dilemma and through this makes possible 'how to live a good life'.

Like many, and including Harvester's themselves, I misread the phenomenon to be a tourism emergence when I first encountered it, after all, that's what could be seen. I soon sensed it was something else entirely which demanded a *tabula rasa* epistemologically speaking, I needed to be un-blinkered to really see. I let the phenomenon sweep me along and lead me to the theory, which I now use to ground and locate it in our knowledge of the social world. The tourism content is prominent, but only insofar as needed to understand how Harvest touristic experiences manifest its reason-for-being as vehicle for emancipatory action and mounting of a Hegelian 'movement of thought' given 'effect in the actual world' (Wong, 2006: 242-243 citing Hegel): a dialectic.

The Farm Gate Trail as a site for this intends immersion in its journey of discovery and illumination. The experience opens us to as much or little as we seek, but if the dialectic is to be realized, then deep immersion and long conversations are what Harvest would have us consume. To do otherwise short-circuits the purpose. Similarly, this dialogue with you is designed to have you take the long road and listen to *our* telling of the story, in the way *we* have lived it from the beginning, so you can come as close as possible to *Verstehen*. Although this, the Farm Gate Trail, and Harvest's other mechanisms seek to play with you in this way, I can, in retrospect and now that I have hindsight, put in a nutshell what the dialogue reveals. I can reveal the questions for which Harvest is an answer in its dialogue with Sydney. I can describe the rich picture to be found in this thesis.

The long view reveals an apparent tourism phenomenon activating a landscape in the service of its base industry in agriculture. The panaceaic role of tourism in non-tourism

development agendas can be seen. A functional and rational marketing network of farmers harvesting a new crop in the form of tourism is foregrounded, but dwelling on the picture as I have since 2000 reveals it to be surface phenomena, and a distraction. Closer scrutiny reveals the sociologically interesting aspects as they inform the big picture, emerging like some Mandala effect from the canvass. What comes into focus is Harvest as a response to Weberian constructs of hegemonic bureaucracy and the stifling effects of this in institutional and market relations for the actors in this story.

We see farmers constrained and threatened with extinction by dominant paradigms of development, constructs of industrial agriculture, and economically rational market structures and relations, struggling to survive despite being instrumental in the food bowl of Sydney. Along with them, institutional actors in agriculture and community health whose social purpose is to support, facing the same set of paradigmatic strictures and wanting to resist the binds of their Weberian Iron Cage, find through Harvest an alternative functional vehicle, and one that permits deviation from dominant paradigms. Now acting 'outside' the system, they are policy and social entrepreneurs. The farmers and others who act through Harvest seek freedom to undertake meaningful action to retain a rural community and productive landscape in The Hawkesbury. This quest for moral freedom of choice in the service of community is at the heart of the Harvest phenomenon.

At a more detailed level, these themes of resistance and harnessing of tourism reveal the way in which a dialogue with Sydney-siders was established and conducted. Tourism theory explains its mobilizing power in making available producer-consumer alter-channels and it's the capacity of tourism to animate that makes a conversation possible. Even more powerful is the presence of a true dialectic of modernity, the positioning of actors and consumers with their complicity in the struggle our constituents face, and the potentials of this for self-actualisation through consumptive behaviour change. The Harvest phenomenon holds out *providentiality*,

something promised but not always attainable depending on how people engage with Harvest and the superficiality of their dialectic. If consumers engage with Harvest's restated Prisoner's Dilemma exchange situations, then a choice-to-trust scenario is possible. When activated, the rich terrain of moral and ethical choice underpins Harvest experiences and presents the chance of providential life effects for consumers and producers. This talks to what Weber described as 'how to live a good life'. In Harvest, expression of a good life can be had, and through Harvest it can be expressed. Such is the dialogue and dialectic possible.

Having found these relations, what does the canvass contribute to social theory? The following could well have been a hypothesis if it had been conceived as such a priori. The Weberian frame and its constructs which I now say hold the Harvest canvass, might seem unfashionable and indeed disputed in terms of his *Protestant Ethic* thesis, but what remains for me is the truth of Weber's theorem about the Iron Cage. The study explores this in detail in a contemporary social form and finds its constructs to be alive and well. In Harvest I have found a Weberian spirit of capitalism, and for some, one that expresses *the Spirit*.

More powerfully though, is the link to the Prisoner's Dilemma, wherein Harvest mechanisms activate a potentially emancipatory choice set in the service of freedom and escape from the Iron Cage. This is the core paradoxicality of the Harvest phenomenon. The paradox and potentials exist for both producers and consumers, or as I will soon prefer to name them, growers and eaters. The choice set re-establishes fundamental relations between growers and eaters and providentiality inheres in the exercise of our will to choose to belong in these relations or not. It is a choice for a morally determined life conduct or a purely economically rationalist one. It is free choice to act on a substantive rationality in preference to a formal rationality. It is the choice to seek more traditional (in Weberian terms) forms of economic relations over Weber's archetypal modern form, the foundation of modern capitalism. It is the choice to be eaters of the grower's food which they have produced for us, or a

detached/disconnected consumer of a product. It is the choice to preference the grower of *our* food because they are of *us*, part of *our* community, and integral to *our* place, The Hawkesbury.

We are all portentous palimpsests with potential for re-writing in Harvest's quest to protect and retain agri-culture in the Sydney basin. This is the story of how that is so.

This story contributes to our knowledge of Weberian foundation economic sociology and to rural sociology in contemporary, post-modern contexts. The re-valuing of food and the farmers who produce it, the thrust to reconnect growers and eaters and the dialectic on the meaning of consumer choice that stems from this, reflects recent re-definition of food system theory into agroecological terms. The Harvest case provides empirical evidence of these phenomena.

In the following chapters I will conduct a far more entangled dialogue on these things because we, Harvest, have a lot to tell and invite you to dwell with our telling. I (we), seek to reveal for you the construction of our rich picture and to understand in enough detail what the Harvest phenomenon is and represents, what it is about and means. To begin this dialogue, let me present an item of data, one of the things that happened because of the absence of nothing-happened, one of the emergences that signal Harvest's existence and potency.

### ***Our Telling Begins - Something Happened***

On Saturday November 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010, David Mason, the founding chair-person of Hawkesbury Harvest officially opened *The Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney*<sup>1</sup> art exhibition at Purple Noon art gallery, at Freemans Reach on the Hawkesbury River. While it was an Australian National University initiative, as David said, it was also the latest mechanism through which Hawkesbury Harvest and its actors have prosecuted a dialogue about food, farming, health and sustainability. John Maguire, an orchardist from nearby Grose Vale and another of the foundation members had already opened a preview at See Street Gallery in August.

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1 See <http://www.fieldstudies.com.au/category/contested-landscapes/>  
Ian Knowd



**Exhibit 1: Art for Agriculture?**  
Left – David Mason performs the Grand Opening of Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney, Purple Noon Gallery, Freemans Reach (Robyn Williams, gallery owner L of frame) – Photo by Knowd.  
Below – John Maguire opens the pre-opening exhibition, See Street Gallery, Meadowbank, 19 August, 2010 – Photo by John Reid, ANU. See Appendix Eight for the full exhibition catalogue.



At Purple Noon David said,

*“...there’s some really important stuff that I have to say, because it’s what this is all about really [gesturing to the artworks in the gallery], and I want to capture it so that, well it’s for posterity you know...” “...this exhibition really is about the latest of a number of mechanisms of engagement to promote the many benefits of Sydney’s local and regional agriculture to sectors of the Greater Sydney community.”<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup> A note about use of quotation marks in this thesis: The “ mark denotes actual quotation of the individual, the ‘ mark denotes quotation from a source other than speech, for example, cited from text. Where they are nested, one simply denotes the distinction of the other. Single ‘ marks are also used as signifiers of emphasis, for example in the paragraph below where in my voice I say “their ‘truth’”.

Posterity – for those coming after, succeeding generations, a race of descendants, who reap the legacy Harvest in ways like those expressed by L.H. Bailey and other visionaries in the realm of agriculture and society. Bailey too spoke of literal and metaphoric harvests.

My thesis too is a Harvest “*mechanism of engagement*”, but one that more formally explores the intentionality vested in David’s words about posterity. David’s words capture it in a nutshell – Harvest is about saying to Sydney some important things about agriculture using different mechanisms of engagement. Continuing the metaphor, my aim is to crack the nut, and reveal something of the rich fruit. I will not discard the shell, the “*mechanisms*” that David describes, I will look at them closely to see how they protect and nurture the fruit, but only insofar as their role in service of the fruit. The art, the tourism, markets, this thesis and the many other mechanisms are important pieces of the shell, but they are not the fruit. The fruit is what brought David, John, myself and the other Harvest actors into relations with each other, and the world, it’s what I tried above to put *In a Nutshell*. David too tried to capture this in a few words, but this “*mechanism*” is a thesis, and I will employ many more words to construct ‘my’ piece of the shell.

***“It’s what this is all about really!”***

Having foregrounded the *Contested Landscapes* exhibition, I now need to put that piece of shell aside because this thesis is not primarily about *that* particular mechanism of the Harvest phenomenon. The art exhibition, the individual artist expressions (Brough, 2012: 287-288) and the process that made it possible are simply one piece of relevant phenomenological data, one of the many dialogic tools that form the shell. It does embody the themes and purposes of Harvest, but it isn’t Harvest per se. Its aim is to bring about consciousness, aesthetically in this instance (ibid), but other vectors of consciousness are created through Harvest’s other mechanisms, including this thesis.

Appendix Eight to this thesis contains the catalogue for the *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* exhibition. Entries for each of the objects have a narration crafted by the artist that explains their interpretation of the issues they found in the Harvest phenomenon and its cultural landscape. The use of the artworks in this thesis acknowledges their form as a dialectic tool in Harvest's dialogue with Sydney, and compliments the thesis' version of this content which is the basis of Chapter Three: On Fertile Ground. Appendix Two: Contested Landscapes and Fertile Grounds, embeds the catalogue entries into a more detailed exploration of Harvest's social context and background issues, Harvest's Weberian backcloth. In this way, both forms of information 'talk' to each other, and in doing so, help illuminate the detail of "*what this is all about really*". However, this isn't *all* that it's about.

This consciousness-raising dialogical tool, my conversation with you, documents Harvest's teleological and historical project, its archeo-legacy<sup>3</sup> – re-activating Macquarie's<sup>4</sup> vision and The Hawkesbury's role in the cultural landscape of Sydney. It's a re-cast Macquarie legacy from the remnant post-colonial harmony between its food-lands and urban society. The 'engagement' is with the development dialogue of Sydney in the context of sustainable cities and the utopian visions of these that include urban agriculture. It's about re-planting 'notions of responsibility, causality and meaning' (Dodd, 1999: 141) and a reactive re-starting of the relationship between city and country after its perceived end (after Fukuyama and Baudrillard). There is a Foucauldian problematisation of this by its actors, their 'answer to a concrete situation which is real' (O'Farrell, 2005: 70), their 'truth'<sup>5</sup>. When the place-meaning of Sydney's farm lands were threatened, a new physical and philosophical binary appeared and was acted on by David and John and those they harnessed to the cause because they *care* about these things. The farming

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3 In a Foucauldian sense.

4 Lachlan Macquarie was Governor of the Colony of New South Wales from 1809 to 1821 is considered the first civic visionary administrator to have governed the State. See <http://www.hawkesburyhistory.org.au/articles/macquarie.html> for a brief history.

5 The Harvest story is told along with the personal perspectives and insights of four of its principle actors. David Mason (bureaucrat), John Maguire (farmer), Alan Eagle (management consultant) and myself (academic) are introduced in Chapter Two: Journeying With Harvest.



culture/urban culture: culture/no culture binary sets the scene for paradox and the place-based dimension of “it”, *The Hawkesbury*, was enacted to deconstruct this binary and in the process, generated creative tension. The Purple Noon rendering of this creative tension is just one of the pedagogical ways Harvest has prosecuted the cause and made sense of it.

The Harvest project asserts a ‘hybrid geography’ (after Whatmore, 2002) that de-couples the rural/urban dichotomy, the industrial/artisanal forms of agriculture dichotomy, re-asserts the social into conceptualisations of food, farming and the food system, dissolving the dichotomies and claiming a space for this as a political educative discourse. Harvest actors embarked upon knowledge generation and conducted their dialogic struggle in the ‘hybrid landscape on the edge of the public, not-for-profit and private’ domains of action (Teisman & Klijn, 2008: 296) producing an internal understanding of their problematic and ‘conscientizing’ (after Freire, 1970) others externally of the ‘competing discourses’ (Berglund & Johansson, 2007: 512) through a range of communicative and ‘critical’ pedagogies. As Berglund and Johansson (ibid) put it, ‘[s]ometimes alternative meanings ....are in conflict with the more robust threads, ... and are easily set aside, while at other times they remind us that what has been taken for granted must be reconsidered.’ Harvest’s aim was to assert a ‘value judgment’ (Lane, 2009: 358) and ‘remind’ greater Sydney in the context of its ‘robust’ paradigms of metropolitan planning that ‘something’ had been taken for granted. The third-wave writers of the landscape, the urban developers of Sydney dominated the thread and the second-wave writers<sup>6</sup>, the post-colonial European farming community were too easily being set aside for the ‘concrete situation’ being planned. As a political project, Harvest sought to address the ‘absolute logical disparity between developmental prognosis and what we ought to do’ (Weber, 1977: 85 cited in Roth, 1987: 88).

In this ‘project’ tourism plays a key role in harnessing mobilities and is an ‘instrument to exercise power and persuasion’ (Timothy & Boyd, 2015: 37) in communicating Harvest’s

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<sup>6</sup> First wave writers were the Aboriginal peoples of Australia.  
Ian Knowd

normative vision, a pedagogical form in the service of place and peoples (Werry, 2008: 17), one that also mitigates tourism's superficiality, dilettantism, and apoliticism (ibid: 20). For Harvest's farming constituency it delivers the panaceaic 'quick fix'<sup>7</sup>, exploiting tourism's purposive (Timothy & Boyd, 2015: 35) potentials in delivering this.

Harvest makes no explicit claims as to the character of tourism it exploits, as any will do if it delivers its agenda for change<sup>8</sup>. Tourism is simply a new harvest, another 'cropping' form, a transactional mode (after Chang, 1999; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). It is not an agent of change as some claim (McGehee et al, 2014), but a tool for social change that agents of change employ because at the heart of any social movement are people, not industries. Transactional modes are merely vectors, the catalytic carriers of dialectic content. Indeed, Harvest's Farm Gate Trail, by juxtapositioning The Hawkesbury with Australia's gateway city, is an empirical case of tourism's capabilities for 'resolution-based dialectics', and one 'exploiting its presence in mass tourism destination hinterlands and itineraries' (Weaver, 2014: 137).

Tourism creates an immediate and enduring use-value for agriculture in the Sydney basin, not just in terms of produce, products and experiences, but in the agri-*culture* resource that agri-tourism mobilizes. This is about culture and landscapes, and a use-value in the form of a fetishized simulacra (after Baudrillard) or hybrid (after Bhabha<sup>9</sup>) of the Macquarie legacy that goes beyond commodity to myth-making about Sydney's 'colonial bread-basket', 'traditional food bowl', its very own 'mythic West' (after Ricketts, 2011: 257). With use-value comes existence, bequest and option values articulated because the newly created tourism resource

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<sup>7</sup> The tourism quick fix is instant access to new market channels that support farms while they reconfigure their production and business models to suit the emerging market channels for farmer-consumer direct relationships. The panaceaic dimensions relate to the unintended consequences of using tourism as a mechanism for non-tourism development agendas and the impacts this has on both tourism and non-tourism constituencies. This is explored in Chapter Four: A New Harvest.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter Six for the sustainability dialectic, which I characterize as a hybrid mix of by-design and ad-hoc sustainable development constructs.

<sup>9</sup> Homi Bhabha (1986) as paraphrased by Minca (2006: 183) says that 'the hybrid was always one of colonialisms unintended consequences', the colonizing of the Sydney basin by a dominant development paradigm creating a space and place for a hybrid form of the colonized lands, Sydney's food lands.

reveals cultural and recreational agri-cultural assets that were previously un-available, un-counted and un-transacted. Tourism commodifies.

Tourism is explored in two forms. The first is data, the actual Farm Gate Trail, how it is structured and works as a communicative/pedagogical tool is described. Harvest Trail maps are exhibits in Appendix Three. The second is analysis using seminal tourism theory to explain how trails and markets achieve the dialectic purpose (after Teo & Lim, 2003) Harvest seeks. My focus is not on the 'crop', but the reasons behind the farmers' choice to plant and harvest it as a solution to Harvest's problematic. My own (Knowd, 2001 & 2003a) and other (McGehee & Kim, 2004) studies have examined the crop from the farmer's perspective, particularly the forces that drive farmers to engage with tourism and I do here too, but only insofar as they were the ones that Harvest identified as a solution of some kind.

Similarly, comparative evaluation with other trails and markets is not done because only Harvest's way of doing trails and markets is relevant to understanding what Harvest is, its meaning and its quest. It would be interesting to test if other trails do what Harvest's do, indeed, I would hypothesize that enduring trails are dialectic because they embed deeper meaning of the values made available through them into the experiences people can have, but that is for another project.

So my interest in tourism is confined to how Harvest mobilized place-awareness of *The Hawkesbury* as a site 'deconstructive of the binaries through which we seek to order the world' (Minca & Oakes, 2006: 20), made it a place where 'the things held separate by abstract modern epistemology<sup>10</sup>' are re-joined through animation experiences of the tourist's 'lived body' (Casey, 1997: 241). *The Hawkesbury* becomes a kind of 'pilgrimage environment' (Damari & Mansfield, 2014: 9) where Harvest invites an earlier, more organic and transcendental relation with the

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<sup>10</sup> The agro-urban-industrial complex and the ways of knowing that these entail with their 'accepted' reductionist and objectifying forms of knowledge, their 'sciences'.

land and landscape, to express a secular spirit. Paradox and contradiction then inheres in *The Hawkesbury*, as a terrain 'where human subjectivity meets the forces of abstraction and objectification, be they represented by industrial and agrarian capitalism, imperialism, patriarchy, or colonialism' (Oakes, 1997: 510). Tourism *makes available* a travelled place rather than a toured space (Werry, 2008) wherein 'we seek out an object of difference to reconfirm our sense of order' (Minca & Oakes, 2006: 20), the agri-cultural experiences being a reference point for urbanites that both confirms their life-world, and simultaneously questions it. It's this fundamental use of othering via tourism in the Harvest dialogic that creates something unique, potentially transgressional, transformational, transcendental, enchanting and constantly remake-able. As Mike Crang (2006: 49) puts it, 'tourism works as an interplay of movement and fixity, absence and presence'. It is this capacity of tourism as a phenomenon of modernity that Harvest harnessed to its cause, it is 'how' it put into play the dualisms of modernity and the revelatory tension of paradox<sup>11</sup>. It is exactly this juxtapositioning of city/country, global/local and outsider/insider that tourism makes possible, the 'transacting' that experiences embody and their 'dialogic' potentials (Chang, 1999; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001, Dredge & Jenkins, 2003), and hence the power of it in illuminating the Harvest logic in asserting that *their* 'geography matters' (Chang et al, 1996 invoking Massey & Allen, 1984; Teo & Lim, 2003). In this, consumers experience their complicity in the Harvest story, but also a way of being in their life-world to which spirit and enchantment (Hanna, 2013) might inhere<sup>12</sup>. Tourism is a vector, mediating expressions of spirit via a merging of spiritual and commercial values (Ricketts, 2011; Fonneland,

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11 My interest is in how Harvest employs tourism and touristic experience, not the fact that tourism can be/is a powerful phenomena in mediating dichotomies, this debate has long since (in the 1980s and '90s) been dealt with, especially the global/local nexus (Alger, 1988) in the evolution of a 'critical geography of tourism' (Chang, 1999), and the Harvest phenomenon is grist-for-the-mill in this sense.

12 Here Tim Oakes (1997) work on Faust is pertinent – 'the traveling urban eye began to cast its aesthetic and colonizing gaze upon an invented counterpoint: the countryside' ...' Faust's most important revelation is that the sublimity of the organic rural folk can only be appreciated by those whose modern ways of life threaten to destroy it. 'Faust travels through a metaphorical landscape of paradox' (514). And later in discussing the work of Raymond Williams he cites Eldridge and Eldridge (1994) and their observation that Williams' *Border Country* defines 'community' in terms of a struggle rather than an organic entity, a 'way of struggle rather than a way of life'. This too is the essence of the Harvest story.

2013). The aim is not to legitimize an ‘objectifying new order’, one that threatens, but mobilize the urbanite’s gaze, bringing them face-to-face with the contradictions inherent in their ‘misplaced metropolitan idealism’ (Oakes, 1997: 519). As they ‘attempt to construct their identities by certain consumption preferences and lifestyle practices which signal taste and position in society’ (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001: 381), they are conscientized to ‘a relieving panacea to a specific form of disenchantment experienced in the West due to the conditions of Western society and in particular in relation to reflexive modernisation’ (Hanna, 2013: 377). This then is a creative engagement much like the *Contested Landscapes* exhibition. As Tim Oakes (526) observed,

*“ many individuals, in attempting to re- construct the "eternal and immutable" in the face of constant change, are often very much attempting to build boundaries, unify identities, and establish historical stasis. This is why their "creativity" is so "ambivalent" and contradictory. The paradox inherent in their actions is what, I believe, continues to make place such a rich and dynamic concept for understanding the experience of modernity”.*

### ***What’s it all about, really?***

In the same way that the art renders interpretations, this thesis reflects more of what I bring ‘to the datum rather than the datum itself’<sup>13</sup> (Merton, 1948: 159). With David too, what does he mean when he says “*it’s what this is all about really*”<sup>14</sup>?. Why has this particular *dialogical struggle* (Keenoy et al, 1997) with sectors of the greater Sydney community gained prominence? What do Harvest’s consumer channels or high culture engagement mechanisms, their ‘texts’<sup>15</sup>

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13 In this thesis I present datum of the Harvest phenomenon and have selectively interpreted it for the purposes of exposition, in the same way that the *Contested Landscapes* artists interpreted the same datum through their art works. Appendices contain the raw data.

14 David’s statement is ‘an’ expression of his thought, in a Foucauldian sense, this thinking existing ‘beyond and before systems and edifices of discourse’ (O’Farrell, 2005: 71 quoting Foucault) and the art exhibition is a historical event (an edifice of discourse) giving ‘another’ expression to his and Harvest’s social agenda, Harvest’s ‘thought’.

15 Harvest has composed multiple ‘texts’ in the post-modern sense of the word, it references those things outside the Hawkesbury as a means of articulating a ‘Hawkesbury’ textual geography that is a hybrid or polygenic interpretation of place, the referencing with Sydney City being a core element in these

and their expressed 'aesthetic of dissonance' (Radkau 2009: 114 referring to Weber's 'science of reality', quoted in Gafijczuk, 2011: 106) say in a sociological sense? What's the dissonance we seek to express and act upon?

In thesis form, I document and interpret the various 'discourses as action' and the 'rhetorical' (Gill, 2000: 175-176) positioning of these in the food, farming, land use and health debates of Sydney. I explain causally, what generated Harvest (after Weber) and how this expresses its actors.

Having found Weberian phenomena, adopting a Weberian approach and frame in the construction of this rendering recommended itself. As became evident, I and my fellow actors would be emulating Weber himself in terms of our own personal 'mission'<sup>16</sup> through Harvest, having been incensed by the planning status quo and a seemingly unquestioned obliteration of agri-culture pursued by the Basin's 'development lobby'<sup>17</sup>. Like Max Weber, I am 'a scholar who arranges knowledge so that it can be used' (Weber quoted in Hennis, 1988: 165, and Gafijczuk, 2011: 106) for 'expository purposes' (Weber, 1904: 72). I aim to 'explain the place of the modern individual in the world', a potentially 'gigantic enterprise' (Whimster & Lash, 1987: 1), to reveal something of Harvest's actors' 'teleologically rational behaviour' (Huff, 2009: 48), and its historical significance. David's claim that it's for posterity talks to this important social engagement role. David and John speak of Harvest as a social carrier<sup>18</sup> (after Weber) with the

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'writings'. When these texts are the *Good Weekend*, *MasterChef* or *The Living Room* renditions of agri-culture, they are paradoxically generated by 'outsiders', most of whom have no connection and virtually no understanding of 'real' agri-culture. See also Crang (2006: 56-57).

16 Weber was incensed at the state of politics and national direction in Germany of his time.

17 See Marianne Weber, 1926: 327, an extract cited in Barbalet, 2008: 34-35, the equivalent to development lobby being the 'landed gentry' of Germany in 1903.

18 This Weberian interpretation of carrier is contrasted with that more recently articulated in the evolutionary economic and social science literature (Hodgson & Knudsen, 2006b: 485). As far as I know Weber did not articulate carrier in these evolutionary terms, but Darwin's work may have had some influence.

status of a post-modern social movement. It requires actors with a ‘calling’<sup>19</sup> for politics who are not politicians, campaigning on a contextually-based, ‘substantive rationality’<sup>20</sup> with a clear moral dimension<sup>21</sup> - a paradoxical passion-driven rationality<sup>22</sup>, one that realizes re-enchantment with place, expresses resistance to Weber’s ‘formal rationality’ and its expression today as neo-liberalism. The art is just one of the readings rendered of Harvest’s dialogue(s), one that compliments the ‘cognitive rationalization’ (Shils, 1984: 548) that this thesis’ scientific abstraction and objectification presents, and the ‘intellectualization and rationalization’<sup>23</sup> rendered in it. The paradox of this is delicious given its subject matter.

Harvest’s localised initiatives and market mechanisms activate something for consumers that is providential, in a Weberian sense, in the here-and-now, linking their consumption in the here-and-now to posterity, *their* archeo-legacy. Providentiality is realised through the expression of Spirit and the accruing of spiritual credit in the *conduct* of a good life, that is, not just to live, but to live purposefully and meaningfully. Ultimately, in a nutshell, I reveal why, through Harvest, they come to ‘care’ (Christensen, 2012: 219), phenomenologically speaking, and do so through a spirit of capitalism embodied in providentiality.

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19 In Weberian terms exhibiting passion for the cause such that responsibility and commitment to it becomes the ‘guiding star of action’ (Weber, 1919: 115)

20 Weber’s construction of substantive rationality is based on a values-determined rationality. He contrasted this with formal rationality which is instrumentally-based. Further, a substantive rationality is what leads actors to deviate, irrationally in Weber’s schema, from any means-ends-informed-by-knowledge motivation for action. McGehee (2007) misleadingly conflates substantive rationality with non-economic, and formal rationality with economic motivations, including describing ‘environmental and social ideologies of sustainability’ (ibid: 113) as substantive rationalities.

21 In the Harvest case and taken from Barbalet (2008:49), it is as Weber described with ‘the “rationalization” of action’ (Weber, 1921: 30) in that it’s Harvest’s actors’ perspectives that constitute the substantive rationality informed by their values and desired ends, demonstrating that ‘what is rational from one point of view may be irrational from another’ (Weber, 1920: 26)

22 Derman (2010: 490) also identifies this when citing Erich Voegelin’s characterization of Weber who he said exhibited “the peculiar paradox of ‘resignation with passion’”, meaning that a man with a calling exhibited “passion, a sense of responsibility, and a sense of proportion”, and these were ‘contradictory qualities’ to find in an individual.

23 In Weber’s original sentence the words ‘of life’ follow here – this thesis is, to say the least, a part of my life and my Harvest ‘experience’ and the ‘art’ of it in its broader meaning (passionate actor) is an antidote to the thesis’ rationalist purpose and effects. To Weber the arts were a ‘salvation’ from the mundane ‘pressures of theoretical and practical rationalism’. See also Barbalet, (2008: 70)

The fine art and this thesis are two of the meaningful and inspired things that Harvest inspired which describe the absence. There's nothing particularly unique about this problematic situation in farming communities<sup>24</sup>, especially those in peri-urban zones around our cities, but as Kate Faithorn, Hawkesbury Harvest's first 'Project Director' would note in her 2001 report;

*'We are not alone. Looking around Australia, there are numerous examples of groups trying to tackle the same issues and coming up with generally the same answers – indeed some are far more advanced. One thing that makes our plight more poignant (excuse the heroics!) is the issue of land use and the encroachment of urban subdivision.*

*We live in a country with the highest percentage of urbanisation of any country in the world... in a city that is the most urbanised in Australia... while Sydney is the third most litigious city in the world and NSW the second state/province only after California in the world. You'd wonder about the sense of a Farm Gate Trail — all those potential legs to be broken and salmonella cases waiting to happen! .The upside is the average Sydneysider is living in a pressure-cooker and wanting to reconnect with the 'Bush' and their agricultural heritage.'* (Kate Faithorn: Hawkesbury Harvest in 2001 - Report)

The absence, a failure to plan for agriculture, created the 'pressure-cooker', the 'extraordinary situation' (Cavalli, 1987: 322) which created the conditions for Harvest. It sought to fill that gap and became the missing 'interface between growers and local government' (Faithorn, 2002: 5), and then evolved into a 'Third Sector' (Birch & Whittam, 2008)<sup>25</sup> organization with influence at the national level. Harvest is a Weberian 'carrier' organization mobilizing and 'introjecting' (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 2001: 129) values, ideas, technologies and political

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24 See Sevilla-Guzmán & Woodgate, 2013 for an outline of the science of 'agroecology' and the heritage of studies in agrarian community. While the Harvest context might seem unrelated, it is as I present here, logically and sociologically connected to this field of rural studies and of interest because of its dialectic vis-à-vis the urban. See also Rajan S.R. and Duncan C.A.M. (eds.) 2013. "Ecologies of Hope", special issue of *Journal of Political Ecology* that looks at similar 'movements' around the world 'driven by the souls of communities (though in our case, not always rural), acting in the best interests of their groups, but in doing so, producing spaces and niches, or ecologies of hope, that have appeal and resonance beyond the local.' (p.71)

25 At the same time when concepts of the Third Sector, the social economy, social enterprise and social entrepreneurialism were also evolving.



agendas through itself as a rule-following vehicle<sup>26</sup>, a form that then ‘injected’ (Weber, 2009: 178) or reasserted a set of values via the dialogic struggle. It built dissensus in the service of Harvest’s ‘subjectively intended purpose’<sup>27</sup> (Weber, 1977: 112 cited in Huff, 2009: 73), the prosecution of Harvest’s ‘vital question’, and built an ‘inspired political localism’ (Oakes, 1997: 520). It became an institution of the political kind ‘responsible for designing and implementing institutions that make agrarian sustainability possible’ (Gonzalez de Molina, 2013: 46)<sup>28</sup>, delivering *their* form of ‘political education’<sup>29</sup> (Barbalet, 2008: 27 citing Weber, 1895: 25) for Harvest’s vision<sup>30</sup>.

A Weberian frame has more to say than simply something about ‘rationalization’ and ‘systematization’ of the social world. It offers a more nuanced interpretation of modernity that focuses ‘instead on the tension between such impersonal processes, on the one hand, and the creation of a personal order and ‘rationality’ in the face of them, on the other, through

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26 I prefer this term because it better describes the empirical form that Harvest is for its actors, it is consistent with a Weberian frame, and is distinguishable from the more recent concepts commonly used in evolutionary biology (Dawkins, 1976) and latterly economics for such phenomena, the ‘interactor’ (after Hull – see Nelson, 2006: 505) which has a higher level of abstraction intended to assist evolutionary theorists apply biological analogies to social phenomena.

27 To apply another of Weber’s understandings, that ‘what is normatively right’ (Harvest’s expression of what ought to be) has little to do with that which ‘immutably exist[s]’ (Harvest’s interpretation of what ‘is’ vis-à-vis agriculture in the Sydney basin) – see Barbalet, 2008: 37 and his discussion of Weber’s conceptions about the relationship between science and values.

28 In the terms that Gonzalez de Molina (p.51) describes it, the study of Harvest and this thesis are tools for ‘political agroecology’ – ‘political agroecology examines the most suitable way to participate in these movements and to use those tools that render institutional change possible’ – see especially Chapters Four, Five and Six that follow.

29 Like Weber, I am doing what Jack Barbalet describes of Weber’s ‘supreme (personal) task’ in contributing to the educative challenge of Harvest in raising their values-based questions about a desired future through this study, my writings and the publishing of the Harvest story. I am embarked upon a similar journey, starting as Weber did with an interest in the agrarian cultures of his homeland and understanding as he did the critical ‘political task’ at hand. Unlike Weber, this orientation to ‘political education’ through Harvest is not about a nation state’s imperialist future but is about a 21st century community asserting its presence in a globalised, post-modern world. The same ‘mechanisms of action’ are applied, but the desired future has a different character.

30 In so many ways it is another rendition of Hawkesbury Agricultural College’s Volume II history titled ‘*Hawkesbury Harvest*’, it too being about the people and the ‘institution’, and the cornucopia of ‘harvests’ possible.

commitment to self-defined purposes, which is marked by its “clarity of consciousness”, as Weber put it in *Economy and Society* (ibid: 49).<sup>31</sup>

Critics of Harvest react to its dialectic challenge and dialogical struggle as the ‘shrill, high-pitched, vociferous and spectacular declaration of faith’ in community that Zigmunt Bauman (1995: 277 cited in Dodd, 1999: 169) postulated communities require in a post-modern age. It invokes the notion of reciprocity as a sense of community, perhaps even re-enchantment paradoxically enabled through Harvest’s market mechanisms. It may well be that Harvest facilitates moral progress, if there is such a thing, through its ‘practical, local and contingent form of solidarity within community’ (Dodd, 1995: 174 describing Richard Rorty’s 1991 thesis on the contingency of moral progress). This extends and adds complexity to the evolving notions of *values-based* and *value-added* agriculture, and the focus of research agendas in food systems (Stevenson & Pirog, 2006; Hoshide, 2007; Clancy, 2010).

Max Weber saw as inevitable<sup>32</sup> the disenchanting future that modern industrial capitalism, through its dispassionate rationality, would foist upon the world, what we experience as neo-liberal economies. He did so because of the processes of capitalism in a secularised world, lamenting the spirit that was, in his thesis, the ethical source of modern capitalism, would fade as industrial economies developed. As Jack Barbalet paraphrases it, Weber himself was acutely aware of the problem this creates for society;

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31 This thesis addresses this Weberian notion of social capital which the paradigm of new institutionalism in sociology points to as being under-theorized (enforceable trust in Portes & Sensenbrenner, 2001: 131) – see especially their Table 6.1 – of added interest here is also the idea that ‘alien’ communities (in the case of Portes & Sensenbrenner immigrant communities) are a rich ground for exploring these phenomena, in the Harvest case, farmers being alienated from their community in a range of social, economic and environmental contexts. From a consumer perspective, their alienation from farmers and the resultant ‘foreign-ness’ of the rural feeds a sense of other that informs the origins of modern rural tourism.

32 It would seem that Weber’s speculation and portentous assessment expresses what Clare O’Farrell (2005: 119-120) points out in relation to Foucault’s body of work, and particularly the critique of Foucault that he was an ‘amoral nihilist out to wreak social havoc’, but instead (perhaps not-so-simply) cautioned in his approach to power, institutions and history that ‘One must be ever alert to current dangers and be aware that today’s solution is tomorrow’s problem’.

*‘The consequence of being ill-informed about values is that persons are inadvertently led to select courses of action poorly, with the risk that an actor’s circumstances rather than their volition will come to determine their judgements, and, while still able to choose their own strategies, the probability under such conditions is high that they will do so erroneously’ (citing Weber, 1895: 19-20),*

and this highlighted the primacy of scientific facts in giving *volition* a clear-headedness upon which to make value judgements. This is a core paradox of Weber’s sociology, that a scientifically informed choice, a strictly rational one, must be informed by a values dimension, the antithesis of rationality, if it is to avoid erroneous judgement of future action. I will extend Weberian themes of rationality to embrace more recent theory in rational choice sociology (Swedberg, 2003), especially that from game theory regarding strategic choice, and specifically the paradox of the Prisoner’s Dilemma, which I will link to Weber’s pessimistic vision of the Iron Cage and the ethic underpinning Harvest’s dialogic mechanisms.

This is where the latent potentials of ‘secularised Protestantism’ (Barbalet, 2008) in neo-liberal consumerist society, the manifestation of a spirit and providentiality, becomes the social mechanism and vector for re-assertion of values back into the ‘system’ so that Harvest’s agenda might be realised. The very thing that underpins economic rationalism, values-free rationality, is also its potential undoing, and the mechanism through which Weber’s notion of a ‘calling’ is enabled<sup>33</sup>.

Weber, reflecting his particularly pessimistic sense of rationality in society, speculated that spirited social forms could emerge in society, but would be very unlikely and smothered by ubiquitous secularism and neo-liberal forces (Alexander, 1987: 202-203). I however, make the case that Harvest is a post-modern social grouping reasserting a moral and ethical stance for

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<sup>33</sup> I will not go so far as to claim that this amounts to a religious calling in the sense that Weber described, wherein altruistic behaviour seeks benefits in the hereafter, but I will make the case that notions of providentiality that extend beyond the bounds of reciprocal altruism can be found in Harvest’s market dynamic and the harnessing of consumer, providentially-informed, purposeful action.

reasons that go well beyond the means-end benefits its 'products' provide for members and the consuming public, albeit a secular one. Harvest's 'project' fits with those Granovetter (2002) asserts best explain the organisation of economies driven by rationally-thinking actors 'whose objective thinking is socially and historically bounded', producing 'socially constructed realities that structure the exchange *and* the exchange process, that create identities for the subjects involved in the exchange, and that create a subjectively meaningful social context in which the exchanges take place' (Hamilton & Feenstra, 2001: 159).

Wolfgang Schluchter (1996) and others have explored the paradoxical psychosocial tensions that existing in a modern capitalist economy generates. I examine aspects of this for the four individual actors of Harvest whose personal stories I reveal, but not to any great depth. I will however, by way of my *first instance* explication, look more broadly at the paradoxies to be found in Harvest's place, purpose and agency in the world. I will give effect to Lyotard's normative argument that knowledge is advanced by 'seeking out un-certainty and paradox, rather than by searching for a higher truth through reason' (Dodd, 1999: 142). I seek no truths, I aim instead point out uncertainties and paradoxies in the Harvest phenomenon, and by doing so, in a Hegelian way (Wong, 2006: 242-243), implement the dialectic that Harvest seeks to reveal through its many dialogic forms.

There are parallels in the Harvest case that resonate with both the milieu and Weber's criticism of the political establishment of his time. The 'characteristic orientation of the politically involved is paradoxically an absence of involvement' (Barbalet, 2008: 28). Political ideas corrupted strategic thinking and action, and ultimately the national interest, and political education was simply learning to point-the-finger and be negative, a means-end rationality. In Harvest and its actors we see that the political quest is to 'replace political with "ethical" idea's' (Barbalet, 2008: 27 citing Weber 1895: 27), its complaint is that the consumer's 'orientation' is one of uninvolved political un-awareness of their effects on farming, food, health and

community and it mobilizes its dialectic to do this. Weber would have complained that this was still not ‘political education’, but ‘education’ seems to be what Harvest has achieved, having shifted the political agenda around agriculture in the City specifically, and contributed to similar shifts at broader scales<sup>34</sup>.

My study of Harvest parallels Weber’s for the *Protestant Ethic* because of the teleological nature of my and his educative purpose. Barbalet (2008) asserts Weber aimed to effect a shift in the public’s awareness and sensibility on matters of cultural, political and national importance through his work, and so too do I through this study of Harvest<sup>35</sup>.

My phenomenological project then, as a piece of its ‘shell’, must be ‘a pedagogical communication aimed at someone who resists it’ and directed at a hegemonic rationality. Political education as ‘successful communication must show that the need for a change is intrinsic to the resistant position itself’ (Collins, 2013: 25 quoting McCumber, 1993). For a phenomenology to ‘work’ as such a project, it must show ‘how the positions it sets out to change’ develop their own contradictions, and that,

*‘a change in outlook ..does no more than solve the problems generated from within the resistant position. A position resistant to change will adjust only to what it can see as a necessity that emerges from itself. Finally, both participants in the communication must have been acculturated by the same ethos. The communication succeeds by showing that the one who resists is really isolating his or her position from the larger context to which it belongs and within which it has its full meaning.’ (ibid)*

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34 Harvest has not, as indeed Weber suggested was a pointless exercise (see Barbalet, 2008: 27), simply sought to point the finger at the political elite and put forth ‘a vote of no confidence’ in them. It has instead undertaken a dialogic struggle of more positive orientation to educate a post modern ‘elite’, including ‘the consumer’, using communicative/educative techniques, engagement with artists, and intellectuals to advance the moral and ethical arguments in support of agriculture.

35 This is beneficence both for Harvest specifically and its agendas, but also for society as a whole in adding to the scope of rational argument about food systems, food culture, community and sustainability.

This is *the* Harvest project and mine too, one consistent with and inter-subjectively confirmed (Luft & Overgaard, 2012: 10) by the concrete experience of my fellow Harvesters in seeking to effect a paradigm shift in thinking about agri-culture and the role of agriculture in the Sydney basin. This thesis is part of the relational dynamic that Harvest and its target audience have formed. It gives effect to *our* intentionality. Collins (ibid) goes on to say that each ‘communication’ via phenomenology requires that the ‘teacher’ and resistor be acculturated to the ‘conditions and times’ within which they engage in the dialectic. For Harvest target audience, this acculturation is in our ‘common’ sense of rationality and economics, food and farming, and our experience of the systems that define it in contemporary Sydney. For the reader however, a core task for the phenomenology is to educate about this context and so Chapters One to Four, and Appendices One and Two try to encapsulate what we know about Harvest’s problematic and our engagement with it. Chapters Five and Six then extend and deepen the ‘analysis’ so that I can deliver ‘a project of bringing to consciousness the real truth about actually existing, historically conditioned experience’ (ibid: 27) called Harvest.

I make frequent use of metaphor as a vehicle for communicating ideas and sentiments about this story (after Rorty, 1989: 18). Harvest is so grounded in the rural culture and values of the Hawkesbury’s farming community, to avoid using metaphor would deny the rich imagery and connections between Harvest and the cultural landscape of Sydney’s rural hinterland. My use of metaphor is designed to activate resonances in you, to ‘tap’ this well of human understanding and elicit the value dimensions attached, to produce an ‘imaginative jolt’ (Pryke et al, 2003: 22). The document itself is what Forsythe (1986 cited in Bawden, 1991b: 2367, italics added) defined as an isophor; where ‘...metaphor is *understanding* one thing in terms of another, isophor is *experiencing* one thing in terms of another’. Isomorphic<sup>36</sup> dimensions are found in the ‘Harvest

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<sup>36</sup> Iso from the Greek isos meaning ‘equal’ and morphism meaning ‘combining form’ from the Greek morphe meaning ‘form’ - an isomorphism is a pattern that replicates its structures at different scales or in different forms and in cognition theory (Cummins, 1996) is the mental process by which we gain cognition, external patterns in the world (content) manifest in consciousness via mental representations. A map is

experience’ of its actors and consumers who consume its ‘products’, but also in this conversation I have with you and what I lay out in the thesis. Through it I examine my and my fellow actors’ experience, laying out our directedness toward Harvest’s problematic object and the directedness-to-self made possible through the ‘unified flow of experience’ (Drummond, 2012: 125) through Harvest. The form and substance of my thesis reflects this conception of economic phenomena being the ‘product of socially-situated human agents’ (Oakley, 1997: 812).

This intellectualizing of what the phenomenon is about was not done a priori and as part of any strategic process or agenda for change, as a thought-through activity, by Harvest nor myself<sup>37</sup>. It emerged as the *modus operandi*, the Harvest phenomenon being about a reasoned dialogue with the world but one not formed ‘straightaway’. Instead it grew into a *philosophy* from its origins as a ‘humanizing activity’ for actors immersed in ‘feeling, intuition, representation – which are forms that have to be distinguished from thinking itself as form’, the cognitive footings upon which the dialectic is played out (Collins 2013: 62 citing Hegel). This too was my method.

### ***An Embedded/Grounded Phenomenology***

Hawkesbury Harvest emerged in May 2000 with a tourism trail initiative. My research journey began with the aim to test truth expectations about the tourism phenomenon I thought Harvest to be, I was looking for those aspects of it that ‘fit’ my history (after Collins, 2013: 197) as relevant to my background and expertise in tourism. It was a positivist orientation that Weber would have criticised as hobbled by ‘dogmatic conceptual construct(s)’ (Oakes, 1977: 28). I soon faced a crisis of confidence, the constructs not informing what I or my fellow actors were conscious of *as* Harvest. My orientation could not, again as Weber would observe, satisfy *Verstehen* criterion (ibid: 29), that is, understanding from its actors’ perspective. The tourism

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isomorphic of the landscape it describes – the landscape has content, the map is representation, the map is an isomorph. The phenomenological elements of Harvest are content, Hawkesbury Harvest is a representation that allows us to gain cognition of it, and hence assign meaning.

<sup>37</sup> Although as the next section explains, I did naively embark with such an orientation.

lens was clouding what was really there. I deliberately (in a Hegelian way as characterized by Fulda, 2008) reset it to be 'minimalist in the beginning, leaving all kinds of questions open, undetermined, not even defined as questions'. I adopted a 'sensing' mode, David later observing that I was intent on "*assessing*" whether "*what truly is*" might not be the "objects in the world or even the world itself" (Collins, 2013: 36 citing Fulda, 2008: 23) that my tourism frames of reference led me to believe. My stance truly became observer rather than tester. A phenomenology emerged as the most appropriate form capable of being true to 'what is'.

The phenomenology so written is descriptive rather than analytic. The scope expanded beyond my original truth expectation of what Harvest ought to be about. On face value we see a tourism phenomenon being studied by a tourism researcher analysed within preselected tourism theoretical frames. This is not what you are reading. Similarly, you are not reading a phenomenology determined to isolate some aspect of Harvest for philosophical or theoretical interrogation, such as the spirit expressed or the intentionality manifest and their relation to Harvests' actors' being, rather my scope is deliberately broad, seeking to paint a rich picture of Harvest.

The truth of what it's about has been and is the subject of confusion in those who think they see it, much as I was when I first engaged with it. Ever since its formation it has suffered from the foregrounding of tourism in the eyes of external parties. They confuse the Farm Gate Trail and Harvest's other pedagogies with Hawkesbury Harvest, the social "*movement*", as John Maguire describes it. Harvest knowingly exploited this when it sought tourism-related funding for its initiatives and it has been confused with tourism bodies and thought to be doing tourism organisation things, and been embroiled in controversy when this resulted in funding allocations for which tourism bodies were also competing<sup>38</sup>. One of the earliest papers (Knowd, 2005) from

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<sup>38</sup> The earliest of these was in 2000, shortly after Harvest formed when Tourism Hawkesbury was 'snubbed' by Hawkesbury City Council which perceived Harvest as a tourism organization, and one doing work that Tourism Hawkesbury was doing. See 24 June, 2000



this study explored this tourism-dominated lens through which observers see Harvest, and tourism's effects for the organisation<sup>39</sup>. This thesis too has been confused in this way, and being as I claim, an isophor, it's testament to the veracity of my work and integrity of my method, and a validation of those earlier findings. It's testimony too, to the non-destructive dialectic it contains, because if the thesis is the isophor I say it is, then confusion over what it's about ought to occur. It all depends on whether the dialectic shift in view is achieved.

What 'appears' as the Harvest phenomenon through its initiatives and presences, turns out to not be what it's about or even is, instead the tourism, markets, and media efforts are interpretations of the true object, and dialogical tools in the Harvest dialectic with the world. The thesis, like the artworks in the *Contested Landscapes* exhibition, is literally a teaching tool, a pedagogical device employed to reveal the intrinsic contradictions in what is 'known' about food, farming and Sydney's food lands. The reader gains access to my/our lived experience of deploying such tools. These and other communicative devices are the strategic mechanisms used by Harvest to execute David's ultimate aim in supporting agriculture in the Basin, to construct a new dialogue with Sydney-siders and raise awareness of the values agriculture adds to their city, lifestyle, and well-being<sup>40</sup>. The dialectic illuminates internal contradictions in truth claims about agriculture, revealing paradoxes, effecting shifts, and establishing alternative conceptions of our relations with food, farming and their place in the Sydney basin.

The thesis is long. It covers my immersion and action over nearly fifteen years, and the history of Harvest over most of that period. The principals of phenomenology dictate that I attempt to expand the content into some form of organic whole by explicating the interconnections between the content (after Hegel in Collins, 2013: 170). In the case of a social phenomenon, this is always going to result in an 'endless task' and un-wholly understanding

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39 A paper awarded the Bill Faulkner Memorial Award for Best PhD Paper at the Council of Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Educators conference of 2005.

40 Minutes of the Sydney's Fresh Food Bowl Scoping Meeting, Tuesday 4th February, 1997

(Oakes, 1977; Luft & Overgaard, 2012: 11). The thesis ranges over a great deal of content to deliver a non-trivial exploration of the Harvest phenomenon and the subjectivity of its actors' social concerns (after Hall, 1981: 141). Only a phenomenology of this type can aspire to a *Verstehen* of the interconnectedness, complexity of relations, and the multiplicity of drivers in their context and how these become integral to Harvest's actors' lifeworld, and through this their hoped-for transformation in public sensibilities.

I include a comprehensive chronology and other appendices that are an archive/repository of key source materials upon which the thesis depends. The form of study dictates that this material is available for the reader so they can see what I say can be seen.

The fundamentals of phenomenology require that the voice of the actors be heard. The length then is a function of not just what is said, but also the particularly idiosyncratic way it's said and how much is deemed needed for the telling to satisfy *us*, the actors in this story. This is the essence of narrative (Vandeveldt, 2012: 361), and this essence is at the core of what Harvest is, a conversation with the world that does not aim to pass judgement, but more usefully, make a simple (or not-so-simple) perspectivist (ibid: 362) case referencing Harvest's worldview.

Lastly, the form of the thesis is a hybrid document combining conventions in scientific writing. The use of notes and type of content is a function of the 'extent' of inference and reflection I need to signal *if* I am to meet my aim of *Verstehen*. I am not however, a loose cannon firing off shots at random, rather they are threads leading to other corridors in what I have found to be a labyrinthine phenomenon. Not all are essential to grasping the phenomenon, but they are for understanding my perspective on it, and especially my intellectual journey with it. The number and content of appendices too 'complicate' the document with archival material, again not essential for grasping what's talked about, but important for completeness of the document. This may irritate and perhaps confound the reader but it is the

only way for me to structure and compile what are essentially multiple narratives embracing multiple dimensions in my show-and-tell of Harvest. I can use Harvest's primary product to explain this.

The Farm Gate Trail is a dialogic tool, it has a purpose beyond generating economic activity for the farmers involved, as I've already laid out. The experiences offered, if being categorised in tourism terms, fall into an eco-tourism niche, although it's never referred to as such. Like other eco-tourism offerings that require a degree of immersion in the environment/culture of the host community, visitors to the Trail would need to dedicate time and effort to allowing that immersion<sup>41</sup>. However, there are a proportion of visitors who want the 'whistle-stop tour' version of the Farm Gate Trail which is logistically difficult to achieve, and if it can be done, defeats the purpose of the Trail 'experience'. Whistle-stop tours are the analogue of violence to the narrative the Trail seeks to have with people who engage with it.

So this document contains three basic intertwined 'studies'; examination of an entity, its appearances and products; historiographic aspects of the entity's origins and place in the world; examination of the learning journey had by the entity's key actors and constituents. My use of the word 'thesis' is in its broadest sense and adding 'for examination' to it invokes arbitrary, constraining and rational bureaucratic criterion to which it *should* conform. As a phenomenological study of its character, this too is a violence on the work, and given what the thesis is about, this too is paradoxical.

### ***Why Was a Dialectic Needed?***

Agriculture had changed. John Boland (1970) notes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Volume of the Hawkesbury Agricultural College history covering the years 1941 – 1966 titled *Hawkesbury Harvest*, that there was a reversal of priorities from a traditionalist conceptualisation of farming for which

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<sup>41</sup> Indeed, Moscardo et al (2013) show that it's this kind of tourism that delivers the greatest dividends in forms of capital to host communities and Destination Community Well-being.

Macquarie would have had sympathy (as a foundation stone of a society), to one in 1970 reflecting the industrialisation of farming and its driving scientific paradigms of improvement.

*“Farming which used to be (1) a way of life, (2) an art, (3) a science, (4) a business, tended more and more to become (1) a business, (2) a science, (3) a technological exercise and (4) a way of life. This reversal of priorities was happening faster in some kinds of farming enterprise than in others, but in all it appeared to be an inexorable trend.” (p. 221)*

Industrialization of agriculture is not an issue per se, but conceptions of it dominating the discourses about rural communities and agri-business denied the reality of the small farms sector and conceived it to be on a path to extinction. There was no ‘investment’ nor interest in government circles for retaining agriculture as a way of life, indeed common wisdom was that to do so condemned farming families to subsistence farming and peasantry (Gamble et al, 2001: 30).

A galvanizing event occurred when David Mason confronted a truth statement he received in 1993 to a question he put to the Royal Australian Planning Institute Conference at Penrith Panthers Conference Centre. He was there as part of his newly assumed role within the NSW Department of Primary Industry (DPI) as a Natural Resource Management Liaison Officer located at Windsor. When David asked about planning for agriculture in the Sydney basin he got an aggressive response that shocked him, and that the respondent’s words were ‘burned into’ his brain, making a ‘profound’ impact, implying that his job and DPI’s interest were practically redundant before they had even started. David says,

*“it was a Department of Lands bloke, ...he says ‘there’s no place for agriculture in the Sydney basin, agricultural land is a land bank waiting for higher economic use, ... all agriculture belongs over the range” (Mason, interview Part 1 - 1:04:50)*

More than mere opinion, it had the authority of a ‘limiting case of pure instrumental and correct rationality’ (Oakley, 1997: 819 citing Weber). Its veracity lay in what David could see in everyday experience of agriculture’s treatment in the Basin; the implementation of the statement in the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy<sup>42</sup>, the relentless transition of farm lands into rural residential and then urban zones, the structuring of agriculture and industrialization of it, with the attendant food system, turning small-holding farming into an unviable form, and the development agenda that exploits all these trends. A relationship between growers and eaters was not a component of reality and rationality, not really important, it was something consequential to, and therefore, “just [something that] happens to exist, between the actual and what might just as well not be” (Collins, 2013: 64). Indeed, food retailers did their utmost to remove any connection between producer and consumer, to eliminate consumer sensibilities to and for the people who produce their food. A relation then between farmers and consumers in the contemporary food system “might just as well not be” (ibid), and what’s more, was immanently logical and rational.

David’s response to this reality-check was a laconic “*Well bugger me!*” It was a defining moment for him and signifies a time when he shifted from agriculture extension officer to policy and social entrepreneur<sup>43</sup>, an ideal-typical meaningful actor and change agent, with a policy *agenda*<sup>44</sup>. In Weberian terms this moment galvanised David’s ‘personality’, ‘calling’ or *Beruf*<sup>45</sup> as a future actor in Harvest. He knew in that instant ‘why’ he wanted to act against this assault on

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42 And its many formulations since 1968

43 In Foucauldian terms he became the ‘discontinuity’ that would go on to play a pivotal role in the antecedent events that led to Harvest as a post-hoc ‘discontinuity’ for challenging the status quo of thinking about agriculture in the Sydney basin. As Dees (2001) and Bornstein (2005) articulated, a ‘vision’ is what differentiates entrepreneurship in all domains (social and economic) and this discontinuity set David to imagining an alternative future for agriculture and set him on the path of evangelising in order to realize it.

44 As Birch and Whittam define it, a set of ‘discursive claims’, and in David’s case about agriculture in the Sydney basin – David would be later criticized from within and without the DPI for the claims he would make using ABS and other data about the value and significance of agricultural production in the Sydney basin as part of these discursive claims – see 30 June, 2009

45 The Lutheran idea that work in a ‘calling’ was given by God, and a principle concept in Weber’s thesis about the origins of modern capitalism in the *Protestant Ethic*. See Weber, 2009.

his values and beliefs about agriculture, what constitutes viable agriculture, and the role for it in Sydney. He embarked on a ‘mission’<sup>46</sup> to change attitudes and reassert these values into society. But he did not yet know ‘what’ he would do or ‘who’ he would work with in order to change this situation, and together the ‘what and who’ would form the ‘how’ that eventually coalesced as Hawkesbury Harvest.

*“The rules were that, I knew that there’d be no point in me sort of getting all this information about what people are thinking about, you know, out in the greater world and taking that to the ‘A’ team, to the bureaucracy in head office and saying “well this is what everyone’s thinking”, and they’d say, “ah, piss off”, you know, because they’re not interested in that, you know, so I started a process within the organisation to bring, to start to bring about change within the organisation, and that was SAFE hub, I called it Sydney Agriculture for the Environment, SAFE, and I used to have seminars and regular meetings and people would come from head office, I mean not so many from head office, but occasionally, but people from the Sydney region would come from DPI, and we’d get speakers in and we’d talk about different things” (Mason interview Part II 25:00:00)*

What he did do was start a ‘process, an engagement’, a dialogue he called Sustainable Agriculture For the Environment (SAFE) within and outside the DPI, specifically with, as he describes them, the ‘technologists’, and this attracted the attention of the then Departmental Director, Dr Bob Martin who suggested to David that a strategic plan for agriculture in the basin was needed<sup>47</sup>.

*“The government rules were pretty restrictive in terms of their attitude toward agriculture, there was no way that you know, in developing a strategy for sustainable agriculture in the Sydney basin you were going to, I realized you know, that it would be ridiculous to try and go to my Director General and say well, you know, sign off a letter and send it off to all the CEOs to nominate*

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46 This is about beliefs and attitudes rather than a practical mission to realize some commercial or planning outcome.

47 See Mason interview Part I 1:19 – 1:22

*somebody to attend, to be involved in this process... but the people I was working with, we sat down and we targeted people within organisations that we knew had interest in agriculture, you know in middle management areas, we targeted them and asked them directly to come along and have these meetings, and so we were able to then put this thing together with this middle management type input, because we knew then that middle management could up and down from that level, and that document was released to a number of people's surprise, and then it just beavered its way around into the bureaucracy and started to change attitudes and people read it, and you know, it wasn't a complex document, it wasn't prescriptive, it was simply a framework" (Mason interview Part II 27:35:00)*

Planning had evangelised David and inspired his first actions. He drove the development of NSW Agriculture's *Strategic Plan for Sustainable Agriculture – Sydney Region*, his first policy initiative<sup>48</sup>, which in its preamble states that 'Planning is without doubt the most important factor in realizing the potential' of long-term investment in agriculture for the Sydney basin, and the first Objective of the plan was to 'Ensure that agriculture is given recognition/emphasis in all strategic planning for the Sydney region' (NSW Agriculture, 1998: 8-9). Despite this agriculture did not gain recognition in the strategic planning for Sydney in the decade that followed. David had tried to change the system from within, but it seemed futile. Chapter Four picks up this story line with his role in groups outside his institution in the late 1990s where Harvest would evolve and develop its dialectical pedagogies.

The *Contested Landscapes* arts phenomena, Harvest's experiential initiatives that bring growers and eaters together, its communicative presences and activity, and this thesis are dialectical strategies harnessed to Harvest's cause. This is not a 'destructive dialectic' (Collins, 2013: 144-145) seeking only to counter or destroy the logic of a prevailing 'truth'. Instead its purpose is to shift thinking to a positive conception that realistically integrates the internal

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<sup>48</sup> An implementation of his policy agenda – Harvest would ultimately also be one of his, in concert with others, initiatives in support of this agenda.

contradictions of the dominant paradigm (prevailing truth about food and farming in the basin) to reveal that what is thought to be a universal principal (no place for agriculture in the basin), has dimensions that paradoxically must be integrated if, from a Harvest perspective, a return to 'healthy' relations between humans and our food is to be regained in the City of Sydney.

Harvest's dialectic tools not only confront the simplicity of the prevailing truth, but highlight that the 'actual' universal is really 'a dynamic between the diversification of unity and the unification of diversity' (Collins: 2013: 147). Harvest's existence is evidence of this; an alternative conception of the same thing (a determinate negation after Hegel), being relations between humans and their food, but one that is richer (and more positive) than the simplistic one envisaged by and manifest in the situation for agriculture and the food system in contemporary Sydney. The dialectic produces a 'higher-order reality' that transcends to establish a new conventional understanding (Weaver, 2014 paraphrasing Carr, 2000).

This is also what Harvest's initiatives strive to do, to repair the disconnect between grower and eater by making the effect of their choices explicit in the connection, to do this by educating them via their own experiences of food and farming, and to make available the 'knowing' (ibid) that is required if Harvest's socio-political agenda for agriculture in the Basin is to be realized.

As the chapter titles suggest, the story tells of Harvest as a **response** to an absence (One), one form of which is the disconnect, that the absence called actors into a **journey** of purpose and meaning-making with a specific character (Two), into an absence that was not a mere void but was fertile **ground** in the palimpsest of the Sydney basin and its planning story (Three). This quest required a **vehicle** they called Hawkesbury Harvest deploying an arsenal of dialectic devices and a 'new harvest' germinated in that ground (Four), claiming higher moral ground in **sustainability** (Five), and took form as a **hybrid** organization prosecuting a meaningful development agenda (Six). Embedded in the purpose and meaning-making are some lessons about the **portentousness** imbued, and the **intentionality** revealed, in the **meaningful actions** of



the past and present (Seven). The telling describes how this 'collective entity', for its actors, manifests 'normative authority' (Oakley, 1997: 820-821 citing Weber). It's a phenomenology that lays out a Harvest consciousness and subjectivity in its worldly experience of the story, and its actors' substantive lifeworld as Husserl would have conceptualised it (Luft & Overgaard, 2012: 2).

### ***How Can 'Nothing', 'Happen'? If it Does, How is it 'An Absence'?***

The expression I have used in the title for this introductory chapter, 'The Absence of Nothing Happened', is from a logician's viewpoint a semantically unqualified trick, a rhetorical implement designed to intentionally juxtapose 'incongruous ideas for the sake of striking exposition or unexpected insights' (Rescher, 2001: 4). It lacks qualifying terms to turn it from nonsensical to logical, yet it still tells the story of Harvest and describes what happened, albeit by referencing what didn't happen. What's missing from the statement that de-paradoxes it is the word 'adverse' from between 'nothing' and 'happened'. The adverseness of the situation(s) Harvest actors faced is a purely subjective matter, but also one that characterises the cultural landscape conflict this study explores. The Harvest phenomenon is testimony of the dynamic relation between local and global flows that trigger shifts in responses within communities in defence of spaces and places (after Giddens, 1999 and Swyngedouw, 1997).

'The absence of nothing happened' also exhibits the flaws of vagueness and from a critical realist perspective, the un-measurability implied gives expression to one of the important features of the social world, that 'underlying causes may not always become manifest and occur in measurable form' (Denscombe, 2010: 132). The words 'absence' and 'nothing happened' seem to mean the same kind of thing, they are a contradiction-in-terms (Rescher, 2001: 193) but 'absence' also has a quantification aspect to it that makes it seem more meaningful. At the core is the metaphysical fact that I am trying to reveal something as elusive as paradox so posing the 'question' as a semantic riddle seems justifiable, and playful.

‘A sceptic about vague terms would not even let the argument get started’ (Clark, 2002: 132) yet the phrase speaks to a truth, it is more than just a trope because it references something outside of itself, the ‘absences’ and the ‘nothing that happened’. The confusion simulates the sense I want to convey about the Harvest phenomenon, that there are things absent, and this absence *is* sensed and meaningful (after Rescher, 2001: 107), and the thing that was/is absent is a condition called ‘nothing happened’. It’s a moral, epistemic and spiritual void, yet it has substance, inspires angst and defines a set of ‘oughts’ for Harvest and these are phenomena discernable via a Weberian historiography, looking for something that didn’t happen in order to identify causality where it did (Andreski, 1964: 7). I don’t pretend this is what logicians (Clark, 2002; Rescher, 2001; Sainsbury, 1995) and others would describe as a ‘technical paradox’ for there are many more ironies and simple contradictions in the Harvest story than true logical paradox.

The absence of nothing happened is what many lay and professional people experience in their everyday world. Much more than just a game-saying use of words, we can feel it when good planning systems account for discontinuities, disturbances, dynamic externalities, threats and effects of entropy and keep us safe, fed, housed and (perhaps) happy. If the functional effects of planning systems, whether they be in airports, in schools, on the roads or in land-use do their job effectively, we experience what engineers, maintenance workers, firemen, and security staff feel relief about at the end of their shifts, that is, nothing happened, everything went as planned and their systems worked.

Giddens speaks of ‘an anonymous and spatially extensive trust which is constantly in the background of our everyday lives’ (Dodd, 1999: 190) based on our systems of control. When there is an absence of nothing happened we notice it, it invariably triggers a response that seeks to restore stability and a sense of security in our systems for managing human affairs. Harvest formed because of a sensed breach of trust. It was/is a reactive emergence to what would be

found by the State's Independent Review to be a 'deep cynicism toward the current planning system' (NSW Government, 2012: 13). Paradoxically, it filled a gap in policy and action that was created by the very system that was meant to maintain itself in good order, the land use planning system for the Sydney basin. By implication it says that in a neo-liberal context these gaps are 'Okay', they foster creative responses from community<sup>49</sup>, they induce the evolutionary forces that lead to innovation and the development of survival tactics. Albert Einstein is attributed to have said words to the effect that a problem can't be solved at the level at which it was created<sup>50</sup>. Thus something like Hawkesbury Harvest which sprang up outside the institutional settings for planning of the basin was always going to emerge out of the city-centric planning myopathy in Sydney. And this *is* okay if that is what our planning systems are meant to do, to be instruments of neo-liberal governance, to maintain 'settings' that do not hinder 'creative destruction', but I don't think many planners would say it is, even if economists would – as Douglass North observes, 'modifications occur because individuals perceive that they could do better by restructuring exchanges, political or economic' (2001: 250), that organizations form to do so (1990) and it is in these domains that Harvest has contributed to an evolutionary and progressive<sup>51</sup> (Holt-Giménez & Altieri, 2013: 97) shift in the social and economic institutional structures of the Sydney basin.

Hawkesbury Harvest was a seed planted with the Macquarie vision for feeding Sydney in the newly formed colony of NSW; of the patterns of action that sought to ensure food equity, security and sovereignty back in those early days of Sydney's establishment. These same

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49 In neo-classical economics this is referred to as 'creative destruction' and considered an essential evolutionary force driving innovation and major shifts in economic systems.

50 One of the critiques of the draft *National Food Plan* released in 2012 was that it simply reinforced a business-as-usual approach to 'reforming' the food system. Holt-Giménez, & Altieri, (2013: 97) make the same point about neo-liberal and reformist thrusts in international food system change noting, 'While the mission of reform is to mitigate the excesses of the market, its "job" is identical to that of the neoliberal trend: the reproduction of the corporate food regime.' This happens because the same governmental and corporate institutions that structure and dominate the system are those charged with reforming it.

51 Rather than 'radical'.

patterns<sup>52</sup> of concern have replicated themselves in the post-modern Sydney of the new millennium, and the gaps that Macquarie and his fellow governors sought to fill with rogue elements have replicated themselves in the modern era, and again the state has opted for the panaceaic option of seeing where ‘natural’ forces settle in equilibrium. It is this apparent willingness of the political system in NSW to preference evolutionary forces that has fed cynicism with the system and criticism of politicians<sup>53</sup>. Through the Hawkesbury Harvest story some of the detail of this rich picture will be revealed and a better understanding of how an ‘absence of nothing happened’ might have been avoided. The Harvest story grounds the statement, allowing us to see if it’s truth or fabrication.

This study is timely because the Harvest story references many of the critical debates in sustainability, food systems, health and agriculture that are occupying the minds of practitioners, researchers and policy-makers, and in some of these, Harvest actors have played roles<sup>54</sup>. The recent emergence of local and national agendas on these problems means that Harvest is seen as a model of action and engagement with community issues that can be replicated in other contexts, and around other issues. Understanding the Harvest phenomenon as I now do makes this knowledge available to the wider community and capable of dissemination<sup>55</sup>. Harvest’s existence, my work within it and the dialogue ‘we’ have prosecuted

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52 See also Holt-Giménez, & Altieri, (2013: 95) who observe that ‘local networks for agroecological practice merge with the transnational agrarian movements for food sovereignty they generate massive social pressure—pressure that is needed to tip the scales of political will in favour of food sovereignty and agroecology.’

53 In such a context, what role is there for vision and leadership? The market sucks oxygen away from politicians who simply become the mouthpieces of spin doctors and bureaucrats.

54 *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* was one of the outputs of the CSIRO’s Climate Adaption Flagship, its Urbanism, Climate Adaptation and Health Cluster, Project 5: Identifying and characterising resilient urban food systems to promote population health in a changing climate “The Climate and Health Cluster has been established to bring together scientists and researchers from a range of disciplines to develop adaptation strategies for safeguarding the health of urban populations in the face of a variable and changing climate.” (<http://climatehealthcluster.org/>) David Mason was one of the research group. See 18 July, 2006 and March 2010. In mid 2012 the Cluster conducted two Systems Thinking Workshops on Health in Sydney Metropolitan Planning – Mason and Knowd were invited.

55 The fact that the Harvest case now has penetrated the literature on these agendas is an indicator of the validity and relevance of this work. See specifically 26 April, 2006; 19 June, 2009; 2 May, 2010; October, 2010 and December, 2010. It/we have mobilized ideas and knowledge (after Said, 1983)

has awakened a latent audience for its ideas in the wider community and created discourses across communities-of-interest locally, regionally, at state, national and international levels. This can be seen in rapidly emerging like-minded phenomena of the alternative food system globally, and in the Sydney context, the likes of *OOOBY*<sup>56</sup>, *Harvest Hub* and the *Youth Food Movement*, social-enterprise-based groups active in food chains<sup>57</sup>.

It is untimely because, as a piece of research work it comes well after I and my co-actors through Harvest have had an effect in changing, or influencing change, in policy, planning and governance approaches. In this sense then, it too is another important contribution to posterity, as an after-the-event reporting of the 'Harvest experiment' and its meaning-making. However, as the criticism of rationalist approaches increases, the experience and story of Harvest will have greater relevance because of its power to reveal the system dynamics and their effects within communities trying to manage global problems in economics, social change and environmental integrity as expressed in the local context. 'Our' learning through Harvest, formalised and codified in the research and other renderings of it done as it has been/is generated is a timely contribution to knowledge on the Harvest problematic.

The research is important because it shows how Hawkesbury Harvest as a creature of our neo-liberal systems of governance does the work of community development. It also examines how it has attained a certain positioning and status in the dialogues around agriculture in the Sydney basin. It points to the ways that post-modern organizations like Harvest operate in the development arena, and how they function as extra-governmental actors in development agendas. There are policy implications in this work, particularly in relation to how we manage the efforts and effects of organizations like Harvest, in their funding arrangements, and in managing the challenges that flow from the way they operate to core neo-liberal rationalist

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56 Out Of Our Own Back Yard (OOOBY)

57 See <https://www.ooooby.org/sydney>, <https://www.harvesthub.com.au/>, <http://www.youthfoodmovement.org.au/>

concepts of economic efficiency and effectiveness, and to social capital and diffusion of learning. In the current social context, the things that Harvest can reveal to us in these areas are central to debates about governance and development. As UWS Chancellor, Professor Peter Shergold AC (2012) put it, “Partnership with Government: Will we know it when we see it?”, raising questions of ‘cross-sectoral collaboration to catalyse creative approaches to the production of public good’, what it takes for government and community-based organisations to work together, and the problem of ‘asymmetrical political power’ and the way planning systems have perpetuated this. The Harvest case does reveal idiosyncratic answers to these contemporary questions of governance, and public and social innovation.

As a case study on Weberian constructs, it contributes to the on-going debates about the place and significance of Weber’s work. Specifically, it gives empirical insights into debates about ‘the Spirit’, and as I prefer to use the term, a small ‘s’ spirit. This Harvest phenomenology embraces the critique of Weber in the sociology of religion and knowledge, what Zafirovski (2014) has named *Weber’s Implicit Reverse Model*,<sup>58</sup> by foregrounding the social and economic conditions for Harvest’s actors and problematic, and revealing how within that context, a spirit drove social entrepreneurial action and outcomes in the Hawkesbury. In doing this I can see that it is as Weber claimed, not that the conditions created the spirit but that it was in some latent state within the actors as secular beings. What the context did was stimulate it, expressed as a ‘calling’ in actors who then mobilized the spirit through Harvest, creating economic and social capital through their own volition, and involving the ascetic orientations that made accumulation of capital possible. It is this dynamic between spirit and capitalism that can be found in the Harvest case, a spirit released from the Iron Cage of spiritless rationality.

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<sup>58</sup> Although I am not concerned with that aspect of the Reverse Model which debates whether Calvinism was the dependent or independent variable in the emergence of modern capitalism, or if doctrines of predestination underpin social class.

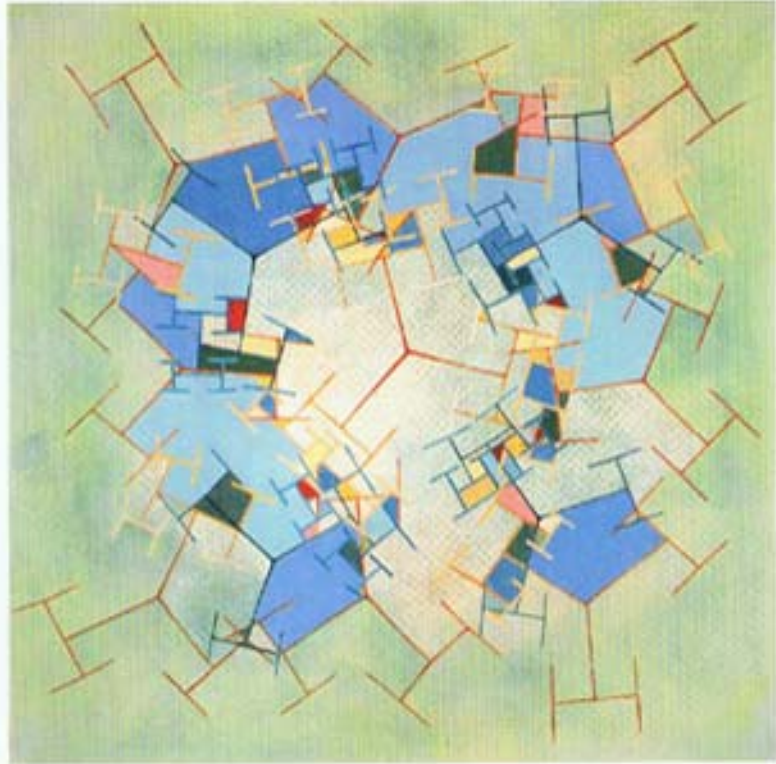
Hawkesbury Harvest is an answer. This thesis tries to reveal and explicate the questions to which Harvest is an answer, to explore the answer in enough detail to illuminate its dimensions and the discourses it addresses, to, as David Mason stated in his opening address for the *Contested Landscapes* exhibition, reveal “what this is all about really”. It turns the usual orientation of research on its head with this quest via phenomenology for the ‘questions’. Harvest is also just one answer, one that is particular to the circumstances and communities from which it emerged, where the organisation and its actors were in search of the question and a way of asking it so that it could be interrogated and understood within the dominant development dialogue for Sydney. If the questions so answered by Harvest help create the normative futures they seek, then Harvest will pass into history as a temporary phenomenon that ‘talked to’ its particular social context and time. Indeed, a measure of Harvest’s effectiveness will be that its meaningful action on these agendas is no longer needed, it has been incorporated into our planning systems and sets-the-scene for an ever-present ‘nothing happened’. For its farmers, the apparent ephemerality of their relationship with Sydney will itself be dismissed as an ephemeral aberration.

The preceding introduces the phenomenology, through which this particular answer might be understood in the context of the rural communities of the Sydney basin, and specifically the host community of the Hawkesbury. The story, perhaps like a parable, attempts to articulate these meaningful questions. Like Harvest itself, my journey in constructing this story is a transitory work, as I transit through the intellectual terroir on one of many possible paths and modes of communicatively mediated exploration. In this way I hope to, as Charles Taylor (1971: 3) defines, describe Harvest’s meaningful ‘field of objects’ and their ‘sense or coherence’ through the ‘fragmentary expression of that meaning’ to be found ‘in some concrete fragments of evidence’ (Huff, 2009: 11) I present here. Like Harvest, it is unfinished work, it documents

learning so far, this indeterministic outcome being a feature of the post-modern, paradoxical, self-referentiality of the Harvest phenomenon and the research activity documented herein.

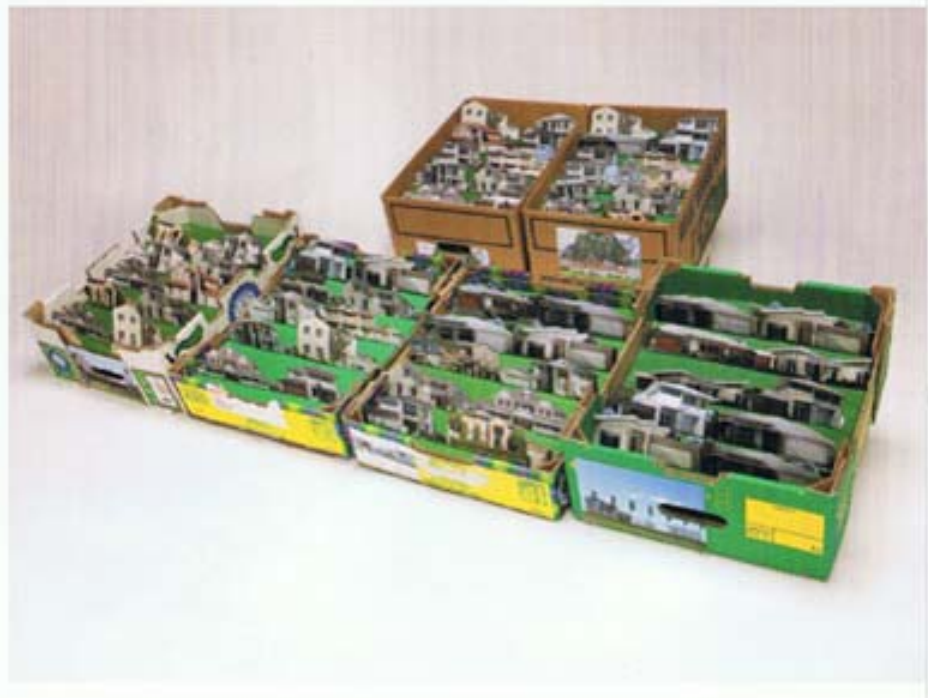
**Kerry Shephardson**  
*Branching Out* 2010  
60.0 x 60.0 cm  
Acrylic on canvas

I have had fun with branching growth patterns that invade and divide the surface of the work, clearing space that alludes to the control of land. The colors and forms reflect the disappearance of productive agricultural areas under the weight of development and the quest for contemporary human amenity.



**Rosina Wainwright**  
*Make it yours* 2010  
24.0 x 106.0 x 45.0 cm  
Cardboard, paper

Australia now builds probably the biggest houses in the world, and one in seven new houses now replaces an existing house. The Reserve Bank is concerned that Australians are investing in houses rather than housing. I visited Harrington Park, Harrington Grove and Cran Park Town subdivisions in SW Sydney region as part of the Contested Landscapes project. My work documents what I saw and my concern that we are building on valuable fertile soil.





**Bronwyn Austen**  
*Paving Paradise 1*  
2010  
76 x 56 cm  
Ink on paper

'We paved paradise, to put up a parking lot', so go the words to the song. It looks like paradise, this rich food-bearing land of the eastern foothills. Let's hope we will know what we've got before it's gone.



Parking cars and houses on the urban-rural divide. Photo: Ian Sinclair





## ***Chapter Two: Journeying with Harvest***

In this chapter I canvass dimensions and tensions in my/our method(s) and the learning journey. It is what would be in a standard scientific thesis, the methods chapter. However, it is much more than this because *my* phenomenology is part of Harvest's dialectic, it is a multidimensional and complex piece of meta-data. As a consequence, I eschew reduction and expand content to divulge the nuance and subtleties this research journey involved, the related labyrinthine threads, and the thinker/thinking involved. This is central to *Verstehen* because the 'methods' and 'orientations' are integral to *our* learning journey through Harvest, our lived experience of that learning – they are part of the phenomenon itself and our purposeful action in it.

I introduced and justified the Weberian perspective, one that best 'fit' the nature of the phenomena as a carrier of its actor's intentionality, but I also canvass how other frames could illuminate the Harvest phenomenon. I then discuss the participatory forms through which the actors have learned and the phenomenology has been generated. Data forms and collection techniques are described. Finally, I introduce the four key actors in the story providing a basic biography of them that connects their past with their calling in Harvest.

This is a long chapter. More than just a reflective indulgence, it informs the research by describing the epistemological canvass upon which I paint the Harvest picture, zooming in on the underlying fabric that informs my thinking and allowing you to get to know the character of the researcher voice telling the story – it's about rapport with my reader.

### ***My Approach to Tackling the Harvest Phenomena***

This phenomenology, like the gaze of the tourist, will draw criticism for superficiality, where I have not delved deeply enough, appearing content to observe surface phenomena. In counterpoint, the study expands the content so I can do justice to it in its terms, reflecting

Harvest's stance toward the world. As a reactive phenomenon to the 'steel hard case' of modernity, its mission was to establish its own frames rather than fit within outsiders'.

I described earlier the crisis of confidence I confronted at the outset, stemming from my original orientation and the limitations implied in my original study title, *An Investigation of Failure Mechanisms in Tourism Planning for Regional Communities*. It obliged an instrumental/positivist 'diagnosis of a problem', assuming what would be found was in the form of a problem with planning in regions that could be studied with suitably positivist methods. Weber himself observed, claims that 'methodology is a necessary condition for fruitful sociocultural research have the same status as the claim that knowledge of anatomy is a necessary condition for the ability to walk' (Oakes, 1977: 14). Applying the analogy, I wasn't seeing something gone wrong with being able to walk (tourism and planning), it was a completely different thing altogether, to which knowledge of anatomy (tourism and planning theory and methods) was of limited use. I went back to, and threw out the drawing board.

I continued on a learning journey like that visitors embark upon when they explore the Farm Gate Trail. It's about discovery not diagnosis, meandering across the territory defined by the 'trail' and Harvest's appearances and interpretation of agri-culture. The theorising that visitors (Knowd, 2003b) and I have done as the journey unfolds epitomises the research orientation, processes, methodology and reporting of this learning. It's been a critical hermeneutic journeying, a 'mobile ethnography' (after Sheller & Urry, 2006), naturalistically adopted for understanding, interpreting and rationalising how Harvest talks to disenchantment for consumers and community. This has been 'my' dialogue with Harvest and 'my' concientization (Freire, 1970) as actor and researcher, as Harvest intends any engagement with it to be. In this sense, all who engage with Harvest form their own phenomenology of it and its sense-making in the world.

My sense-making through it has revealed many and far more complex questions than those I have tried to address here, and I signal some in the thesis, and mostly in the notes. Such an interpretive journey can never reach ‘closure’ (Pryke et al, 2003: 142), and as Karl Jaspers<sup>59</sup> observed in criticising Weber’s work, ‘concrete processes of research ... lead to the very limits of knowledge and the partial empirical solution to the questions posed only raises new, far more complex questions’ (Mommsen, 1989: 24).

My engagement and conceptualisation of Harvest involved floundering in the depths of a relatively tiny pool of human activity (localized phenomenon) and losing myself in the vastness of Harvest’s ontological terrain. I have meandered into unfamiliar fields of knowledge critically important to articulating the meaning of Harvest.<sup>60</sup> In a Baudrillardian sense (Dodd, 1999: 156), I cannot possibly reveal some underlying truth or reality, but simply challenge myself and others as to the objectivity of things as they appear in Harvest and be an active and diligent storyteller<sup>61</sup>. I am an embedded narrator of Harvest’s narrative and have, as Smith (1998: 7) observed, ‘...wrestled with the problem of human beings creating explanations about themselves and their society when they are *part* and *parcel* of that society” and the self-referential tangle that characterises paradoxical phenomena.

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<sup>59</sup> Karl Jaspers, *Notizen zu Martin Heidegger*, ed. H. Sahner (Basle, 1977), p 215 referenced in Mommsen, 1992.

<sup>60</sup> Weber himself was forced to investigate foreign realms of knowledge in order to effect his own studies and conceive his theories (Schluchter, 1996: 110-111) – he did it with civilizations, I do it with domains of policy and action in the formative milieu within which Harvest formed, the majority of which I lay out in Chapter Three: On Fertile Ground. As with Weber, these ‘data’ are secondary, and reflect the contemporaneous scholarship upon which much of it is based if it is referencing academic sources, or the journalistic style of the times if it is sourced from general media.

<sup>61</sup> Here too there is a paradox at play. In Tsui et al (2006: 14) they describe the ‘research-transfer paradox: research evidence’s best chance at being used may depend on how unlike research its presentation can be. Telling stories may be one way to present research and other forms of knowledge in a way that is appealing to diverse audiences.’ In this thesis I try to do this and apply the Aristotlian principles of good rhetoric; I make an argument (logos), I hope in ways that appeal to reader emotions (pathos), but with enough authority as flagged with literature to establish credibility (ethos).



The story or narrative I craft here more accurately reflects the type of data this ‘telling’ is about<sup>62</sup>, the macro discourses and inter-textual relations between them, revealing the Weberian ‘grammar of rationalization’ (Spode, 2004: 129) as it impacts Harvest actors. It reflects the ontological underpinnings in constructivism, and the epistemological orientation to knowing through interpretivism. So much of it is self-referential<sup>63</sup>, characterised by looping back of the actors’ construction of purpose and meaning, including my own. It is a ‘phenomenal’ story, an ‘embodied’ (after Edensor, 2006) journey, one that has transcendent potentialities. It has many features of parable, the unconventional chapter headings alluding to content reflects the research journey, and my ontological stance in expressing the Harvest reality as ‘we’, Harvest’s actors prefer to have it expressed. As parable, the audience’s role is to interpret and evaluate my interpretations and evaluations and ‘imagine’ how they help make sense of other settings (Denscombe, 2010: 189). In a Foucauldian way this is an ‘experience’, an alternative art form, one that in its execution has transformed me, one I offer up as an invitation to the reader (O’Farrell, 2005:118). Its character is similar to Sarah Whatmore’s *Hybrid Geographies*, having ‘a style that some find delightful but others find frustrating. It allows the reader, sometimes requires her/him, to be playful’ (Dyer, 2008: 212), but also perhaps ‘inaccessible’ because of my ‘flouting of social science convention’ (ibid: 214).

There are other resonances with Whatmore’s (2002) work, especially the idea of ‘hybridity’ which is how I conceptualize Harvest, a *hybrid cultivar* organisation acting in the world.

Whatmore’s method is to ‘follow the journeys these things take in order to understand the

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62 My rhetorical style and actor-spectator dialectic requiring it? In *Weber, Passion and Profits*, Jack Barbalet (2008: 114) recounts Charles Griswold’s critique of Adam Smith’s style in writing *Moral Sentiments*, it being dramatic and theatrical with ‘no engagement with the work of philosophers.’ I can relate to this because I am more interested in the empirical evidence of Harvest as a phenomenon than using theory to make judgments about it, even though I know that this will be seen as an empty exercise in simply reporting ‘what is’ rather than ‘why it is’ and ‘what it means’ in some theoretical terms.

63 There is a physical self-referentiality to Harvest as well, one that resonates with Metzler’s work on *Wall Drug* (2002) – Harvest’s ‘presence’ is primarily via its media presences, maps, website and initiatives, these being powerful signifiers of it – as an organization it has no physical office and the administrative team as of 2013 comprises four individuals. Sometimes it seems Harvest is more smoke and mirrors than substance.

relationships that constitute them' (Dyer, 2008: 211). The kind of meandering I have done, and my naturalistic and organic arrival at this place is a truer reflection of my journey of understanding. Having jettisoned preconceived ideas about what I was investigating<sup>64</sup> I now have empirical evidence that supports Whatmore's and Weber's (and others') theses.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 157 quoted in Dunne, 2011: 116) critique this as being 'empty-minded' and inadequately steeped 'in the research traditions of a discipline', specifically the social theorists, at risk of working with the phenomenon in order to be 'not very clever' and 'rediscover the wheel'. This is my own 'resistance' to the machine, expressing Weber's own characterisation of its effects on the soul. Here again, Whatmore had 'no conventional methods section which lays out the methods of selecting, collecting, and analysing empirical data' (Dyer, 2008: 212). Whatmore's work and my own exhibit the same problem in that "[t]he epistemic modesty about partial and situated knowledge is somewhat belied by some quite strong claims about how that world actually is." (ibid citing Demeritt, 2005: 821). My 'strong claims' pepper this thesis and some are tainted with value propositions against which Weber would have railed on the grounds that values have no place in science. I have tried to untangle these, but they are essential elements in the Harvest dialectic and do taint the phenomenology in this way.

I have arrived, following my 'philosophically innocent exercise' and 'blank slate' in beginning<sup>65</sup>, (Allen in Pryke, et al, 2003: 14), at a way of rationalising the world of Harvest that accords with a Weberian frame that today is embraced in the paradigm of new institutionalism. I, paradoxically, disciplined myself with a *tabula rasa* and embarked on a grounded process of


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64 One of the great temptations I faced at the beginning of this journey was to 'run' with the most fashionable area of research and writing in tourism at the time, that of authenticity. I had read enough of this literature to know that Harvest would be a rich field for inquiry into the postmodern theorizing about authenticity. I would not have found it difficult to have a debate about authenticity using the Harvest phenomenon, but this would have required a 'screening out' of connected and as-equally-fruitful aspects of the phenomenon which would not do it justice as a first-instance exploration. So I do not do much about building on the work of others into place-based identity formation or look for, as Oakes puts it, 'theoretical closure', I do not want to put the Harvest case into some particular ontological and epistemological box. – see Oakes (1997).

65 Referring to Edward Said's *Beginnings*, 1978

active engagement, a deliberately naive approach with Harvest inducing authentic insights generated through a mindfulness without the ‘violence’ (after de Certeau, 1986 cited in Pryke et al, 2003: 142) of an imposed theoretical order. I have been a ‘theoretical agnostic’ (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2006: 350 cited in Dunne, 2011: 119), and maintained a *‘truly social’* and *‘close dialogue with the empirical evidence’* (Field, 2001: 69, italics original) of the Harvest case<sup>66</sup>. Like Elijah Anderson (1978) and his study of black male culture in Chicago of the 1970s, I ‘had absolutely no idea where the research would lead’, and ‘no explicit sociological problem or question’ (2006: 40). I had vague ideas that Harvest’s Farm Gate Trail might explicate linkages between agriculture and tourism but sensed the primacy of ‘an empirical appreciation for the dynamic forces at work in [my] area of study, rather than any theoretical preconceptions regarding the relevance of [any particular theorist’s] ideas’ (Nelson, 2006: 508). This empirical appreciation demanded I become an insider.

**Table 1: The ‘Harvest Study’ Design**

Ontology	Epistemology	Role of Theory	Methods
Phenomenological	Interpretivist Grounded Hermeneutic	Data points to suitable theories – a Weberian frame	Participant observation Content analysis Dialogical interpretation Action research including production of Harvest ‘texts’ Appreciative engagement
Hawkesbury Harvest is a construct of its actors 	I am a Hermeneus – both herald and translator of Harvest dialogic struggle	I immersed myself first and then sought out theory that could ‘talk’ to my data	My methods collect data in the form of text, images, Harvest ‘presences’ and purposeful actions  Methods involve Harvest actors in an appreciative learning paradigm of social action

<sup>66</sup> Similar to Edward Shils’ own study of economic policy-making in recently-colonial countries and his ‘findings’ about the attitudes of the policy elites, the recounting of which in academic terms facilitated reflective cognition, allowing him to realize that Weber’s concepts of charismatic leadership were illuminating. The ‘extensibility of the idea’ (Shils, 1984: 564) is what makes Weber’s work an enduring contribution to social scientific exploration, and this same extensibility is something I too have found in ‘rationalizing’ the Harvest case.



### ***Insider-ness***

I am a 'native' of the host community (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007) having lived in The Hawkesbury since the late 1970s, but being from a tourism background, was also a 'stranger' to the key constituencies who created Harvest. I joined Harvest in the year it formed with an 'emotional detachment' that Le Gallais (2008) describes in her own work with 'Riverford' College, holding a questioning stance<sup>67</sup> as described by Schutz (1976 cited in Le Gallais, 2008), and noted by David. I have 'lived the data' in a dualistic mode (Morse, 1998) as both researcher (the reflective, observant, detached viewer) and the researched (an actor, subject-as-part of the phenomenon, bringing their own history and personality to the 'object' of study), one that requires internal dialogues<sup>68</sup> of reflexive praxis (Attard, 2008).

In the first mode I act as researcher and stranger (after Schutz, 1964) and through this voice give a 'second-order' (ibid) account of my Harvest companions' reality. It's with this voice that I first came to Harvest, which is technically a 'closed' (Bryman, 2008: 404) organization, although it is open to anybody wishing to join, and performed the social anthropological ethnography (O'Reilly, 2005) this thesis reports.

In the second mode I am overt observer within Hawkesbury Harvest. I am a long-term member of the Harvest Board (since 2001), office holder (past-president 2003-2005, public officer and current treasurer 2005+), and volunteer for the organization – a Harvest insider. The extent of my Harvest 'insider-ness' (after Le Gallais, 2008) has deepened with the roles I have played within the organisation. Through this voice I give a 'first-order' (Denscombe, 2010: 134) account of a Harvest reality. This voice and my agency in this mode dominates the arena of study, it's through this voice that the emancipatory dimensions of the work have been manifest and how I have achieved high levels of ecological validity (Bryman, 2008: 33-34). The second

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<sup>67</sup> Recall that David Mason observed my stance when on the steering committee was one of "assessing it", weighing it up to see if it was "fair-dinkum".

<sup>68</sup> This chapter lays out my external referencing of these dialogues  
Ian Knowd

mode has also been covert, with those external-to-Harvest organizations and individuals that I observed not being aware they were part of the dynamics I sought to document. I engaged with them in a functional role as a Harvest officer, my researcher status was not declared, I was 'disguised' (Bryman 2008: 404 quoting Atkinson, 1981: 135) for these classes of persons.

As insider my co-Harvesters were aware that I was a lecturer and researcher in tourism at the University of Western Sydney and that I joined Harvest because tourism was my field of research interest and activity. They were thus aware of this dualistic role and are therefore 'affected', aware they are being studied<sup>69</sup>, although they show little interest in this, and when it became a topic of conversation, they often appeared to have forgotten about it<sup>70</sup>. While this affect is inevitable, I have sought to be as non-directing as possible in observing Harvest's evolution so as to record the outcome of the other actors' purposeful action without applying my own 'expertise' in putting in place solutions to the challenges Harvest has faced. I have maintained a high level of naturalism or ecological authenticity in the social setting and dynamics<sup>71</sup>. While an appropriate way of acting as researcher/observer, it is impossible to isolate my 'effect' from the mix, and in any case, it raises the ethical dilemma for me as researcher/actor of withholding knowledge and skills which could/would change the course of Harvest's natural history. The writing I have done on behalf of the group, being Harvest's business plan, funding applications and project reports, and a number of submissions on planning strategies, instruments and inquiries, are examples. As David Mason described, he could see I was "assessing it", but not until the later stages of the research when I solicited his

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69 The Hawthorn effect

70 In truth they actually think what Harvest is about is agriculture and community rather than tourism, which would accord with tourism's role as a mechanism rather than it being the defining nature of the phenomenon.

71 This was/is also enhanced by my 'work' in Harvest – I have been a committee member since 2001, the Chair and now the Treasurer and Public Officer of Harvest, along with Alan Eagle, I 'run' Harvest, performing operational roles. I have hosted tours of the Farm Gate Trail for domestic and international groups, conducted industry familiarization tours, organized and set-up Harvest markets and operated the Harvest stall at farmers markets, represented Harvest on external bodies and at public forums, recruited participants for the various editions of the FGT map, prepared contracts, grant applications and managed projects for Harvest. In all this I am participant-as-observer.

accounts and worked with him in publishing these in the academic and other literature<sup>72</sup> did he and some of the other actors within Harvest choose to declare this aspect of my relationship with Harvest to the wider world.

My early year's immersion and 'presence' as researcher was so backgrounded that I enjoyed a de facto 'complete participant' status without the truly covert orientation (as in Gold's 1958 classification). I transitioned into a participant-as-observer role in later years, but only when the group's attention was drawn to this active role, and this coincided with me being 'observer-as-participant' when I purposefully solicited personal accounts from key Harvest actors. My selection of these key co-Harvesters (a sample), performed a theoretical sampling role as I narrowed in on and defined/refined my understanding about the Harvest phenomenon.

In action research contexts and others where external parties intercede to 'assist' the target community, the investigator faces a moral dilemma. If my involvement with Harvest is a short-term, in-out investigation<sup>73</sup> with or without intervention delivering solutions, it may well leave Harvest continuing to struggle with the systemic causes of its problems. I have become 'wedded' to Harvest and, at this stage, my involvement will not end even if this study does.

This partisan engagement leads to criticism that the work is advocacy, not research. Of course it is both and this is as it should be – the morally correct and justifiable outcome of this work should be advocacy on the issues that Harvest reveals as contingent truths about our systems of development and planning. This is how beneficence of the work is demonstrated, it is a good and proper use of the research activity and consistent with what some have called a 'radical perspective' (Lo Picollo, 2008: 192 citing Friedmann, 1987, 1993). '[I]n order to reach innovative goals (for a 'better' city, which means more justice, more equality and more sociality) the planning researcher is expected to build up his/ her (individual) ethics, to (always) express

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72 See **Related Works** at the beginning of the thesis.

73 One that begins and ends with the PhD candidacy  
Ilan Knowd

his/her own point of view, to be an advocate of some needs/expectations and defend them, even against his/her sponsor.’ As David and Alan both observe, the most common way I do this is by posing the right kind of well-informed questions to challenge our thinking and frames of reference to facilitate learning and personal development.

Have I manipulated the course of Harvest’s history and its achievements? I would say so, especially through the ‘hands-on’ work I have done, the ‘Planning for Real’<sup>74</sup> (Forester, 2008) that means I was there, doing things and having discussions and debates, ‘being’ part of Harvest, and I hope too in subtle ways that reflect my own values. As knowledge entrepreneur<sup>75</sup> I used my existing and growing intellectual capital to further the Harvest agenda. Here again I can reference Weber and specifically his character, his passion-driven rational capacities combined with his ‘quixotic temperament’ being well known. He believed that a ‘meaningful or even heroic life required passionate commitment to the possibilities of the modern world, rather than the mere endurance of its shortcomings’ (Derman, 2010: 497 and 501). With this I have returned to my starting on this part of the discussion about the work and the research dilemmas it presents, that this study can only be valued within a framework that accepts the dualistic and ambiguous, the empowering and action-oriented journeying with Harvest as a social phenomenon.

As researcher I am committed to a critical and reflexive open-mindedness, and while I will make no claims of detachment, I aim to present constructively critical view. Applying an analogy here (Denscombe, 2010: 93-94), this is how I achieve a level of ‘hygiene’ in my quest for some

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<sup>74</sup> Planning for Real is a method of participatory planning advocated by Tony Gibson who developed it in the 1950s and following decades. It deliberately ‘placed’ expertise in the planning process in a way that changed the power dynamic and shifted attention from expert knowledge to expert-as-resource. Tony Gibson’s terms for this were “‘on-tap’ not ‘on-top’”.

<sup>75</sup> While Michael Gibbons did not use the term ‘knowledge entrepreneur’ in his 1997 paper *What kind of university?*, it is implied in the way he describes the use of research staff within university departments, and I see my actor status as equivalent to David Mason’s ‘policy entrepreneur’ and Harvest’s ‘market entrepreneur’ roles and status. My knowledge-entrepreneurship includes ‘brokerage’ wherein I have facilitated knowledge sharing, identified sharing relationships and opportunities and worked to establish the links required to give effect to this, what I have referred to elsewhere as ‘joining-the-dots’.

objectivity. My values, along with the other Harvest protagonists show through in the data, and in the methods I have applied in presenting and analysing these data.

The longitudinality of this journey, the “Holy Grail” of long term immersion (Crow 2008, citing Guilden 2001) is both blessing and curse. I am blessed with the long view. In 2000, Hawkesbury Harvest’s year zero, there was little evidence of what it is and represents today. Harvest’s market-based mechanisms/technologies were experimental, still developing and had yet to express a philosophy in the clear terms we can observe today<sup>76</sup>. These functional forms of Harvest exhibit temporality, and while I have reported them along the way<sup>77</sup>, what was innovative in 2000 is not in 2015. Max Weber observed that research and the knowledge it generates is temporary and overtaken by the advancement in human affairs (Weber, 2005: 321)<sup>78</sup>. Harvest’s technologies of engagement are now commonly described and reported in the heritage, agri-tourism and food system literature (Timothy & Boyd, 2015). Thankfully, much of the diffusion of this learning has already been done by me and the other actors through other modes<sup>79</sup>, particularly those characterised by Gibbons as *mode 2* (1997: 5) where they are

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76 It is in this aspect of the Harvest case that its hybrid constituents present the richest subject matter. It offers an empirical ‘bridge’ (Field, 2001:71) to which the two social science traditions of sociological/anthropological and economics/rational choice can be applied fruitfully. I hope that this thesis manages to navigate this bridge in sufficient terms to reveal the richness of this empirical cache, albeit presented here as a surface exposition.

77 More specifically, in the strict sense that mode 2 (Gibbons, 1997: 5) forms of knowledge are disseminated in-situ and contemporaneously, as Gibbons puts it

78 Robert Burt (2002: 230) uses the network concept of ‘structural holes’ to explain this – the ‘innovations’ observed and reported by myself and others become the focus of attention by other knowledge workers in my field who then generate more and better understanding of the originally observed and reported phenomena, bridging the ‘structural hole’ and creating strong inter-linkages between researchers around the problem. Hence what was ‘new’ knowledge at the beginning of the Harvest journey was ‘old’ knowledge a decade later. In the same way, I posit Harvest as a learning organization with similar capacities to bridge structural holes in the fabric of markets for farmers and the role they play in sustainable cities (discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Five).

79 Although this is not to say that I have not participated in the ‘relay race’ that Gibbons characterized as the institutionalized and preferred method of getting knowledge to market (the publish-or-perish imperative), but I have come to accept that my embodied dissemination of learning from/through Harvest and the dominance of grey literature as an ‘output form’ has as much, if not more value to my research community of context, my ‘audiences’ (Tsui et al, 2006: 13) than the academic literature, and that our systems of recognition for scholarly engagement in these terms remain wholly unsatisfactory if my experience as a ‘new mode of knowledge generation and dissemination’ is to be recognized for its contribution to society within the context of university research activity.

‘communicated to those who have participated as they participate and so, in a sense, the diffusion of the results is initially accomplished in the process of their production.’

My longitudinal insider experience allowed me to study more profound aspects of the Harvest phenomenon as they have manifested themselves. Others have also been doing the same in similar contexts. By 2013 the academic literature was expanding with new journals<sup>80</sup> and new perspectives<sup>81</sup> on Harvest-like phenomena around the globe, reflecting the research community’s recognition that ‘transdisciplinary perspectives’ that ‘promote change through participatory action in research and education’, focussing as I do here on ‘the social and political components where social change is most needed’ (Gliessman, 2013a: 1). The rich tapestry of theoretical understandings possible have revealed themselves, but I know that there are many others possible in exploring the Harvest terroir and meaning-making through its empirical data<sup>82</sup>.

Only after a long period of living-the-data, developing a vocabulary for expressing what that data is about, and then seeing that a Weberian frame most powerfully locates and theorises the Harvest phenomenon, have I applied Weberian constructs to explaining it. The language of Weber’s meaningful action and meaningful actors aligns with my own hitherto naive experience and expression of the phenomenon – I have been talking ‘Weberian’ and have come to know it. Like other theories that I mention throughout the thesis and in notes, there are many different frames through which I could view the Harvest phenomenon, but in the first instance I will concentrate on one of sociology’s earliest.

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80 For example the *Journal for Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*

81 For example, the changing of the name and shift in focus of the *Journal of Sustainable Agriculture* which in 2013 became the *Journal of Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, which featured a stronger sociological thrust than it had previously. See Gliessman, 2013.

82 The one path I do not go down here is a critical intertextual deconstruction and interpretation of the Hawkesbury landscape itself which posits it as composed by ‘ideological structures, hierarchies of power and other social processes’ that ‘problematize the myriad meanings embedded there’ (paraphrasing Raento & Flusty, 2006: 99), although I explore components of this in Chapter Three: On Fertile Ground where I offer up the social context of the Harvest phenomenon.

## ***A Weberian Frame***

Harvest's technologies, the systems and mechanisms through which they have given effect to their development agenda, what I shall call 'Harvest's 'work', I posit as having the same nature as Weber described in the 'hard work' of Calvinist protestant ethics<sup>83</sup>. In this sense I aim to construct a Weberian historical cultural analysis (Schluchter, 1996: 196) that identifies the factors that give form to Harvest, the historical and cultural context of these as antecedents and in the present, and the implications of them for the future. As it was for Weber, the importance of the local (Hopcroft, 2001)<sup>84</sup> cannot be overestimated, for it is not just the site of historical genesis, but the philosophical and moral counterpoint to economic and social forces Harvest formed to resist, and through which its actors performed their resistances. It is in Harvest's 'agroecology' that we see a local expression of the 'dialectic between capitalist modernization and resistance to it' (Sevilla-Guzmán & Woodgate, 2013: 32-33). Weber's sociology lends both a methodological *and* theoretical frame to understanding Harvest in the landscape of Western Sydney.

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83 Weber's work revealed a seemingly contradictory or paradoxical relation between the focus on worldly work and wealth-building as a God-given capacity. The enjoyment of the fruits was not the point, indeed for the Calvinists this was a sin, but the use of a human capacity for work, in order to effect change and produce wealth, was understood to be a providential use of a God-given gift – to fail to use it was also a sin.

84 Indeed, it is possible to characterize the situation of The Hawkesbury as a 'field system' of the type Hopcroft describes in agrarian England, not just because of our agricultural inheritance, but also because it entails "an entire social order, including class relations, rules of agricultural practice, land use, and the inheritance of land, as well as social norms" (2001: 283), to which I would add the relationship to cities, the role of 'the rural' in cultural identity and the heritage of agriculture in the formation of regional identity, these having been factors in the 'production' made possible through Harvest mechanisms, and therefore the assets created, the 'commons' of the Hawkesbury, which I articulate as including the 'food bowl', but also the social and cultural assets attached to it as the first agricultural region of the Nation. - see Chapter Three: On Fertile Ground. To this we can add Hopcroft's proposition that these form the underpinnings of "normative systems and ideologies important to later ideological change" (p. 296). In this context, we can see that Harvest is the counter-case, asserting communitarian values as a means of increasing economic and social resilience and productivity, whereas the usual conceptualisation is that individualistic modes of exchange and relations are at the heart of economic performance and development advances. While this characteristic of economic action has been identified as explaining the advances made by communities in pre and modern times, the Harvest phenomenon indicates that the opposite may well be as equally powerful in terms of a localised economic force for development that delivers resilience and economic vitality in a post-modern era.

Methodologically I ‘compose’ (Gafijczuk, 2011) an explanation of the Harvest phenomenon as Weber did with his study for *The Protestant Ethic*. I use authoritative primary and secondary source ‘texts’ to compile what we ‘know’ about the ideal-typical concepts and the structural context (Hall, 1981) of Harvest. Having found Weberian constructs inform the phenomenon, and due to my interest in how we actors have mediated the Iron Cage through Harvest, I use personal testimonies and insights to explore values dimensions the Iron Cage thesis postulates are snuffed out with secular rationality. I test if Weber’s contentions still apply and try to account for critique of his method.

Schutz critiqued Weber’s method saying he established social phenomena on the basis of *observed* meanings<sup>85</sup> rather than *expressed* meaning of actor’s themselves (ibid: 135). This is where my own agency and status as actor contributes critical data. Later in this chapter I also address the critique of Weber (Oakley, 1997: 826) on his failure to consider the contingent nature of actor relations in phenomena by exploring, albeit superficially, each of their histories and formative life experiences relevant to their Harvest involvement. I also locate actor experience as a parallel mode of action to their economically-oriented life-worlds, their formal ‘jobs’. These contribute to and inform the contingent action they can express, and I characterise it as ‘spring-boarded’ from within their ‘inherited contemporary situation’ (ibid: 827). Despite Weber’s pessimism, I make the case that the ‘spirit’ can be found in the world, and in the case of Harvest and its actors, is paradoxically a foundation of this phenomenon that resists and counters the foundations of the Iron Cage, the Spirit of Capitalism.

Weber articulated the concept of providentiality which I argue is a feature of the Harvest phenomenon, a concept that reductionist and rationalist paradigms of contemporary theory in systems, evolutionary economics and sociology, network theory and others find difficult to tackle. Dimensions of providentiality I identify are proxies for Weber’s ‘capitalist spirit’.

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<sup>85</sup> Weber was fully aware of the interpretive nature of his work, after all, the subtitle of *Economy and Society* is ‘an outline of interpretive sociology’.



Harvest's rational 'characteristic uniqueness' (Shils & Finch, 1949: 72 cited in Brubaker, 1984: 9) is anchored in a Weberian frame to draw out the underpinning motives of intentionality, locate it in its neo-liberal context, and speaks directly to my and the other Harvest actors' experience.

This allows me to explore the 'providential' dimensions of the 'work' of Harvest as paradoxical indicators of higher moral and social order in worldly affairs, what David Mason names as a continuation of the Macquarie vision. The expression of the vision through Harvest and the way it references past, present and future renditions of The Hawkesbury is the cultural landscape and contested landscape story, one positioned against the 'other' story, the neo-liberal, rationalist paradigms of (modern capitalist) development in the Sydney basin. Paradox lies in Harvest's use of neo-liberal processes and technologies to achieve the vision and realize moral and communitarian ideals of how to live a good life, this being one of Weber's strategic questions.

Theoretically I am interested in Weber's ideal-types as constructs and how these pre-condition modern life because of their currency in modern economics and their apparent capacity to become self-fulfilling prophesy. As Paul Seaton (2002: 166) states, 'To some imponderable but large extent, our current democracy is not only as Weber described it but is as it is because Weber described it as he did'. This is a looping back of Weber's thesis, its double hermeneutic. For Harvest actors, this forms 'a prestructured environment that surrounds them and influences and shapes their conduct' (Oakley, 1997: 820 citing Kalberg, 1994) which can be observed in the pattern of behaviours<sup>86</sup>. Indeed, for David Mason, the bureaucrat, his role and the deontological obligations of his status, were drivers of *his* 'need' to express *his* disenchantment with the way things were going for agriculture, and *his* own future thereto attached, through Harvest. Ideal-typical bureaucracy does this for individuals with freedom of

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<sup>86</sup> And related to one of the primary critiques of Weber's thesis that it did not adequately consider the social and economic context within which he claimed the *Protestant Ethic* to be the determining variable of modern capitalism, leaving his thesis unconvincing, what Zafirovski describes as the 'Weber reverse problem or thesis' (2014: 4).

intellect and will. I treat these Weberian types as givens, because I want to see if the ‘spirit’ still mobilizes capitalist forms, even if through secular actors and institutions. The expression of spirit emerged from the study, became the most interesting aspect of the Harvest phenomenon, and a key feature of the social entrepreneurial action it prosecuted.

The ideal-type is Weber’s conceptual and pedagogical tool, it is a rational abstraction he used to establish reliability in his analyses. They established criterion for analysis of observable phenomena. As such they were stripped down to only those characteristics that could be reliably found in ‘the normal case’ to be ‘generally valid, and therefore necessary, epistemological properties of our historical understanding’ (Jordan, 1938: 226). It is these ‘extreme forms’ (Andreski, 1964: 4) that make them analytical tools. This was both their ‘outstanding merit’ (ibid) and ‘a perverse methodological strategy’ (Oakley, 1997: 815), one of the criticisms of them ever since, and one of the failings of neo-liberalism in accounting for what Weber described as the ‘empirical man’. Taking *Homo oeconomicus* as the classic case, this extract from Oakley (1997: 814) and Eliaeson (2000: 256) citing Hennis’ 1988 translation from Weber’s lecture notes illustrates the point.

*To ascertain the most elementary life conditions of economically mature human subjects it [theory] proposes a **constructed** “economic subject”, in respect of which, by **contrast** with empirical man, it*

*(a) **ignores** and treats as **non-existent** all those motives influencing empirical man which are **not** specifically **economic**, i.e. not specifically concerned with the fulfilment of material needs;*

*(b) **assumes** as existent qualities that empirical man does not possess, or possesses only incompletely, i.e.*

*(i) complete **insight** into a given **situation** —economic omniscience;*

*(ii) unfailing choice of the **most appropriate means** for a given end—absolute economic rationality;*

*(iii) complete dedication of one's powers to the purpose of acquiring economic goods—"untiring acquisitional drive"*

*It thus postulates an **unrealistic** person, analogous to a mathematical ideal model. (Bold text italics in the original)*

I explore empirical man and Weberian constructs of value-informed, meaningful action activated by and producing paradoxical effects and outcomes for actors in shaping their worlds. This acknowledges critiques of Weber's account for the origins of modern capitalism (Andreski, 1964; Barbalet, 2008; Zafirovski, 2014)<sup>87</sup> by addressing the historical and cultural context as the mobilizer of spirit rather than the other way round. I explain how Harvest and its actors exploited paradoxical opportunities and means of the times to give effect to their higher-order aims. They made use of technologies, particularly touristic ones, through which consumers realise higher-order aims through consumption of animate experiences. In analysing the Harvest case through a Weberian frame I hope to provide evidence of the enduring usefulness of Weber's sociology. More critically I focus on what Weber claimed were the origins of modern capitalism in a spirit, which in my thesis too, underpins what it takes to conduct a meaningful life in modern, Western, neo-liberal society. In this way I might counter even Weber's own assessment that his work would be made redundant or disproved<sup>88</sup>.

### ***What other frames could interrogate my lived data?***

A Marxist or neo-Marxist analysis could generate insights about Harvest as an actor in community governance as a critique of neo-liberal rational economic theory, and the materialist dialectic it constitutes. Harvest uses mechanisms for neo-liberal development and governance, but my interest lies in its meaning-making within and through capitalism rather than what it says

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<sup>87</sup> See especially p. 220 of Barbalet and the critique of Weber's approach. Barbalet says 'The issue... is the theory of action that is implicit in Weber's argument, namely that antecedent values are signal in explanation of the actions they prefigure rather than entertaining the idea that an actor's values may be among the consequences of the action they undertake.' In this study the actor's values have prefigured the action they take, and the effectiveness of their actions have reinforced their values and drawn approbation.

<sup>88</sup> Barbalet has made cogent argument about the limitations of both Weber's conclusions and the method he used to generate them. See also Andreski, 1964; Zafirovski, 2014.

about capitalism. A Marxist lens would also impose on the condition of its actors, that they are subsumed in processes of 'alienation' whereas the Weberian frame posits 'rationalization' and its 'link to a constant relationship between an individual and his ultimate values' (Derman, 2010: 493) within capitalism.

A Habermasian analysis would extend and deepen the insights a Weberian frame have lent my study. Aspiring to simply describe Harvest as it appears in its social context and times, I canvass the rationalities exhibited, as did Weber in his work, and locate it within its historical dynamic. I do little content analysis of written data, instead I use as much of it as needed to give the Story's receiver a sense of its agendas, rhetoric exploited, and meanings intended. The Habermasian exploration would constitute the proceeding case exploring in depth the communicative reasoning inherent, the juridification processes that allow people to prosecute their cause, and Harvest as harmonizing phenomenon in the lifeworld of its actors.

Chapter Six explores to some extent the 'discursive conditions' that facilitated actor instrumentality but I do not harvest the rich field using actor network theory (or actant network theory) or other theories of agency. Similarly, I do not pursue Hindess' (1987) critique of Weber's definition of 'actors', his narrow and overly rationalist conceptualization<sup>89</sup>, even though there is data for such.

A more strongly post-modern critique would unviel the fetishization of Harvest's 'product' in social relations. This would yield the symbolic or sign-value content in exchange transactions that Harvest market channels play in 'collaps[ing] the distinction between the real/material world, and the symbolic, the world of representation' (Dodd, 1999: 136). Politically, Lyotard and Baudrillard provide lens for exploring Harvest, especially in considering if it might be 'the wrong

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<sup>89</sup> I subscribe to a more generous view of Weber's work as articulated by Bendix (1972: 53 cited in Weiss, 1987: 155) wherein my own reading of Weber left me with a strong sense of the 'ambiguity and hence questionability of rationalization' and its role on economy and society. I think Weber has been unfairly tagged as the arch rationalist when in fact he was not.

kind of political struggle – that is, the outmoded collectivist struggle – that the system demands and on which it will always thrive’ (Dodd, 1999: 149-150).

Beck and Giddens are referenced when their work on reflexive modernization is evidenced by Harvest. A Foucauldian analysis of the power dynamic between Harvest and its institutional contexts, its particular ‘space of freedom’<sup>90</sup> would reveal its role in the dynamic of ‘governmentality’ and the ‘apparatus’ of the State. What *is* Foucauldian is my stance, archaeological in Foucault’s sense, because I<sup>91</sup> present a particularly idiosyncratic historiography of Harvest, *our* telling of Harvest’s contexts, *our* analysis, *our* history of the present, *our* diagnosis of ‘what today is’, the ‘event’ called Harvest and the ‘problems’<sup>92</sup> it tackles (O’Farrell, 2005). Like Foucault my stance shows I am more inclined to do things requiring ‘a personal, physical, and real involvement, things that... address problems in concrete, precise and definite terms in a given situation’<sup>93</sup> (O’Farrell, 2005: 29 citing Foucault, 1980<sup>94</sup>).

The economic sociology of ‘new institutionalism’ as articulated by Mary Brinton and Victor Nee (2002)<sup>95</sup> best suits my phenomenological exposition *in-the-first-instance* and my selective exploration of meaning-making. The paradigm links the foundational sociologies of Weber, Durkheim and others, and focuses on ‘context-bounded rationality’ studied through comparative sociology. It allows me to describe and interpret Harvest’s ecologies, geographies and terroir, the *contexts-that-bind* Harvest’s Weberian ‘substantive rationality’ (after Weber).

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90 Clare O’Farrell (2005: 61) citing *Foucault in interview October, 1982*.

91 I am the ‘specific intellectual’ (O’Farrell, 2005:77) located within the Harvest context and UWS as the proximate and pedagogical host of my study and it is my selection of research matter, with the attendant risks to doing justice to the Harvest story and setting in stone one version of it, perhaps perpetuating my ignorance of its dimensions.

92 Appendix Two: Contested Landscapes and Fertile Grounds is a outline of the ‘backcloth’ problems that Harvest either directly or indirectly sought to tackle, and presents the history of Harvest as a ‘solution’, it is also a history of the fore-grounded problems that coalesced to bring Harvest into existence as an ‘event’ or ‘actor’ on the scene.

93 See also my comments on the role of ‘heart’ in the Harvest story in Chapter Four at the end of the section on the Farm Gate Trail.

94 Interview by Michael Bess, 3rd November 1980, San Francisco.

95 Also referred to by Vromen (2001) as neo-institutionalism.

This paradigmatic frame also points to Harvest as a Polanyian form of political ecology, a substantive economic constellation of actors and values manifesting an *'ecology of hope'*, seeking to 'mend alienation of humanity from the rest of nature by institutions that ... impose formalist economic systems upon public resources' (Rajan & Duncan, 2013: 71), in the Harvest case, the food, farming and cultural heritage of 'The Hawkesbury'. It is self-evident that Harvest is as an 'embedded' manifestation of one side of a Polanyian 'double movement', a 'habitation' response to 'blind economic improvement' (ibid: 72), but a Weberian analysis goes deeper by showing Harvest is not just a 'protective' social response to hegemonic neo-liberalism and formal economy, but, exhibits and is a vector/vehicle for 'spirit'. It is through this that a true 'transformation' is possible, and it will be great<sup>96</sup> and subaltern at the same time. It's not something outstanding and significant to the world, but is to individuals. It's subaltern because it is about the individual and their soul, and perhaps even the 'hearts and souls of their communities' (ibid).

In Chapter Six: The Hybrid Cultivar I explore to some extent the economic sociology (Granovetter, 2002) of Harvest's social entrepreneurial dynamic, but again not in an explicit way. The chapter flags the rich potentials of studying organisations like Harvest in their contexts and like all the potential theoretical frames I note, its clear there are many 'tellings' the Harvest story might demand. For instance, in understanding individual actor motivations and especially those of David Mason, a neo-Austrian paradigm<sup>97</sup> might be useful in understanding internal tensions David and Harvest's other actor's experience.

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96 Referring to Polanyi's major work Polanyi, K. 1957a [1944]. *The Great Transformation. Vol. 2.* Foreword by Robert Maclver. Boston: Beacon Press. originally titled as "The political and economic origins of our times" (Rajan & Duncan, 2013: 73)

97 Neo-Austrian economics situates goal-directed creativity and imagination within the individual, and that this is where neo-classical economics fails to attribute choice behaviours with enough individual (and idiosyncratic) drivers. The point here is that both neo-institutionalist and neo-Austrian perspectives are needed to fully appreciate the dynamics inherent in the Harvest case, the institutional perspective needed because Harvest is a third sector vehicle for the individual choice strategies that Harvest actors live out.

All of these frames have potentials for a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon and how Harvest's normative project can be understood. As researcher, practitioner, technician and problem-solver, I hope I have achieved 'the practical remit of sociology, and move[d] unequivocally into the compass of social reality' with the social theorizing I have done (Dodd, 1999: 218).

### ***Participation: Internal and External Dialogue***

Participation is what Harvest makes possible, taking multiple and complex forms that fit within existing constructs of social research. It evolved with its purpose and history as a knowledge ecology. Evolution occurred as I captured *our* reflections about Harvest *before* and *without prior knowledge* of what is written in this thesis, limiting double hermeneutic effects. It was dialogue within, between and from actors that formed the knowing of Harvest.

When the thesis draft was completed, it was 'peer' reviewed by other members of the Harvest board to ground the findings, the claims about what Harvest means, and especially to ensure it reflected their experience of the learning journey. As collaborative research my experience embodied the balancing act required as a vested member of the community, one of the empowered constituents in the situation improvement process, and the challenge of adopting an appropriate 'stance' as researcher. My participative stance was in forms of internal and external dialogue.

As one of the empowered actors it is a personal journey, and the personal is political<sup>98</sup>. I am located in the story, the researcher/performer in the thesis that is *my* Harvest story: 'As a performer, I wonder how anyone can tell a story without being in the spotlight.' (Richardson et al, 2008: 288). All along the way I have conducted dialogues with self, reflective mediations (Pryke et al, 2003: 150) that attempt to theorize and locate what I have seen and experienced,

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<sup>98</sup> A phrase made a common part of our lexicon through the writings of the social justice, race-politics and feminist movements of the 1960s – variously attributed, but with no definitive attribution.

an analytical and political process because these dialogues include my judgments about Harvest in relation to neo-liberal ideology<sup>99</sup>.

Recent conceptualisations (Keightley et al, 2012) apply to what have been mindful ‘self-interviews’, the ‘recording’ being done via this thesis and the many other critical works I have produced on/through Harvest. I stopped and started this interview over the study period<sup>100</sup>, and in the times when I metaphorically had the ‘pause’ button pressed, these cæsurae were/are filled with my reflecting on exhibits I gathered, seeing myself in some of them, seeing others as well, the things I have done through Harvest and with my co-actors, and the formulations I have constructed along the way<sup>101</sup> as triggers of memory about Harvest and my role, the questioning required of this and its contribution to this thesis. The meandering described above is part of this process as I have an ‘internal dialogue between me and an imagined audience in order to explore, clarify, and sometimes resolve questions. Ultimately, I am seeking external dialogue or a real conversation with real people’ (Terry Campbell cited in Richardson, Parr, and Campbell 2008: 282) on the understanding that ‘Meaning is personal, but personal meaning is realized through connection with other travellers on the road’ (Court, 2004: 5 cited in Richardson et al, 2008: 289). You are reading my internal dialogue and my sharing it via this journey gives it meaning for me.

Participation spaces in which my ‘field work’ dialogues take place are liminal, the boundary between field (Harvest contexts) and study (my writing space) being completely dissolved, my work being ‘unbounded, open and porous, and connected by a chain of practices (and also by

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99 See entry for 2008 and the sample of one of my polemical, written-at-three-in-the-morning analytical field notes where I am clearly drawing conclusions from my Harvest ‘data’ – an example of my ‘finding and thinking’ process (after Mike Crang, Telling materials discussing Alice Kaplan’s work in Pryke et al, 2003: 134). The note, like others with a similar content, was triggered by our experience of the Prisoner’s Dilemma in practice, which I discuss in Chapter Six: Portentous Palimpsests. Through these notes I came to see that Weber’s ‘disenchanted future’ would be a rich source of critique and insights into the Harvest case.

100 An unusually long temporal frame.

101 Also things like my teaching resources on the Harvest case, my paper presentations and many of the graphics included in this thesis as either exhibits or figures.



the complex networks, human and non-human, within which those practices are set)' (Pryke et al, 2003: 84). Latourian 'circulating references' generate within my research process. All the physical spaces I inhabit are how I have 'imagined' the field<sup>102</sup> in which my own living-of-the-data and the consequent 'construction' of Harvest space has taken place.

For me, the phenomenon is a 'symbiotic space that opens up between an individual and the circumstances that define the cultural edges' (Gafijczuk, 2011: 94 referencing Nancy, 2008) allowing a mutually beneficial interpretive engagement between the animate and inanimate. The combined elements of the problem come together in a pattern of '*meaningful*' (Hofstadter, 1999: 2 original emphasis) actions, having meaning only in a wider system context. Without context the resulting animation has no meaning, and without the animation the system has no purpose and therefore, meaning. Participation in Harvest confronts actors with such 'strange loops' and 'tangled hierarchies' (ibid) or what systems scientists describe as 'levels of patterning' (Bawden, 1991a: 2365) within a 'Development Holon' (Bawden, McKenzie & Packham, 2007: Introduction section). Hofstadter (1990) argues that symbolic patterns 'emerge' out of complex systems. Harvest evolved as an actor in a wider system of community development, a response to global-scale systems expressed locally in the Sydney basin<sup>103</sup>. Its capacities to 'track or mirror' patterns or 'phenomena in the world', to reflexively monitor them as Giddens would describe with complexity, subtlety and reliability, means that it exhibits 'different degrees of meaningfulness' (Hofstadter, 1990: 3). Harvest creates its own existence and future by referencing what it does to itself, giving form to a consciousness about food and farming that was always there, but needing a vehicle for expression in contemporary times and contexts. It executes a social reflexivity, an 'active, dynamic and looped appropriation of knowledge' that forms its own telling of its story (Dodd, 1999: 207 citing Giddens).

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102 After Doreen Massey in Pryke et al, (2003: 71+)

103 Hofstadter argues convincingly that the patterning that occurs inside our brains and other systems is what carries the meaning, and consequently the self-referential looping that defines meaning. It's the relationship between the individual pieces of the system that holds meaning rather than the pieces themselves.

Harvest is also a 'consciousness' (ibid), being and representing a set of sentiments about the problem for which it is a solution. Harvest is first and foremost a human system expressing discrete values, identifiable and made tangible through implemented policy and strategy. It acts consciously and is conscious of its effects in the wider world, but no one element achieves this on its own. It is an inclusive form of development dependent on the 'intellectual and moral development of all those ... involved in, or affected by, such development endeavours' (Bawden, 2005; Prologue section). Through it Harvest's actors have developed/refined their ontological, epistemic and axiological worldviews in the strategic 'conversations' (Russell & Ison, 2005; Richardson, et al, 2008) on the Harvest problematic (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, cited in Bawden, McKenzie and Packham, 2007), the 'work' of Harvest. A consistent understanding of the nature of reality, knowledge(s) embedded in that, and the values that inform that knowledge has evolved and forms the consciousness of Harvest.

Like that expressed in the artworks, 'any sense of meaning can only be gained by continually combining the already known elements into incessantly new composite depictions of the reality at large' (Gafijczuk, 2011: 102). If we treated Harvest like a musical canon<sup>104</sup>, we would discover fugues playing out the basic patterns, themes and isomorphisms with many more hybridist nuances than those revealed in the art or this thesis. The 'piece' holds out its own logic, it does not 'need' to be understood in the terms I attempt here, but 'has' to be understood in something like these terms if it is to inform the future<sup>105</sup>. Knowledge generation then remains a collaborative and reflective interaction between myself and the 'subject', a constant elaboration and dialogue about Harvest and its problematic with the myself and other participants in the Harvest project.

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104 Canons allow the player to express their virtuosity by expanding and contracting the musical patterns that the base themes establish, often in a circular fashion that brings the piece back to a starting point, or to an equivalent starting point on the tonal scale.

105 With thanks to Dr Russell Staiff for making this important point about the purposeful intent of this study. It is in this form and the other academic forms already 'out there' that Harvest has been able to inform policy and planning, especially that for agriculture in the Sydney basin.

In observing Harvest, a Janus stance defines the researcher/actor duality, the kinds of ‘in-ness’ (after Hofstadter, 1990) my participation involves, and the insider/outsider perspectives I have to take. I hold a researcher/outsider face when looking at Harvest. I hold an actor/insider face when looking from Harvest. As ‘in-Harvest researcher’ my perspective is focused on subjectivity, the learning experience and data generation, my ‘out-of-Harvest researcher’ is concerned to be as objective as I can and codify learning. As ‘in-Harvest actor’ I exercise objective assessment of the Harvest mission and the ‘application’ of skills and knowledge, resulting in heightened sensitivity ‘to the broader implications of what [we] are doing.’ (Gibbons, 1997: 6). As ‘out-of-Harvest actor’ I am an ordinary citizen subjectively observing Harvest’s effect in community to see if it reflects my values and preferences. In each role there are formal and substantive rationalities that attend the ‘in’ and ‘out’ stances.

Even so, I still act in the arena as a ‘whole being’ (Bawden, McKenzie and Packham, 2007) after Harré (1991: 51 cited in Barnett et al, 2008: 644), interconnected with my fellow Harvesters in collaborative, shared, socially accountable, reflexive, entrepreneurial endeavour (after Gibbons, 1997: 6). Harvest is analogous to Second Life<sup>®106</sup> the ‘environment’ within which I act and through which I collect data. Indeed, the reality is Hawkesbury Harvest doesn’t exist in physical space, has no office, no single location. It’s disseminated, mobile, transitory, ‘located’ only when its people congregate in spaces/places, hosted or temporarily made available for its use<sup>107</sup>. It is mostly ‘found’ on the Web and in the media.

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106 A cyber virtual reality world where people conduct ‘lives’ through alter-egos, personas and their avatars

107 One of the most amusing paradoxes about Harvest regarding this is created for consumers. It is a regular challenge for Harvest’s actors to deal with consumer requests to know ‘where Harvest’s farm is?’. It is another rendition of what I later describe as the inside/outside paradox, representing something that people want to see and experience, but not actually having that to deliver, instead having to reference that in other forms within the organisation. Harvest does not have a farm, it is not a farmer, indeed, it does not occupy land even as an owner or tenant, yet outwardly it represents those realities and has attached to it the values, sentiments and expectations that consumers project onto it when their gaze turns to Harvest – it is a simulacra.

## ***Participative Emancipatory Action***

Like Paulo Freire (1970) and Orlando Fals-Borda (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Fals-Borda, 2001) who worked with farming communities in Latin America in the 1960s and '70s, my participation is best characterised by its clear alignment with the 'organizing and transformative strategy for the disenfranchised' (Strand, 2000: 86 cited in Tinkler, 2004). It goes beyond the less en-passioned but none-the-less integrated and dynamic 'finding out' with 'taking action for change' that Bawden articulated at Hawkesbury in 1985 (cited in Bawden & Packham, 1998) and is more closely aligned with vortical post-modern ethnography (Kuhn & Woog, 2005). The Hawkesbury's small-holding farmers would not consider themselves involved in revolutionary change, nor be considered so compared with third world farmers, but many of the issues and their response to them is such. '[T]he centrality of social conflict and collective action, and the necessity of changing social structures' (Stoecker, 2003, p. 37 cited in Tinkler, 2004) is what this study 'reports', and in the process significant co-learning about what set the conditions for conflict, what community action should be about, and how that action should be manifest. Thus 'concientization'<sup>108</sup> (Freire, 1970 & 1998) flowed from Harvest's 'equality discourse' to 're-construct their region' (Berglund & Johansson, 2007: 500). It's in this that the thesis' teleological end performs its Weberian 'sub-text' and politically educative intent (Barbalet, 2008)<sup>109</sup>.

Participatory inquiry embedded Harvest actors experience in the data. They have reviewed facts and collaboratively developed each of the 'technologies'<sup>110</sup> and other Harvest 'emergences' (Kuhn & Woog, 2005). The first-person testimonies are expressions of researcher/actor self-interest in situation improvement and they reference and respect the personal commitment to

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108 From Berglund & Johansson, 2007 citing Freire's 'methodology in which critical reflection of the world emerges into a consciousness of oppressive situations, which makes it possible to intervene in the reality of which we are a part.'

109 Especially in the context of the political critique of neo-liberalism inspired by the GFC in 2008. Weber was concerned with the pacivity of conservative German national politics and its effects on national interests, Freire with a similar concientization and empowerment of his research constituencies.

110 Technologies here refers to the products and/or systems developed such as the Farm Gate Trail, Open Farms, Farmers and Fine Food Markets, Slow Food Convivium, web presence and provedoring.

the participative emancipatory learning undertaken. As research praxis this addresses ethical concerns that would arise if I attempted abstraction and a detached observer orientation. As David expressed it by referencing myself,

*“Well just take yourself, you know you came in, I remember you used to sit there and listen, you didn’t sort of, I mean you would say things, but I think you were assessing, you were actually assessing whether this was fair dinkum or whether it was just bloody, I mean there’s lots of community groups that just, you know, carry on for a while and then fall over, my opinion is that you were actually looking for something and in fact you saw, I think you found it in Hawkesbury Harvest. I mean I applied the principles as best as I understood them of holistic and systemic thinking to setting up Harvest, so you obviously saw that, now you might have learned something from me, but likewise I have learned something from you, many things from you over time, ...you know, then people like Al came in, and Al’s learned a lot and I’ve learned a lot from Al, you know I learned from Eric, Eric’s a really, I mean he talks and thinks sustainability all the time, if you had to call him anything, it’s Mr Sustainability, ...I’ve learnt from Carol Maher...every person I’ve learnt from, and hopefully they’ve learnt from me you know... yeh, it’s a learning organisation” (Mason interview Part II 35:15:00 – 38:05:00)*

This exemplifies the ‘conundrum’ that practitioners/learners in systemic environments have in achieving ‘an advanced state of epistemic development in order to appreciate the nature of systemicity and thus to understand and exploit the advantages of systemic development.’ (Bawden, McKenzie & Packham, 2007: A Certain Logic section). David and I did bring understanding of systems thinking to the Harvest table and this aided group learning via a ‘descriptive, explanatory and critical role’ (Radford, 2007: 265). It required commitment to learning at the group’s pace and within their existing knowledge, a commitment to ‘processes of enlightenment’, that of not ‘attempting to thrust enlightenment on the participants,’ but allowing ‘symmetrical communication to occur from which enlightenment will flow’ (Grundy 1982:360 as cited in Masters, 1995).

**Table 2: Locating the Harvest Case in a Participatory Action Framework**

Philosophical Base	Participatory Action Research	The Harvest Case
	Critical Sciences	
<b>The nature of reality</b>	Social, economic. Exists with problems of equity and hegemony	Farm survival, over-writing of cultural landscapes
<b>Problem</b>	Defined in the situation based on values clarification	Heritage, rural culture, food system fairness
<b>Relationship between the Knower and Known</b>	Interrelated, embedded in society	Researcher as actor and observer, local resident, connected academic
<b>Focus of collaboration theory</b>	Mutual emancipation, validation, refinement, new theory, inductive, deductive	Developing alternative mechanisms for farm viability, building social capital around food awareness and fairness
<b>Type of knowledge produced</b>	Predictive, descriptive	Case study with critique of system dynamics and character
<b>Change duration</b>	Social change, emancipation	Gradual building of capacity and capability over years
<b>The nature of understanding</b>	Events are understood in terms of social and economic hindrances to true equity	Farmers as victims of an imbalanced system, rural culture as no longer the dominant force in the landscape
<b>The role of value in research</b>	Related to values of equity	Issues of fairness and survival central to drivers and solutions
<b>Purpose of research</b>	Uncover and understand what constrains equity and supports hegemony to free oneself of false consciousness and change practice toward more equity	Revelatory, explicatory, meaning-making, pattern recognition

Source: From Masters (1995) based on Shirley Grundy (1982: 363)

In this mode Harvesters form a research team, who ‘aim to make strong and explicit connections between action research and social movement’ (Kemmis, 1993<sup>111</sup>), delivering emancipatory action research (Carr & Kemmis, 1986) involving Habermasian (1974) social critique informed by an ‘Enhancement approach/Critical-Emancipatory Action research/Critical Science perspective’ characterised as “Type 3” by Masters (1995). The Harvest case helps fill the gap in literature (Lilja & Bellon, 2008) regarding participatory empowering research processes, conditions and orientations.

111 Citing Winter, 1987 & 1989; Fals-Borda, 1990, & Rahman, 1991; Cascante, 1991.

A significant challenge given the team's background as trouble-shooters and technical fix-it practitioners was suppressing the urge to jump to solutions. We needed to un-ask key questions about failures in planning and create a reflective space, 'to enter into new confusions and uncertainties' (Schön, 1983, p. 164), to eschew an interventionist approach. Our training resisted this and it was seen as 'a sign of weakness for the technical expert' (Attard, 2008: 315), but one critiqued as a malaise of the professions (Schön, 1983); we suffered creative tension. Industry assistance programmes applying directive and instrumentalist paradigms 'thrust enlightenment on the participants' (Masters, 1995) in order to speed up the learning, cooperation and situation improvement, and see 'adoption rates' as measures of success (Bartlett, 2008). Researchers and practitioners (Radford, 2007: 277) critique these approaches where they trade off the knowledge-capture and social capital-building potentials of phenomena for narrowly defined, rationalist efficiency outcomes. I/we could be criticized for not 'making' Harvest more effective as a socio-economic entity. The organic diffusion of innovation through Harvest is not efficient, but it is effective because the recipients of Harvest ideas developed their own conscientisation in context, producing innovation that was both desirable and feasible.

The creative/liberative, organisational learning vehicle that Harvest is, made possible actor expression of its spiritual carrier form, something that formal rational intervention may well have quashed, or at the very least, meant was 'directed' by experts-in-residence to deliver organisational transfer, reception and adoption of knowledge.

The spiritual carrier also invokes a moral dimension and approach which demands that means-reflect-the-end-sought, the concept of prefiguration<sup>112</sup> (Barker, Martin & Zournazi, 2008: 425). "Respect – Respect – Respect" is the guiding ideal and value that Harvest's Vision

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<sup>112</sup> Foundation philosophy of the non-violent action movement(s) of the 60s and 70s – see Sharp, (1973)

emphasizes (Hawkesbury Harvest, 2004: 11). A mindful and disciplined<sup>113</sup> stance is consistent with these values, ‘paying attention in a particular way: on purpose, in the present moment, and non-judgmentally (Kabat-Zinn, 1990, p. 4 cited in Barker, Martin & Zournazi, 2008: 427). This opens up important interconnections with others (Thich Nhat Hanh, 1975), the basis for participatory and appreciative action and reflection (Ghaye et al, 2008) which form the fabric of Harvest’s emancipatory agendas. It’s about trying to respect the potential for *agency* (Bartlett, 2008: 529) in processes that reveals where agency is impeded or blocked by philosophical or systemic parameters of the ‘assistance’ programs Harvest accessed. Harvest didn’t need assistance, it needed resources to underpin its agency.

Agency through Harvest is about sharing knowledge as much as learning. As ‘critical theorems’ (Grundy, 1982) emerge from the problem situation, the ‘authentic insights’ (Habermas, 1974 cited in Grundy 1982: 360) that inform them are communicated within and beyond the group. It is about converting/translating the observed reality into theory by telling ‘what is’, and placing ‘what is’ into an existing construct or conceptual framework so that Harvest is understood, and can reveal limitations and flaws in these terms. It is about perspectives, not just facts. I/we have been active in this communication role articulating the ‘story’ for audiences in tourism, agriculture, planning, community development, food security, food fairness, bio-security, urban development and sustainability. This aspect of Harvest instrumentality speaks to the ‘subtle shift’ (Heffernan, 2008: 687) in research communities acknowledging that participative research *must* contribute materially to the benefit of the community-of-interest, both in terms of informing and driving change through communicative processes. This imperative has also driven how and when knowledge is shared, with information needed for particular audiences dictating what was generated rather than the customary output of observed and recorded data. The thesis exhibits this character too, being constructed in a

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113 The concept of discipline in non-violent activism included self-discipline and inner-discipline and restraint (p. 616)



Goethean way “from 'a piecemeal way of thought to a simultaneous perception of the whole'”, “to a state in which [Harvest] could be 'experienced as something real in itself' within a 'holistic' context” (Bawden, 2005 citing Bortoft, 1996 in Conclusion section).

## ***Data and Collection***

‘Data’ sources fall into two categories. Data-from-without is quoted and cited literature used to establish a meta-understanding of Harvest’s place in our knowledge of the world. Its purpose is comparative.

Data-from-within has been ‘generated’ (Whatmore in Pryke et al, 2003) through observation, participation, reflection, conversation, dialogue, surveying, interviewing and problem-solving-in-context while on my journey through/with Harvest. The substantive corpus of this form is in teaching materials, reports, articles, presentations and other files within my and Harvest’s repositories. Over the last decade I have generated or ‘collected’ over 7000 documents for or about Harvest, not including the thousands of email correspondences conducted over the period. Research and teaching documents about Harvest exceed 1700. They were/are produced with specific communities-of-interest in mind, the ‘contexts of practice’ (Fish, 1989), the constituent communities that Harvest serves<sup>114</sup>. Most are authored by me but have also been presented by other Harvest actors in a wide range of contexts. The Hermeneutic performance<sup>115</sup> is in modes consistent the context, that is, as teacher, researcher, participant, practitioner, promoter, advisor, stakeholder, advocate, co-learner, interpreter and guide, to name a few, and via all forms of media. Many of these are exhibits in Appendix One: A Harvest

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114 In a broad sense, not just the health, farming, tourism and food constituencies that came together as part of its formation.

115 Much of these literally present the ‘story’ of Harvest (see Appendix One) as the way of transmitting Harvest knowledge to a wide range of audiences, others are pitched as sales or as research reporting but they are inherently based on the ‘story’ embodied in this thesis, coded or decoded and more or less academic, to meet the audience. There has been both an institutional requirement for this as determined and specified as part of the many funding arrangements Harvest has had, and a moral imperative to do it as part of Harvest’s vision and ideals, and its role in the world as a ‘carrier’ organisation with a particular communitarian politic.

Chronology and it forms 'a history of a problem' rather than simply categorizing them as types of data source/information. In this way I 'discipline' them, give them meaning (Rose, 2000), but retain their original 'voice'<sup>116</sup> and temporal relations. These and the other documentary forms described above have constituted my 'field notes'.

My data collection and analysis process was in four phases, only the first of which had a definitive starting point. The finishing 'point' of the first phase and the 'starting' point of all the subsequent phases overlap significantly or occur concurrently. What distinguishes them is my involvement in Harvest processes and outputs rather than any particular data collection/analytical processes.

I initially conducted observational, narration-based, and functional surveying activity to introduce myself to the Harvest problematic and context. A traditional researcher/researched dichotomy characterised this phase. I rendered a version of the phenomenon at its infancy stage and articulated functional dimensions of farm gate tourism and farmer's engagement with tourism, captured in the 2003 paper titled '*Grasping the Nettle*'. The paper explored management issues, particularly the knowledge, skills and attitudes that they need. A survey of farm enterprises was used to explore tourism as a survival strategy and farmers' understanding of the tourism market. My voice was one of reporter speaking *of* Harvest to my community-of-scholars in tourism. It was the initially reductive orientation that culminated in the crisis of confidence already described.

The second phase involved increasing embeddedness, dwelling in the organisation and taking on official roles, firstly committee chair, then treasurer and public officer. Data collection was/remains reflective, being conversations (Russell & Ison, 2005) characterised by a voice speaking *of* and *for* Harvest. 'Reporting' shifted from narration about Harvest for research

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<sup>116</sup> Even if these are just fragments of the conversation – see Crang in Pryke et al (2003: 137) discussing Walter Benjamin's work

communities to narration about issues Harvest was tackling for audiences in planning, tourism, health and agriculture. My voice was one of an insider, and David Mason and I began to co-author pieces where our combined learning was important in telling the story. This phase saw the first occasions where my/our reporting was questioned for its advocacy content<sup>117</sup>, presenting another crisis of confidence overcome with integration of literature on participative research.

Research outputs were a series of papers addressing specific 'topics', triggered by opportunities to present at conferences or by invitation<sup>118</sup>. Topics included the emergence of urban agriculture and its implications for city structures, the role Harvest played in creating market channels, the role of farming in the cultural landscape of Sydney, and the urban planning challenge of balancing food production with urban growth. Papers and teaching content on farm survival, sustainable development/tourism, and the organisational dynamics in partnering with government to prosecute such agendas were produced.

This phase coincided with a time when rural tourism was becoming a focus within both the agriculture and tourism programs at UWS which were underpinned by a 'development focus' for teaching and learning (Bawden, 2005: An Explication Of Epistemic Development section), a legacy of the Hawkesbury Way of the 1980s and 1990s (Valentine, 2005). These under and post graduate applied science and tourism programs adopted a Service Learning paradigm with commitment to engaged learning and knowledge sharing (Tsui et al, 2006: 21), the kind of 'transdisciplinary' curriculum approach that Gibbons' (1997: 9) characterised as *mode 2* 'problem-solving teams'. The Harvest phenomenon was a rich source of case content<sup>119</sup> and

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117 The most confronting of these was at the ANZSYS conference in 2006 when I presented a paper titled *Farming and Urbanizing Environments: Hawkesbury Harvest and The Cultural Landscape of Western Sydney*. One of the delegates during question time openly criticized the presentation as advocacy presented as research.

118 See Related Works at the beginning of the thesis.

119 Examples of UWS student involvement:

1998+ Multiple projects delivering Strategy One of the Hawkesbury Food Program Action Plan.

made possible a form of democratised research with student involvement in learning through situation improvement. The thesis sections on sustainable tourism, the farm gate experience and modes of experience (after Cohen, 1979) have used data collected as part of student course work and assessment tasks.

The third phase was a return to more instrumentalist approaches in order to ground observations, reflections and writing about the phenomenon. A formal, in-depth Problem Centred Interviewing (Scheibelhofer, 2008) of the key long-term Harvest board members where the intertwining of Harvest with individual biographies, narratives, orientations and personal experiences took place. It continued the Harvest ‘conversation’, but made explicit the meaning-making role of dialogue (or triologue after Richardson et al, 2008). Guided questioning is conducted with fellow actors and the level of rapport makes for a resilient communicative exchange on potentially confrontational topics.

The rapport does not remove the ‘double hermeneutic’<sup>120</sup>(Giddens, 1987: 20; Smith, Jarman, & Osborn, 1997 cited in Weed, 2007: 21), entailed in my re-interpretation of my co-

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Karen Elphick (2006) *Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail*, Final Year Sustainable Tourism in Practice Research Report.

Pablo Gonzales, Jennifer Harold, Tracey Ko, Melissa Koppens (2000) *200 surveys of Hawkesbury residents regarding farmers markets* – 91% in favour, 63% in Richmond Park and combined with the Lions Club trash and treasure market.

Hawkesbury Skill Share – Growers Directory (2000) UWS students assist with compilation

Alison McQueen (2003) *Hawkesbury Harvest: Awareness and Branding*, Final Year Situation Improvement Project, Systems Agriculture.

Class assessment tasks in EH219A Rural Tourism – critical evaluation of tourism experiences and sustainability parameters on the Farm Gate Trail

Class assessments in 300458 Tourism and Regional Development – critical evaluation of Farm Gate sites, and the Farm Gate Trail as a tourism product.

Dean Long (2007) *Farmers Markets at the Entertainment Quarter*, Final Year Sustainable Tourism in Context Research Project, and Careers and Coop Internship, Hawkesbury Harvest and GPT, *Market Research into Consumer Demographics and Consumption at Castle Hill Farmers and Fine Food Market*.

Dona Fazah, Tanya Zivadivovic, Vanessa Howe, Nicolyn Morris, (2010) *FRESH Project: Profiling Western Sydney’s Food, Recreation, Environmental, Sustainability and Heritage Assets*, UWS Office of Engagement and Careers and Coop Education (Interns).

Amy Appleton and Laura Barfield (2010-2011) *Schools Harvest: An Investigation into Stakeholder Interest and Program Design Parameters* – Careers and Coop Education Interns

<sup>120</sup> As an insider, the double hermeneutic also allows me as part of the phenomenon to test the ‘theory’ to be found in the literature with my own empiricist experience of the world. It also means that

learner's interpretation of their own experiences, but it does mean I have a closer and more empathetic understanding of 'the experience' than if I had been an outsider.

These 'interviews' could have compromised the naturalism of my engagement, but having shared challenges, failures and successes with my fellow Harvest team and graduated from stranger to insider, they were more like a heart-to-heart than the technical description of them would imply. They reveal a refreshing openness and willingness to share, and I doubt I would have found the 'spirit' embedded in our Harvester experience if the naturalism had not been so. As a heart-to-heart, the interview is a self-reinforcing dialogue. Through these focussed, detailed, and private 'conversations' the spirit of capitalism in Harvest surfaced in the personal accounts of what it means. It is for this reason and in an effort to retain the original interpretability, especially of Harvest's key actors introduced below, that the original recorded, edited and approved interviews, with their intrinsic naturalness, rather than a transcribed isophor of them is included with thesis.

My influence over the data was most directing as firstly President, and then Treasurer of Harvest in influencing the direction and strategic work of Harvest, and hence its effect in the world. But my effect has been deeper too. As Alan Eagle describes,

*"I think it's been a kind-of-a building block actually, of Harvest, because it's caused you to go out and think about different things, and you like to do that, and bring different theories up and challenge those theories and have conversations around those things, which I think I've enjoyed listening to, I think we should talk a lot more about those things sometimes because even though they're academic theories, sometimes they relate to practical theories, and I think we should have a conversation about that, 'coz the practice world is not the same as the academic. The word praxis, theory informs practice, and practice informs theory, you know, we do this all the time, now if you said*

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my selection of 'appropriate' literature that builds plausibility for my 'case' is informed by this hermeneutic – another self-referencing loop.

*to farmers, ‘we’re going to have a conversation of praxis here, they’d say “What?”, but if you said to [them] “whack that potato in the ground and put some water on it”, he’d tell me how far it goes down, and “How do you know it goes down that far?” and he’d say “Well, I put it down halfway before and it didn’t grow”, so he wouldn’t think about that as being a theory, and sometimes we need to bridge those gaps between the practical and the theory and understand that both of them drive each other forward and I think the study that you’ve done has been good for that, ‘coz you’ve expressed different views about different ways that different things are put together, and I’ve been able to be intellectually stimulated by that and to think about it, which is good.” (Eagle interview Full 2:21:50:00 – 2:23:35:00)*

The fourth phase is one of internal peer review or member validation performed as an important verification and clarification phase signifying knowledge about Harvest as ‘accepted’ at the time of writing-up. The process generates inter-observer reliability and is an important part of the co-learning journey, where the actors contribute to a synthesis, its meaning and land-marking qualities. An extended double hermeneutic (Giddens, 1990) engages my co-learners in reflecting on and perhaps modifying their conceptions of ‘the study’. This re-informs how the study will inform Harvest’s future, and our actions through Harvest. It gives effect to Stengers’ ‘principle of being at risk’,<sup>121</sup> Harvest’s actors being able to intervene in the knowledge production process and co-generate a contingent expression of it (Pryke et al, 2003: 98).

### ***The Farmer, The Bureaucrat, and The Operations Guy***

The personal engagement by four board members is used to elucidate meaning-making through Harvest. They are John Maguire the farmer, David Mason the bureaucrat, Alan Eagle the operations guy, and myself the academic. John and David were part of Harvest’s formation processes in 2000, David having played an instrumental role in the preceding years.

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<sup>121</sup> Isabelle Stengers is a French philosopher, who postulated that a ‘risky cosmopolitanism’ determines what is scientific and what is not, making questionable all forms of constructivist ontologies, including and excluding most ‘sciences’. See Latour, Bruno, 1997. Stengers’ shibboleth. (foreword) Isabelle Stengers, *Power and Invention*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

David and John are originators and leave a legacy as core, guiding actors. Their perspectives are strongly rooted in the reasons for Harvest's existence in the absence it filled. They have decisive moments in their histories where they were set on the path toward, and eventually with Harvest.

For David it was his galvanizing "*Well bugger me!*" realization that agriculture in the Sydney basin was not part of the planned future of Sydney. His newly assumed role as a NSW Agriculture Extension Officer seemed to be redundant before he had even begun to tackle the role. It involved a shock and assault on his core beliefs about the place in which he lived, a place in which his ancestors had lived, The Hawkesbury. He was affronted by the proposition that agriculture only had a future over the ranges, underpinned by an immutable, formally rational logic for its removal from the Sydney basin.

For John, the moment was one of many when he faced the cruel truth of markets that no longer valued what he put his heart and soul into growing. This was a last straw, inflaming his anger about the behaviour of developers and their assault on farming lands. It stirred memories of what happened to the family home after they left Emu Plains and had to witness the demolition of a heritage of which John's family had been a part.

Like Alan, I was drawn to Harvest after it formed, our perspectives strongly rooted in Harvest as a problem-solving vehicle through community engagement. We are post-formation, support and guiding actors 'recruited' by David, although not in the active sense of the word today, more so when one becomes the subject of courting or as Weber (2009: 189) describes of the American sects, 'balloting after investigation'. David perceived Alan and I as having something important to contribute to the newly formed Harvest, this being a feature of his policy and social entrepreneurship. Alan and I are currently two of Harvest's office-holders, Alan being the association secretary and both of us still supporting the Harvest cause.

For Alan a galvanizing realisation occurred when the township of Richmond, his home since 1973, began to be transformed by development, and especially the Richmond Marketplace development. The undermining of the rural townscape, weakening of the main street, the changing landscape of the township which now included a place-less, under-one-roof, themed suburban mall triggered a resistant sentiment in Alan that he would later act on through Harvest.

In my own case it's about, among other things, what happened to my grandparent's farmlet as Brisbane city urbanized. The complete erasure of house and paddocks, the country-side and life we had, the rolling hills, the creek and other landscape features I loved and grew up enjoying.

Why these actors? The four of us are the longest serving members of Harvest and are those who have played consistent and enduring roles within Harvest. We all have a history with Harvest and a sense of Harvest's history. These stories are the most relevant to and instrumental in the absence that Harvest filled. Many people have come and gone and newer members have joined well into Harvest's history and continue the work, but do not have the connection with Harvest's problematic that David, John, Alan and I can articulate. Through my relationship in Harvest with David, John and Alan, I have gleaned<sup>122</sup> much of their narrative stories over the years.

Harvest actors are identified because it is consistent with Harvest's reason-for-being. It is a vehicle giving effect to their voices on the issues they needed to contest in the public domain. They embarked upon an alter-enterprise in traditional markets as a discursive entrepreneurialist

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122 This word so aptly describes the method of data collection. To glean: to gather in handfuls after the reapers; to learn by laboriously scraping together pieces of information; to gather facts bit-by-bit. The agri-cultural origins are apt. The reapers are of Harvest's agency in the world and the seeds Harvest has sown. The process most accurately describes how I have made practical progress on the study, by exploiting opportunities to glean, after the work of Harvest has been done, and at the same time being a full time academic, father and carer, grandfather and spouse.



dialogue (after Berglund & Johansson, 2007: 500). Acting through Harvest they set about ‘reconnecting and repositioning certain groups of citizens... in a society that becomes simultaneously transformed...’ which ‘is far less a private activity than an everyday tactic on the public scene’ (Steyaert & Katz 2004: 192). This very public project is widely exposed in the media as can be seen in Appendix One: A Harvest Chronology.



### ***John Maguire - The Farmer***

John Maguire is owner and proprietor of Enniskillen Orchard located in Grose Vale in the Kurrajong Hills. He spent his childhood in Emu Plains and was educated in the Catholic School system. He completed his Higher School Certificate in his thirties and went on to partly complete a law degree but found the desk-bound prospects of this unattractive. He left this and went into health food retailing.

**Exhibit 2a: John Maguire, Enniskillen Orchard, Grose Vale**

John’s family acquired the 115 acre farm in 1960, his father sold 90 acres in 1968, and after the farm was left to John, he established the current orchard in the late 1980s. He ‘battled’ along with that for some years and invested in a packing shed with the intention of selling excess produce from the farm gate. Market conditions deteriorated gradually over the years and selling the bulk of their produce through the Sydney markets was “*literally sending us broke*” (Maguire interview 0:1:49).

John's defining values are informed by Catholic Social Justice, the concepts of subsidiarity<sup>123</sup> being his 'load-star' and informing his politics. He has been politically active since his teens. He sees the bureaucratisation of social institutions and the disempowering of individuals and small autonomous social units as a primary malady of the modern world. For John, Harvest is an 'ideal type' because of its locally based, individually empowered capacity to address issues.

Subsidiarity, as John describes it:

*"..brings in community, it brings in small business, and it is very closely allied to the land and therefore you're looking at farms which are mainly owned by, well, not conglomerates, ...and in turn this contributes to the common good...I contrast [this] with the economic rationalist, and they talk about the higher good, and it's a very interesting difference because while they possibly don't intend it as such, the higher good<sup>124</sup>, if it goes through to its logical conclusion, ...the 'good' is in the hands of the few, so either deliberately or not, that's what happens, whereas the common good, it constitutes the whole of the community." (Maguire interview 0:1:49)*

John says he's a "radical conservative", a Menzies liberal, and an anti-right-winger. When he took part in the pre-Harvest meetings hosted by DPI in Windsor in early 2000, he realized that he had found Catholic Social Justice in action. *"For the first time in my life I came across it!"* - he was 63 years of age. He believes he has God-given gifts and a duty to use them. He says *"Harvest helped me enormously, not only financially, but also in projecting my thinking"* (1:06:48), *"it was a great conduit, it was perfect for it"* (1:20:24). Later in the interview (1:49:34) he shows me an article by Elizabeth Farrelly<sup>125</sup>, a Herald<sup>126</sup> writer and he expressly wanted to

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123 See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subsidiarity\\_\(Catholicism\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subsidiarity_(Catholicism))

124 Note here that in this thesis I equate higher order or public good as higher good, John also accepts this on the basis that I do, that is, that higher good when about values attached to community and people, is such.

125 Here again another instance of serendipitous alignment, that on the day of my final 'chat' with John as part of this 'study', and at the stage in the interview when we were 'finishing up', he should have been reading something that, as he wanted to tell me so urgently, captured for him the essence of what Harvest is about and how Harvest had helped him realize a spiritual ideal. See <http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/society-and-culture/women-make-church-more-rounded-20121219-2bn36.html>. Note also that in response to my question as to why Harvest had not been able to attract

quote from it, 'God, is the point at which truth, beauty and justice merge'<sup>127</sup>, and he then explained:

*"and I think that's what we're doing really, isn't it, certainly beauty (gesturing to the landscape), the truth is, we reflect the connection with the land, I think that's the truth, and from that emanates community, and the beauty is the land, isn't it, this (gesturing again) and then justice, and we're very strong on justice, .....well it's fairness"*

John holds a belief that we are part of the universe, come from the earth<sup>128</sup> and are part of it, and was profoundly influenced by the works of Jesuit priest, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. He believes that we seek a connection with the earth that has been lost because we live in big cities. He states that (1:21:36) the world needs Harvest, society needs it, that the ideas and philosophy of it are timeless. He also says that Harvest is facing a need for change, having been effective for more than a decade, it faces political and environmental forces that were not as strong when it first set out, but have since become prominent, positioning agriculture and markets in opposition to political agendas and the environment.

One of John's defining experiences with the development dialogue in Sydney is very personal. His family moved from what was 'Government House'<sup>129</sup> in Emu Plains in 1960, a heritage building that was demolished before it could be listed. The destruction of the family home for the housing sub-division and shopping centre complex now there<sup>130</sup>, left an indelible

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women to its core group, John also had the content of this article in mind when he says that our ego-less and cooperative approach is very 'feminine' – he pointed to this as a factor, but did not understand how it made Harvest's inner workings unattractive to women.

126 The Sydney Morning Herald, a Fairfax newspaper.

127 Farrelly quoting Hans Urs von Balthasar, Catholic theologian, from his treatise on 'theological aesthetics', *The Glory of the Lord*.

128 Maguire interview 1:19:26

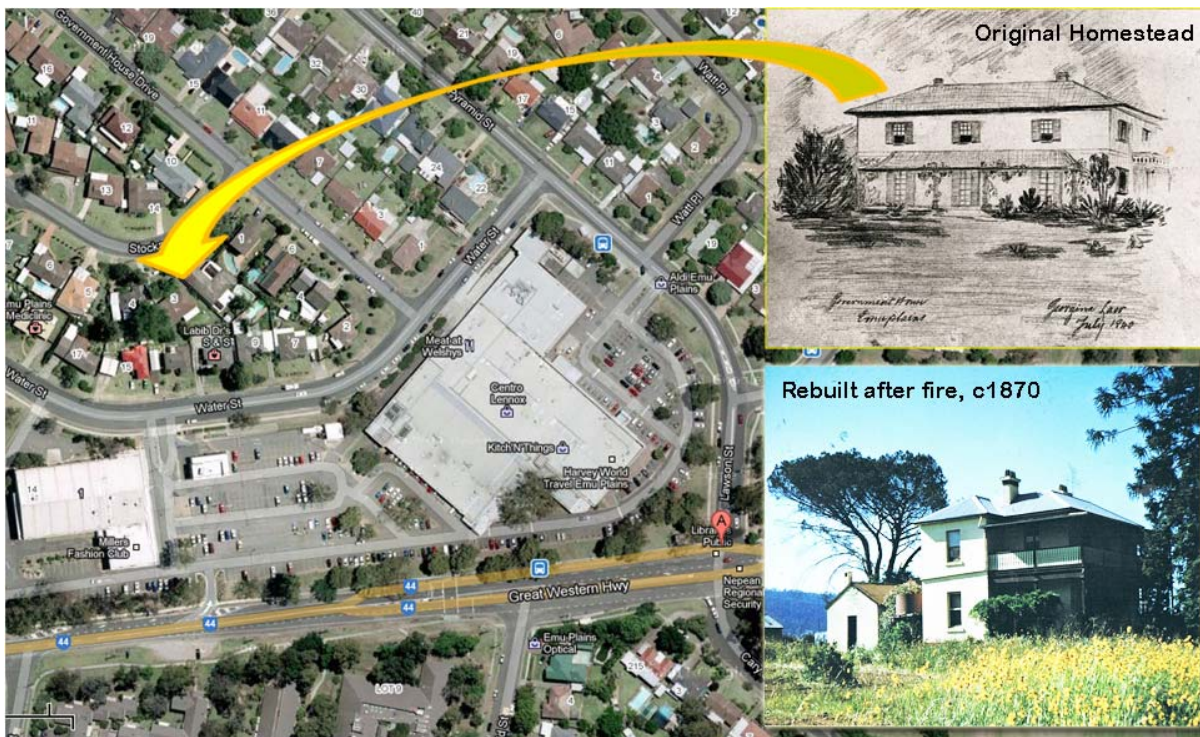
129 The original 'house' burnt down and was rebuilt in c1870, the original servant's quarters left intact, it was called 'Dungarth'. Photo courtesy of John Maguire.

130 See <http://www.penrithcity.nsw.gov.au/index.asp?id=6529> for an image of the house which was located on lands at the intersection of the Great Western Highway and Lawson Street, Emu Plains.

imprint on him and an intense dislike of developers for their “*crassness and bottom-line thinking*” (Maguire interview 0:22:53 – see also 23 May, 2001).

Exhibit 2b here shows a sketch of Government House at Emu Plains, ‘Dungarth’ which it was later called after the original building was razed by fire c1870, and the Centra shopping complex that now stands where it once did. John still retains a framed photograph of Dungarth.

Exhibit 2b: John Maguire’s childhood home and ‘Government House’, Emu Plains



He sees the planning system in NSW as broken, the principle marker being a lack of political will (Maguire interview 0:40:26). After more than ten years mounting the argument, and at the age of 75, John believes that “*we have lost the battle to save agriculture in Sydney*”. He has a strong sense that the forces against it will succeed in delivering the ‘Lands department bloke’s’ prophecy, even though John has never heard it uttered.





### ***David Mason - The Bureaucrat***

David's family lived in the Hawkesbury for a time, his grandfather having purchased a citrus farm in the Hawkesbury, the crop being an important asset in the purchase because of its promise of immediate cash flow, and as David's tells it in his laconic style, *"when he moved up here to take over the farm, it was two metres under water, and he was buggered, so that was 'the Hawkesbury', (chuckling), the Hawkesbury way of dealing with farmers, yeh, so anyway, that was the end of that"* (Mason interview Part I 2:25:00). His grandfather then opened a produce store in Windsor.

**Exhibit 3: David Mason, Leader - Urban Agriculture.**

David spent his childhood in Brisbane, Queensland, his cousin's family having a dairy farm between Brisbane and Southport at Pimpama which is *"now covered in houses and cement"*. It was here he discovered his *"love of agriculture"* (Part I: 4:52:00). After school in the mid-1960s he went Jackarooing on a 100 square mile station in northern NSW. He later attended Wagga Wagga Agricultural College in the late 1960s where he attained his diploma. He worked on a number of farms and experienced the wool industry crisis of the 1970s when,

*"they were selling sheep for 10 cents each, and, you know, I thought I'd made a bad mistake, so I went back to the city for a year or six months, thinking that you know, I'd wasted, I'd made the wrong move, ...but you couldn't get a job with private enterprise, there were no jobs going, it was a real bad time on the land, ...but I saw a job for a rural youth officer, so I got that, and moved to Dubbo"* (Part I: 7:45:00).

A formative exchange with one of David's superiors at that time in Rural Youth shed light on what David's love of agriculture was about,

*"you're either a pig person or a people person, you're either a technology person or a people person" (Part I: 9:20:00), "whilst I love agriculture, I think it actually is the dynamics and the social aspects of agriculture I appreciate most, the fact that there are families, the fact that there's communities associated with it, I think that is rather than just the pure technology, I mean I enjoy the growing of stuff or whatever, but the community associated with rural communities is probably my greatest motivator, and my greatest interest in agriculture, so agriculture's been the mechanism that's allowed me to be part of that community as such, the rural community".*

David became manager of Orange Research Centre where his managerial skills were recognised and then later Trangie where he tackled some serious problems within the Department of Agriculture at the time. He says *"I learnt how to bide my time, to fix things, and to get enough evidence so that when you move, you never move until you know you know you're not gunna lose, and then you don't muck around"* (Part I: 13:15:00). His troubleshooting capacities took him to Yanco where he again tackled serious issues of incompetence and mismanagement. He grew tired of being *"used as a head-kicker and fixer-upperer of other people's incompetence"* (Part I: 14:12:00) and when an opportunity to work on a project in Sri Lanka presented itself in 1983 he eagerly took the position. This project gave him an understanding and perspective on traditional land management practices that ran counter to the 'technology transfer', 'the pig person' aims of the Australian aid program that funded it, and as David says,

*"I think there was a life changing thing happened to me, I saw how the other half of the world lives, and I saw the degradation to the environment through ignorance and corruption, and I saw you know, human beings as people who, I mean they love their village life, they love that, that big dam, they love their little villages, and the people love their little garden thing and mud hut, and it*

*was a real community, and I saw the renaissance of humanity I suppose, and when I came back, no one in Australia gave a shit, didn't want to know anything about it, just wanted to view it in a hedonistic way, and I became very disconcerted I suppose, ...and they sent me straight back into the Fisheries Research Institute at Cronulla to kick heads, and I thought this is ridiculous, I'm beyond this, I'm over this sort of stuff" (Part I: 25:00:00).*

His role in Sri Lanka highlighted the importance of the human/environment relationship and the "love" (Part I: 1:14:00:00) they had for their ecology, it amplified his dissatisfaction with NSW bureaucratic systems he'd found plagued by corrupt, incompetent and unthinking cultures. For a time he left the public service, but the mundanity of retail small business soon had him looking for a return to the bureaucracy, paradoxically because the 'system' was such a rich source of diverse problem-solving challenges which he found so intriguing. David says,

*"I have always been able to forge a bit of a path there you know, I've always been engaged fully, my mind has been engaged, my body has been engaged, ...I've had a degree of freedom in the public service, if I had to describe myself it's more as a forward scout, I've always pushed the boundaries, always gone looking, never just sat there and expected someone to tell me to do something, I've got out and started things, and sometimes I've found myself in hot water" (Part I: 31:00:00).*

David, the 'forward scout' also challenged the culture within his department and the calibre of the thinking that culture perpetuated. During the time when he was completing his Masters of Systems Agriculture<sup>131</sup> course at UWS, he recalls using the word 'paradigm' during a senior officer departmental meeting and the response such language generated.

*"Now 'paradigm' is in the mainstream, but at the time, the bloody conversation dropped and they all looked at me as if 'Who's this prick', you know, that was the end of me."*

As a forward scout he was

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<sup>131</sup> The course was in Social Ecology, Rural Development and Agricultural Extension, Richard Bawden and Stuart Hill were key UWS staff. David was in his mid-forties at the time.

*“always a bit of a worry, I think that sometimes some of them thought I was a bit mad, you know, a bit off the planet, but it never worried me because, you know Hawkesbury Harvest in my opinion, well certainly aspects of DPI’s involvement in this whole issue of urban agriculture wouldn’t be as advanced as it is now if I hadn’t taken it, that was in my nature” (Part I: 32:40:00).*

David was inspired and encouraged by others who thought like him, but the dominant culture was one that avoided risk-taking and denigrated strategic thinking. It was a “mind-set” which dictates

*“that if you don’t speak the speak then you are regarded as something unusual, and outside you know, and I have always, I mean, even at ag college I wasn’t prepared to, I mean I was prepared to meet people half way, but there’s a point at which I say ‘no’” (Part I: 37:00:00)*

His value system was tested by blind acceptance of bureaucratic culture and he resisted to the point of not backing down. He refused to be the linear, reductionist thinker such a culture requires if it is to be rational.

*“I mean too many times I’ve heard senior managers say ‘Oh keep it simple, I only want to hear the simple stuff, well if that’s all they can deal with, then they shouldn’t bloody-well be there you know, in this day and age, they should be out, they shouldn’t be in those sorts of positions, that really does annoy me, that kind of thinking now, because that’s not appropriate, because, people that can only think in that reductionist way in my opinion, in senior management, is not appropriate” (Part I: 41:15:00).*

The reference in David’s earlier quote to “*even at ag college*” is of another instance when his values and principles were tested. This occurred at Wagga Wagga and involved the ‘motting’ system common in such institutions, even today<sup>132</sup>. David confronted the culture which included

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132 See Mason interview Part I: 41:45:00 - Motting is ritualized victimization and bastardization of new recruits or students designed to have them submit to the prevailing culture of the organization. It is brutalizing bureaucracy at play. Motting continued to take place at UWS Hawkesbury 25 years after it ceased being Hawkesbury Agricultural College in 1989.



physical attacks, taking a leadership role in challenging the ‘tradition’. He was instrumental in effecting change, but suffered retribution and was assaulted.

This resistance to bureaucratic imperatives also extends to David’s views on human systems generally, and particularly the emphasis they have on ‘technologies’<sup>133</sup>

*“I put human values first, and these things (technologies) are simply a mechanism to improve or enhance or maintain human values. I think too often the reductionist, objective, bureaucratic thinking of politics and bureaucracy and hard-nosed business is that people are the means and not the end, you know, and I object to that, I really do object to that, technology is there to enhance quality-of-life, it not people are there, I think technologists think that people are there to satisfy their interests in technology, and to prove that technology is king, you know, I mean technology is just a mechanism, you know, so that’s how I feel about economics. I mean I think the model is flawed, I think the rationalist model is very flawed, I think it’s one end of the spectrum, you know, do we just keep developing all the land we’ve got to accommodate increasing population, I mean, how far does Sydney expand, you know, it just keeps expanding, it just keeps expanding, no one’s got the guts to say that’s it, and someone’s gunna have to do it, because you can’t have a system that’s based on ongoing expansion, where do the people go? ....I think the element of community is not fully understood and people like to be part of a community and there are a lot of trade-offs that people make in order to have community....this is not fully understood by government - government’s not going to solve the problem of these economic circumstances and environmental circumstances (referring to the GFC and the bush fires in Victoria) unless it fully engages with the community and gives the community the capacity to express itself in ways that will allow the community to actually help make a significant contribution to solving these problems, which government bloody-well can’t do on their own, you know I really believe that, ...I think they’re scared of the community, I mean*

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133 In the broad sense, that is, of systems themselves as technologies – the economy, our institutions, organizations within society, as well as more instrumental technologies such as systems of control and mechanisms for managing things.

*community smells of socialism, socialism is related to communism, I actually picked that up from discussions, that, you know, government is scared to allow the full expression of community because community, communism, same word virtually, I actually believe that, the right wing, particularly the right wing, and I think it's so pathetic, it's pathetic, but that has to be dealt with somehow. So in saying that, I believe that the natural instinct of people is to be, to relate to the ecology to actually live within the ecology, to live within a system that caters, that's the natural instinct" (Part I: 1:08:00).*

David's frustration with rationalist paradigms is clear.

*"it's the greed of capitalism and the excesses of capitalism and economic rationalism which you know, overrides everything (Part I: 1:14:00:00)*

David returned to Sydney in 1993 and began to see that there appeared to be no plans for agriculture in the Sydney basin, and having been given a role to support agriculture in the Basin, he realized that he had to work with this milieu and look for some innovative processes that might help bypass an attitude and culture in the bureaucracy so that his role would be both meaningful and deliver something which he valued. By the end of the first decade of the new millennium, the efforts of Harvest and David's agency through it, as with many other communities across the globe, were showing signs of a shift,

*"I actually believe you know, things are changing, and there is a groundswell now (late 2009), you know when you've got Willoughby Council moving a motion to actually protect agriculture, actually support the retention of agricultural lands in Sydney and then wanting to take that to the Local Government Association, then there's a whole range of stuff that's happening. ...I think, I mean you know just in my own office (the OHN at this time), when I went there the attitude was, 'oh we gotta make sure, the water for Sydney is for Sydney people, but there's a big change going on there at the moment, in the Office of the Hawkesbury Nepean, because you know, water's not just about water for houses, water's about growing food and human health and all that sort of stuff, and agriculture's a good mechanism for bringing that, those sorts of concepts into the sphere of thinking. ...I think it*

*(Harvest) was the leader in this whole thing” (Mason interview Part II 41:15:00 – 44:30:00)*

David himself has led the way in this shift. In 2006 he was awarded a Churchill Fellowship and conducted an international study tour on urban agriculture. The growing trend toward seeing agriculture and healthy cities as linked, referenced his work through Harvest. This shift has also been a personal one for David. Having developed a distinct dislike of the “*development industry*” following on from his ‘bugger me’ moment in 1993, he came around to another view.

*“When I was young I wanted to just buy land and develop it, I wanted my dad to buy land, develop and be rich, I don’t see it that way anymore” (Mason interview Part II 42:00:00)*

David’s Harvest experience has been challenging and delivered new kinds of respect in the wider community for how he operates and the values he holds. This applies too within his own bureaucratic institution being the various renditions of NSW Agriculture. As David says of Harvest as a community-driven form of action where government was reluctant to act,

*“Well you know, I mean, the State would say that Mason’s part of the government, so we’ve done it, but in fact there’s no separation (between David Mason the state employee and David Mason the man), the fact of the matter is I used to spend my weekends and nights working on Hawkesbury Harvest, so obviously it was just my life, you know, I happened to work for the government but I was also happened to be a private individual, and so I was doing something I loved, that’s my job, so I’m lucky in that regard, I never resented having to work hard on it, never, so I’d do it again” (Part I: 2:18:35:00)*

When David reflected on his and Harvest’s legacy a decade after it formed, he thought he’d effected change in attitudes within the bureaucracy on the role of agriculture in peri-urban zones, an acceptance that urban agriculture could ‘be’. He was now part of a world-wide movement of people who wanted it and government had little choice but to work toward this as a goal for sustainability and sustainable communities.



### ***Alan Eagle – The Operations Guy***

Alan Eagle is in his sixties and bought land in Richmond in 1969 and moved into the Hobartville estate in 1972 – the suburb was built on lands originally part of the land grant to Hobartville Stud, it adjoins the lands of what was Hawkesbury Agricultural College, now the University of Western Sydney. Alan has graduate and post graduate qualifications in business studies specializing in information systems and decision-making methodologies which he gained in his mid-thirties through UWS. He has also taught management units for the University. Alan says there were no traffic lights in Richmond in 1972.

**Exhibit 4a: Alan Eagle, Management Consultant.**

Alan left school in 1964 joining Telstra as a telephone repair technician, but soon progressed to management roles, and eventually a senior executive. He took a redundancy in 1995 after 30 years' service and formed a management consulting practice.

Alan is passionate about values<sup>134</sup>, what defines them and how they influence people's behaviours. In 1988 he did extensive work on values, is a member of Minessence and an accredited Values Consultant. Alan's "core" or "focus" values are service, education and community. His role with Hawkesbury Harvest is about serving. He describes himself as a servant leader, that helping people is "*just the best way to operate*".

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134 Values here are held by people and they inform/determine behaviour – they are not ideals, which people often express but also often fail to live up to.

Alan undertook higher education in later life. He says this opened windows on ways to see and understand the world. He loves helping people learn and is regularly involved in training activities through his consultancy. The relationship with Harvest is a source of satisfaction delivering aspects of all his values. Politically he believes the social is more important than the economic, he *“would like the wealth spread around a bit more”*, that Australia is a good country because *“we’re wealthy”*. He is politically non-partisan because he *“wants to remain in community”*, aligning with a particular party making that difficult.

In 1998 Alan became ‘activist’ in community when the Richmond Marketplace development *“really wrecked the strip town”*, *“it just decimated the village”* (Eagle interview Full 3:30:00) and split the shopping precinct of the town. Exhibit 4b shows an aerial views of Richmond township, a place colloquially known as Sydney’s rural gateway – when you hit Richmond, you know you’re in ‘the country’.

**Exhibit 4b: Alan Eagle’s home town of Richmond, NSW**







For Alan, making Richmond his ‘place’ was a deliberate choice, one reflecting his values in community. Alan has an expression he adopted from a *“note in a window in the city 20 years ago that said that Sydney was the best place in space.”* He adapted it and will still proudly state *“I believe that the Hawkesbury is the best place in space”* (A. Eagle, 2013, pers comms [email], Sat 30 March). Alan’s sense of place is, as he puts it, a *“greater vision”*, one that references the metropolis of Sydney. Alan likes the village atmosphere, Richmond Park, the shops to be vibrant and tourists to visit the area he loves. He is particularly passionate about the town of Richmond.

The closer view shows the main street of Richmond, with Richmond Park, which was originally designated as ‘market square’<sup>135</sup>, the 1879 photo insert showing its original purpose in relation to the town’s main street or ‘high street’. Apart from the heritage elements in the

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135 The irony in the naming of Richmond Marketplace was not missed by Harvest actors, especially when Harvest started a farmers market in the School of Arts building in Richmond Park in 2010, which was, as noted above, originally ‘market square’. With the ‘refurbishment’ works done on the Park under the Macquarie 2010 celebrations by the local Council, the Lions Market which had operated in the ‘market square’ for many years was no longer able to trade as the changes to the site were not designed to handle the wear and tear of regular markets and Hawkesbury Harvest’s market soon petered out, eventually closing down after about six months. Neither market restarted when the works on Richmond Park were completed early in 2011.

streetscape, the country town awnings, and the original sandstone curb and guttering, the charm of the street comes from the openness of the street and its orientation, which leads the eye to a view of the distant Kurrajong Hills, making it possible to behold the landscape and the town's located-ness in it. The Richmond Marketplace<sup>136</sup> development is also visible, its large under-one-roof structure having shifted the commercial heart of the town away from its roots, and having 'consumed' nearly a whole block of heritage cottages in the process. The mall serves to 'keep at bay'<sup>137</sup> the geography and cultural landscape of the place that Richmond is to The Hawkesbury. It is this soul-less space that offends Alan's sense of place.

Al's only connection with farming is through being an eater. He began with when he was working for the Hawkesbury City Chamber of Commerce Mainstreet Committee, the Friends of the Hawkesbury Art Collection and Tourism Hawkesbury, these leading community organisations having important community engagement roles with Hawkesbury City Council. He gained a profile for administrative services and developed an embedded, in-depth knowledge of the local issues, which he described as a position of power in terms of knowledge (Eagle interview V1 37:00:00). He applied for support/operational positions with Harvest when it gained project funds in 2003, and held a paid role until early 2004. When the funding streams dried up between projects<sup>138</sup>, Alan continued on as a volunteer and has done so ever since. He finds working with farmers and being part of the Harvest team enjoyable and stimulating.

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136 A cursory search using Google images will find many such 'marketplaces' – the same design features, layouts and mix of retail can be found in locations such as Wagga Wagga, Bendigo, and Shepparton, and the same logo and faux tank stand signifies these malls.

137 After Edensor (2006) who cites Gottdiener (1997) and Rojek (1995) – the mall encapsulates the sensory experience of the retail taskscape, and excludes a sense of place by-design – see also previous note.

138 The *Paddock-to-Plate* (2002) and *Food and Wine Coordinator* (2006) Projects.

For Alan, Harvest delivers:

*“I’m building something, you know, which is nice, I’m building something, but I’m also building community here, it’s a different community, and I’m building capacity, and hope, I suppose, it’s really a nice thing. It’s lovely to see someone buying fresh produce and chatting there with farmers and getting excited about it, it’s nice to see a kid pull an orange off the tree and do those types of things, you know. You’d hope that some gutsy politician would strike a pen and make this particular block of land rural, just rural forever... It’d be nice, because I love, you know, lookin’ at this place, overlook the University of Western Sydney, and it’s just lovely you know, and driving into Richmond is just fantastic you know, and I keep saying that the greatest thing that Richmond ever had was the floods and also the Pansy railway collapse at Nth Richmond in 1956, coz otherwise we’d have a sprinkling of house up alongside the railway line all the way up to Kurrajong, and everything would be suburban all the way up to Kurrajong except beyond Kurrajong. In terms of other things: “just satisfaction, it’s about values-alignment and that energy, and just enjoying it, you know, if it fell over it’d be disappointing but not catastrophic, but it gives me also work, I’m very work-orientated, you know ‘things to do’, it gives me work, I like to work.” (Eagle interview V1 52:00:00)*

*“For me it’s about engagement with people, outside the family... I believe that people need to interact with other people all the time, ALL the time, you can go and sit in your house or your cave and watch your Foxtel or whatever you can, you know, but you can only do that for so long, and I believe that you should always interact with people, I’m not looking for anything out of them, but I think you’ll find we get stimulated by other people. I don’t go out and look for recognition such as, ..I probably get that through those types of things, but I don’t go and look for that.” (Eagle interview Full 47:40:00 – 48:47:00)*

*“People who know me, I am assuming, will know what type of service levels I live and stuff like that, you’ll hear some people call me Mr Hawkesbury Harvest sometimes, you know, because of the radio and stuff that I do, and that’s fine, it’s just about promoting them, but it’s not about me at all” (Eagle interview Full 1:00:00:00 – 1:00:26:00)*



*“I think farming’s important, food’s important, and you probably don’t recognize it, that it’s over the hill, it’s just over the hill, people are working their arse off over the hill, and I know, I’ve seen John Maguire, I’ve seen the people down at thing-me-bob (referring to the lower Hawkesbury oyster growers and the viral attack that decimated the industry), I understand all these bloody tragedies, ...I spoke to [oyster grower] the other day, I just rang him up when I heard about it, ah, it was like I was a bloody counsellor for about ten minutes or fifteen minutes, coz he’d spent a lot of time and he’s been wiped out, you know, so I’m proud of what we do, and we can give them a voice somewhere, whether that can help, I don’t know, but that’s what we can do.” (Eagle interview Full 58:15:00 – 48:47:00)*

Alan’s worldview is informed by strong beliefs about a collaborative approach to people and communications.

*“My worldview is a collaborative worldview so, I think collaboration’s the key to some of those things, and the more we work with people, the more you understand where they’re at and you’re at and where you can go forward, you know, and I believe in dialogue in relation to decent dialogue, openness and trying to trust, and we do that. (Eagle interview Full 1:36:25:00 – 1:37:00:00)*

He uses the Johari Window (Luft & Ingham, 1955) as a conceptual framework for explaining the basis for dialogue, saying Harvest communicative processes work to expand the ‘open’ or ‘arena’ window on dialogue. This also applies to the way he views the ‘Harvest team’, the combined ‘talents’ complement each other, making for an effective team.

*“What does Harvest mean in the world? Just as a vehicle I think to put in front of people the opportunity to eat fresh food, local food, those types of things, and slowly maybe, a vehicle for advocating for keeping agriculture close to local communities, if it can be done, I think we can do that, if we want to (Eagle interview Full 2:07:40:00 – 2:08:07:00),*

and later on in regard to what Harvest means to himself,

*“It’s just an organization for me that I can contribute to, and add value to I think, and also, hopefully will keep delivering experiences to people along the Farm Gate Trail, and hopefully then a small wedge into the importance as to why we should retain agriculture” (Eagle interview Full 2:12:23:00 – 2:13:15:00).*

*In these terms he articulated all of the values he holds most important, service, education and community.*



### ***I Theoros: Hermeneutic Tourist, Theoristic Vector***

In late 2000 I set out as a hermeneutic tourist, seeking to understand in the context and as a Harvest actor, a theoros. My understandings have been rendered through Harvest documents, in my teaching, presentations and this thesis. I am a touristic vector for Harvest understandings of its own problematic. As Harvest heralded an absence of nothing happened, embarked on a functional rendering of something to fill that gap, and then evolved into a strategic actor in the cultural landscape of Sydney, my consciousness of theoristic vectoring evolved with Harvest and its hermeneutic dynamic.

**Exhibit 5a: Ian Knowd, Academic, University of Western Sydney**

I have performed a heraldic role, much as Hermes did, and much as the classical busts of the related Roman god Janus, with dual ‘faces’, voices and modes. Alan Eagle refers to me as ‘the keeper of Harvest’s history’, a hermeneus, bridging the boundaries of Harvest for strangers, this thesis being a marker or Hermai to Harvest’s terrain and to Harvest’s interests in assisting travellers in the rural<sup>139</sup>. I have co-produced this with my fellow Harvesters and through my

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139 Just like the artworks of *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney*.  
Ian Knowd

hermeneus role 'mapped' the Harvest phenomenon 'into knowledge' after Isabelle Stengers (Pryke et al, 2003: 95).

My own entry to Harvest was aided by David Mason who, a short time prior, had become the founding President<sup>140</sup> of Harvest after it formed in May 2000. At that time I was teaching a Rural Tourism unit (EH219) and met Kate Faithorn, the newly appointed project officer charged with establishing the Farm Gate Trail. I engaged David as a guest presenter in following Autumn of 2001 and we got to know each other. David subsequently invited me onto Harvest's steering committee.

I come to the Harvest problematic as stranger to farming and community – I do not have the experience of patterns of rural life in this place. First born, first generation Australian with an Irish father and English mother, the dominant cultural heritage in my family is Irish, but a sense of belonging in that heritage is missing because the family history is unknown beyond living memory. In my family this is attributed to the Irish Public Records Office fire of 1922.

Born 1958 in Queensland the year after my parents arrived in Australia, my grandparents also emigrated from England the year after and lived on a small acreage in Belmont, Brisbane. My grandfather and uncle established a business selling and installing Aga stoves all over Queensland. My fondest childhood memories are of this farm and the surrounding farmland, of the creeks and bark canoes, yabbies and native fish, turtles, lizards and snakes, chooks and eggs, cows and cow pats, mosquito smokers and mulberries in the hot Queensland Christmas holidays.

Exhibits 5b & c show the current landscape, the farm house and outbuildings long gone, the creek a storm water course, no longer flowing. The site map below shows the original lot, the farm buildings and the point from which Alf Harris, an immigrant friend of my grandparents',

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<sup>140</sup> This title is seldom used by Harvest actors, it is the official term applied under the Incorporated Associations Act, but within Harvest the title used is Chair, Chairman or Chairperson.

Painted the farm house in the early 1970s. The exhibits show the engulfing of my childhood adventure-land in the urban fabric of Brisbane.

Exhibit 5b: The Ellis' Place, Belmont, QLD.



I was fortunate to have a grandmother who gave us a box of matches and a billy and sent us off to play. The late winter day when she 'helped' me plant out some spring onions in the backyard at Mt Gravatt in suburban Brisbane when I was about 4 years old is one of my earliest memories of her. My cousins lived on another small farm on a tributary of Bulimba Creek at Tingalpa so you can imagine the amusement small boys and girls were to find in such an



environment. I am one of those Australians who have had a connection with our rural culture and have residual nostalgic feelings about its values and richness.

Exhibit 5c: The Ellis' Place, Belmont, QLD.



While I moved from suburb to suburb in Brisbane with my parents in the years leading up to moving to Sydney in 1969, my grandparents and other family remained on their land. My family settled in the Hills District of Sydney, moving to Bilpin in the early 1980s. The Hawkesbury and Blue Mountains became our backyard, especially when as a teenager my friends and I ventured off into the region in search of distraction and dalliance. In 1981 I bought land in the Hawkesbury but did not settle in the district until 1988. So having neither strong bonds to heritage in the UK nor bonds to this place there is a desire to embed myself and develop a sense of belonging in this place I now call home. My own children have now been born here and this heightens the sense of longing to better appreciate and know where I call home.

So a connection to ‘the Hawkesbury’ is a driver of my personal interest<sup>141</sup>. The connection was strengthened with my enculturation through UWS Hawkesbury during the years immediately following its transition to University status when the Agricultural College culture was itself reasserting its significance and heritage. I developed a heightened awareness of the economic, social and environmental endowed capital of *my* place. The power of HAC’s culture and traditions is an enduring force that reflects and perpetuates the reputation of not just the institution over its 100+ year history, but also the place and role of the Hawkesbury in the story of a nation and its building. So while the landscape of the Hawkesbury is continually changing with the economic fortunes of agriculture, the college became a reference point and repository of a sense of permanence about agri-culture at Hawkesbury.

Of greater influence than the institution was the culture of education and the pedagogies that had evolved over time in the delivery of industry-relevant programs and a systems perspective in the 1990s<sup>142</sup>. While the physical structures, and to a large extent, the land uses around the campus have become artefacts of this heritage, the culture of learning remains defiantly resistant to policies and processes that seek to put it back into the box of mainstream scientific modes of inquiry and teaching. The human capital represented by this continues to

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141 Here I can relate to Soile Veijola’s (2006: 81) sense of being a stranger in my own place, both at home and a tourist at the same time, having as she did, a wish that ‘somebody would tell me what it was all about’.

142 Having the heritage with UWS Hawkesbury and the opportunity that this thesis provides me in staying with a topic area, I find it ironic that the latest manifestation of the systems thinking approach should emerge in 2013 as Agroecology. As Francis et al (2013: 62) state, ‘In contrast, [to reductionist paradigms of learning] we propose an educational strategy that develops a new generation of agroecologists capable of dealing with whole systems as well as competent in demonstrating the integration of biophysical, economic, and social science methods. .... Students in agroecology are then prepared to work with a range of clients in a participatory mode to envision and take concrete steps toward a more desirable future. This could be called an educational foundation for responsible action (Lieblein and Francis, 2007), and is closely related to education for sustainable development and its explicit focus on promoting competencies for change (Sterling 2009).’ This is exactly what Hawkesbury’s Systems Agriculture program was designed to do and delivered – Richard Bawden is cited in the Francis article, but it is a 2007 reference. The Systems Ag degree design incorporated aspects of what Méndez et al (2013: 12) describe as ‘transformative agroecology’.

exercise its influence. It is an influence I am subject to, and one I have come to view<sup>143</sup> as having superior ontological, epistemological and pedagogical foundations in addressing the realities of a changing rural culture and agricultural economy.

This started me on a pathway that inevitably led to my involvement with Hawkesbury Harvest, having worked on research and consultancy projects on tourism in western Sydney, and later, rural tourism in western Sydney with other university staff<sup>144</sup>. This coincided with the penultimate innovation in the Rural Development program at Hawkesbury around 1998 with the inclusion of Rural Tourism as a unit in the Systems Agriculture program and my teaching in the area. When Harvest created the Farm Gate Trail I was already starting higher degree studies and looking for communities to work with and foci for study.

I have a varied career having trained as an electrician and engineer after school. I have travelled widely and came to university studies in my mid-30s, studying tourism and hospitality as part of a career change. The eclecticism of this pathway was compounded by the institutional changes around my areas of study, with both the programs I have taught within and the higher degree candidacy I hold having been shifted firstly from Applied Science to Business, then into Environment and Agriculture, and most recently into Social Sciences. Despite the potential here for something akin to a personality disorder, the enculturation along the journey has been a fertile source of both diversity in perspectives and reassurance about the wholistic dimensions of the Harvest phenomenon, and the impossibility of either reducing it to a narrow field of inquiry nor adequately covering it as a whole in environmental, social and economic epistemological frameworks.

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143 A view echoed in the sustainable agriculture and agroecological literature which characterizes the knowledge generation relationship with community as collaborative, complimenting a broad range of research and action frameworks, empowering participatory and transdisciplinary approaches [that] 'dovetails with the democratic, multistakeholder, systems-based approaches embraced by many agri-food movements' (Mares and Alkon 2011 paraphrased by Fernandez et al, 2013: 123), and as in my own case as student and researcher, 'remain grounded in analysis of real problems and real solutions.'

144 Co-author and researcher on *A Tourism Action Plan for Greater Western Sydney* (1994) and *The Rural Tourism Potential of North Western Sydney* (1998)

All four of the actors I reference in this thesis have a story to tell of loss in relation to places of significance to them in 'rural' Australia. These moments, as Soile Veijola (2006: 80) puts it are important 'rememberings' of a 'place of origin' in order to understand the meaning of a sojourn to' such 'places and their paradoxical identities. These stories are integral to their later work through Hawkesbury Harvest, being key touchstones for each of them in what 'development' means and its impacts on rural Australia.

For David especially, there is also the modernist paradox of bureaucratic control, the Iron Cage that Weber characterised and the 'natural' resistance he developed to it, along with the other formative experiences of bureaucracy and control, including the role of motting in bureaucratic culture. These losses and the entanglement with bureaucracy that mobilized David and the rest of us inform the 'spirit' that each brings to the Harvest dialogic struggle.

Harvest made possible actor potentialities in our life-worlds. It created a vehicle, 'a conduit' through which resistance to an urban over-writing of our cultural landscape in The Hawkesbury could be expressed, and citing John above, a palimpsest where truth, beauty and justice would be revealed.



Cate Valpiani  
Yeomans 2010  
30.0 x 25.0 cm  
Oil painting on  
watercolour paper

Some background: Australian farmer, P.A.Yeomans, developed a sustainable irrigation system in the 1950's at two farms in North Richmond. The system

was designed to both nourish and defend the soil. While his Keyline system now influences the organic farming movement around the world, one of



Yeoman's experimental sites is facing redevelopment into a housing estate.

More than farm land will be lost. An important resource to teach Australians about conserving water and soil will also be destroyed, at a time when we need this knowledge more than ever.

This painting, an aerial view of Yeomans farm, will be cut up and 'auctioned' during the exhibition. Like the real thing, pieces will remain, but not the functioning whole.

\*\* Buy your own piece of Australia's farming heritage!! Pieces of the artwork will be 'auctioned'. The 'price' is showing a receipt for a 2010 donation to an environmental trust or humanitarian charity.

Extract from *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* p47. The two farms were "Yobarnie" and "Nevallan". The Photo below looking east over "Yobarnie" was taken in 1994 by David Holmgren ("Nevallan" extends further to the left of frame – Richmond airbase in the distance, top right of frame). The site was sold to Buildev Corp. for \$40.2M in 2009 and is to be developed with a 200 unit senior living complex and up to 2000 residential lots. The dams and irrigation system will be destroyed as part of this redevelopment.





## ***Chapter Three: On Fertile Ground***

The *Contested Landscapes* exhibition opened by David Mason is not the first time the arts have been harnessed by Harvest's host communities to assert a cultural presence<sup>145</sup>. The positioning of *The Hawkesbury* as Macquarie's towns, the lauding of this through the arts, the valorising of it and the pride in heroic colonial stock it still evokes is part of the canvass upon which the Hawkesbury Harvest picture emerged. These themes and others found in the public domain are 'already known facts' interpreted 'according to known viewpoints' (Weber 1949a, p. 112; emphasis in original as cited in Gafijczuk, 2011: 102), and laid out in detail in Appendix Two: *Contested Landscapes and Fertile Grounds*<sup>146</sup>. These 'discourses as action' and the 'rhetorical' (Gill, 2000: 175-176) historiographic positioning of them in what at times might seem to be 'shrill, high-pitched, [and] vociferous' (Bauman, 1995: 277 cited in Dodd, 1999: 169) terms are tapped by Harvest in its dialogic struggle. What I present here is a synopsis of that important scene-setting content, and what emerged in response to it as Harvest's social context evolved in the decade following its formation.

This chapter and its related Appendix are performance in this sense, meeting Tim Oakes' (1997) call that literary and other humanistic visions of a place be integrated into the methodological repertoire of geography. These themes constitute a controlling constellation of dynamic discourses which Harvest mobilizes as threshold dialogical tipping points. Harvest's discourses of action shift boundaries for those they want to engage, activating its social context for 'political agroecology' (after Gonzalez de Molina, 2013). This chapter shows the ideas, beliefs and values that inform Harvest and underpin its normative project. They became influential and

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145 In 2005 the Hawkesbury City community arts and cultural centre (The Deerubbin Centre) was opened with an inaugural exhibition titled *Agri/culture: Re-creating the Living Landscape* – Hawkesbury Harvest had an installation on display, the emphasis being on the real and living agri-culture to be found in the surrounding landscape – See Appendix One.

146 Appendix Two was created to shorten this chapter and make it more directly speak to Harvest's mobilization of the key themes. The content is important to readers who have no familiarity with *The Hawkesbury* and the issues in agriculture, food systems and cultural heritage that pertain to the Harvest context.

were ‘sustained by favourable constellations of “external’ developments’, the ‘conducive “interests” milieu’ (Kalberg in his introduction to *The Rise of Modern Capitalism*, Weber, 2009: 313, original emphases), mapping Harvest’s ‘context’ and ‘track’ and the ‘manifest continuity and direction’ (ibid, 317) it envisioned.

### ***A Harvest Rhetoric***

Appendix Two provides detailed background on the key themes of Urbanization, Food and Farming in the Sydney Basin; The Plight of Farming; Dystopias and Utopias, and Diasporas of Learning. These wellspring storylines inform the drama and logic of the Harvest Story, they translate explicitly or as sentiment into Harvest’s contingent repertoire. The Story taps<sup>147</sup> these dialogues, exploiting interpretations that give currency and advantageous positioning in the strategic questioning and struggle to retain agriculture in the Sydney Basin. They are aspects of the past our planning regimes *ought* to have addressed. They are not *why* the Harvest mission came to be but *what* its mission would be about. The *why* lies in Harvest actors’ sensibilities to these themes, and their *concern* about them. Deploying rhetoric seeks to raise concern and create dialogic tipping points in the public planning dialogue for Sydney<sup>148</sup>. It establishes normative positions and is a dialogic prologue, *Harvest’s* metaphorical, rhetorical ‘fertile ground’.

These ‘**oughts**’ reference the discourses detailed in Appendix Two: Contested Landscapes and Fertile Grounds. They are rhetorical positions on Harvest’s problem situation. Through them I explore the ‘failure’ to form a systemic view of the way the city should be structured and supported, one at least implied in Governor Macquarie’s vision with the establishment of the Macquarie Towns in 1810, but one that appears forgotten in Sydney’s 200 year development

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147 As John Maguire described it (paraphrased), ‘because people wanted it, and because where we live is very conducive, the world-class landscape is very important, we gave voice to a community sentiment’ (interview 1:34:00-1:35:25).

148 Harvest points to examples such as Metro Vancouver’s Sustainability Dialogues as the kind of normative dialogue they seek. See <http://www.metrovancouver.org/>

history. City planners’ focus evolved away from seeing agriculture as pivotal to feeding and sustaining the city, so the referencing of agriculture and farming in the documents of planning, the Metro Strategies, faded away. The absence of language in the dialogue or a place for food production in the plans set the scene for emerging land use conflicts and the urban land-in-waiting syndrome.

**Table 3: Harvest’s Substantive Rationality Expressed as ‘Oughts’.**

Harvest’s Rhetorical Fertile Ground Its Substantive Rationality	The Dominant Paradigm or Formal Rationality
Planning for the city, and for all cities ought to include agriculture for cultural, social, environmental and economic reasons. Market forces alone will not ensure this.	Planning priorities are driven by unfettered markets expressing how city structures meet the demands of consumers.
Urbanization in Sydney has been driven by self-interested developers and ought not to be so.	Private sector players are in the best position to deliver investment attuned to market forces.
Prime agricultural and rural land in Sydney ought not to be treated as greenfield landbank for future urban development.	Land is a market commodity like any other, zoning and other regulation impedes progress for conversion of land into higher economic use.
The productive capacity of Sydney’s farm lands and the cultural heritage they represent ought to be retained as a living and productive landscape for the benefit of current and future generations.	Markets express what is valued by society. Definitions of ‘productive’ must be formally rational.
Farmers and farming are under threat and ought to be supported given their role in the food system and what they have contributed to nation-building.	Farmers and farming is subject to creative destruction like all economic pursuits, and have been rewarded for their contribution through market survival to date.
Our food system has disconnected farmers and the land from consumers and the relationship lost is part of a dystopia that ought to be challenged.	The food system has evolved in response to market needs and is one of the most efficient in the world. Farmers do not need connection with consumers to service consumer demand.
The Hawkesbury has lost its way, both in terms of how the farming community is positioned in its relationship with Sydney, and in the way that the legacy of the Hawkesbury Agricultural College and UWS Hawkesbury has been diminished. The ‘communities’ here ought to reassert their influence and regain their position.	The Hawkesbury and its heritages are facing change through market-driven creative destruction. Only markets can determine what influences lead to efficient and effective relations between cities and their support regions.
The Hawkesbury is a cultural landscape with significant heritage character and ought to be protected.	Cultural landscapes are what result from effective market mechanisms in the pursuit of progress, unimpeded by values.

### ***The Problem with Planning***

It's widely accepted (Cook & Ruming, 2008:213) that neo-liberalism is expressed through urban sprawl in our modern cities, the environmental reality of which can be seen with Sydney's Hawkesbury-Nepean River system literally and metaphorically "*Losing Ground*" (Rosen, 1995) to sprawl, being eaten-up by it and the dominant paradigms of development that drive it. Arguably one of the better examples, its expression has a shameful lineage of exploitation and denial, despite evidence that dominant hegemonies are destructive (Rosen, 1995: x). Paradoxically this is one of Macquarie's legacies too, one that created the conditions through which Harvest could evolve. Equally paradoxical is that Harvest is a creature of neo-liberal development paradigms, the philosophical descendants of the forces Macquarie harnessed in the growing colony of New South Wales, that it exploited government funding programs to resist re-writings of the Sydney basin. The rural communities of the Hawkesbury were 'gauges of change' (Hughes 1971: 76 cited in Crow, 2008: 135; Allen et al, 2003) and Harvest its agent of change.

Governor Macquarie's legacy is twofold and paradoxical. His vision for an agrarian civilization and society, expressing the virtues and authority of the landed gentry<sup>149</sup>, taking the high ground both literally<sup>150</sup> and morally<sup>151</sup> is the legacy that is lauded<sup>150</sup> in the histories of the Hawkesbury, and by extension, the Nation. It is a legacy that is the cause for celebration, and the powerful heroic and visionary themes that are attached to it continue to resonate in the Hawkesbury today, and particularly evident in the lead up to and execution of the bicentennial celebrations of 2010.

There is another side to the Macquarie legacy which just as strongly set the scene for Harvest to evolve. The something that happened when it ought not, was the free reign of

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149 Coming as it did at precisely the time when the new social elites of the industrial age were beginning their ascendancy.

150 The five Macquarie towns of Richmond, Windsor, Pitt Town, Wilberforce and Castlereagh were selected because they are the higher, flood free lands of the Hawkesbury Nepean valley.

151 The prevailing view of his times was that civil society was a landed yeoman class who gave expression to service to the Crown through their stewardship and exploitation of the land.

individualistic exploitation that despite Macquarie's best efforts at containment, established a pattern and culture of misuse that formed the foundation conditions for the Harvest phenomenon some 200 years later. If Macquarie had the control over land use and the influence over those he 'gave' it to, the pattern of urbanization and prevailing conflicts over public good and private interest in land markets may not exist today. Macquarie was an architect constrained by the values of his time and given effect in the infant colony of New South Wales. He sanctioned a means-end 'well-known modus operandi [that] was "winked at"' (Fitzpatrick, 1900: 137) in allowing unrestrained acquisition relatively free of binding internal norms. He, by all accounts, did not have the preferred stock with which to work, and as survival was at stake, nor the luxury of time and full bellies to convince his fellow colonists of a better way. He knew the truth in the expression 'there are but seven meals between civilization and anarchy'<sup>152</sup>, thus he had little choice but to allow whatever forces could best be put to work in achieving his grand vision, the most critical part of which was feeding a colony.

Governor Macquarie gave land in order to establish his civic vision. Land became the 'quasi-money form of exchange' (Weber, 2009: 75) that defined the Colony's 'adventure capitalism' (ibid). Unfortunately, the majority of those he gave it to did not share his vision in this place, instead opting to exploit the vision and do whatever it took to use his grants for their own ends, that is, to get out of a god-forsaken and hostile land. Macquarie's plan did not align with the culture of those he needed to implement it, a classic characteristic of panaceaic solutions and something we continue to see played out in planning conflict in the Sydney basin today.

With the transition from governorship to government a culture of self-interest and exploitation without higher aims translated into the culture and approaches of the State. An acceptable ethos and modus operandi would later be described as 'individualism run mad'

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<sup>152</sup> Attributed to be a Spanish proverb.  
Ian Knowd

(Sulman, 1890), and it persists today. There was an absence of nothing happened, another of Macquarie's legacies.

In the twentieth century the civic-minded of Sydney such as JD Fitzgerald and JP Tate attempted to put in place public-good controls over freedom of exploitation to no avail (Ashton & Freestone, 2008). It took global-level attention via the Rio conference and contextualisation of sustainable development agendas at the local level (Agenda 21) to create a space and language for the making of the systemic arguments about food and farming. Yet these remained largely unheard or ignored by State government even through the consultation phases of the later Metropolitan Strategies (2004 onward). People like David within the State apparatus were thinking about the issues, but the myopia, and even contempt for those raising them (Gillespie & Mason, 2003), made fallow ground for the arguments.

The malaise was clear for all to see. In March 2005, the then Minister for Roads, Michael Costa, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of April 5<sup>th</sup>, 2005 told a meeting of planners that 'the development of planning strategies [was] a waste of time because subsequent governments simply ignored them' and that the 'obsession with urban villages' did not reflect what people wanted, which was quarter acre blocks and to be able to drive their cars (Davies, 2005). The planning community appreciated Michael Costa's candidness in revealing what was common knowledge, but it denied real concerns being expressed in the community. Costa's words epitomised the arrogance many complained about regarding government attitudes toward democratic planning processes. In such a culture, how could community be 'genuine partners' (Smith & Scott, 2006) in development planning?



An earlier article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of January 6<sup>th</sup> 2003, revealed members of the Greater Western Sydney Economic Development Board (GWSEDB)<sup>153</sup> espousing Macquarie-esque agendas specifically referencing agriculture, the food system and feeding Sydney as reasons why a more strategic approach to development was required in the Sydney basin (Davies, Nicholls & Kerr, 2003). They expressed the desire for a harmony between agriculture and urbanization purportedly articulated and planned-for in the *Cumberland Plan* of 1948-51, but did it using language positing farm lands as ‘non-urban land’ and referring to Sydney’s ‘green belts’ as “sacrosanct recreational and ecological zone[s]”.

At that very time the GWSEDB was one of the government agencies supporting Harvest in action to engender change, including as the *Herald* article reported, having sustainability ‘now a key objective’. But Harvest as a change agent is a poorly funded, extra-governmental actor created by struggling farmers with no jurisdictional standing in the arenas where planning for the City was being done. The apparent contradictions in this rhetoric raised questions in Harvest circles. Was government support for phenomena like Harvest useful in defraying criticism for inaction on agendas? Were they part of a kind of garbage-can process letting community groups with agendas peripheral or contrary to government policy find expression and expend their energies? Resistance and lack of action on the issues seemed to be evidence of this and if such groups succeeded, government could claim some credit, if they didn’t government could say they gave it a go<sup>154</sup> but the market or community interest wasn’t there to make it sustainable.

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153 A NSW Department of State and Regional Development body with specific charter for facilitating economic development in the Western Sydney basin and, as the article noted with a sense of irony, not a group usually associated with mouthing concerns about development in the Sydney basin.

154 David Mason himself has observed this, noting that he, paradoxically, was the government’s instrument in this process.

## ***The Problem of Food Systems***

The lack of foresight embedded in planning and development agencies, especially at state level, defined the wider planning picture for Harvest, especially institutional incapacities to address problems of their own making. Linkages between this planning myopia and global trends in food production systems highlighted the frustration and angst felt in community and reflected Tim Lang's rhetorical 'Is it beyond the wit of humans to have a sane food policy?' (Lang, 1999). A global convergence of interest, or as Giddens (1994) would say, *fear* around trying to embed food planning into city planning, to adopt a 'gastronomically informed' (Parham, 1996; Newton, 1996) and integrated system of thinking about food, cities and well-being, is evidenced by the range and number of groups and institutional players working on this issue at the time this thesis was being written.

At the consumption end of the globalised and structured food chain<sup>155</sup>, health agendas on food safety, security, equity and quality<sup>156</sup> along with the related issues of lifestyle disease, especially obesity and cardiac disease, came to have common interests with farmers suffering the effects of these market systems at the supply end. Both health and farming were under threat. The 'universalization' of risk (Beck, 1992: 36) in our food systems approached tipping points. Ubiquitous communications accelerated the trend of questioning and expression of the 'Harvest agenda' resonates loudly around the world. By the end of 2008 debates about food and farming systems, security and sovereignty were dominated by the 'failures' of existing planning systems for feeding global populations and our cities.

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155 Comprising what McMichael (2009) and Holt-Giménez & Altieri, (2013: 91) describe as the global food system's government ministries, global institutions, agri-food monopolies, land grant universities, think tanks, and big philanthropy that generate the technologies, the discourse, and enforce the regime's "rules" (e.g., free trade agreements, the *U.S. Farm Bill* and the *European Common Agricultural Policy* [CAP])

156 See PMSEIC (2010). *Australia and Food Security in a Changing World*. The Prime Minister's Science, Engineering and Innovation Council, Canberra, Australia.

It was in this context and time that an affiliated group, the Sydney Fair Food Alliance<sup>157</sup> called for a Food Summit to address the urgent need for policy on 'Food in the Public Interest'.

Exhibit 6: Sydney Food Fairness Alliance's call for a Food Summit November 6th, 2008

**Sydney Food Fairness Alliance**  
working towards food security and sustainable food systems

## 2009 | Food Summit (NSW)

*Food in the Public Interest*

**Food Security is a growing issue in NSW and Australia:**

- The cost of staple and healthy food is rising
- Healthy food is already inaccessible to 400 000 (6.2%) of NSW residents
- Obesity levels are high; diabetes is affecting Australians at younger ages
- We are losing productive agricultural land
- Climate change is impacting food production and Australia's capacity to feed itself
- Current food production systems significantly contribute to our carbon footprint

**What can we do to address this?**

The **2-day Food Summit** in October 2009 is THE opportunity for concerned individuals, community organisations, government and industry to demonstrate leadership and frame a state-wide food policy that will:

- Provide fair access to affordable and nutritious food,
- Promote sustainable food systems,
- Support successful strategies to meet challenges.

**Aim of the Summit**  
To endorse a Declaration which frames issues for consideration and inclusion in a state-wide food policy.

**Objectives of the Summit**

- To prepare the ground upon which government can develop a comprehensive NSW food policy for sustainable, equitable and accessible food into the future;
- To engage people working on food issues from diverse perspectives, and highlight key issues affecting the food system;
- To showcase effective, innovative responses to food-related problems from NSW and interstate/overseas.

**Current supporters (endorsement/financial) of the Food Summit include:**

Edmund Rice Centre	Community Gardens Network
Organic Traders & Consumers Network	Sydney Farming Network
Toxics Network	Transitions Sydney Inc
Slow Food	Food Fairness Illawarra
Organic Federation of Australia	Urban Research Centre, Univ. of Western Sydney
Western Sydney Regional Organisation of Councils (WSROC)	

<sup>157</sup> Formed at a meeting of 30 health workers, nutritionists, community garden advocates and permaculturists in Granville, in the city's western suburbs, on 22 September 2005. Potential roles for the Alliance were discussed including advocacy, education and lobbying for affordable food and to influence the Metropolitan Strategy

The call simply articulated what many others in the Sydney basin, the nation (Cribb, 2008) and the wider world (Sheeran, 2008) were also confronting, along with the frustration in community stemming from limited capacity to do anything about it.

By 2011 a *National Sustainable Food Summit* reached a consensus ‘that the current economic model has produced a food system that is out of balance and unsustainable – socially, economically and environmentally’, and ‘[m]any Australians are disconnected from food production – both geographically and emotionally’ (Brennan, 2011). The strategic question then, as put by Richard Hames, Distinguished Professor and Director, Asian Foresight Institute is:

*“Our intentionality shapes our systems. How would the food system be different if we approached it from the viewpoint of abundance and cooperation, rather than competition and scarcity?” (cited in Brennan, 2011: 10)*

In June 2011 the Australian Federal Government released its *Issues paper to inform development of a national food plan* (DAFF, 2011). The paper addressed many of the themes explored in Appendix Two and signified their elevation to a strategic level. However, in the context of Prof Hames’ questioning, it maintains that ‘[a] national food plan, when finalised, would seek to better explain and better integrate Australia’s approach to food policy, from production through to consumption, and be consistent with the government’s market-based policy approach and commitment to fiscal discipline.’ (DAFF, 2011: 2) Neo-liberal policy settings remain the guiding framework even though fundamentally linked to the system as it currently operates, having been cited by critics as the mechanism which created the ‘problems’<sup>158</sup> of the

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158 See especially the Australian Food Sovereignty Alliance 2012. *A People’s Food Plan for Australia Values, Principles and Best Practice: A discussion draft*. Extract from the draft: ‘The draft National Food Plan is an ideologically-driven document, selective in its evidence and data, that is designed to meet the needs of large corporate agri-business and the big supermarkets. What Australia needs is an approach that prioritises the needs of people and ecosystems, and which is solidly grounded in the best available evidence and practices.’ See also *Food Inc.* (2008, Robert Kenner, Director/Producer) for a comprehensive and critical documentary about America’s (and by association ‘our’) food system, the role of markets, market players, politics and the bureaucracies that markets harness to control it.

system. The food system is just one sub-system of our systems of living to be formed by and function through 'market-based' mechanisms.

### ***The Problem of Connection***

Humans living off the land create fundamental patterns generated through symbolic and legal relationships that map themselves onto the landscape. We form cultures of the land and conceptualise them as cultural landscapes. Cultural landscapes are isomorphs of these fundamental relations. Aboriginal people in Australia live(d) with this ancient continent in ways that were harmonious (after tens of thousands of years of interaction and effect on both the ecosystem and humans), and manifestly different to ways that humans developed in the northern hemisphere<sup>159</sup>. Harmony results when our systems of living are consistent with these patterns of relations with the land. Disharmony exists when we translate ways of living with the land into 'foreign' contexts, and/or develop ways of living that disconnect us or generate a forgetting about these relations<sup>160</sup>. The reactive responses to contemporary, commercialised food systems and the rise in seeking meaning through movements like Slow Food<sup>®161</sup> is a critique of 'the disconnect' between ourselves, our food sources and food cultures. Relations with our food attain meaning inside a system of human action and belief about the world which has existed for eons, and it mimetically persists. But the food system has changed, its action and purpose structured to disconnect us as it industrialised, severing our relations with the earth through our food systems.

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159 see Rhys Jones (1969) 'Fire-stick Farming', in *Australian Natural History*, Deborah Bird Rose, (1996) *Nourishing terrains: Australian Aboriginal views of landscape and wilderness*. and Tim Flannery's (2002) *The Future Eaters: An Ecological History of the Australasian Lands and People*, New Holland Publishers, Victoria for an illuminating exploration of these ideas

160 Recall David's revelation following his Sri Lankan experience.

161 Carlo Petrini initiated a reactionary movement in Northern Italy in 1987 to counter the 'insane folly' of global food systems and fast food. Slow Food is now an international phenomenon, with Slow Food Australia being formed in 2008 and Hawkesbury Harvest establishing its own convivium in 2006. John Irving in the 2008 *Slow Food Almanac* describes a "three act" evolution of the movement, with the original focus on food and wine culture of eno-gastronomic, then broadened eco-gastronomy that embraced agriculture as part of the ecology of food, and latterly to the neo-gastronomy, a neo-sensibility that sees 'eating as an agricultural act' (after Wendell Berry). Harvest is a slow food phenomenon, but one that originated from the supply end of the food chain rather than the consumption end.

Our relations with the land are disrupted<sup>162</sup>. Romantic ideas about the rural idyll (Lane, 2009) are cultural resonances of a system of living in harmony with the land, their positioning as an antidote for the post-modern condition both a remembering and activation of human meaning-making that seeks to redress an imbalance. Harvest would not exist if this dissonance about these relations had not evolved out of the way we interact with the land that feeds us. The dissociation is affecting our sensibilities about ‘mother’ earth. Has ‘risk’ in these relations with our food, as Giddens (1990) would point out, already entered the equation? How do we know we can trust the earth and soil if we no longer have connection with those of us who are custodians of it?

### ***The Problem of Disharmony***

Let me return to my opening statement – ‘on the absence of nothing happened’. It fundamentally encapsulates the self-referential dissonance of the fall from harmony in our systems with the land. In systems that ‘work’, isomorphic relationships engender harmony between humans and our environment. They ‘work’ because nothing adverse, disruptive or dissonant happens to disturb our sense of balance in the world. When our ways of being in the world are isomorphic with the way the world is, we experience harmony. Harvest is a pattern and system manifestation of an absence of this harmony created only because the context emerged out of the way we now relate to land, and in this localised example, with land in the Sydney basin.

The same set of forces and dissonances are at work all around the country and in other regions of NSW (Curry, Koczberski & Selwood, 2001; Gibson, Dufty & Drozdowski, 2005). The tourism phenomenon that has evolved with this disharmony is a response to the ‘absences’, the

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162 see Mary E. Clark’s (1992) *Ariadne’s Thread: The Search for New Modes of Thinking*, St martin’s Press, NY as a manifestation and codification of this contemporary disharmony with the way we live off the earth

forgetting, the denials<sup>163</sup>, the disconnections, the disquiet and the cultural dissonances generated by the way land, food, farming and culture have evolved in the Sydney basin since colonisation, and is also a reflection of the same responses around the world. It is a particularly agri-cultural<sup>164</sup> disharmony that was always going to eventuate with the translation and translocation of European ways of being with the land, and especially with the absence of a long heritage with the land that is Aboriginal Australia. Added to that is the industrialisation of agricultural practices which, within its own system of production, has created disconnections and disrupted relations between land and the people it feeds. In the European context, this alone<sup>165</sup> has created phenomena like Harvest, but in the Australian context, there is the added dimension of an alien and hostile land and no heritage of relations with it through which agriculture in Australia could be a harmonising human interaction with the land.

These disharmonies, disconnections and disruptions are the portentous outcomes of our social and economic systems and their relationship with the environment, outcomes driven by the defining and dominant paradigms of the Enlightenment with its utilitarian and scientific notions (Rosen, 1995: vii). In the Sydney basin the colonising culture firstly directed these toward subjugation of the peoples and land of Aboriginal Australia to build an agrarian society in New South Wales. More recently, attention turned to its own progeny, the peoples and land of post-colonial rural Sydney. Hawkesbury Harvest emerged as a reactive, meaning-making

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163 Despite the early chroniclers of the colony at Sydney expressing some admiration for how the Aboriginal people had created the 'parklands' that so easily were put into service for pastoralism, there was no attempt to understand or take up Aboriginal management of the landscape. See the journals of Cpt. James Cook and the accounts of Judge Advocate David Collins (1798).

164 I am positing agri-culture as a distinctly northern hemisphere agrarian form of use of the land distinct from what might be called Aboriginal agriculture which has been described by others as firestick farming.

165 I am positing that 'our' farming systems are of European origin, the implication being that they are/were a harmonious system of agriculture in northern hemisphere ecosystems. Industrialisation of agriculture alone has created the dissonances that inspire Harvest-like reaction in the European context, but in Australia we also have this form of agriculture enforced over a very different ecosystem and landscape, which adds another layer of mis-match to the issues around food and farming. In many respects, the broad-acre farming possible in Australia is difficult to compare with that in Europe, despite having the same foundations.

response to hitherto passive elements (in the sense Hofstadter (1999) describes<sup>166</sup>) which have been activated as disharmony evolved on the palimpsest of Sydney's cultural landscape. Harvest expresses meanings that had found more harmonious (if not in reality, then certainly in the imagination) expression in bygone eras<sup>167</sup>, but does this within and through the system as it is now by activating mimesis experienced in cultural resonances about rurality, about food, farms and farmers, even of rural utopias, and the added heroic dimensions that have become attached to those conceptualisations of 'Australian' agri-culture.

### ***The Problem of Knowing***

So the Hawkesbury became fertile ground for some form of action, and given its location as the historic home of agricultural education and training, we might expect it to lead the way as it had done throughout its 100+ year history. It was however, paradoxically impotent. Post-2000 UWS<sup>168</sup> had seen a resurgence of mainstream industrial agriculture sciences and a strengthened focus on productivist paradigms over the systemic approaches to development for which Hawkesbury had been renowned. The reductionist, compartmentalised, externally driven, expert-oriented modes of thinking and praxis focussed their attention on applying existing paradigms better, or improving the efficiency of what was already being done. These modes of thinking made possible the argument that agriculture was no longer viable in the Hawkesbury despite the fact that the area had a long history of production and that changes in global markets, global climate and global presence in the world created a renewed opportunity for 'production' in the Sydney basin. The knowledge institution was as locked-in to the industrial agriculture complex as were The Hawkesbury's farmers. It could not feed a seed for change capable of germination in the kind of ground the Hawkesbury had evolved to be and the kind of

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166 The elements exists within the context of a host community and are passive until the patterning they create as a response to change over time and in space is experienced as a dissonance or disharmony.

167 Albeit an imposed, colonising system, the heroic notions attached to farming and the rose-coloured way of seeing agriculture in the early 1900s, and the idea that it was possible to foist a system of agriculture on the Australian landscape using European conceptions of farming, and thus 'improve' it.

168 The period around the year 2000 signified a reactionary re-engineering of the systems agriculture paradigms made internationally relevant by UWS – Hawkesbury.



agri-culture the community wanted to see with wider and deeper 'production' values vested in social and environmental as well as the existing values in economics. As it turned out, expertise from the institution would be mobilized in Harvest, but it originated in the environment/ social/ ecological schools, which had been integral to the Bawden era of systems agriculture and was being decommissioned at the time Harvest developed its alternative vision for agri-culture in The Hawkesbury. Like me, knowledge professionals came into Harvest attracted by its capacity as a vehicle for emancipatory action learning and community development.

The ground was literally and metaphorically ripe for a new kind of harvest. The range of forces in action converged at a time when community sentiment had formed around the issues of development in Sydney. Urbanisation, its meaning and its effects, farming, health, tourism, and the emerging evidence of the failures in planning and ways of production, especially in the face of looming food and climate crises, and the failure of institutions to provide leadership and support for Harvest's constituencies were all part of the problematic.

Writing for the Hawkesbury Gazette's centenary edition in 1988, the editor Stan Stevens reflected on the conflicted grounds of 'The Hawkesbury' over which many a battle had been fought. He reflected on the rural amenity and heritages of the place, of the continuing threat from mining, and the decline of agriculture. He portentously added "In its place, we can expect to see tourism become the idol at whose feet all sorts of sacrifices will be laid", (Stevens, 1988 posthumously reprinted in 2008) referring to the mainstream thrust of the times for resort and attractions developments as the base for tourism<sup>169</sup>. Stan died (2002) at a time when Harvest was re-orienting the tourism landscape and building attraction upon 'The Hawkesbury's' base industry and core attraction, its farming culture and landscapes. He did not live to see that there

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169 In September 1999 Glenys Gilling was elected to Hawkesbury City Council on a 'mushroom, agric/tourism ticket'. She 'always believed that tourism would be the savior of the rural amenity in the Hawkesbury. Tourism needed to get into the countryside, which was the attraction for city folk, not the towns. Hawkesbury had a huge potential as a tourist destination but lacked "things to do", not much product at all, but what it had [sic] is agriculture in the Sydney basin and fantastic scenery.'" Source: Email correspondence from Glenys Gilling to David Mason re the origins of farm gate, 28 Jun 2001

is another version of this relationship between farming and tourism that might be possible. Through Harvest, tourism became the one mechanism for imagining a new vision of viable farm business and reinforced local culture in food production. Tourism 'opened up' the cultural landscape and made it available through agri-tourism experiences. It made it valuable as an asset beyond real estate or even farming, it turned people's thinking around and showed that the Macquarie legacy and food production culture of 'The Hawkesbury' was not the sacrificial lamb many thought it would be.

### ***Conflict – The Absence of Nothing Happened***

In this section I draw together the various threads and range of patterns I contend explain why this case context became fertile ground upon which Hawkesbury Harvest could germinate and grow. Through this I hope to paint a picture of the 'backcloth', to stand back from it so as to appreciate how the discursive themes fed conflict over cultural landscapes in Western Sydney, and created the conditions for Harvest to emerge as a pattern in that landscape and an answer to questions of 'values' etched into the landscape.

When we consider Sydney's outer peri-urban areas, the crash zones for Sydney's 'rolling wave' (Rutherford, Logan & Missen, 1967) of 'promiscuous urbanization' (County of Cumberland, 1948: 129) where it seems the only plan is for 'promiscuous suburbanization' (Bunker & Holloway, 2001: 13), we have to ask ourselves what the dominant development paradigm says about our values as reflected in the criticism of urban expansion and sprawl. For Harvest its all about values, the cultural value of what is being constructed, who is constructing it and their place in the communities they construct, and the legacy that these constructed places leave for future generations of residents.

Exhibit 7: Selected newspaper items from Hawkesbury and Sydney daily press. Sources: Various. Full item in Appendix One: A Harvest Chronology

### Farms harvested in the big city land grab

Sydney's insatiable hunger for residential land is threatening the city's farmers, Jo Studdert reports

DEVELOPMENT plans for the ADI site in Sydney's west have been causing a stir. But it is just one of the many...

David Mason, who works for the NSW Department of Agriculture...

### Houses or food: suburbs split over city's blessed plots

Madie Jamal Urban Affairs Writer

Rosa Aloisio has been growing vegetables since she was 12, when her family ran a market garden on Sydney's outskirts. Now, at 50, she and her husband can no longer afford to run a 10-hectare Koppa Creek property they have worked for more than a decade. "My head thinks about selling up every day," Mrs. Aloisio said. "The land is aimed for agriculture, which means it is hard to subdivide for residential development."

Rosa Aloisio is among a group of 50 in the Penrith area who are pushing for a council resolution that would rule out subdivision of their land over the 10 to 15 years.

They are especially concerned with rural lands that are under pressure to subdivide for development. This remains a conflict between agricultural producers who want to maintain the rural landscape and the council's desire to increase residential growth and increase agricultural productivity.

Penrith Council has agreed to all the above conditions of sale in a package of 10 lots, which will be sold in 10 lots. The council has agreed to all the above conditions of sale in a package of 10 lots, which will be sold in 10 lots.



**Hawkesbury Independent**  
February 1998 Vol 1 No 2

**Farmers in crisis**  
Special report pg 10

**Conflict in the Hawkesbury**

### Pitt Town orchard's proud past squeezed out of market

## Fruit trees dozed

A PROUD era ended in Pitt Town last week when bulldozers moved in to push down citrus and stone fruit trees at Fernadell orchard - once one of the most productive in the Sydney Basin.

Orchard manager Phil Macdonald, Hawkesbury Mayor Rex Stubbs, Pitt Town Residents' Group chair Phil Dumesky, and bulldozer operator, former city councillor and born-and-bred Pitt Towner Ted Books agreed it was a sad day.



### Fringe farms fruitless

#### Land more valuable as real estate

By STAVRO SOFIOS

FOR more than a century, its 20ha have produced more than a million oranges, peaches and nectarines a year.

But the sale of Pitt Town's Fernadell orchard, near Wischoor, are now return - 20 times the income from farming - is too great to knock back. Farmers on Sydney's fringes are seeing huge amounts of money for their land as a time when farms are becoming increasingly unprofitable.

"It's sad, but there's no doubt we this land and subdividing it than farming it," Fernadell manager Phil Macdonald said yesterday.

The farm, which runs at a loss, has an annual turnover of about \$300,000.



### From fields to suburbia

THEN AND NOW  
Burdham Hills: From 1906 agriculture was the dominant



### Cry for help from Sydney's undervalued farms

William Verity imagined, according to a report by NSW Agriculture to be shortage of land, means that "This is an important...



### Escaping from Farmageddon

By IAN KNOWD

IVAN GLOVER faced a choice five years ago: change the way he did business or sell his orchard. The average cost of a kilogram of produce at his orchard of 1000 nectarines was between 70c and 80c, while he was selling them for 10c. He decided to sell his orchard to a developer to protect his orchard on the edge of the city. The 40 businesses in the first year of his business and the first year of his business and the first year of his business.

"People want to know where they're going to go for their fruit," he said. "I'm not a farmer, I'm a business man."

He is part of a trend called 'farmageddon', where the best farming land is being sold to developers to protect agriculture on the edge of the city. The 40 businesses in the first year of his business and the first year of his business.

"We are searching," he says. "We are searching, but we are not finding anything."

**MARIE'S VIEW**  
Brought to you by Raine & Horne

MONEY COUNTS  
PEOPLE DON'T  
I WANT ALL I CAN GET

HAWKESBURY  
THE LAST FRONTIER OF THE DEVELOPERS DREAM  
WINNERS  
WOODMETHYS  
RELIABLE GO

THEY'VE ENDED BACK RELEVANCE AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS STORM INTEREST CENTRES IN DEVELOPERS IN THE HAWKESBURY AREA

Values inform our sentiments. Sentiment, within the farming community and in general, about the land use conflicts emerging out of urbanisation and development surfaced in the regional press decrying the assault on agriculture. The headlines say it all. We see the pleas and calls of the preceding dominant culture, agriculture, resisting the imposition of the latest, urban development, which is succeeding in re-writing the landscape of the Sydney basin. The arguments are about the economic contribution of farming, the importance of fresh food, the role of farmers in creating amenity in the landscape, the recreational opportunity that the countryside provides, the heritage, the character, the *genius loci*, and the place that agriculture plays in the culture of Sydney.

Rural and peri-urban communities are not alone in feeling loss and concern for their farming landscapes. As Simmonds notes, '[a]s agriculture becomes increasingly industrialised, a lover of the countryside in the future will be more likely to find it in the old city and on its fringes than in the land beyond' (1993: 101). There is a strong sense that farmers and farming is not being valued as it should be, that their contribution to creating landscape is not part of the socio-enviro-economic dialogue (Murray, M., 2008: 271-272) of Sydney.

### ***The Community Compass***

The Community Compass (Knowd, 2001b) is adapted from social and health sciences (Green & Anderson, 1982) and is a tool<sup>170</sup> that prompts us to look at sixteen basic aspects of a community. Each aspect describes how a community functions, what makes it work, and why it appears as it is. These aspects combined produce patterns of observable behaviour, in this case, the patterns of conflict and the dissonances described above. Stability is observed in the patterns of societal relationships when issues or problems are absent, but when they are, we can observe unrest, conflict and disharmony. Long term stability of course, is never the case,

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<sup>170</sup> This tool is applied because it is suitable in focusing the various elements I have described that construct Harvest's backcloth. It doesn't have to be the best tool, just one that will allow me to draw out the social dimensions that made pattern formation in the form of Harvest possible.

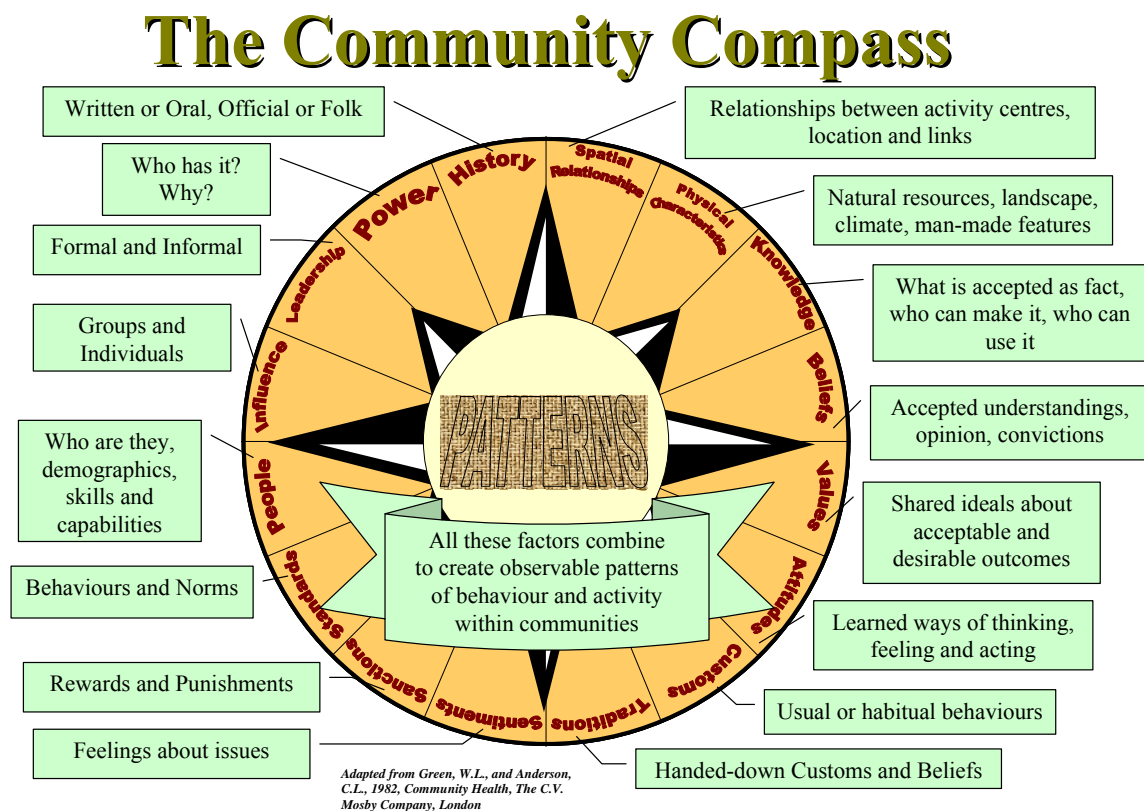


communities are dynamic and evolve over time and in space, whether it be physical or virtual.

Stability and harmony are what happens when our planning and systems work, when there's no absence of nothing happened.

The observable pattern of interest is Hawkesbury Harvest as a response to conflict over landscape. It is particular and peculiar to the people and place within which it is observed, but it resonates and 'talks to' similar situations around the world.

Figure 1: The Community Compass



Addressing the elements of the Compass clockwise, we commence with *Spatial Relationships*. In this chapter and its associated appendix, I have described the pressures created by urbanisation in Sydney and the Hawkesbury's special relationship with the city since the earliest days of the Colony. Agriculture hangs on in a constrained basin, it has nowhere to

recede to, the only option seems to be retreat over the Great Dividing Range. Its proximity to the city is both a threat and opportunity for its producers. The Hawkesbury is culturally important, more than just a productive space, it's a re-creative place, the 'back yard' and 'playground' for Sydney-siders. It has been Sydney's destination zone for the exploiters of land in the basin since settlement, the rivers and creeks being the arteries for transmission of what some described as the malignancy of urban sprawl, and later the roads and railways facilitated its spread. The physical and cultural bosom that the Macquarie Towns were to Sydney, set up the inevitable conflict we see today as the palimpsest is re-written with new forms of 'development'. There has been and remains a physicality to the city/country divide in the Sydney context that is about a spatial relationship as much as any other kind. As Judge Collins noted (1798), if they had discovered the Hawkesbury before settlement at Sydney Cove had gone too far, locating the seat of government at Windsor would have been the best course of action in establishing the Colony.

This then leads us to consider the *Physical Characteristics* of the setting. Again quoting Judge Advocate Collins (1798): "*The Hawkesbury[s] ... fertile banks*" make plain "*how eligible a place would it have been for the principal settlement!*". The endowments of the region were clear to those who knew a thing or two. The river itself has been described as both the Nile and the Rhine of the Colony and at its heart are notions about these lands as nurturing and feeding, its physical fecundity positioning it as the most-worthy of birthplaces for a nation. But again, these too became both advantage and impediment to development in modern times as flood cycles and drought made conversion to other purposes impossible, leading as it has to a vast area of rural residential zonings awaiting urban subdivision, or if flood prone, left to produce turf or aggregates for the housing industry of Sydney. The physical characteristics of the soils, the climate and proximity to markets is again being seen as an opportunity, but for contemporary reasons of well-being and strategic importance that differ from those that Macquarie and others

understood at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and then 19<sup>th</sup> century in Sydney. They are about food as a socio-cultural vector, about sustainable cities, about food systems as vehicles for health and other social goods and services rather than mere survival and establishing a food system to feed convicts and free settlers.

These changed understandings lead us to consider the *Knowledge* aspects of our setting. We see the internalised contradictions of a hegemonic governance culture that believed in agrarian civilization as the pinnacle of human achievement having to compromise in order to achieve survival of the colony. We see an entrenchment of ways of knowing how cities work and what drives development through self-interest that was, at the start of the colony, named as a perversion, yet it prevailed and prevails. We see an 'inexorable trend' (Boland, 1970: 221), a switching of priorities in our agri-culture from an art and way of living akin to Macquarie's ideal of a yeomanry class to an industrialised, mechanistic business that's pinnacle of achievement is production output. We see the re-thinking of that in systemic terms with HAC's systems agriculture programs of the 80s and 90s and the subsequent decommissioning of that epistemology, capacity and pedagogy with the transition to a unified UWS and the ascendancy of neo-liberal policies in education, development and economics. We see the systematic distancing and disconnection of our ways of knowing about food and farming as the twentieth century brought science and modernism and post-modernism. We are seeing that critical questions about sustainability, food systems and feeding the planet are not coming from the usual monolithic scientific institutional settings, suffering as they do from what Bawden described as a kind institutional blindness to wholism, but from the grass roots of farming communities, the health workers and community activists who are dealing with the on-the-ground consequences of globalisation, its kit and caboodle. As with all forefront questioning, it is being done at the peripheries, in the outlier zones, at a distance from the mainstream, at the outer extremities of the radar in the global scheme of things and through hybrid mechanisms

that in the best sense of post-modern modalities, appropriate the oppressive hegemonic constructs as part of their critique. We see a modern sensibility to ways of knowing about our relationship with food and farming as being radical, when in fact it is resurrectional, and it even has the spiritual dimensions to it that using this word implies, with 'organic' nowadays having meaning that goes beyond the simple statement of facts.

And so we come to *Beliefs*. We see strongly held beliefs about the heritage of the Hawkesbury; historical, cultural, physical, social, artistic, recreational, environmental, nation-building myth and reality, heroic notions and a paradoxically prevailing belief that there is no future for agriculture in the Sydney basin. What farming there is, is not viable, what farm land you have is only worth keeping if it can be sold into the housing development market and its value liquidated as a retirement nest-egg. We see expressions of the belief that there is no future for farm families as their young people abandon the family farm leaving an aging farmer to work out his years and take the often sadly-made decision to liquidate the farm. We see beliefs expressed that allow for exploitation of the community's land assets by private interests despite the rhetoric of sustainable development principles and practices being embedded in our legal and planning frameworks, a set of beliefs driven by our actual values rather than the ideals our plans and laws attempt to codify. We see people express the belief that planners are the 'uber-nannies' of all they seek to control, and that this is an evil thing.

*Values* determine our actions more than our words. The values revealed in the 'nod and wink' given to those who got away with manipulating Macquarie's land grant systems, the perpetual complaints about corrupt, colluding and conspiring bureaucracies who will 'put things right' if the right noises or claims for compensation for injurious damages are put, all lend force to a claim that there is a dissonance between our values and how we actually behave and what our rhetoric proclaims or formal systems of control purport to produce. We see a disquiet emerge and come to a head about food systems, fairness, and the role of farmers that reflects



an affront to our values. We see a reaction from farmers to the values that our food systems, especially our retail systems, put on their role and what they produce. We see a questioning of our modern systems of consumption that reflects an assault on our value systems around life and the planet. These and possibly many other dimensions of the values expressed in the Harvest case have and are driving action on the ground. They are powerful forces from within the community that inspire action and change in the way we express the problem and what is done about it – the words, including those here, come with reflection and after the mobilisation of energies for action.

The situation analysis that this chapter attempts, reveals how *Attitudes* have formed around the issues and why some of the areas of conflict have emerged. Conflicting attitudes to the value of agriculture, the importance of heritage, the role of farmers and the effects of food systems on health are at the centre of conflict and dissonance, and key drivers for the various protagonists in the Harvest story. The attitude of city planners toward agriculture in the basin, the attitude of land owners to exploiting betterment gains in land values, the attitude of government agencies in implementing neo-liberal policy settings and creating the conditions for rationalist action are just some of the path-determining elements in this pattern of social action, and at the same time, the forces against which Harvest activists worked, expressed their ideas, learned new ways of understanding and flexed their intellectual capabilities. In a context of an absence of nothing happened, the prevailing attitudes become the object of forces for change and the energising oppositional force through which the antagonists prosecute their dialogical struggle.

The case talks to *Customs* that evolved in the way our food systems have changed as industrialisation and modernism produced the Sydney we see today. We see the customary change in the way farmers grew food, the narrowing of diversity in farm production, the specialisation of farms and the consequent vulnerability of monocultural production systems.

We see the customary change in relationship between grower and eater, the restructuring of the retail food chain, the loss of the corner store, the local grocer and the rise of dominance by food retailers of the system. We see the customary disconnection with our food and farming heritages. We see changes in how food is consumed and what this means for health, nutrition food access, equity and security, we have seen the change in customary behaviours around sourcing and consuming food, but no change in the issues that were identified at least two decades ago in relation to food security and quality. We see the Hawkesbury and the other outer Sydney rural zones being defended as customary playgrounds for generations of Sydney-siders and a recreational resource that needs to be maintained.

This activates a sense of *Traditions* in agrarian culture and the role of food producers in our societies which people fear is being lost, a fear that has coexisted with the customary changes that have taken place in agriculture since the earliest days of the colony. The Harvest phenomenon appropriates the so-called traditions espoused in Macquarie’s vision of a verdant farming zone for the colony, one that would establish the foundations of a civil society based on a traditional yeomanry class of agriculturalists and civic leaders – what NSW premier Nathan Rees described as ‘transforming the new colony from a penal settlement to a flourishing society’ (2009). This is juxtaposed with the culture of exploitation, of poor stewardship and governance that the colony suffered, especially in the earliest days of the Hawkesbury, but which was later to be held up as having the right foundations and appropriately pioneering character to carry the banner of ‘legacy’ – what Premier Rees described as the ‘quintessential Australian value of the “fair-go”<sup>171</sup>. Macquarie’s legacy, or what is commonly referred to in the Sydney context, is his success or otherwise in implanting an agrarian tradition of society in the colony, and therefore, as a foundation for the nation.

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171 In parliamentary memo M2009-08: Governor Lachlan Macquarie and Mrs Elizabeth Macquarie Bicentenary Celebrations in 2010 (15 April, 2009) Nathan Rees extols the virtues of Macquarie and the fitting commemoration of his ‘many legacies’ with bicentenary celebrations for 2010.

So we also see strong *Sentiments* in relation to Macquarie especially, and his legacy that are about asserting a connection with history, with historic moments in time and the foundations of a nation. It's also about feeding the growing city of Sydney and having done that for 200 years, and it's a sentiment that says that heritage of service and support demands respect, reverence and retention, especially as Sydney's urban sprawl rolls out across the basin in its insatiable hunger for housing and tarmac. We start to understand the sentiments expressed in the popular press about what it means to live in The Hawkesbury, to appreciate the rural character of place, its cultural significance, and public good attributes in being Sydney City's 'other'. The emergence of Harvest also expresses sentiments about self-worth, of the community's sense of self, its sense of place and the amenity the region offers its residents and visitors. It's a story about pride, about ability, about a heritage in problem-solving and adversity in a hostile landscape and about having mastered that in the Sydney basin, about having been one of the few constants in Sydney's development story, a constant that still delivers fresh food and amenity to the city despite the assaults it is facing. It is a sentiment that expresses the civilized ideal that Macquarie's agrarian vision entailed, and one that asserts that the Sydney we see today was only possible because it has been supported in this way. It follows that the sentiment also asserts that Sydney's future depends on this constant remaining, and that its destiny as either the most dysfunctional city in the world or one of the most liveable and sustainable, hinges on the City's planners embracing this understanding about agri-culture in the Sydney basin.

An agri-culture under assault, facing the *Sanctions* imposed by creative destruction of food and farming systems that had developed to service a growing globalised economy and urbanised population, strengthened the resolve of a few farmers and health workers in seeking alternative or re-oriented food systems. The sanctions came in the form of financial, generational, environmental, health and cultural penalties that affected the most vulnerable, the small-holding producers of food and the disadvantaged consumers of it. Sanctions also came in the

form of increased pressure and constraints imposed on farming, and especially those brought with urban development and the consequent use conflicts that occur when residential development occurs where farming already exists. Not only is traditional farming less viable, but it's also less acceptable to urbanites and their sensibilities about noise, odours and other interferences generated by farming activity.

On the other side of the sanctions coin are the rewards that looking for alternative ways of producing and alternative ways of consuming could deliver, of how a relationship with tourism might be forged and how these might address the farming and health issues being faced in the Hawkesbury. This seeking was also rewarded with funding support because of its philosophical base in the host community of action, it being a self-generated form of action and one that sought economic mechanisms through which to address its issues in farming and health. So the pattern that emerged was one that fit well with existing neo-liberal policies of community assistance and development, and became one that would be lauded as a good example of how neo-liberal development approaches work.

The case reveals how *Standards* of living and health became drivers of discontent with existing systems. There are also ongoing controversies about the standard of planning for the metropolitan area and standards of behaviour planning authorities exhibit, including the political complexities that our governance systems seem to encourage in the negotiation of development agendas. Harvest emerged as a vehicle for implementing standards, needed because those standards were not in place. It gave expression to standards of quality in production, to standards of engagement between growers and eaters, and to standards for food access, equity, security and quality that were perceived as lacking in the mainstream system. It harnessed tourism as a means of improving standards of living for farmers.

These things were important to the *People* who came together and stood on the fertile ground that had evolved around food and farming issues. The remaining compass elements of People, Influence, Leadership, Power and History are explored in much greater detail in the following chapters, but I will give the reader a brief outline of these things and a sense of how these elements contributed to a fertile space/place/context within which a Harvest-like phenomenon could emerge.

It is a story that is emblematic of the plight of farmers and farming, not just in Australia, but around the world. The people who drove the Harvest agenda were originally health and agriculture professionals, people dealing with the localised expression of global issues. They were suffering from the consequences of systems of development, including the food system and they were interested in survival and resisting forces that were rapidly reducing options for action at the local level. They were trying to influence the development agenda, to gain a hearing about the issues and to have these issues included in the planning dialogues for the Sydney basin but neither the planning instruments, nor the processes of the Metro Strategy were making this possible. At the local level there were initiatives related to food and nutrition being implemented but these did not address whole-of-system problems, concentrating on health and food consumption rather than the whole food chain. These initiatives did not have any connection to planning responses within the Metro strategy or indeed to any agenda within the Metro strategy that might seek to include food and farming as issues in the planning challenge for Sydney; they were ostensibly isolated food programs autonomously organized and run through the agency of local government and NSW Health.

These people were desperate to find and harness *Influence* that could help them address the health and dystopic systems they sought to 're-orient'. Harvest attracted a group of individuals who could activate their influence in both official and informal ways to further their agendas. It

is about how they activated networks, leveraged relationships and garnered resources to complete the various 'projects' that Harvest has implemented.

A *Leadership* group emerged from the formation process and responded to the leadership vacuum created by the circumstances for food and farming in the Sydney basin. The shifting *Power* relations between the second and third wave writers of the landscape of Sydney became the immediate challenge for the leadership group, bringing them into direct conflict with vested interests and presenting them with the challenge of influencing agendas, shifting positions and manipulating outcomes of their own and external parties' programs for change and development. They were up against the hegemonic power structures of the dominant paradigm driving development in the Sydney basin, driving the domination and control of the food system for Sydney, and the more local political interests in favouring continued population growth and housing development in the Hawkesbury area.

In this chapter I have tried to build an explication of the *History* that created the circumstances for Harvest to emerge. More of the chronological sequence of events that led to its formation is detailed in Chapter Four: A New Harvest and in Appendix Two. The key historical influences have been the Macquarie legacy, the legacy of planning failures in the Sydney basin, the history of connections between education, agriculture, tourism and the Hawkesbury that gave rise to a set of sensibilities and senses-of-place that sought expression and problem-solving in the context of a landscape and culture being re-written by globalisation and urbanisation.

Together, all of the elements outlined above and much of what will follow in subsequent chapters explains the *Pattern of Observable Behaviour* that came to find expression through Hawkesbury Harvest in the year 2000. The elements I have addressed are but some of the myriad of elements that could be explored as part of the Harvest case, but those outlined above are most relevant to the origins of the problem and a particular solution that emerged in the

form of Hawkesbury Harvest, and especially the Farm Gate Trail. The situation had evolved to a point which placed strain on the farming community in the form of financial distress and a generational crisis that antagonists of agriculture cited as evidence that farming in the basin was no longer desirable or viable. The situation created strains in the food system that were manifested in food supply, security, safety, quality and access issues, especially for the less fortunate of western Sydney residents, in the strain on health systems and the impacts on lives that poor food systems were delivering, and the questions this raised about the sustainability of Sydney's food and food production systems. In the postmodern era health and farming constituencies were questioning things and it was a question of survival for both the supply and consumption ends of the system. Harvest became the '*Encounter*' (after Escher's lithograph in Appendix Two) between these constituencies and the vehicle through which their issues might be addressed in the absence of any other institutional setting through which to do this.

Macquarie and the Governors before him understood, turned a blind eye, were commonly known to be 'winking at' (Fitzpatrick, 1900: 137) the visceral fact that they had to apply 'uncivilized' methods in a survival situation to achieve a civilized end, and despite the lofty aims for an agrarian civilization at the time, set a precedent for an approach and attitude we continue today. Hence the internal contradictions raised by John Maguire's situation, again another survival situation where he exploits Macquarie's original *modus operandi* in order to achieve a civilized end and retain an agri-culture and place for himself in the Hawkesbury. Both are instances of the maxim *there are but seven meals between civilization and anarchy* – better a sanctioned anarchy than otherwise. This is not a new critique. As Fitzpatrick notes in 1900, 'we who live in a criticising age' (p. 33) might consider it an unwise choice of means to an end, and in this thesis I suggest that the means is perpetuated in the patterns of attitude and systems of formal and informal governance that continue to draw critique today.

So in my/our/Harvest's critique I have shown that we are still planning for houses rather than for habitat, that we are focussed on planning for space rather than place. I have highlighted that the prime land that feeds Sydney is not seen as a strategic resource in economic, social or environmental terms, that farming land is not recognized and valued for its environmental services other than the site of remnant habitats, that its flood mitigation, waste sequestration, air, soil, water quality, micro-climate, buffering, aesthetic and recreational assets remain undervalued and at worst, denied. These travesties have produced the land banking phenomenon and the proliferation of rural lifestyle or residential zones across the Sydney basin, and they underpin the forces of destruction for agri-culture in the basin.

In counterpoint we see a cultural land-scape that holds out The Hawkesbury as the ultimate ecological and societal ideal of a fertile and civilized society, paradoxically one created by means that belie its valorised expression in both the histories of the place and its contemporary situation. The panacea that NSW's early governors opted for was an anarchic neo-liberal one<sup>172</sup>, one they were forced to adopt in the face of survival threats in a hostile physical and social environment, the social threats coming as much from within their own colonial society as much as from the Aboriginal one they displaced, and one that evidently has continued to express itself through its many interpretations to the present day. The picking of the public's pockets was, as it is sometimes seen to be today, fair game - this adds new meaning to what has been popularly described as the Macquarie Legacy of civil society and the 'fair go'. The preface from Fitzpatrick's *The Good Old Days* (1900: vii) shown below captures it well.

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172 There's a real irony in the title of J. C. L. Fitzpatrick's history of the Hawkesbury District. *The Good Old Days* describes the anarchic, violent, drunken, free-for-all that was how the bosom of civilization that fed the colony came about. This included the selling of wives in the public square at Windsor, the 38 or more taverns that fed the drunken excesses of the 'settlers'. It is couched in terms of it being under the watchful eyes and discipline of the Governors, but the character of frontier anarchy is clear to see.



Exhibit 8: Extracts from the Preface of *The Good Old Days*, J. C. L. Fitzpatrick, 1900

THE Hawkesbury, “where the old red hills are bird-enchanted, and the low, green meadows bright with sward,” is rich in antique associations—it was one of the earliest centres of Australian settlement, and during the century which has passed since Phillip first (in 1789) set eyes on its cragged hills and wooded slopes, the district has become renowned because of the beauty of its surroundings and the prolific character of its soil. It has been the breeding-ground of a race of stalwart yeomanry—men of the type described by Ralph Waldo Emerson as ideal agriculturists—“Men of endurance, deep-chested, long-winded, tough, slow, sure and timely”—men whose descendants, migrating over the face of this young continent of ours, have become pioneers and hardy toilers in every department of colonial industry. Brave old days those—but what do the people of the present know about them?

“The time may come when some Botany Bay Tacitus shall recall the crimes of an Emperor lineally descended from a London pickpocket, or paint the valour with which he has led his New Hollanders into the heart of China. At that period, when the Grand Lama is sending to supplicate alliance; when the Spice Islands are purchasing peace with nutmegs, when enormous tributes of green tea and nankeen are wafted into Port Jackson and landed on the quays at Sydney, who will ever remember that the sawing of a few planks and the knocking together of a few nails were once a serious trial of the energies and resources of the nation? When the history of the colony has been attentively perused in the parish of St. Giles, the ancient avocation of picking pockets will certainly not become more discreditable from the knowledge that it may eventually lead to the possession of a farm of a thousand acres on the river Hawkesbury.”—Sydney Smith, in *Edinburgh Review*, 1803.

Fitzpatrick goes on to say:

*“We must therefore make a certain allowance for the extravagant liberality of the early Governors. Yet, at the same time we cannot overlook the fact that the present generation is to a large extent suffering from the mistakes of our early legislators in their too-liberal distribution of the public lands, lands that should never have been given to anyone, but should have been leased in perpetuity on liberal conditions to early pioneers.” (p. 33)*

This 'unquestionably ...wrong proceeding' (p. 34) has been the focus of civic minded thinkers since, but the travesty remains unresolvable (recall State and Federal government attempts to address the betterment issue in Appendix Two). So 'Saint Macquarie' (ibid) was both a visionary and a perpetrator of the first of a long line of civic tragedies that in later years many, including J. D. Fitzgerald (1916-1919) and J. P. Tate (1945), would find to be an entrenched relation of state power over land and the ways of managing lands in NSW. They, like Macquarie, did not exploit this malady for their own ends as did the opportunists around them in their drive for wealth, and they like Macquarie had to live with the dissonance of knowing this. In 2010, many more of the 'public' now join them in wanting to do something about this dissonance, about wanting to ensure we have systems that ensure nothing continues to happen that will repeat the patterns of mismanagement in future generations. We have, after all, moved on from the way the world was at the start of the colony, have better understanding and control over our own affairs than ever before in human history, and yet managed to experience another systemic crash (2008 GFC) as a result of allowing Darwinian forces to have their head in civil society. Perhaps it is time to take up the moral challenge that Macquarie tried to tackle, but this time make it so. Perhaps it is time to stop forgetting that history repeats itself and do something about it.



“[t]he selector (agriculturalist/farmer) came to symbolize not only the underdog battling the monopolist grazier, but a figure of pastoral simplicity, uncorrupted by city ways, independent of ‘the machine in the garden’.”  
(Waterhouse, 2005: 185)

Cathy Clapham  
*Urban Machine* 2010  
29.7 x 42 cm  
Digital Print

A well oiled machine gaining momentum, pushing further and further forward, taking every square inch of land.

Its unstoppable pace is bringing a storm of controversy in its wake.

No one is immune from its catastrophic consequences.







## Chapter Four: A New Harvest

This chapter explores how tourism is exploited as a New Harvest. It also describes *how* this new harvest constructs and conducts a dialogue and in some situations, a transformative dialectic founded in providential behaviours and expression of spirit. This is *why* Harvest touristic and pseudo-touristic mechanisms are important and the really interesting thing about the phenomenon – not the tourism but the role of it in a non-tourism development agenda. The mechanisms deployed and constituencies engaged are Harvest’s pedagogical project-in-practice. What follows describes Harvest tools and tactics.

**Table 4: Fertile Ground for Harvesting Tourism**

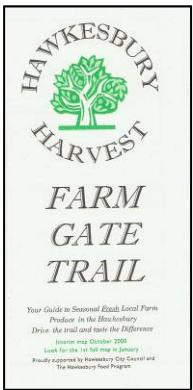
Context ...a constituency	Pressure ...facing a problem	State ...feeling the strain	Response ...a tourism initiative
Farming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urban Development</li> <li>• Market Structures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial Distress</li> <li>• Generational Crisis</li> </ul>	 <p>Farm Gate Trail Map Edition 1</p>
Community Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food System Inequities</li> <li>• Dietary Health Impacts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food Supply, Security, Safety, Quality, and Access</li> <li>• Sustainability</li> </ul>	
Tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Destination Identity</li> <li>• Destination/Transit Route</li> <li>• Building Community Support for Tourism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of Major Attractions/Icons</li> <li>• Planning Constraints</li> <li>• Community Attitudes to Rural Living</li> </ul>	

Table 4 summarizes the fertile ground from which the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail would emerge. The catalytic milieu that brought agriculture and health constituencies together to tackle problems in food, farming and community well-being would also serve the needs of regional tourism when Harvest created the Farm Gate Trail. Tourism constituencies were trying to address their own problems, but they were not directly involved in the processes and coalescence that formed Hawkesbury Harvest. The agriculture asset base that could form

tourism product was not mobilized for tourism experiences<sup>173</sup>. Apart from a few exceptions in the Bilpin area, the farms were not open to tourist traffic and farmers had not yet conceived that farm gate tourism might be a mechanism for viability. The formation of Hawkesbury Harvest and decision to create a Farm Gate Trail, opened opportunity for tourism interests and my own engagement in the Hawkesbury Harvest phenomenon. This newly conceived and constructed tourism asset addressed many of the long-standing issues faced by mainstream tourism interests in the Hawkesbury.

This chapter completes the ‘backcloth’ by bringing tourism as a development vehicle into the picture<sup>174</sup>. An account of Harvest’s pre-history and the first year of the ‘Hawkesbury Harvest Project’ (supplemented in Appendix Two), later referred to as the Farm Gate Trail<sup>175</sup> Project, to give a sense of the organisation’s meaningful action and challenges faced in its formative years. A pattern of challenge and action would repeat with Harvest’s two other ‘projects’, its ‘Paddock-to-Plate’ and ‘Food & Wine Coordinator’ projects. I explore the relationship between each of these and tourism, especially as a liminal, pseudo-touristic or tourism-related phenomena, linking touristic activity and the post-modern everyday. The chapter describes how they were constructed, how they worked, their relation to sustainability, and the significance they have in Harvest’s dialogic struggle to engage other development constituencies in the Sydney basin. I explore the farmer challenge of Farm Gate Tourism through the case of John Maguire and

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173 In the way that the trail would explicitly link farms away from the main arterial roads running through the region that link north, west and south regional NSW with Sydney. For example, roadside stalls have long existed along the Bells Line of Road that traverses the Blue Mountains from Sydney to Western NSW. The Bilpin area along this main road became known as the ‘Home of the Mountain Apple’ and private motor vehicle ownership in the post-War boom period made a tourism trade possible and attractive to orchardists.

174 It is only in this context that an explicit nexus through Harvest was made between agriculture and tourism in the Hawkesbury in the year 2000. This use of tourism as a mechanism for communicative action is now (2012) much more foreground, with a myriad of similar initiatives burgeoning around the globe, and particularly in the heartland of free markets, the US – see <http://www.foodsovereignty.org/u-s-tours/>

175 The Farm Gate Trail is an agri-tourism product and should not be confused with harvest trails that itinerant workers follow in search of employment – see Harvesting Australia and its Harvest Trail which links job seekers with harvest jobs Australia wide. <http://jobsearch.gov.au/harvesttrail/default.aspx>.

Enniskillen Orchard, and farmers markets through the Harvest relationship with Lend Lease/GPT at The New Rouse Hill.

The chapter presents evidence that these new (or resurrected) forms of agri-culture market were a new harvest for farmers and The Hawkesbury. More than twenty years after Harvest actors first innovated to restructure and re-orient the local food system and rebuild connection, the newly evolved discipline of agroecology claimed; ‘The two most important parts of the food system— those who grow the food and those that eat it—must be reconnected in a social movement that honours the deep relationship between culture and the environment that created agriculture in the first place.’ (Gliessman, 2013b: 20).

### ***Tourism and Opportunity***

How did tourism come to be an opportunity to solve problems in food and farming, and resolve the paradoxical tensions in development trajectories of food systems and settlement in the Sydney basin? A tourism solution, as panaceaic as it may well be, recommends itself based on experiences of other rural communities around the world and as a sympathetic response to existing history of recreational and touristic use of the Hawkesbury region by Sydney-siders over the preceding two centuries.

In the time since Harvest evolved, the literature on rural tourism has grown significantly and researchers, especially those studying community responses in the developed nations, document similar drivers, similar pressures creating similar strains within rural communities, and in some cases similar responses via a tourism solution to their problems (Lane, 2009; Lane & Bramwell, 2009). Suffice to say, the literature establishes that tourism is an industry rural communities can put to service and government lauded it as such; a sketch outline is in Appendix Two with a detailed review of tourism in rural communities to be found in Knowd (2001a).

In Australia, tourism gained strategic importance and emerged as a significant export earner in the late 1980s when inbound tourism surpassed outbound. Federal, state and then local governments<sup>176</sup> turned their attention to this opportunity for export income and economic growth, encouraging communities to get on the tourism band-wagon<sup>177</sup>. Tourism had gained the status of a ‘no-brainer’ in options for rural communities and had already inspired studies into the tourism potentials of the region (Knowd et al, 1999). Given UWS’s place in tourism and hospitality education at the time, the instant Harvest’s non-tourism agenda looked to a tourism solution was a turning point in its evolution, attracting the ‘right kind’ of attention and resources for its quest. However, knowing about the non-tourism path is important to understanding Harvest’s quest, and ensuring that the focus on tourism doesn’t obscure the real reasons for Harvest’s being.

### ***A Harvest Pre-History and Early Initiatives***

The history<sup>178</sup> presented here maps out a summary sequence of events that led agriculture and health agendas to converge and result in Harvest’s formation. Figure 2 shows a simplified schematic of this convergence locating the two sets of agendas within their specific contexts.

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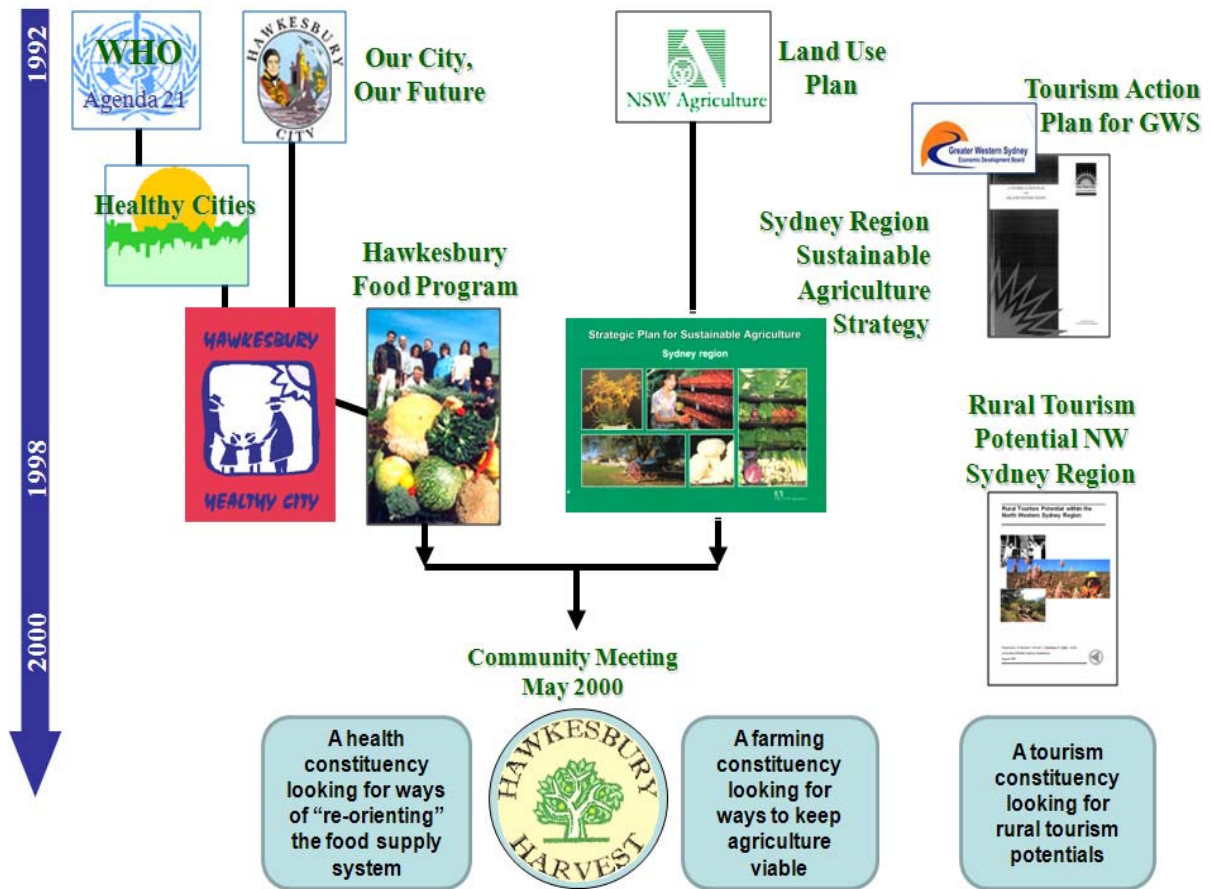
176 Local tourism plans were commissioned by many Local Government Areas, the NSW government prepared the *New South Wales Tourism Master Plan*, and the federal government *The National Tourism Strategy*.

177 At this time an ‘industry’ body was created in the Hawkesbury under Section 355 of the Local Government Act which became Tourism Hawkesbury Inc.. It had representation from Council (both councillors and administrative staff) and was partly funded by membership fees from tourism operators in the various tourism sectors within the Hawkesbury LGA who were represented by elected individuals. Tourism Hawkesbury was a very effective coordination and marketing body until it fell foul of a tendering process instituted by Hawkesbury City under National Competition Policy guidelines in 2006. Tourism services were then awarded to the Hawkesbury City Chamber of Commerce which soon collapsed, having no experience in tourism management and having mis-administered funding received from Council. Tourism services then were taken back into Council administration and reduced to operating the Clarendon Visitor Information Centre.

178 See Appendix One: A Harvest Chronology for more information/detail of cited events and exhibits related to the history.



Figure 2: Health and Farming Agendas Converge, Tourism Agendas Paralleled



Agenda 21 and the Healthy Cities program that grew out of sustainable development created a structural framework for addressing in concert issues of local food and food production. Farming and community health agendas converged after the Rio Conference of 1992 as the rural and urban communities in the region become 'gauges of change' (Hughes 1971: 76 cited in Crow, 2008: 135; Allen et al, 2003) tackling issues and proposing solutions for localised expressions of global problems.

David Mason was appointed to his role in natural resource management within the NSW Department of Agriculture in 1993 and subsequently played instrumental roles in the Hawkesbury Food Program and the Sustainable Agriculture Strategy process, these two 'streams'

as they would later be termed in Harvest documents<sup>179</sup> constituting his pathway to Harvest.

Paralleling this, I would come to play a role in the formative research and tourism planning work for the tourism industry, particularly the rural tourism strengths of the region.

Tourism constituencies were trying to find ways of providing experiences that more directly connected visitors with the core attraction of the region, its rural landscapes and agri-cultural base. This was a long-standing destination and development issue for the Hawkesbury. Tourism planning had been done, but little or no implementation of that work had resulted. Hawkesbury City Council had a *Tourism Plan* prepared in 1992<sup>180</sup> (TMI, 1992), the Greater Western Sydney Economic Development Board commissioned *A Tourism Action Plan for Greater Western Sydney* (1995) and the North West Sydney Regional Development Organization (NSW State government) also commissioned a study titled *Rural Tourism Potential within the North Western Sydney Region* (1999). I was part of the research team and co-author of the latter two projects, they constitute the pathway and important capacity-building as a knowledge worker prior to my involvement with Harvest.

David Mason was active in three groups that formed around health, food and farming issues in Western Sydney – The Penrith Food Project, The Sydney Fresh Food Bowl Network, and the Hawkesbury Food Program. Each of these programs leveraged their connections with UWS and its staff, drawing membership and tapping accessibility to knowledge workers, appropriating the spill-over benefits of their intra-regional engagement (Andersson & Karlsson, 2007).

These Western Sydney region Food Project/Program agendas developed at a time (1992-1998) when NSW Agriculture had conducted a Land Use Study and were active in developing<sup>181</sup> and implementing their *Strategic Plan for Sustainable Agriculture in the Sydney Basin* which had

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179 See Appendix Four: Hawkesbury Harvest Business Plan.

180 As did many of the western Sydney LGA's in the early 1990s

181 David Mason had commenced facilitating this planning process in July 1993. In June 1997 the NSW government released a consultation draft for comment and the final strategy was launched 1998.

the aims of ensuring food supply, quality and sustainability of production in Sydney's traditional 'food bowl'. David Mason was instrumental in the agendas and action plans that developed. There were parallel sympathetic agendas in local government too - in 1999 the Penrith City Strategy Review Committee in commissioning a *Rural Lands Study* stated 'It is important to defeat the idea that the countryside is simply a holding zone awaiting re-development'<sup>182</sup>.

In 1997 the Hawkesbury City Council formed the Hawkesbury Food Program and Stuart Hill, UWS Professor of Social Ecology and was appointed Chair. Stuart observed that the situation with its sympathetic and converging trajectories of food, farming, health and tourism, was ripe for some form of 'cross-community cooperation' (Knox, 2000a). The district was famous for its agricultural leadership, having been the place where Hawkesbury Agricultural College was founded in 1891, an institution transformed into UWS Hawkesbury a hundred years on having established an international reputation for systems agriculture education. In a mimetic reference to the College's proud and published history, the second volume of which celebrates the achievements and legacy of its alumni and is titled *Hawkesbury Harvest*<sup>183</sup>(Boland, 1970), Professor Hill predicted that "'the Hawkesbury would once again lead the way" in rural enterprises' (Knox, 2000a)<sup>184</sup>.

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182 Committee minutes 22/2/1999 – the study is indicative of the disconnect between agriculture and health. It did not reference agriculture as part of Penrith City's food systems despite the PFP being in existence and active since 1991. Instead agriculture played roles in: sustainable agriculture, biodiversity functions, cultural heritage, rural lifestyle and tourism. It has a supportive role to play in cultural, social and recreational well-being of the region's urban community. The mention of tourism was a consequence of the shift of the Open Farms Day to Penrith Tourism at the time the Rural Lands Study was being undertaken – what had been an explicit connection to health was broken, and apparently forgotten.

183 I have no definitive evidence that the naming of Hawkesbury Harvest was an intentional reference by Stuart or any other members of the committee to the title of the College's history, but would not be surprised if it was.

184 See 10th May, 2000 – *Think food, think sex: expert*.

At the end of March 2000<sup>185</sup> David Mason convened a meeting with Jane Holdsworth, General Manager, Greater Western Sydney Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry at his Windsor office of NSW Agriculture. Jane was a New Zealander and a ‘marketing whiz’.

*“The question on the mind of those twelve people was how do we keep agriculture in the Hawkesbury alive?” “The heart of what she said was that agriculture in the Hawkesbury could not reach its potential on its own. People in agriculture have to be adventurous (original emphasis) and develop relationships between themselves as well as with the people, groups and organizations that represent the other economic, social and environmental elements of the Hawkesbury. She said tourism provided a common thread to pull all this together and she suggested basing any action on the farm gate trail concept.”*

*“Jane’s message hit home. Those present intuitively knew what Jane said was right. People’s enthusiasm exploded and ideas began to fly around the room. It was as if she had thrown a match into a can of petrol. Someone suggested the name Hawkesbury Harvest and the adventure began.” Source: An Important Meeting – Please Come, David Mason, 4 Jul 2001*

*‘the group of ten or eleven like-minded people who sat around the table at NSW Agriculture in Windsor and decided to work together to develop the idea of agri-tourism based on the farm gate trail concept. This meeting represented the culmination of the activities of the Hawkesbury Cuisine sub-committee of the Hawkesbury Food Program and brought together people from different sectors in the Hawkesbury to develop and achieve a common purpose which was later articulated in the Hawkesbury Harvest Strategic Plan. The name Hawkesbury Harvest was suggested at that meeting and it has proven to be the correct choice.’ Source: Chairman’s Address and Report, David Mason 21st September 2001*

A few days later David Mason, Stuart Hill, Karen Webb, Bill McMahon, Eric Brocken, Malcolm Wybrow and Lynne Saville meet for ‘Information Sharing’ at the Dept. of Public Health and

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185 30th – John Maguire also attends having been invited by Lynne Saville, probably at David’s request – John Maguire and David Mason are neighbours in Grose Vale.

Community Nutrition, Westmead Hospital to consider methods to support Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). David and Stuart are charged with developing a ‘holistic process to engage people’, one that is easily identified as a ‘social entrepreneurial’ (Birch & Whittam, 2008: 444-445; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Zahra et al, 2009), emphasizing as it did ‘agency and process’, but with a clearly reformist, corrective agenda rather than the radical, destructive one typically associated with entrepreneurship.

**Exhibit 9: Professor Hill and David Mason’s ‘Holistic Process to Engage People’**

A later meeting of Hawkesbury Cuisine<sup>186</sup> at the Centre for Research into Health Futures produced the name ‘Hawkesbury Harvests’ as it more accurately described the aims of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) initiatives than ‘Cuisine’. The ‘s’ of Harvests was later dropped (Knox, 2000b) as ‘Harvest’ better described the movement and its outcomes. Exhibit 47 was found among the meeting papers, highlighting the

The image shows a handwritten diagram on lined paper. At the top left, the word 'Theory' is written. An arrow points from 'Theory' to 'Action' at the top right. Below 'Action', there are several sub-steps: 'access', 'decision', 'act', 'learning', and 'feedback'. There are also some circled terms like 'Social Enterprise' and 'Social Enterprise'.

Below the diagram is a printed invitation for a 'HAWKESBURY CUISINE' workshop. The text of the invitation is as follows:

**HAWKESBURY CUISINE** 28 APR 2000

You are invited to attend a workshop to plan strategies to promote regional agriculture and encourage the development of a local food supply.

The Hawkesbury community has a rich resource of people involved in agriculture, food production, organic growing, tourism, hotels, bed and breakfasts, arts and crafts. This workshop aims to bring people together to plan Farmgate Trails and Markets to showcase the best of the region.

Workshop convenors David Mason, NSW Agriculture and Stuart Hill, Professor Social Inquiry, invite you to bring your ideas to support community agriculture and Hawkesbury Harvest.

Venue: Ivan's packing shed, Penrith Valley Oranges, 800 Castlereagh Road, Castlereagh  
 Date: 11th May, 2000  
 Time: 9AM - 11AM.

Inquiries: Ivan Glover (02) 4776 2332, Lynne Saville (02) 4560 5725

186 (Sarah Morton, David Mason, Lynne Saville, Stuart Hill, Lynne Dalrymple, Andrew Mathews, Stacey Curtis, Nicole Brenchley and Eric Brocken)



important connections back into UWS, the link with this through both UWS staff and alumni (David), and its pedagogies of experiential and social-ecological learning. To this end the Committee of Hawkesbury Cuisine formulates an application for Regional Assistance Program (RAP) funding for the 'Hawkesbury Harvest Project'<sup>187</sup>. A public workshop<sup>188</sup> was convened by Hawkesbury Cuisine on the 11th of May 2000 in the packing shed at Penrith Valley Oranges<sup>189</sup>, a local orchardist's farm, to 'brainstorm' the farm gate trail concept, an idea inspired by CSA and the sharing of ideas about linking of tourism and farming in New Zealand and Canada<sup>190</sup>.



• The Hawkesbury Harvests group gathers around Ivan and Lynne Glover (centre front) at their Castlereagh property - they include UWS professor of social ecology Stuart Hill with local growers John Maguire, John and Geraldine Kerezsy, Josie Mizzi, Carole Maher-Gregory, Colleen Turnbull, Cedric Leathbridge, Buddy Tadrosse, Nick Tsambouris, Tony Radinovic, Vicki Sultana, Bill McMahon, Lynne Saville, David Mason, Kate Lucas, Sonia Porter, Malcolm Wybrow, Aileen Hayes, Stephen Doggett, Muriel Tiller, Sarah Morton, Rachael Avard and Jo Rufford.

Exhibit 10: Hawkesbury Harvest founding group, May 2000 – Source (Knox, 2000b, Rural Press Ltd)

187 See 24 March, 2000

188 See Appendix Seven: HH Formation – John Maguire (interview 0:28:50) also cites that the recently announced plan to develop the Rouse Hill Regional Centre mobilized greater interest in the issues and contributed to the large crowd that attended the meeting at Penrith valley oranges. He describes this as a tipping point, adding “God! Down the Windsor Road, we’re next.” – See 21 June, 2000

189 Ivan Glover from Penrith Valley Oranges took the idea of harvesting tourism to an interesting extreme – he literally co-opted the Penrith Valley tourism brand to build his own – see Appendix One, Aug-Dec, 1999.

190 Stuart Hill had worked with 2,000 producers since 1969 in Canada during which time many had converted to organic farming. Agriculture in Canada was under similar threats.

John Maguire reflecting on Harvest's formation that night, says:

*"It's time had arrived, there's very seldom in history when an certain idea, its time has arrived" (Maguire interview 1:01:38),*

and he goes on to say that this was a *"pivotal point, a tipping point"* that galvanised community into a social process. Through Harvest its farmer constituents were able to 'free themselves in order to be able to act entrepreneurially' (Berglund & Johansson, 2007: 501) and be 'community entrepreneurs' (Johannisson & Nilsson, 1989).

### ***Harvest Projects***

Harvest has done its work in a cyclical pattern of effort. Each initiative for the farming, health and tourism constituencies and the consumers they serve began by articulating a set of practical ideas about how to work, accessing funds and other resources through government funding programs and private sector partnerships, targeting partners who could help leverage their mission, and employing project officers<sup>191</sup> to implement plans. Harvest would experience peaks and troughs in effort, cycling from a frenetic scramble to achieve project aims with limited financial resources, to periods after projects had concluded when funding streams had been exhausted and it went into a 'sleeper' mode of action. In these periods the Board, all of whom are volunteers would continue 'working' on conceiving projects and securing the resources. These dynamics and the issues created for Harvest as an organisation are discussed in Chapter Six: The Hybrid Cultivar. The focus for the rest of this chapter is on interpreting Harvests

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<sup>191</sup> I make a distinction between Harvest actors, ordinary members and project officers who are paid employees. This distinction is based on what attracted the project officers, the offer of employment, in contrast to that which attracted Harvest actors, especially the four through whom this Harvest story is told, they all having been Harvest office-bearers. The only 'employee' who has made the transition to actor is Alan Eagle, who was contracted to provide operation management services in 2002 (see September), but when all Harvest paid staff positions were terminated at the end of the Paddock-to-Plate project in mid 2005, Alan became a member of Harvest, joined the Board and remains the organisation's Secretary. Ordinary members join Harvest to access its initiatives, usually for business purposes, or they may be individuals who are interested, but not in so far as to volunteer their time and energies to the leadership group.

projects as vehicles through which they execute meaningful action and exert influence over their problematic.

Hawkesbury Harvest's challenge was to build an alternative or 're-oriented' food system (Saville, 2002:1). As Urry (2006a: 10) points out, it is 'almost impossible for social groups to anticipate what in certain circumstances would be the means of effecting appropriate system change', Harvest needed to look outside the system needing change, and at the same time implement change complimentary to existing path dependencies in the food and farming system. Like others of its type<sup>192</sup> much later described as a 'post-Fordist hybrid food economy' (Donald, 2008: 1259), it exploits place space (the 'Food Bowl of Sydney') and space flows (the branching alter-channels of the food system), including a cyber-presence to give effect at multiple scales and dimensions, to re-capture the 'leakages'<sup>193</sup> created by the mainstream food system. Hybridized food supply channels are central to Harvest forms and rather than being discrete and alternative, have always been positioned as 'parallel'. Additionally, they rely on logistical, market and consumer behaviour aspects of the mainstream system in order for them to be viable, particularly the orientation as hybrid production/touristic spaces/places, as noted in similar contexts elsewhere (Andrée et al, 2007; Everett, 2012). Later I discuss how the farmer's market experience as a touristic phenomenon psycho-socially entwines re-oriented food channel with re-oriented food eater.

In the same way as its mechanisms 'tap' mainstream markets to create alter channels, Harvest has secured resources by proposing 'projects' that fit within neo-liberal development paradigms and 'tap' related funding programs. And this too 'taps' the orientation of neo-liberal governments where policy implementation 'is increasingly contracted out and delivered through the private and "third" sectors with the public service retaining responsibility for oversight,

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192 see Birch and Whittam, (2008) for the conceptual outline of Harvest-like organisations.

193 After Lindsay and Hems, (2004) – the leakage of social and economic capital and resources, revenues and profits out of Harvest's community-of-interest – see Appendix Two and the section on The Plight of Farming.



evaluation and accountability' (Shergold, 2009)<sup>194</sup>. But they couldn't do this via agriculture because assistance programs did not recognize the types of projects Harvest wanted to undertake as suitable or compatible with industry policy direction. Investing in development for agriculture outside the dominant paradigm and involving another industry (tourism), especially 'post-productivist' (Halfacree, 1997; Hadjimichalis, 2003) forms that established alternative, local, competing market systems more like those of the past was considered antithetical. An accepted wisdom prevailed that agriculture was a well-defined industry and experimental integration with tourism, hospitality and small-scale retail was not germane to state and federal departments of agriculture agendas. This institutional direction and inertia, and the policy 'lock-in' it maintains, remains today. It was not until 2009 that the Federal Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry began a Food and Agri-tourism Review<sup>195</sup>, recognizing that integration with the wider food system and tourism were worthy of policy consideration.

Harvest's localized, small-scale, hybrid experiment with agri-tourism and other alternative channels of exchange was conducted outside the mainstream institutions and strategic policy frameworks for agriculture because a policy setting for something like it did not exist. It was the tourism idea that attracted favourable attention from the local, state and federal governments. Government policy settings had created the conditions for tourism initiatives and innovation, and agri-tourism in regional areas was given high priority. Tourism became the mechanism through which agriculture and health agendas could be addressed, and the mainstream development and policy direction Harvest could tap to secure resources. Such was the rose tint of anything tourism-related, that Harvest pulled off something of a coup when it successfully secured resources for a Sydney basin project, specifically Regional Assistance funding which was not allocated to grants for projects in 'non-regional'<sup>196</sup> areas, that is, within the city/urban zones

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194 See also Birch and Whittam (2008) for the equivalent European experience.

195 See October, 2010

196 For Federal funding purposes, Australia's major cities and their greater metro footprints are not considered 'regional'. In the Sydney case, the Hawkesbury Nepean River is the boundary, to the west of

of Australia's state capitals. The tourism virtues of the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail project made this possible.

Initial funding support was gained from Hawkesbury City Council in 2000/2001 to produce the first *Farm Gate Trail* map. Further financial support from the Council and Regional Partnerships Program of the Cwth. Dept. of Transport and Regional Services (DOTARS), made it possible to employ a project officer, expand the map and produce further seasonal editions in 2001/2002, and to develop a growers' directory, which eventually became Harvest's web site. Accessing Federal funding required the creation of a semi-public entity, and in Australia, Incorporated Associations serve this need. Hawkesbury Harvest as an Incorporated Association is a registered not-for-profit required to report activity each year and conduct its affairs through established rules of governance prescribed by the Associations Incorporation Act (NSW) 1984. This form of hybrid entity gave Harvest a legal and formal structure with which government agencies would engage.

A condition of State and Federal funding contracts is evaluation and reporting. The evaluation of the Farm Gate Trail project in early 2002 concluded that it was a success in terms of raising the region's profile as a tourism destination (Groth as cited in Orton, 2002), increasing the viability of participating farms, and generating employment (Orton, 2002). By mid-2002 local newspapers were claiming tourism to be the 'salvation' of farms in the region (Gibson, 2002)<sup>197</sup>. The success of the Farm Gate Trail was a catalyst for investigating other alternative channel strategies, and these became the focus of Harvest's second and third projects.

In 2003/2004, after gaining further funding from DoTaRS and the Hawkesbury City Council, and additional funds from NSW State and Regional Development through Greater Western

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which is considered 'regional', east, and therefore most of the productive farm lands of the Sydney basin, is not.

<sup>197</sup> See 13 August, 2002 – *Tourism is the key to survival for agriculture.*

Sydney Economic Development Board (GWSEDB), a Business Development Manager<sup>198</sup> was contracted for Hawkesbury Harvest as part of the Paddock-to-Plate project. This Stage II research and development initiative identified regional branding, growers markets, local retailing, developing specialty (small acreage, boutique) agriculture, provedoring<sup>199</sup> and open farm events as possible agri-industry development and potential avenues for Hawkesbury Harvest's financial independence. Paddock-to-Plate saw the implementation of brand building including the development of the Association's logo, the first Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers and Fine Food market at Castle Hill Showground, and open farm events. A key learning outcome was the impossibility of achieving all the industry development identified within the single-year time frame that the funding programs preferred. This became one of the justifications used for a third round of funding applications in late 2004.

The third project commenced in March 2006 when Harvest received funding for a Food and Wine Coordinator project. This project focused on the initiatives that Harvest did not have the time or resources to implement under the Paddock-to-Plate project with additional network-building and market development in the region. Again the Department of Transport and Regional Services was a funding agency, with the Greater Western Sydney Economic Development Board, and for the first time a corporate partner, Lend Lease/GPT (General Property Trust) at the Rouse Hill Regional Centre, which later became The New Rouse Hill.

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198 Sue Salvin

199 A provedore is a market channel operator who services primary suppliers and end-users in the food system. Typically provedores source fresh food and value-added products directly from producers and transport them to a range of specialist end-users in the retail, catering and hospitality industry. The spelling Hawkesbury Harvest uses is from the original Spanish source, meaning 'man who procures supplies [usually for ships, armies or other end-users]'. It is related to the word stevedore, 'man who loads ships with cargo'. Other spellings commonly used include 'provider', 'providor', 'providore', but the correct term is provedore.

Figure 3: Harvest’s Projects Building Opportunity



Figure 3 summarizes the thrust of Harvest three ‘projects’ and the mechanisms it established. In each case the thrust was to link farms and farmers with consumers, to reconnect growers and eaters, to resurrect and reassert the relationship between them, and to reposition local agriculture as a cultural phenomenon and site of cultural exchange. The projects implemented what David Mason described as ‘his theory’ that *“the more you can bed a project into the community at the local and regional levels the greater is its long-term economic, environmental and social sustainability”* (David Mason’s Chairman’s Report of 2001). Each mechanism creates market-based ‘vehicles’ through which the Harvest mission is executed and embedded in community. These vehicles then act as vectors for the transmission of Harvest’s key messages and values propositions, either explicitly or implicitly.

As the focus shifted from creating the Farm Gate Trail to developing a wider range of business opportunities, the role of Hawkesbury Harvest also evolved into a broader regional development role. Later initiatives created many more interactions with potential partners and

the dynamics of this are discussed in the next chapter. Having established a model for harnessing tourism to agriculture, Harvest was called upon by neighbouring regions, interstate agencies in agriculture and tourism, and private sector developers to communicate the experience and advise on the key issues. This shift into new domains of influence created a dilemma for Harvest which was funded for specific projects. The move into broader land-use advocacy, particularly for the role of agriculture in retaining and maintaining landscape (the commons) and the interdependence of tourism and agriculture in diversifying an economy within such a retained landscape, forced Harvest to engage in political processes and to take policy positions it had not previously had to articulate. The dynamics of this are explored in Chapter Five: A Hybrid Cultivar. Those aspects specific to Harvest's touristic mechanisms are discussed in the following sections on stakeholder relations and the Harvest brand.

### ***Hawkesbury Harvest's Stakeholder Relations***

The stakeholder relations supporting the Harvest network and Farm Gate Trail experience is based on the founding motives for Harvest, the paramount importance of retaining rural landscapes and a vibrant agri-cultural economy. It's about asserting Greater Sydney's position in relation to Sydney City and the wider world, and doing this because it's right and proper as a community economic, cultural and ecological project. The ethic that drives this is one of serving both community and visitors for the good of the Greater Sydney region, part of Harvest's substantive rationality.

McGehee (2007) attempted to conceptualize this kind of relationship between stakeholders in her 'Agritourism Systems Model', and while she did identify the importance of understanding formal and substantive rationality in stakeholders relations and the three 'kinds' of stakeholder, the focus on communications more realistically reflects what Harvest implemented in its 'system' of engagement, and what is generally recognized in services marketing as the nature of the 'problem' her model sought to resolve. My reading of the McGehee model is that it is more

correctly characterized as a tripartite marketing network that includes as the figure below shows, traditional marketing relations, internal marketing relations, and relationship management of stakeholder relations than a model for an agritourism 'system'. As I've already noted (note 20), McGehee misleadingly conflates Weberian concepts in her claim to have generated something unique through the Model<sup>200</sup>. In the McGehee model, Harvest would be the Destination Management Organization (DMO), and indeed, has been construed/confused as a DMO (Knowd, 2005). I propose that the framework I describe later when I theorize about the Trail and markets, one that includes theoretical constructs by Cohen, Jafari and Leiper better 'models' the agritourism system.

Public and private good motives are articulated in Harvest's Vision and Mission and they underpin Harvest's efforts in service provision. This is a values-driven, triple-bottom-line agenda implemented through a services marketing trinity that creates relationships between Harvest, its members and the tourists they serve. These relationships endure and inspire. Harvest activities deliberately try to put ethical values back into what have become a-ethical market relationships between farmers, rural communities and consumers.

Hawkesbury Harvest has two customer groups and supports their needs with different marketing and service provisions informed by the Harvest value propositions. This effort is delivered by a dedicated group of volunteers, many of whom have done so since Harvest formed in the year 2000. The figure below shows this service delivery trinity.

Hawkesbury Harvest directly services the needs of tourists, residents and day trippers by managing the map, supporting web presence and other co-lateral marketing activities on behalf of its members. This includes a 24 hour, 365 day per year contact number and [info@hawkesburyharvest.com.au](mailto:info@hawkesburyharvest.com.au) email enquiry service which is manned by members of the

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<sup>200</sup> A good example of what, ironically, Haug claimed in the same year was needed with much tourism research being poorly underpinned with sociological theory.

volunteer Board who provide advice and assistance to visitors in planning their trail experience.

The Trail is regularly featured on lifestyle television, examples being Sydney Weekender, Getaway, Huey’s Cooking Adventures, and most recently, Masterchef. These activities are **traditional marketing** effort.

Figure 4: Hawkesbury Harvest Service Delivery Trinity



The needs of Farm Gate Trail participants (members of Hawkesbury Harvest) are supported through Harvest’s weekly Saturday morning radio Farm Gate Trail Roundup with Simon Marnie on local ABC 702, a number of regular columns in regional newspapers, web hosting and support, and referrals and tour itinerary support and delivery. In addition, Harvest encourages and facilitates relationships with the wider public, an example being Mary Canning Photography’s blog on the Farm Gate Trail<sup>201</sup> who has showcased Farm Gate members because

201 See [http://marycanningphotography.typepad.com/the\\_hawkesbury\\_harvest\\_fa/](http://marycanningphotography.typepad.com/the_hawkesbury_harvest_fa/)  
Ian Knowd

she believes in what Harvest is doing and loves Greater Sydney's rural culture. These activities are *internal marketing* efforts.

The last relationship in the trinity is between the FGT members and partnering Greater Sydney (GS) LGAs, and the tourists, residents and day trippers who experience what they deliver – this is where relationships with visitors physically take place. Hawkesbury Harvest has no office, its most tangible presence is on the web and over the phone when it responds to an enquiry so quality control of the experiences is managed by two processes designed to enhance supplier skills and knowledge of managing tourism experiences. Professional development and business seminar opportunities are circulated to members from Dept. of State and Regional Development, local governments and the tourism industry through the association membership of Hills Hawkesbury And Riverlands Tourism (HHART). Complaints are managed by the Board with direct contact to the customer, and then follow-up coaching and counsel of the Farm Gate Trail operator responsible. Harvest also has a good relationship with the region's VICs who pass on any complaints they might receive where the Farm Gate Trail is involved. All of these activities constitute traditional *relationship management* effort.

Stakeholder relations are part of the ethic signified in the Harvest logo and brand. The brand was designed so that it activated a range of cultural resonances and local identifiers to the Harvest cause.

### ***The Hawkesbury Harvest Brand<sup>202</sup>***

The Harvest committee very soon after it formed in July 2000 understood that the Farm Gate Trail would need a brand so that visitors would identify the farms with arts and crafts, galleries, cafes and accommodation providers they were bundled with across the Hawkesbury

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<sup>202</sup> I do not seek to explore the Harvest brand in terms of brand theory, but to explore aspects of it and its role from a sociological perspective, particularly its communicative equity as a tool in Harvest's dialogic struggle.



region. Considerable thought went into this with Carole Maher<sup>203</sup> of Blue Mountains Lavender Farm devising the initial logo, and especially in 2003 when the issue of copyright in the commercial use of the Gothic Tree clipart became an issue<sup>204</sup>. The current design<sup>205</sup> shown here is a registered trade mark and three sub-brand marks have also been registered.

Exhibit 11: The Hawkesbury Harvest Brands



Harvest meaning-making is embedded in the logo design. From the perspective of Harvest’s vision, the brand signifies and invokes *Gemeinschaft*, belonging to and of ‘The Hawkesbury’, Sydney’s agricultural ‘heartlands’ and the ‘unity of will’ (Tönnies, 2001: 22) that Harvest’s formation and realisation represents<sup>206</sup>. This is what the literature describes as ‘bonding’ social capital<sup>207</sup> (Birch & Whittam, 2008). From a branding perspective, it signifies and invokes

203 Carole Maher is a successful entrepreneur and business woman – she would later (2010) become one of the members on the Sydney Regional Development Australia board

204 See May 2003

205 Designed by Robert Sparks of Graphic Sparks who has done most of the graphic design and artwork production for HH since Edition 2 of the FGT map.

206 See 9 May 2008

207 As distinct from the category of social capital conceptualized by Marx and Engels as bounded solidarity (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 2001: 130). Even though I have noted elsewhere that there is a similarity of circumstances between classes of farmers in developing nations subjugated to a global agriculture and food system complex and the farmers in the Harvest story, they do not conceive of themselves in these terms, hence a possibility for bounded solidarity might exist, but it is not a foundation for social capital in this context.

*Gesellschaft*, proudly asserting Harvest's self-interest and that transactions taking place under the brand have higher status, having values<sup>208</sup> attached to them that go beyond simple trading of commodities. As Harvest has matured as a values vehicle, the logo signifies an 'ethical and moral subject' (after Foucault) in context<sup>209</sup>, a values system. In Foucauldian terms it represents mechanisms through which growers and eaters can recognize their 'true feelings and healthy desires', their 'moral obligations' in context, do the 'ethical work' and adopt an 'ascetic' orientation to production and consumption as a means of personal transformation, and act out the 'sort' of person they wish to be, their teleological id (O'Farrell, 2005: 115). The animation experiences<sup>210</sup> made possible through Harvest's 'products' all occur under the Harvest brand.

The brand 'enables the consumer to make connections and associations with the place of production, the values of the people involved and the production methods employed' (Ricketts Hein et al, 2006: 291), and signifies availability for 'direct and mediated touristic consumption' (Askegaard & Kjeldgaard, 2007: 139 referencing Firat 1997). It is through activating these basic sociological aspects of belonging that the brand's equity is established and maintained.

Unlike regions of the world where clear geographic indicators exist for regional gastronomy/cuisine,<sup>211</sup> 'The Hawkesbury' currently has no distinctive 'culture' of food to tap in generating the imagery or content of a brand other than aspects of its historic role as a 'food bowl'<sup>212</sup>. The circle shape, fonts and colour selections are 'classical', invoking a sense of history and heritage harking back to the Macquarie era. The tree-of-life motif represents tamed nature,

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208 I explore this in much greater detail in Chapter 7: Portentous Palimpsests

209 In the food system as eaters and producers – al a Wendell Berry, "if you eat, you're in agriculture"

210 Here too a Foucauldian sense is evident – the Harvest FGT and Farmers Markets facilitate 'experiences' that are 'subjective events that transform the way people relate to themselves and each other and to their surroundings' (O'Farrell, 2005: 118)

211 For instance the Parma area of Italy or the Champagne region of France

212 Hawkesbury City had a 'brand' that clearly identified it as the place of the Macquarie Towns and the heart of Macquarie's agrarian vision. In the mid 2000s the City Council rebranded the City completely removing any references to the Macquarie legacy and imagery. Along with this was the re-design of gateway signage for all the towns and villages of the Hawkesbury with the new corporate logo. The change created brand confusion and possibly contributed to the negative effects that the collapse of tourism marketing effort had on the city as a destination in the period 2006-2010.





the brand signifying reconnection, the tree trunk, branches leaves and fruit symbolising this connectedness. The connectedness also represents the linking of the farms with community, the branded maps replicating this pattern of a branched and fruitful richness linearly connected and to be discovered in Sydney's rural hinterlands. In its message to FGT participants and other Harvest members, HH represents the trunk connecting the branches and leaves, grounded in the local and bearing fruit beyond simple cropping, the fruits representing the towns and villages of the Hawkesbury and the various Harvest initiatives that create economic opportunity. The trunk represents the Hawkesbury Nepean, the base the mouth and extending into Sydney's rural hinterlands, the rich 'Green Hills' that the area was named in the Macquarie era. The Harvest brand signifies Harvest as a repository of sense-of-place in an environment where this is under threat, referencing Harvest's reactive re-activation of notions about The Hawkesbury.

The brand is used to signify Harvest's advocacy and efforts to establish mechanisms that allow people to achieve their potentials, the fruitful engagement with Harvest. It symbolises Harvest's expression of a sustainable relationship between people, nature and economy, one grounded in respecting place, community and resources. It signifies community-centred, grass-roots processes for creating healthy futures and a bridging vehicle between the global and local, creating a 'context' for synergistic fostering of skills, accessing of resources, building relationships, creating opportunity, delivering empowerment and solving problems. In terms of the fundamental meaning of community, it serves togetherness and it obliges togetherness.

As Harvest has grown and its initiatives spread into other regions, the brand, because of its strong place-based identification has been the subject of debate within and outside of the organisation. When the later edition FGT maps began to include Penrith, Wollondilly and the

South Coast, using the Hawkesbury name has always been raised as an issue because of the powerful bonding social capital it signifies<sup>213</sup>.

**Table 5: Harvest Experiences and Sub-regional Tourism Brands**

Harvest Trail Experience	Sub-regional Tourism Brand
The Original Hawkesbury Harvest Experience (Hawkesbury Tourism)	
The Sydney Hills to Brooklyn Harvest Experience (Sydney Hills Tourism)	
The Penrith Valley Harvest experience (Penrith Valley Tourism)	
The Wollondilly Harvest Experience (Wollondilly Tourism)	

Harvest’s response has been two-fold. The sub-regional maps describe place-based ‘Harvest Experiences’ and explicitly reference sub-regional tourism branding. This shifts the brand emphasis to the particular offerings within the regions and they are named appropriately.

Harvest eventually embarked on a ‘brand diversification’ strategy as the adoption of its model gained traction in regions well away from the Hawkesbury<sup>214</sup>. The tree and HARVEST would remain but new Farm Gate Trail regions would be named so that the geographic indication of place was clear for both producers and consumers. Harvest began trading under the more generic ‘Harvest Trails and Markets’ and re-badged the website and mobile app version of the Farm Gate Trail map as simply ‘The Farm Gate’<sup>215</sup>.

213 It is both strength and weakness (Mair & Marti, 2006 cited in Birch & Whittam, 2008: 443) in terms of creating a capacity to ‘talk’ to other communities and places, and have them interested in the dialogue.

214 Initiated in 2013 in response to the logic of exploiting the equity in the original brand and providing new FGT regions with a place-based signifier with strong local sign value.

215 See <http://www.harvesttrailsandmarkets.com.au/> which redirects to the HH main site and download the app by searching for ‘The Farm Gate’ in the Google or Apple stores.

Exhibit 12: Re-branded Farm Gate and Harvest Trails and Markets Logos



**Harvest’s First Dialogic Mechanism – The Farm Gate Trail**

Exhibit 13: Harvest’s Vision, Ideals and Values

*The Hawkesbury is valued locally, regionally, nationally and internationally as a wonderful place for people to live or visit to experience its local produce and products, cultural heritage, natural heritage, sense of community and the many ways in which people benefit from and celebrate these things.*

**VISION IDEALS AND VALUES**

- Security of place for agricultural activities in the Hawkesbury region
- Security of resources such as land, labour, water, infrastructure and services for agricultural activities in the region
- Equity for Hawkesbury region agriculture as a land use and for those involved
- Economic viability of agriculture and associated business
- Agribusiness contributing to the region’s social culture and environmental health
- Retention and enhancement of the Hawkesbury region’s rural amenity
- Quality produce, products and services that reflect consumer requirements
- Human activity based on quality relationships between people and people and all forms of life
- Development of the global/regional interface at individual, corporate and government levels

RESPECT - RESPECT - RESPECT

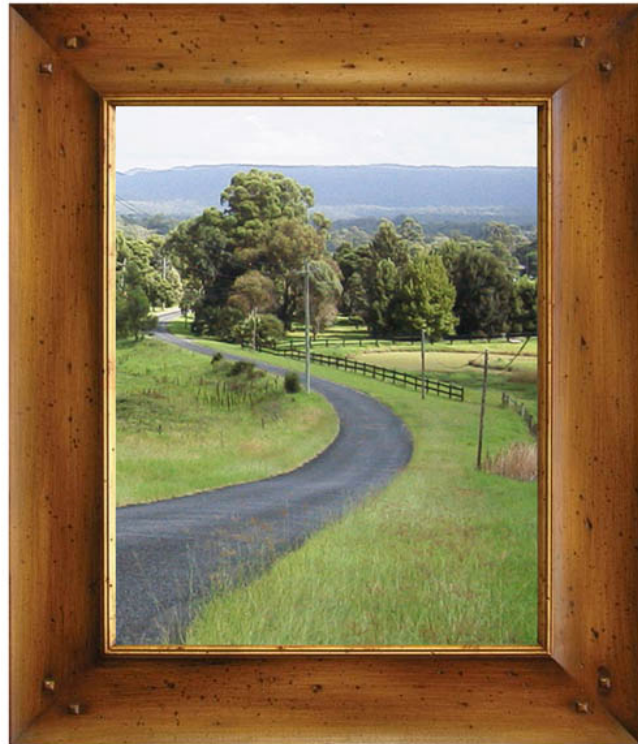
The Farm Gate Trail made it possible for consumers (tourists) to create an experience that implements the thrust of Harvest’s projects described earlier, experientially realising the vision and values that Harvest seeks to have inform the bigger-picture debates about food and farming in the Sydney basin. The tag line for the award submission was ‘Connecting the dots to reveal Greater Sydney’s REAL tourism treasures’, a reference to the dots that signify each of

the ‘farm gate locations’ and the idea that the Harvest trail connects the dots to reveal a powerful, inspiring and particularly effective dialogue that supports agri-culture.

From a more mundane theoretical perspective, it also creates the advantages for producers that networks of firms produce, the non-material network exchanges of knowledge and information, and the material network exchanges, the backward and forward flows of consumers and products (Andreosso-O'Callaghan & Lenihan, 2008)<sup>216</sup>.

**Exhibit 14: A Harvest Ode**

*What if you could step right through  
this frame,  
And wander down that country lane,  
Explore the vales as you please,  
Decide to stop and take the teas,  
What if you found a long lost soul,  
Re-discovered tastes that'd long since  
left y'r bowl,  
And coming home refreshed and  
renewed,  
Realize that soul was actually you.*



Extract from the opening text of the 2011 Tourism award submission.

*The Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail makes this dream a real and reinvigorating tourism experience right in Sydney's backyard. Real farms, real farmers, real country lanes and real communities to discover and explore that many of us just aren't aware of any more. Following the Trail reinvigorates both the visitor and the host farms – people re-connect with Sydney's food bowl in poetic and tangible ways that make the cultural landscape and the*

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216 See this for a good synopsis of the relevant literature on the role of networks in firm performance. Interestingly, one of the reasons for the FGT's success as a producer network is that it creates an especially localised and structured network which delivers improved firm performance, and in the context of neo-liberal and globalised markets that Andreosso-O'Callaghan & Lenihan speculate as being a driver of increased inter-territorial networking, the FGT case is a counter point.



*tastes of the region available. By doing this the farms and farming community gain the direct economic benefits, but also get to express their proud heritages and develop their fantastic products, to re-connect with the people who consume what they produce and reinforce the identity of Sydney's rural hinterlands as our traditional playground and cornucopia.*

*We'll try and take you on the Trail through this submission, to show you how it works, how it connects, and how it lifts the heart and soul for visitors and the farming community of Sydney. We'll talk about how the Trail literally connects the dots that signify each 'destination' on the map. We'll describe how Hawkesbury Harvest connects the marketing dots to build a marketing network for these 'destinations'. And we'll reveal how this makes possible the Rewarding, Enriching, Adventure and Learning experiences that are the tourism treasures to be found in Greater Sydney. These are the synergies possible when we connect the Farm Gate Trail dots, and they have reinforced the region's destination image as the rural heartlands of Sydney. The positioning of the region in this way reflects the community's own values and image, and promotes tourism experiences that are consistent and therefore, sustainable.*

Harvest, through the Trail and the maps engages consumers in this kind of dialogue, an emotive and idiosyncratic telling of the story and lauding of the virtues of Sydney's rural heartlands, tapping its history, heroism and harmonizing relationship with the City. This PR and marketing communications role frames Harvest's as a 'bundler', producing the directories (maps and web site) that consumers use to build custom experiences, the 'product'. This product is constructed as an active, observational, learning journey, 'a perceptual system that include[s] asking questions, listening to stories and local myths, and feeling as well as hearing and seeing', one that encourages 'an open reception to every kind of emotional, cognitive, symbolic, imaginative, and sensory experience' (Burnet, 1920 as cited in Ulmer, 1992)<sup>217</sup>, and thus having

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<sup>217</sup> 'More than anything, though, there is a feeling of community, the sense of being connected and able to chat with the folks who dug the daikon, wove the akebi vine baskets or knitted the hemp-fiber beanie hats. Very few people go to the markets solely to purchase provisions and then walk on. There are people to talk to and stories to be heard, as well as food trucks to eat at.' – from Swinnerton, R., 2012. Farmers markets on the rise in Tokyo, *Japan Times*, 31 August.

the character of theorizing in the original Greek sense. It's a grounded Heideggerian phenomenology, and like me in interpreting the Harvest phenomenon, makes those who journey and then return home to tell the tale, Hermeneus. It is as much about the *context* of the encounter as the *materiality* of it (Edensor, 2006: 33). It emphasizes the 'materiality' of spaces and an embodied 'interaction' with them, exploiting the 'affordances of place and space' (Edensor, 2006: 30) and the intersubjective encounters possible, if not realized – as I express it, *making them available*, but doing it so as to 'stage-manage' (ibid: 31) an experience according to Harvest context-informed imperative to disrupt and de-reify (after Berger & Pullberg, 1965) Sydney's discourse of development. The chance contacts made possible out on the trail allow visitors to re-remember mimetic life experiences, and doing so out of context, illuminate their meaning in ways that they took for granted when they originally sensed them. For those without a history of the rural, it is about creating a new his-story or her-story<sup>218</sup>. The vivid moments of connection/reconnection that attend the animation experiences are made possible. Harvest's touristic experiences, including that of farmers markets, are an intended oppositional positioning vis-a-vis the mainstream, explicitly seeking to restore a relation with the sensory, to re-sensualise space and activate place<sup>219</sup>. It makes possible the sensory 'possession of objects and environments', closing the 'distance' between tourist/eater and the potentials of 'open reception' to Harvest's cultural landscape. When the interaction is directly with a farmer, there is also the potential for sharing of 'local knowledge', that kind of sharing of things that helps the tourist be privy to things not usually shared, not usually needing to be voiced or explained (after Veijola, 2006: 82)<sup>220</sup>. Harvest's call to action for this learning is through its Taste, Buy and Learn

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218 It is in this challenge of having something in the consumer's history to tap that Harvest has been actively creating experiences for the young through Schools Harvest, planting the seed and imprinting a memory of growing and eating.

219 Recall Alan Eagle's defining experience of the Richmond Mall development – see Chapter Two.

220 Here too I, as a sojourner with Harvest have had my stranger status with the farming culture of the Hawkesbury both reinforced and relaxed – the more you know, the more you know you don't know. One outcome of this is a heightened respect for what farmers actually do, their visceral engagement with the land and nature, the courage of mind and soul that this takes, and the love they express in their calling to it.



philosophy introduced with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition map in 2004. This kind of engagement with the product sets some challenges for Harvest in educating its trail participants (the farms and farmers) about the scope of things visitors seek knowledge about, and what is needed in terms of interpretation so that this is ‘made available’ for them. As John Maguire, who does this well, says, “I have some pretty amazing conversations”.

Exhibit 15: Harvest’s PR and Communications



Alan Eagle, Viktoria Darabi and Huey

Harvest provides an integrated tourism marketing engine specifically designed to support Sydney-region farmers diversifying their business with tourism (See also Stakeholder Relationships above). The Farm Gate Trail maps were issued every 18 months to two years.

The web site with grower directories, interactive Farm Gate Trail maps and other services help visitors design their own itineraries or find a tour operator who can do it for them. Media activity in the form of special events, regular ABC Local radio segments (2BL 702), occasional features in leisure and lifestyle programs (Sydney weekender, Getaway, Huey’s Cooking Adventures), and regular editorial and advertising in regional newspapers and magazines maintain awareness of the seasonal offerings of the Trail.

Exhibit 16a: Farm Gate Trail Maps 2000-2010



The first Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail map was a publicly subsidized, DL Tri-fold map with 13 ‘destinations’ located in the Hawkesbury LGA. Edition 5 was the last single folded-sheet map, with Editions 6 and 7 produced as multi-page booklets modeled on *The Touristic Road: Touraine – Val de Loire, jaunts in the vineyards* map brought back from France in 2007<sup>221</sup>.

<sup>221</sup> Made possible by participation in the 2007 *Sharing Our Heritages* master class – UWS and Deakin University



Exhibit 16b: Map Formats

Original fold-out design



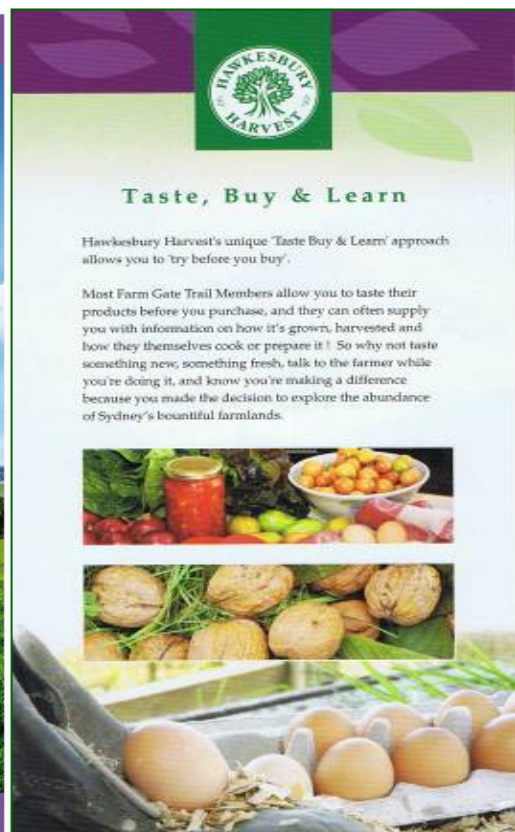
6<sup>th</sup> & 7<sup>th</sup> Edition fold-out brochure design



This format<sup>222</sup> became the template for future Farm Gate Trail maps and Edition 7 was the last fully paper-based edition with editions after 2013 being produced as mobile applications<sup>223</sup>.

See Appendix Four: Maps.

Exhibit 17: Edition 7 FGT Map and Taste, Buy and Learn



222 The Loire Valley map opens out to the right whereas the design was reversed for FGT maps.

223 Although some LGAs also had paper maps for their region printed as well.



Exhibit 19a: 6<sup>th</sup> Edition Map Content

**MAP 4**  
**The Wollindilly Harvest Experience**

The westmost part of the Hawkesbury Harvest Panacea is the Wollindilly Harvest Experience. The area is rich in history and culture, with a focus on local produce and experiences. The map shows various farms, markets, and scenic views. Key locations include the Wollindilly River, local vineyards, and farm-to-table experiences.

**MAP 2**  
**The Sydney Hills to Brooklyn Harvest Experience**

The Sydney Hills to Brooklyn Harvest Experience is a vibrant region known for its diverse agricultural products. The map highlights key areas like the Sydney Hills, Brooklyn, and surrounding vineyards. It features numerous wineries, orchards, and farm-based activities.

**MAP 3**  
**The Penrith Valley Harvest Experience**

The Penrith Valley Harvest Experience is a central hub for fresh produce. The map covers the Penrith Valley, showcasing a variety of farms, markets, and scenic landscapes. It is a key area for local food and wine.

**THE FARMERS COME TO TOWN**

**Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers & Fine Food Markets**

Experience the best of local produce at our weekly markets. Held every fourth Saturday, these markets offer a wide range of fresh fruits, vegetables, and artisanal goods. The markets are held at the Rose Hill Town Centre, providing a convenient location for shoppers.

**Slow Food' Hawkesbury**

Supporting local producers and promoting sustainable food systems. The Slow Food movement is a global network of people who care about the quality of their food and the way it is produced. In Hawkesbury, we focus on supporting local farmers and producers who use traditional methods and ingredients.

**Events 2009/2010**

Calendar of events including wine tastings, farm tours, and food festivals. The calendar lists various events throughout the year, such as the Blue Mountains Wine Festival, the Penrith Valley Food Festival, and the Sydney Hills Wine Festival.

**Great River Walk**

Discover the beauty of the Great River Walk, a scenic trail along the Hawkesbury River. The walk offers stunning views of the river, surrounding countryside, and local wildlife. It is a popular activity for hikers, joggers, and cyclists.

**Wine and Sake Trail**

Explore the wine and sake trails in the Hawkesbury region. The trails lead to numerous wineries and sake breweries, offering tastings and tours. The trails are designed to showcase the best of local wine and sake production.

**Visitor Information Centres**

Locations for visitor information, including maps, brochures, and local services. The centres are located at various points throughout the region, providing easy access to information for visitors.

**Time is money... and Westlink M7 saves you both**

Advertisement for Westlink M7, highlighting the benefits of the toll road. The toll road provides a faster and more reliable route between Sydney and the Hawkesbury region, saving time and money for commuters and businesses.

**Westlink M7**

Advertisement for Westlink M7, providing contact information and details about the toll road. The toll road is a key infrastructure project that has improved connectivity between Sydney and the Hawkesbury region.





Exhibit 19b: 6<sup>th</sup> Edition Map Content

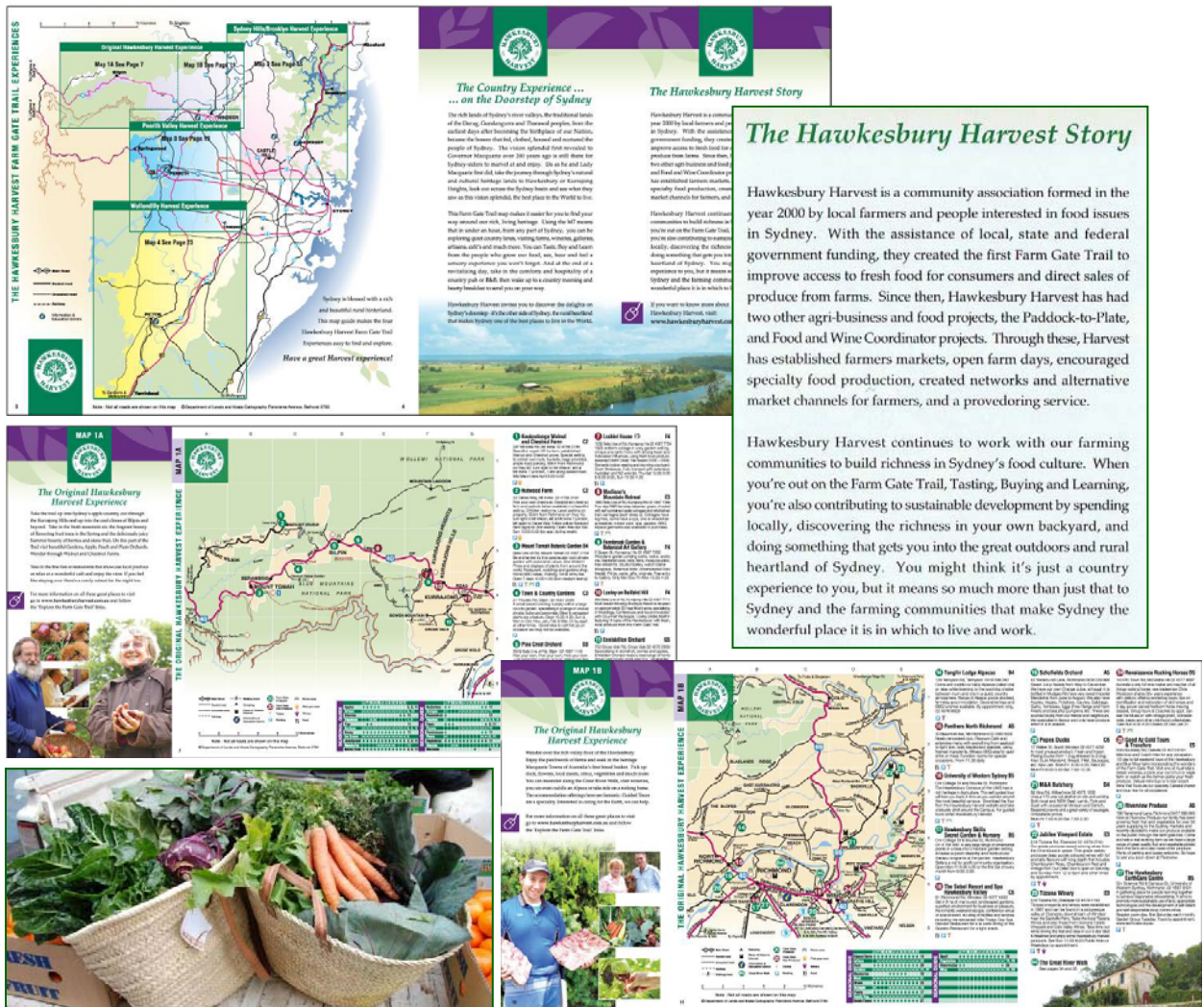


Exhibit 18: Harvest's associated brands



Map design works in tandem with the Harvest vision, mission and logo, the layout and images chosen exploit the REAL potentials, romantic notions, and Australian country clichés that attach to the rural idyll. There is an emphasis on the picturesque, the rustic, the down-to-earth, of vistas, open space and getting off the beaten track. With the latest editions of the map there has been an explicit referencing of 'faces and places, food and farms'.

Maps have seasonal guides for each farm and a legend to show what facilities and services are available. The Trail links with and encourages wider regional exploration of Cittaflow Blue Mountains and their Slow Food network, and the Great River Walk. In 2008, following the success of previous work, Penrith and Wollondilly LGAs provided seed funding to extend the Trail, and the 6th Edition Farm Gate Trail map was launched in December 2008. The South Coast region of NSW approached Harvest in early 2010 and The South Coast Harvest Experience again expanded the Farm Gate Trail with the 7<sup>th</sup> Edition map.

The principal, by-design feature of the Farm Gate Trail making it a sustainable form of attraction is the linking of different business types, and therefore industries together. The **core** trail experiences are the individual farms producing the foods, wines and other agricultural products, the local rural culture and aesthetic qualities of landscape. These particularities are the unique selling propositions of the Trail, the distinguishing character of the local and the stuff of difference. Harvest deliberately structures the trail to emphasize this core experience and maintain sustainable differentiation from other tourist trails, drives and themed itineraries.

This core is then linked to **auxiliary** level suppliers of tourism products and services. Artisans, galleries, cafes, restaurants, tours and accommodation establishments satisfy the visitor's desire for other elements of the experience in hospitality, arts, crafts, heritage, other farm and outdoor activities. These businesses service the general populace and other tourism interests as well as the Trail's food and wine tourist. The 6<sup>th</sup> Edition Farm Gate Trail shown above included 45 farm gates or producers supported by 17 auxiliary product types, ensuring that the Trail remained a strongly farm-based offering.

A third category of 'producer' **augments** the experience, playing tangible roles in trail creation. It includes trail-hosting LGAs and other government and industry agencies providing roads and signage, public amenities, VICs and other support services Trail users need.



Exhibit 20: How the Maps Bundle Components to Create Experiences

**6 LGAs, HHART and Hawkesbury Harvest**

**17 Cafes, Restaurants, Galleries, Artisans and Accommodation**

**45 Farm Gates**

**AUGMENTED PRODUCT**  
Roads, signage, VICs, and the outcomes of tourism development programs

**AUXILIARY PRODUCT**  
Hospitality Services  
Other Rural Products  
Arts, Crafts, Museums and Galleries  
Other Tourist Trails  
Outdoor Activities

**CORE**  
Farm Gates  
Farm Stay  
Rural Landscapes  
Rural Cultures

**THE ORIGINAL HAWKESBURY HARVEST EXPERIENCE**

**MAP 1B**

**The Original Hawkesbury Harvest Experience**

Wander over the rich valley floor of the Hawkesbury. Enjoy the patchwork of farms and soak in the heritage. Meander through the town's first forest basket. Pick up ducks, flowers, local meats, citrus, vegetables and much more. You can even cuddle an Alpaca or take a ride on a rocking horse. The accommodation offerings here are fantastic. Cuddled! There are a speciality, interested in caring for the Earth, we can help.

For more information on all these great places to visit go to [www.hawkesburyharvest.com.au](http://www.hawkesburyharvest.com.au) and follow the 'Explore the Farm Gate Trail' link.

**SEASONAL GUIDE**

Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Open	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Harvest	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Wine	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Food	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Accommodation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Events	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Trails	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

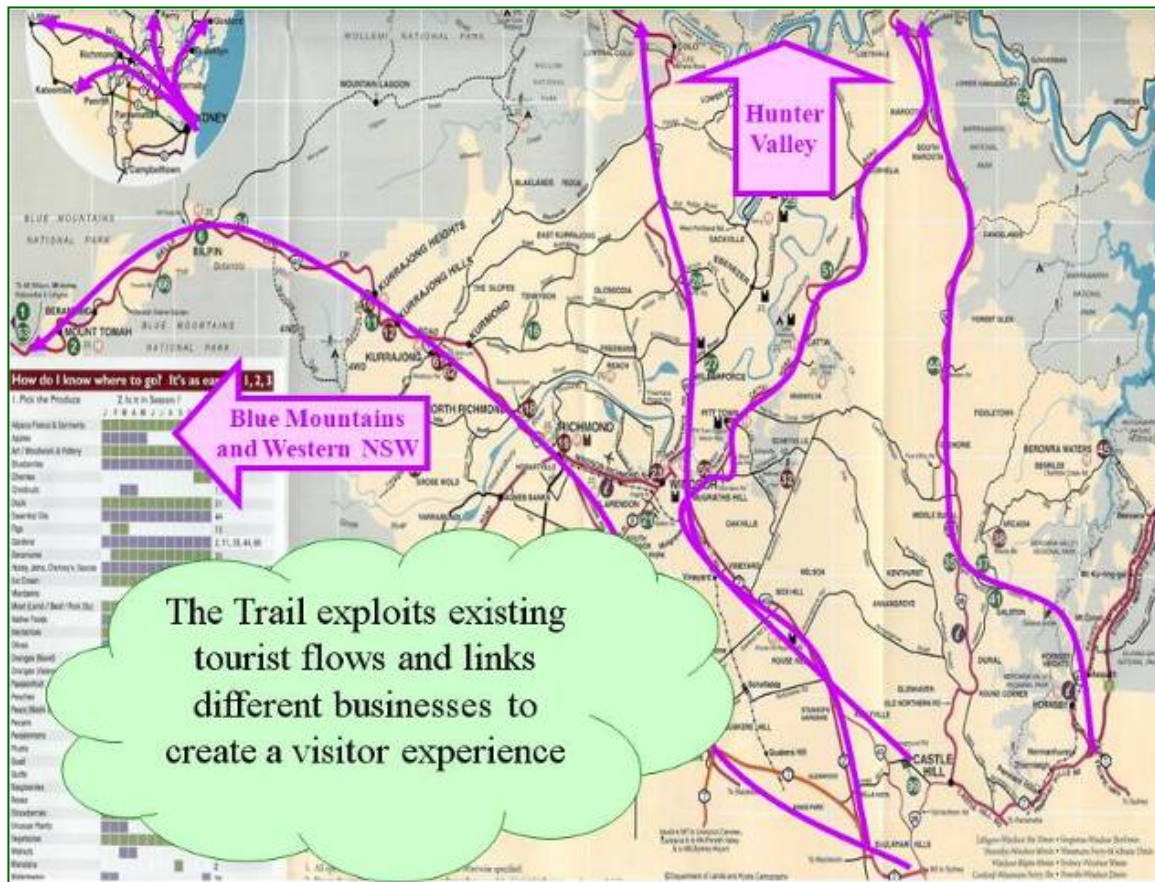
They also produce intangible effects through capacity-building programs in industry development (mentoring, pilot programs, seed funding, education and training), typically experienced by the visitor in terms of overall satisfaction stemming from improved awareness of visitor needs and service delivery. Hawkesbury Harvest itself operates at this level as an outcome of local, state and federally funded development programs. The Trail links this diverse range of players together to produce something more than the simple sum of its parts. Synergy is part of the sustainable design for the Trail, it does more than create value for the visitor, it creates value for the industry players because inter-dependencies generate value for their customers going beyond their individual contributions.

When farmers engage with tourism in this way the capital outlays required to put in infrastructure support for visitors is minimized, allowing them to 'tap' or piggy-back on the industry when they need it, but close when their seasonal offerings conclude. They gain the benefits for minimal cost while building relationships with the wider region and enhancing regional identity through tourism on their farms. Producers are linked economically with other tourism and hospitality service providers, either as sites along the journey, or as suppliers of goods and services to each other.

The Trail physically links the region as a set of tourist routes and for each of the regional maps, exploits existing tourist flows. The example shown here in Figure 5 is of the Hawkesbury region and shows the transit routes tourists use on their way to other NSW tourism regions.



Figure 5: Tourism Flows Exploited by the Farm Gate Trail - Hawkesbury



The production of the 7<sup>th</sup> Edition Map was supported by a ‘Harvest system’ that includes the Farm Gate Trail with linkages to a range of recreation and leisure-based market channels and pseudo-touristic events providing added strength and diversity to the visitor experience and more actively embedding the role of Farm Gate tourism in the region’s food economy.

The Farm Gate Trail and its related mechanisms generate important social capital around regional identity and interest in food and farming across the region. The mechanisms provide opportunities for community gardens, schools and other local interest groups to engage with their food systems and to see food and wine tourism as a potentially viable industry through which they can support their interests. Examples of this are the Schools Harvest program that is discussed later, and other social responsibility linkages made through hosting of the Henry Doubleday Society (EarthCare) and the Secret Garden and Nursery on the Farm Gate Trail.

Figure 6: The Harvest System of Food and Farm Based Attractions



The Farm Gate Trail and the linked activities that have evolved from it are a distinctly ‘Sydney Food Bowl’ offering that exploits the existing potentials, and attracts new entrants into the food and wine tourism offering of the City, hence growing the tourism pie (forgive the pun). Trail tourism has the benefit of being background activity in terms of it piggy-backing on existing enterprise, while foregrounding the tourism asset.

The Farm Gate Trail is a product representing the heart of the region. This heart is more than just the ‘heartlands of agriculture’ in the Sydney basin, it’s also how Farm Gate Tourism has a heart that gives strategic importance to the Trail as an exemplar of community-driven tourism development. This interpretation of ‘heart’ first and foremost is about people who are passionate, because the purpose of tourism in this case goes to heartfelt concerns within the host region. The Farm Gate Trail is not just a nice idea, it’s a way of acting on the challenges confronting the most important aspect of their region for its host community, the rural character

of place. It is the site of emotions about sense of place and community, where people’s courage and spirit in taking on tourism are mustered in making the situation better.



**Exhibit 21: Social Capital Initiatives and Harvest**

It’s about farmers taking heart and being encouraged to reconnect through tourism, and it’s about the change of heart that this involves in the way they see their future, their land and the role they (could) play in our food, leisure, hospitality and tourism industries. This has positive and virtuous effects on the landscape and environment over which farmers are stewards – the interpretation of heart here is about the land being in good heart, cared for and protected.

Is this emphasis on heart platitudinous? Sustainable tourism attractions seek to sustainably exploit the heart of the asset base, not just those things that constitute the technical assets of a place, but also the intangible and abstract ‘heart’ of a place, the ‘humanism’<sup>224</sup> of it, whether that be eco-tourism, cultural tourism or any other kind of tourism, so perhaps it is not. But then again, it does give this particular place its very own distinctive advantage, character and selling proposition. Many of the farmers on the Trail will happily tell their stories around this transformative phenomenon, and as far as tourism is concerned, it is as Marshall McLuhan

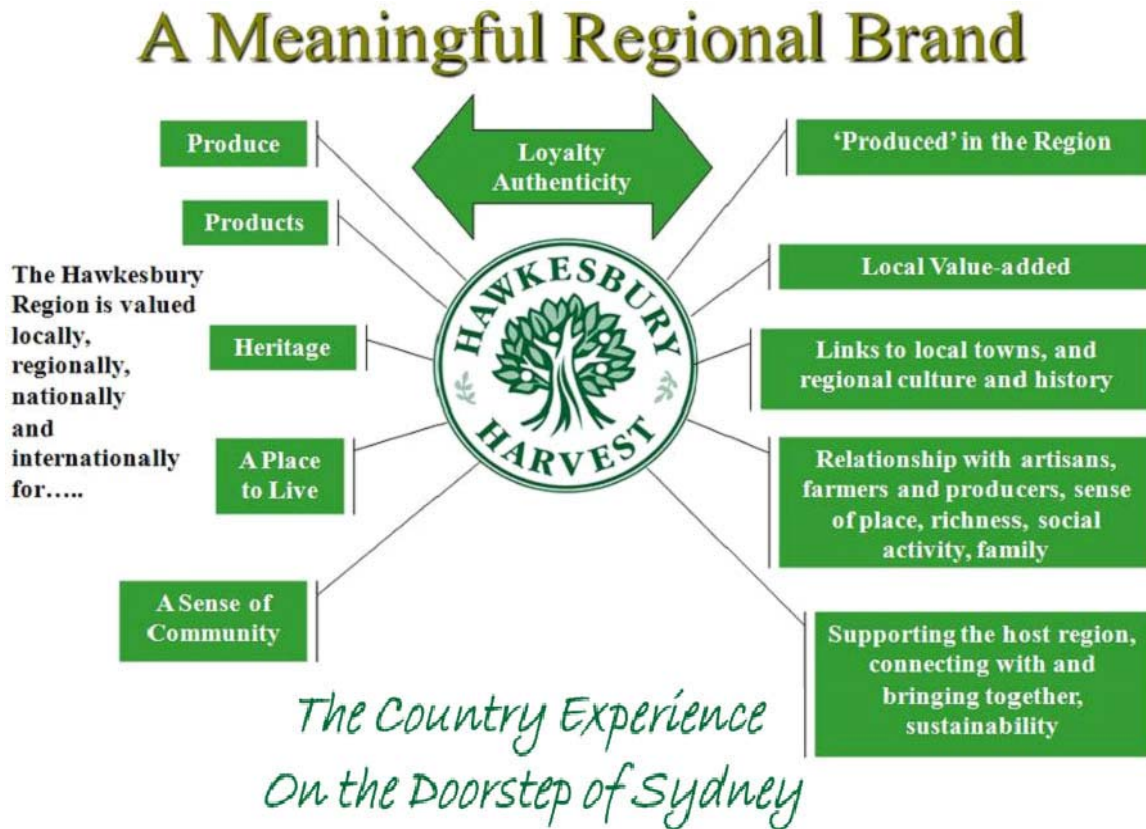
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224 Harvest injects into its discourse this anti-structuralist thread, countering what Foucault points to as its (the heart’s) abstraction, to make it an aspect of the real/REAL experiences it creates as mechanisms and vectors.



observed, that ‘the medium is the message’ and this form of tourism is the way that the rural hinterlands of Sydney have found to position themselves as an attractive member of our ‘global village’.

Figure 7: Hawkesbury Harvest as a Tourism Brand



**Harvest’s Second Dialogic Mechanism - Farmers Markets**

This idea of ‘heart’ and the role of the ‘village market’ in creating it is one of the non-food-and-farmer drivers of the farmers’ market trend. Interest from local governments, community groups and the corporate sector has manifest as requests that Harvest establish farmers markets<sup>225</sup>. In addition to wanting to be seen as supporting local agriculture, or at least

225 Some examples have been land owners with ‘urban-land-in-waiting’ wanting to extract an additional rent from their asset while they wait for the land to be re-zoned and the betterment dividends realized; disused industrial or commercial sites awaiting re-development, and warehouse retail property owners with unoccupied premises where the tenants have gone out of business; chambers of commerce and councils wanting a farmers market to revitalize their retail precincts and draw new customers for the

Australian producers (even if they don't), Harvest's market partners see farmers markets as a mechanism for injecting heart into their civic spaces, or for putting diversity and interest back into the 'consumption spaces' (Freestone & Gibson, 2004), the commercial mix of town centers, retail precincts and public spaces.

Here too is a paradoxical relationship. In the last 60 years or so, town planning and urban development models designed-out the traditional role and positioning of the 'market square', hardening civic spaces that could be put to these uses, creating easily maintained but sterile spaces<sup>226</sup>. The urban design response has been to conceptualize 'places' rather than 'spaces', and farmers markets have a role in place-making<sup>227</sup>. The paradox extends to the commercial/economic relationship, especially in the case presented here with the Rouse Hill Regional Centre and the relationship Harvest had with Lend Lease and GPT for the Rouse Hill market. Many of the issues for farm business survival relate to the dominance of the retail chains in the food supply system, and the market power they have. And yet opportunity is created by this dominance and market power explicitly for the small producers who have been squeezed out of the mainstream system. A 'place' for farmers is created as a direct result of the desire of developers to build 'place-based' communities that have character and vitality, and a sense of connection expressed through Harvest's 'quality-of-life commodity', its farmers markets. Economically it's akin to 'sleeping with the enemy', and from a corporate strategy

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existing retailers (Windsor, Blue Mountains City); City of Sydney and their 'City of Villages 2030' strategy where farmers markets re-activate civic precincts; urban new developments wanting to build-in the basic infrastructure requirements so that they have the option of hosting a farmers market (Barrangaroo [Mar 2009] and Green Square); the Penrith Lakes Corporation who wanted to establish a farmers market (April 2007) to attract the public and increase use of the facilities they had built, this case being particularly ironic as the lakes are a post-mining artificial landscape that now exists where some of Sydney's prime Macquarie Town agricultural land once was; school P&Cs wanting a farmers market at their school for fund raising purposes, local community groups wanting to create a sense of community. In all these examples the irony is that these players and stakeholders are part of the problem which has forced farmers to use alternative market mechanisms to address threats to survival.

226 Recall Alan Eagle's critique of Richmond's Market Place

227 See December 2005, The Hornery Institute's report extracts and rationale for engaging with community.

perspective, is a classic example of keeping your competition close enough to know exactly what they offer and how they operate.

By the beginning of 2002 the Harvest committee<sup>228</sup> begins the work to develop additional direct channels for farmers and other food producers. In May Harvest receives funding<sup>229</sup> for the Paddock-to-Plate project and the establishment of farmers markets is a primary goal. Previous experience with the Windsor market in 1999<sup>230</sup> and basic research done by Harvest's Market Sub-committee determined that the Hawkesbury would not be the best location<sup>231</sup> for a market. The direct link with growers needed to be where the market demand and demographic lived and so the Castle Hill Showground, one of the few remaining agricultural showgrounds in Sydney's west was chosen as the site<sup>232</sup>.

The first Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers' and Gourmet Food Market, later renamed as Farmers' and Fine Food Markets<sup>233</sup>, was opened by Alan Cadman on the 10<sup>th</sup> August, 2002, and Sydney Weekender features the opening in the 31<sup>st</sup> August edition. As with other Harvest initiatives<sup>234</sup>, the delivery<sup>235</sup> involved partnering with people and organizations who already had demonstrated capacities and capabilities. Harvest sought out the services of Polly Feneck of Black Castle Events who had been running arts/crafts markets and engaged her to help establish and manage the Castle Hill market.

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228 The work was done by the Markets Sub-committee – Lee Etherington, Carole Maher, Karen Borg.

229 See 30 May, 2002.

230 Coordinated as part of the Hawkesbury Food Program. Coincidentally, the first farmers' market in Victoria began in 1999 in Koonwarra, South Gippsland, south-eastern Victoria (Andrée et al, 2010).

231 And later confirmed when Harvest established the Richmond School of Arts market in 2009.

232 This would create something of a controversy for Harvest, especially when it established the relationship with LL/GPT for the Rouse Hill market in 2008 as Harvest was perceived in some quarters, particularly the retail constituency of the Hawkesbury, as abandoning its host community and business community and exacerbating the trend of custom and offerings deserting the district – see 19 Nov 2003, May 2006, 8 & 10 May, 2006, 20 Jul 2006, 13 Jun 2007, 24 Jul 2007, 10 Jan 2008.

233 The renaming occurred in 2007 as a rectification action following the discovery by the Harvest board that Black Castle Events had registered Hawkesbury Harvest's trading name as their own without the knowledge of the board. See also Dec 2004 for the pre-cursor issues.

234 The Growers Directory.

235 ABARES data shows that ⅓ of all farmers markets are organized and/or operated by not-for-profit organizations like Hawkesbury Harvest – see Er, Binks and Ecker, 2011.

Figure 8: Castle Hill Market Growth



Figure 8: Castle Hill Market Growth shows how the market built since it began in August 2002. At 75 stalls per market and servicing approximately 2,500+ patrons and turning over around \$3M per annum, it is one of the top ten markets in Australia (Er, Binks & Ecker, 2011).

Harvest has established four other markets since 2002. They are/were:

- Rouse Hill Town Centre – monthly from 22 March, 2008 to 28 November, 2009, and then two markets in 2010 in July (Winter Harvest Festival) and October (Spring Harvest Festival). This market is explored in greater detail below.
- Cook and Phillip Park (St Mary’s Cathedral Square) – weekly from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008 to 19<sup>th</sup> December, 2008. Did not continue because of issues related to site difficulties and the commencement of the weekly Eveleigh Farmers Market in February 2009<sup>236</sup>
- Penrith Civic Arts Precinct (Joan Sutherland Performing Arts Centre) – monthly from 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2009 to December 2014.

236 See December 2008.  
Ian Knowd

- Richmond School of Arts – monthly from 8<sup>th</sup> August, 2009 to 12<sup>th</sup> December 2009.

Did not continue because of falling interest from customers and subsequent falling interest from stallholders, and the refurbishment of Richmond Park (Market Square) for the Macquarie 2010 celebrations which shut down the park for use by the Richmond Lions Club market which was held concurrently with the Harvest market.

The Rouse Hill, Cook and Phillip, and Penrith markets were all conceived under Harvest's Food and Wine Coordinator<sup>237</sup> project (2006-2008). Hawkesbury Harvest was one of the foundation members of the Australian Farmers Market Association (AFMA) formed in July 2003 following the Farmers Market conference at Bathurst in November 2002.

### ***Hawkesbury Harvest and The New Rouse Hill***<sup>238</sup>

Of the farmer's market cases, Harvest's Farmers' and Fine Food Market at Rouse Hill provides the greatest scope for exploring a range of dimensions with relevance to Harvest's mission and action in the Sydney basin through markets.

In November 2002 a delegation from Bovis Lend Lease presented their proposal for partnering with Harvest in their bid to secure the development rights for the future Rouse Hill Regional Centre (RHRC). This came about because David Mason had earlier presented at a meeting of the Total Environment Centre<sup>239</sup> where Lend Lease had also presented on the concept and their interpretation of 'triple bottom line development'. David saw potential

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<sup>237</sup> See June 2004, 13 Sep 2004, April & 4 & 28 October 2005, April, July, August, September and 25 October 2006 – This project originally conceived as an Australian Tourism Development Program in partnership with Tourism Hawkesbury, but did not gain support. It would be another 18 months before Harvest finally secured it as the Food and Wine Coordinator project – establishing the relationship with Lend Lease/GPT and gaining their funding support for the market development at Rouse Hill was an important factor in its eventual success in the funding application.

<sup>238</sup> Originally the Rouse Hill Regional Centre (RHRC), the branding of The New Rouse Hill was adopted under the direction of GPT and its marketing of the new town centre.

<sup>239</sup> See 10 October 2002.



synergies and opportunities for the Harvest agenda and began a dialogue with Lend Lease. By the end of November 2002 Harvest had ratified an agreement with the bidders<sup>240</sup>.

Exhibit 22: Rouse Hill Regional Centre

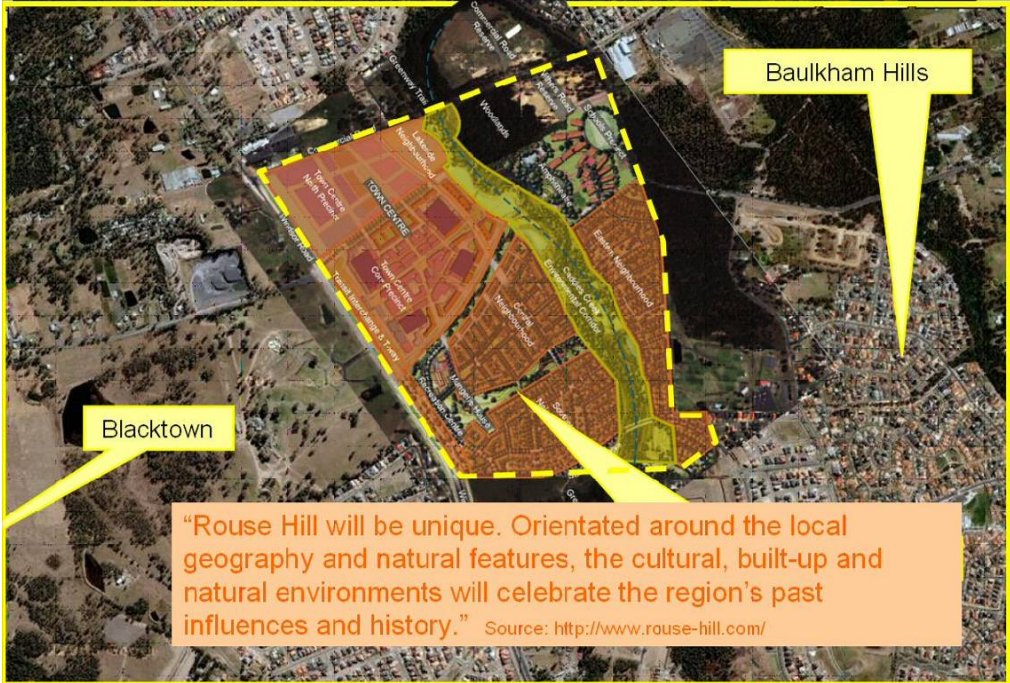
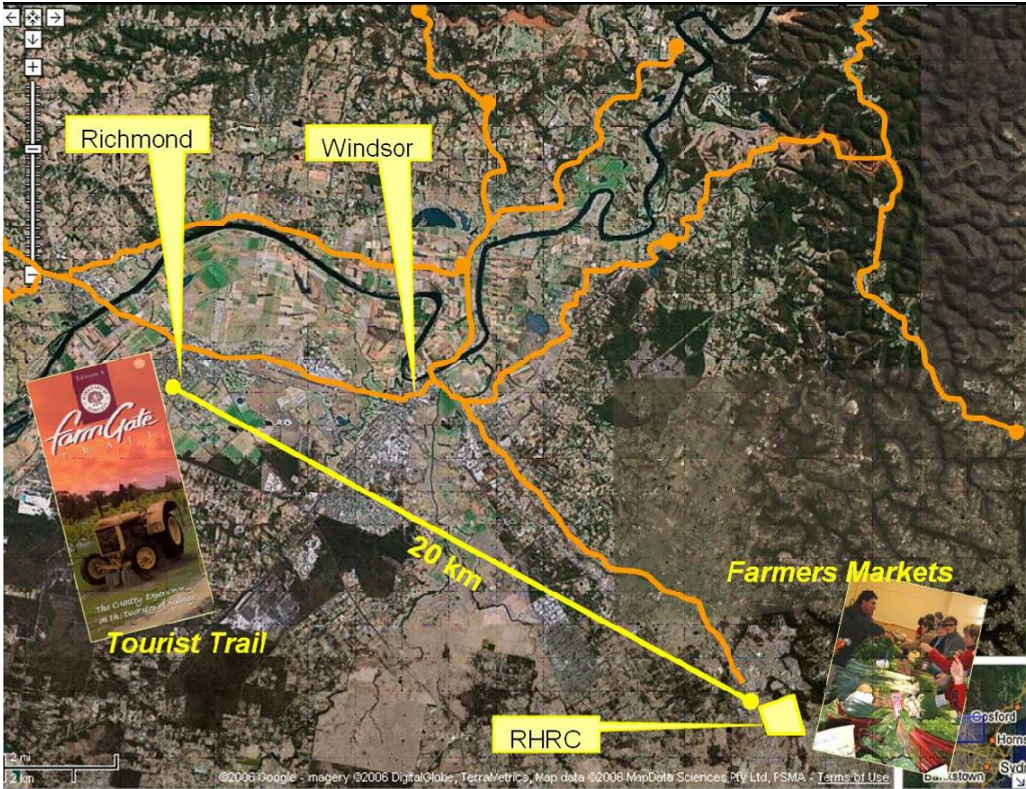


Exhibit 23: RHRC and its wider region



240 HH be "partner" in their bid to develop the Rouse Hill Regional Centre along with Macquarie University, the Smith Family, Cisco and Planet Ark.

During the planning and tendering process for the RHRC, Lend Lease sought to find ways of linking the development with the region in meaningful ways. These links were designed to add value for the residents of Rouse Hill and build awareness of the site's relationship with the wider region and the cultural, recreational and learning opportunities to be found there. The relationship would create a farmers market and link the RHRC with the farming areas of the Hawkesbury via the existing Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail.

Hawkesbury Harvest's existence created the opportunity for Lend Lease to activate the cultural landscape assets of agriculture in the Sydney food bowl through market-based mechanisms. It is a good example of the paradox that rural communities face in the global context – the pressures of urbanisation create both threat and opportunity for farming.

The relationship is activated through two vehicles. The first is the Farm Gate Trail which explicitly links and directs day trippers from the RHRC to the farming communities of their host region. The second is the Farmers Market that became part of the Town Centre development, intended as a permanent market presence for local and regional produce and related cultural events and activities. Harvest at the RHRC would act as a hub for a range of retail, social, cultural, tourism and recreational activities raising awareness and educating residents about the cultural assets in their own 'backyard'. This is a mutually beneficial activation of farming community and urban developer assets in place-making at Rouse Hill.

In early 2004 Lend Lease<sup>241</sup> and Harvest began a series of workshop activities to scope out and formalise the relationship and its dimensions. The model for the relationship between Harvest and the RHRC is shown here. The Markets would be Hawkesbury Harvest's primary mechanism for "Bringing the Country Experience to the Doorstep of Sydney", a twist on the by-

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<sup>241</sup> Lend Lease were the driving partners in the relationship with Harvest in the pre-construction phase of the project – GPT eventually became the principal party to the relationship once the Town Centre management structures were put in place and the agreements for operating the market at the town centre would be with GPT.



line from the Farm Gate Trail map which is “The Country Experience on the Doorstep of Sydney”.

It involves a range of taste, buy and learn strategies including markets, retail, health, learning and environment.

Exhibit 24: Lend Lease/GPT/Hawkesbury Harvest Ideas Framework April 2004

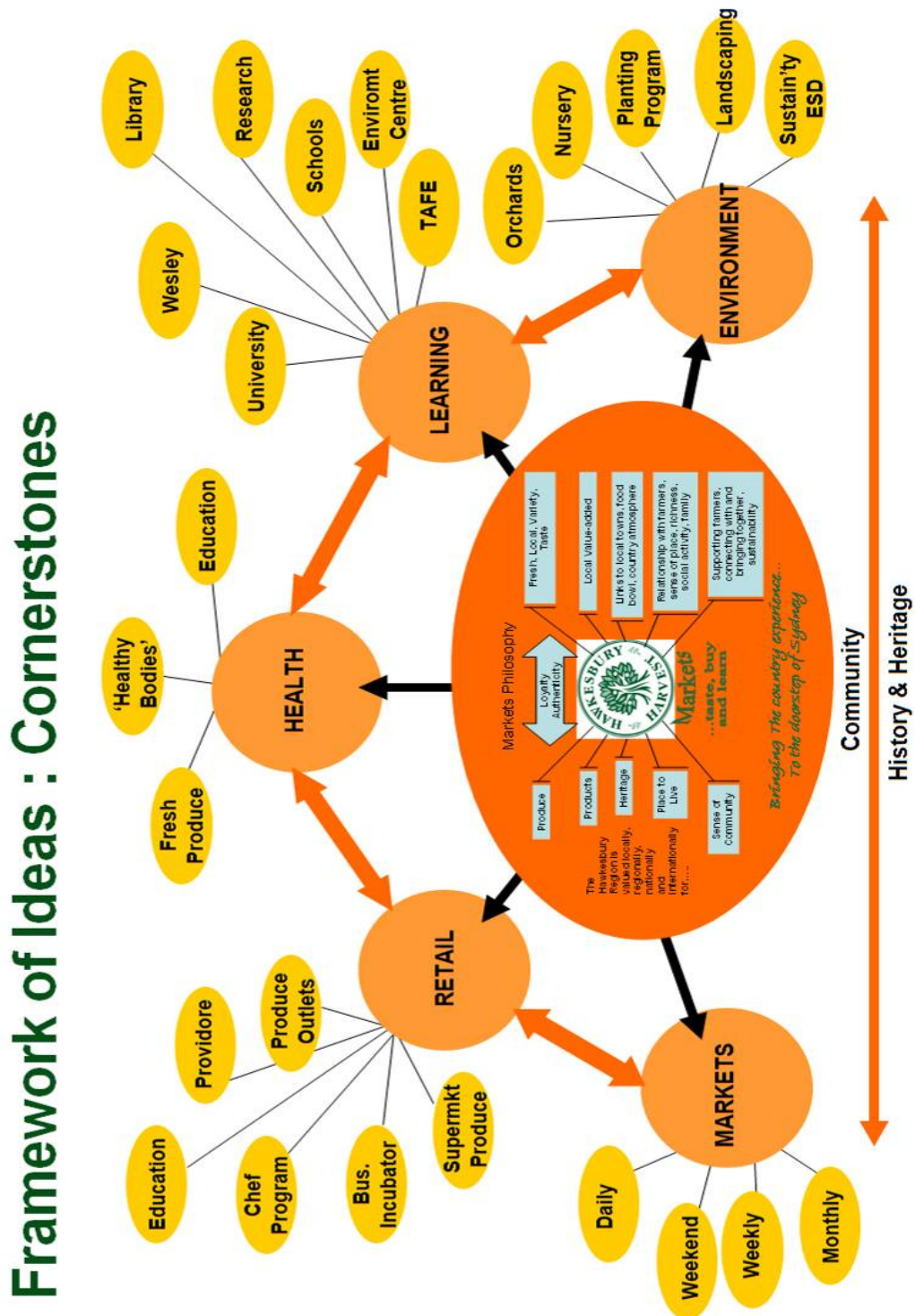


Exhibit 25: Key Learning Area RHRC – Ag & Hort and Harvest Positioning, 2005

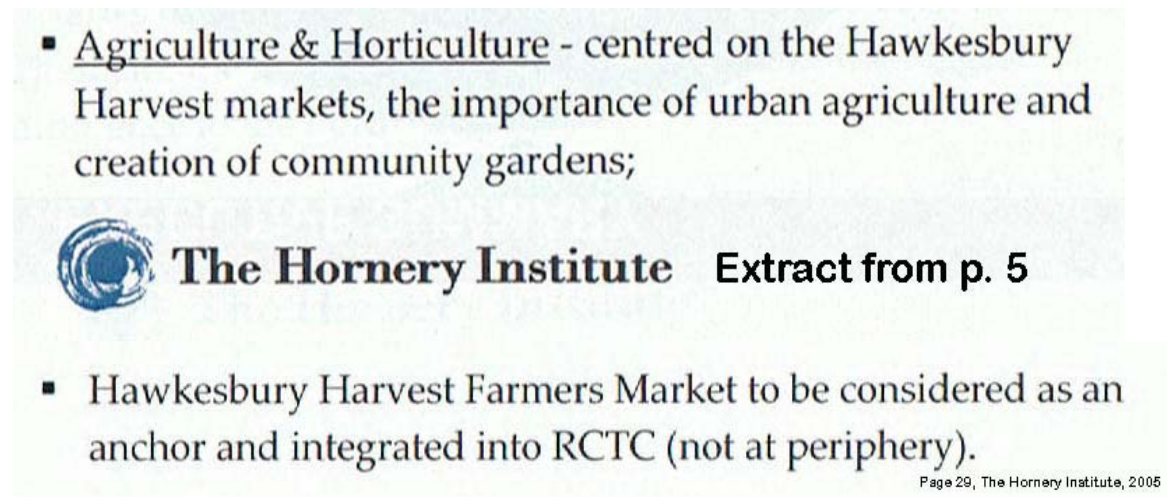
SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS							
Key Learning Area - Agriculture & Horticulture							
Key Learning Area	People of the North-West						
	Young Children 0-5yo	School Age Children 5-15yo	Youth 16-24yo	Families (Parents & Kids)	Young Couples	Single Parents	Seniors >60yo
<b>Agriculture &amp; Horticulture</b>	Hawkesbury Harvest (HH) Market						
	Community Garden /Nursery activities & programs						
	Town Centre 'Secret Garden' activities & programs						
	Farmer Education Outreach						
	Hawkesbury Harvest Business Enterprise Centre (BEC) & business incubator						
Research relating to urban agriculture and community/social impacts							
TVET & VETIS (Primary Industry)							
Agriculture High School							
Apprenticeships							
School based traineeships with HH farmers							
<b>Best Bets:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ LL/GPT should recognise that Hawkesbury Harvest will be a major asset to RHRC and will provide a <b>unique point of difference</b>. LL/GPT should acknowledge Hawkesbury Harvest as a 'major' retailer/educator/service provider at RH and should market the community group as a <b>primary anchor</b>.</li> <li>▪ LL/GPT should create a <b>true partnership with Hawkesbury Harvest</b>, fostering the organisation by providing appropriate support and guidance.</li> <li>▪ The Hawkesbury Harvest Market should be held in the <b>Mungerie House precinct as soon as possible</b> (prior to the permanent market facility opening in TC).</li> <li>▪ A <b>community garden/nursery</b> should be established at Mungerie House using <b>community helpers</b> as soon as possible.</li> <li>▪ Organise and support <b>academic research</b> into the pioneering relationship between Hawkesbury Harvest, LL/GPT, RHRC and the community.</li> </ul>							






These strategies are used to activate the Markets Philosophy of Hawkesbury Harvest which is about valuing the region locally, regionally and internationally for its produce, heritage, sense of place and community. The Farm Gate Trail then creates the additional recreational and learning experiences of the regional cultural landscape.

**Exhibit 26: Agriculture and Horticulture, The Hornery Institute and Harvest**



▪ Agriculture & Horticulture - centred on the Hawkesbury Harvest markets, the importance of urban agriculture and creation of community gardens;

 **The Hornery Institute** Extract from p. 5

▪ Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers Market to be considered as an anchor and integrated into RCTC (not at periphery).

Page 29, The Hornery Institute, 2005

At the end of 2005, The Hornery Institute<sup>242</sup> delivered its '*Report to the Rouse Hill Special Purpose Vehicle – Learning at Rouse Hill Regional Centre*' – part of Stage 1 Start-Up Deliverables and a process to which Harvest contributed<sup>243</sup>. As can be seen from the exhibits here and in Appendix One, The Institute mapped out an integrated strategy for embedding linkages with Harvest into the Rouse Hill Town Centre. This included the farmers market, establishing a community garden, education, business incubator, research and active partnering with a range of other community stakeholder groups. The articulation of this vision for Harvest's role in the Town was reassuring<sup>244</sup> and gratifying for the Harvest Board, coming as it did from a leading private sector think tank linked to two of the globe's biggest development and construction

242 See December 2005 and <http://www.horneryinstitute.com/index.html>.

243 See November 2005.

244 When the Lend Lease team presented to the Harvest Board in November 2002, there was cynicism and sense of caution when, as one of the Board put it, 'in walked this bunch of suits and put a proposition for cooperation and partnership to a bunch of farmers and local community members in the Hawkesbury' – it was hard to believe that the proposed partnering would/could be genuine.

firms, and reflecting what they perceived to be an appropriate positioning and valuing of the region's agri-culture and the role it could/should play in 'pioneering'<sup>245</sup> urban design. The strategy was an encouraging promise of what was to come.

In the lead-up to commencement of construction at the Rouse Hill Town Centre, Harvest was asked to propose their preferred detail for market operations<sup>246</sup>, especially logistical requirements. The desired model was a weekly market (initially) physically located in the 'Town Square' providing in-built shelter and facilities for stallholders offering a diverse range of fresh and ready-to-eat products. However, it was soon clear that plans were well advanced on the town centre designs, and despite the recommendations in the Hornery report, GPT intended to locate the market on the periphery near the transport interchange in a civic space they had named 'Market Square'. Services and facilities in this space were not designed to adequately support a food market, and the site was later<sup>247</sup> retro-fitted in order to do this, although still not as a purpose-built fit-out for hosting a permanent farmers market.

When the negotiations about the market frequency and mix of offerings commenced in earnest with GPT, more limitations were imposed which ultimately undermined viability of the market - a monthly market and a limited range of products were allowed. GPT was concerned, despite the evidence to the contrary, including their own conducted in November 2006<sup>248</sup> on Harvest's Castle Hill market, to protect the retail tenants and manage their perceptions that the farmers market was competition.

With the shift from the Lend Lease dominated, initial stages of the Rouse Hill development to the GPT dominated, construction and commissioning stages, Harvest experienced a shift from an emphasis on place and community-building to one where rationalist commercial

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245 See 'Best Bets' in Exhibit 73: Agriculture and Horticulture, The Hornery Institute and Harvest.

246 See 9 Feb 2006.

247 After the 2008 running period of the market, works completed in early 2009.

248 See December 2006 – UWS tourism student Dean Long was able to participate in this research activity through a Careers and Cooperative Education internship funded by Harvest and UWS.

considerations overshadowed, and in the case of Harvest's preferred design for the market, vetoed what had been aspirations for Harvest's engagement with the RHRC<sup>249</sup>.

The New Rouse Hill was opened in March 2008 to much acclaim<sup>250</sup>, Harvest assisting with opening functions, and the Hawkesbury Harvest Farmers and Fine Food Market (HHF&FFM) commenced on Easter Saturday the 22<sup>nd</sup>. A Harvest representative also joined the 'Our Rouse Community Committee', part of the governance structure established under the development. The Rouse Hill Learning Vehicle devised by the Hornery Institute was established as Learn 2, but with a rationalized mandate and presence.

Between March 2008 and the end of November 2009 when the last HHF&FFM was held the market lost stalls and neither the stall holders nor Harvest were making profits. Options were explored with stall holders and GPT but interest in continuing the market in 2010 had evaporated. Harvest requested it be released from the sub-leasing agreement and GPT accepted. Two further 'events' were conducted in the guise of the market, the Winter and Spring Harvest Festivals held at the Market Square in July and October of 2010.

All of the other strategies identified in the Hornery report also failed to materialise, principally due to the community garden and business incubator spaces not being made available. Lend Lease through the Learn 2 community spaces did maintain a relationship with

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249 This shift was coincidentally occurring at a time when Lend Lease and GPT themselves were 'falling out' with each other, and there was a definite distancing between the corporate parties as the managing of the relationship with Harvest shifted from Lend Lease to GPT.

250 Extract from Landcom's Fact Sheet 'Partnering to Deliver Projects: 'The Town Centre is the first commercial and retail centre in the country to demonstrate a comprehensive approach to social and environmental sustainability. The masterplan and design is based on an innovative 'main street' model which successfully challenges the way in which major retail and commercial facilities have been provided in the past. The Town Centre has all the convenience of a mall-style centre, but its open air format and its mix of land uses draws inspiration from town centers of old.

Harvest, but with no ‘working’ involvement at The New Rouse Hill, Harvest had little to offer in contributing to the ‘learning vehicle’<sup>251</sup>.

The failure of Harvest’s relationship with The New Rouse Hill may well fit Barnes et al’s (2006: 339) ‘construction of problematic subject’ by entrepreneurial place-making and its normative market-oriented imperatives, the ‘subject’ being Harvest and what it represents. The original Lend Lease and the Hornery Institute conceptualisation did ‘express’ a Harvest relationship in mutually acceptable terms, the desired discourse ‘a form of nostalgia-from-the-city and celebration of an idyllic small-community feel’ (as Barnes et al describe in the Wentworth Street, Port Kembla case, p. 345). Harvest’s contribution as ‘partner’ in building a new urban village, GPT’s re-interpretation of it and the final expression of it at the Town Centre as ‘retail tenant’ simply served to, at best, compromise and set the conditions for demise of the discourse, or at worst, design-in a fatal flaw and ‘worsen the oppression’ of Harvest’s identity<sup>252</sup>. There was a clear shift in the power position, one that put Harvest back into a similar structural relationship to that which its farmers suffered from in the wider food system dynamic<sup>253</sup>. Reflection within the Harvest board on the relationship’s demise concluded that the ‘problem’ was ‘there’s no sense of community there’, questioning what the developers sought to do through their relationship with Harvest in creating the New Rouse Hill ‘community’.

Market failure was also related to asymmetric disclosure that characterised dealings between Harvest and The Rouse Hill developers and also the Redfern Waterloo Authority (an established and well-capitalised actor) where the Authority approached Harvest to assist with

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251 By June 2013 the Learn 2 component of the New Rouse Hill had been shut down and signified the end of the Rouse Hill Learning and Community Project – a cynical view would say that corporate rationalism prevailed despite the best laid plans.

252 In 2012 The New Rouse Hill town centre management allowed a competing farmers market to establish on a weekly basis in the same location that Harvest’s market had been before. What particularly galled the Harvest board was that the market operator was not well-regarded in ‘genuine farmers market circles’ and was permitted to run the market with a weekly frequency, one of Harvest’s key requests of GPT in the design of the market, but one that had been refused even when the imminent failure of the market had been the subject of discussions in 2009.

253 A Foucauldian analysis would generate a rich picture of this dynamic in this empirical context.



their plans to establish the Eveleigh Market. They proposed a partnership, but in the process Harvest was required to partly disclose its model, giving the Authority the chance to ‘walk away from the deal with free and useful knowledge’ (Commonwealth of Australia, 2009: 39)<sup>254</sup> including ready access to the information and contact networks of Harvest and their market stall holders. This became one of the key contributors to Harvest’s decision to cease the St Marys Cathedral Market after the trial period, as many in the stall holder pool opted to trade at Eveleigh and abandoned Harvest’s city market.

These dealings with other market players in the farmer’s market scene typify the Prisoner’s Dilemma dynamic I explore in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

### ***Harvest’s Other ‘Projects’ – Slow Food and Schools Harvest***

Engagement with the Slow Food movement and future consumers through the Schools Harvest project serve strategic and functional roles in its agenda. They are separate but related initiatives and reference each other. In the agroecology literature, it has long been recognized that connections with ‘movements aligned with its principles can help contribute to systemic policy changes.’ For change to happen, ‘re-orientation’ of and beyond of the food system requires partnerships with ‘alternative agri-food movements’ (Fernandez et al, 2013: 118).

### ***Harvest and Slow Food***

Kate Faithorn first identified the similarities between Harvest and the Slow Food movement during her first year as Project Director (2001) noting that Harvest was ‘an advocate for Slow Food’. It was during the Food and Wine Coordinator project (2006-2008) that the then project officer, Carol Layton again explicitly identified the synergies with Slow Food and proposed that Hawkesbury Harvest establish a Slow Food Convivium, which it did in early 2008.

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<sup>254</sup> See ‘the case for a public role in innovation’ in Commonwealth of Australia, (2009). *Powering Ideas: an innovation agenda for the 21st century*, pp 37-43, Canberra: Department of Innovation, Industry, Science and Research.

Harvest mechanisms re-connect growers and eaters in settings outside the urban shopping malls and convenience food restaurants. A renewed and reinvigorated relationship serves growers with a viable means of diversifying production bases, retaining or re-investing in traditional varieties, and re-building the ‘arc of taste’<sup>255</sup> that Australians once enjoyed. These Harvest initiatives make possible ‘co-production’ as articulated by Slow Food.

Exhibit 27: Slow Food pages from the Farm Gate Trail map



Harvest's interest in forming a Slow Food convivium was the association with an international brand and the connection with other Slow Food Convivia in Australia. All of Hawkesbury Harvest's initiatives are 'slow food' in their philosophy and function. The Farm Gate Trail provides a permanent food trail experience people can explore all year round, either self-guided or through organized tours. The Farmers and Fine Food Markets provide weekly opportunities for growers and eaters to engage in Good, Clean and Fair exchange, and

<sup>255</sup> The 'arc of taste' is Slow Food's initiative for conserving and documenting for posterity the food culture riches of the world.

Hawkesbury Harvest's other events provide many opportunities during the year for people to participate in seasonally appropriate food and farming experiences.

Hawkesbury Harvest promoted Slow Food and the other NSW Convivia in the Farm Gate Trail map, on the Hawkesbury Harvest web site and at events and forums where Harvest presents and advocates on development issues. It directly assisted Slow Food Blue Mountains and the Citislow in promotion and engagement with the wider Sydney community. Schools Harvest was established as a Slow Food activity.

**Exhibit 28: UWS Tourism Students conduct a Slow Food Event – Bacchanalia at Tizzana Winery 2010**



Hawkesbury Harvest has had a long standing relationship with UWS through its hospitality and tourism, and environment and agriculture programs. It has hosted final year student projects in food production, farmers markets, farm tourism, and festivals and events. Under the auspices and with assistance of Slow Food Hawkesbury Harvest students have since 2008 run Slow Food events for the general public. These events bring producers and eaters together

around some Slow Food theme, usually involving visits and hands-on experiences with farms or artisanal producers. The aim is raise awareness about Slow Food and introduce young people to the movement and the importance of local agri-culture.

The relationship with Slow Food is mutually beneficial, but Hawkesbury Harvest, as a Slow Food Convivium, faced issues with Slow Food regarding Hawkesbury Harvest's status as a convivium. This related to the number of paying members Harvest gains for Slow Food, and the perception that Hawkesbury Harvest did not conduct Slow Food events<sup>256</sup>.

Slow Food International sets a minimum<sup>257</sup> number of memberships for retaining Convium status. Harvest's membership base numbers in the hundreds and some of its members are also members of Slow Food, but of other convivia<sup>258</sup>. The values of Slow Food are promoted through Harvest initiatives, events and promotion, and there is little incentive for its members to pay for a Slow Food membership on top of their Harvest membership. Harvest tried to design a membership fee structure that delivered fees to Slow Food and itself, but the value proposition was undermined by what Harvest offered as a matter of course to members. Accepting that it could not deliver the fee-paying memberships the international directorate required, Harvest proposed an affiliate relationship that would recognize its efforts supporting Slow Food in Australia, allowing it to retain rights to use the Slow Food Hawkesbury Harvest brand where and when it co-promoted the two organizations.

Harvest considered the Farm Gate Trail and Farmers Markets to be perpetual Slow Food activities, and the Open Days and the work it does with schools and university students slow food 'events'. All were/are open to Slow Food members and the general public, and publicised through the FGT Map, Hawkesbury Harvest's web site, and on ABC local radio as part of the regular segment on Saturday mornings.

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256 At least 3 events/activities per year must be organized.

257 To maintain Slow Food Convivium status they must have no less than 20 paid-up members.

258 For instance, Blue Mountains and Sydney.

There are also the strategic activities it pursues on the localised expression of the Slow Food agenda, which it was doing well before Slow Food had gained any traction in Australia<sup>259</sup>. At the end of 2011 Slow Food International ‘shut down’ Harvest’s Convivium. The Harvest board struggled with this as it seemed the higher values purported by Slow Food and the importance of these in gaining traction at the local level across the globe were secondary to Slow Food’s insistence on paid memberships and an unwillingness to recognize Harvest initiatives as ‘events/activities’ – rules and rationality were getting in the way of synergy and realizing a morally-based agenda on food and farming. Communicating with Italy the Board argued that “the synergies and collaborative power that our two organizations can wield with a united voice and strong brands makes a dissolution of the relationship we now have with Slow Food a tragic waste of potential and effective cooperation”.<sup>260</sup> Harvest proposed an alternative, but equally powerful relationship between it and Slow Food, a form of affiliation or partnership that would recognize its efforts in support of the Slow Food agenda, but this was rejected<sup>261</sup>.

### ***Schools Harvest and Future Consumers***

Schools Harvest is a schools-based initiative that engages children in experiential learning about agriculture, food, health, sustainability and food system careers. It was conceptualised by Stephen Blunden, Gavin Ramsay<sup>262</sup> and myself as a consequence of on-going but informal discussions about what was happening to UWS Hawkesbury, and particularly the applied degree programs and experiential learning paradigms that underpinned the Hawkesbury offering.

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259 Slow Food convivia have existed in Australia since the early 1990s and their growth inspired the formation of a national body, Slow Food Australia in 2007. This national body also struggled under the financial relationship with Italy, and eventually collapsed in late 2010, early 2011. Since then many other convivia across Australia have disbanded and the shifting interest and poor traction of Slow Food in Australia has become the focus of research at the Universities of Newcastle and Canberra commenced in 2012, to which Harvest has been a respondent.

260 Attachment to email correspondence (Wed 2/11/2011) from Ian Knowd, Treasurer HH to Elena Aniere, Program Director – Slow Food, Asia and Oceania.

261 See HH Dialogue with Slow Food International 2011.

262 Both members of the School of Natural Science teaching in the agriculture programs.



Stephen Blunden<sup>263</sup> had been running the UWS UniSchools Steer Challenge<sup>264</sup> since 1995.

Harvest's paddock-to-plate model integrated with the steers program would deliver a more diverse and complete food chain program engaging agriculture, food technology and other high school curriculum and staff. The level of interest was tested in August 2008<sup>265</sup> and a relationship established between the schools, UWS, Harvest and Crowne Plaza Norwest<sup>266</sup>. The hotel provided the 'plate' end of the project a place to conduct its Gala dinner<sup>267</sup>.

**Exhibit 29: Students working with Crowne Plaza kitchen brigade  
November 2008**



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263 Adjunct Fellow of the School of Natural Sciences, UWS – Stephen had been one of the permanent staff of the agriculture faculty.

264 The 'challenge' is a competition between high schools with agriculture units to fatten and care for a steer for 100 days, then show it and have it judged as it would at the Royal Easter Show for its qualities as meat stock. Originally part of the agriculture faculty outreach and engagement, it currently sits within the UWS Schools Engagement Program and continues to be managed by Stephen who is no longer employed by UWS, but remains as an Adjunct Fellow.

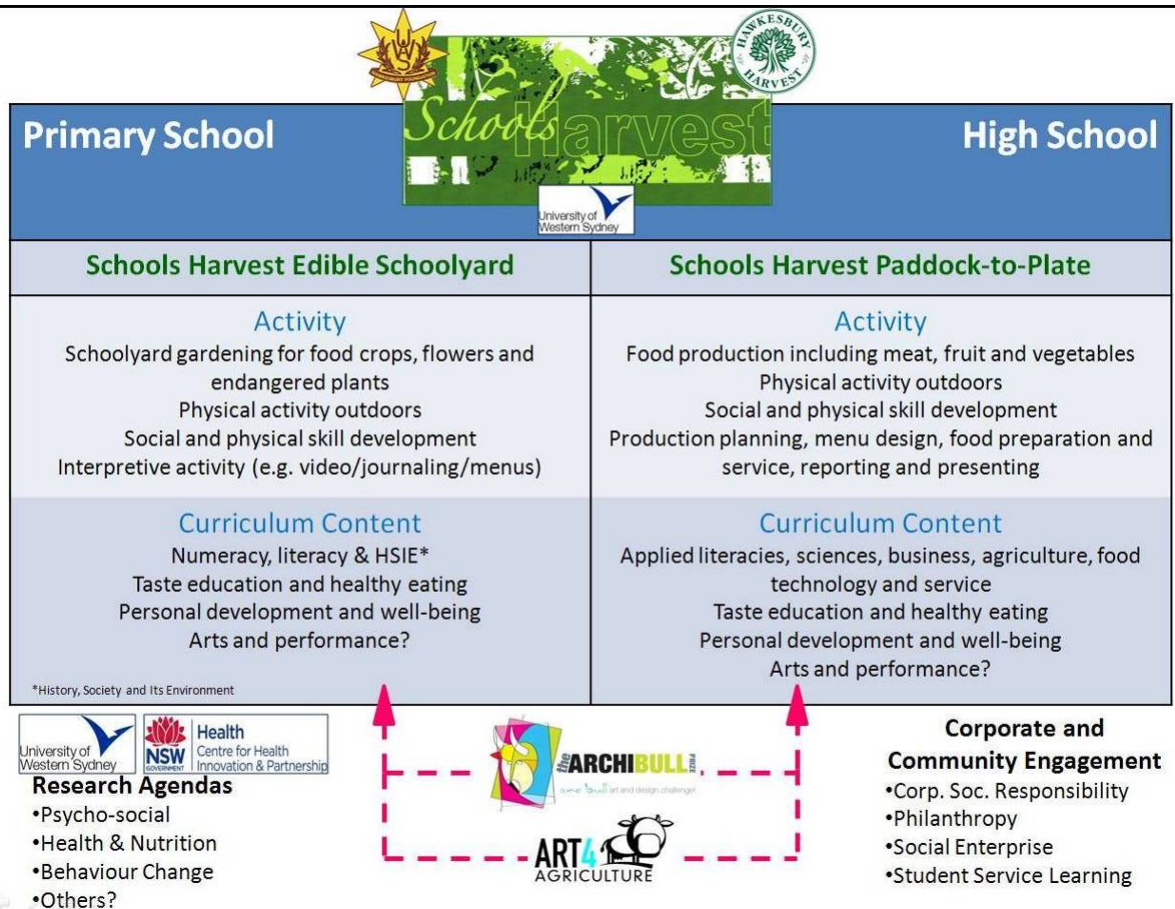
265 See 21st August, 2008.

266 Brian McHenry, General Manager of the hotel had been having conversations with me (we were both on the Board of HHART) for some time about running seasonal dinner functions with Harvest and tapping the Slow Food market interest in this. The link to Schools Harvest when it emerged was enthusiastically welcomed because of its additional corporate social responsibility and engagement potentials for the hotel.

267 Harvest's capacity to activate and exploit network capital.

The first Schools Harvest dinner was held at Crowne Plaza Norwest on the 21<sup>st</sup> November, 2008. Teams of high school students worked with the restaurant service staff, the chef and kitchen brigade to present a menu prepared using meat and vegetables produced by the schools from their 'ag plots'<sup>268</sup>, supplemented by other commodities from Harvest member producers. The success of this pilot project led to a formal agreement between Harvest, UWS School of Natural Science, and the UWS Hawkesbury Foundation<sup>269</sup> to further build the model.

**Exhibit 30: The Schools Harvest Model**



268 Agricultural plots located in the grounds of schools, usually growing food crop and farm animals.  
 269 UWSHF is a philanthropic charitable foundation formed to support and foster academic and research programs on the Hawkesbury Campus of UWS. The Foundation also provides links and support from UWS Hawkesbury's alumni in its earlier incarnation as Hawkesbury Agricultural College (1891-1989).

Two trends motivated Harvest in seeking to connect young people with farming and food, and conscientize them as future consumers/eaters<sup>270</sup>. The dominant demographic attracted to the FGT and farmer's markets were 35 years and older<sup>271</sup>, they already had a consciousness, younger generations had little or none. At the same time other schools-based food and nutrition programs were emerging that sought to address a wide range of health and eating-related issues affecting the young<sup>272</sup>, but none activated farms and local agriculture.

Schools Harvest focusses on food and farming, agriculture as an industry, the concepts of CSA and CFS, and careers and higher education in agriculture and its associated fields. Schools Harvest aims to embed their engagement with food systems into the curriculum. Ultimately it aims to foster a healthier public who understand and care about their role in the food system, appreciating the asset and opportunities that this provides for Australia. It's about 'food citizenship' and understanding the 'intersections' through food production and consumption of social, economic and environmental issues, and an injection of Harvest's 'place-based politics' into these understandings (Baker, 2004).

In June 2010<sup>273</sup> a strategic linkage was forged with the Centre for Health Innovation and Partnerships (NSW Health) when Harvest joined its leadership group. At the same time Richmond North Public School asked Harvest to assist in establishing a schoolyard garden project and facilitating better connections between the school and the farming community. Harvest secured funding support<sup>274</sup> for the school and facilitated a connection with CHIP who were interested to assess its health dimensions and potential for tackling future obesity and related

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270 Not to be confused with Dr Tim Flannery's *Future Eaters* (1994).

271 Confirmed in various student market research studies and the research conducted for GPT on the Castle Hill farmers market.

272 Examples include Stephanie Alexander's Kitchen Garden program; Healthy Kids: eat well, get active; Go for 2 and 5: Crunch and Sip; EPODE and OPAL nutritional interventions, Jamie's Ministry of Food; Farm to School. These public and private sector programs addressed issues ranging from nutrition, health and physical activity to food production and systems, and sustainability.

273 See 16 June, 2010.

274 See 21 September, 2010 - Bendigo Community Bank, North Richmond, community grants - \$3,500.



population morbidities. The RNPS Schools Harvest Edible Schoolyard project became the focus of a UWS Careers and Cooperative Education research internship in 2010<sup>275</sup> to document the experience from all stakeholder<sup>276</sup> perspectives and identify their needs in Schools Harvest-like programs. This has been presented at several health and education forums<sup>277</sup> as an exemplar initiative that locally contextualizes and connects curriculum content addressing a range of health, education and personal development issues through food gardens<sup>278</sup>. It is an intervention in looming problems of obesity, unhealthy eating, and physical inactivity, a practical and hands-on food production and consumption experiential vehicle.

### Exhibit 31: Thought for food – Schools Harvest at RNPS



The potentials to go beyond the obvious curricula in maths, the sciences and personal development to develop content for English, the arts and other study areas. Harvest worked

275 See 29 October - Amy Appleton and Laura Barfield, health and nutrition final year B. Science students from the Hawkesbury campus.

276 Stakeholders included Hawkesbury Harvest, UWS School and adjunct staff, agriculture and food technology high school teachers, primary school teachers, farmers who had been involved in Schools Harvest, independent education consultants, staffs from NSW Health, Centre for Health Innovation and Partnerships, Schools Industry Partnership, Dept. of Education and Training. Participation in stakeholder meetings also took place. Findings were presented at the 2nd ILSI/CHIP Symposium in December 2011 in the paper 'School Garden Models: Paddock-to-Plate Partnering and Schools Harvest.

277 See 26 July & 10, 25 November & December 2010; 27 January & December, 2011 – CHIP/ILSI Symposiums 2010 & 2011, Youth Eco Summit, Western Sydney Vocational Education Advisory Committee, Partnerships to Educate for Healthy Living– Hawkesbury Pilot 2011,

278 See 26 January & 9 February, 2011 – The vegie factor and the school's response.

with the Archibull Prize and Picasso Cows initiative currently being run as an Art 4 Agriculture<sup>279</sup> initiative. Potential exists to develop a school's district exhibit for inclusion in the Royal Easter Show and other regional agricultural shows. The association with Hawkesbury Harvest and the burgeoning alternative food channel sector of the economy mean that school gardens and food events can be income-producing to help fund further rounds of involvement. Schools Harvest or similar integrated program present a range of research opportunities around the psycho-social determinants of healthy eating, health and nutrition generally, and the effectiveness of interventions in producing long-term behaviour change. External or third party linkages<sup>280</sup> create opportunities for corporate and community engagement through corporate social responsibility, philanthropy, social enterprise and student service learning.<sup>281</sup>

All of the tools described above are vehicles for communication, education and awareness-raising, they are Harvest's pedagogies. In the next section I explain their ability to do this by locating them within some existing tourism theoretical frameworks. The aim in this analysis is to explore the conscientizing processes and reveal how theory links to Harvest's dialogic/dialectic project.

### ***Theorizing Harvest's Pedagogical Strategies***

Harvest's tourism-related mechanisms present no new contribution to tourism theory, instead my aim here is to explicate them using some seminal and more recent theory of how tourism phenomena work. The selective linking to tourism theory helps explain the power of

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279 See 20 May, 2010.

280 Orchardist Bill Shields has helped establish a mini-orchard as part of this garden and will continue to work with the school to tend and harvest from this garden. He has installed irrigation, weather and other systems for monitoring and maintaining the garden.

281 Student service learning is a concept that describes university or TAFE student 'projects' where students work directly with the Schools Harvest program to conduct research, develop education materials and interventions, conduct action research and situation improvement participative projects with students and schools staff, or simply participate in the delivery of activities and curriculum content for industrial experience purposes.

vehicles and vectors in the Harvest dialogue, using as they do commoditization and market mechanisms central to neo-liberal economies.

I stated earlier that the ‘product’, the Farm Gate Trail, is constructed as an active, observational, learning journey, one that replicates what Walter (1988) characterised as the first tourist activity, the journeys undertaken by ambassadors of the ancient Greek city states, the gaining of knowledge by directly seeing and gazing upon things afar. This empirical theorizing engaged ‘a perceptual system that included asking questions, listening to stories and local myths, and feeling as well as hearing and seeing’, one that encouraged ‘an open reception to every kind of emotional, cognitive, symbolic, imaginative, and sensory experience’ citing Burnet’s (1920 as cited in Ulmer, 1992) original description of the ancient Greek *theoria*. *Theoria* was the reported learning of the city ambassadors, ‘the wise men who travelled to inspect the obvious world’ (Walter, 1988) and who were called ‘*theoros*’ (Liddell & Scott, 1996), from which our word ‘theory’ comes.

The Farm Gate Trail experience replicates this ancient form of experiential learning and provides the system (after Leiper, 1995) or vehicle (no pun intended) for travelling along trails, experiencing difference and learning as one ‘inspects the obvious world’. In my analysis I go beyond the functional theoretical models that dominate the tourism literature about trail tourism (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; MacLeod, 2004; Timothy & Boyd, 2015) to seeing that Harvest’s construction of the experience facilitates understanding of Minca and Oakes’ (2006: 16-17) question about ‘what the experience of travel teaches us about place’, and especially the ‘ambiguities, tensions, and contradictions of modernity’, the expressed ‘binaries’ out on the trail<sup>282</sup>, and the ‘paradoxical synthesis’ possible via the visitor experience, and their hermeneutic engagement with the Trail. It addresses what Donald Horne described as one of the ‘greatest despairs of the critics of tourism’, their belief that ‘we can no longer travel on an “expedition” in

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282 Recall the Harvest Ode.  
Ian Knowd

which we can find out something new for ourselves' (1992: 22) and about ourselves. It creates the 'refreshment' of experiences that stimulate the senses of 'discovery and wonder and curiosity' through site and 'sight-experiencing' (ibid: 375). This makes trails a form of meaningful and intelligent travel.

There are other travel motivation resonances from the ancient world. Based on the writings of the Early Greeks, travel satisfied desires for the parochial particular or 'other' (Minca & Oakes, 2006: 19) in a time when the lives of people were dominated by monocultural civilization (Elsner & Rubiés, 1999), as they are again today. The 'theory-making' and 'mapping' that trail-takers do resonates with these ancient themes.

Lastly, journeys of pilgrimage have long been of interest in touristic terms (Damari & Mansfield, 2014) and the transcendental potentials more recently. Cohen's typology has ideal-typical value<sup>283</sup> in characterising the potentials of a Farm Gate Trail or market experience, and their dialectic roles, especially for the experiential and existential modes. The translatability of conceptualising pilgrimage as a liminal phenomenon (ibid: 4) and the tourist experience as one of springboard into animation (Jafari, 1987) is self-evident. Damari and Mansfield's 'post-postmodern pilgrimage' is facilitated by Harvest's touristic mechanisms.

The mobility that was afforded the Greek ambassadors has become ubiquitous. Just as the defeat of distance is a hallmark of industrial agriculture and the global food system, the same technologies have made possible the tourist activity and defeated the modern isolation of farms from consumers. The system of ubiquitous transport and the auto-mobility (Urry, 2006a) it affords has set the conditions for the resurrection of pre-modern economic relations between modern farmers and modern consumers. Parallel with this is the 'connected world' and the technologies that make it possible for consumers to 'visit' the farm through cyberspace. We are

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<sup>283</sup> In addition to modes of experience, Cohen also theorized about pilgrimage (1979).

seeing the post-modern democratization<sup>284</sup> of grower-eater relations using market ‘technologies’ that commoditize experiential itineraries (Wang, 2006) – this in itself is paradoxical – but in ways that allow for a customisation-within-boundaries<sup>285</sup> defined by the Trail.

Tourists and market devotees access and activate ‘complex networks by which hosts, guests, buildings, objects and machines are contingently brought together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain times’ (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006: 13) in whatever experiential modes they choose. This access is dependent on mobility and driven by their desire for some form of other, or as I described it above, the parochial particular.

The heart of the parochial particular made available is the source of interest and fascination that manifests as ‘emotional, cognitive, symbolic, imaginative, and sensory experiences’, characterized earlier as ‘real’<sup>286</sup> and REAL. Animation potentials are amplified by a mono-cultural, modern, urban existence, and the mono-culturation expressed in standard or clichéd representations of ‘country Australia’ grounded in the mythologies and romance of the bush<sup>287</sup>. The generalizations, the ideal-typical romantic notions of the rural that bestow iconicgraphic status, de-emphasize particularities and they are lost to us (Read, 1996). Trails and experiences of them require the expression of local particularities<sup>288</sup>, especially food and wines, if they are to effectively differentiate an area from other places, and make REAL animation possible. In this

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284 In the same way that mass tourism was a democratisation of tourism that previously only persons like Greek ambassadors and Victorian elite enjoyed, and in the same way that household solar power installations are democratising the energy industry, and home telecommunications systems democratise access to the global super highway.

285 Ning Wang (2006: 73) describes itineraries as ‘menus for tourist consumption’ – the Farm Gate Trail maps, especially the latest editions are in such a form, providing a list of selectable ‘dishes’ with which to form a touristic ‘meal’ from a ‘cuisine’ that is distinctively Hawkesbury Harvest. And as with any meal, the experience of it is subjective, and like the case of restaurants, influenced by many variables that impact on its quality on the day. Of interest here too is the idea that the map is a form of bureaucratisation, grouping, organising and rationally arranging a geography for consumption, and in so doing, subjugating consumers in the same ways that their corporated lives also do.

286 What Horne referred to paradoxically as “the fast food of the imagination” (1992: 120).

287 See Appendix Two.

288 Answering Horne’s plea for an intelligent form of tourism.

way a region's identity is communicated for residents and visitors with a 'sharp sense' of the uniqueness an area has to offer (Horne, 1996). An intelligent tourist seeks something more authentic and reliable, something that surpasses the shallow 'tourist promotion claptrap' and 'clichés of pioneer life', to deliver on the promise of local flavour and local ambience.

The strength of 'local flavour' is what makes competitive advantage in a world where globalisation forces tend to create more of the same, and especially if this sameness is one of the drivers of visitor interest in different places. Researchers describe this as the paradox of commodification whereby many places position themselves as being unique by providing a standard mix of tourist experiences, for example, in cities where tourism planners attempt to differentiate food culture in 'eat streets' or dining precincts. They achieve both standardisation (offering an eat street) and differentiation (an eat street that is unique to the place and culture) (Caalders et al, 2000). When applied to trails the same effect can be seen – experiences can be the same and different at the same time by providing the basic trail experience, just as many other places do, but ensure survival by creating uniqueness - it's the differences, the particularities that count<sup>289</sup>.

Tourists, visitors and to some extent farmers market patrons are seekers of these differences and particularities. If mono-culturation stimulates interest and amplifies animation, what role does it play in the Harvest dialectic? The work of Erik Cohen allows me to locate and account for the role of disconnection and centering in the seeker's motivation, and its mode of experience.

In applying Cohen's typology, I am also cognizant of that aspect of Weber's work where he explored the providential effects of 'work' in Protestant life and its role as a centring influence in the psychosocial lives of individuals. Chapter Seven: Portentous Palimpsests is where look

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289 For an another interesting exploration of the implications of these ideas in a local context see Augustyn (2000) which describes the experience of the Herefordshire Cider Route project.

closely at Harvest as a carrier organization but I want to flag a Weberian connection to a Cohen analysis of the seeker's motivations, and the nature of their experiences. It arises when 'theorizing', as explained above, done via an activation of the senses that generate a dialogue with Harvest through experiences, has moral and ethical dimensions, and for some, a purpose that results in meaningful action. The tourist experience has meaning as a mode of discovery beyond that questioned by Tim Edensor (2006) as dominated by the visual, and provides an answer to Garlick's question about 'why people still travel' (ibid: 25). The theorizing people do through the Trail journey is an enriching experience, akin to the wealth-building effects of a protestant work ethic, delivering providential benefits, and for some, with a spiritual, if not moral dimension – this is what makes a good life<sup>290</sup>.

Figure 9 is a conceptual framework drawing together the three key theoretical constructs of relevance to Harvest's touristic mechanisms. I will bring Jafari's work into the discussion shortly, but it will be helpful in applying Cohen's typology if I present this synthesis at this point in the discussion. The framework speaks specifically to wine tourism as a way of focussing the interpretation of food and wine trail tourism using Cohen's modes. I have done this to produce greater clarity in the way experiential orientations to the 'product' are expressed by tourists. Where references in the matrix are about 'wine', adding of the words and relevant characteristics for 'food and farming' would broaden the applicability of the matrix.

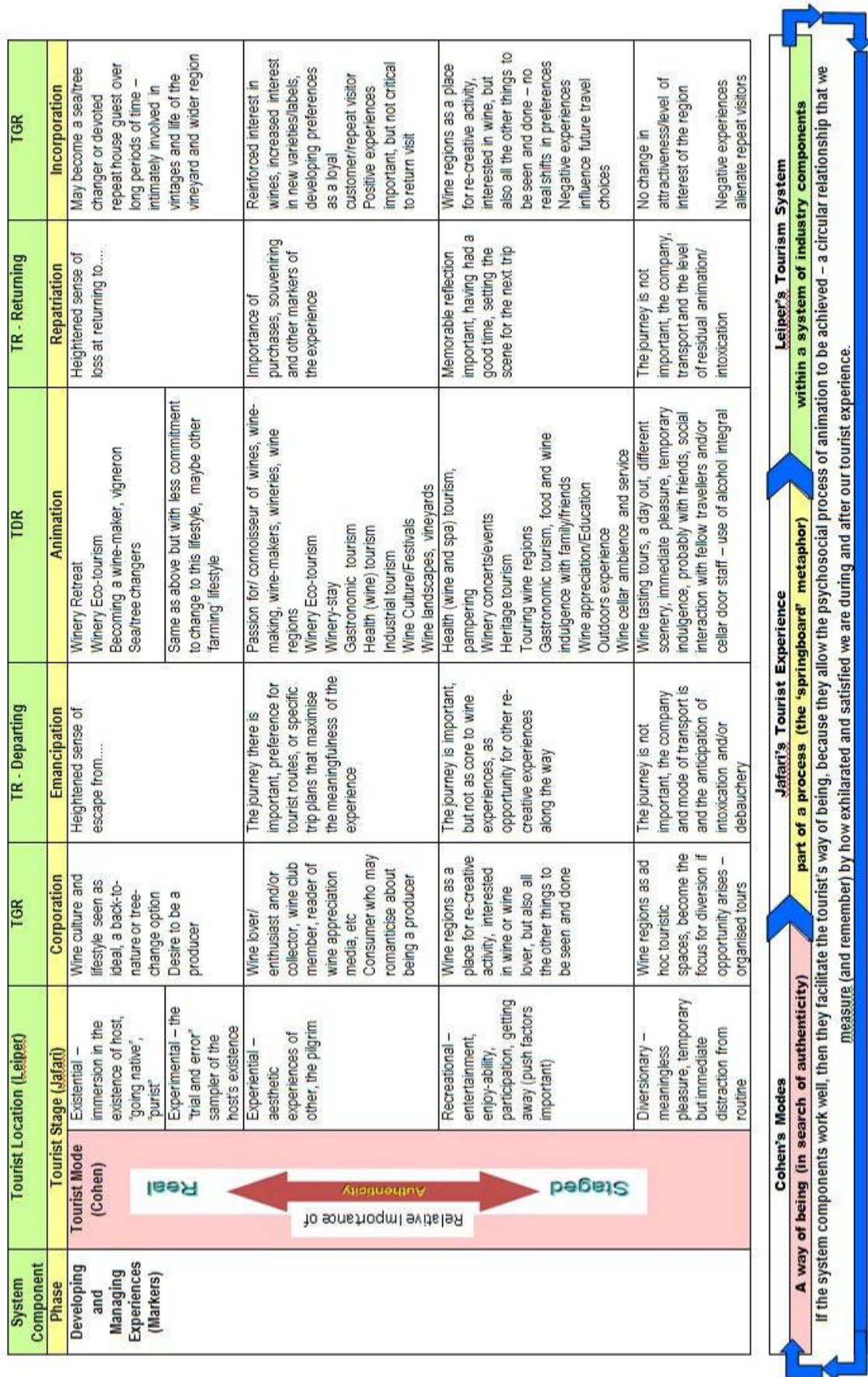
The matrix aligns Leiper's conceptualisation of the tourism system, Cohen's modes of tourist experience and Jafari's psychosocial process of tourist experience. Aligning these theoretical frameworks in this way better explains how these three theoretical models relate to each other, but more importantly it makes the tourist's food and wine trail experience, and each of the modal expressions of it at the different locations within the system, easier to identify.

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<sup>290</sup> As described by Weber in PE – in a recent article (Everett, 2012: 547) provides some empirical evidence of this through her qualitative study of food tourism in the UK – see especially 'it is possible to have a good life and survive, and step outside the system' (Moir, 50s).



Figure 9: Food and Wine Tourism Conceptual Framework



An issue Cohen identified with his modal typology was the possibility that for some modes, the experiences could not or were unlikely to be realized because of the ‘falsification’ proclivities of the ‘tourist establishment’ (1979: 94). In the case of farm gates this is less likely because the farmer’s intent is to open their farm to visitors, and this lends itself to realizing Cohen’s higher level modes of experience<sup>291</sup>. It is however evident and explored later in the chapter through the Enniskillen case where John Maguire’s greater immersion as a tourism business has been accompanied by a back-of-house/front-of-house dichotomy<sup>292</sup>.

From the visitor’s perspective, Cohen also noted that they might not be able to realize their experience because of its un-availability, the farm gate not being open ‘enough’ to allow the visitor to access, see and sense what they are seeking, making the ‘more “profound”’ (ibid) experiences less attainable. However, with farm gate tourism, the diversionary mode which Cohen described as the easiest to attain, is also more difficult than the mid-range modal experiences because the likely behaviours of visitors in the diversionary mode are antithetical to the host’s purpose in offering farm gate experiences. The behaviours themselves, the frivolous and playful demeanours show little or no respect<sup>293</sup> for the farmer who has opened his farm for them to experience.

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291 Especially those farms where pick-your-own is encouraged and involvement in wine-making are available. Tizzana Winery holds ‘events’ each year for its picking and crush.

292 Not to be confused here with Cohen’s critique of McCannell (1973) and his ‘false front/false back’ staged authenticity – John Maguire simply closes off access to the back-of-house, the actual farm, and instead restrains his visitors to the veranda where they can access the vista of the farm and rural landscape. This is similar to cases found in the UK (see Everett 2012) and related to what I have previously described as the ‘inside/outside paradox’ (Knowd, 2001a) which also entails those aspects of tourist expectations that are about seeking ‘noble poverty’ (Everett, 2012: 551 – Gianna, producer from West Cork testimony.)

293 Recall also that Harvest members, through its Vision and Values explicitly mobilize respect as a core of the experiences they want to provide. Diversionary experiences are encouraged in some winery situations where there is already a market for the group wine tour and the cellar door is targeting that business – the Bacchanalian debauchery is welcomed so long as it is controlled. Conversely, diversionary tourists are unwelcome and discouraged where the cellar door sees itself and is positioned as a respected vigneron/vintner. Farmers can be openly hostile to visitors who do not show this respect and are ‘showing’ characteristics of a diversionary experience. The most common irritant for farmers comes in the form of haggling over price, and especially if the visitor compares prices with supermarket prices,

The Farm Gate Trail is a recreational or experiential experience for the majority of tourists. The typologies of experimental and existential are possible, but the on-the-ground or, as Cohen described it, the 'geographic' (ibid: 194) reality makes these largely aspirational. What is available in these modes is the 'idealism' that attends the purpose and vision of Harvest as a bundler of experiences having higher-order aims and significance. By being farm gate tourists, visitors give effect to these, ultimately being part of the existential reality of farmers as consumers of their 'products', making it possible to retain the 'way of living' and knowing how they do that – it is 'co-production'<sup>294</sup> in the sense that Slow Food promotes. It is a vicarious relationship and one that all farm gates invite, a form of patronage that is a component of the 'animation experience'.

In a later work Cohen (1988) explored further the role of alienation, particularly with regard to defining authenticity, but for my purposes it also has relevance for understanding this role of idealism in the tourist's motivation, and particularly as it relates to Harvest's farmers markets and the debate that it has had with the 'foodie' elite in Australia since it established its first. These intellectuals, in Harvest's world exemplified by Jane Adams and the ideals of the Australian Farmers Market Association, characterised in Cohen's terms are 'generally more alienated, and more aware of their alienation, than the rank-and-file middle-classes, and especially the lower middle class, who still strive to attain the material gains which those beyond them already enjoy' (1988: 376). As Cohen postulated, these individuals more seriously seek an authentic expression and experience, and hold out stricter criteria by which they assess the authenticity of an offering, and this has been at the heart of the debate between Harvest and the AFMA since it first started articulating what defines a genuine farmers market.

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demonstrating their superficial valuing and lack of respect for what and why the farmer is offering, having opened their farm for experiences, not just trade in commodities.

294 Extract from Slow Food International web site "Slow Food coined the term co-producer to highlight the power of the consumer – that we can go beyond a passive role to take an active interest in those who produce our food, how they produce it and the problems they face in doing so. In this way, we become part of the production process." <http://www.slowfood.com/international/27/be-a-coproducer>.

Exhibit 32: Harvest’s Genuine Grower, Producer and Reseller Markets Banner



The implications of this is the more purist you get, the less accessible (and therefore tradable) is the commodified form of what you're calling authentic. Harvest’s farmers markets have been critiqued by Jane Adams and others because, in their conceptualisation, the farmers market can only be considered authentic *if* it's actually the farmer who trades at the stall, selling produce they've grown on their farm(s), directly to people who want it because it is authentic in this way.

Harvest’s alternative reality is that authenticity is about what the ‘less alienated’ of us really will accept, it's a pragmatic<sup>295</sup> form of market that is no less authentic than the purist model, and also, less alienating for both the farmers and the consumers, involving a generous scope for producer/consumer:

grower/eater relations based on reciprocity. Indeed, Harvest’s conceptualisation of

‘authenticity’ lies in its markets as a real-world response<sup>296</sup> to changing economic, social and

295 Harvest ‘allows’ growers to work cooperatively with others to maximize the potentials for trading taking into account seasonal variability of supply and the logistical challenges that farmers face if they want/need to attend many markets in order to have a viable farmers market presence. This means they can ‘represent’ each other and gain multiple presences at multiple markets at any given time.

296 Recall that Harvest’s mission is about viability – farmers markets play a role in this, and Harvest’s purpose in establishing them was to serve farmers’ interests. Thus Harvest’s model is more pragmatic and flexible because it acknowledges the challenges growers face – ‘foodie’ markets are seen as too restrictive for most producers, unrealistically constraining the potential of markets to assist growers in diversifying their business models and gaining direct access to consumers.

environmental conditions in the farming and urban communities of Sydney, just like it is all around the world.

Authenticity as foodie culture would have it is exactly the ideal that makes trail and market alter-channel possible, but Harvest's preoccupation is with how these are identified and 'marked' as genuine. The issues created around this are a constant operational challenge with the risks attached to false or misleading representation<sup>297</sup> being a Fair Trading matter.

Trail development and the mushrooming farmers markets phenomenon led Harvest to commence formalizing their 'standards' policies through farm gate trail membership and stall holder applications which require assurances about provenance and minimum standards for trading and service. In 2008 Harvest implemented its Genuine Grower Policy and began promoting it openly to consumers at its markets. This remains its primary quality assurance and product provenance strategy.

Cohen's modes of experience and the inherent debate about authenticity that they entail<sup>298</sup> apply to both of Harvest's principal mechanisms of engagement. These notions of experience and authenticity, activated by experience and engagement with Harvest's 'products' allow consumers to express ideals and affiliate themselves with ideals articulated by Hawkesbury Harvest. This is a unique prospect of the animation experience, and where Jafari's work helps us understand this expression as part of a social process taking place in a tourism system.

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297 Both the AFMA and Harvest, with other market operators in the sector regularly discuss this issue, and many have developed similar rules or codes of practice that bind their market participants. It is common knowledge that there are unscrupulous operators who are cavalier in their naming of markets, using words such as 'organic', 'farmers' and 'growers' to brand their markets when they have little, and in some cases no genuine offerings of these types.

298 Articulated in Haug, 2007 – formulations of authenticity in tourism studies fail to incorporate adequate understanding of the philosophical basis of human being, especially as defined by the existentialists, particularly Sartre. These are related to my thesis, but not the current focus on tourism/animation as a mode of engagement, as I called it at the outset, part of the "shell" to Hawkesbury Harvest, it being the fruit of the nut.



Jafar Jafari's seminal sociocultural model of tourist experience was published in 1987. Applying the model easily explains the sociocultural process that the Farm Gate Trail facilitates, the explorative dimensions and the relation between ordinary and non-ordinary, and the positioning of the process phases in the tourism system. Applying it to the pseudo-touristic animation that farmers markets facilitate yields greater insights into the role they play in Harvest's dialogic struggle. Markets heighten the potential for animation about issues and treating them as touristic experience makes explicit the post-modernist preference for seeing tourism as 'intertwined and inseparable' from everyday life (Moscardo et al, 2013: 536). It is the nature of the experience in Jafari's model that gives explanatory power, but my analysis here integrates more recent work challenging the underlying assumptions about dualities in Jafari's work.

Farmers markets are an alter-channel. They are outside the mainstream retail system, even if, like the Rouse Hill case, they have been 'designed-in'. They are well-resourced from a 'network capital' perspective (Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2006: 280). Crucial to the success of the Trail and Harvest markets are network technologies and the presence of existing tourist flows, an already-transected landscape with existing networks of connected linking and arterial roads, and the network capital of growers and other participants who are literally linked via the map, markets and other HH mechanisms. Harvest is a vector, a facilitator of movement and connection, and a vehicle through which people connect with culture. Alter-channels are places for escaping the mainstream, re-creating earlier renditions of market spaces and the social relations that they entailed. They re-assert and restore the socio-cultural relations between farmers and eaters<sup>299</sup>, providing an antidote to the rationalised 'shallowness of our routinized daily existence' (Barbalet 2008: 50 citing Weber) characterised by a particular 'spatial order,

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299 Er, Binks & Ecker (2011) in their ABARES study into the social dimensions of farmers markets cite the importance of social benefits for farmers in participating at a farmers market with 70-80% of them saying that interaction with consumers and other producers, consumer access to fresh food, consumer support for local producers, and the social atmosphere of the farmers' markets being 'very important'.

regulation, classification and rationalization in accordance with the bureaucratic and commercial imperatives' (Edensor, 2006: 36) of an industrialized food system.. To an extent they also re-create a pre-modern market form where the participants seek out and need to trust each other as co-producers of the experience, engaging in a dialogue informed by promises of authenticity, genuineness, caring and integrity. It may well be that Harvest's farmer-direct channels activate cultural resonances that Barbalet explores through Thomas Wright's <sup>300</sup>writings on passions and their relevance to markets, particularly the characterisation of the rural trader as less conniving and 'crafty' (ibid: 100).

Interpreting what the farmers market represents as a re-creative space and potential destination in terms of Jafari's model is as follows. Addressing the sociocultural 'phases' we characterise:

Corporation – *'The corporate body is composed of substances and conditions which incubate the motivation'* (Jafari, 1987: 152) – it is a state influenced by 'the fertile ground' and Harvest's social context, the milieu or as Jafari described it the '*melange*'. It includes what Binnie et al (2007: 167) describe as 'mundane mobilities', and 'mundaneity [which] is always potentially otherwise'. These induce a desire to seek alternative 'market' experiences. Corporation positions the farmers market as an alter-space, juxtaposing it as separate to and distinct from the ordinary retail foodscape<sup>301</sup>. It involves an additional effort outside the usual<sup>302</sup> in order to experience it, attendees have to be 'devoted' enough to make this effort, to seek the alter-rhythm, one that is 'productive in constructing our life-worlds differently—spatialities and temporalities emerge up and are lived differently through the interruption of the mundane', making possible alter-affectual relations (ibid: 168). As David Mason puts it:

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300 Wright, Thomas. 1604. *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*.

301 And as we saw with Harvest's Rouse Hill market, the developer deliberately located it that way in the town centre structure.

302 As is the Farm Gate Trail experience.

*“I think, well it’s hard to know what motivates customers, I mean there’ll be a whole range of things that motivate them, some people are totally committed to not, I mean they’re so pissed off with the supermarket system as my wife is at the moment, you know she goes in there and sees all these Coles brands taking over everything, I mean she says “I’ll never shop there again”, so that’s one motivation, you need an alternative place to shop. Others are people looking for freshness, and they’re, you know, dissatisfied with the food system as it stands, they’re dissatisfied with a whole range of things that cause them to actually go there, and I think, you know the hard times that we’re suffering are causing them to really reflect on what our world is or what their world is and there’s a spin-off from that, it reflects itself” (Mason interview Part II 14:15:00 – 15:20:00)*

Emission – a process taking place in corporation that triggers surfacing and expression of ‘directed flows’, the planning and communication that lead to market (or Trail) attendance, the seeking of information<sup>303</sup>, the receiving of it, the allocation of time and resources to getting there. Like Jafari’s description of some destinations, markets have in-built mechanisms that encourage frequent visitation, which is their regular, but transitory event status and the ‘can-only-be-sourced-from-markets’ commodities.

Emancipation – the transformation of the individual into a ‘tourist’ state, in this case the state of market devotee, one committed to the journey and anticipating the experience. It is the state that Weber described as a requirement if ‘action is to have an inner strength’ (Hennis, 1987: 55 citing Weber).

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303 There’s a significant aspect of Harvest’s presence as a virtual or mobile, ‘at-a-distance’ actor in the relationship between farmers and consumers of trail and markets experiences. Harvest’s web site and phone contact are important relational mechanisms in mobilizing potential visitors/market attendees/consumers. Reflecting on my own experience as “the-voice-at-the-end-of-the-phone” for HH reveals that ‘communicative travel’ (Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2006) channels are important as people with differing abilities use Harvest’s communication networks to negotiate the use of the Trail for their own needs. Most of the calls I take include the speaker talking with me and with us both simultaneously on the web and co-navigating the HH web site. Where this is not the case they have often already visited the site or intend to as soon as they gain access to the computer again. They are asking network questions, seeking direction and guidance through the network that the trail physically represents, and the virtual mapping that they need to do to understand how their own journey can be mapped out, how their near future will be mapped onto the Harvest trail and through a relationship with Harvest, the Trail and the farmers and others who are part of that phenomenon.



Separation – an emancipation process involving the actual act of travelling to the market place, the physical distancing and the cognitive awareness of the ‘spatial “markers”’ (Jafari’s original emphasis) of this. Market physical/geographical locations<sup>304</sup> and their positioning as an alter-foodscape constitute these markers.

Declaration – an emancipation process that perhaps contrary to Jafari’s original characterisation for tourists, *lifts* the ‘mask’ of internalized seeking of an ‘other’ centre for the market devotee, the joining with others like themselves at the market, seeking the same kinds of things and expressing the same kinds of values by being there. It is the realisation of kindred spirit-hood, especially for those experiential and higher modes of experience seeker, the antidote referred to earlier. Harvest also designs-in some physical markers of this in the market layout and stall design – at the Cook and Phillip (St Mary’s Cathedral Square) and Rouse Hill Town Centre markets the colours of the stall canopies contributed to this<sup>305</sup>.

Animation – the psychosocial state realized once immersed in the market, the ‘buzz’ of it, the prospect of new discoveries and/or the promise of finding those special and favourite stalls again, the counter-emotion of potential disappointment and loss if they are not. The Trail and markets both facilitate a need to meet by creating ‘meetingness’ opportunities (after Urry, 2003) and facilitates the desire to put a-face-to-the-name, to meet<sup>306</sup> the farmer or artisan and see them for who they are, the producer of ‘our’ food, the stewards of ‘our’ land, the roots of local culture and social relations with the land (and landscape). In practical terms, John Maguire described consumers who:

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304 Harvest’s markets have been held in St Mary’s Cathedral square, Castle Hill Agricultural Society showground, Richmond Schools of Arts, Joan Sutherland Performing (civic) Arts precinct, and in the case of Rouse Hill, the ‘market square’ which paradoxically was positioned outside the ‘main’ market areas of the town centre, a simulacra of the kinds of spaces ‘farmers markets’ temporarily occupy.

305 See 22nd March and August, 2008.

306 The interaction with the Farm Gate Trail can also be like a ‘meeting’ in that the map recommends visitors call in advance to ensure farm gates are open, that they can access the experience and can ‘tee it up’ – there is an explicit commitment of time and availability needed as many of the gates have limited opening hours and are seasonal.

*“are looking for locally produced, and to talk to a farmer... they have an attitude which is ‘please educate me’ or ‘connect with me’, there’s no doubt about that... [I share] some amazing stories” (Maguire interview 1:38:45-1:48:00<sup>307</sup>),*

and who openly share their life histories and experiences with him, not the usual kind of retail relations.

It creates situations where ‘intersubjectivity, care and social connections – elements of everyday family lives’ (Simonsen, 2003, p.30) are part of the experience. It is animation where the similarities between the tourist experience and the event experience are most profound, the festive environment often enhanced with music and stall holder spruiking, and the social interactions made possible by the experiential indulgences and communicative exchanges as new sights, smells, tastes, and feelings are tested. The market (and Trail) sets-up co-presence and generates obligated interactions in the following ways:

Economic – trade in artisanal produce and products/services where provenance is, if not assured, then at least accessible because the producer is face-to-face.

Social – the normative expectation of consumers with suppliers that a transactional relationship will occur, that the transactions are embodied (Goffman, 1971 & 1972) and involve an exchange of information and feedback with some degree of familiarity (mutual attentiveness), eye-to-eye, with the promise of conversation, the ability to re-discover turn-taking as part of our economic lives in contrast to the take-it-or-leave-it encounters we get at the supermarket.

Place – the Trail and market as a place, space, journey, and representation of agri-culture.<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> This segment of the interview is a good example of the ‘conversations’ that John has with consumers, the kind of interaction that one might have over a cup of tea.

<sup>308</sup> Sally Everett (2012) reported that a ‘third’ space was also created with the experience of place, one that was the site of ‘contest’ between producers and consumers (the need to separate tourists from  
Ian Knowd

Event – seasonal food availability, and in the case of the Trail, the pick-your-own promise creating an obligated interaction.

Having ‘declared’ their engagement, market attendance is an ‘anti-structural utterance’ (Jafari, 1987: 153), a politic of ‘counter-hegemony’ (Dirlik & Prazniak, 2001; Everett, 2012: 546-547). The market a freer space and setting for trading relationships, one fostering ‘relationships’ in the social sense, creating the market ‘culture’ and cultural capital. Devotee immersion allows for *their* expression of this relationship<sup>309</sup>, *their* expression of *their* ‘calling’ and is juxtaposed against the hegemonic mono-cultural subjugation<sup>310</sup> they experience in the supermarkets, with its attendant mirage of abundance and choice<sup>311</sup>. Stall-holders too, especially the farmers, are ‘breaking the rules’ and asserting an independent presence in the wider marketplace, taking a ‘stand’<sup>312</sup> locally in resistance to homogenizing forces of globalisation<sup>313</sup> (Askegaard & Kjeldgaard, 2007). This co-resistance to ‘the system’, this assertion of a ‘produced locality’ (after Appadurai 1995) is one of the centring drives in this grower/eater, producer/consumer relationship/conspiracy and, using Jafari’s original metaphor, makes possible ‘throwing their weight around’ (ibid: 154) and the ‘inversion’<sup>314</sup> which is a core marker of the experience, the ‘emulation of a life different from and opposed to their ordinary world’, one that signifies

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the production area for health, safety and other reasons), but then she did focus on what I describe here as ‘farm gate outlets’ or their equivalent in the cases she explored. Counter to this characterization is what I describe here about the farmers market as a counter-space, but one that unifies the interests and purposes of production-consumption.

309 Sally Everett actually described this as I have done previously as ‘a panacea for culinary disconnection’ (2012: 551).

310 The market as a space in which the ‘cultural’ constraints of the mainstream food system can be modified under their own volition in Foucauldian terms – the market is a ‘means’ for addressing the ‘intolerability of the system and its constraints’ (O’Farrell, 2005:119).

311 The supermarket corporations present an apparent breadth and depth of choice but the reality is that they select only those lines they wish to carry, and these are selected primarily on their virtues as commodities that offer the greatest profit potentials, can meet the demand required for servicing millions of consumers, and those that can survive their logistics systems, making it to the shelves ‘looking’ as near to perfect as they can. Much is sacrificed in this.

312 Pun intended.

313 See also Ritzer (1993) and the McDonaldization of food production.

314 Turning what Giddens (1990) describes as the dis-embedding from locales on its head, the devotees being re-embedded in it.

development of an authentic self (Haug, 2007: 158) and possibly an ‘ancient and irrelevant’ (Van der Ploeg, 2007: 3), anachronistic one. Animation – the condition of being alive.

The market is a space where the genuine tourist and the local share an animation experience. It represents for both a real expression of local flavour and a REAL experience, potentially in all of Cohen’s modes. Harvest marks this experience as ‘taste, buy and learn’ and puts in place mechanisms to secure authenticity through its Genuine Grower, Genuine Producer and Reseller strategy.

Orientation – the process of arrival at the market site, perhaps including jostling for a parking space or finding ‘yours’ as you have before, having worked out where best to find it previously, the start of the ‘expedition’ to discover the essences of an animation experience. For some it will include an itinerary of producers, visited in a pre-planned sequence, for others it’s a deliberate strategy of ‘going with the flow’, letting whatever stimuli and heightened sense provide the cues for exploration<sup>315</sup>.

Valediction – the process of ‘completing’ the expedition, asking one’s self if everything has been found and goods have been purchased, or ticking off that the stalls one hoped to find and were not there are actually not there, making sure that favourites have not been missed because they were in a different location to last time. It may include that last purchase of a ‘treat’ to start the journey home, validating the sensual gratification that the market affords, and

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315 Here too Harvest manipulates the market stall layout to create the experience. Depending on site parameters such as the space available and its shape, there is a considered locating of stalls so that similar producers are dispersed throughout the space rather than clustered together. This is usually done to placate the stallholders who are sensitive to direct competition (the Prisoners Dilemma in action again). A more consumer and experience oriented form of stall layout is a core and periphery model where the core of the farmers market is occupied by the farmers stalls with artisanal and ready-to-eat food producers/manufacturers arranged around these, and resellers/non-food stalls outside these again. The social space is at the centre where tables and chairs and the entertainment are located. For the market attendee, having arrived at a time for rest and sustenance, they sit and socialise amidst the core, having journeyed to a ‘pure’ space.

proclaiming to oneself that the experience was worthwhile, especially if one 'got what they were looking for'.

Repatriation – the state of return to the ordinary, departure is taking place and the journey home commenced. It includes two processes of reorientation.

Reversion – the process of leaving the 'spatial, temporal and cultural zone' (ibid: 155) of the market, it may include asking stall holders if they will be there 'next time', priming the devotee's impending corporation.

Submission – the process of reaffirmation of the ordinary life, getting back home and continuing with other mundane processes of living, re-immersion in the routine. It may include a visit to the supermarket to 'do the shopping', reinforcing the counter-cultural positioning of the market experience and its attendant selectivity, and the character of commodities purchased with the ordinary situation.

Incorporation – the state of subsumation in the ordinary world, being back in the mundane routine of living. The market experience is a memory to be recalled when the 'goodies' purchased are consumed.

Emulsion – the process of trying to reconcile the cognitive dissonances involved with the market experiences, perhaps asking rhetorical questions as one unpacks the purchases from the market, 'why can't I get this at the supermarket?' or 'why can't they supply the same quality at the supermarket?', this 'conditioning' (ibid: 155) setting up the seeking out that will take the devotee back to the market the next time it's there. It highlights the importance of the market experience and its *modus operandi* to the mundane as a space and place for realizing these unique experiences and performing the role they have in 'balancing' the ordinary. It makes the market experience something to maintain as part of the ordinary life-world, it becoming *modus*

*vivendi* and part of a 'lifestyle' choice. In this sense it foregrounds how the market experience relates to what was omitted because the devotee attended the market and had the experience.

Omission – what was not part of the life-world when the devotee was at the market and immersed in the experience of it. While a tourist experience involves spans of time beyond the few hours that a market experience entails, and because of this, heightens the impact of being absent from the ordinary, the absence still holds significance as it does when Jafari's model describes the 'underpass of tourism' (ibid: 156). Consciousness of the omission informs the value of the market experience and the system it is positioned against.

In Jafari's original article he went on to describe the tourist model 'from a distance' (ibid: 157), a long view that blurs the significance of the detailed processes that compose each of the tourist states to reveal a 'rainbow' model of the experience. Here too the importance of the model to the market experience can be seen.

Exhibit 33: Jafari's original tourist experience model figures (*Tourism Management*, 1987: 156-157)

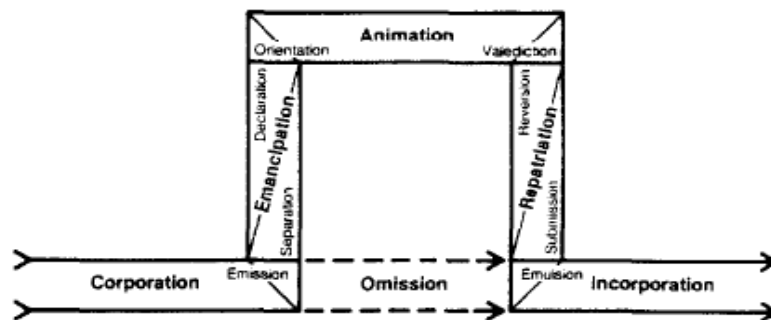


Figure 9. The tourist model.

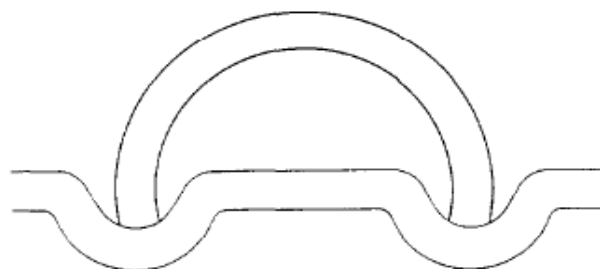


Figure 10. The tourism overpass.

As Jafari's stated it,

*"the abstracted whole captures the depressions on the springboard caused by the departure and return of the tourist. It denotes:*

- *that the tourism (read market experience) rainbow arises from and sets in the ordinary horizon;*
- *that it best appears from the depths (depression points) of the mundane world; and*
- *that it projects an added dimension to living. (ibid)*

Emulating Jafari again, we can see that the long view also applies to the market experience.

The market experience is 'concrete and real', and adding something to Jafari's original qualification because of the rainbow analogy, literally adds colourful, REAL and animating dimensions to this reality. The market attendee's status as devotee is operational at any phase and process stage, and the market experience, the *animation* experience, occupies real time and space. This is underpinned in terms of functional and practical aspects of the 'system', as well as in terms of a source of motivation to seek the experience, this desire a consequence of the corporation, omission and incorporation states. And lastly, the rainbow spans the same time as that of ordinary life-world, but signifies a non-ordinary that is filled with so much more, the 'added dimension to living'<sup>316</sup>. Harvest experiences activate potentials in Apollonian and Dionysian states<sup>317</sup>, they activate 'the spatial form of modernity that enables these tensions to operate' (Crang, 2006: 49) and make possible paradoxical sites for experiencing the animations that, as Casey describes (2001 cited in Edensor, 2006: 43), are 'thick places in which their own personal enrichment can flourish'. They bring into view, both literally and metaphorically, that 'which does not fit' (ibid) any longer and the things we (in 'the West', and more closely to home,

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316 See also Sonnino & Griggs-Trevarthen, (2013) who have recently reported in their work with the UK community food sector that local or community food initiatives serve community by 'bonding and bridging people' in order to enhance quality of life.

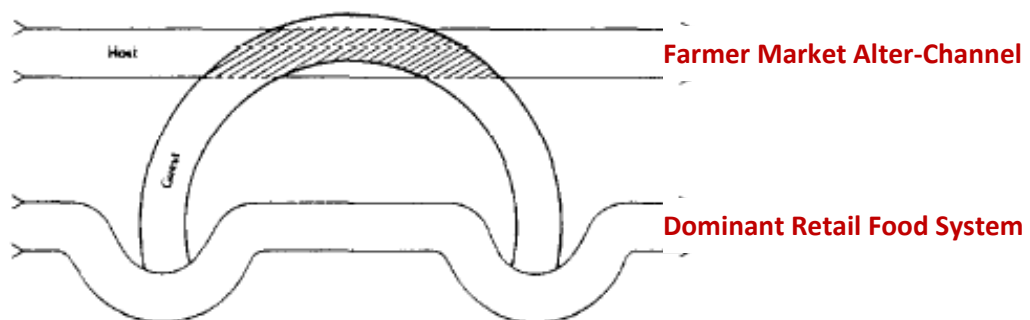
317 Apollonian: a state where a dreamed-for condition is made reasonable. Dionysian: a state of intoxication, enchantment and ecstasy of the senses.



in the Sydney Basin) have lost – this is a fall from grace, what Crang describes as ‘lapsarian<sup>318</sup> modernity’ (Crang, 2006: 55). It is not just a nostalgic seeking but one in which a re-connection is sought, to realise that which is mimetic, resonant and comforting, by experiencing an otherness that once was our own selves/ways of being with the world, food and farming – recall *The Harvest Ode*.

Where this analysis of the experience adds nuance to Jafari’s work lies in what he described as the ‘tourism system’. Having described the *tourist* experience using the springboard metaphor, Jafari then integrated this into a *tourism* model relating tourist generating regions with tourist receiving regions and the implications of the animation states for both. Foremost of these implications was the impact of the two touristic ‘cultures’ that hosts and guests experience by forming the tourism system. The cross-contamination Jafari described between the cultures applies to the farmer’s market case equally as well. Of particular interest here is how Jafari’s diagram of these two cultures relate and his original Figure 11 is reproduced here with added labels to show the two ‘cultures’ in the farmer’s market context.

**Exhibit 34: Jafari’s tourist non-ordinary – resident’s ordinary relationship**



**Figure 11.** The tourist’s non-ordinary vis-à-vis the resident’s ordinary.

Farmers markets host market-goers, they are the equivalent of ‘guests’ in Jafari’s model.

The guest’s ordinary culture in the farmers market context is the mainstream food system,

<sup>318</sup> Lapsarian – the fall of ‘man’ from innocence, the fall from a better state, in Crang’s characterization, the fall into modernity with its attendant ‘losses’.

dominated as it is in Australia by the supermarket chains – the dominant retailing channel or ‘generating system’. This generating system can be ‘exited’ (after Bauman, 2000) because farmers markets and the Farm Gate Trail make it possible as a ‘co-evolving other’ (Urry, 2005: 250), providing something akin to, and in many cases, actually being a black economy where farmer/traders and consumer/travellers can escape and build relations around un-tracked activity and un-surveilled interaction<sup>319</sup>.

This ‘host’ culture in the farmer’s market is a structural alter-channel and is the ‘receiving system’. This receiving system of ‘flows’ facilitates the evasion of controls felt in the mainstream, and is a deliberate and emergent response by producers and consumers to create these flows outside the mainstream (Urry, 2007: 2). Within the receiving system an alter consumer citizenship and identity (ibid: 6) manifests, one where the ‘guests’ assert their rights for greater choice, mobilize their power and act/live in ‘good faith’ (in existentialist terms) to counter the ‘poverty of access’ (ibid: 7-8) that characterised the reasons behind Harvest’s formation. Mike Crang (2006: 59) has articulated a similar concept as *re-mediation*, the construction of ‘circuits of media laid on top of each other, tangled through each other, and functioning because of each other’. We are not just talking about media as in forms of communications, but these cultures I have described as a ‘media ecology’ wherein the participant’s life-worlds are mediated and therefore, able to form and perform the springboard metaphor. Haug (2007) describes this as mobilities with a Kantian autonomy of the individual, having the freedom to negotiate the world via our ‘faculties of intellect and will’, therefore, ‘being in the world authentically’ (ibid: 164).

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319 Adding to the animation potential – a risky business. The traders (farmers) have a preference for cash sales and many consumers are willing to oblige. Ironically, the cash sale, this fundamental aspect of a black economy, works against the interests of traders in a world where EFTPOS systems give consumers ready access to large sums of money and therefore, potentially larger purchases. If cash is all the trader will take, then only what the customer has on hand is what can be spent.

For consumers, poverty of access is about the ‘problems’ of our centralised food systems, the reduced choice, the food miles, the distances to retail plazas, the need to have cars because the local shop has disappeared, and the dominance of the plazas as the venues through which we transact over food and other commodities. Farmers too suffer poverty of access in the main food system due to the distances they have to travel to get produce to market, the poor returns for their efforts, and the effects of shifted market power which ‘squeezes them out’ of the market. As Urry says in regard to asserting power relations in a capitalist order, ‘this involves bodies newly flowing and intermittently encountering others in rich, face-to-face (and embodied) co-presence’, empowering disadvantaged consumers and sellers and re-creating traditional face-to-face relationships and sociabilities (ibid: 14 & 16). These sociabilities establish ‘network capital’, the Trail and farmers markets being the ‘assemblages’ and physical sites for the cultural exchange, the vehicles for building network capital/ties with the local<sup>320</sup>, and the vectors of counter-culture. They are an isomorph of physical, social and economic relationships, a ‘material world’ phenomenon creating networked sociality. The travel component is an essential element of its attraction, because it allows people to exercise their mobility assets and capabilities, to be co-present and to be face-to-face. As Harvest’s network of trails, markets and arenas of action has expanded, so too has its power to attract traders, consumers and attention in the public sphere<sup>321</sup>. This increase hasn’t been quantified, but there are definite synergistic effects producing more than the simple sum of the network connections, perhaps even as Kelly (1998 cited by Urry, 2003: 162) claimed, the square of the number of connections.

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320 In Urry’s 2007 paper titled *Mobility, Space and Social Inequality* he criticised Putnam’s (2000: 204-5) thesis that mobilities undermine social capital and connectedness in social relations, pointing out that physical travel along with other modes of mobility are ‘important in facilitating those face-to-face co-present conversations’ (p. 21) that found social capital and Urry’s preferred term for it of ‘network capital’. Adding to this critique is the counter evidence that the Trail particularly, and the requirement of motor transport needed to experience it, counters Putnam’s observations of mobility being a threat to social relations and social cohesion. The Trail and transport both facilitate re-connection and reinforcement of family and friendly ties with those who participate together – the car as a space and the trail as a journey of learning and discovery: a mobile arena.

321 The transition of maps across sub-regions and the different Harvest Experiences, the shift to the new design format (multi-map), and the growing influence of HH and the network in regional forums, the increase in value for participants (members) and consumers of the network

As in Jafari's model of tourism, the host's (farmers) 'new synthesized "ordinary"', a consequence of the assimilation of its own, the market devotee's and the 'residual' influences from the mainstream system they bring into the farmers market culture, exerts significant influence over it, making it a dynamic culture, but one that remains contradictory or counter to the mainstream. They remain 'incompatible' and separate yet interdependent, one's existence, as the dominant channel in the food retailing landscape guaranteeing the existence of the other so long as the mainstream cannot serve the needs of Harvest's farming and consumer constituencies. The cross-contamination of the 'cultures' makes it possible for farmers market traders (hosts) to modify and build their business models, and in some cases this has resulted in their entering the mainstream system<sup>322</sup>. The demand for commodities in the farmer's market system impacts the mainstream and facilitates the assimilation of the alter-channel culture into the mainstream.

Figure 10 attempts to do what Jafari did with his own model, to produce a 'circuitous' model that reflects the cycling between states and cultures, and the system that supports this. Farmers markets are 'destinations' in their own right attracting visitors to tourism destinations where they exist<sup>323</sup>. As attractions they represent the farming-related ecological, social and economic system of the local. They are the receiving system for tourists if the local is also a tourism destination (al a Jafari and Leiper), and an alter-channel receiving system for residents if they are not. For both they present potential animation experiences and a context where hosts and

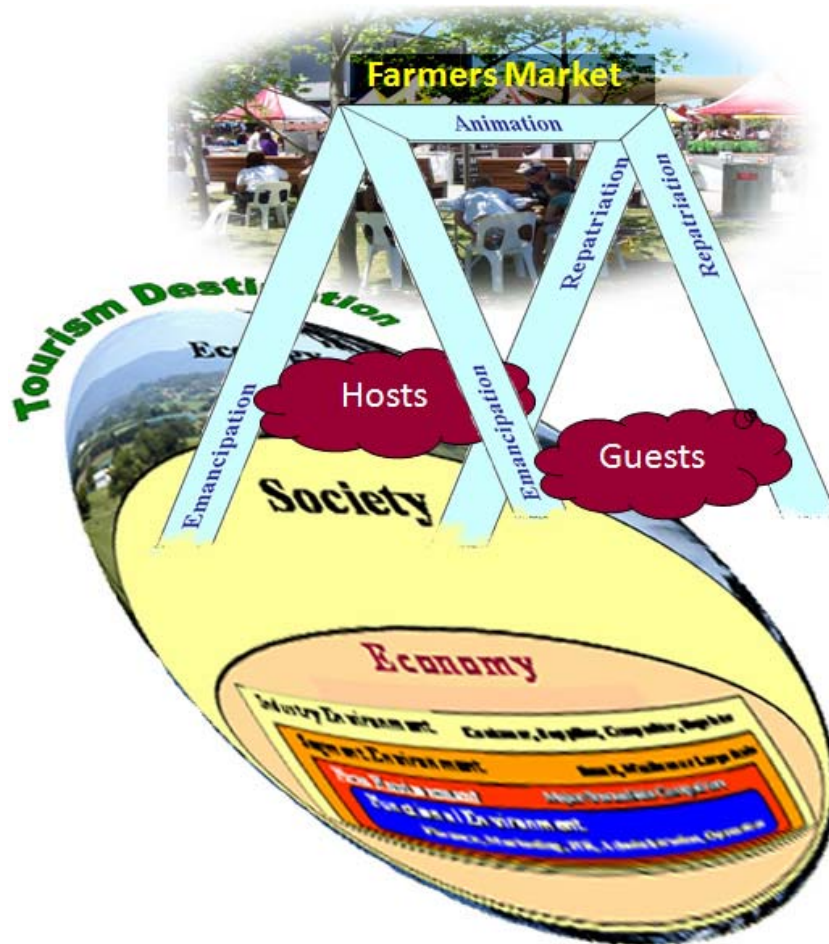
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322 Examples include Kurrajong Australian Native Foods and their signature product Wild Hibiscus in Syrup, and Kurrajong Kitchens with their Lavosh – both producers built awareness and demand for their specialty products through the Farm Gate Trail, farmers market presence and other direct channels, and subsequently expanded their production capacities to be able to service the supermarket system and establish an export business.

323 Examples include Fremantle Markets, WA; Victoria Markets, Melbourne; Granville Island, Vancouver, BC.

guests can ‘share’ local flavour and culture<sup>324</sup> if they are a tourist attraction, or a temporal and spatial alter-channel, animati-culture for residents if they are not.

Figure 10: A touristic model of the farmers market experience<sup>325</sup>



The relevance and applicability of Jafari’s model to farmers markets is conceivable because of the liminality described in more recent discussions of the role tourism plays in modern life. Farmers markets can be experienced as the non-ordinary by non-tourists, can be seen as ‘events’ that facilitate animation experiences in terms of those discussed above, and in terms of those theoretical characteristics described in events theory (Getz, 1997)<sup>326</sup>. This makes them a

324 See also Sonnino & Griggs-Trevarthen, (2013) for an account of ‘an alternative space where they attempt to turn their commitment to the values of the local into daily practice’. (285).

325 Background image of Farmers Market is the HH Farmers and Fine Food Market, Rouse Hill Town Centre; background image of Ecology is the Hawkesbury River from Streeton’s Lookout, Freeman’s Reach.

326 Don Getz described the essential attributes of festive events as spirit, uniqueness, quality, authenticity, tradition, hospitality, theme and symbolism. In the last five years I have been running a class

pseudo-touristic phenomenon. The non-ordinary isn't just about the actual foods, entertainment and other activities on offer, it's also about the temporary/ephemeral nature of the market, their non-ordinary frequency (weekly, monthly), their non-ordinary locations, and the coming together of producers and consumers, in a sense, especially for each other, both making the journey to do so, coming together at a meeting point. For farmer's market devotees, these and other non-ordinary dimensions are what, as Cohen described for the experiential and higher mode experiences, they put the extra effort in for, and for which there is a reward.

Trails and Markets are sites for animation experiences after Cohen and Jafari, exhibiting the liminality of liquid modernity after Gale (2009)<sup>327</sup>, where we can 'be(have like) tourists 'on our own doorstep' (and sometimes without crossing it at all) (ibid: 123), but they are not 'fraudulent substitutes' as attributed in Gale to Bauman. These animation experiences as tourism and its liminoid simulacra are solid, generating 'brief moments of 'communitas' amongst participants and strangers in/of the city (before they go their separate ways), thus compensating for the absence of local solidarities and social ties' (ibid: 132). At the same time, they are 'manifestations of tourism in otherwise unremarkable environments that are ephemeral' (ibid: 124). They are solid and liquid simultaneously. They are facilitated by mobilities, and specifically by Franklin's (2003) 'Mobilities 2'. They are 'touristic experiences [that are] very much part of everyday life rather than a contemporary means of escape from it' (Gale, 2009: 121), and as I have demonstrated above, have become centring experiences that help define the condition of being alive. As Gale says:

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studying festivals and events. Over that time I have observed an increasing propensity for students to, without question, see any kind of temporary market as an event.

327 I have chosen to use Tim Gale's paper as the key referent in this discussion because he addresses all the core theoretical and two case examples of the empirical dimensions of interest to me in theorizing the Trail and farmers markets as post-modern touristic phenomena. His paper covers this terrain better than I can, and the thrust of his article so closely captures the thrust of what I have been thinking about and would say, that paraphrasing or quoting it in my discussion adds nothing to Gale's analysis. Instead I choose to address those specific aspects where Harvest's vehicles can add additional nuance to our understanding of how mobilities and liminality manifest in the Harvest case.

*“..people construct their identities through consuming and being seen to consume a particular set of commodities whose sign-values correspond to a desired lifestyle, and not so much by means of what they do in work or at home (as in modern times). These identities are arguably more flexible, fragmented, transient and dissident than in the past, which explains why consumer preferences are more volatile and mass-produced products less desirable”. (ibid: 122-123)*

The ‘resistance’ that Farm Gate tourists and farmers market devotees express, either consciously or otherwise<sup>328</sup>, in supporting farmers, invokes the original conceptions of liminality that Gale cites from van Gennep's (1960) work on the rights of passage, the deliberate crossing of boundaries and challenging of dominant order. They do this via Harvest’s two ‘liminoid’ (after (Turner, 1982: 32 cited in Gale) phenomena, which have developed ‘outside or on the margins of central economic and political processes, are more idiosyncratic and quirky, are continuously generated and subject to change, are plural, fragmented and experimental’ (Gale, 2009: 131 referring to Turner), both being re-creative and recreational phenomena. This analysis of Harvest’s two ‘vehicles’ aids understanding of ‘how producers and consumers perceive such things’ (ibid), providing a plausible explanation of how these touristic vehicles can exhibit liminal and liminoid characteristics at the same time.

Liminality applies at broader scales too. Harvest as a ‘harvest’ is a thrust for recognition (Roberstson, 2005) in a global complex, and global context – it is not a rejection of the global but a thrust to reconfigure it in its own terms. It references Sydney as an intermediate scale, acknowledging geography and globalisation, but also its connectedness (Latour, 2005) in a global sense through its dialogue. “[P]lace-based struggles might be seen as multi-scale, network-oriented subaltern strategies of localization” (Escobar, 2001: 139), Harvest expressing the power of alternative economies and counter-cultural strategies of emancipation in the context of

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328 Consciously if they intentionally consume these ‘products’ being cognizant of their purpose in support of farmers and farming, unconsciously because, even if they are not cognizant of Harvest’s mission, they are complicit in its realization when they consume ‘Harvest experiences’.

hegemonic capitalism. Harvest is a glocality (after Dirlik, 2000), being global and local simultaneously.

Harvest's new harvest of dialogues 'retrieve the skills of history-making' (Escobar, 2001: 167) by being,

*"engaged in acts of history making, meaning by this the ability to engage in the ontological act of disclosing new ways of being, of transforming the ways in which we understand and deal with ourselves and with things. Places can be thought of as "disclosive spaces", defined as "any organized set of practices for dealing with oneself, other people, and things that produces a relatively self-contained web of meanings" (p. 17).*

Escobar goes on to say,

*"While most activity going on in places can be categorized as daily coping or customary disclosing, there is always the possibility of historical disclosing; this might happen, for instance, when activists identify and hold on to a disharmony in ways that transform the background practices of understanding or the disclosive space in which people live. This life of skilful disclosing, which makes the world look genuinely different, is only possible through a life of intense engagement with a place."(p. 168 quoting Spinoza, Flores and Dreyfus, 1997)*

There is no doubt in my mind that Harvest's actors identified a disharmony, held it close, embraced its paradoxies, and used this to transform the way they and their communities of interest understood and articulated the absence of nothing happened. Their project did not 'take the form of an intransigent defence of "tradition" but rather of a creative engagement with modernity and transnationalism', they did 'not seek so much inclusion into the global network society but its reconfiguration' (ibid: 169), as Harvest expressed it (Saville, 2002: 1), 'a re-orientation' of it. This has been Harvest's 'history-making'.



## ***Panacea in Action***

The final section of this chapter explores the on-farm dimensions of the ‘new harvest’ as experienced by John Maguire and his family on their family farm at Grose Vale in the rural hinterlands of Sydney called Enniskillen Orchard. It explores the farmer end of the dialogue and how the farm hosts the dialectic exchange with consumers. The theoretical discussion above covers the nature of this exchange, here I look at the consequences of inviting the exchange for farmers. The Maguire’s were foundation members of the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail and John Maguire<sup>329</sup> has been one of Harvest’s key actors in feeding the debates about farming in the Sydney basin, development, tourism and sustainable futures based on respect for Sydney’s farming areas and cultures<sup>330</sup>. Both the farm and the farmer have engaged in Harvest’s pedagogical project.

The title ‘Panacea in Action’ refers to what it means to ‘jump on the tourism bandwagon’, to take on tourism as a means of fighting for survival, and to ‘Grasp the Nettle’ so that it releases its ‘curative’ potentials rather than a nasty sting<sup>331</sup>. I also offer here a parable which talks to the agriculture/tourism relationship.

The parable<sup>332</sup> of *The Farmer* (Ignacy Krasicki, 1779)

*A farmer, bent on doubling the profits from his land,  
Proceeded to set his soil a two-harvest demand.  
Too intent thus on profit, harm himself he must needs:  
Instead of corn, he now reaps corn cockle and weeds.*

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329 John actually did a lot of the ‘ringing around’ needed to recruit the trail participants for the first trail map.

330 See Appendix One: A Harvest Chronology for many exhibits generated by John on behalf of Enniskillen and the Harvest agenda.

331 Specifically referencing my paper Knowd, I., (2003a), ‘Grasping the Nettle: Farmers and Tourism’ in. Braithwaite, RW., and Braithwaite, RL., (eds), *Riding the Wave of Tourism and Hospitality Research, Proceedings of the Council of Australian University Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference*, Cofts Harbour, 2003, Southern Cross University, Lismore.

332 “A fable [parable] should be brief, clear and, so far as possible, preserve the truth.” (Italics added) Quoted in Zdzisław Libera’s (1974) introduction to *Ignacy Krasicki, Bajki: wybór* (Fables: a Selection). Warsaw, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, p. 5. Parable as simulacra and the thesis as simulacra.

Corn Cockle – tourism as a metaphorical corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*), carried in with other ‘crops’, now dominating the farm and weeds are literally in place because the farmer has neglected the farm to concentrate on tourism too much.

Appendix Two contains a Porter analysis of tourism and farms in the section titled ‘Tourism as an Opportunity?’ I provide this because of the reality that tourism presents farmers in taking the plunge into the tourism industry. It provides important detail that informs this discussion, and especially the tourism side of the ‘backcloth’ upon which the Harvest picture is painted.

Essentially tourism is no real panacea, it presents farmers with difficult choices and the parable above, as is the case for all parables, is a lesson in the truth of things. Despite this, tourism was/is the survival mechanism it promised to be for John Maguire.

### ***Enniskillen Orchard, Grose Vale***

Enniskillen Orchard is a small-holding family farm owned by John and Trish Maguire<sup>333</sup> located in Grose Vale in the Kurrajong Hills at the edge of the Blue Mountains outside Sydney. Established in 1960 by John’s father, John took it on after his father’s death. The orchard produced common varieties of stone fruits and apples.

Over a long period and especially in the immediate period prior to Harvest’s emergence, John was struggling with market conditions, he had reduced the production base by three fifths<sup>334</sup> because he was unable to make a profit selling into the central market system<sup>335</sup>. John became aware of activities of Hawkesbury Cuisine and he willingly engaged in efforts to find options for a future at Enniskillen.

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333 The case content here is based on a close relationship with John Maguire since 2001, observing and participating in tourism activity at the farm, and the interview with John.

334 Maguire interview 0:1:55.

335 John claims that he is getting the same or less for his produce as he was 20-25 years ago (Maguire interview 0:41:25).

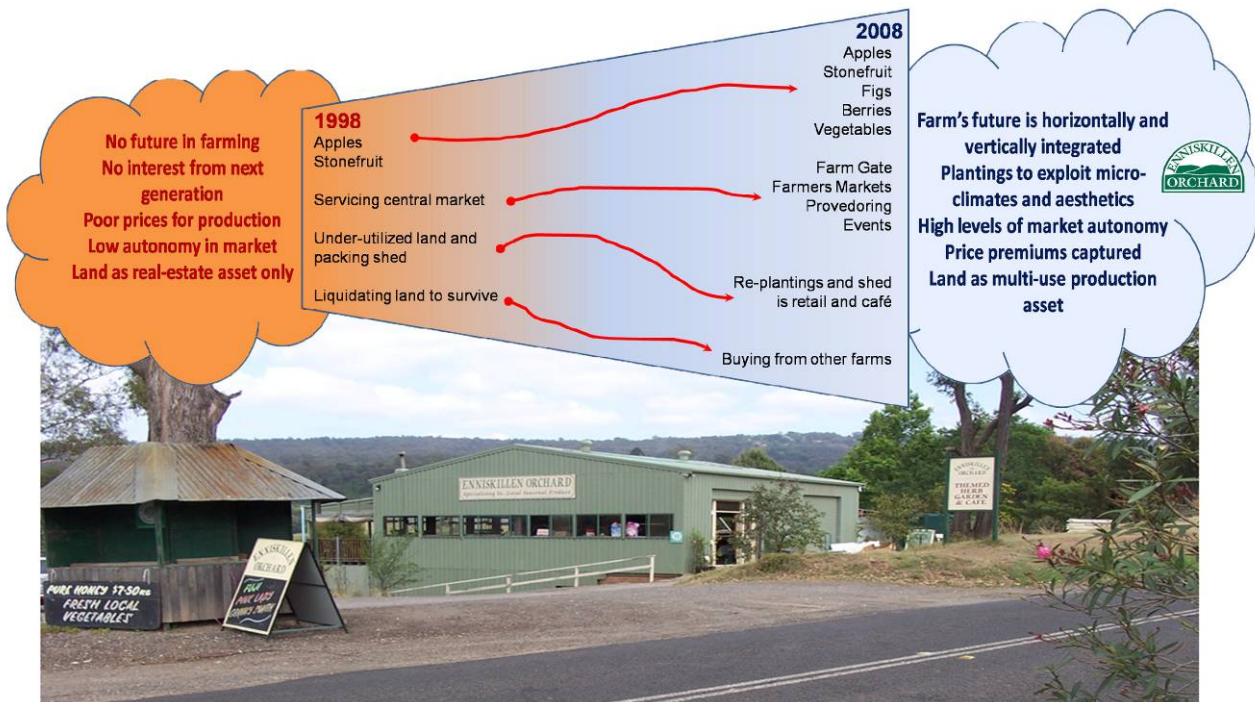
Exhibit 35: Enniskillen Orchard, Grose Vale, NSW



The farm business was transformed from the one in 1998 struggling to survive selling a narrow range of fruits into the central marketing system and having to sell-off portions of the land holdings in order to do so. By 2008 the business model included specialty production of high value fruits, herbs and vegetables, a farm gate facility incorporating a local hub for other farmers with retail outlet and café, a tour hosting component of interest to a wide demographic

from retirees, to school groups, and technical tours from a range of countries. As part of the evolution the farm also developed a brand.

Figure 11: Enniskillen’s Farm Gate Evolution



Enniskillen took regular stalls at farmers markets throughout the Sydney basin, they exploited selling opportunities through special events, actively pursued media exposure from lifestyle television and magazines, and provided a provedoring service, sourcing local/regional produce from other farmers and servicing a growing list of restaurants, markets and other end-users.

Enniskillen’s market power increased by selling direct to consumers in many different ways. They created a market presence at the farm gate, in farmers markets, through their events, tours and by supplying local businesses in hospitality and tourism. They transformed into a multi-layered business model involving production, value-adding<sup>336</sup>, tourism and hospitality

<sup>336</sup> Converting their excess production into jams, preserves, and other ready-to-eat products such as cakes and pies.



services<sup>337</sup>. Enniskillen became a horizontally and vertically integrated micro-business expanding its production base, diversifying its business model and providing employment for John and his wife Trish, his son Adrian,<sup>338</sup> and a small number of locals employed to assist with the farm gate outlet and serve customers.

Figure 12: Vertical and Horizontal Integration at Enniskillen



337 It should be noted that Enniskillen has a ‘tourism DA (development approval)’ – in order for John Maguire to expand his business model to include the vertical and horizontal dimensions, he had to secure an approval under the Local Environment Plan to operate his farm as a tourist facility in the rural zone. Recall that the Farm Gate DCP was quite restrictive of the way that farm gate sales would be allowed, specifically excluding hospitality and associated retailing activity under the development control, so the Maguires needed to be classed as a tourist operation in order to develop the fully integrated business model.

338 John and Trish’s daughters also contributed to Enniskillen’s development too, assisting with website, brochure and other marketing collateral development.

Exhibit 36: Enniskillen's Physical Presence



The Farm Gate Outlet









Exhibit 37: Enniskillen's Typical Tourism Day



Up to 5 coaches a day plus FITs

Average visit < 1 hr

Fee per head + sales





Exhibit 38: Enniskillen's Virtual and Media Presence

**Virtual and Media Presence**

The collage displays five screenshots of the Enniskillen Orchard website:

- Top Left:** A screenshot of the 'About Us' page, featuring the Enniskillen Orchard logo, a map of the orchard, and contact information including phone numbers (02 4572 1124) and an email address (info@enniskillenorchard.com.au).
- Top Right:** A screenshot of the 'Products' page, showing a list of products such as 'Blue Mountains Marmalade - Sliced Orchard Fruit' and 'Blue Mountains Marmalade - Sliced Orchard Fruit', along with their prices and descriptions.
- Middle Left:** A screenshot of the 'Events' page, detailing upcoming events like 'The Bushwalk' and 'The Bushwalk & Picnic', with dates and descriptions.
- Middle Right:** A screenshot of the 'Contact Us' page, providing the orchard's address (753 Great North Rd, Enniskillen NSW 2753), phone number, and email address.
- Bottom:** A screenshot of the 'Home' page, featuring a large image of the orchard and a navigation menu with links to Home, About Us, Products, Events, and Contact Us.

Exhibit 39: Enniskillen's Tourist Brochure

# Tourism Brochure

**Your Hosts**

John and Trish Maguire invite you to experience the idyllic "Enniskillen Orchard". Situated in the picturesque Grook Valley only one hour and fifteen minutes from the Sydney CBD and a single ten minute deviation from Bell's Line of Road, Enniskillen Orchard offers visitors to the Hawkesbury District a unique and unforgettable rural experience - a destination for one person, a family, two dogs or to pop in for a cappuccino and your fruit and veggie.

Enniskillen Orchard caters to all guests. Bring a picnic and cook your own BBQ, or purchase some light refreshments from the cafe. Alternatively, sample local fruits before you purchase, tour the herb garden or simply take in the view.

A favourite for locals and travellers further afield, Enniskillen Orchard offers fresh, affordable produce to be enjoyed within a magnificent setting just an hour from Sydney.

**Herb Garden**

Established in 2002, the renowned herb garden is a sensory delight. Built into the side of the valley, it has been developed using a number of themes as inspiration including aphrodisiac, Shakespearean and famous owners. The garden has been designed so it is easy to navigate and follow the themes.

Small, coach and taxi over 35 traditional herbs and medicinal plants are on display. Look on the walls, the herb garden is a must see.

**The Orchard**

Enniskillen grows a broad range of products, thanks to the unique microclimate of the town of the valley, including:

- Figs
- Passionfruit
- Blackberries
- Boysenberries
- Raspberries
- Strawberries
- Peaches and nectarines
- Apples
- Pines
- European and asian pears

All items grown on the property are sold in the stall. See where the produce you purchase is grown - know that it comes straight from the farm to your shopping basket.

Are you interested in what you purchase the week that you visit? Enniskillen Orchard is open 7 days a week to avoid disappointment.

**Cafe**

Enjoy light refreshments from the farm, the herb garden or the cafe. The herb garden is a must see.

**Roadside Stall**

Take the opportunity to purchase the week that you visit. Enniskillen Orchard is open 7 days a week to avoid disappointment.

**Selection of farm grown fruits and vegetables**

- Apples
- Strawberries
- Raspberries
- Boysenberries
- Pines
- European and asian pears
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- Pines
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**Escape the city to enjoy the pleasures of...**


**Enniskillen Orchard**

Opening hours 9:30am - 5:30pm  
7 days a week

John and Trish Maguire  
751 Grook Vale Road  
Grook Valley NSW 2575  
AUSTRALIA


Phone: 02 4672 1124  
Mobile: 0412 469 651  
www.enniskillenorchard.com.au


Proud members of...



www.enniskillenorchard.com.au

**Map**

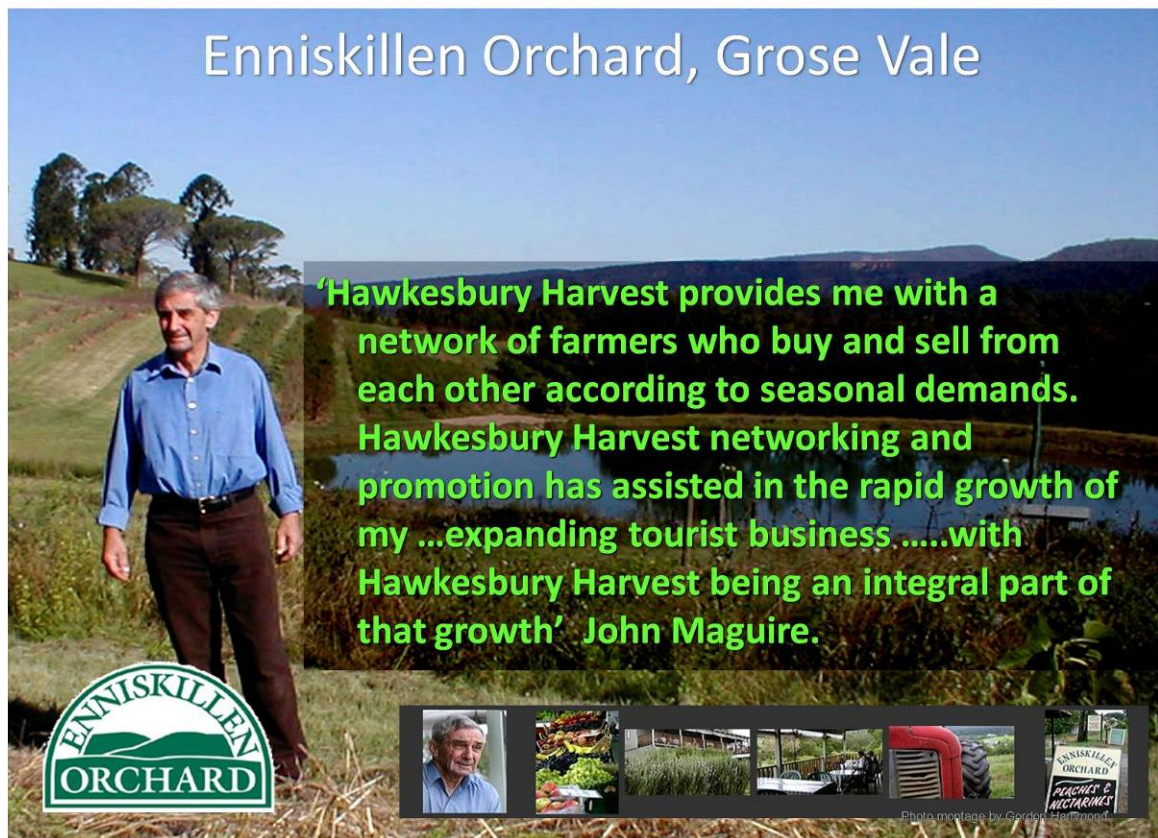






The key lesson of the Enniskillen case is that making connections with the food system and other networks in the local area is critical to success. John Maguire did not exploit the opportunities he used to build his business in isolation. He helped create Hawkesbury Harvest in 2000 and its projects made possible viability of the farm. Enniskillen is now much more connected with other farmers, the food system and the community than it was in 1998.

Exhibit 40: Enniskillen Orchard and Networks



The first tentative connections through tourism opened up many more ways of thinking about how Enniskillen could better connect to networks of visitors, local residents, businesses and the wider world. It has been the mechanism for building network capital and re-connecting the farm with its wider social context and community.

What does being 'connected' mean for farmers and visitors? There is a misconception that getting connected into these networks is something that comes naturally to farmers, after all,

isn't this what they did before we had mega-marts and a huge distribution system supplying our food?

Most farms sell their produce into wholesale markets through agents, they have no connection with consumers at all. Many farmers are not interested in dealing direct with consumers. For those who are, inviting people to the farm and serving their needs directly presents many challenges. Consumers are not the same as they were fifty years ago, they expect a lot more and want to be able to ask farmers those difficult questions about fertilizers, pesticides, energy and water use, and much more. Consumers are knowledgeable and more demanding in many different ways than in the past.

Being involved with tourism and doing the kinds of things that Enniskillen now does means that John Maguire has new industries to understand<sup>339</sup>, not just wholesaling produce, but retailing, hospitality and visitor services (See Table 1 of Knowd, 2003a). This adds complexity to **knowing** what he needs to know, the skills he has to have, and the host of new relationships he has to manage as part of his 'farm' business. He has to understand how and where his 'product' fits within the local tourism market profile for experiences, how the industry 'works', the stakeholders in it and the roles and relationships between them in the tourism supply chain. He needs to know what business planning and operational aspects are transferrable from his knowledge of farming to tourism, and which are not, what tourists 'desire', their motivational drivers, what it is they seek, and how these are driven by significant trends that form market opportunities through/in tourism.

Being in tourism means he is **doing** new things too. Customer service skills now form a backbone in his business model, he cannot afford to be the clichéd cranky farmer. He must communicate with consumers and participate actively in the network of related producers that the Trail now connects, and contribute to a positive network capitalisation through cooperation,

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<sup>339</sup> John does have a background in the health food/products retailing.

referrals, involvement in the Harvest network and active communication through it and the general media.

Lastly, there are attitudinal changes required if the tourism line-of-business is to succeed. Farmers are production and resource focussed, they grow certain things and this is what they do. Traditionally they are sellers of commodities and many now do this through agents. When tourism enters the mix the customers are now standing in the packing shed and wandering around the farm, a new 'customer focus' is required to manage and tolerate this 'invasion, intrusion and interruption' to farming routines. New ways of *perceiving* a relationship with tourism are required. This includes new requirements to cooperate and collaborate with other growers who would otherwise be considered direct competitors, to see themselves as part of a visitor experience which also includes other industries and stakeholders, the Farm Gate Trail 'product' outlined above constructed from core, auxiliary and augmented players and the ultimate animation experience that creates. Farmers cannot see themselves as they often have and as the literature has lauded as heroic 'one-man-bands'<sup>340</sup>, but are now part of a big picture, one that is contrived in particular ways by all the players and influenced by national, state and local tourism strategy and marketing efforts. There's a need to understand that synergies are possible, and that this is only happens through active building of relationships and linkages.

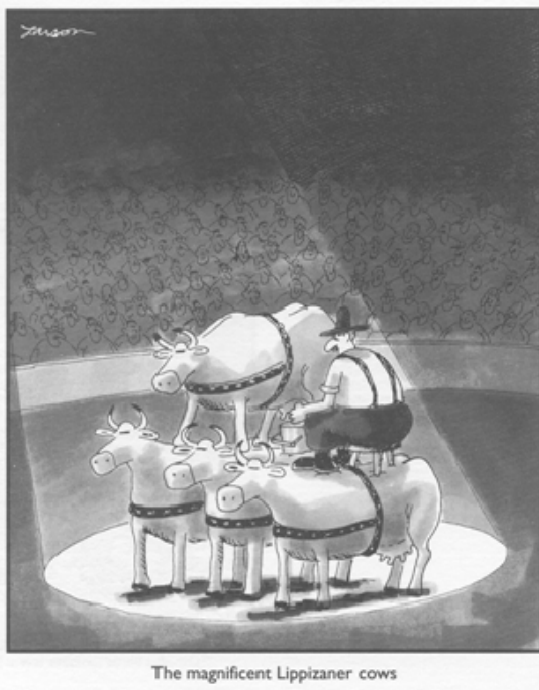
An attitudinal shift is also required to sustainability and development. A systems perspective is required that locates their farm in a broader environmental, social and economic context<sup>341</sup> rather than the traditional attitude of 'what's on my side of the fence is my business'.

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340 Although ironically, that is what John often is in 'manning' Enniskillen's tourism offering.

341 Although as a farmer, John Maguire sees that the preferred hierarchy of human action domains should place food and agriculture above 'the environment'. This does not mean he does not consider the environment important, but he does express concern that agriculture is treated as a threat to the environment instead of being part of it that sustains community and economy. He also sees this as part of the 'battle' he has waged in order to retain a viable living at Enniskillen. (See Maguire interview)

An acceptance that the 'community' has a stake in the farm and the landscape<sup>342</sup> his farming forms and maintains along with the realisation that the community's vision of the farm's role in the future landscape of the region is a fundamental and strategic dialogue they need to have with community. Aligned with this is the realisation that these things need to be planned, that they require engagement in communicative processes and planning forums, and that the 'business-as-usual' approach is more accurately characterised in this context as having 'your head in the sand'.



**Exhibit 41: Gary Larsen's The Magnificent Lippizaner Cows**

There is a cartoon by Gary Larson that very nicely articulates the problem for farmers like John Maguire – it's called *The Magnificent Lippizaner (sic) Cows* and it depicts a dairy farmer milking a stack of cows in a show ring creating the kind of spectacle the famous Lipizzaner Stallions perform. Farmers now need to 'perform', to stage an experience for the

consumer who is coming for something more than just an apple, orange or litre of milk, they're coming to 'see' a rural setting, a vista, and engage in a dialogue, perhaps even a dialectic based on what they've lost as the post-modern consumer.

Farmers are usually very good at getting on with growing things and getting them ready for sale. What they now have to do is present it, package it, wrap it up with a pleasant environment, make it available to people seven days a week, and do it all with a friendly country

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<sup>342</sup> John Maguire has regularly talked to this idea in his media presences and there are many exhibits shown in Appendix One – for good examples see 16 August, 2000; 25 April, 2001; 23 May, 2001; 10 and 26 February, 2003; 29 March, 9 & 10 May, 7 June, 4 July, 2006; 2 May, August, 2007; 4 August, November, 2008; and David Mason's *Harvest* column in the Gazette of 22 June, 2011.

smile, and in the Australian context, a good measure of the Aussie farmer's legendary hospitality, and an understanding that the person on their farm is a seeker of something quite intangible.

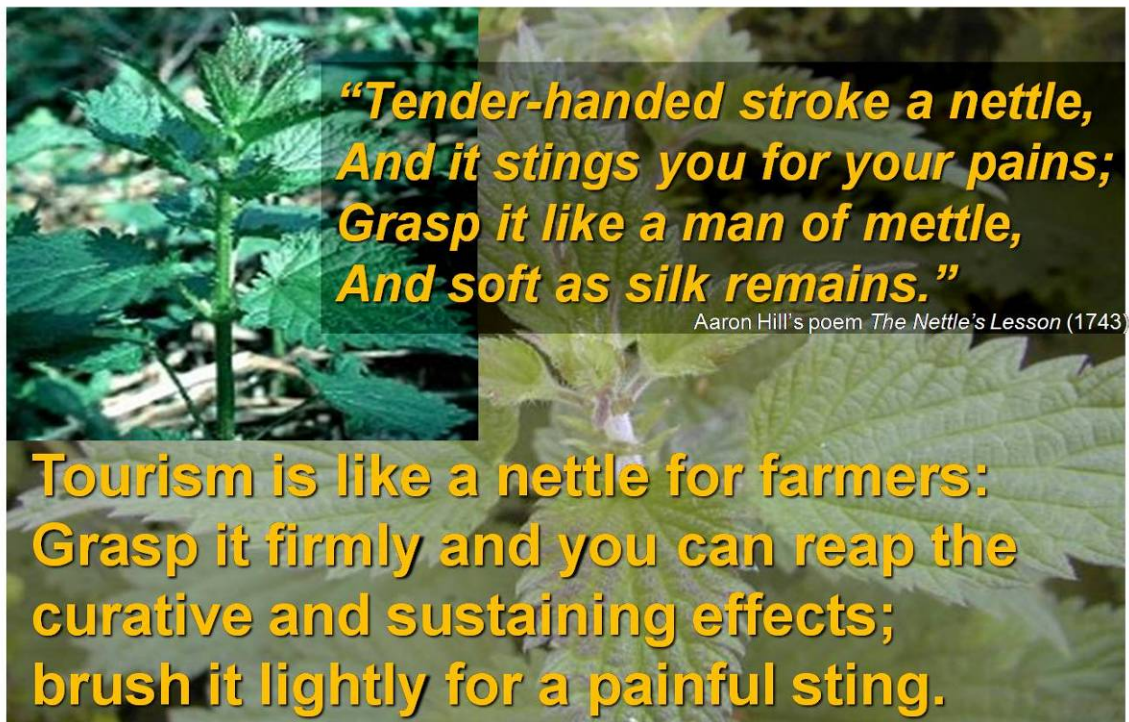
Some farmers are not suited to this at all – the cliché of the cranky farmer chasing people off their farm with a pitch fork does have a truth behind it, too many of them should not engage with tourism if they really don't like dealing with the general public. Like all good business decisions, taking the plunge into tourism should be done after some serious consideration of what it means to, as the expression says, 'get up close and personal' with people.

For those farmers who do decide that tourism is right for them, 'grasping the nettle of tourism' requires the kind of mettle that many farmers have, the kind of risk-taking and innovative outlook required. Their survival skills are the stuff of Australian folklore and legend, and if survival is at stake, a firm hand is what is required. In this sense tourism and tourists are like a nettle and so tourism, if not engaged by farmers in a forthright and determined manner has a painful sting, a sting that can be avoided by grasping the nettle and seriously addressing the challenges of dealing with tourists and consumers directly. And like the nettle, the curative and sustaining connections through direct market channels have a potential to address many of the ills that farming communities face today (Knowd, 2003a).

"To grasp the nettle", to face a problem with determination. The nettle, which causes so much discomfort when lightly touched, has been used for centuries for its medicinal and nutritious properties. Aaron Hill's poem *The Nettle's Lesson* (1743) tells the secret (Flavell, Linda & Roger, 1994).



Exhibit 42: Grasping the Nettle



So has John Maguire been stung or turned the tourism nettle’s curative properties into part of his family’s future? Has it been the cure-all that panaceas promise?

While tourism’s development potentials for farming communities has been well-reported and promoted widely by government agencies, and ‘eulogised and reviled’ (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004: 71) in terms of its impacts, little attention is given to the distorting effects tourism can have on the core agendas of non-tourism constituencies in rural communities.

Management literature abounds with examples and articulation of the pitfalls in seeking panaceas. In generic terms, these pitfalls arise from a failure to appreciate that panaceaic solutions ‘fix on a destination and calculate what a group must do to get there, with no concern for member’s preferences’ (Mintzber, 1994 cited in de Wit & Meyer, 1998: 217) With Farm Gate tourism and the Enniskillen case, ‘member’s preferences’ in terms of capacity and willingness to adapt to a new industry, to adopt new skills, knowledge and attitudes, and to deliver on the tourism promise would seem to have not been a barrier to reaching the ‘destination’ and

reaping its curative properties. On the surface Enniskillen in its Harvest form is a success, but as is commonly the case with the small farms sector, the complexities and challenges contribute to a far more interesting picture than one may see if the tourism panacea is taken at face value.

Before I move on to addressing Enniskillen specifically, a more general observation of ‘member preferences’ needs making. Within the farming constituency that adopted this panacea, many producers have improved their situation, built their business and expanded into markets they gained access to by being part of the Farm Gate Trail. In the case of some<sup>343</sup>, this success allowed them to cease Farm Gate activity because the demands of dealing with consumers on site<sup>344</sup> far outweighs the ease of selling via traditional channels and the new ones they have been able to tap – Farm Gate Tourism isn’t a ‘sustainable’ preference. Harvest initiatives act as incubators (Guthrie et al. 2006) for these producers, who choose to re-enter the mainstream and pursue ‘productivist’ expansion of the farm/food business (noted also in the Victorian context by Andre’e et al, 2007). Where the panacea, the short-term fix has worked well for some operators, perhaps *too well* from Harvest’s perspective, it has made it possible for them to withdraw from the Farm Gate Trail. This decreases the attractiveness of it and means that the learning and professionalism that these producers gained and contributed to Harvest is lost and not shared with other trail participants. This success also means that the food products these producers made available to the community via the Trail phenomenon are now diverted to more lucrative markets in the gourmet food industry, and the original aims of the process in addressing community health agendas is subverted. There is paradoxicality in the way these artisanal food markets work.

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343 Kurrajong Australian Native Foods and Willowbrae Chevre Cheeses.

344 See also Everett, (2012: 548) and her presentation of data from producers of the impacts of visitors on the production site and health and safety risks. Pepes Ducks ceased farm visits completely following the bird flu outbreak and because of other bio-security risks. Harvest presented to Bio-Security Australia on two occasions outlining how its initiatives ‘worked’, but also flagging the attendant risks attached to an active engagement with touristic mechanisms and their potential as vectors for disease transmission. So the concept of ‘member preferences’ also extends to the third party stakeholders in the food system.

This isn't the case with Enniskillen. The Maguires still want to be in agri-tourism but it hasn't provided the security it promised and it has produced similar effects to those noted by Carlsen and Getz (2001) and Getz et al (2004) as two important consequences of a naïve entry into the tourism industry for rural family businesses. The demands of tourism eat into the time and resources previously available for attention to matters important to the farm, and as in this case, where tourism is seen as an easy option in maintaining a business, the realities of tourism frequently mean the opposite occurs (the impact of the Maguire's lifestyle and sense of security).

In the period following the GFC, external drivers depressed the market for John and Enniskillen. The level of tourist trade decreased, and particularly the coach trade which he describes as Enniskillen's "*life-blood*". He encountered increased competition with five other fruit and vegetable outlets opening in his immediate consumer catchment. John had been planning a farm replanting program and production reconfiguration but the changed conditions meant he has put these plans on hold. John had hosted interpretive farm visits into the orchard especially for the international and technical tour groups, but now does not, both the condition of the orchard and the demands this involves being "*too much*". This in turn has left the farm in a holding pattern, with decreasing effort being applied to maintain productivity and expanding variety. He now (2013) closes two days a week and runs the farm primarily on his own. As found in the literature (Knowd, 2001), tourism is a globalised industry, and when the two industries that enterprises like Enniskillen exploit suffer difficult times, the combination of adverse conditions can be crippling. The fifteen years since he began his agri-tourism adventure have had their toll on the Farm Gate facilities, but he now has little or no time and resources to invest in renovation and upgrade.

Internal drivers have also led to these changes. John, like many Australian farmers is well beyond<sup>345</sup> retirement age and his wife Trish is still working off-farm to support their standard of living. Both he and Trish want to retire soon. John is tired and has a prevailing sense that “we”<sup>346</sup> have lost the battle regarding retention of farming in the Sydney region, and he sees that subdivision pressures and their likely realisation in the existing political climate at both the local and state<sup>347</sup> levels, will make running a farming operation more difficult<sup>347</sup> as it is subsumed in a landscape of rural lifestyle zones. John’s son Adrian, while assisting his father often, and for many of the growth years leading up to the GFC worked exclusively with John, has built his own provedoring business servicing Enniskillen, but also many other customers.

The result is that by the end of 2012 the farm was not a going concern and the Maguires were contemplating how they might continue on at Enniskillen. The preferred option for John was to again subdivide off a portion of the farm to fund a financial investment that could supplement farm gate trade<sup>348</sup>.

Despite the gloomy picture this presents, John is emphatic in his belief that agriculture and tourism must exist in concert. His journey with Harvest was a “*life-saver*” and farm gate tourism the mechanism that made it possible to turn the farm around.

Taking a critical eye to the current situation allows us to see that John has reduced the ‘offering’ in both agricultural and tourism terms. He is now dependent on tourism trade, but has reduced the extent to which he is operating in the tourism industry. The reduced offer leaves him competing with other fruit and vegetable retail outlets (including the new entrants referred to earlier) and cafe’s (mainstream hospitality/restaurant), and the potentials for experiences are

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345 He turned 77 in 2014.

346 John means both himself and Harvest, and in a general sense, community.

347 For reasons of use-conflict, the preference given to residential rights over rights to farm, the likelihood that controls over production in rural lifestyle zones, while not prohibiting agriculture, will make it more difficult to farm, and a diminishing population of other farms with which to maintain the network of producers.

348 Maguire interview 0:44:30).

now constrained or withdrawn from market. The need to invest in refurbishment and farm development is not being met, and this undermines existing attractiveness and the potential to innovate and establish new markets and niches. The landscape assets of the farm remain exceptional<sup>349</sup>, but the experiences and produce dimensions have suffered in the current climate and in the face of internal issues and sentiments.

The Enniskillen case is consistent with those reported elsewhere (Andre'e et al, 2007) in that the alter-channel strategies adopted by John Maguire did deliver better financial performance, created opportunities for alter-production, and connected Enniskillen with the wider community. Their involvement with farmers markets has been less fruitful because of the demands of servicing them and the need to balance where scarce human resources are applied in the farm business, again this dynamic being observed elsewhere (ibid).

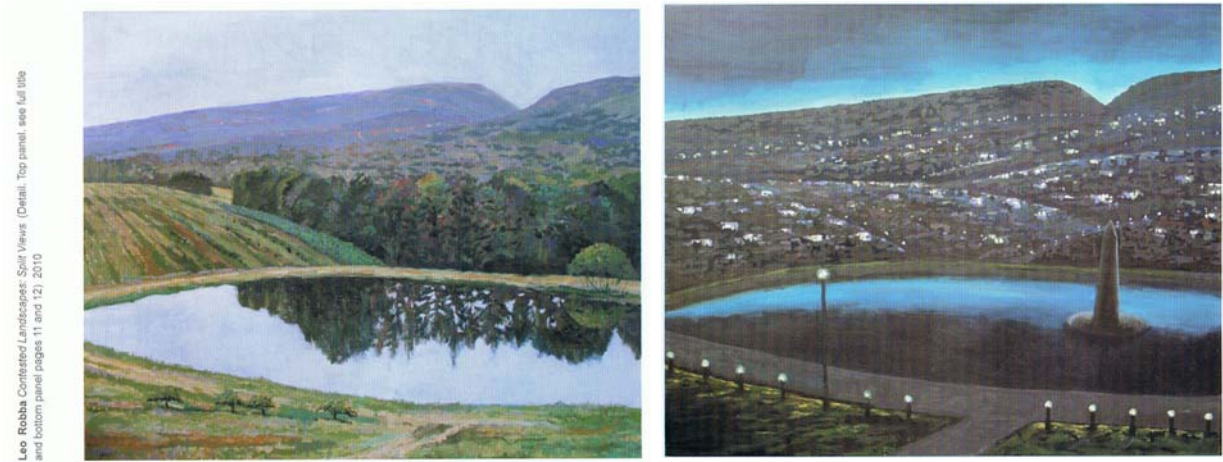
John agrees that the nettle analogy is a good one for tourism. He did grasp it in a forthright way, but he has had a few stings along the way, and his current situation means he is not gripping it as hard as he would like, and it is stinging. As for the parable of *The farmer*, the two harvest demand did produce the profit he needed but it has also produced the reapings. This is the nature of panaceas in action.

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349 See the \$50 National Environment Bank note for the view from Enniskillen's Farm Gate.  
Ian Knowd



Two views of Enniskillen, Grose Vale – rural idyll and urban fairyland



View from the farm shed at Enniskillen Orchard. Photo: John Maguire







## ***Chapter Five: Claiming Higher Ground***

To realize the change of view in the way agriculture is seen as part of Sydney, constructs and principles of sustainability are mobilized in dialogues about planning, economics, environment and the attractiveness of Sydney as a global city. Understanding how Harvest fits into a sustainability dialogue and gives effect its counter case is central to its dialectic. Harvest lays claim to the higher ground of sustainable cities, agriculture and tourism in its arguments. Holding out as an exemplar in these terms, it lays out the counter case by revealing internal contradictions from within the dominant paradigm for agriculture and farming in the Sydney basin. It seeks to scientifically justify what discursively could simply be regarded as the mere opinions of men<sup>350</sup>. The conceptualisation of the Harvest dialectic in these explicit terms contributes to recent understandings of the polemics in sustainability dialogues (see Weaver, 2014). However, the fact that these tend to focus on the *forms* of agriculture or tourism simply highlights the salience of what Harvest is about, that is, the calling of the actor is what counts most, as expressed in their actions, if sustainable development is to be realized. Only *our* meaningful action can produce the forms we desire.

The Farm Gate Trail, farmers markets and Harvest's other mechanisms have endured for more than a decade. If nothing else, this is a surface indicator that they still serve a purpose within the community, and in terms of farm survival or Community Supported Agriculture, a surface indicator that the trading activity made possible contributes to business sustainability. But to what extent and how does this purpose serve sustainability, and are sustainability principles a factor in Harvest's endurance and farm survival? How is the animation experience described above and the alter-channels that carry them, the 'product and its market', related to the broader scale economic, social and environmental characteristics of sustainable development in Harvest's host community?

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<sup>350</sup> Referencing the Aristotelian view that 'dialectics do not deal with the knowledge of reality' (Wan-chi Wong, 2006).

Harvest's Mission provides some clues. It's not about feeding the world (which is what most definitions of sustainable agriculture have as their underlying premise) – it's about farm survival for their own sake. It does not see farms as solely industrial units (in the Australian case, as a part of the factory farm of the British Empire, and latterly the globalised world), but as a 'living' cultural entity, not an artefact, but as Boland (1970) says, first and foremost a 'way of life'. It speaks to the Weberian idea of 'how to live a good life', the idea of consumer as citizen, the market being their vehicle through which they exercise their power and capacity to influence change and public policy, what Rose (1999: 46) describes as 'individuals and pluralities shaped not by the citizen-forming devices of church, school and public broadcasting, but by commercial consumption regimes and the politics of lifestyle, the individual identified by allegiance with one of a plurality of cultural communities'. It speaks also to the Weberian construct of 'an ethic of responsibility', the 'responsibilization of the consumer' (Barnett et al, 2008: 626) and particularly the increased dedication to self-consciousness-raising 'efforts to instil [a] greater concern to look out for their own good', what they describe as the 'shared logic' of responsibility, one that takes a positive view of Harvest-like phenomena as vehicles of and for this responsibilization. It is a self-determined logic that may or may not have common interest with the common good, or be desirable from any one of the basic principles of sustainability, especially the precautionary, intra and inter-generational principles.

The mission was crafted so as to appeal to neo-liberal funding bureaucracies but working on a version of agri-culture generally considered outmoded, foolish, and not worth defending or conserving, as I said in the beginning, one that may as well not be. Yet in understanding in the Weberian sense (Weber, 2009: 36), the rational and meaningful social context of Harvest's mission, the survival of small-holding farming, and more importantly its internal interpretation, being as it is a broader and more holistic expression of the parts of the mission statement, we see that Harvest's existence and persistence is plausibly explained because it talks to community

as much as it does to industry. We see a Janus-faced<sup>351</sup> mission, one that turns its attention toward neo-liberal ideologies and couches its expression in strongly, and in one interpretation, strictly economic terms, and at the same time, turns away expressing a mission to uphold a seemingly dead-end and defeating purpose in ‘supporting local agriculture’. What is coded in ‘local agriculture’ is also implied in what ‘living a good life’ entails, especially if it is to be sustainable. Sustainability is one of the conditioning ideal-typical constructs that underpins Harvest dialectics, it is one of the key threads in its arguments, and its mechanisms are pointed to when models of a negation of the dominant paradigm are invoked, and valorised when a vision of a richer more meaningful future is claimed by embracing Harvests agenda.

### ***Sustainability: A Harvest Dialectic Credential***

I have already presented the history of Harvest’s formation in the post-Rio period, that this gave Harvest’s constituencies a context and some institutional settings within which to have the debates about food, farming, health and community. The nature of the debates included the concept of Community Supported Agriculture and tourism the first mechanism for achieving this. I will start by exploring broader sustainability constructs and then to examine the touristic mechanisms from a Sustainable Tourism (ST) perspective.

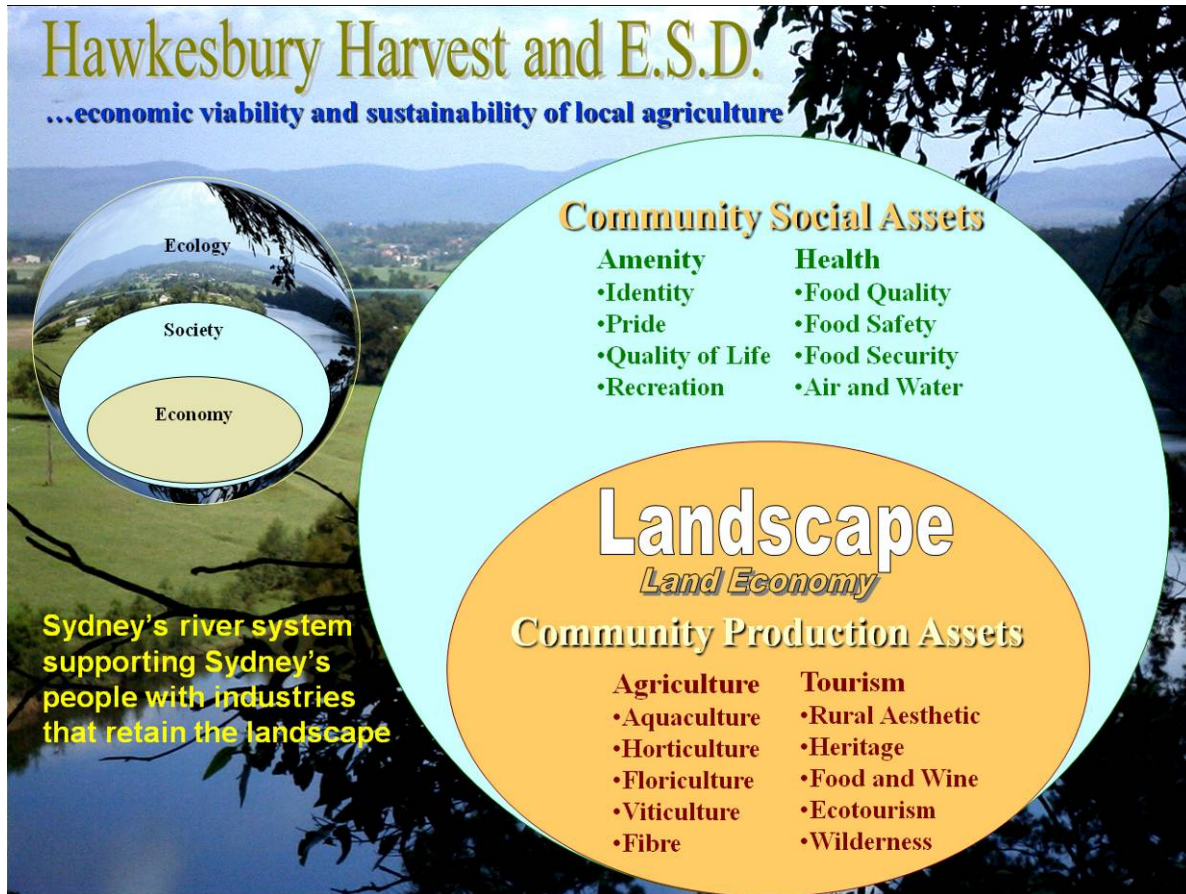
For those farmers who invested sufficient resources, Harvest initiatives successfully addressed many issues of survival or individual firm sustainability. At a broad community and landscape scale the role of farms in crafting and maintaining the commons was also recognized. The potentials of sustainable agriculture and agritourism were formally accepted by representative bodies for agriculture through Hawkesbury Harvest Inc. and tourism through

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351 Weber referred to the ‘this-worldly asceticism’ of the Puritans as being Janus-faced – turning away from this world in the pursuit of Godliness, while turning toward this world in order to exercise Godliness. See Kalberg (Weber, 2009: 52) endnote 28.

Tourism Hawkesbury Inc. in May 2004<sup>352</sup> and Figure 13 articulates the mutual interest that tourism and agriculture have in the landscape of the Hawkesbury region (Knowd, 2004).

Figure 13: Tourism and Agriculture’s Common Interest in Landscape



This understanding of interdependency recognized the role of both industries in the future development of the region and the importance of the natural and agri-cultural asset base in the face of the limited opportunities that mining and urban development might deliver for future generations of residents. It is an articulated vision for the future that clearly describes the nexus between agriculture, tourism and development in the region. This nexus defines a set of relationships between the industries that have important community identity and branding potentials for both tourism and agriculture based in food and wine culture, regional production to establish geographical indications, and destination image.

352 See meeting with THI re HH/THI relationship and ATDP project, email correspondence 14/5/2004.  
 Ian Knowd

Figure 13 shows a theoretical construction of sustainable development based on a nested view of sustainability, with ecology as the foundation, society as the human system within which economy is a sub-system. This framework applies at multiple scales and implies a ‘dialogue’ between the realms of ecology, society and economy. For the Hawkesbury, landscape, the rural character of place, and agriculture are the highest priority aspects the community says it values the most about their place to live and work<sup>353</sup>. The ‘assets’ described and their ‘social and material development’ (Birch & Whittam, 2008: 443), both tangible and intangible, are those that Harvest’s mechanisms support or enhance and they reflect the host community’s values and strategic directions<sup>354</sup> as expressed through community surveys and Community Strategic Plan consultation processes.

Suitable and sustainable economies (private good outcomes) are a function of the social system, its values and priorities (public good outcomes), and the underlying capacity of the ecology to support it. A land economy based on agriculture and tourism supports the regional society by conserving and enhancing regional amenity and health assets, while conserving and encouraging better stewardship of the natural and agriculture ecosystem of the Hawkesbury River catchment. Thus the landscape itself is a ‘product and indicator of rural development’ ‘based on cultural perceptions, ideas and preferences’ (van Mansvelt, 1997: 234) of the Hawkesbury community, what Gonzalez de Molina (2013: 49) describes as ‘political agroecology’.

Farm Gate Trail tourism thus is a farming systems ‘choice’, a ‘particular technology’ (van Mansvelt, 1997: 234) and potentially one that has some long-term sustainable development outcomes. The extent to which these are attained is an important future research agenda given the claims Harvest makes, the origin of the phenomena and the issues at stake for community.

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353 See HCC social surveys, social atlas and *Community Strategic Plan(s)* between 1993-2009.

354 Recall that Harvest gained significant Council and community support because it became a mechanism for protecting and reinforcing these.

The potential of the Trail to contribute to resurrecting local economic relationships between farmers and their host community is obvious but the cultural/attitudinal, planning, development and political barriers represent significant challenges. The community's relationship with its agricultural heritage is being revitalized and tourism has created new opportunities for commodification and interpretation of that heritage. The renewed contact between farms, visitors and the host community has created incentives for farmers, as custodians and stewards of the land, to seek better practices and management controls for the environmental assets they use, and conversely, educate a naive public about the realities of food production<sup>355</sup>.

Increased security for farming in the Sydney basin in the face of enormous pressures to liquidate the farming heritage of the land for other purposes was a primary driver for Harvest and indicator of sustainability. Securing an alternative future promises attractive livelihoods for future generations and satisfies the community health agenda for secure local food supply, increased variety and food safety.

Attaining a secure future will impact regional identity and branding. Ensuring viable agriculture maintains its contribution to the rural character of place and its role in conserving and protecting landscape commons. It also creates new potential in product development for tourism based on agriculture and its context within the landscape of the Hawkesbury.

The final potential of the agriculture/tourism nexus that the Trail creates is interconnectedness. Harvest initiatives recapture, from its stronghold of the 'space of place' in the Hawkesbury (Castells, 1996; and Berry, 1978 as cited in Brunori, 2008: 101) the 'space of flows'<sup>356</sup> that has become the domain of global corporations, especially in our food systems. The

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355 Usually in the form of 'putting right' misunderstandings about the need for chemicals, the role of disease management technologies and industrial agriculture technologies generally.

356 Castells is attributed as coining the expressions 'space of place' and 'space of flows' – Wendell Berry applies these concepts to distinguish local economies from total (global) economies. As total economies expand (spaces of flows), local economies (spaces of place) contract and eventually disappear as their capacity to trade (generate transactions) off the distinctive local diminishes, and as Brunori

Farm Gate Trail literally and metaphorically redefines<sup>357</sup> the local by diverting flows back into the side-lined eddy that the Hawkesbury's farmers had found themselves trapped within. The physical place existed but its meaning and significance had been subsumed into the meta-network of a globalised, urbanised and centralised food system and culture of consumption (Castells, 1996). Tourism is an integrating force setting the scene for new relationships between agriculture and other industries in the region, functionally defined in the literature as a 'clustering' (Laur et al, 2012). New relationships emerge between farmers, and between farmers and businesses in the tourism, hospitality and retail sectors of the local economy. Farmers and consumers relate directly with each other and through this the connection with their host community is enhanced. Interdependence is built through these relationships that highlight some key indicators of destination strength. An increased awareness of regional quality and the role that individual farms play in the tourism experience flows from an understanding of the interconnected relationship with tourism, from the commercial relationships that emerge in the economy, and from the protection of local amenity and quality of life that is possible if the Trail is sustainable. As a living experiment (Lane, 2005) in sustainable tourism and sustainable agriculture, demonstrating that tourism and agriculture can deliver these potentials is of vital importance in establishing the worthiness of such a relationship with tourism for farming communities.

This nested interpretation of sustainable development is now being seen as a working model with relevance to many local contexts<sup>358</sup>. Harvest's technologies are vehicles for messages and action on the social/network capital assets in the model, and health and other looming social

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describes, gradually "melting into the space of flows, which empties or fills them according to global market conditions" (p. 101) and demands.

357 Castells states "no place exists by itself, since positions are defined by flows...Places do not disappear but their logic and meaning become absorbed in the network...structural meaning disappears subsumed in the logic of the metanetwork" (1996, p. 412) cited in Escobar, 2001 (p. 144)

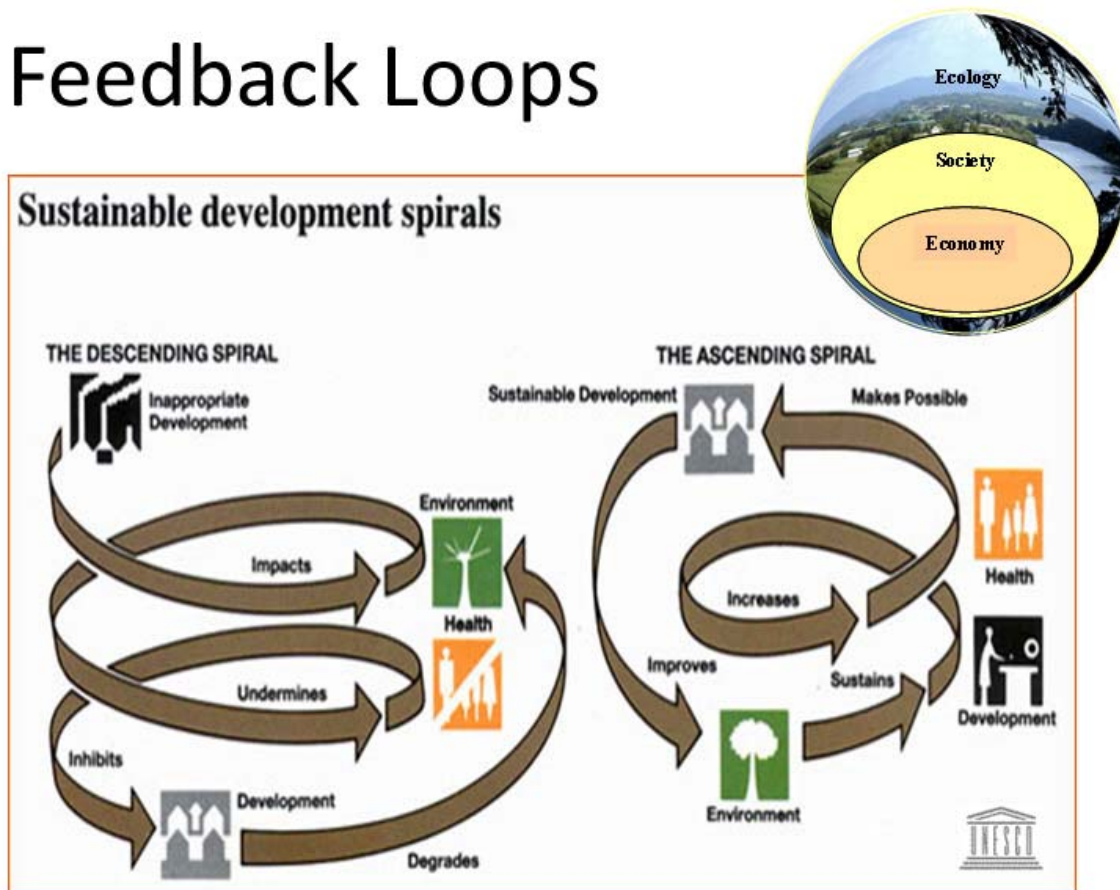
358 See Harvest's work with Penrith, Wollondilly, Kiama, Shoalhaven and Southern NSW, and the many presentations made by Mason and Knowd at tourism, food and agriculture forums interstate and internationally.



problems. The existing food system is generating the problem, and Harvest mechanisms are being seen as vehicles through which these might be addressed.

Figure 13 showed the relationship between Harvest’s host community ecology, society and economy. To understand how this relationship generates positive (or potentially negative) outcomes for Harvest’s host community we can apply a basic UNESCO conceptual model of sustainable development spirals. This conceptual model shows how feedback loops produce ascending or descending spirals of development through appropriate or inappropriate development decisions/choices<sup>359</sup>. Figure 14 presents the original UNESCO model with the nested ESD relationship.

Figure 14: Sustainable development spirals and feedback loops



359 Assuming communities have choices.  
Ian Knowd

Harvest as a development mechanism seeks to produce an ascending spiral. I contrast it with the other two, most likely development ‘opportunities’ for the Hawkesbury as a means of showing how the UNESCO model aids understanding of Harvest’s sustainability potentials. Rather than describe these as ‘inappropriate’ as the UNESCO model would characterise them, I simply present them as existing options which the community has been considering. Remember however, that the Harvest use of these constructs applies the positive spin that the word ‘appropriate’ implies. The options are mining of the riverine lowlands for sands and aggregates in the same way that the Penrith Lakes has been, and residential development to meet the requirements for housing in the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy<sup>360</sup>. Both these forms of development bring economic benefits, but the social and environmental sides of the ledger are more questionable, especially in the context of community survey results about preferred ‘rural’ futures. The feedback loops should be read in the context of the ‘assets’ named in Figure 13, these are the things at risk in the community’s development choice set.

Even if the Hawkesbury community’s vision for the future was not so bound up with its sense of place, the (negative) feedback loops for a descending spiral are likely to be realised. Economically, the industries of housing construction and mining are short term, and their workforces move with the industry as they shift to new development horizons. They both have high levels of itinerant and ‘foreign’<sup>361</sup> workers, leading to economic leakages. Both industries completely transform the landscape into man-made forms<sup>362</sup> that result in radically changed, often degraded ecologies.

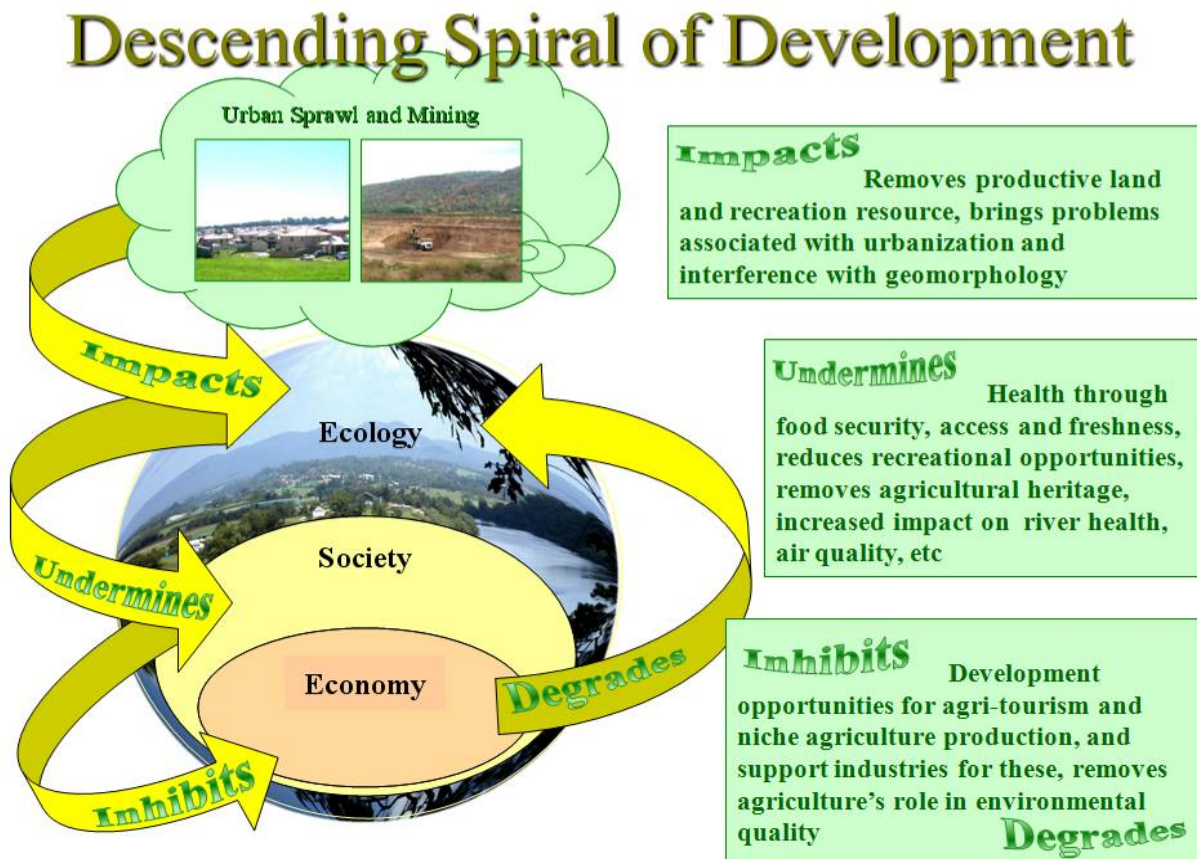
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360 The two images used in Figure 15 are of housing at Kellyville and mining at Penrith Lakes.

361 In the sense that they are not residents of the Hawkesbury.

362 Here I characterize the man-made landscapes of agriculture as ‘tamed nature’.

Figure 15: A descending spiral of development for The Hawkesbury?



In addition to the health implications shown in the figure, there is an attendant change in social structures and culture, with different segments of society coming in, existing ones departing, and the power and social relations between the ones that remain shifting in terms of power, social status, and a range of other social determinants of health. Tourism 'has the power to create and exacerbate social divisions locally a consequence of which is to make the potential cleavage a highly charged subject of local debate and source of social tension' (Knight, 1996:166)<sup>363</sup>. It was through tourism that the farms sector of the Hawkesbury economy started to assert an alternative future to the usual trajectory into urban development, one that highlights the paradoxical self-referencing that the antagonist's arguments about agriculture and tourism involve. Tourism is at once a desired industry for the Hawkesbury as articulated in the community's social and strategic plans over the last decade or more, but it is based on the

<sup>363</sup> Recall earlier notes regarding the response of local councillors to Harvest's representations on development and particularly the reaction to the *Your Land, Your Lifestyle, Our Hawkesbury* conference of 2006.

agricultural asset base, and its most viable expression is through agri-tourism that involves experiences on working farms and in a productive landscape formed and manipulated by agricultural practices and stewardship – the land-formation human activity that has created the asset as we see it today.

The tourism opportunity and its role for agriculture became the vector for strong critique of Hawkesbury City Council during its Community Strategic Plan consultation process in 2009. The future of agriculture and its positioning within this strategic plan was clearly absent and drew strident criticism for such an omission. Tourism too did not feature. The planning and policy directions for either protecting agriculture as an industry in its own right and therefore as the base for tourism (therefore excluding urban development as a land use option in the rural zones), or protecting an artefact of it in the form of 'rural character' (HCC, 2009) which implies the successful transition to rural residential development without the presence of active agriculture, were absent. The fear in the farming community was there would be an inevitable transition from 'rural' zoning to urban development as time goes on, a strategy driven by passive attrition. What is of interest is the implicit understanding of what the tourist seeks in a base expression of the attraction through 'rural character' of place. What defines rural tourism is inherently the intent of the tourist in seeking out a rural experience. For these tourists it is the rural character of places that is the attraction, and it's these characteristics that help us to define rural tourism experiences, not just experiences in rural places, or as might be the outcome of strategic directions in the Hawkesbury context, touristic experiences in rural-looking places that are really residential lots mowed and kept park-like for the viewing pleasure of visitors. The reality is, in the absence of an effective segmentation approach based on real on-farm experiences of the region, the Hawkesbury will have nothing left other than being marketed on the basis of its 'image', which is grounded in landscape features alone and the region's ability to appeal to romanticized notions of rural life, or however it ends up looking after the rural

residential transition. This mass market approach reinforces the romanticizing of rural areas, and also makes the problem of differentiating one region or locality from others more problematic. In this situation, the physical location of a region, its proximity to Sydney, takes on a greater level of influence in tourist decision-making, as it is harder for tourists to differentiate on other terms between potential places for their tourist experiences, especially where what is on offer is stereo-typical.

Both mining and housing inhibit the potentials for economic diversity and the base industries that could possibly replace those existing. Once the construction/extraction has been completed, what remains is a limited economic base unless another, more radical development cycle commences, for instance, if the region became a future high density city centre similar to those currently described as the 'river cities' under the 2010 Metropolitan Strategy<sup>364</sup>.

The environmental effects of urban development and mining are well understood, and it serves no purpose for this thesis to explore these in any detail. It is simply sufficient to say, that in the usual transition from a rural landscape to any other 'higher use' landscape, environmental quality and diversity are decreased.

Figure 16 presents the alternative scenario based on the Hawkesbury's existing asset base and community sense of place. It realises the potentials of an agriculture/tourism nexus and exploits the existing asset base for both industries, these having existed for more than 100 years<sup>365</sup>. The improving, sustaining and increasing feedback loops are self-explanatory in the context of the assets named in Figure 13 above. Where they make further agri-industry and agri-tourism development possible is through the de-sterilization of rural lands which are

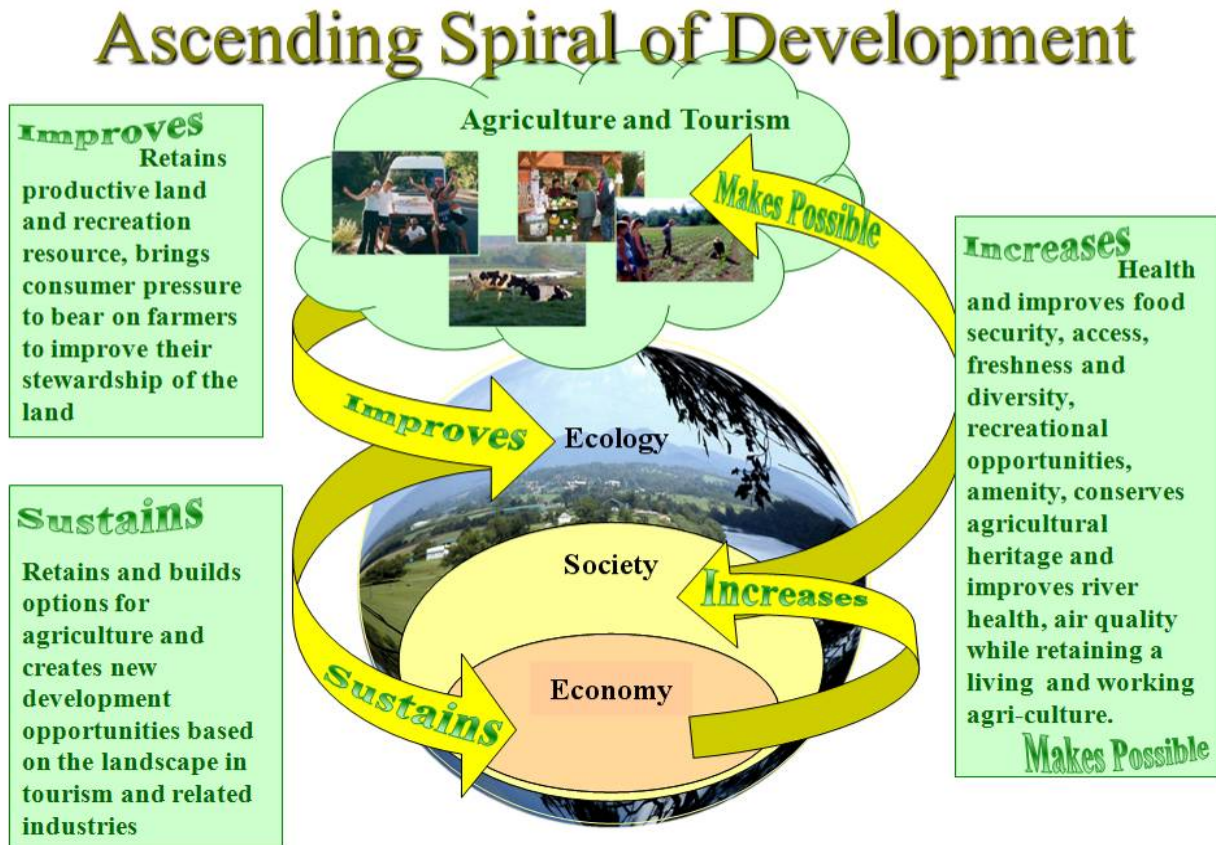
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364 Sydney, Parramatta, Penrith, and Liverpool.

365 In the case of agriculture, for more than 200 years.

currently in use as rural residential or land-banked holdings, some of the former and many of the later forming the 'green deserts'<sup>366</sup> of Western Sydney.

Figure 16: An ascending spiral of development for The Hawkesbury?



A land economy based on agriculture and tourism supports the regional society by conserving and enhancing regional identity, amenity and health assets, and encouraging better stewardship of the natural and agriculture ecosystem of the Hawkesbury River catchment.

The model is a practical means of addressing 'how the actual deterioration of the landscape can be seen as expressing the limited consciousness of most consumers' (Beismann, 1997: 173)

<sup>366</sup> A green desert is agricultural lands that are not in production and left fallow. They are often neglected, become weed and feral animal infested, or the dumping ground for illegal waste disposal, and consequently become a burden on community.



through making the nexus between consumer and the landscape explicit in a relationship with farmers.

In presentations Harvest makes about its sustainability credentials, it describes its approach to sustainable development as Do It Yourself (DIY) Sustainability. By this it means the various mechanisms and projects it developed have been ‘home grown’ solutions, the ideas for which may have been seeded from elsewhere, but their expression and effectiveness is entirely a function of Harvest’s particular execution and stewardship, in the complex interaction, dialogue and ‘conversation’ they have with the host community and visitors. As a result, there are sustainability aspects of its initiatives and their effects that were ‘designed-in’ because the project explicitly articulated the desired outcomes, and those that have occurred as ad-hoc or accidental consequences. An example of a ‘designed-in’ outcome is the achieving of the Harvest mission for viable and sustainable local agriculture, including entrepreneurial and employment potentials for existing and future generations<sup>367</sup>. An ‘ad-hoc’ outcome is the unforeseen ‘consumer pressure’ that direct contact with farmers has had on the willingness of farmers to change their management practices in the face of questions about varieties produced, and pesticides and resources used in production. This particular effect<sup>368</sup>, essentially a critique of environmental management practices, is as powerful, and in terms of the farmer attitude to making changes, a more powerful motivator than regulatory controls and the monitoring programs of the Environmental Protection Authority<sup>369</sup>.

These two examples highlight two key measures of system health in sustainability; integrity in terms of sustainable development principles, and resilience. The former are not explicitly cited as justification for Harvest projects in funding applications or elsewhere, but the later was

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367 These are usually explicit outcomes (economic usually the only ones) required under the various funding programs under which Harvest resourced its projects.

368 Observed and anecdotally reported by farmers in the Harvest network.

369 Both of these forms of control are, based on the ‘colourful’ responses of farmers when they are mentioned, universally disdained.



with the Food and Wine Coordinator project of 2006-2008. Resilience in Harvest’s projects is measured by the extent to which the project builds diversity in the ‘ecosystem’<sup>370</sup>, capacities of farmers to diversify their business models and spread risk across multiple activities, and how network connections build inter-dependencies between farmers and with other industries or system players, both across systems (horizontal interdependency) and along systems (vertical interdependency). The Farm Gate Trail links producers of various kinds together and farmers markets bring them together at a single location.

**Table 6: Sustainable Development Integrity and Harvest’s Projects**

Sustainable Development Principle	Harvest’s DIY ‘Healthy’ Sustainability Indicator
Conserving Biodiversity	Natural – the Hawkesbury River and Ecosystem Man-made – farming system ecology, production diversity and environmental practices
Intergenerational Equity	Hawkesbury Harvest and ESD Future opportunities based on shared community assets
Intragenerational Equity	Food Access, Quality, Security Food and other economy that links agriculture to consumers Food and other culture that links agriculture to community Other Quality-of-Life Factors
Precautionary Principle	Modifying what is known in ways that make it work better – Harvest’s projects Don’t change what exists and is valued without knowing what the long term impacts will be – Harvest as advocate in land use and conservation
Appropriate Valuing of Resources	Harvest projects integrate and demonstrate multiple values – land, people, culture, the environment Harvest projects ‘articulate’ these values in ways that give them a <i>value</i> as part of cultural landscape – Harvest asks the right question – “What’s it worth now and in the future?”

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<sup>370</sup> Emphasis added to signify a broad interpretation including economy, social ecology and its links to the wider society, and the relationship of these two spheres to natural and man-made (agricultural) ecosystems.

Table 6 summarizes how principles of sustainability are expressed, and therefore measured for Harvest's projects and initiatives. It describes 'healthy' indicators of sustainability, acknowledging that sustainability can be interpreted in many ways but for Harvest it involves specific, locally significant things, and distinct from 'health indicators' in the medical, social and environmental sciences which generate epidemiological data. In these terms it is an 'agroecological' phenomenon in the broadest sense of this newly defined term (Gliessman, 2013a).

Despite Harvest initiatives providing options in agriculture, the situation of farmers in the basin exhibits features of 'over-connection' to their system variables (Alison & Hobbs, 2004 citing Holling et al, 2002) – farmer age (older farmers resistant to change and new attitudes, skills and knowledge), land-use and the suburbs-in-waiting syndrome, the central food marketing system. It also exhibits characteristics of 'lock-in' (Alison & Hobbs, 2004: 15) whereby farmers continue to liquidate their land asset in preference to changing their response to the external environment.

In this sense farmer behaviour exhibits considerable resilience (the ability to resist external disturbances), particularly the entreaties of organizations like Harvest and the Hawkesbury Sustainable Farmers Network to consider alternative 'post-productivist' (Halfacree 1997, Hadjimichalis 2003) market orientations and micro-climate production technologies. Resistance relates to the lack of willingness to engage with the issues by the farming community, to build the social capital that this social-environmental system requires. Resilience is underpinned by an already degraded environment being exploited by industry shifting from farming to land-banking, where the bankable asset can only be realized if the current trends in urbanization and development in the Sydney basin continue un-addressed. The debate in the Hawkesbury region regarding land use, particularly the continued zoning of land for farming, is raging with great pressure from developers and sub-dividers to convince the outer-urban councils to allow

suburban lot sizes and restrict farming activity. The situation in Sydney warrants the kind of resilience analysis done elsewhere (Alison & Hobbs, 2004; Walker et al, 2002) if for no other reason than to settle the debate, as the system may be beyond the threshold for sustainable agriculture in the region already.

Similarly, the capacity of the landscape to absorb shock events such as flooding is irreparably modified because of urban development in the catchment and the loss of land surface to housing and tarmac. The hydrological system was permanently changed with the building of the Warragamba Dam, and the Hawkesbury Nepean is now a constant flow watercourse with little additional capacity to absorb urban runoff, let alone major flooding of the reservoir that might result in flood surges with overflow events. It is likely that the Sydney basin has exceeded its ecological buffering capacity on this and many other fronts and we are thus left with the conclusion that Alison and Hobbs have drawn about the WA agricultural zone, that is, only 'regional economic, demographic, or social' (2004, 16) mechanisms are left in our arsenal for combating the potential collapse of the system in the basin. As in the WA case, the likelihood that the production system will change shape and potentially collapse in the face of urbanisation and market forces is very high, and the only mechanisms currently in place to inject 'novelty' into the system are the initiatives developed through Hawkesbury Harvest. Existing land use planning mechanisms, specifically zoning controls applied at Local Government Area level, have not been effective in delivering resilience to the system, and could well be one of the primary mechanisms to have created the land-banking phenomenon. The system even exhibits features of 'policy resistance' (Sterman, 2001 as cited in Alison & Hobbs, 2004: 17) as the issues facing agriculture have been known since the *County of Cumberland Plan* attempted to address the 'promiscuous urbanisation' (1948: 129) threatening to degrade Sydney's quality of life.

What then are the sustainable tourism dimensions of Harvest's mechanisms?

Tourism in rural communities needs agriculture; agriculture doesn't need tourism. It's the nature of the relationship with tourism that counts in the nexus, not whether tourism exists in an agricultural setting per se. In many ways it needs to be approached in the same way that community eco-tourism developments are approached, with a strong sense of the vulnerability of the product base and the sensitivities of host communities and their guests. Where 'the right balance' is struck you will find vibrant, proud and strong communities that have control over their destinies through a sustainable relationship with tourism.

In order to understand the importance of agriculture to tourism it's helpful to develop a well-defined description of the tourism phenomenon in rural communities. A clear definition of what tourism is also helps us to see what role tourism must have if it is to be sustainable.

Rural tourism is located in agricultural landscapes and is characterized by enjoyment of a tamed-nature or highly modified landscape. It is about the land uses and human cultures that the interaction between humans and the land have created. It positions agriculture and farms as the foundation upon which the attraction is built. The landscape and culture created by agriculture is at the core of tourist interest. Human habitation and tamed nature are the essences.

Tourist experiences rely on many elements of rural communities, so while the core of the attraction may be farms and the cultural landscapes they create, off-farm experiences are just as important in understanding what makes a touristic experience. Indeed, the common situation is one where the farms themselves are not accessible to tourists and it is only the auxiliary service providers who relate directly with tourists. A region's hospitality, retail, arts, crafts and cultural goods and service providers are the primary beneficiaries of tourist trade. The farm's role in creating the physical and cultural commons is a direct determinant of the aesthetic and cultural

appeal of rural places, but it is the other business types of a region that exploit the tradable expression of that appeal.

So we see the nexus between agriculture and tourism in rural communities is one that is, in fact, widely understood; tourism needs agriculture in the same way that it needs any host community resource. The usual risks of tourism destroying the very thing that generates itself apply. If tourism replaces agriculture, it risks destroying the asset base upon which it has developed leaving a facsimile or rural theme park in its place. It is the managing of this risk that is at the heart of understanding the relationship between agriculture and tourism, and the role tourism must play in sustaining agricultural communities.

### ***Sustainable Tourism and Sustainable Agriculture***

Tourism in a rural community will not be sustainable unless it supports sustainable agriculture, producing a 'sustainable landscape' (van Mansvelt, 1997) and in the global sense only if it has a sustainable ecological footprint and is fit for global application and continuation in subsequent centuries as required by UNCED's Agenda 21. If tourism is the output of a system where agriculture is one of the inputs, then by definition the tourism can only be sustainable if the agriculture as part of the tourism-enabling system is itself sustainable. Ironically, tourism is often promoted by governments and other agencies, and yet the same economic and social systems that create tourism have been attributed with placing agriculture in developed countries in a perilous survival position. Sustainable agriculture approaches that seek to redress the high input, large scale, mono-cultural and highly industrialized character of modern agriculture have their equivalent in tourism. The same sustainability principles apply and there can be a symbiotic relationship between tourism and agriculture where rural communities engage with tourism, but only if it is sustainable. The usual situation however is quite different, with declining or struggling rural communities trying to bolster their position by attracting

tourists, a situation that more closely resembles exposing the community to an opportunistic infection.

**Table 7: Tourism as a Potential Panacea for the Ills of Agricultural Communities**

<b>Aspect of Agriculture</b>	<b>Ills of Agriculture</b>	<b>Tourism as Panacea</b>
Industry	Economic reliance on agriculture restricts income distribution and multipliers	Tourism broadens distribution and increases multipliers
	Dips and peaks in income flows	Tourism evens out income flows
	Modern agribusiness provides fewer employment opportunities	Tourism is service intensive and generates jobs in communities
	Under-utilization of on-farm assets	Tourism provides opportunities for alternative uses
	Low-value cropping in a globalized market, market failure to deliver trickle-down effects	Tourism encourages specialty cropping, value-adding and diversification, opportunity for autonomy in market structures
	Loss of prime agricultural land to development	Tourism creates a demand for retaining landscapes
Markets	Changes in market structures, dominance of retail chains in distribution of produce	Tourism provides an alternative means of selling to consumers that bypasses the mainstream distribution channels
	Disconnection of consumers from the source of their foods	Tourism recreates direct relationships between consumers and farmers
Community	Agriculture dependent communities becoming less resilient in a global market	Tourism increases resilience by creating opportunities for non-farm businesses as well as farms
	Loss of community pride	Tourism reinforces local identity and rural character, creates interest in aesthetic aspects of landscape, regional foods and cultural heritage
	Social isolation and social change	Tourism brings opportunities for social exchange and new relationships
	Young people deserting farms for city jobs, the skills and brain drain	Tourism provides interesting and different opportunities employing young people
	Rural communities disadvantaged compared to urban	Tourism brings improved amenities and opportunities

If the two industries are to have a relationship, it is critical for survival of both that tourism have characteristics which encourage agricultural production, diversification and good environmental management if sustainable agriculture is to be achieved. The linkage between these characteristics and the cultural landscape, the rural commons and hence the attraction base are central to planning the engagement with tourism that rural communities contemplate.

The overall impression gained about the role of tourism in rural communities from the literature is that it is a potential panacea for many of the ills that rural communities are experiencing. However, the economic role of tourism in delivering a better future for rural communities is often overstated and an industry analysis (Porter, 2008) of farm-based tourism helps to explain why many farming families get into and stay in tourism for reasons other than economic advantage. Tourism on farms has questionable attractiveness and requires careful planning and control so that its proper relationship with agriculture is maintained. With marginal business attractiveness, the wider economic, social, cultural, heritage and environmental benefits of tourism assume greater relevance for farming communities. If tourism is adopted and retained in its appropriate role as a piggy-back industry and only a mechanism for supporting agriculture, it has the potential to enhance the quality of life for the host community.

In adopting tourism, communities need to be conscious of the relationship between tourism and globalized markets, one similar to that of agriculture. Tourism too is a globalised phenomenon, and farmers may be exchanging one for the other (Stevenson & Rowe, 1998). Recall the experience of Enniskillen in the previous chapter.

Engaging with the tourist and the market is a challenging problem for rural communities. It involves planning decisions about the nature of tourism (eco, alternative, mass or other), the kind of product that will be produced, the degree to which these products have staged or real



elements and the effect that this has on community identity and regional image. Dealing with the paradoxes presented by tourism, and particularly tourists' perceptions about the rural character of place, much of which is informed by cliché and heroic dimensions of 'the rural', sets up a whole range of decisions about the nature of communities and the role of tourism in communities.

To place the tourism activity (a farm gate trail) in a theoretical framework we can use that described by Weaver (2000) which proposes a broad context characterisation of tourism development from Low to Highly Regulated and Low to High Intensity. Combinations of Regulation and Intensity position tourism activity in a place as sustainable or unsustainable.

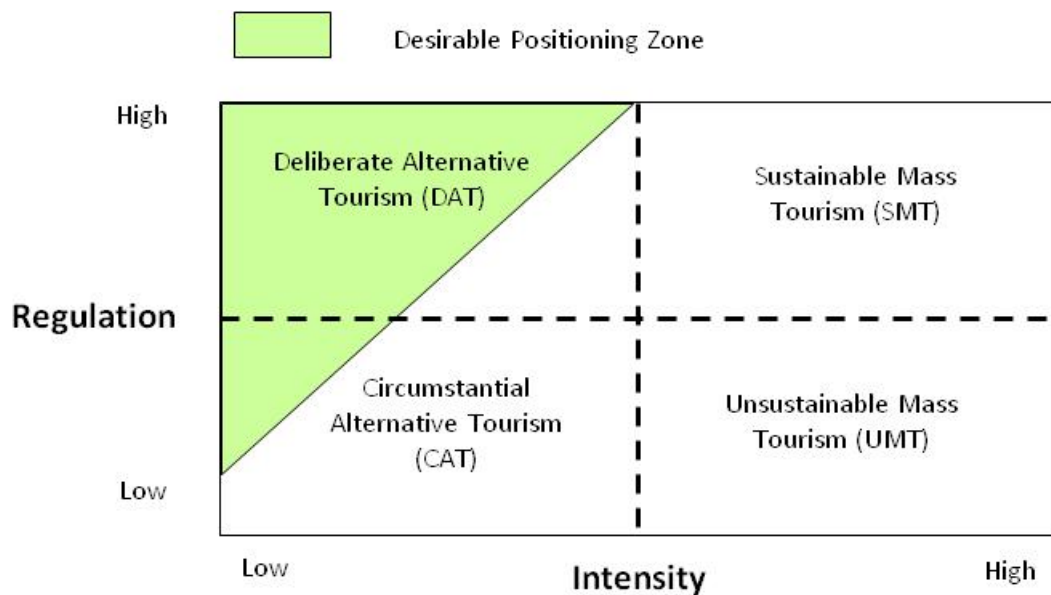
Richard Butler's (1980) seminal work with destination life cycle first conceptualised the idea of unsustainable tourism and further developments in frameworks of sustainable tourism have followed (Weaver & Lawton, 1999; Weaver, 2014). Tourism in rural areas often exhibits coincidental characteristics of ecotourism or alternative tourism (Butler, 2001), but as Weaver points out, in the absence of deliberate community control in accordance with sustainability principles, the result is just an early-stage or incipient tourism phenomenon with as much potential of being unsustainable as in any other context. Thus sustainable tourism in rural communities requires active policy formation and appropriate decision-making frameworks as a key indicator, as does any sustainable development process.

Weaver's model purports to address the short-comings of Butler's resort sequence and expands the conceptual boundaries to account for the experiences of destination development that researchers reported Butler's model did not demonstrate. Weaver suggests that a continuum exists between small-scale, low-impact, Alternative Tourism and large-scale, high-impact, Mass Tourism. With regulation and control of impacts it is possible to achieve

sustainable tourism regardless of its scale. Thus both Alternative and Mass Tourism are potentially sustainable.

Figure 17 shows a desirable zone of characterization for tourism in farming communities using Weaver’s Broad Context Model of Destination Development Scenarios (2000). To meet the requirement of supporting agriculture, rural tourism activity like other low scale, community-based tourism phenomena needs to exhibit many of the characteristics of ‘alternative tourism’, and if it’s to be sustainable, Deliberate Alternative Tourism. But as Weaver and others have noted, a detailed critique of tourism characteristics in many rural communities reveals that these are primarily coincidental to the incipient stage of tourism development (Weaver, 1991, 1998 and 2000; Butler, 1980).

Figure 17: Rural Tourism and Weaver’s Broad Context Model of Destination Development Scenarios



Much farm-based tourism is unregulated except by design<sup>371</sup> and existing (non-tourism) planning controls<sup>372</sup>, and has a trajectory which, if left unchecked by control interventions, is likely to take it in an unsustainable, or even mass tourism direction. Ideally, deliberate interventions are implemented to shift the trajectory toward, locate and characterize tourism

371 Recall the Farm Gate Sales DCP gazetted by HCC to allow the Harvest FGT to be developed –the zoning control now appears as part of the standard State-determined LEP template.

372 Land use zoning, heritage, environmental and other planning instruments.

activity in rural communities as DAT within the desired positioning zone as shown in Figure 17. This zone represents feasible combinations of intensity and regulation that ensures tourism remains an adjunct to agriculture; with low-medium intensity so that farm resources are not transferred to tourism, i.e. control the incentive for farms to become primarily tourism ventures using a range of low to high regulatory controls to safeguard agriculture as (or if) tourism intensity and therefore demand shifts toward the mass tourism end of the spectrum. The zone implies that as intensity increases, the regulation of the phenomenon also increases<sup>373</sup>. This means that only if tourism begins to become a significant factor in farm operations should additional burden of regulatory control be implemented, an important cultural consideration with farming communities<sup>374</sup>.

### ***Defining the Farm Gate Trail in Sustainable Tourism (ST) Terms***

Using Butler's resort cycle model and Rogers' (1995) diffusion of innovation allows us to more clearly see whether the FGT exhibits characteristics consistent or inconsistent with ST. As noted by Weaver and Oppermann (2000: 331), the usefulness of this lies in using the ideal models (ideal-typical characterisations) to identify variances and to attempt to explain these in terms of the actual experience with the FGT.

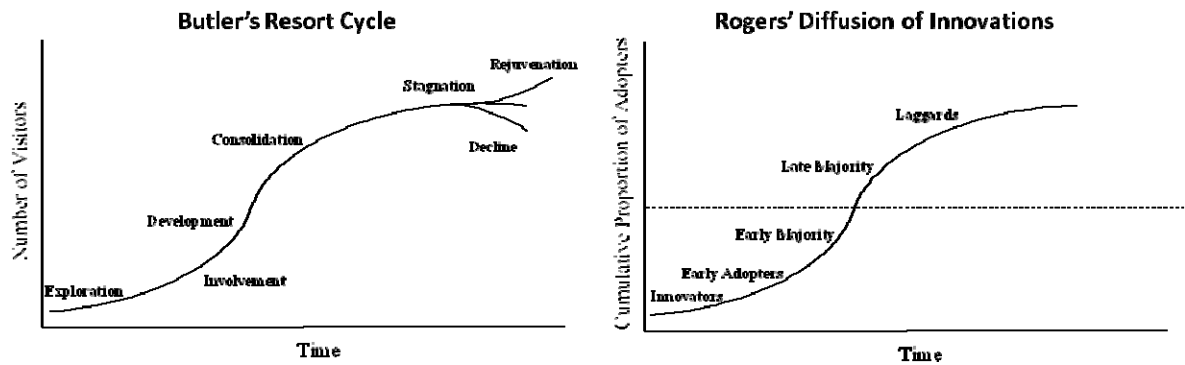
Figure 18 shows the Butler and Rogers' models. The FGT trail is in the earlier stages of development and so exhibits many of the characteristics typical of the Exploration, Involvement and Development stages of a destination's life cycle.

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373 Existing controls such as those that limit traffic intensity are already codified in the planning instruments, but others might be required that limit the proliferation of farm-based retail and other non-farming activities in certain agricultural protection zones.

374 Cultural in the sense that farming communities are renowned for their dislike of regulation and control over the way they conduct 'farming'.

Figure 18: Butler’s Resort Cycle and Rogers’ Diffusion of Innovation Models



Related to the early stage of development is the character of tourists, who can be categorized as Innovators and Early Adopters, and in Plog’s (1991) typology, as Allocentric-Midcentrics. Table 6 (derived from Weaver & Lawton, 1999; Weaver & Oppermann, 2000 and Rogers, 1995) details the characteristics of the FGT in Butler’s, Plog’s and Rogers’ terms<sup>375</sup>.

Even though the FGT is a relatively new initiative, there is a mix of characteristics from the Explorative, Involvement and Development stages, created by the network relationship with more established tourism operators who have joined the FGT and the effects of Tourism Hawkesbury as a long-established industry association and its adoption of the FGT as an important tourism promotion initiative for the region.

Table 8: Characterization of the Farm Gate Trail in Theoretical Terms

	The Farm Gate Trail in Terms of Butler’s Exploration-Involvement –Development Stage	Plog’s Allocentric Characteristics	Rogers’ Innovators Characteristics
The Tourism Industry	Low to moderate growth	Prefer non-touristy off-the-beaten-track, incipient stage areas, before others have visited	Typically, the first 2.5% of the total population of adopters – low but increasing numbers of people.

375 In Chapter Five: The Hybrid Cultivar I explore Harvest’s role as a knowledge broker and this too follows the ‘S’ shaped pattern of initiation, growth and plateauing-out. The Actor Temporal Network map included in that chapter displays this pattern.

	<b>The Farm Gate Trail in Terms of Butler’s Exploration-Involvement –Development Stage</b>	<b>Plog’s Allocentric Characteristics</b>	<b>Rogers’ Innovators Characteristics</b>
	Peripheral tourism with visitation <b>dispersed</b> over a large region, for example the ‘Original Hawkesbury Harvest Experience covers ≈3100 km <sup>2</sup> , but some concentration created by FGT ‘River’ and ‘Mountains’ trails. Additional concentration created by becoming side-track transit routes to Blue Mountains (via the Grand Circular Tourist Drive) and Hunter Valley	Exploring and adventurous	Venturesome
	<b>Locally owned and operated</b> farm (and other – see Exhibit 6th Edition Map Content above) businesses that complement the existing activity.	Enjoy meeting and dealing with different people, inquisitive and curious	Cosmopolitan
	<b>Seasonality</b> not driven by climate, but by farm production – all year round interest and diversity of production, but changes with seasons.	Like to try new things, discovery and delight, wants a different experience for each trip	Interest in new-season produce and products
	Tourism <b>contribution to farming economy</b> is insignificant or minor – supplementary (75% gaining less than 10% of their turnover from tourism [Knowd,2003a])		Willing spenders but few in number
	Tourism <b>incomes</b> are small but growing – 44% earning less than \$10,000 p.a., 75% earning less than \$50,000 P.A. (Knowd, 2003a)		
	<b>Linkages</b> are local by design – Hawkesbury Harvest’s strategy includes deliberate creation of linkages as attested to by one farmer: ‘Hawkesbury Harvest provides me with a network of farmers who buy and sell from each other according to seasonal demands. Hawkesbury Harvest networking and promotion has assisted in the rapid growth of my ...expanding tourist business .....with Hawkesbury Harvest being an integral part of that growth’ (Maguire, 2002)		
	<b>Leakages</b> are none or minor – deliberate strategy to bring tourists and consumers to the farm gate.		
	<b>Environmental stress</b> – very low with half the farms receiving less than 10 visitors per week, 88% less than 50 per week. 75% of visitation is less than ½ day or short stop for 8 out of 10 farms. (Knowd, 2002)		

	<b>The Farm Gate Trail in Terms of Butler’s Exploration-Involvement –Development Stage</b>	<b>Plog’s Allocentric Characteristics</b>	<b>Rogers’ Innovators Characteristics</b>
<b>The Market</b>	Product: <b>Local (authentic Hawkesbury), small-scale</b> , low-density, dispersed, <b>unobtrusive</b> , producers, products, experiences, and culture in a historic rural landscape ( <b>the Commons</b> <sup>376</sup> ). Farmers believed the attraction was a ‘different experience’ characterized by the appeal of ‘fresh produce, country life, low cost outdoor family or group activity and interest in animals’. Products represented good value for consumers whilst producing better cash flow and higher returns for farmers. (Knowd, 2002)	Intellectually curious, wanting to try new products, preferring novel and different places, high activity levels.	Venturesome risk-takers, seeking new ideas and innovations in products
	Consumer: Diverse (locals, domestic and international tourists) staying a very short time, traveling by own car, some coaches (technical tours, schools, clubs, internationals)	Special interest intellectually curious, interested and involved, demanding sophisticated and active traveller, looking for spontaneity and local flavours - experienced and demanding tourists, but likely to more forgiving of local ‘failings’ (EC-AEIDL, 1997)	Venturesome, risk-taking information seekers.
<b>Management</b>	<b>Community-based</b> initiative controlled by local steering committee, but no regulation of tourism beyond that implemented in local planning controls	More likely to be intellectually attracted to HH as an ideal type of tourism capable of meeting their needs.	More likely to be inspired by the idea
	Philosophy of <b>public intervention</b> to increase sustainability of local agriculture whilst providing access and security of local food supply. Tourism as a mechanism in the process, not an end game. Long term goals relate to a future for agriculture.		

Thus, mainstream tourism communication with potential visitors is occurring in addition to the promotion initiated by Hawkesbury Harvest in its own right. There are, however, some characteristics that do not fit neatly into the Butler sequence for early destination development.

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<sup>376</sup> The Commons here refers to the physical and cultural landscape created by agriculture in the region – see Healy, 1994.

The Farm Gate Trail like other low scale, community-based tourism phenomena exhibits many of the characteristics of ‘alternative tourism’, and even of Deliberate Alternative Tourism, but a detailed critique of its characteristics reveals that these are primarily coincidental to the incipient stage of development, although the origin of the philosophy behind the Harvest trail (Healthy Cities and Sustainable Agriculture) and the Sustainable Agriculture concerns of NSW Agriculture as intermediary in the process have resulted in a by-design or pseudo-regulatory environment (Weaver, 1991 and 2000; Butler, 1980).

While the Farm Gate Trail theoretically has the potential as a mechanism for Mass Tourism, the development continuum of relevance at this stage, especially in the context that tourism must remain a piggyback industry in order to deliver sustainable agriculture, runs between Circumstantial Alternative Tourism (CAT) and Deliberate Alternative Tourism (DAT). Thus Table 9: Sustainable Tourism Characteristics of the FGT only shows potentials for the Farm Gate Trail as shifting along this CAT↔DAT continuum. For Hawkesbury Harvest there are a number of characteristics that achieve a CAT outcome by simple coincidence, and others that are ‘intended by design’ to achieve a CAT outcome, but have no control mechanism or process in place in order to do so. With the later a pseudo-regulation is applied by the philosophical or strategic orientation of Harvest, and particularly through the leadership and politics of the Hawkesbury Harvest board and key actors, as well as the ‘pressures’ created by consumers<sup>377</sup>.

Table 9 maps out the position of key elements of the Farm Gate Trail as a tourism phenomenon.

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<sup>377</sup> Given that Harvest’s mechanisms are market-based mechanisms there is a by-design underpinning of them as suitable and appropriate mechanisms in a neo-liberal market economy, but this is not something Harvest seeks to control or explicitly activates as part of its mechanism designs.



The symbols used in Table 9 are:

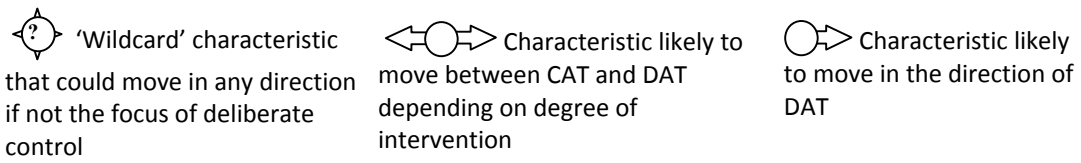


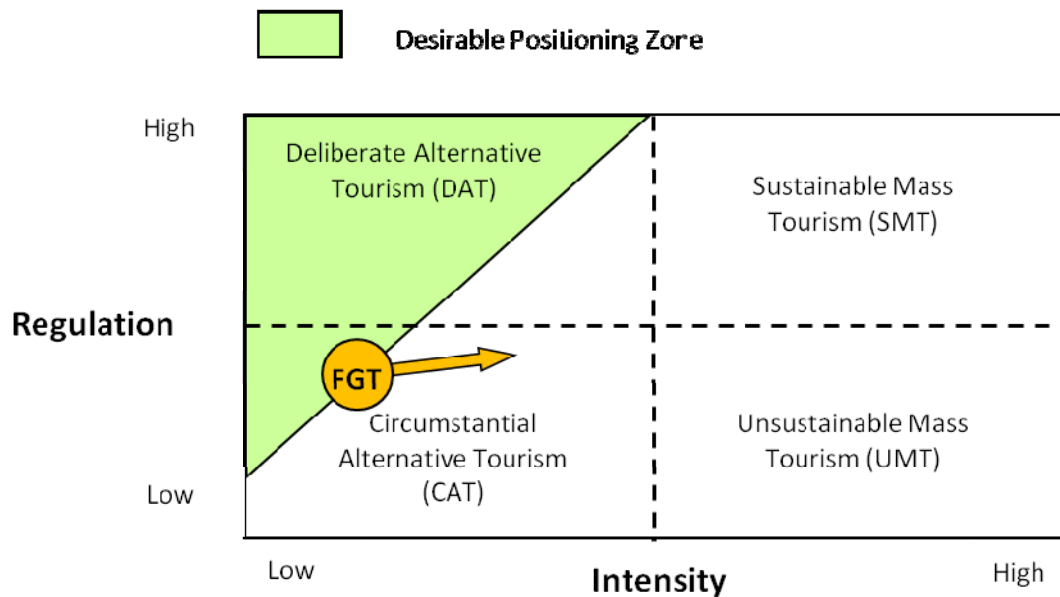
Table 9: Sustainable Tourism Characteristics of the FGT

Characteristic		
	CAT	DAT
<b>The Industry</b>		
Role of Tourism		○→
Growth	◆?	
Dispersal		◆?
Ownership		↔
Seasonality	○→	
Economic Contribution		↔
Income		↔
Linkages		○→
Leakages		○→
Environmental Stress	◆?	
<b>The Market</b>		
<b><u>Product</u></b>		
Local		○→
Small Scale	○→	
Unobtrusive		○→
Authenticity		↔
The Commons		○→
<b><u>Consumer</u></b>	○→	
<b>Management</b>		
Community-based		↔
Public Intervention		↔

The usefulness of this positioning map lies in what the current characteristics of the tourism phenomenon mean in terms of achieving sustainable tourism. An ideal outcome would locate all of the characteristics at the regulated end of the continuum because this represents optimal control over FGT tourism as a community-based initiative. In reality this is probably impossible to achieve, but there are many of the characteristics that can be controlled in order to ensure that the relationship between tourism and agriculture remains sustainable.

Overall, the weighting of characteristics is toward the CAT end of the continuum. Figure 19 summarizes the overall position and current, postulated trajectory of the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail in Sustainable Tourism Terms using Weaver’s Broad Context Model of Destination Development Scenarios (2000).

Figure 19: Summary Positioning of the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail



On the intensity scale, the Farm Gate Trail generates very low levels of impact being dispersed, distributed across the seasons, the tourism ‘load’ being taken up by existing

enterprises<sup>378</sup> (farms and also others) with excess capacity to fill, and the demand of tourism on these farm businesses being, in the main, a desired but small contributor to revenues. For auxiliary and augmented players in the 'product' these characteristics also apply.

On the Regulatory scale it exhibits low-medium formal (deliberate) and informal (circumstantial) regulation. The formal is as I have previously described in the form of Harvest's vision and mission, the intended outcomes that its management and activities produce. Harvest's systems of quality assurance and 'standards' are part of this. It also includes the regulatory functions attached to various functional activities that businesses undertake, the environmental controls, legal and other controls that regulate such things as food production, handling and processing, workplace health and safety, public and product liability.

Informal controls emerge from the transactions that take place as part of the experiences created by the Farm Gate Trail. Consumer 'pressure' or 'market signals' that farmers confront about delivering the tourism promise, and answering the 'difficult questions' posed by consumers about farm practices, natural resource and environmental management of the landscape asset.

The positioning I have shown in Figure 18 locates the FGT as having a mix of deliberate and circumstantial Alternative Tourism characteristics and a postulated trajectory that is not quite directed toward an ideal of DAT because of the low likelihood and need for a highly regulated form of tourism in this context. The risks to community that would demand greater regulation are not currently being expressed, but this does not mean that they would never be so. It is conceivable that the FGT phenomenon could present these risks if the consumer trends and demand for foodscape experiences in close proximity to the City were to grow, especially in the

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<sup>378</sup> Some intensity issues have been observed for specific pick-your-own farms in season resulting in short-term traffic congestion and crowding effects on-farm.

light of increased energy costs and the effects of transition to a low carbon economy which would make short/closer trips by private vehicles more attractive for consumers/tourists<sup>379</sup>.

The trajectory is strongly influenced by a number of crucial characteristics that are currently wildcards. Growth, Dispersal and Environmental Stress are of course, all linked, and the issue is not whether growth will or will not occur, but whether Harvest's growth stimulating activity and market development work can deliver sustained growth in the face of the original challenges facing the farming community and global trends in tourism. Other characteristics position the FGT between CAT and DAT by virtue of philosophical, structural and planning constraints, some are deliberate like the Role of Tourism, Leakages, Local Product and the protection of The Commons, but others are circumstantial/coincidental such as Income, Authenticity, the extent to which Harvest remains a Community-based organisation, and the extent to which it can harness resources through future Public Interventions via project funding programs.

### ***Potential for, and Control of Change***

The HHFGT exhibits superficial qualities of Sustainable Tourism like many initiatives in rural communities where tourism is suggested as a potential survival option. The implications of information summarized in the Figures here, are that the many Circumstantial Alternative Tourism characteristics that the initiative currently exhibits have the potential to be transformed into Deliberate Alternative Tourism, and hence contribute to sustainability. What is required are explicit tourism goals, indicators (generic ST and idiosyncratic FGT) and monitoring systems that will reinforce the primacy of Sustainable Agriculture in the way tourism works with the farming community. An explicit acknowledgement of the relationship between Sustainable Agriculture

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<sup>379</sup> These pressures would be defrayed and potentially exploited if the townships of the Hawkesbury became larger scale hubs of the Farm Gate Trail. For instance, Windsor with its heritage assets and location is well suited to being a gateway and gastronomic town featuring the food and rural culture of the district and absorbing much of the mass tourism that might evolve from an effective Hawkesbury Harvest phenomenon.

and Sustainable Tourism is required to set the policy framework if Deliberate Alternative Tourism is to eventuate with the Hawkesbury Harvest Farm Gate Trail.

This will require ST to be defined in symbiotic terms within the context of farm survival and sustainable agriculture, with a range of indicators that reflect its role in the region as well as its role with agriculture. The current situation with tourism and the FGT is a form of sustainability by default – low scale, low impact as a result of incipient stage of destination lifecycle and as such represents non-deliberate ST. The fact that it also represents Alternative Tourism is a function of the context, that is, farms and rural tourism and this raises the question of what ‘mass tourism’ would mean in this context and if the FGT could ever become a mass tourism phenomenon within the Hawkesbury?

The key question however, still remains: is this tourism activity supporting agriculture, but more importantly, is it encouraging sustainable agriculture? It is too early in the life cycle of this initiative to assess this question in any reliable way as farmers don’t have enough experience with tourism to have been exposed to all its potential forms of impact and the scale of tourism is too small to make any significant impact apparent. In addition, monitoring systems for this are required if the assessment is to be scientifically informed, making these a ‘desirable’ aim if a DAT scenario is to be realized, however there are potential farmer ‘cultural’ barriers to implementing such systems making their ‘feasibility’ questionable<sup>380</sup>.

It is however possible to understand the on-farm potentials of this kind of tourism in contributing to sustainability outcomes based on the relationships that have emerged already. The Enniskillen case presented later explores this. Whether these potentials are realized in the

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380 Desirability and feasibility in the Soft Systems use of these terms (Checkland & Scholes, 1999 ; Patching, 1990) – monitoring systems for DAT is a desirable thing, but the feasibility of implementation is questionable because farmers (those I have had contact with through my Harvest study) are resistant to monitoring systems and suspicious of their purpose, they employ few of them in other aspects of their farm operations, and often only because they are mandated by legislation. There is no doubt that such attitudes are changing in the farming community, but they are evident in this context at this time.

longer term will depend on the extent to which the community control this tourism phenomenon.

Table 10 shows some aspects of modern agriculture where tourism on farms has the potential to create sustainable outcomes in agriculture. Again, the important point here is that tourism is a mechanism, not an end in itself, it creates ‘options’ for alternative markets and products, business models and future scenarios.

There are already some key aspects that contribute to potential sustainability for agriculture through tourism. In the context of the Hawkesbury region, many of these aspects are about re-creating lost or diminishing relationships between agriculture and the community that have existed before.

**Table 10: Tourism as a Mechanism in Sustainable Agriculture**

<b>Modern Agriculture</b>	<b>Tourism as Mechanism</b>	<b>Sustainable Agriculture</b>
Mono-cultural, Industrial, Large Scale, Consolidated	Adds ‘production’ options in specialty produce, value adding, on-farm experiences. Breaks the scale-viability link, encourages artisanal forms of production	Agro-diversity and Agri-tourism
High Input	Higher margins reduce reliance on production for mass markets. Alternative, higher-margin incomes from tourism allow escape from the volume = \$ trap	Low Input
Depletes Land Resource if natural resource management (NRM) not in place	Creates incentives to maintain, conserve, enhance and ‘mobilize’ The Commons	Conserves Land Resource and positions agri-culture as part of a cultural landscape
Minimizes Human Resource Requirements	Creates value-adding, service, hosting and interpretation jobs	Livelihoods for People on the Land

Some of these aspects are about creating new relationships. Tourism is acting as a mechanism for resurrecting local economic relationships with agricultural producers. Through it farm gates are being opened to the public and direct sales are occurring. It is also revitalizing the community’s relationship with its agricultural heritage and the social significance of this in forming community identity and cohesiveness. Consumer demand for organic, fresher and

healthier foods is creating incentives for better practices and management of environmental impacts of farming and tourism. Tourism activity on the Farm Gate Trail is a mechanism for balancing global/local forces that have placed agriculture in the region in a perilous position – it is a factor in farm security.

Tourism is offering a future for agriculture where limited options previously existed. The threats created by urban development, market structures and the power of retail chains are countered by tourism providing alternative justification for retention of agriculture in its role in creating and maintaining the commons, the aesthetic appeal of place, and in creating new distribution channels and autonomy for farm production. This heightened role of agriculture in the region enables farming families to see that there are attractive livelihoods for future generations possible in farming. Tourism is providing a mechanism for attaining the goals of Healthy Cities programs through increasing food supply, variety and safety.

### ***Regional Identity or Brand***

One of the synergistic effects of the Farm Gate Trail initiative for the Hawkesbury region is realized through its role in reinforcing the rural character of place. This enhances community perceptions about agriculture and an identity grounded in rural living, and at the same time creates a new tourism product base and image for the region that is sympathetic to rural identity, and the potential basis of a regional brand<sup>381</sup>. See the earlier discussion on the Harvest brand above.

### ***Tourism as an Integrating Force***

Tourism activity and the system structures that are needed to support it establish relationships between farmers and others that would not be possible without it. Farmers are establishing relationships with businesses in tourism and hospitality that they have never had

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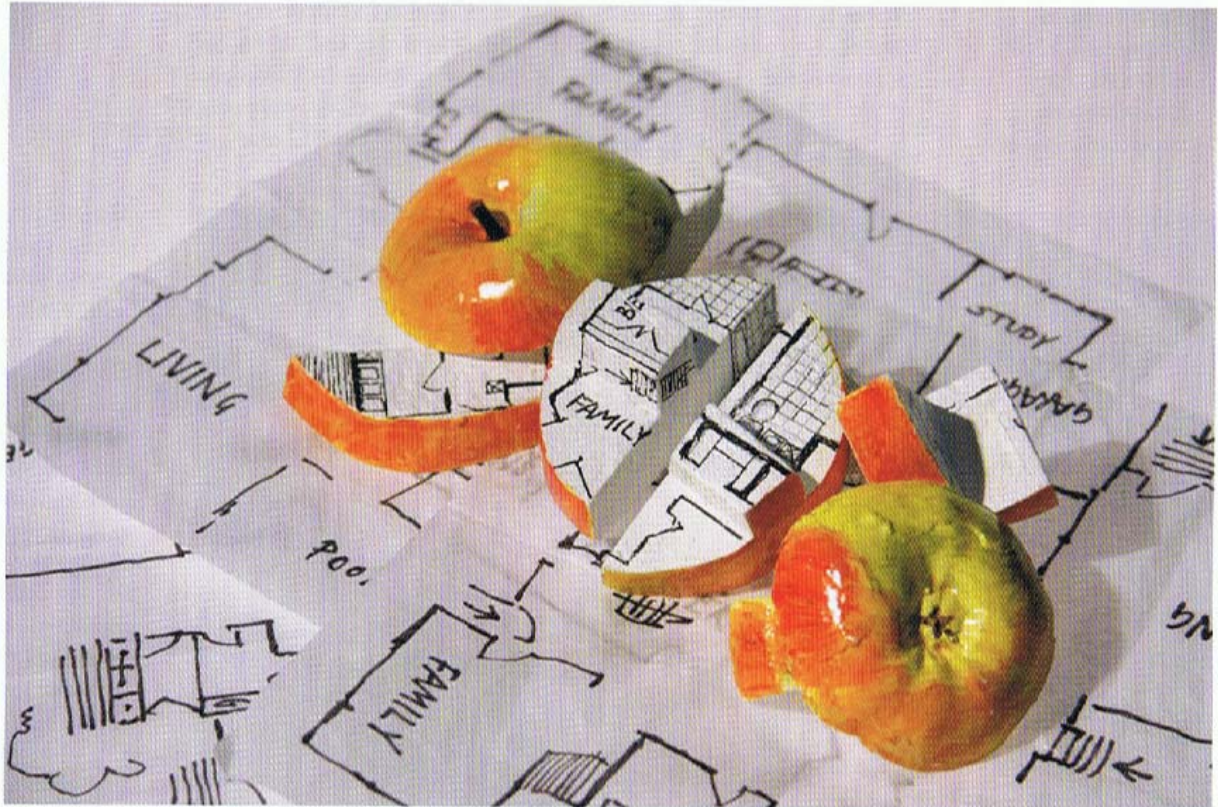
<sup>381</sup> In early 2013 HHART received a TQUAL grant to prepare a *Destination Management Plan for the NW Sydney region*. Hawkesbury Harvest was identified as a 'hero' offering.



before. They are establishing relationships with each other that strengthen the local economy through their commercial relationships. These relationships bring access to new consumers, and create access to farms that the host community have not had before. These relationships are the core element in building community. They build an interdependence that has many flow-on effects for the community in fostering regional pride and quality of life, in highlighting the role of individual farmers in not just the tourist experience, but also the attractiveness and amenity for local residents of living in the region.

In this farming context, tourism opportunities and the questions raised by them help focus the farming community's attention on the strategic question of 'What kind of future do you want for your children in this place?' This kind of strategic questioning (Peavey, 1993) arises through the linking of tourism and another industry, in this case agriculture, a linking that prompts communities to ask to what extent an agricultural, tourism or agri-cultural tourism future is sought. This requires answers that explicitly state the role of tourism in the survival of agriculture. From a sustainability viewpoint, this strategic linking also helps to create diversity, and hence resilience, within both industries, but is only possible if the questions are asked. It was Hawkesbury Harvest that asked this question.

This requires deliberate action by the farming community and Hawkesbury Harvest that controls, regulates and manages tourism, and allocation of appropriate economic, social and environmental resources to the process. Hawkesbury Harvest has achieved this in the time since it was established but the effort and commitment to maintaining the action is on-going. This presents an organisational challenge and I discuss the dynamics of this in Chapter Six: The Hybrid Cultivar. The strategic question for Harvest in the face of this challenge is whether their mission to improve the economic viability and sustainability of local agriculture will be achieved in the longer term.



The theme of this exhibition brings together humanity's two most basic needs: food and shelter. In 'Core Values' I have tried to express the tension between the two in very simple (some would say concrete) terms.

While the apple is highly symbolic in our culture and can be seen as standing in for all food in its unprocessed form, I was also struck by the emotive terms used in the house plans. Words such as 'living' or 'family' are surely as seductive as the original apple in the Garden of Eden, bringing us back to the inherent conflict expressed in this show

**Polly Pickles**

*Core Values*

(Detail)

2010

7.5 x 6.0 x 6.0 cm

Plaster of Paris,  
acrylic paints



## *Chapter Six: The Hybrid Cultivar*

Hawkesbury Harvest is an incorporated, not-for-profit association and governance structure. Like other phenomena in regional development, it has been a 'dream-catcher that gather[ed] and visualiz[ed] potential opportunities that [were] not yet articulated' (Laur et al, 2012: 1919). It is an animation vehicle for its actors in functional and strategic domains. It acts as agent for others, it represents, it advocates for, it is a vehicle within which individuals assert their ideas, values and efforts.

It attracts people for many different reasons; some about self-interest, some about altruism, some about community activism, some because it's a space in which their worries about the world will be heard. Its power to attract a diverse pool of talent and to be the mechanism through which they create value and make a difference in the world is at the heart of Harvest's continued existence. For some it is an expression of their destiny, for others a vehicle through which they gain enlightenment. The issues it seeks to address, the communities it was created by, the aspirations of its members it hopes to facilitate, and the future for agriculture and farming in the Sydney basin it is trying to secure, are vested with heart-felt passions and desires that are expressed deeply within Harvest's own network of members, but also in its wider host community. And these same motivators are replicated around the world in farming communities in the developed and developing world<sup>382</sup>.

This chapter presents insider perspectives on how and why Harvest is a hybrid cultivar of mainstream institutional, cultural and economic agency. It describes a 'social enterprise'<sup>383</sup> that adopted a structure through which government was prepared to deal (incorporated community

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<sup>382</sup> See the *Growing Anger Of Hunger*, SBS Documentaries.

<sup>383</sup> After Birch and Whittam (2008: 440) "social enterprise encapsulates both a specific form of social economy organization and, more importantly, a specific form of activity. It is characterized by a business orientation and innovative approach focused on the delivery of social benefits through trading to ensure the financial sustainability of the organizations concerned". As Harvest matured, it transitioned from a stage where project funds were its only 'revenue stream', to an independently trading entity generating revenues from its 'products', the FGT and Farmers Markets. In this way it became something more easily defined as a 'social enterprise'.

association), tapped government assistance/development programs and resources, to give agency to Harvest's actors and their passions for local issues<sup>384</sup>. Unlike the claims of other studies (McGehee et al, 2014<sup>385</sup>), all Harvest actors are insiders of the system they resist, the 'routine institutionalized channels' of agriculture, food, tourism, business and academia. Similarly, Harvest's action does not 'take place outside the mainstream political system' (ibid: 141).

The chapter title uses the metaphor of a 'hybrid cultivar' as an appropriate way of describing this agri-cultural<sup>386</sup> development initiative which germinated and then blossomed into a 'hybrid forum' (Callon, 1998) that contested the neo-liberal orthodoxies of food and farming. The idea of cultivar opens up the nuances of hybridity that extra-governmental actors exhibit. The Harvest hybrid was spawned by the institutional context, the forum formed within it, an emergent organisation better suited to its 'market'<sup>387</sup> than existing public and private sector forms with their attendant path-dependencies and functions in social structure. The hybrid filled a gap<sup>388</sup>, it wasn't a chance mutation but an emergence from existing forms modelled by existing actors from within their respective institutional settings in response to a need.

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384 Mounlaert and Ailenei (2005) characterize this social response to economic crises as historically linked to the cyclical crises that Polanyi (1944) attributed to liberalism.

385 Like many studies in the tourism field, this one claims that tourism can illuminate and strengthen the usefulness of existing theory (ibid: 152), when in fact, it's the theory that illuminates and strengthens our understanding of tourism. It goes so far as to appropriate social movement theory ('this study provides a theoretical framework'), when all it did was apply it to a tourism context (152: line 28). Another instance of the tourism-centric tunnel vision of tourism literature.

386 Christopher Bacon (2013: 111) also makes the point that farming, what I have previously referred to as tamed nature, is a nature-social hybrid that exists because of the relationship between farmer's work and nature's ecological work.

387 My use of the word 'market' here is in its broadest sense, the market for ideas, ways of being and modes of agency in the world as much as the more restricted definitions of classical economics. It references a Weberian perspective on the organisation of economies, and specifically in the Harvest problematic of a hybrid emergence in response/reaction to the domination of the food system by the mainstream retail institutions. See Hamilton and Feenstra, (2001: 171).

388 See Nee and Ingram (2001: 32) for examples of other hybrid emergences in response to institutional path-dependence. Also of interest is the notion that Harvest's action in the world is analogous of the 'agricultural revolution' catalysed through regional differences that Rosemary Hopcroft (2001) describes in her work on pre-industrial agrarian England.

The idea of a hybrid cultivar sheds light on the ‘black-box’ (Considine, 2005: 6) these bridging organizations seem to be, and remain, as a consequence of their extra-governmental status. The idea helps locate this illumination in the ‘new institutionalist paradigm’ (Brinton & Nee, 2001; Hamilton & Feenstra, 2001: 165) re-engaging a Weberian perspective to better explain social entities like Harvest that use collective economic and social action to change the rules of the game, and therefore effect shifts in power through new organisational forms (Nee & Ingram, 2001: 33). Harvest is a ‘reflexive’ (Hamilton & Feenstra, 2001: 171-172), socially embedded phenomena seeking to restructure earlier economic relations between growers and eaters in a modern industrialized food system and dynamic, this ‘response/reaction’ being induced by the system itself – it is a dialectic. Harvest’s ‘organisational isomorphism’ (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991) re-interprets relations<sup>389</sup> (an (alter)-channel bringing growers and eaters together), re-orient dominant system paradigms (appearing to be a formally rational economic actor), and re-reflects and imitates the system of value chain capture that the dominant players in the food system practice (establishing closed commodity chains). In this way Harvest initiatives deliver for growers and eaters an organizational structure within the existing economy that empowers both, not just in economic terms, but in social and structural terms, the empirical manifestation of this being the ‘created’ Harvest alter-channels and experiential domains, systemically integrated with the ‘mainstream’ as I discussed in Chapter Four. Together, these two chapters shed light into Hawkesbury Harvest as a black box in its system of human action and exchange.

Harvest is a Third<sup>390</sup> Sector (Birch & Whittam, 2008; Shergold, 2009), community-based (Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005) vehicle. It is not an NGO or NGO-based network in the usual sense of the term (apolitically implementing state supported technical fixes), nor is it a strict agrarian-

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389 What Hamilton and Feenstra (2001: 172) would characterize as the ‘structural underpinnings’ of a Harvest world-view on the relations between growers and eaters.

390 The language used to describe the ‘third’ sector sets it up as something of tertiary importance and significance because the third sector is referenced in relation to the first (usually private) and second (usually public) sectors. The implied ‘ranking’ of these sectors is also a manifestation of neo-liberal ideologies and ways of perceiving the world of human enterprise.

based farmer organisation (campaigning for farmer's rights/protections), it is a hybrid of these delivering technically-oriented market solutions from a 'farmer-led political' (Holt-Giménez, & Altieri, 2013: 96) base, and yet maintaining its integrity and credibility in the process.

It exploits 'the fragmented structures' (Granovetter, 2002: 13) that exist between agriculture, health, tourism, and markets, to form its Weberian 'constellation of interests', and to realise 'profitable flows between chunks' of social/economic domain<sup>391</sup>. Harvest's claims to create regional tourism, even if within the Sydney Basin, made possible the deviation from existing policy. Harvest's cadre of actors, their ideas *and* the supporting programs they tapped to give effect to their plans highlights the importance of locally embedded, regionally relevant, ideologically informed, normatively-oriented, state-supported innovation to deliver change in agriculture systems (Hopcroft, 2001) in the sectors that fall through the cracks of policy.

Harvest's work 'in the cracks' is done by its actors being in the crack. In this way I want to propose that experiences through Harvest occupy different 'geographies', and that Harvest presents for its actors an 'organisational experience' within an organisational vehicle/social structure.

Chapter Four described how Harvest's products are touristic animation experiences with a pedagogical purpose. In trying map out the history and network connections made by Harvest and its actors with its wider publics (geographies), it soon became clear that Jafari's 'rainbow' model locating the tourist experience within a system, as he put it, "from a distance", also described the 'shape' and function of a Harvest experience for its actors. This is especially the

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391 Mark Granovetter points out that in situations where 'entrepreneurs' exploit a gap in social structures, it's not that other profitable solutions were not plausible, but that it is the entrepreneurial capabilities to see the potentials in the gap and the gap itself that creates a space for exercise of entrepreneurial capacity in creating the profitable flows between, as he describes them, the socio-economic 'chunks'.

case for those like David, myself and Alan who are brought to it for non-economic reasons<sup>392</sup>, but also for John because of his Catholic Social Justice philosophy. Applying the rainbow analogy describes a ‘bridging’ experience, the operational and other aspects described below forming Harvest’s structural dimensions<sup>393</sup> as vehicle for actor personal, experiential, animation ‘experience’. I can then examine aspects of the organisational dynamic<sup>394</sup> rarely discussed in the literature other than captured in inferences made about the character of ‘entrepreneurship’, what it means to hold a ‘vision’, and the effect of these in producing committed and dedicated actors. As David says about what Harvest means to him,

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392 Akin to the higher-order motivations described in Cohen’s modes. ‘Ordinary’ Harvest members such as the businesses that join simply to access Harvest’s FGT and Farmers Markets initiatives are probably not ‘experiencing’ Harvest in this way, although it is likely that Harvest’s Level 1 members, the Friends of Hawkesbury Harvest may.

393 Akin to Leiper’s system, within which the tourist experience takes place, and without which it could not occur. Harvest the ‘vehicle’ is analogous with Leiper’s TDR, the destination within which its actors act, the actor’s respective bureaucratic fields (agriculture, public service, academia and management) being the analogous TGRs or generating ‘regions’.

394 This would be an area of rich exploration as a source of empirical data in support of current perspectives on evolutionary economics, and specifically the debates within economics about Universal Darwinism (after Dawkins 1983) and how interpreting aspects of the Harvest hybrid cultivar and its dynamic can contribute to this field of theory in economics. It would be through this that we could as Stoelhorst (2007) suggests, develop beyond theory using biological analogy like my use of ‘hybrid cultivar’, to theory that has the status of an ontological claim in the same way that Darwinism does in the biological sciences. For instance, Stoelhorst claims that the analogue of a species is difficult to conceive in economics, especially when examining evolutionary dynamics at the firm level. But I think the Harvest case has potentials in exploring this if third sector organizations like Harvest are considered as ‘species’ along with private sector and public sector variants, what Hodgson & Knudsen (2006b: 478) refer to as ‘a class of institutions’. This then opens up the potential for ‘seeing’ how we might identify the Ultra-Darwinian concepts of reproduction and explicitly, what a ‘gene’ in such organizations would be, as well as the Naturalist concepts of competition for resources within and without the organization that constitute ‘adaptedness’ (Hodgson and Knudsen, 2006a) and lead to adaptation and fitness. An example of how an analysis of Harvest in these terms might reveal empirical data would be identifying the ‘selective’ phenomena that have contributed to Harvest’s longevity and capacities to ‘procreate’ into widening arenas of action, and why similar organisations like Hunter Harvest and others have been less ‘fit’ in these terms? Similarly, evolutionary concepts of self-organisation (what kinds of processes brought Harvest actors into Harvest as a form) and selection (what environmental factors ‘select’ for Harvest-like forms), and what role the breakdown in isolationism (a key factor in Darwinian evolution) of agriculture, health and tourism had on setting the conditions for emergence of Harvest as a new form? To quote Hodgson and Knudsen (2006: 8-9), ‘The breakdown of isolation mechanisms increases the level of variation present in a population, sometimes leading to the overcoming of system rigidities’. Lastly, are neo-liberal approaches a form of artificial selection on the part of the system designers, governments, and if so, do they always produce the same kind of ‘offspring’ suited to a pre-desired socio-economic environment? I revealed in Chapter Three that Harvest was considered ‘a very successful model’ as far as the CEO of the GWSEDB was concerned.



*“Harvest is an expression of my nature I think, and my character, and my being I think, that’s the way I see it...in that regard, you know, this whole adventure started in ‘93, has been an expression of who I am, yeah.... it really engages me, yeah, opportunities open up, I mean, sometimes I wonder why I’m at [reference to his employment]”.. and a little later on, “...it has certainly allowed me to be comfortable with myself, and be really happy in what I do” (Mason interview Part I 1:39:55 – 1:41:42),*

and the extent to which this was a form of deliberative action,

*“I didn’t sort of set out deliberately and say “I’m gunna be subversive, I just did it, you know, I didn’t want to be deliberately subversive, I just knew that this was what had to be done... but I also had great belief in that, this was, you know, sort of, I mean, I didn’t understand the logic of what I was doing and why I was doing it but, I knew it was more intuition that was driving me, I wasn’t doing a, “I’ll do this and this and this’, it was just an intuitive thing rather than an analytical thing” (Mason interview Part II 32:25:00 – 33:14:00)*

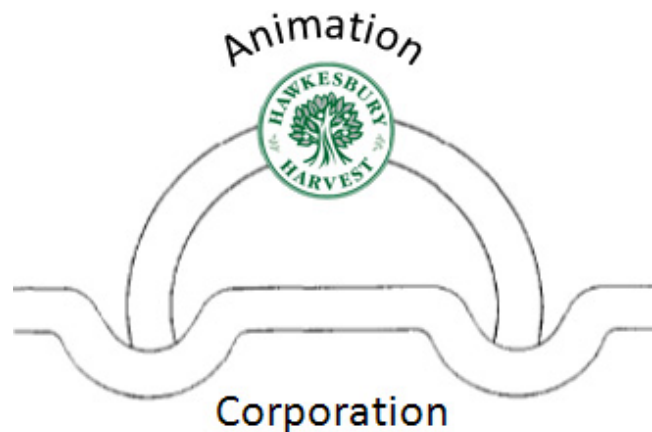
Harvest has allowed him to show and express his true colours, and to be happy with his professional life and what he does through the DPI. The Harvest experience, in terms of what he did and the experiential learning that took place, is an adventure. John’s expression of how Harvest is a representation of himself is more direct, *“I’d say it’s virtually 100%”* (Maguire interview 0:57:10).

The springboard that forms the base of the rainbow for David:

*“ All of a sudden, Hawkesbury Harvest, sort of started to solidify, I s’pose, and then I was able to really move into that highly creative stuff which I really enjoy. I’m a great believer in destiny and having a purpose in life and I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that this was my path, that this was my contribution to, you know, and what I’m doing now is an extension to that. (Mason interview Part II 6:10:00)*

Exhibit 33a: The Jafari Overpass (Modified)

Exhibit 33 from chapter four based on Jafari’s original of the ‘Tourism Overpass’ is reproduced here in its modified rendition. Exhibit 43: Harvest Actor Temporal Network Map reveals the similarity I am proposing in terms of the ‘animations’ made possible through



Harvest as the pedagogic ‘vehicle’ parallel to and originating in their corporated life. These phenomena are found in other places and at the global scale in the multiplying food systems counter-movements expressing ‘agroecological paradigms unfolding in parallel with state entrenchment of conventional forms of production’ (Petersen et al, 2013: 105) and conceptions of agribusiness and agriculture.<sup>395</sup>

The difference between discreet tourist experience and Harvest’s actors’ experience is simply that, for David, Alan and me, the animation state, that is, Harvest’s mission, has not yet finished. This mission takes place in the Harvest alter-channels, outside the mainstream where we ‘have our real jobs’, and parallel to them. Our animation is characterised by a resistance to systemic realities demanding action in a ‘political agroecology’<sup>396</sup> (Gonzalez de Molina, 2013: 51) and is related to the Weberian constructs I discuss in Chapter Seven, of stultifying bureaucracy, and particularly the idea of providentiality - recall David’s invocation “*it’s for posterity really*”.

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<sup>395</sup> It is in these ways that the fractal, Mandala and Mandelbrotian manifestations of the Harvest phenomenon express themselves. The multi-scalar, multi-dimensional patterning finds expression.

<sup>396</sup> “an ideology which, in competition with others, is dedicated to dissemination and turning the organization of agroecosystems based on an ecological and sustainable paradigm into the dominant system; but also as a disciplinary field responsible for designing and producing actions, institutions, and regulations aimed at achieving agrarian sustainability.” (italics as in original)

The ‘animation experience’ that David facilitated into being with the help of others<sup>397</sup>, he describes as follows.

*“I set up processes that allowed this sort of stuff to come forward, yeh, the creativity, same with when I facilitated, initially co-facilitated with Stuart Hill and then became the chair, what I aimed to do was to just provide the environment in which people’s creativity could be released, and also their aspirations could be met, that was the way I wanted to, I didn’t want to set down rules “(Mason interview Part II 26:57:00)*

Harvest was such a compelling experience for David that he completely immersed himself in it in the first five years, burned himself out like an over-zealous tourist, but did not give up the ‘adventure’, just learned to settle in for the long haul.

The other key difference between the Harvest experience and the tourist’s is that Harvest’s actors conduct their two roles apparently simultaneously, their corporated and animated being appearing to ‘happen’ concurrently<sup>398</sup>. The issue here is one of resolution, and while Jafari’s rainbow represents a low resolution perspective, the reality for Harvest actors is one where they experience micro-resolution cycling between their Harvest persona and corporated persona. For Alan Eagle, his action in Harvest can extend for days at a time, or for as little as few hours. My own engagement is usually punctuated on a daily basis, with activity in Harvest occurring outside ‘normal’ work hours, but also in blocks on weekends or in holiday periods, or in the periods when I have ‘work’ time for writing up research. Whatever the pattern of engagement, there is a blurring of the worlds for those who look upon Harvest’s actors, and sometimes for themselves as well. It is sometimes hard to know which ‘hat’ we are wearing<sup>399</sup>.

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397 With Bob Martin in the late 1990s to make possible the *Sustainable Agriculture* strategy for Sydney, and then later on with Prof. Stuart Hill in the period immediately before Harvest formed in 2000 – see Chapter Four: A New Harvest.

398 Here too is liminality and liminoid characteristics.

399 This has especially been the case for David and me. Both of us have been very careful to point out our hats when we are in the public domain. David has DPI and Harvest ‘hats’, I have UWS and Harvest ‘hats’, we all have corporated and animated ‘hats’. We are liminoid beings.

My use here of Jafari's 'bridging' metaphor should not be confused with the concepts of bridging dynamics used in economic sociology which is another way of seeing the Harvest dynamic, but at the organizational rather than individual scale. While Exhibit 43 shows specific individual links across domains for Harvest actors, it is not an actor sociogram generated as part of the network analysis, but a hybrid of this that includes a temporal dimension in order to show which structural holes (after Burt, 1992) Harvest and its actors have bridged, and at what stage of Harvest's development these occurred. What is evident but not shown through Exhibit 43 is the dynamic a formal sociogram of key actors' relationships across domains would reveal, the social equity actors accrue and accumulate over time as they make their individual forays through Harvest into knowledge and socio-economic domains of influence. The eclecticism of their growing knowledge base intersecting as it does agriculture, health, food, tourism and markets builds knowledge capital, opening doors to even more diverse conversations in a greater number of institutional settings.

**Exhibit 43: Harvest Actor Temporal Network Map**



HarvestActorTempo  
ralMap\_A2Print.pdf



The Temporal Map reveals how and when Harvest and its actors have mobilized communicative channels for the dialogic struggle. We can see the range of parties with whom they connected and the shift from functional to strategic reasons for engaging various audiences. Investing their knowledge capital in engaging strategic issues returned positioning in domains of influence as highlighted by Harvest's movement into knowledge generation realms and peer reviewed literature and other relevant<sup>400</sup> knowledge domains<sup>401</sup>. The linkages through David Mason and myself into these arenas of knowledge production and exchange, have contributed significantly to Harvest's penetration and recognition as a meaningful social process with something beneficial and critical things to say. 'Our' Harvest experience is good empirical evidence that political and social network linkages (Guzmán et al, 2013: 143) are important if real change is to be produced at the policy and planning scale.

The Temporal Map shows that John Maguire has left Harvest. Why did he, as a founding member of Harvest and one who says it so completely represents who he is, leave? In interviewing him it is clear it's not because of any philosophical schism but one of perceived direction and emphasis on issues. The eclecticism of Harvest's core group brings with it the capacity to bridge knowledges and expand the organisation's capabilities in comprehending a wholist vision, but the personal cost of this lies in accommodating eclecticism. This was certainly the case with Eric Broken<sup>402</sup> who returned to Harvest in 2008, joined the board, bringing with

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400 Even though considered 'grey' literatures.

401 As noted in Chapter Four regarding the growth of the FGT, this follows the diffusion-of-innovation pattern, but the knowledge cycle referred to here is more easily observed and exhibits a much shorter time scale than that for the FGT. The Actor Temporal Network map shows a much faster diffusion into the mainstream knowledge domains, revealing that it took between 6-9 years for Harvest's learnings and its actors' capacities to codify these into the various academic realms to 'get the knowledge to market'. From an academic perspective, applying the diffusion-of-innovation model to our knowledge systems also implies that when knowledge turns up in the 'literature', it is 'mainstreamed'. It also implies that the character of the users is late majority and laggard, an example of this being the October 2010 ABARE/BRS report Drivers of regional agritourism and food tourism in Australia – it took a decade for mainstream agri-science agencies to see the significance of that which Harvest had initiated in 2000. The fact that more mainstream agencies were embracing aspects of Harvest's learnings accelerates the diffusion of innovation of the FGT phenomenon itself.

402 Based on personal communication. Eric had been part of the formative processes that led to Harvest in the late 1990s.

him a strongly environmentalist perspective. There were some interesting discussions across the table between the farmers and the environmentalists in the group. Eventually Eric stepped down from the board in 2012 citing the tension between farmers and his own views as too difficult to accommodate.

For John it is a similar story.

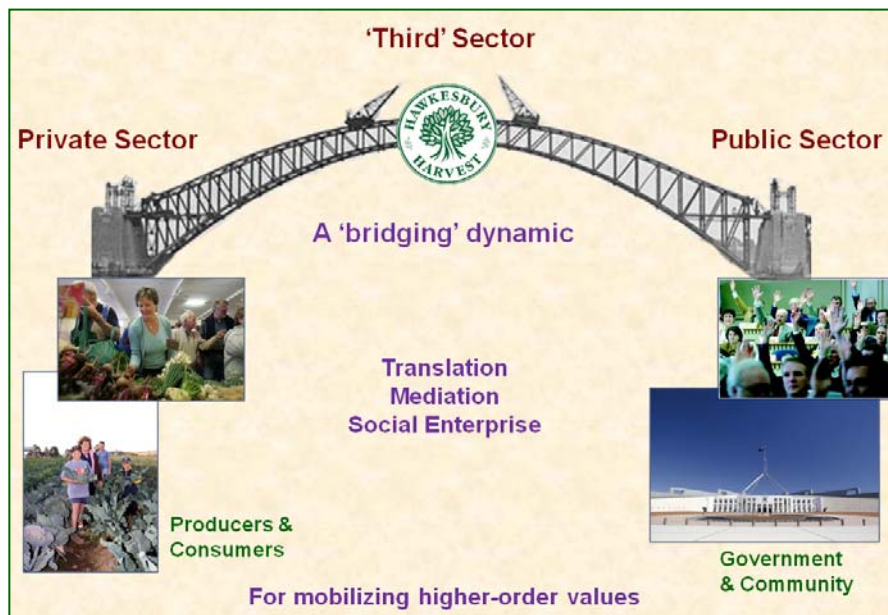
*“As time has gone on I believe we have differed in one vital aspect, and that is, when it comes to a clash between the environmentalists and the farmers, I believe that Hawkesbury Harvest veers more towards the environmentalists, and that’s the reason why I left, I felt that it was showing that trend and I thought, no. In many ways, and I don’t specifically mention Hawkesbury Harvest, society starts from an environmental aspect and then down the line they have a look at agriculture.” And a little later on “..the environmentalists, they don’t mention community, never, and they certainly don’t mention agriculture, so what I’m saying is, we should start with agriculture, and then have a look at the environmental factors, we’re starting from the wrong way round.” (Maguire interview 0:57:10- 0:58:57)*

The characterisation of Harvest-like organisations as ‘third’<sup>403</sup> sector, which implies, as I noted earlier, a tertiary positioning in human affairs, belies the real and ‘non-trivial’ (after Granovetter, 2002: 13) dynamic that can be seen in Harvest as an exemplar, especially as the vehicle for actor animation experience. As a social-entrepreneurial entity, it bridges the private-public sector divide and having expressed features of both, is a hybrid of the two that re-incarnates and reinterprets what Weber described as the spirit of capitalism in a para or extra-governmental vehicle expressing morally-informed agendas for sustainable development at the local scale and context. This in-between-ness is shown in Figure 20 here and in Figure 21: A Bridging Dynamic of Governance and Development.

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<sup>403</sup> John Maguire characterizes it as a ‘third way’, which is also consistent with his view of Harvest as a movement.

Figure 20: Hawkesbury Harvest – A Bridging Organisation



Harvest plays a pivotal ‘coordination’ and ‘intermediary’ role in focussing and harnessing effort around its agenda for change. It provides the bridge between concerns of its constituencies and the policy, planning and political structures in our neo-liberal economy. Harvest ‘inter-mediate[s] by listening and capturing their target group networks ...evolving needs and then mobilizing resources and developing and organizing activities in cooperation with their key players to address those needs’ (Laur et al, 2012: 1918), ‘centralizing’<sup>404</sup> its mobilization strategies in social order called Harvest.

404 Between the necessarily differentiated spheres of interest that define the ‘structural conditions’ which create a gap to be exploited/filled. Granovetter also makes the point that this theme of a functionally and structurally differentiated social order has been orthodoxy since Durkheim, Weber, Parsons and others explicated their comparative sociologies. In the Harvest case, it is also the extent to which the systems that constitute what we nowadays refer to as ‘the food system’ have effected a detachment, what I have described earlier as a disconnection from families and households, which is at the core of the gap that Harvest was able to ‘fill’, or exploit for its own social-entrepreneurial ends. Here too Granovetter (2002: 14) cites Eisenstadt’s (1963: 378) thesis about “centralized bureaucratic empires” and the conditions for their rise being that ‘leaders had to have purely political goals autonomous from other social formations or institutions; and the society had to have developed “limited but pervasive differentiation” in its various institutional spheres.’ These spheres contain ‘liberated’ resources that entrepreneurial actors can redirect or appropriate through bureaucratic mechanisms, being a bridge between social spheres.



Roll-back and roll-out neo-liberal approaches produce ‘de-functionalised’ (Balloch & Taylor, 2001:283), ‘hollowed-out’ (Birch & Whittam, 2008: 438 after Featherstone & Lash, 1995) and ‘centre-less’ (Shergold, 2009) government, creating the conditions for re-centralizing public-private entrepreneurial activity ‘involving non-state actors, in which the boundaries between the public, private and third sectors are becoming more porous’ (ibid), the ‘structural holes’ (Burt, 1992 & 2002) that Harvest works in characterised by the formation of ‘additive’ connections with porosity facilitating access to information (Burt, 2002: 208).

A Mandelbrotian pattern of centre-less governance occurs at the micro scale in Harvest to, the boundaries between its office-holders being blurred as they negotiate the work that has to be done in functional and strategic domains.

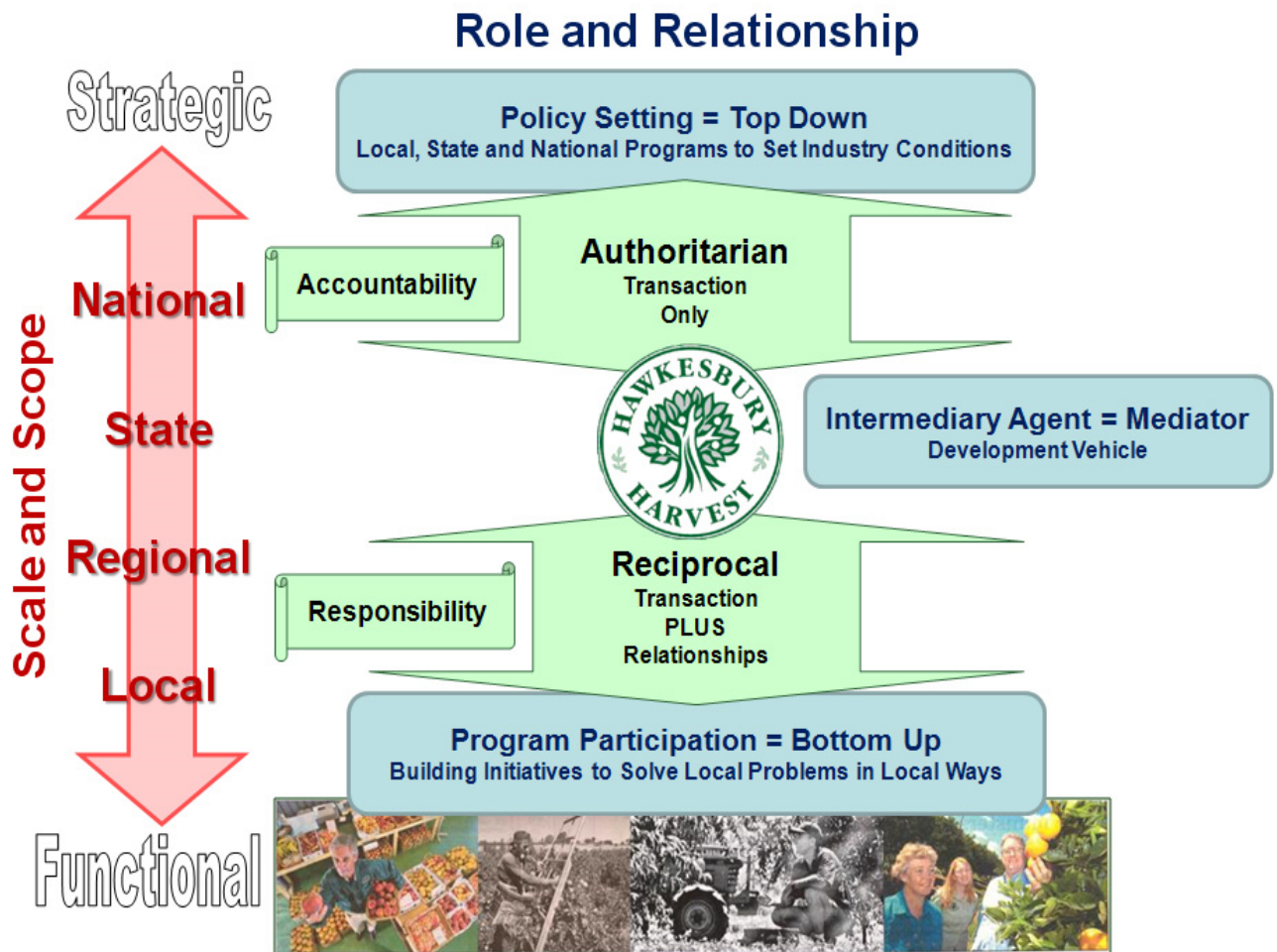
### ***The Bridging Dynamic***

Harvest’s form as Incorporated Association establishes its status as an intermediary entity/agent for the constituencies that formed it (now required to be paying members) and the governments and private sector partners that help fund and transact with it. Figure 21 shows a schematic of Harvest’s bridging dynamic. Harvest translates its agendas into projects (functional, locally-based activities with entrepreneurial development outcomes) that ‘fit’ the policy frameworks set by government (strategic, industry-based directions for creating conditions for growth and economic health) and policy orientation (neo-liberal, entrepreneurial and enterprise focussed)<sup>405</sup>, and similarly, adapt their project initiatives to fit the needs of their private sector partners. The latter is exemplified by Harvest’s experience with Lend Lease and GPT at the New Rouse Hill town centre where the developers wanted Harvest on terms that required the market to fit into town centre management’s constraints regarding retail activity and their controls over location and promotion.

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<sup>405</sup> Harvest actors ‘knew’ (meaning ‘understood’ insofar as this was a common-sense response to the status quo) that a social enterprise and social entrepreneurial orientation and way-of-being was the most likely to gain it access to funding resources. This was also made clear by the funding agency/program staff who encouraged Harvest boards to propose ‘suitable’ projects in these terms.

Figure 21: A Bridging Dynamic of Governance and Development.



Harvest plays a mediatory role translating<sup>406</sup> (after Considine, 2005: 5) the local sustainability agenda with its triple bottom line priorities into expressions of broader-scale and scope strategic direction set by local, state and national program objectives, and interpreting these directions through the narrower scale and scope projects in order to gain resources. This ‘communicatively

406 Recall also that I described my researcher role as Hermeneus, translating ‘our’ Harvest learning into knowledges for multiple audiences and purposes. The model shown here is also analogous of the knowledge brokering role that I and ‘we’ in Harvest perform at various levels and for functional or strategic purposes. Publication in the academic literature is analogous to the strategic scale and context, the relationship of this ‘form’ of knowledge being one that is used to set policy, and one that establishes what policy ought to be about. The more applied domains and dimensions ‘at the coal face’ have a different character, but are where the implementation of this knowledge (policy) takes place and is transferred to the wider community. This is one manifestation of the scalar and multidimensional patterning I asserted was part of the Harvest story and its engagement in the world in Chapter Two.

mediated, normatively oriented' (Barnett et al, 2008: 632) process translates and interprets the normative settings of policy (Paton, 2003) into the normative futures desired at the local level.

The role and relationship Harvest has with groups has different character at the strategic/policy level than at the functional/program level. As an intermediary, Harvest does not have 'the traditional relationships with customers and suppliers, rather they move between the various stakeholders to serve their needs' (Laur et al, 2012: 1910). Harvest actors come from and engage with three categories of target group, this engagement providing 'binding and bridging social capital' (Birch & Whittam, 2008) through networks with the 'cross-community'<sup>407</sup> groups that formed Harvest.

The first is their direct constituency, the farming, health and tourism individuals and organisations that Harvest's initiatives serve. They can be identified in sectoral (of industry), but also in geographic terms with the sub-regional Harvest Experiences. The second is Harvest's supporters, those listed as sponsors/partners on the Harvest web site, individuals like myself and others from academia or specialist agencies active in furthering Harvest's agendas. The third are 'key players' (Laur et al, 2012: 1916) providing partnerships and resources. They are the Federal, State and Local Government(s) and their funding programs, Harvest's private sector partners Lend Lease and GPT, and Harvest's relationship with institutions, especially DPI and UWS and the network resource and learning<sup>408</sup> assets that these make available to Harvest. Members of Harvest's core group, what was originally the Steering Committee and now referred to as the Board, come (and/or have come) from all categories of target groups.

In communicating with funding agencies and partners, the relationship is of an authoritarian transaction where accountability is the principle role. Government retains 'positional authority'

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407 See 10 and 31 May, 2000 - recall Prof Stuart Hill's description of this in Chapter Four.

408 Here too a bridging dynamic and capital is built, with knowledge generation and 'mobilization' (Tsui et al, 2006:36) being the principal transaction and outcome – see Chapter Two for the discussion about learning communities of practice and service learning paradigms and the role of myself and other Harvest actors in brokering this.

(Shergold, 2009). The relationship is one found elsewhere (Whittaker et al, 2004: 190), controlled by contracts<sup>409</sup> for the delivery of outcomes that fit within the funding program criteria, with timelines and milestones part of the accountability framework.

In dealing with the local constituency, the relationship is much more democratic and reciprocal, partly prescribed because the entity is an Incorporated Association, but more importantly because of Harvest’s vision and principles as articulated in their strategic documents. A clear vision of how Harvest’s projects will contribute to the region’s development agenda is communicated through its vision statement (Hawkesbury Harvest, 2002):

*The Hawkesbury is valued locally, regionally, nationally and internationally as a wonderful place for people to live or visit to experience its local produce and products, cultural heritage, natural heritage, sense of community and the many ways in which people benefit from and celebrate these things.*

This is supported by a set of Ideals and Values as shown in Exhibit 44.

Thus Harvest’s role is in being responsible for representing the local, as articulated in its vision, ideals and values, transacting with its constituency and members through a relationship governed by trust, respect and reciprocity.

**Exhibit 44: Hawkesbury Harvest’s Values and Ideals**

We can observe counter-intuitive dynamics in the communicative relation between Harvest and the policy arena, and Harvest and the local private sector members its initiatives support. We

<b>VISION IDEALS AND VALUES</b>	
<p>•Security of place for agricultural activities in the Hawkesbury region</p> <p>•Security of resources such as land, labour, water, infrastructure and services for agricultural activities in the region</p> <p>•Equity for Hawkesbury region agriculture as a land use and for those involved</p> <p>•Economic viability of agriculture and associated business</p> <p>•Agribusiness contributing to the region’s social culture and environmental health</p> <p>•Retention and enhancement of the Hawkesbury region’s rural amenity</p> <p>•Quality produce, products and services that reflect consumer requirements</p> <p>•Human activity based on quality relationships between people and people and people and all forms of life</p> <p>•Development of the global/regional interface at individual, corporate and government levels</p>	<p>RESPECT - RESPECT - RESPECT</p>

<sup>409</sup> An instrumental tool of bureaucracy.  
Ian Knowd

usually conflate ‘public interest’ and ‘public good’ agendas with government and the policy-setting it does, but the communicative dynamic is characterised by a strictly transactional mode of relation, one more typically associated with neo-liberal, rationalist and bureaucratic transactions<sup>410</sup>. Conversely, in its communicative dynamic with its private sector members, with the farms and small businesses Harvest’s economic mechanisms support, the ‘public good’ and community benefit dialogue dominates the relation, indeed, it is a *relationship* – we see transactions *and* reciprocity in the dynamic. In the ‘translation’ of agendas and purpose in the dialogue between government and the private sector, Harvest translates its public-good-infused activities supporting its private sector members into the language of neo-liberal governance, and when facing the other way, into the language of community development and public good for its ‘members’ who, as indicated in the closing quote of this chapter from a Farm Gate Trail member, consider Harvest to be ‘precious’, needing to be ‘nurtured otherwise we all lose out’.

Being an intermediary agent allows Harvest to work outside the usual communicative constraints of government departments. Harvest has been particularly effective in using the popular media as a vehicle for their development debates and Figure 21 above includes images from just four examples. The article’s headlines are telling to the extent that they more emotively communicate the development conflict and Harvest’s desired outcome. From left to right in Figure 21 are images from *Cry for help from Sydney’s undervalued farms* (Verity, 2003a), *Escaping from farmageddon* (Verity, 2003b), *Fringe farms fruitless* (Sofios, 2001), and *We need our rural character* (Hawkesbury Gazette, 2003). In this aspect of Harvest’s dialogic struggle, David’s wife Gail Knox, who was a journalist writing for the Hawkesbury Gazette<sup>411</sup>, made a

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410 David Mason has observed many times that in his bureaucratic roles, especially since neo-liberal ideologies infiltrated the public discourse and government policy-making, the use of the words ‘public good’ has attained the status of a taboo, even if that is why actors in public agencies privately talk of government programs in these terms. The dominant discourse is in rational economic terms.

411 Many of the early editorials where Harvest is the subject were written by Gail Knox – see Appendix One: Harvest Chronology.

significant impact on the level of engagement with the wider public. As David says in the way Harvest made a difference in the local context,

*“She did a lot of good work with Harvest in putting it into the local community through the media, and people really enjoyed that sort of stuff, you know, I mean it was a very critical part of the whole deal in terms of the education of the community, she saw herself as an educator in that regard, and whatever issues she wrote about she wrote the pros and the cons to allow people to make up their own mind, you know, and so we were very fortunate in that regard” (Mason interview Part II 39:20:00 – 40:10:00),*

and Harvest’s first project officer, Kate Faithorn was/is a media and PR professional.

So we see that Harvest communicative processes vary according to those they interact with and whose purposes they serve. This is essentially a ‘brokerage’ role in a ‘bridging process’, one characterised by those attributes of network entrepreneurs (after Burt, 2002: 229) where capabilities of communication across differences of opinion, and reasoning from the perspective of others, is combined with a capacity to build trust and reputation while re-structuring the current problem situation, or as Harvest originally expressed it, ‘re-orienting the food system’.

Harvest’s structure compels the management committee to conduct regular open-house meetings and to remain volunteers, with only the support staff being paid to perform their roles. This adds integrity and strength to the organization, but also some weaknesses. During times when Harvest projects are being negotiated and implemented, the time, energy and resources of the Board are severely stretched, their information sharing opportunities are diminished, and the phenomenon of ‘burn-out’ has been a feature. As Kate Faithorn says in her first annual report (10<sup>th</sup> May, 2001), ‘there is no shortage of opportunities for HH rather the problem lies in identifying priorities and assigning time and resources’ The imposition too on paid officers noted in Kate’s report, flagging the potential for Harvest to become ‘big business’ but also noting a model providing fair compensation for those doing the work was not just required, but implied

by Harvest's vision and values<sup>412</sup>. This raises questions about the so-called 'efficiency' of neo-liberal approaches as this burn-out effect is not factored into the true cost of managing community development through neo-liberal programs, the exhaustion of human capital being externalised in economic terms, and the human cost a feature of neo-liberal 'creative destruction'.

Researchers in rural community/regional development and tourism note the tension created for organizations like Harvest where neo-liberal government programs exhibit the 'preoccupation with trade effects rather than confronting the fuzziness of public preferences' (Hall et al, 2004: 212; Williams et al, 2003). They typically require quantifiable outcomes and economic gains<sup>413</sup> (income and employment) (Birch & Whittam, 2008) as prerequisites for project approval when the need lies as much in the area of social policy and sustainable rural communities (Jenkins et al, 1997; Jenkins, 1997; Hill et al, 1996; Betz & Perdue, 1993; WTO, 1997b & 1997c). Zahra et al (2009: 527) also highlight the ethical tensions arising when social entrepreneurial groups like Harvest try to balance economic and social dimensions, what could be a 'harmful marriage' between potentially 'opposing values'. However, the bridging dynamic outlined above allows Harvest to 'negotiate' these dimensions and the Janus stance of one face outward and another face inward facilitates an 'honest' brokering between its stakeholder groups on terms that they respect.

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412 Kate requested that the committee be more operational and take on more of the tasks, but this issue of 'unaccounted' work would remain with Harvest. In its most persistent manifestation, Alan Eagle's role as the originally paid Operations Manager (Sept 2002 – May, 2005), would become his own volunteer role, one that continues to this day.

413 There's a real irony in this attitude of bureaucracy to 'approvable projects' – Harvest emerged to halt a decline, the loss of small-holding farm businesses and their contribution to the Sydney Basin. This was the 'argument' Harvest put to gain funding support, but the measurables had to be put in terms of increased employment and economic performance of farms. So what does it mean to halt a decline in these terms, is halting it a 'growth' or 'increase', if so then the reference point, the starting position from which the increase is measured is already a negative number. In other words, despite the rhetoric of setting outcomes consistent with a growth paradigm, what they were actually doing was funding action that had far greater probability of simply reducing the rate of decline.

As found elsewhere (Birch & Whittam, 2008 cite the UK experience), while Harvest has established a strong asset base in social capital, this is not matched in fiscal terms, it having struggled throughout its history to attain any form of financial security. Government programs promote Harvest-like social enterprises in building the social economy and assume that the market mechanisms created will deliver financial resources<sup>414</sup> and hence security. The reality is, funding is expended in non-asset forms (project expenses including salaries) and investing to generate a financial source of ongoing funds is prohibited. Thus generating both financial and social capital is made especially difficult, primarily because of the counter-intuitive<sup>415</sup> conditions imposed on social enterprises like Harvest by their government funding agencies<sup>416</sup>.

Harvest is a prime example of what some food theorists describe as the questionable ethics of neo-liberal approaches to development agendas. In particular, the issue that community-based 'projects' cannot adequately address race, class and gender issues while encouraging 'individualistic and depoliticized behaviour in which all risk is transferred to the participant and farmer, while the state withdraws any responsibility for insurance or protection and also neglects to tackle more fundamental changes to the food system' (Donald, 2008: 1256 citing Allen, 2004, DeLind & Ferguson 1999, and Dowler & Caraher 2003).

Harvest is an adaptive model that 'allowed' a system of problem-solving to evolve and create a hub for managing ideas, learning and issues. It is a 'means' of resolving issues because only Harvest made the connections needed that made the solutions possible. Contrast this with situation prior to Harvest where predominantly unconnected and/or self-interested actors (farms) with little or no equity<sup>417</sup> with the base community (disconnected from consumers) with

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414 Note that Harvest is a not-for-profit, and as such accumulation of a financial asset is counter to its purpose.

415 In terms of the accepted logic of business – both financial and social assets are required for business success and the building of long term economic sustainability.

416 In the final report of Harvest's third 'project', the *Food and Wine Coordinator Project* (2008), this issue is specifically raised as a threat to funding of social enterprise projects.

417 Gemienshaft and Gesellschaft.



little chance of leveraging the social and ecological values vested in the community (sustainability in the Hawkesbury) – the situation that made it possible for David to act in his social entrepreneurial role.

In ideal-typical terms (Zahra et al, 2009: 523), David expressed himself as both a *Social Bricoleur* and *Social Constructionist*, both being non-destructive of existing institutional forms and paradigms, but capable of exploiting the structural holes and gaps that these create. The formation process for Harvest and its eventual committee membership would attract like-minded and motivated individuals with a mix of skills and capabilities for implementing a socio-economic change process. The following table details the ideal-typical dimensions and how these are expressed through Harvest.

**Table 11: Harvest Actor Categorization in Social Entrepreneurship**

A typology of social entrepreneurship. Source: Adapted from Table 2, Zahra et al (2009: 523).

Type	Social Bricoleur	Social Constructionists	Harvest and Actor Expression
Theoretical inspiration	Hayek	Kirzner	
What they do?	Perceive and act upon opportunities to address a local social needs they are motivated and have the expertise and resources to address.	Build and operate alternative structures to provide goods and services addressing social needs that governments, agencies, and businesses cannot.	Facilitate a place and form of sustainable agriculture in Sydney
Scale, scope and timing	Small scale, local in scope—often episodic in nature.	Small to large scale, local to international in scope, designed to be institutionalized to address an ongoing social need.	Small but intended for diffusion via Harvest the entity
Why they are necessary?	Knowledge about social needs and the abilities to address them are widely scattered. Many social needs are non-discernable or easily misunderstood from afar, requiring local agents to detect and address them.	Laws, regulation, political acceptability, inefficiencies and/or lack of will prevent existing governmental and business organizations from addressing many important social needs effectively.	Alienated agriculture with no institutional setting capable/interested in addressing needs
Social Significance	Collectively, their actions help maintain social harmony in the face of social problems	They mend the social fabric where it is torn, address acute social needs within existing broader social structures, and help maintain social harmony.	The local solution to global problems in food and farming
Effect on Social Equilibrium	Atomistic actions by local social entrepreneurs move us closer to a theoretical “social equilibrium.”	Addressing gaps in the provision of socially significant goods and service creates new “social equilibriums.”	Re-establish a dialogue with Sydney
Source of Discretion	Being on the spot with the skills to address local problems not on others’ “radars.” Local scope means they have limited resource requirements and are fairly autonomous. Small scale and local scope allows for quick response times.	They address needs left un-addressed and have limited/no competition. They may even be welcomed and be seen as a “release valve” preventing negative publicity/social problems that may adversely affect existing governmental and business organizations.	David a “forward scout” with freedom within the policy arena and a local ‘in-the-know’ about the issues facing farming
Limits to Discretion	Not much aside from local laws and regulations. However, the limited resources and expertise they possess limit their ability to address other needs or expand geographically.	Need to acquire financial and human resources necessary to fulfill mission and institutionalize as a going concern. Funder demands oversight. Professional volunteers and employees are needed to operate organization.	Harvest provides freedom and autonomy and a vehicle for securing funding and other resources and establishing a financial base.

This technical expertise, in corporations and government departments, is identified and sourced according to need. In the Harvest case this talent comes from community, they (HH board) are attracted by the nature of the problem rather than their area of expertise, indeed, they had been working on related aspects of ‘the problem’ within their individual areas of specialization<sup>418</sup>. Paradoxically, it is because they don’t have the expertise that they have come together through Harvest to tackle ‘the problem’, the agriculture-tourism nexus. Funding programs like RAP<sup>419</sup> give ‘people’ the power over action but not the ‘people’ who can help them effectively and efficiently inform that action.

This may explain why some projects ‘fail’ to deliver. If no knowledge-base resources, that is, the right brains trust are activated and developed by the actors in the project, there is no human capital foundation upon which the project can progress beyond its initial funded period. These approaches risk producing a ‘work experience syndrome’ where inappropriately qualified and skilled local players work on critical community development challenges without equally appropriate supervision and oversight. It is akin to asking the uninitiated and uninformed to act as experts in new domains of development<sup>420</sup> – learning by trial and error, experiential learning without the benefit of expert guides/facilitators.

Hawkesbury Harvest has significant assets then in terms of expertise and entrepreneurialism required by neo-liberal, self-governing, community development action. Despite this Harvest operates within a super-system of centralized policy that contracts-out to the local sub-system and issues of capacity and capability affect the quality of outcomes and the efficiency of delivery. The cost-shifting that also happens with contracting-out (cost categories absorbed by the

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418 Recall David and my ‘pathways’ into Harvest through the separate bureaucratic mandates in which we were engaged – see Figure 4, Chapter Four.

419 Regional Assistance Program.

420 Both Hawkesbury Harvest and what was Tourism Hawkesbury Inc. considered this as the primary cause of the Hawkesbury City Chamber of Commerce’s failure to deliver on the tourism services contract they won in competition with THI when HCC applied competition policy to provision of tourism services in 2006.

contracting party) becomes a feature of relationships at all levels of engagement, from strategic to functional levels, including in each case, the individuals contracted by Harvest to perform each of the project officer roles for Harvest's three projects. Harvest incurs costs of implementing the various programs, the individuals on the Board incur costs, and the contractors engaged bear costs – the philosophy applies in every relationship. So while the transaction costs for government are reduced, they are invariably shifted to the other parties in the network who bear them 'unofficially'<sup>421</sup>.

There is a real irony in this for Harvest, with a tension created for Harvest by being the vehicle for higher-order values and yet having to recruit self-interested parties to do the work; this is Harvest's resource dilemma. All except a few of the project officers and paid staff have been attracted to it because of the remunerative dimensions in contrast to the board who have been attracted for philanthropic and strategic reasons. This has always been difficult for Harvest to manage as invariably each of these officers have been asked, either explicitly or implicitly to volunteer their time and energies to the Harvest cause, and in each case this has created conflict or at least resulted in burn-out and eventual severing of the relationships. Without an ethic of philanthropy and pluralism in the community, as driven by our current environments informed by neo-liberal ideologies, it is rare to bridge the gap between self-interest and social good, or what John Maguire describes as subsidiarity. Neo-liberal philosophy comes back to 'bite itself on

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<sup>421</sup> This has been a constant irritant in the relationship between Harvest and its paid employees or contractors. Harvest's positioning and its moral/ethical stances are undermined by the constraints of funding which mean that paid staff are contractors who bear cost-shifting burdens, thus perpetuating the pernicious philosophies of exploitative capitalism, and particularly the devaluing implied in non-permanent appointments defined by service contract rather than employer/employee contract. Every project officer has been 'burned' in this way, and all of the roles were structured so that an ongoing relationship with Harvest was never a part of the contract negotiations with prospective Officers. The only exception to this pattern of transactional relations with staff is that of Alan Eagle who at the 'end' of his contract with Harvest joined it and continued to perform his previously paid role as a board member and volunteer. For any of the Project Officers or other paid staff to have 'seen through' their efforts in the Harvest mission, they had to accept the termination of their role and take on a volunteering capacity – for most, this is a retrograde step and one that signifies an exploitative relationship. Similarly, the broader membership of Harvest are perceived by these staff as tacitly approving of this and seeing it as an ethical way of conduct – they too, by association (literally and figuratively) allow what is clearly inequitable employment relationships in terms of hours, expectations, lack of security and reward.

the bum', a world view informed by this dominant paradigm being that to which Harvest is a reaction. Self-interested world views prevail in the 'market' for employees, this forms their expectation of what is reasonable and rational in terms of personal involvement. These individuals have counter motivations to Harvest's actor volunteers in engaging with Harvest.

It is here that Harvest, as a self-organizing cluster or hub has strength, where the link between the social capital Harvest manifests<sup>422</sup> is linked directly to a locally-focussed interpretation of sustainable development (after Birch & Whittam, 2008; Rydin & Holman, 2004). Locally-focussed actors went about the 'development of education and training infrastructures (Harvest is a 'community educator'), boosting sophisticated local demand [and] or straightening out governmental regulations' (Laur et al, 2012) (specifically the farm gate DCP and at the state scale the Metro Strategy planning priorities).

As the focus of Harvest's projects shifted from a very functional one of creating the Farm Gate Trail to developing a wider range of business opportunities, its role evolved into a broader regional development, and therefore strategic role (Figure 22).

This move into broader land-use advocacy, the shifting of focus to related but different 'structural holes' in the economic and social fabric around Harvest's problematic, forced Harvest to engage in political processes and to take policy positions it had not previously had to articulate. While being informed by the legacy directions brought to the table by Mason and others, the 'policy-making' that Harvest now began to perform was much more locally-grounded and influenced by the grass-roots membership.

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422 Harvest's social capital is not defined narrowly as the network ties and organizational assets in instrumentalist/utilitarian terms, but also the moral dimensions within which Harvest and its actors prosecute their cause, their normative orientation to relations between members and markets, and as follows here, the embedding of 'the local' in its capital base, equating to that which Victor Nee (Brinton & Nee, 2002), attributes to James Coleman as 'collective good'. It is to this more 'context-bound' (ibid: 10), nuanced and complex conception of social capital that Harvesters subscribe, and which they refer to as 'public good'.

Figure 22: Harvest’s Changing Role



What resulted was a uniquely local expression of the strategic issues<sup>423</sup>, articulated through a grass-roots interpretation of how these issues express themselves on-the-ground, but having been informed by a decade of earlier thinking and effort around food, health and farming.

The shift to strategic roles came about for two reasons. The first was a need for the local voice in the forums and media where the issues of food, farming, health, urbanization and tourism were being debated. This voice was sought out by the region’s LGAs, government bodies, other stakeholder groups across the region and the general media. Members of

423 Paradoxically this would be one of Harvest’s greatest strengths (as found in other places – see Sonnino & Griggs-Trevarthen, (2013) and weaknesses – the capacity to mobilize community through a dialogue about ‘the local’, with its attendant parochiality, is a model for action that other places and regions have looked to and sought advice about from Harvest, examples being the South Coast and Southern Inland regions of NSW. In the South Coast, Harvest with local government support helped establish a farm gate trail and foster greater strength in the local food networks there, but with this also came the self-awareness within these regions of their own need to assert their own local identity, and the Hawkesbury Harvest brand was now seen as undermining, perhaps even damaging ‘the local’ in the minds of both locals and consumers/visitors to these regions. Despite the logic of comparing the Harvest brand with other geographically identified brands like Bendigo Bank and QANTAS, the relevance of the brand does not hold as these do because of the nature of the ‘products’. Harvest initiatives (products) are about food system localisation and a form of ‘agroecology’ which is in theory and practice, reliant on a place-based, parochial orientation.

Harvest's steering committee (now referred to as the Board) are frequently called upon to give opinion and express the 'Harvest position' on strategic matters.

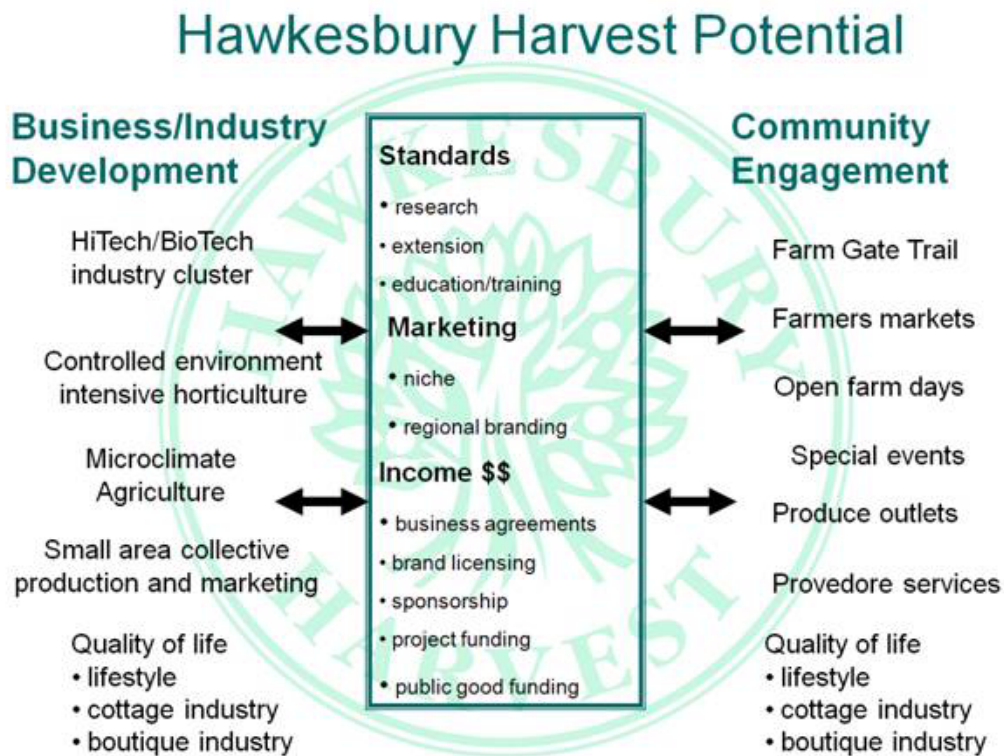
The second was as a legacy from Harvest's policy and planning genesis in the region's food programs/projects and sustainable agriculture, transferred with David Mason and others as they became members of Hawkesbury Harvest. Harvest afforded these actors the ability to act on their 'identification of system gaps and business needs' (Laur et al, 2012: 1911) and greater freedom of expression on strategic matters than they enjoyed when acting intra-institutionally, and having launched Harvest, they then remained part of the leadership group and continued voicing their critique. This created an imperative to clearly distance themselves from their official positions when speaking 'for Harvest'<sup>424</sup>. It also meant that some issues would not be represented by particular individuals if it was perceived that the public might confuse Board members with their official positions in the departments for which they worked.

Harvest not only 'work[ed] to serve ... their target groups' needs with specific activities' but also 'the needs of the broader community' freely expressed in 'open house activities' (Laur et al, 2012: 1914-1915). David Mason describes it (Mason interview Part II 1:17:00), as a learning organisation that was continually evolving, the myriad of ideas that came from an eclectic mix of minds having a "creative" life of its own. And yet this cauldron of creativity needed referencing to and by others in order to properly name what it was, especially if it was going to be effective in its shift to more strategic foci. David cites the development of Harvest's 'Potentials Model' as part of the Paddock-to-Plate project as an example – it took outsiders to see that the model was about 'community engagement' rather than simply business/industry development which were the terms in which the Board were most used to expressing it when communicating with external parties, especially funding agencies.

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424 Recall my earlier note regarding 'hats'.  
Ian Knowd

Exhibit 45: Harvest Potentials Model – Paddock-to-Plate 2002



It was clear from the outset that David played an active leadership role, more recently described as ‘development agency’ (Raab, 2008), that is, a capacity to adopt accommodative mind sets (after Piaget, 1967) and realise the emancipatory participative agenda for change within his own community. He did this both externally to his own government agency, the NSW Department of Primary Industries (DPI), as he did not have the jurisdictional freedom within it to act, and within DPI where his jurisdiction allowed him to act<sup>425</sup>, another example of actors having to adopt a Janus stance. He was not so much what Raab describes as a ‘natural’ change agent, but one who had ‘learned’ new ways of approaching and understanding social ecologies through his involvement with UWS Hawkesbury and the heritage in systemic education<sup>426</sup>. David says he

425 When the SFFBN requested direct support and resourcing from Minister Amery in 1999 the government response was ‘The NSW Government considers that it is making a significant contribution to the network through the human resources that it provides from within the portfolios that deal with health, the environment, agriculture, natural resource management, tourism and economic development. I believe that the Government is making an adequate contribution to the SFFBN, appropriate to the public good benefits provided by the network.’ (Amery, 1999)

426 This parallels the experience elsewhere, especially in cases like that presented by Petersen et al (2013) about the development of agroecology in formal institutions of learning in Brazil. For David, there

had a “*consciousness that something was going to happen*” and that this was “*part of his nature*”, and the circumstances of Harvest’s formation were, for him, “*right on his path*”, but in terms of an articulation of this, it was only really possible,

*‘once I got my thinking right through systems thinking and had a language and a confidence in my own way of thinking, I very quickly got onto my path.... I was always very reticent in saying things (in DPI or other institutional settings) because I used to think ‘Oh God, I’m the odd bloke out here’, you know...’ (Mason interview Part I 1:37 – 1:41),*

and he was considered by others as something of a nutcase. Harvest, as he says, became an expression of “*who I am*.”<sup>427</sup> This idea of Harvest as a vehicle for self-expression applies in John’s case too, it allowing him to “*project his thinking*” in ways that he had found difficult to find in his first 63 years of life<sup>428</sup>. As John says about what he brought to Harvest:

*“I think philosophy was probably more important to me, I would say so, yes, injecting philosophy into a very responsive and receptive body” and a little later.. “I’ve never been in a group that was so unified, so single-minded”<sup>429</sup> (Maguire interview 1:08:47-1:09:50)*

Here too Alan observes:

*“ We go to board meetings and there’s none of that, for some reason, there’s none of that avoidance (of sensitive issues), we just disagree about certain things, but it’s more like a consensus thing, you know. And I’ve only ever worked in another team like this before in Telstra and I still see these blokes, but we were threatened one day by a leadership behaviouralist who worried,*

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was no such offering here in Australia but the Masters program he completed in Systems Agriculture (Social Ecology) at UWS comes closest.

427 This linking of what David is calling ‘systems thinking’ and ‘who he is’ offers a rich path of further investigation of actor agency and rationality. In particular, the theoretical frames proposed by Ernst Mayr (1988: the paradigm of program-based behaviour) and John H. Holland (1988-1998: the theory of adaptive agents/agency as rule-based systems or classifier systems) lend insights into David’s repertoire of behaviours in response to the situation he sought to change. It is also here where a greater understanding of David’s and Harvest’s other actor’s personal histories and conditioning would need to be understood in order to explain why, through Harvest, they acted as they did – See Vanberg, 2004.

428 See John’s bio in Chapter Two.

429 Which is saying something given John’s active involvement in politics.



*because we were so consensus orientated, that when we got into a real crisis he thought we didn't know what to do, because we'd just agree as a group and then do it, we didn't need to wait for the leader to say this is the way we're going to do it, and Harvest is a bit the same, we just do it, and it's good, it's a good feeling, it works well, even though it's a bit stressy sometimes."*  
(Eagle interview V1 45:15:00)

This allowed the three men to act out the dualism that Weber's conceptualisations tell us about the effects of bureaucratisation – a co-existent resistance to it that David expressed through his internal/external roles, and also at the personal level in his apparently bureaucratic modes of action as a facilitator and his concurrent belief in 'the La Bido concept'<sup>430</sup>. For John, it's having Harvest as the vehicle through which he could give action to his philosophy of social justice, having found it for the first time in his life, and for Alan too, in finding a group within which the bureaucratic imperatives to avoid open exchange for the sake of efficiency and organisational effectiveness on task, did not prevail, instead the group dynamic mobilizes his values of service, education and community. In these terms Harvest is a Weberian 'carrier' organisation.

Clearly then David and those he brought to the table played a critical role in terms of the emancipatory action research process that Harvest represents. He and others had 'theoretical backgrounds and more time for contemplation than other members of the group'<sup>431</sup>, in this case especially the farmers who were focussed on the day-to-day survival demands they faced. They facilitated 'unimpeded group communication, which allows understanding to emerge', while guarding 'against manipulating the group process, particularly by ensuring that truth and power do not reside in the facilitator alone through them adopting an expert role.' They took on 'a

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430 La Bido is a social enterprise 'holistic wellbeing concept' created by David Mason in 1993 at the time he was completing his MAppSc [Social Ecology].

431 Recall in Chapter Four the eclectic group of actors who came together, many of whom held full-time employment in various public and private organisations, and who either as part of their existing jobs, or as an adjunct to them, had the time and space to contemplate the 'problem'. David, Alan and I as members of the Harvest Board continue to enjoy this important catalysing aspect of social enterprise formation and evolution.

greater share of responsibility for the practical organization of the group deliberative processes (agendas, information dissemination etc.)’ and while facilitating ‘the organization of enlightenment ‘(after Habermas, 1974), the responsibility for action remained the domain of Harvest’s members (Packham & Sriskandarajah, 2005: Modes of Action Research section).

Harvest’s capacity to understand the relevance of its own agenda within the broader policy context is critically linked to the connectedness, and in some cases, the embeddedness of its actors in the policy arena. The Board’s strategic role has had the character of ‘enthusiasts keeping [Harvest] relevant and valuable by constantly keeping an eye on both target and support groups’ changing needs and adjusting their activities accordingly (Laur et al, 2012: 1917), and this is why the provedoring, Slow Food, and Schools Harvest strands to Harvest were developed. David Mason, until late 2012 continued to execute his role in the NSW Dept. of Industry and Investment in the same way that others of the Board who hold positions of employment with other public institutions. My own involvement in tourism, health and other agendas within the scope of Harvest’s agenda have created the links through which some projects have developed such as Schools Harvest, but also they contribute to aspects of Harvests agenda by broadening or focussing Harvest’s relevance to the agendas of others. An example is the role Harvest played as part of the Centre for Health Innovation and Partnerships Leadership Group and CHIP’s networking and educative role during the period it existed<sup>432</sup>. This contributes practically to Harvest’s ability to initiate and harness strategic relationships within the public and private sector.

Harvest’s agency in the world has also been ‘defined’ by the neo-liberal frame work in which they operate and it complies with the neo-liberal worldview in the same way that Herbert-Cheshire (2000) describes in other rural communities across Australia – Harvest is a responsible actor because the governmental agencies that ‘empower’ it to be so, determine what ways are

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<sup>432</sup> CHIP, along with the OHN Community Stakeholder Committee were ceased with state government rationalization under the O’Farrell government in 2012.

‘appropriate’ and fundable. The extent then of Harvest’s ‘path-dependence’ (Considine, 2005: 14) with the neo-liberal agenda is a hybrid function of both the neo-liberal paradigm and the history of Harvest’s formation, the two generating a creative tension as they are not mutually supportive. The tension is expressed through Harvest’s frustration with what others have also observed in other communities as the ‘narrow agenda, focused on economic outputs or the rural development product, without significant consideration given to a supporting process of capacity building, animation and community participation’ (Scott, 2004: 53).

There is however an expressed acceptance by the Board of the neo-liberal transactional agenda, the counted and uncounted work, of the need to activate their agenda via economic mechanisms and at the same time maintain the transformational, social-philanthropic frame of reference, and of the formal and informal networks and governance structures that they must act through. Philanthropic motivations drive individuals on the Board and have been a factor in the continued survival of it in the face of fiscal austerity and the effects of burn-out, counterbalancing what Larsen et al (2004 cited in Sterrett et al, 2005: 376) describe as the pressures to ‘dissipate amidst apathy and frustration’.

The capacity to make the strategic shifts, accommodate and interpret the problematic in different domains and ways, allowed Harvest to continue building its relevance long after the novelty of Farm Gate tourism and farmers markets had diffused into other contexts. By the time 2012 had come around, both the functional initiatives of Harvest and to a large extent the political/planning “*there’s no place for agriculture in the Sydney basin*” challenge had been met, in that the question was now open and on the planning agenda in the dialogue about agriculture in the Metro Strategy. This triggered a reassessment of Harvest’s future teleological purpose, and a stage of re-thinking by Harvest’s key actors about what on-going value there might be for policy and social entrepreneurial opportunity through Harvest. While the idea of ‘commercialising’ Harvest had been proposed prior to 2008 as a mechanism for securing

operational funding, the justifications for considering this now included commercialisation as a transition strategy for Harvest actors in order to attain some ‘closure’ and be able to look to the next entrepreneurial challenge<sup>433</sup>. In effect the social entrepreneurial vehicle would be privatized as an opportunity for a commercial entrepreneur.

Harvest is a cultivar of form, function and focus in many senses. It cultivated a set of practical and strategic actions from a process of social tillage around local issues of public concern. Its formation gave civil expression and refinement to this, making it possible to accommodate ‘disparate normative frameworks (e.g. mutualism and profit-seeking) and structures (e.g. social firms and private companies), which produce[d] new insights and resources through inter-group learning’ (Birch & Whittam, 2008: 443) in a democratic social vehicle. This prepared the ground for a new crop of social-entrepreneurial and private good solutions using tourism and other direct market channels. Harvest is a particularly ‘Hawkesbury’ cultivar, an agri-cultural phenomenon with deep roots in the agrarian heritage and contemporary perceptions of its host community whose sense of place is historically connected to its proud role, and civilizing influence in Sydney’s development. As a ‘third sector’ organisation it became the ‘site’ for ‘expression’ of public good in a social context where ‘government’ have retreated from explicit expressions of this, and where the private sector see public good as a by-product of their secular interests and actions. More than this, it created a space where actors could give effect to their drives for common good, a vehicle that gave it expression and was explicitly stated. Social entrepreneurial structures like Harvest are known to

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433 Burt describes this as the ‘social order of equilibrium’ – from a social entrepreneur’s perspective, fascination, purpose and reward inhere to the structural holes that actors seek to bridge through their meaningful actions, when these bridges are well-established, and using the Harvest example of having established that agriculture was ‘back on the agenda’ of the Metro Strategy review process, a bridge having been established with strong links to health, tourism and cultural dimensions of city planning. Despite this, and because there are interests that strongly resist, indeed, explicitly seek to exclude a relationship with agriculture, the future remains unstable for agriculture in the Basin and this may re-establish the need for bridging entrepreneurship of the kind that Harvest’s current actors have deployed should social order disequilibrium emerge with failed effort to integrate agriculture into the fabric of the City – whether there will be others who can fill the role is an open question.

suffer from the negative effects of egoism, a feature of the identity and passions they exhibit and which draws them into social entrepreneurship (Zahra et al, 2009: 528). As John puts it in response to David's favourite saying that in Harvest *"you leave your ego at the door"*:

*"Very important, and I remember a woman, she was an organizer<sup>434</sup>, from memory she said, you know, 'you guys have no ego', ...because we were looking at a higher concept" (referring to putting common good above self-interest), "that's why"(Maguire interview 1:09:58-1:10:25)*

It's the strong leadership, the democratic foundations and commitment to an ethical conduct that made this possible within Harvest's core group of actors, but these are also a feature of what constitutes a calling to a good life.

## **Hybridity**

Hawkesbury Harvest is a hybrid cultivar. It is cultivar as a variety of emancipatory, community-based, localised action specific to the place within which it grew and flourishes. It is a distinctly Hawkesbury variety, one maintained by the particularities of its context, and especially the contributing elements of its key players through their own histories and understandings of the world. Unlike most hybrids, it is not sterile, but resilient and virulent, ascending as it has to be a significant influencer in the public domain, some seeing it as a weed taking hold where it shouldn't, some seeing it as a new cultivar worth protecting, encouraging and planting in other places and contexts around the country. Its hybridity comes from its mixing of agriculture, tourism, management and environmentalism, and from the individuals within Harvest who have histories in those fields of human endeavour. It comes from its name, representing as it does both a social phenomenon, the harvest that the Hawkesbury has again delivered, out of its heritages, they being the colonial agrarian culture and the educational pedigree, and the physicality of its production, now represented by a tourism product, ways of

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<sup>434</sup> Referring to one of Harvest's Project Officers – the comment was a pejorative one, and made in the context of accusations that the board had no business acumen or experience, which is not the case – all board members have run successful small businesses.

marketing produce and experiences, and a brand that aspires to representing a region. It is in the purest and most metaphorical senses of mixed origin and a variety of entity that is a new expression of what we have and what we value. It is a new [H]arvest.

Neo-liberalism spawns hybrids. Actors faced with the strictures of formal rationality but having substantive rationalities must seek alter-expression in their life world or submit wholeheartedly to the Iron Cage.

*‘programmes of neo-liberal rule unfold by seeking to secure synergies between their objectives and the motivations and identifications of individuals. If there is such a thing as neo-liberalism, then it is assumed that there must also be lots of neo-liberal subjects being hailed, more or less, successfully, to order.’ (Barnett et al, 2008: 625)*


Individual motivation is a driving paradigm of the Harvest phenomenon. Harvest’s hybridity is a manifestation of the way its actors express their public and private interest through Harvest, and it allows and encourages this expression. Private interest is served by the business benefits flowing from Harvest initiatives to members, whether they be Farm Gate Trail, Farmers Markets, or other market channel – the economic outcomes. Public interest is served as a consequence of the way that Harvest initiatives support social justice and environmental benefits for the regional community. In addition, public interest is served through the philosophical orientation of Harvest actors, some of this being expressed in the vision, ideals and values discussed above, and others through the informing paradigms that find their way into the public presence of Harvest. The best examples are the regular opinion pieces published in regional press by Harvest board members under the Harvest banner (David Mason, Alan Eagle and John Maguire writing for the *Hawkesbury Gazette*, *Hills Rural News* and other local newspapers). These philosophical orientations include paradigms of public good, subsidiarity<sup>435</sup> and collective effort for the benefit of the wider community. In Exhibit 46 shown here, John Maguire, a foundation

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435 The principle of liberty is limited in turn by a principle of social responsibility.  
Ian Knowd

Board member goes as far as to describe Harvest as a ‘movement’. He invokes an agrarian vision of civil society as ‘necessary and integral’ to a ‘healthy and vibrant society’.

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## Hawkesbury Harvest

*Submitted by John Maguire*

My wife, Patricia, and I own Enniskillen Orchard at Grose Vale and our son, Adrian, works very hard in helping develop and maintain our business.

Some years ago we decided we could no longer afford to run a stonefruit orchard just supplying the Flemington wholesale market, so we diversified. We sold our produce, together with other farmers’ products, through our modern tourist facility which includes a large shed and veranda cafe.

Alan would have already informed you about the various activities of Hawkesbury Harvest, so I will write about the movement’s philosophy and the events leading up to its birth.

Some years ago, a group of farmers, academics, rural departmental officers and other interested personalities would meet on an irregular basis to seek solutions to the problems besetting agriculture in the Sydney basin. Then, at a particular meeting, reality dawned on us.

With the encroachment on agricultural land at Rouse Hill, we realised that eventually if nothing were done, urban Sydney would engulf the Hawkesbury. From meetings of as few as ten, the next meeting saw 40 – 50 attendees. Hawkesbury Harvest was born.

Its strength lies in its grassroots origins where it is more than a “feel good”, theoretical club. The movement is philosophically driven by the theory of subsidiarity - spoken or unspoken by its members. It is community-driven, encouraging small business units instead of, for example, large, soulless retail conglomerates. Its ethos derives its inspiration from the land, rural enterprises and the concept of decentralisation.

It recognises the necessity for nations to feed their citizens. It regards family farms as playing a necessary and integral role in a healthy and vibrant society.

Hawkesbury Harvest not only works to save the remaining agricultural land that exists in the Sydney basin, but attempts to apply practical solutions to encourage financial viability. If successful, we believe that it will become a model for metropolitan cities and large country towns in Australia.

from our community

Harvest creates its own interpretation of ‘order’ through these ‘programmes of rule’ (Barnett et al, 2008) which is, paradoxically, heavily imbued with the social justice values Harvest’s actors, as ‘subjects’, bring to fruition. Neo-liberalism, in the view of Harvest’s actors, gives nurturing resources and effect to a higher order moral and ethical way of meeting development needs in their community, development needs they assert have been created by neo-liberal processes negatively impacting the rural communities of the Hawkesbury region.

**Exhibit 46: Harvest and Paradigms of Public Interest (Maguire, 2008; Source Hills Rural News)**

Given the identities on the Board and their individual motivations there is some doubt that it is possible to 'steer' an organization like Harvest merely because they have been 'hailed' into service by neo-liberal approaches, as they have critical capacities and the autonomy to determine 'appropriateness' (March & Olsen, 1989; March, 1994) of their, and Harvest's direction.

They are actors with both positional and reputational credibility, they are intellectuals committed to socially responsible action, but their actions are mediated and made to adhere to 'neo-liberal policy prescriptions' in similar ways to other statesman-like actors (Barzelay & Shvets, 2006: 55) where a mix of welfarist and rationalist orientations give effect to their actions and substantive rationality.

*"David's got a good strategic view around some of the processes he wants to go, Bill's a rip-shit-and-bust farmer, you know, but he's scientifically based, which I think's terrific, and he understands his audience to a certain degree... You're (Ian) a good researcher, and articulate with your words, which is good, and I'm a good facilitator, I think we complement one another, thinking about, you know, you're a systems thinker which is good so you say some things where I probably wouldn't say them in the same way... they're our good strengths, and have always been our strengths, you know we've had good writers, with you and David, and it's been excellent you know in those areas, preparing some of the basic philosophies, we've sat around and extended them out into agri-tourism and sustainability and some of those areas, and that type of systems thinking has got us into other forums and other papers that we've had to write, and I'm the other guy that pushes them all and brings them together and puts people in front of other people, without having to worry about that thinking sometimes, even though I can talk-the-talk in some areas" (Eagle interview Full 1:59:10:00 – 2:01:30:00)*

Harvest became a union, and perhaps a 'movement' of different technical/non-technical, official/unofficial, government/non-government actors who came together to work on an offspring idea that had its origins in the food, farming and health contested landscape of the



Hawkesbury. The governance of this hybrid has greatly benefitted from this rich mix of actors, who in combination give the Harvest Board greater authenticity when they represent Harvest in public forums and institutional settings. The separation from governments and their authorities has given Harvest greater credibility as a community advocate – Harvest has what is colloquially termed ‘street cred’.

The current Board is a group of four<sup>436</sup> individuals. The original Steering Committee that formed after the meeting in May 2000<sup>437</sup> was much more broadly representative with thirteen active members representing farmers, small business, local government councillors including those on the current Board. As Harvest projects were implemented and committee members began to engage in them, the number of committee members dropped. While this is a sign of success because these individuals now had a reason to focus their efforts elsewhere having benefitted from Harvest initiatives, it also presents a paradox for Harvest as success means the organization shrinks as initiatives take hold in the community they were designed to serve. Ultimately, if Harvest achieves the mission it set out on, it may no longer be needed. This is Harvest’s ‘paradox of success’ and it implies that achieving its goal for agriculture in the Sydney basin will mean planning for agriculture has been embedded in our systems of control, but it also creates an on-going organisational challenge<sup>438</sup> in maintaining a leadership group and operational resource. As Alan Eagle reflects on it:

*“My frustration’s around a succession plan for the board, and I’d like it to be seven, eight people healthy, you know, and when some people can’t come it just goes on, and I s’pose one of our failures is why has that happened, why*

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436 The original Steering Committee was 13 members, by 2003 this had reduced to 9, by 2008 to 7, then in 2011 with John Maguire’s stepping down, to 5, then finally 4 in 2012.

437 See Chapter Four exhibit Hawkesbury Harvest founding group, May 2000 – Source (Knox, 2000b, Rural Press Ltd)

438 This challenge could also be interrogated from a Weberian ‘legitimacy’ perspective, using the same categories as Bourdieu (1987: 126-127) used in explaining competition for religious legitimacy – the core team of Harvest actors described here are ‘personalities’ and discontinuous, whereas Harvest the entity is (potentially) continuous, being the vehicle or ‘agency of reproduction’ of Harvest action and meaning.

*are we down to four, you know, and why haven't we been able to encourage people on? Because one of the problems is... you know, the South Coast people, in our experience, won't succeed if they're all growers and makers on their committee, because they won't have the [mix of people from community], if they become successful then they'll stay in their business, they won't say "I'll put someone else on to serve the counter because I have to go off and deal with a South Coast Harvest Experience meeting", and that's our danger too, that we need to bring other people along to do that, and I'm always looking for leaders, and this is where I probably advocate, I'm looking for leaders to tap other people on the shoulder and say "You should join us, you should come along and join us", and I believe that our meetings would become more meaningful" (Eagle interview Full 2:25:55:00 – 2:27:25:00)*

The same phenomenon operates at the intra-organisational scale too. Alan, Harvest's 'operations guy' performs the majority of the day-to-day operational roles for Harvest. His skill at this means that, like Harvest's members at the broad organisational scale, the other board members can attend to their own demands on time and energy, leaving Alan to carry the work burden. It is here that, as Alan says above, he's "*looking for leaders to tap other people on the shoulder*".

In the meantime, the membership of the Board accords with what Brown et al (2001: 16-17) describe as the four groups of potential stakeholders needed for Integrated Local Area Planning (Australian Local Government Association 1992, 1993a, 1993b) of complex triple bottom line problems. They are community members, specialists, strategic planners, and holistic thinkers. They exhibit all of the features of creative teams (Rickards & Moger, 2000) and performance founded on a strong platform of understanding, shared vision, supportive intra-organizational climate, resilience, idea owners, network activators and experiential learning.

This hybrid mix of knowledges and intelligences exercising their 'co-operative, collaborative creativity' (Mackay, 2009), provide Hawkesbury Harvest with 'networked and nested' local, specialist and strategic ways of 'knowing' (Herbert-Cheshire & Higgins, 2004: 290). This identifies

them as ‘active citizens (capable of governing themselves with minimal assistance)’ and distinct from a ‘targeted population’ (‘high risk’ groups who require extensive expertise and tutelage)’ as described by Dean (1999 as cited in Herbert-Cheshire & Higgins, 2004: 291). This is especially in terms of mounting cogent arguments in support of Harvest’s projects, and being able to conduct a dialogue with bureaucratic, educated elites in the terms that have currency, and through their neo-liberal technologies of tendering, management and accountability. As Peter Shergold<sup>439</sup>, a one-time Australian senior public servant and government advisor observed, ‘[c]ommunity-based not-for-profit organisations advocate with increased professionalism’, and in Harvest’s case, largely because the professionals have ‘outsourced’ themselves to work on agendas such as Hawkesbury Harvest’s.

External partners and funding agencies have greater levels of trust in Harvest because of its mix of individuals with connections and/or formal roles in institutions. Paradoxically they also suffer a lack of credibility for the same reasons, that is, they have chosen to represent a particular set of constituencies, ones that have been marginalized in the debate around peri-urban agriculture or considered so compromised by the ‘higher order, public interest’ in securing land for housing in Sydney that they are seen as being pointlessly propped up in their stand against the rolling wave of promiscuous urbanization. They, being actors who ‘should know better’ because of their ‘real jobs’, are seen as having broken the rationalist paradigm of objectivity, betrayed the rationality of their ‘sciences’, and let their sentiments get the better of them.

This is a key weakness of Harvest’s hybridity and the consequent positioning of Harvest as a ‘private’ interest group gives permission to formal authority (including Councils and other levels of government) to discount/disregard policy contributions if Harvest’s position does not suit established agendas. In these situations, authorities label Harvest as a narrow ‘issue network’

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<sup>439</sup> Peter Shergold is the Macquarie Group Foundation Professor at the Centre for Social Impact, and the University of Western Sydney Chancellor

(Armstrong & Wells, 2006: 867) holding itself out as a relevant advocate but having contestable representativeness (see also Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004 cited in Sterrett et al, 2005: 375). Alan Eagle reflects on Harvest's impact in the survival-of-agriculture dialogue, one where he used the imagery of Harvest having established a 'bite-the-apple' experience which appeals to the hedonistic interests of the lifestyle media programs, but not so easily to the big picture arguments about agriculture and keeping it so we can enjoy the bite-the-apple experience.

*"I think we have entered the debate, yeah, I think we're inside the debate, there's no doubt about that because people<sup>440</sup> come to us for those questions and those answers, you know, (Harvest appreciates what it is trying to do) but I don't think some of our members do, coz you watch the lifestyle shows when they're on, and they're always about Mike Whitney bitin' the apple but not that conversation about, you know, if this farm disappeared, you wouldn't be able to do this, that type of thing, you know. I think they need to actually join that debate about those type of issues, and we might have to change some of that, because biting-the-apple is simple, it's a simple message, and it's good, but if you drew a picture of your apple and you had one of your thousand bloody arrows going off it and did all those things and it popped up on a powerpoint, what that actually symbolizes, then you would say 'yeah, I can understand that now, coz I can see the link between the apple and the retention of agriculture'" (Eagle interview 2:05:55:00 – 2:07:30:00)*

Despite this Hawkesbury Harvest has gained an elevated significance in the public domain as a broker and actor in agri-tourism development across the region, and (as similarly described by Scott, 2004: 54) been instrumental in 'creating a discourse' for 'reaching new understandings of an area's relative problems', 'to gain a holistic perspective of the local area through a process of dialogue' that makes Harvest a suitable 'motif [as] an authentic, interactive localism (or regionalism) speaking truth to the power of globalisation' (Considine, 2005: 3). Harvest actors perform this educative social role. As Alan Eagle says of his role, it's a hybrid, more reflexive 'conversation' that Harvest seeks to have, a non-destructive dialectic.

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440 Referring to other regions, governments and private sector organisations.  
Ian Knowd

*“As a facilitator probably more than anything, you know, I think, a facilitative role, just bringing people together, talking about things, just doing that, some part leadership in some areas, you know, trying to actually get good processes and good infrastructure inside if I can, you know, but failing miserably in some of those things you know, but you know, I’d love, I’d like the farmers market to be more authentic than they are but we have to work with these stall holders who are looking after themselves... what upsets me is they don’t value the work that people have done to bring them to market, OK, ..you only get an email from some people when they’re complaining, ....I believe a lot of them are self-centred around their own business which is fine, but they never engage in discussion about the higher level... you know, why we have the farmers markets, we’re not there just for the economic benefit for a honey grower or a cheese grower, we’re there because we want to actually to take that product from the farm directly to the customer, and Hawkesbury Harvest has been a vehicle for them to do that, but you never hear that conversation from them about that. [Some farmers] tried to do that when they come onboard, but for some reason [they] lose their way, they get a lot of flack from the other people, because they’re on both sides of the fence, and I believe they haven’t been able to tell the message properly, in my mind, ...they need to explain the message properly” (Eagle interview Full 1:09:10:00 – 1:14:30:00).*

The message of course is about their own survival and what Alan, through Harvest, says about the importance of farming and food. It’s about exploring the tension between their own self-interest and Harvest’s higher aims. *“I understand it but I don’t, I would rather have a decent conversation with them about it, but they never seem to have time, they never seem to respond.”* (ibid 1:15:00:00 – 1:15:04:00).

This speaks loudly to that which I have said earlier and I repeat now, that unlike most hybrids, Harvest is not sterile, instead being resilient and virulent, and ascending as it has to be a significant influencer in the public domain. Developers and land speculators see it as a weed taking hold as one might expect in the fallow ground of the Hawkesbury’s heritage farm lands,

much of which is already zoned for rural lifestyle and/or land-banked as urban land-in-waiting. In contrast, the peri-urban rural communities of Sydney see it as a new cultivar worth protecting, encouraging and planting in other places and contexts around the country, and again, paraphrasing the quote from a Farm Gate Trail Member used earlier, 'it is precious and deserves nurturing lest we all lose out'.

### ***Governance and Harvest***

Harvest exhibits all of the hallmark 'family resemblance[s]' (Considine, 2005: 11) that define it as a new governance form<sup>441</sup> (see Table 12). It is an exemplification of what Rose (1999 as cited in Higgins & Lockie, 2002: 421) characterises as better government by less governing to 'optimise the economy', governing via 'the entrepreneurship of autonomous actors' and reflects 'a broader shift from government to *governance*' and the 'spatialisation of government' noted by Herbert-Cheshire and Higgins (2004: 289-290 italics as in original). It is also an application of what Rose (1996 as cited in Higgins & Lockie, 2002: 421) suggests as the shift from 'the social' as the domain of government action in regulating the rights and responsibilities of citizens to 'the community' which has a spatial context and is more about the 'relations of obligation and responsibility toward networks of personal concern and allegiance' (Higgins & Lockie, 2002: 421). This is also noted by O'Toole and Burdess (citing Adams & Hess, 2001) in programs that exploit the 'voluntary capacity of people to help solve their own problems' (2004: 434.)

National Competition policy has also required local government to take an 'arm's length' strategy toward the provision of services for local industry support, specifically interventions to support agriculture, and this was one of the political factors that led to the formation of Hawkesbury Harvest. As local council (Hawkesbury City LGA) has retreated from this role, has

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<sup>441</sup> See later that I also make a case for it being an 'old' governance form, specifically a sect-like form with its attendant moral/ethical forms of control.

‘de-functionalised’ (Balloch & Taylor, 2001:283), Harvest has sought to fill the functional void with its own interpretation of an appropriate development agenda.

**Table 12: Hawkesbury Harvest’s Hallmark ‘New’ Governance Characteristics**

Generic Characteristic	Expressed in Hawkesbury Harvest
Local Character – partnerships and joint actions will reflect the different specific histories of places and communities suggest how different histories might point to common trajectories	A response to local and global forces in agriculture and health defined by pressure on farmers and trends in health caused by dominance of food systems by retail chains, and the effects of urbanisation.
Agency Collaboration – networks will join public and private agencies in some on-going venture to deliver services or co-ordinate action	A five-year history of joint action between agriculture, health, food, and tourism interests creating several ‘projects’ each of which addresses one or more of the multiple problems facing farming and health constituencies in the Hawkesbury Region
Institutional Change – new governance will produce new institutional sites and instruments such as partnerships, pacts and coalitions	Explicit and emerging relationships with formal and informal groups with interests in agriculture, food and health in private (farmers, industry associations, corporations) and public sector (community groups, local, state and federal governments) contexts.
Democratic Culture – actions will be inclusive of different groups and interests and will generate new identity positions.	An eclectic group of players, a membership association with voting rights for members and additional representation by affiliated groups who have a ‘seat’ at the Harvest Board table. At the same time the structure allows for exclusion and the imposition of boundaries, particularly the ‘selection of appropriate members and representative affiliates

One of the paradoxes that flow from this relationship with the local authority is that with the ‘empowering’ of Harvest in the agricultural policy domain comes resistance to the transition of Harvest into policy engagement on regional development issues – having privatised the arena of interest that Harvest seeks to work in, public sector management can and has claimed that it does not represent ‘community’ but private sectoral interests, citing Harvest as legitimate child of a neo-liberal approach to economic development.

Additionally, Harvest experience when ‘reporting’ their plans to the agencies that funded its ‘projects’ was one where this had to conform to the accepted strictures of planning professionalism and its bureaucratic manifestations (MacCallum, 2008). At each point in the progress reporting process, there was always a tension created by the ontologically different mode of action through which Harvest acted, that is, it is on a pathway to the future, but one

that is not a pre-determined normative version of some *a priori* conceptualisation of the past and present. Both applications for funding support and the progress reporting always had imposed and un-negotiated terms and expected performance milestones that the bureaucracies inserted in order to meet policy rhetoric and imperatives<sup>442</sup>. Thus, progress reports had to be ‘corrected’ if they expressed progress as ‘ongoing’ or ‘in-progress’, a state of affairs that semiotically represented Harvest’s reality, but which was inconsistent with the ‘traditional rationalist’ (ibid: 329) quantification of outputs. Institutional power, despite the veil of empowerment afforded by delegation to a community association, remains in place, and the hegemonic imposition of planning philosophies, which are themselves instruments of control, remain a constant source of frustration and conflict for Harvest. This tension however is reflected back into the controlling system because as Klijn points out (2007, 2008), a fruitful co-evolution occurs because of the mutual dependence between agents like Harvest who implement projects and government who want to see policy enacted. In the context of the Harvest case, and especially because Harvest is an autonomous actor, the connectivity between Harvest as a system of action and, despite the contracting-out of action to it by state and federal agencies, its connections to the policy sphere have an evolutionary impact on the way that government manages its programs. I have no doubt that the state and federal governments that funded Harvest projects would not have anticipated or predicted the prominence of Harvest in the policy domain in 2008, as exemplified in the prominence and recognition it had gained as expressed by Minister McDonald at the *Sydney’s Agriculture – Planning for the Future* forum in December 2008.

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442 The most paradoxical of these was the insistence in every case except the Farm Gate Trail project that export capacity-building be an output. Despite the fact that Harvest was formed to address the fundamental market failures of domestic food systems and the accepted understanding in mainstream economic theory that a sound domestic industry base is an important foundation upon which export capacity should be built, these export goals were always added in to project documents. Thus Harvest was never anticipating an ability to deliver on this agenda, its focus being one about domestic markets, and therefore the deliverable was something they would always fail to meet.



In this sense Harvest is a counterinstitution. 'Counterinstitutions are intended to dedifferentiate some parts of the formally organised domains of action, remove them from the clutches of the steering media, and return these 'liberated areas' to the action co-ordinating medium of reaching understanding'<sup>443</sup> (Habermas, 1987, Vol 2: 396). From a systems perspective, Harvest is the purposeful system that arose to fill the gap left by other institution systems in community development. It is a form of state-sponsored anarchic<sup>444</sup> community action against the prevailing hegemony that theorists as far left as Kropotkin (1904 & 1998) would see as filling the gap left by the state in failing to understand the 'natural' order of both the natural and social world. This leads us to ponder how Harvest informs the question raised by Allen et al (2003),

*To what degree do they seek to create a new structural configuration—a shifting of plates in the agrifood landscape—and to what degree are their efforts limited to incremental erosion at the edges of the political-economic structures that currently constitute those plates? That is, are they significantly oppositional or primarily alternative? (p. 61 – underlining used where originally italicised)*

In 2003 when this question was posed, there appeared to be a 'natural' polarisation in the way that Agri-Food Initiatives (AFI) (Allen et al, 2003) could be conceptualised and categorised. The Harvest case shows that it is both, simultaneously and, in as much as it has achieved a number of its project goals, comprehensively. What Allen et al suggested as the lesser ground of 'neo-populism' as their 'politics of engagement', a result of diminished and subdued activism on labour and environmental issues, and the ascendancy of neo-liberal philosophies that weakened them, is a different expression of what drives AFIs to that found in the Harvest case. There is a

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<sup>443</sup> *The Theory of Communicative Action* is a book by Jürgen Habermas published in 1981 in two volumes, the first subtitled *Reason and the Rationalization of Society* (Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung) and the second, *Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason* (Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft).

<sup>444</sup> State-sponsored anarchic – the phrase itself is paradoxical, having clear internally contradictory meaning – anarchic means in the absence of the state.

paradoxical relationship created wherein Harvest, in its own neo-liberal modalities, exploits neo-liberal trends in markets and government to its own ends. It is oppositionally alternative; it is *oppositional* because it seeks to change the structural relationship between (a part of) agriculture and the food system by constructing bypass market channels that encourage product differentiation and consumer-direct mechanisms and hence, competing structures for food provision<sup>445</sup>. And it is *alternative* by fostering alternative (populist) attitudes, modes of engagement and interactions between people and their food and the farmers who produce it. What Harvest does have in common with its counterparts in America (Allen et al, 2003) and elsewhere, is the failure to address the class and labour issues within agriculture<sup>446</sup> – while Harvest has articulated philosophies related to produce, products, origin and type (organic/other), it has not extended these to explicitly address living wage or other issues of rural worker industrial relations. At best, some aspects of these issues are implied in Harvest's adoption of the Slow Food manifesto, particularly that part of it that talks to the 'fairness' of food production and consumption<sup>447</sup>. It deliberately positions its initiatives along-side the mainstream and messages them with both oppositional and alternative meaning. They are parallel and only needed/possible because the hegemonic system exists – they are, and are not, of that system, a chimera.

Harvest has been very effective at translating the palimpsest of the local into the larger system dialectic, invoking universal themes in order to advance its own ambitions connected to global dialogues around food, farming and sustainability. It has been able to embrace the contradictions, paradoxes and what they laconically refer to as 'sleeping with the enemy', to exploit what Harvey (1996: 400 quoted in Allen et al, 2003: 74) described as a 'fecund nexus',

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445 Both supply and demand sides – farmer direct (farmers markets, provedoring) and consumer direct (Farm Gate Trail) mechanisms.

446 See Hanson and Bell (2007) citing Ruben (1992), McAllister (2002) and McIntyre (1948).

447 Fair in Slow Food terms means that the systems that produce food are respectful of social justice, meaning they provide fair returns and conditions for everyone in the supply chain from producer to consumer.

amplifying and genericizing their local militancy ‘to create a more transcendental and universal politics.’

Harvest acts in the same way as Armstrong and Wells (2006: 869) note regarding the Community Voluntary Sector (CVS) in the EU context and O’Toole and Burdess found in their study of Victorian rural communities (2004: 441);

*‘They participate in broader governance processes through their leadership roles in the local towns and in their partnerships with outside agencies. They bring together public, private and voluntary areas as part of community governance. They see that leading, facilitating, collaborating and bargaining both within and without the local community are a central part of community governance. .... However, unlike their legally constituted local government predecessors they often do not possess the vital factors of legitimacy, accountability and an assured source of continuing funding.’*

As Alan Eagle reflects:

*“We influence people regarding the Community Strategic Plan locally, and adding value to comments on all the other regional plans, but they’re only just comments, you know, they’re just in there for people to read and think about, I don’t think we do too much more than that... we’re not lobbyists, we don’t get together and say, OK, we’re going to target this and then work out how we’re going to do that, and then go and bang on the doors of all those characters”, it’s a more passive advocacy role (Eagle interview Full 1:25:40:00 – 1:26:30:00).*

It epitomizes the design ideal reflected in the European LEADER programmes described by Moseley (1997: 202) of ‘development by and of the local community, not just for it’ with a similar emphasis on tourism as an economic mechanism<sup>448</sup> including the ‘narrow agenda, focused on economic outputs or the rural development product, without significant consideration given to a supporting process of capacity building, animation and community

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448 see Table 1 in Scott (2004: 52).  
Ian Knowd

participation’ (Scott, 2004: 53). However, unlike the LEADER projects experience where the institutional context encouraged and facilitated ‘longer-term communicative processes’ (Scott 2004: 55), the separation of Harvest from a formal strategic or planning institutional framework has seen it develop a more sophisticated view of its role in the world, specifically an understanding of the systemic and socio-cultural needs of the peri-urban farming community at a regional level. This contrasts with their funding agencies who universally retain the simplistic notions of agricultural industry development via agri-tourism and other ‘opportunities’ that globalisation and technological change have presented to rural communities (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Primary Industries and Regional Services, 2000).

*“I think if the system you’re talking about, it’s (Harvest) held as one of the elements of that system, then the perception of fresh food is important, so we play a role in there, eating local, which was in my view, not as important as it’s become in the last ten years, you know, it’s become more and more important eating local, local produce, so from those two types of elements inside a large system I think we’ve played a big role in trying to convince people to eat local, you know, but our issues are, this is why we have struggled I believe in places like the South Coast, and even to the Mountains to a certain degree, that the people in Bilpin have been eating local apples for years, so we’re saying, wow, we can get people to come here, you know, and they can do that... but I don’t think we’ve actually done much in relation to saving agriculture, (but in terms of Harvest’s mission of farm viability and sustainability) I think we’ve done that for those particular farmers” (Eagle interview Full 1:51:15:00 – 1:54:20:00)*

Harvest’s dynamic, organised and complex rural development project is constrained by the ‘contractual forms of accountability’ (Whittaker et al 2004: 190) employed by neo-liberal administrations to control outcomes. Hawkesbury Harvest faces the dilemma of needing to show that funds are ‘acquitted’ in line with performance criteria when the challenge is more a qualitative, diffuse, social learning project with significant public good outcomes. Their action in

the policy arena is significant but their outcomes can only be accounted for in functional terms, specifically jobs, commercial relationships and trading networks.

The relationship with governments is managed by what Dean (1997, 1999 as cited in Higgins & Lockie, 2002: 421) identifies as two types of 'technologies', those being agency through the involvement of experts as guides, and performance management via accountability, management and monitoring as key reporting mechanisms, including 'independent', 'method based' auditing<sup>449</sup> (Armstrong & Wells, 2006: 856). The way Harvest is engaged is founded on 'resource dependence' (Considine, 2005: 7, citing Benson, 1982) which means goal convergence occurs by-design via contracts. Design is controlled through accountabilities with the last (Food and Wine Coordinator) being the most ambitious in terms of an integrated project, but also the most difficult for both sides of the negotiation to manage. Harvest sought to ensure that the 'nature' of the project was reflected in quantified outcomes, specifically to have qualitatively defined objectives expressed in terms such as 'increased', 'expanded' and 'enhanced'. The result was a contract for quantifiable outcomes with modest, even conservative measures of performance because government insisted on objective measures. The important industry adjustment work, the building of social capital in understanding the complexities of the problem and the network-building between the multiple constituencies affected by the problem is uncounted, and there is no 'measure' by which it might be. The so-called 'partnership' with government is not really such, its role being facilitator and monitor (but without the full brief of social and environmental performance) of public-private entrepreneurial activity<sup>450</sup>.

The Harvest example reminds us of the late 1990s Landcare programs which also inspired questioning of the 'genuine devolution of power from central government or, a devolution of responsibility and accountability without the requisite resources to meet the requirements that

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449 All Harvest's 'projects' required an audited account of their outcomes as a condition of funding contracts.

450 See Mair 2006 for detailed exposition of the Canadian experience and Scott 2004 on the EU LEADER programmes.

were imposed' (Lockie, 1994 and 2000, cited in Higgins & Lockie, 2002: 423), including human and reporting capacities that might deliver a rich data set about the effectiveness of programs and to perform subsequent 'evidence-based policy making' (Keating & Stevenson, 2006). Parallels also exist with structural adjustment where 'Exceptional Circumstances' might give permission for government intervention when it relates to drought response, but applying the same policy response to market issues facing farmers remains ideologically taboo. It's assumed Harvest's new entrepreneurial activity and industry re-alignment with consumer market channels is solely within the risk management capabilities of the farmers themselves, when they are trying to do these things in the context of global market forces and environmental change, over which they have no influence.

As Alan's comment earlier about succession implies, the organisation has struggled to 'be self-financing in the long-term (viability), and accept the need for "exit strategies"' (MacKinnon, 2002: 315). With every project, funding agencies have suggested potential mechanisms for ensuring an income stream over the longer term. The difficulty with this lies in the nature of the projects that Harvest undertake – micro-economic restructuring at the business enterprise level and with/for their member farmers, not per se for Harvest itself. While the 'product' is over ten years old and therefore, in a business sense, well-established, the mechanism itself is still performing what it originally intended which was to be a vehicle for struggling farmers in trying-out alternative marketing channels. There is pressure on Harvest to make the Farm Gate Trail profitable for Harvest itself, but doing this will make it a mechanism for farm viability suited to those farmers able afford to experiment with alternative marketing strategies, not for those for whom it was originally established. Harvest's farmers market does hold potential for income streams to maintain Harvest's financial resource, but again the necessity to buy-in the human resources has left very little in the coffers upon which to build the enterprise. The obsession

with targets of this kind does create tension for Harvest as it sees its role as 'community development', having a triple bottom line brief, not simply an economic outcomes brief.

In prioritizing project outcomes over organisational finances, Harvest shows a clear attitudinal disposition to buying-in the requisite expertise for their projects and demonstrating it's a 'responsible' actor (Herbert-Cheshire & Higgins citing Rose & Miller, 1992: 294). They clearly did what the funding agencies did themselves, contracting-out the technical work and reinforced their funding agency's perceptions that they could manage the process appropriately. Unfortunately, the asset pool of volunteer expertise and energy is not counted as an 'employment' output, and is not recognised in the accounting system used by authorities to measure outputs. This volunteer work brings in funding to the community which employs people both directly and indirectly.

From the organizational perspective the actors within Harvest have many characteristics of 'old wine in new bottles' (Knowd, 2006b). They are 'old wine' based on identity factors and their background in state instrumentalities, but the vessel or 'bottle' for their contemporary action is Harvest, a child of neo-liberal policies and controls. This gives them greater potency as advocates, facilitators and catalysts in delivering public-good functionality and private good outcomes. Harvest as a 'new bottle' has made it possible 'to maximize opportunities to exploit policy windows, policy entrepreneurship and innovation (Armstrong & Wells, 2006 citing Kingdon, 1995) and to deliver these opportunities into a community of need. The old wine still has potency, it's just being delivered in a post-modern neo-liberal container.

Harvest itself is perhaps old wine in a new bottle. The 'old wine' is the fall-back that Macquarie had to work with and the Darwinist/anarchic social forces he had at hand, and as it is this time through Harvest in that its higher-order ideals and vision are only achievable through means that facilitate the self-interest of its participants, in engaging with Harvest 'market

mechanisms'. It's also old wine in the sense that it is a new expression of 'The Hawkesbury' pitched for a post-modern audience and sensibilities, that Harvest references the fact and myth about the Hawkesbury as many have done before, but is itself a new bottle, the carrier of these memes and new interpretations of the physical, cultural and environmental heritages of the region, its people and cultures. Old wine (a rational means-end and ethical conduct in economic terms as a Puritanism) and new bottle (a new 'group' within constellations of groups but not a sect, but with sect-like characteristics).

It is also a scalar expression of the same form of governance of which it is a vehicle, that is, it too is 'hollowed-out', its internal structure being more fluid, and at times 'centre-less' than the formal assignments and office-holdings might indicate. Over Harvest's history and especially after the first five years under David Mason and my Chairmanship, the chair position remained 'vacant', with members of the board assuming the role in the contexts for which they were best 'qualified'. So for instance, in the realms of agriculture, David would be the 'nominal president', in tourism it would be me, in markets and FGT management it would be Alan Eagle and/or David and/or myself. It was only in 2010 that 'we', the nominal chairs, actively recruited the current a real farmer, Bill Shields, to lead up Harvest<sup>451</sup>. Similarly, in the formal roles that Alan Eagle and I play as Secretary and Treasurer, there is much overlap and frequently exchange of duties and tasks in the operational aspects of Harvest. There is hybridity in management roles, a departure from formal bureaucratic delineation of roles as would be 'expected'.

This pattern of decentralized authority (nominal chairs and fluid roles – secretary/treasurer) also extends to the personal orientation of individuals for which Harvest is a vehicle. We see egos pursuing their normative futures, which collectively form the Harvest agenda for change. Group strength comes from harnessing individual value positions and selfish agendas. Policy

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<sup>451</sup> The primary reason for this was that 'we' recognized the need for Harvest to have a farmer as its nominal head, that despite the good works being done under the Harvest banner, organizational 'street cred' demanded that Harvest be chaired by a farmer.



authority, as described above, is vested in individual domains of expertise and given multiple voices, which also means there’s no single voice, and ‘the voice’ is inflected with multiples. Depending on who is ‘talking for Harvest’, we can see and hear ideal-typical expressions and perspectives of the farmer, the extension officer/bureaucrat, the academic/researcher, the environmentalist/permaculturalist, and the management consultant. These multiple voices and stances are operational concurrently, with particular voices dominating depending on the issues/contexts/audiences. Thus Harvest does exhibit some periods and positions on issues that reflect diverse policy stances, multiply-mediated and communicated. Here too is hybridity.

**Table 13: Organisational Strengths and Weaknesses**

Strengths	Weaknesses
Harness local passion and talent – an open organisation	Vulnerable to burnt-out and dependence on individual effort – a leaky organisation
Relevance – an authentic and grounded focus – ‘street cred’	Representational authenticity and the failure of rational objectivity - parochiality
Diversity in actor’s knowledge, skills and attributes - trustworthy	Patchy technical expertise
Independence from policy constraints	Dependence on policy agendas
Self-interest	Self-interest
Policy entrepreneurship	Policy under-capitalisation
Freedom in governance and control	Compliance in governance and control
HH Mission requires that it build ‘trading’ mechanisms	Inc. Assoc. means it can not ‘trade’ - financial security depends on ‘memberships’
Communicative freedom – expression of a moral and ethical stance	Divergent, sometimes contradictory messages expressed by ‘members’
Actor connectedness with institutions	Actor conflict-of-interest risk

Table 13 above summarizes the key organisational dynamics that characterize Harvest’s hybridity and Janus stances. Its capacity to attract and harness local talent and passion in an open organisation also presents a fundamental vulnerability founded in the dependence on this

talent, making it a 'porous', even leaky organisation. The dedication of the core group to Harvest is a testament to its power as a carrier of values rather than its ability to recruit, support and nurture staff in a corporate sense, indeed it has little to offer in these terms.

The values Harvest carries have great relevance to its actors and the wider host community, but this too presents its alter-side as a weakness with Harvest having often been accused of parochiality, having the superficiality of an 'issues-based' grouping of individuals representing a narrow constituency. Despite this, Harvest's core group are seen as trustworthy, genuinely having the skills, knowledge and attributes required of good advocates, even if the scope of their technical expertise across all of the policy domains in which Harvest seeks an influence is limited.

Harvest's arena of action, being extra-governmental, gives it the freedom to express an alter-vision unhindered by policy constraints and neo-liberal ideologies, but this must be done within the constraints of the dominant policy agendas. It is here that the double-edged sword of self-interest also presents itself as strength and weakness, as discussed above in terms of voices. These voices give expression to Harvest's actor policy entrepreneurship, but this is weakened by the patchy depth of expertise on the issues and debates in policy domains, what I characterise as policy under-capitalisation.

As an incorporated association with a democratic constitution and rules Harvest has great freedom in terms of its capacity to mobilize a membership and attract new members. At the same time, this presents sometimes onerous demands on volunteer capacities and capabilities in meeting the demands of compliance with the legislated and Harvest's own espoused governance requirements, reporting and accountability.

Organizational strength comes from the richness of policy formation inputs, but this also presents an organizational weakness with the multiplicity of policy interpretation and implementation driven by individuation of mediated messages in the actor's domains of

influence and action – Harvest’s communicative challenge. This challenge is played out in using the actor’s connectedness to community and institutions, but also presents them with issues of conflict-of-interest when there is confusion about who they are speaking for, and of.

Despite this, member sentiment appears positive, reflecting Harvest’s strategic purpose and its significance to its host community. As part of an apology given for not attending a members’ strategic meeting organized by Harvest in October 2012 the following was received.

*“I think Harvest is a critical group for the future of our area. I think it is a really effective lobby group at all levels of government. I think it hits the mark in terms of supporting the local rural economy, working to preserve our semi-rural lifestyle and makes a huge contribution to tourism in the area. It is precious and needs to be nurtured otherwise we all lose out.” (Farm Gate Trail member, email correspondence).*

## **Sect-ness**

As an entre to my Weberian analysis of what Harvest is, I want to apply the Weber lens to understanding its agency in the world.

Harvest is a creature of the kind described by Weber in ‘Sects’. It is a “group that became a mechanism” on behalf of *goals*’ (Weber, 2009: 181, original italics). It is an ‘exclusive, yet absolutely voluntary.... association, [which] provide[s] a *centre* for the individuals’ (p. 182) involved (emphasis added)<sup>452</sup>. It is structured like the prototypical corporatised associations, the church sects that Weber studied in North America (Weber, 2009) from which his seminal work on the *Spirit of Capitalism* was drawn. Like these sects, Harvest raises the issue of a fair price for traded goods to the level of a principle (Weber, 2009: 193-194), one that defines the relationships between members of Harvest and the wider world. Harvest’s Genuine Grower Policy, a form of purist doctrine designed to exclude the undermining influence of traders who

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<sup>452</sup> Recall my characterization of consumer experiences through Harvest mechanisms as providing a ‘centring’ opportunity and vehicle for seeking.

do not adhere to Harvest's principles is analogous to mechanisms used by the sects to exclude unsanctified persons and restrict economic relationships to those who were 'true believers'. The policy sanctions 'moral control through self-government, admonition and possible excommunication' (Weber, 2009: 196) of members who do not adhere to it in exactly the same way that the ascetic sects managed their communal and business relationships. Like the sects, adherence to the ethical conduct required within the Harvest worldview delivers 'premiums' (Weber, 2009: 198) in both moral and economic terms. In a sense Harvest is a missionary organisation attracting fellow believers, a post-modern, 'naturally anti-authoritarian' (after Weber's characterisation) sect, an anti-hegemonic, neo-liberal reconfiguration of the concept where members are not just farmers, but a diverse mix of individuals with a unifying set of views about Harvest's (reactive and purposeful) agency in the world. Its similarity to a guild is also apparent, but the features described above are defining characteristics of sect-like organisations. In the debates and arguments that centre around Harvest's policies, there is clear resistance to, and moral indignation about, any corruption of Harvest policies that would create guild-like economic and social relationships, particularly the market-restrictive impulses of growers, what has been named by members of Harvest's board as a decent into 'boys club' designed to secure the material subsistence of a select group of growers and producers<sup>453</sup>. Paradoxically its 'sect-ness' also makes it an ideal vehicle for neo-liberal development agendas as it holds out as being free from intervention of political power, acting without 'fear or favour', representing with 'freedom of conscience' (Weber, 2009: 414).

Harvest has features that Weber observed in his own studies as characteristic of the 'youthful' capitalism of the United States, being at the same time a reaction to the 'Europeanization' effects brought by the bureaucratization, specialisation and hierarchical character of modern capitalism, which he perceived as an 'ominous homogenizing tendency

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<sup>453</sup> Recall in Chapter Four where I discussed the tendency of growers to want to exclude others from markets in order to monopolize the market space and opportunity.

*across industrial nations'* (ibid, original emphasis). In melding the antecedents of this and the characteristics described above, as both a reaction to and creature of our modern neo-liberal economy, Harvest is a hybrid, formed around a specific 'business' interest (local agriculture), and having the specialised, bureaucratic actors that modern capitalist organisations need, modern capitalism and its effects having created both sets of conditions for Harvest's emergence.

In the Australian context, Harvest as a development vehicle and governance structure gives effect to one of the things Weber considered essential to maintaining the greatest possible autonomy of action in social and economic affairs in a modern industrial economy. Harvest (and groupings like it), strengthen the diversity required to counter the omnipotence of dominant social strata, corporations and bureaucracies. Combined with the other factor he considered vital, a truly democratic political system, we can see the effects and effectiveness of Harvest in its domains of action as liberating potentials for plurality in social dynamism, albeit as Weber conceded, in a messy, and sometimes chaotic mode (Mommsen, 1989: 66). In being facilitated by the state, it has been the 'corrective' (ibid: 67) Weber proposed that strata and groups ought to be, and a working example of such groups with plebiscitary leaders having the confidence of the community in the domains of economic agency where they seek to influence government apparatus (ibid: 68). Harvest as a formally constituted association fulfils the criteria that Weber described for functioning social groups, 'led by far-sighted, energetic and skilled' (ibid: 68) actors generating emancipatory effects for their constituents, while remaining in control of the power to do so. There is no explicit effort by Harvest actors to secure this power, but their meaningful actions bestow authority, and their commitment to the cause gives them credibility in the wider community.

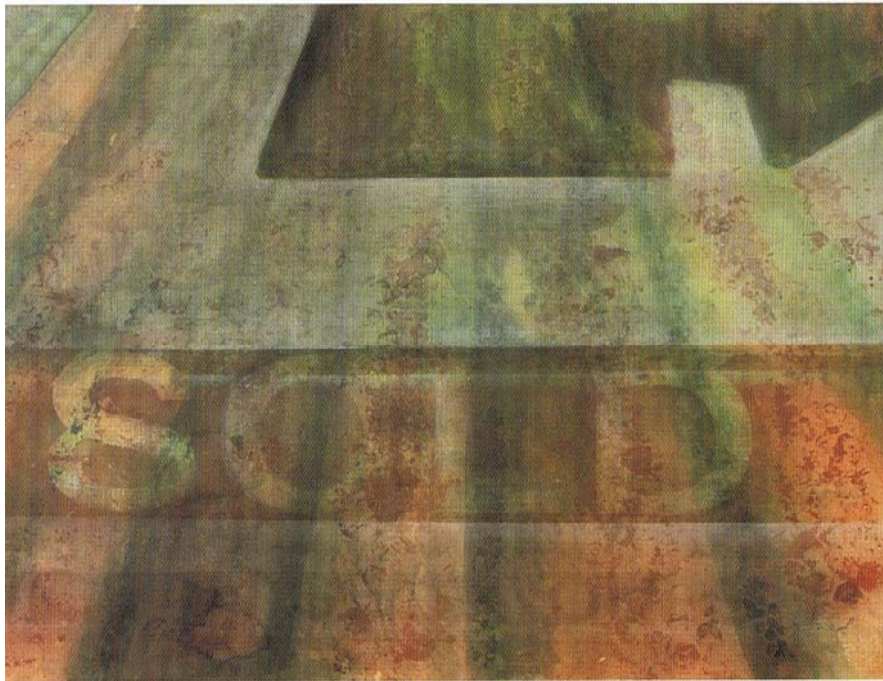
Harvest was needed 'for a defence of [its] place-based' (Escobar, 2001: 167) agenda because neo-liberal policy stances, applying technologies 'known for their de-localizing effects'(ibid), had resulted in roll-back of effort in supporting the small farms sector. Paradoxically, a neo-liberal

process made it possible to hail Harvest's actors, despite their personal preferences, in to service that place-based need through Hawkesbury Harvest. It is this apparent two-faced-ness that defines the split personality that organisations like Harvest and the individuals who lead and manage them must negotiate.

The governance literature frequently refers to the 'Janus syndrome' (Tewdwr-Jones, 2003: 251), the effect of having to address two seemingly opposite directions in strategic action, the need to adopt a two-faced orientation, and new behaviours as markers of new beginnings in practice. Harvest expresses this in engaging the political system, the preparedness to play the neo-liberal game as a means of achieving its wider social and environmental goals, expressed explicitly in its mission as fundamentally economic but implemented wholistically through its cultural landscape orientation to agri-culture. There is a scalar manifestation of the Janus syndrome in the formal/informal, counted/uncounted relations and transactions that occur at the geo-political scale, at inter and intra-organisational scale, and inter and intra-personal scale. It is expressed in the acceptance by the Board of the neo-liberal transactional agenda, the counted and uncounted work, of the need to activate their agenda via economic mechanisms and at the same time maintain the transformational, social-philanthropic frame of reference, and of the formal and informal networks and governance structures that they must act through. It is the human capacity to manage paradoxical and oppositional realities that make the Janus syndrome an observable phenomenon.

Thus there appears to be evidence of a paradigm-induced, scalar patterning in this human activity system giving expression to Janus effect in ways that resemble Mandelbrot, mandala or fractal effects. My exploration of these dynamics in Harvest 'living experiment' (Knowd, 2006a: 39) responds to Armstrong and Wells' (2006) call for 'a more nuanced examination' of organisational dynamics revealing the splitting effects of neo-liberal approaches and their systemic origins. Through this I have contributed to a nuanced understanding of 'govern-

mentality' and particularly how individuals in governance settings re-interpret and act-out neo-liberal paradigms.



**Fran Ifould**  
*Cumberland Tapestry 2010*  
 40.0 x 60.0 cm  
 Ink, acrylic on Hahnemulhe paper

This visual response to the Contested Landscape field study in Western Sydney, is directed by the serendipitous finding of disused silk screens, put out on the roadside for a council clean-up. The Real Estate slogans they carried were printed onto paper prior to the fieldwork, thus producing a backdrop for ink drawings addressing the issue of urban sprawl into prime agricultural food growing areas of the Cumberland Plain.

Produced Plein Air during Field Study in the Windsor area, these drawings question the moral compass of developers in the light of recent population increases and food insecurity.

A stitch in time in the urban fabric. Ads for land-banking future gains.

Hawkesbury Gazette, Wednesday, June 3, 2009 35

**Domain** Domain.com.au

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**Riverstone Exprsns of Interest Cutcliffe McGraths**

THIS property is situated in the Riverstone release area and was rezoned late last year.

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Be quick, because land like this will not last long – invest in your future today by calling Teena Dwight at Cutcliffe on 4587 8855.

36 Hawkesbury Courier, Thursday, March 19, 2009

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"41 Avoca Road" – is being offered to finalise an estate and is for genuine sale. The property is situated in a fast developing region of Sydney, enjoys sealed road frontage and is close to shopping centres, schools and amenities.

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Miriam Cullen  
*Fruitless*  
(Detail)  
2010  
Variable dimensions  
Mixed media

A persistent blight is afflicting the fruit crops of Western Sydney. All attempts to halt its devastating progress have so far proved fruitless...



Polly Pickles  
*Core Values*  
(Detail)  
2010  
7.5 x 6.0 x 6.0 cm  
Plaster of Paris,  
acrylic paints

The theme of this exhibition brings together humanity's two most basic needs: food and shelter. In 'Core Values' I have tried to express the tension between the two in very simple (some would say 'concrete') terms.

While the apple is highly symbolic in our culture and can be seen as standing in for all food in its unprocessed form, I was also struck by the emotive terms used in the house-plans. Words such as 'living' or 'family' are surely as seductive as the original apple in the Garden of Eden, bringing us back to the inherent conflict expressed in this show





## ***Chapter Seven: Portentous Palimpsests***

There are no *tabula rasa* in this story. Instead, the canvass is a mosaic of pre-written components forming the backcloth of Harvest's rich picture. There are forces at work that at best, seek in a rational way, to erase the canvass and impose a 'better' rational order. At worst this is a violence done to people and places. The space is a place with meaning, 'The Hawkesbury', a physical landscape being rewritten, one which when enacted through Harvest's mechanisms, embodies a dialectic of binaries. The people are actors with histories and conflicts related to the urban writers of spaces, and the immutable logic of the market. The milieu is informed by a legacy of thinking and attitudes to space and people that 'allows', or 'winks at' creative destruction.

Max Weber laid down a portentous palimpsest too. His future as a towering figure in sociology and economics and our present were conditioned by his archetypal *Iron Cage* or steel hard case. His 'gloomy prediction' of a dismal, soul-less future has been a fruitful reference point for many a sociological study and this one is no different. In this chapter I take his portentous speculation about a rationalized life-world and reflect on it through Harvest, its actors, and the choice dynamic Harvest initiatives set-up for growers and eaters. The choice dynamic offers a providentially imbued Prisoners' Dilemma, a means of conduct in which spirit is expressed and credit accrued. This is critical to understanding what Harvest's engagement 'technologies' 'do' in a society dominated by neo-liberal ideologies. Providing this choice, activating a Prisoners' Dilemma for growers and eaters, opens the door to a substantive rationality, offering providentiality and 'a way to live a good life'.

Weber himself predicted that there would be a multiplicity of social forms in his bleak future, but he did not speculate about the kinds of forms<sup>454</sup>. In Harvest the 'spirit of capitalism' lives on in its original character but in a new bureaucratized form. What Weber studied was the

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<sup>454</sup> Primarily by implication from his own work that showed a multiplicity of forms in the past.

big 'S' spirit-of-capitalism-past vested in belief of predestination, and while he attributed this spirit to establishing a methodical way of life that is the basis of modern capitalism, he also believed the spirit would fade<sup>455</sup> along with its faith origins in a secular world. In Harvest we can see the small 's' and perhaps the big 'S'<sup>456</sup> spirit-of-capitalism-present. My study then, points to spirits-of-capitalism-future, expressed through 'vehicles' like Harvest, the carriers of these spirits allowing actors to break out, in a contingent way, of the Iron Cage we experience today.

### ***Weber's Dismal Speculation – The Iron Cage and The Spirit***

Weber's speculative vision of a dismal future was delivered to us in the closing paragraphs of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (PE)*. It was one of the few instances where he passed a value judgement and it influenced the writing of *Economy and Society* (Mommsen, 1989). He foretold an Iron Cage and the antinomial roles of state and market needed to maintain a 'healthy' liberal society. He articulated the importance of political and democratic protections in making possible the free expression of competitive urges, and predicted the necessarily interventionist but contradictory role of the state in a healthy functioning market economy<sup>457</sup>. Programs of neo-liberal control made Harvest both possible, and needed. Weber's thesis was portentous, not just in predicting disenchantment, but in foreseeing the creative forces it might spawn, the 'substantive rationalities' emanating from 'resistance' to bureaucracy and formal rationality, rewritten in a multitude of forms, but in this study as Harvest.

The idea of a 'calling' was Weber's chief concern in PE (Barbalet, 2008: 30). 'The valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume' and 'the fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by

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455 The term 'fade' is always used by writers when referring to Weber's articulation of this, and by implication it means that it would not be destroyed. It is on this 'presumption' that much of the modernist and post-modernist sociologies rely, and which in popular culture is articulated as the indomitable 'spirit' of the human soul.

456 As I noted in Chapter Two, I do not canvass the religious origins, if any, of Harvest's actors and consumers intentionality, although this would be an interesting extension of this study.

457 Polanyi described this as 'stark utopia' (Polanyi, 1957: 3).

his position in the world'<sup>458</sup> (Barbalet citing Weber, 1920: 80). It is this 'that gives the Puritan the revolutionary power to change the religious world, and the capitalist entrepreneur the ability to transform the world of commerce and production, against all odds', these being 'the bases of an individual's power in the world against the forces of both rationalisation in social and economic institutions, and nature' (ibid). Harvest seeks to activate and harness, actor and consumer 'callings' in its quest for higher-order. 'Self-definition and self-justification create not just personality, but personality expressed through a commitment to a purpose', as in entrepreneurship and other domains of human endeavour not strictly bounded by a conservative view of *homo oeconomicus* (Anderson & Smith, 2007), and this is a political orientation constituting a form of leadership on the *purpose*. Producers and consumers exercise their political will on Harvest's 'issues', it having performed 'political education' to inform a 'calling' for moral and ethical consumption – the values dimension. Exercising in 'mainly moral terms' (Weber, 2009: 145) their personal-political consumer power when this 'calling' is its object, serves a communitarian end.

Harvest's 'political education' is set to this meaningful purpose, it's an analogue of Weber's own 'socio-political activity,' set to 'social unification' in the face of a nation 'split apart by modern economic development'<sup>459</sup> (Turner & Factor, 1984: 87)<sup>460</sup>. Harvest sets to grower and eater social re-unification in 'their Hawkesbury', a place and community being split apart by modern economic development.

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458 Weber described the Iron Cage as a legacy of the Puritan's worldly rationality, but this too was a 'cage' for them and the context within which their calling was expressed.

459 Weber referring to Germany of the early 20th Century.

460 Citing Weber and his stated need for a political maturity in the German society – 'social unification was a distant aim, however; political education proper was presented as the immediate task', and later citing Scaff (1973:131) on Weber's 'method', the education was "exposure to the realities of political choice and participation... on [the] practical consequence of teaching broad classes of men how to think and act politically". Harvest's focus is not nationalism as was Weber's, but consumerism as the bedrock of citizenship.

Harvest here is a vehicle for moral education (Brubaker, 1984: 101-103) which Weber considered central to the role of choice in human personality, in that choices made have moral dimensions and produce clarity regarding the meaning of choice. They allow for the expression of 'their true humanity – their autonomy, dignity and integrity – in the modern rationalized world' (ibid: 103), an *ethos*. These choices made in the context of transactions with farmers and producers induce an 'ethic of responsibility' (Schluchter, 1996) that is characterised by an integration of both values and means-end rationalities that, working simultaneously, constitute a paradox of reason within Weber's sociology. They facilitate for consumers meaningfully rational action 'within the institutions of the world, but in opposition to them' (Roth & Wittich, 1978: 542 cited in Brubaker, 1984: 110) and give expression to Giddens' conception of reflexive self-actualisation.

*"While emancipatory politics is a politics of life chances, life politics is a politics of lifestyle. Life politics is the politics of a reflexively mobilised order - the system of late modernity - which, on an individual and collective level, has radically altered the existential parameters of social activity. It is a politics of self-actualisation in a reflexively ordered environment, where that reflexivity links self and body to systems of global scope ... Life politics concerns political issues which flow from processes of self-actualisation in post-traditional contexts, where globalising influences intrude deeply into the reflexive project of the self, and conversely where processes of self-realisation influence global strategies." (Giddens, 1991: 214)*

This is where Harvest manifests the generative politics that Giddens (1994) describes as both a moral and practical imperative of decentralised governance, and dialogic democracy. Its FGT and farmers markets reconfigure important 'spaces' of political education, instead of the town meeting being the 'source and school of democracy' (Bryce, 1893: 626 cited in Turner & Factor, 1984: 88)<sup>461</sup>, Harvest's presences take up this role. Harvest articulates a localised (reflexive)

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461 Weber admired the work of Bryce.  
Ian Knowd

monitoring of globally significant problems in food, farming, health and community along its localised ‘fault-line’ (Giddens, 1994: 95) and is a vehicle and vector for action and knowledge.

Many today, feel the a-ethical monotheism of our modern capitalist society. ‘Pessimistic individualism’ (Weber, 2009: 107) is core to economic rationalism but it’s lost the moral foundations and ascetic character that meant it could be an ‘[un]sinful enjoyment of life’ (p. 146). Paradoxically, reaction to monotheism inspired the Reformation and eventual establishment of the sects, their own individual God and spirituality driving their worldly actions and forming, as Weber claimed<sup>462</sup>, the progenitor of modern capitalism through the Protestant ethic. The lay rejected the authority of the Church to determine if their salvation was determinable, and now groups of consumers and producers reject the authority or ‘the market’ to determine their choices. The market is the secular church. Through Harvest and its mechanisms (see 11 Apr 2001) they organise themselves in sect-like, optimistic, communitarian relations and express their values, adopting a ‘methodical lifestyle in order to live up to these ideals as well as they can’ (Mommsen, 1989: 164). Harvest-like social carriers are evidence of the spirit of capitalism spiralling into new expressions of spirit<sup>463</sup>.

Spirit is consumed *through* Capitalism, through configurations of ‘product’ like Harvest ones, imbued with a moral dimension, and as the vehicles for and vectors of consumption of the Spirit, they constitute Weberian social carriers. Harvest is an ethical constellation in the a-ethical universe of modern neo-liberal capitalism. Its attraction and brightness lies in its capacity to give expression, allow people and community to shine in the darkness of a Weberian gloom, and its moral vacuum – to co-opt a phrase from popular culture, ‘in space, no one can hear you scream’<sup>464</sup>. There is paradox here, the ‘dispassionate instrumentalism’ that so characterised the Godly asceticism in the Spirit of capitalism, is superseded by a post-modern passionate

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462 See Zafirovski (2014) for an explanation of how Weber had his thesis back-to-front.

463 this, perhaps, might explain why Anthroposophy and the modern Integral Movement remain strong and the ideas of Rudolf Steiner persist, and are on the ascendancy (Uhrmacher, 1995)

464 Tag line for the sci-fi movie, Alien (1979).

instrumentalism through consumption with moral dimensions. What we name today as economic rationalism, the legacy of the Spirit, is exactly what positions consumption of Harvest's products as a counteraction having higher-order, moral and wholesome purposes. This is the Harvest dialectic.

This is consuming the Spirit *in* Capitalism, the god-given (whatever God) capacity to do the work of consumption in-as-much as it benefits others. Consumption is akin to 'hard work', it appears antithetical but in our Western economies, is how the seeking of higher-order meaning is done. Consumption becomes providential when it delivers a moral dimension. The power of tourism, Harvest or Calvinism to attract and hold people's attention and efforts is directly linked to how well they facilitate and articulate a means for the delivery of these higher-order outcomes in re-creative, spiritual and soul-full action.

There is also another paradox to be seen in the Harvest phenomenon, one that references Weber's original findings about the ascetic churches where the "'proven" Christian is the person who is testifying to his "calling", particularly the businessman who, from a capitalist standpoint, is *capable*' (Weber, 2009: 200, emphasis added). By all measures of the mainstream paradigms for modern agriculture, those growers attracted to Harvest are those who are struggling to survive in the mainstream, who are, from a neo-liberal rationalist perspective, unfit. Their fitness however, is emerging in the re-created or resurrected market channels of earlier, pre-modern times and economies, paradoxically created by neo-liberal economies, the consumer trends they have spawned, and the post-modern absences these trends represent.

Weber identified the paradoxical effect of the Spirit of Capitalism, where with the secularisation of life, the instrumental individualism that was such a defining feature of modern capitalism, came to deliver (or was foretold to by Weber) the very thing it sought to combat, the

pleasure-seeking enjoyment of wealth with no moral or ethical purpose<sup>465</sup>. What the Harvest case reveals, is a truly paradoxical, self-referential looping of this idea, Harvest being a carrier of instrumental individualism, albeit expressed in a new era. The idea that sect-like carriers further the Spirit or spirit, in whatever expression may be relevant to the times, is what we can see when we peel back the particularities and reveal the enduring spirit of Weber's 'modern' capitalism. And there's another interesting irony stemming from this rural/agrarian case, one referencing Weber's own works on community, and especially his own characterisation of the contrast between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* association (Turner & Factor, 1984: 143). Harvest is simultaneously the free association of individuals who came together after rational deliberation and 'selection' for the cause (*Gesellschaft*), much like the Puritan sects, and the carrier of *Gemeinschaft* values which Weber particularly associated with 'the rural', and which he specifically critiqued for its 'unfit', outdated and sentimental conceptions of universal *communitas*.

The power of a Weberian frame is found in its capacity to predict a contested landscape conflict wherein the themes of 'how to live a good life', 'providentiality', and perhaps even 're-enchantment'<sup>466</sup> would become enduring drivers of a resistance "*movement*" (J. Maguire) called Harvest in a rural place called 'The Hawkesbury'. For the modern consumer, Harvest is a way of accessing these themes through consumption behaviour. As modern consumers, it is a counter-rational choice to seek out the Harvest experience as an expression of their 'brand' in the world - this is a post-modern dialectic.

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465 Recall John Maguire's characterization of rationalist 'higher good' – it appropriates public good.

466 We can observe where enchantment resides in contemporary times, and it is not in our neo-liberal economies and less-and-less in our religious institutions, as John Maguire complains, the Catholic Church is due for a reformation, instead we can see it in the truly fantastical genres of film and literature, the *Star Wars*, *The Hobbit* and the *Lord of the Rings* stories where the characters must be fantastic for the enchantment to be meaningful, even palatable in the context of hegemonic secularism and rationality. At the risk of romanticising Harvest, as a hybrid cultivar, metaphorically like the Halfling Bilbo Baggins and his propensity for 'small, everyday deeds of kindness and love', holds power to give courage in the face of darkness (paraphrasing Gandalf the Grey's response to Galadriel's question, "Mithrandir, why the Halfling?" from the 2012 film *The Hobbit*).



In our modern, Western, secular society meaning-seeking is constrained by the hegemonic structures and means-end rationality of our economic systems. For Weber, the Protestant Ethic gave meaning-seeking a plausible purpose, one of providential importance to psychological health. In comparing the nature of this meaning-seeking in Weber's sociology with what we see in the Harvest phenomenon and the technologies it has created in Western Sydney, we can start to comprehend the power of providentiality in driving meaningful action and meaningful consumption. Providentiality is still about higher-order human psychological reward, and it still has the power that Weber saw in driving capitalism. At the end of *PE* he poses a rhetorical question about the inheritance in modern capitalism for the 'last humans'<sup>467</sup> – in this thesis I contend that Harvest-like carriers manifest 'the mighty rebirth of ancient ideas and ideals that stand at the end of this prodigious development' (Weber, 2009: 158).

Bureaucracy, industrialisation and globalisation – welcome to the machine (in the garden). Appropriating the lyrics of John Waters (*Wish You Were Here*, Pink Floyd, 1975<sup>468</sup>),

*"I'd rather have a walk on part in a war,  
Than a lead role in a cage",*

and it is this kind of sentiment that Harvest made possible for its actors, constituencies, consumers and communities. Harvest is evidence of 'how' we might reconcile the Weberian tangle of instrumental rationality simultaneously making it possible for individuals to 'create and control their own meaning', while the 'processes of rationalization in the modern world negate and devalue' (Whimster & Lash, 1987: 21) these very meanings. It appears that in Harvest two camps are bridged. As Whimster and Lash put it, the secular optimists among Weberian

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467 See endnote 135 of Weber, (2009: 549) – from Friedrich Nietzsche. 'The "last humans" to Nietzsche, are repulsive creatures without emotion. Through their "little pleasures" they render everything small – yet they claim to have "invented happiness."'

468 Some music trivia – Pink Floyd's record label for this album was 'Harvest' Records (1969). In 1975 a sub-label was created called Harvest Heritage, its shortened reference being HH to discographers. Given the themes of 'absence' in the *Wish You Were Here* album, it is logical that lyrics from it would 'talk' to the themes in my Harvest case and lend more of the arts to it, but the Harvest label and HH? Is the theme music from *Twilight Zone* running in your mind now that you know this?

commentators can see that ‘control over society, the construction of meaning and the integrity of personality’ are realized, within a context that cultural pessimists characterize as ‘a mass consumption culture whose one insistent motif is hedonistic enjoyment’ (ibid). It is Harvest’s touristic animations that make this available and possible. Weber’s gloomy prediction was made in a time when he did not want to see the freedom occasioned by rationality being lost to the religious cosmologies of the time. The loss attached to this absence of a metaphysical driver in people’s lives was the ‘price of freedom’ (Albrow, 1987: 192), but in the Harvest case we can see how contemporary individual ‘cosmologies’ recover the metaphysical and give meaning to the rational<sup>469</sup>.

Palimpsests are only portentous *if* they are written. What writes them? In this case it’s a ‘carrier’ called Hawkesbury Harvest. Harvest en-texts its carrier status through its market mechanisms<sup>470</sup>, and these transmit the Harvest message through experiential animation, they en-liven people. This en-texting is done through the language of tourism and animation experiences, one that is sensitive to post-modernity and capable of individualized nuance and multi-dimensional meaning-making.

This way of conceptualizing Harvest as an ‘en-texter’ could be a rich source of empirical data for an evolutionary sociological examination of the phenomenon, not one I attempt here, but want to flag. The transmission is an inter-generational phenomenon because Harvest’s current ‘markets’ are dominated by Baby Boomers, they ‘express’ a spirit when they, as family, consume, as John Maguire interpreted it, “*G[g]od, truth, beauty and justice*” in commune on his farm. To briefly pursue the evolutionary sociological question, how then does extinction occur? In evolution this occurs when transmission no longer takes place. Harvest identified the loss of

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469 Could Harvest-like phenomena be an answer to the emerging tragedy of young, disheartened and disenfranchised people who in recent times have been ‘seduced’, as the press described it, to embrace violent causes antithetical to the Christianity-informed West and its economics? As a liberative vehicle seeking freedom and justice within the oppressive hegemony, it offers an alternative. Harvest’s micro provedore model provides a financial basis for independence and a means of expression.

470 As did the Protestant sects.

connection to food, farming and ‘the land’ in X-Gen and younger generations and conceived of Schools Harvest to transmit a sensibility and interest into future generations of consumers<sup>471</sup>, to perpetuate a moral relationship between humans and the land, where this relation has, through modernity, been fractured.

In this sense I want to describe the ‘Harvest Turn’. It expresses a hybrid of ‘a way of life’, one that involves ‘markets’ for the antitheses of modernity. These markets are for experiences addressing loss, what has been termed ‘experientialism’ in Weberian terms; ‘[t]he person aims here to deny the status of ‘tool’ bequeathed by asceticism<sup>472</sup>, and to recover the status of ‘vessel’ allowed by mysticism<sup>473</sup> (see also Schluchter, 1987; Alexander, 1987: 199), but not as flight from the world, rather a meaningful ‘dialectical embrace’ (Albrow, 1987: 182), a Weberian ‘calling’. If you don’t have a *sense* of loss, then there’s no *need* to be filled<sup>474</sup>, and no potential calling - hence the importance of Schools Harvest. If connections with food and farming no longer exist through kith and kin, then some bureaucratic system must act as the carrier, and it is the education system that has the greatest potential for this in educative terms. Harvest may well be a ‘last hoorah’, and this, after Weber, might be my gloomy speculation, but not if things like Schools Harvest plant the seeds for transmission, for posterity. The Harvest Turn seeks to effect ‘shifts’, in a sense, reverse history. As Weiss (1987: 161) puts it in discussing the unstable construct of the ‘irreversibility of history’<sup>475</sup>;

*‘Thus it would be perfectly conceivable, and also possible in practice, to arrest the degree of rationality and also to reverse it in the sphere of industrial production or in the sphere of social communication facilitated by technology.*

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471 This socio-economic gene expresses itself in the food culture and media trends we see, the Masterchef, Jamie Oliver’s Food Revolution, My Kitchen Rules, Stephanie Alexander’s Kitchen Garden program and the many other examples to be found, all of which reassert food sensibility, citizenship and democracy.

472 And by extension rationalism, bureaucratization, industrialization and globalization.

473 And by extension the spirit, the soul and meaning.

474 My own grandmother expressed this as ‘What you’ve never had you can’t miss’.

475 This specifically in critiquing Weber’s adherence to the implacability and irreversibility of rational processes of history.

*What opposes this is not only, and in the long run not even primarily, the interests of the status quo, economic groups and prestige; but rather rationalization processes of this kind correspond to very strong postulates of substantive rationality of material processes – particularly to the extent that these postulates involve an optimal and just provision of material and cultural goods for more and more people (ultimately everybody). The realization of these moral and political goals basically requires not a lesser but rather a greater amount of technological rationality in the production and distribution of these goods.'*

It is through Harvest's technologies, its touristic mechanisms and the dialectic about food, farming, growers and eaters, Harvest's 'experientialism', that Harvest has asserted its 'strong postulates of substantive rationality' and attempts a reversal of history, to turn back promiscuous urbanisation, to brace agri-culture against the rolling wave of development and assert a place for it in the Sydney basin.

I have attempted to map out a Harvest 'encounter'<sup>476</sup>. Through Harvest actors and consumers regain what is lost or at least find 'mechanisms' (technological rationalities) for holding on to an authentic simulacra<sup>477</sup>. The turn here involves resurrecting what rationalists dismissively refer to as subsistence or peasant farming<sup>478</sup>, which with modernity has been forced to evolve into industrial forms, to become 'productivist', but which in some domains is cycling back toward earlier forms that are these days called 'artisanal', redressing Boland's lament<sup>479</sup>, and emphasizing the 'art' in artisanal. But this is not as Weiss goes on to rhetorically pose, a decent into 'an ironic enfeeblement' (ibid: 162). The encounter involves a revelation – the

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476 See Appendix Two and M.C. Escher's *Encounter*.

477 I am quite aware of the inherent contradiction in this expression – it is paradoxical.

478 Especially because they think in terms of units of production, the family farm being an unviable unit in a productionist paradigm. Harvest's networked 'units' are an alternative formation of consolidated farming units that, in their individual production may not be viable as industrial units, but as a collective with each producing a small surplus, can be a viable production scale. The difference is that the farms are distributed across a region rather than having to be in a single location. While efficiency issues still apply, the returns to the farms mean they are viable, and if at a level of subsistence, then that is so by choice.

479 Recall: "Farming which used to be (1) a way of life, (2) an art, (3) a science, (4) a business, tended more and more to become (1) a business, (2) a science, (3) a technological exercise and (4) a way of life.

paradoxical faux choice that our current systems provide vis-a-vis the real choice a self-determined future beholds. It is in this that Turner's (1987: 240) critique of 'nostalgic sociology'<sup>480</sup> finds currency, revealing as it does the 'paradoxical and dynamic processes of modern civilization where consumerism may have, at least in principle, an emancipatory impact'. This is where the discussion below of the Prisoners' Dilemma gives tangible effect to Harvest's engagement with the public and its dialogic struggle to reveal this choice with its potential providential dimensions.

So what, now that I have come to the final chapter in this Harvest story, is the question for which Harvest is an answer in Weberian terms? The Harvest phenomenon is a dialogic vehicle that places the 'options' for agriculture in the Sydney basin into a Prisoners' Dilemma matrix, where prior to Harvest no such choice set existed. The central paradox in this is the activation of a decisionistic mechanism which embraces the fact-value distinction that Weber is most famously noted for upholding as the root of 'ill-informed, poor, and ultimately, erroneous courses of action'<sup>481</sup>. I state the question as:

*"In prosecuting a value-laden argument, one that presents values attached to agriculture as 'facts', how has Harvest paradoxically informed a rational assessment of the choices available, and why was this spirited alter-dialogue needed before such an assessment would be made?"*

A Weberian critique would say that Harvest and its actors have simply corrupted the choice debate by injecting values into the decision-making and articulated a bunch of 'oughts' that have no place in planning for 'agriculture', the industry, in Sydney's planning dialogue<sup>482</sup>. But Harvest states that it is *agri-culture* that is really the object which should be part of the planning dialogue, not an en-caged, bureaucratised, industrialised and globalised, productivist form of

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480 Characterized as 'uni-dimensional and incorporationist in its view of modern culture'.

481 Paraphrased from the original – see exact quote in Chapter One.

482 The irony of course is that private interests express 'oughts', and it is these that John identified as the fallaciously claimed 'higher-good' in capitalism – see Chapter Two bio of John.

agriculture. Harvest claims *agri-culture* exists and has played a role in making Sydney a ‘place’ to live rather than a space within which one lives, and that this role ought to continue. *Agri-culture* is a hybrid mix of scientific and cultural value propositions, and the inherent messiness of this does not lend itself to formal decisionistic modes for determining the rational choices community must make about its role in the Sydney basin, if it is to have one. But if ‘freedom’ to express a desired future is to be maintained, something Weber described as the social ‘profit’ from rationalism, then ‘choice’ must be delivered in a decisionistic format if it is to be legitimated in scientific and rational terms. We must have the formal rationality *and* a substantive one too. Neo-liberalism cites ‘markets’ as the hallmark of such ‘choice freedoms’.

Here I am talking about the neo-liberal expression of Sydney as a ‘modern’ city with its ‘markets’ for urban sprawl, industrial and specialised forms of development, and their attendant bureaucratic, isolating and disconnecting effects. Harvest resists the inherent relativism of choices about a market for agriculture in the Basin. The clearest expression of these relativities is in the explicit positioning of agriculture (not *agri-culture*) as one of many use choices of land in the basin, but this with its apparently rational characterisation as a land use of lower order. Recall “the Lands Department bloke” and his labelling of agriculture in this way.<sup>483</sup>

This is a Weberian value-conundrum (Turner & Factor: 1984: 40), one that articulates value choices of unequal ‘rightness’, and ones that give effect to Weber’s own characterisation of ‘non-illusory choice’ (ibid: 42) of ‘meeting the demands of the day in a vocation’, in this case, the Harvest calling. Harvesters act-out the respective inherent norms of their chosen professions

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483 Of course this reveals the internal inconsistencies that rational choice involves – the Land’s Department bloke in 1993 had already made a value-judgment, but one not informed by the full scientific arsenal available to decision-makers, it was a simplistic and typically Weberian ‘erroneous’ one informed by one dimension of the sustainability challenge, economic value, it ignored the other two dimensions of social and environmental scientific understanding, hence Harvest’s call for a more systemic assessment of the rational choice dilemma. Note that this challenge would eventually be taken up under the Health in Sydney Metropolitan Planning research conducted CSIRO Urbanism, Climate Adaptation and Health Cluster (<http://climatehealthcluster.org/>), in which both David Mason and I were participants wearing both our institutional and Harvest ‘hats’. See Exhibit 90: Harvest Actor Temporal Map, October, 2012.

(Webers ideal-types of entrepreneur, bureaucrat and worker vis-à-vis Harvest actors the modern farmer, techno-bureaucrat, management consultant, academic researcher) but do so without the imprisonment imposed by ‘ethical neutrality’ demanded in ‘their’ markets and ‘their’ informing sciences (ibid: 53; Alvey, 2000; Solow, 1997)<sup>484</sup>, and the resultant ‘rationalization of all areas of life’ (Mommsen, 1987: 50). Through this meaningful, value-informed acting-out they rewrite their own agency in the world, and give expression to their seeking to either forestall or ‘recover a ruptured organic unity’ (Oakes, 1997: 528 – Endnote 17) of place signified as ‘their’ Hawkesbury. Harvest en-texts their individual subjectivity with ‘their Hawkesbury’ and their realization of a power to change this through Harvest. It emancipates and empowers. It allows them to be spring-boarded into and animate in resistance to the self-annulment tendencies of rationalization forces (Shils, 1984: 564), and to achieve a personal charismatization<sup>485</sup> in Weberian terms (Mommsen, 1987: 46-47), the ‘antinomic counter-concept to that of rationality’, that ‘marks the place where personality forces its way into the empirical processes of history’<sup>486</sup>. It is in this thrust at posterity, David’s “*it’s what this is all about really*” that the ‘vocation’ possible through Harvest attains its transcendental character, connecting the ‘soul of modern man – to rationalized tasks in the modern world’, imbued with Weber’s ‘ethic of responsibility’ (Alexander, 1987: 201-202).

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484 This is highlighted by its opposite as expressed by all actors in their desire to clearly identify which ‘hat’ they’re wearing when making utterances – David with DPI/Harvest, myself with UWS/Harvest. Here too is the heart of being able to see where my own writing is laden with role-conflict, my researcher/advocate dualistic engagement. Like Weber, I too do not see a role-conflict here, but a simple challenge in ‘sparing time to do each task properly’ (ibid: 61).

485 The Weberian construct of charisma is mostly applied to leadership and politics, but I propose that this can also be an internalized phenomena, one that results from following a ‘calling’. In Weber’s sociology, a charismatic person can become a leader by following his/her own calling, and I think this can work the other way too, that in ‘finding’ a calling as did our Harvest actors, they have been charismatized, but this is a very private thing and an important ‘pay-off’ that reinforces life conduct, and an aspect of my theorizing about the animation experience. Recall David’s ‘egos are left at the door’, but this in itself is a charismatic dimension of how the actors conduct themselves in the service of the calling.

486 Mommsen describes this ‘antinomic model of historical change’ as Weber’s ‘theoretical quintessence’

*“All of a sudden, Hawkesbury Harvest, sort of started to solidify, I s’pose, and then I was able to really move into that highly creative stuff which I really enjoy. I’m a great believer in destiny and having a purpose in life and I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that this was my path, that this was my contribution to, you know, and what I’m doing now is an extension to that. ...it represents that period in my life when I had to actually be creative in some way, otherwise, you know, you need to be creative or you can be destructive or you just, you know, there’s like an itch, you know, you’ve got to deal with it, it’s part of your spirit, your spirituality, it’s probably your soul, I mean, it’s probably, some part of you saying you’ve got to do something, but you don’t know what to do, and in lots of cases people get frustrated or become aggressive or whatever.... it’s all part of understanding myself, of re-shaping myself... there was this huge shift <sup>487</sup> going on within me, I metamorphosed to this environmental, more people-orientated way I wanted to live my life, and I think Harvest, it was all culminating, so it was part of that spiritual nature or the drive within me... I think Hawkesbury Harvest evolved out of that. So Harvest provides a mechanism for people to actually be able to develop themselves” (Mason interview Part II 6:10:00 – 11:45:00),*

and later on reflecting on what Harvest has allowed him to be because it existed;

*“Be myself. It’s about an expression of myself... I always felt that it was all my experiences you know, all the things that I’d done, from the moment I left school, and you know went into retailing and then jackarooing and rural youth officer, and ag college, and the experiences I had there at ag college you know, and then managing research stations and overseas, you know, it always, that was like oh, Hawkesbury Harvest is allowing me to use everything I’d learnt basically and actually link and be creative in that regard”<sup>488</sup> (Mason interview Part II 33:30:00 – 34:25:00)*

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487 During this part of the interview with David he describes having a revelatory dream that he believes was about him coming to the realization that the human-environmental worldview was a guiding spiritual pointer to his path.

488 David notes here that he had the privilege of a “framework that was both secure and insecure”, his employment as a public servant providing both threat of knowing that the “axe might fall”, but having a salary underpinned his freedom to act through Harvest.



Harvest is the carrier of its actors' 'moral spirit', one which 'facilitates the realization of the self' (Alexander, 1987: 200) and in the Puritan sense, creates a rational vocation. The implications of this talk to what makes for 'effective' organisations within society, ones that, like Harvest, bring together agents, desegregate domains of knowledge and action so that agendas can be executed – the re-unification of spirit in service of a secular outcome, or as Weber expressed it, to 'make the demand of one's individuality into the "decision by which the soul chooses its fate"', exercising what Turner and Factor (1984: 84) described as Weber's 'doctrine of intellectual integrity' and through this 'becoming', gaining 'inner freedom and individuality'<sup>489</sup>.

*"It's a process, any process or any system is simply a reflection of what's going on in people's minds and hearts, you know it's as simple as that, you know we're not creating something that's alien to us, whatever we create is part of us... you take the concept of sustainability... that suddenly emerged out of the ether into people's consciousness... there was this conscious shift in the Australian, it had entered their consciousness, a lot of people didn't understand it, but they knew that it was about making sure that we continued our living with the planet's, the earth's systems "(Mason interview Part II 15:45:00)*

In Alan's case,

*"It allows me to practice all those values, so there's a strong alignment between that, and it's also, there's a strong alignment between the people on the board of management and some of the operators who I would call genuine in terms of their own value sets you know, just living them and doing it you know, it's probably a microcosm of my own value and belief system which allows me to operate with reasonably full energy. ...I'm kind of aligned against a good cause you know, I have a good alignment between, with a good cause, and it's only timely by the way, you know I think it's only timely in terms of the evolution of food cycles that this is starting to happen, and my*

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<sup>489</sup> In the June 17, 2013 edition of the *Sydney Morning Herald* the Dalai Lama is reported as calling for a 'secular ethic' – in my thesis it's not so much the call for a secular ethic that's needed, but a 'calling' for a secular ethic, the social processes that make it possible to act ethically, and make a secular ethic 'available'. Article by M. Kembrey.

*work ethic also through Harvest and meeting people from State and Regional Development, Bob Germain and all those characters that we know of, view me as a good community participating character who adds value to the chain in that area” (Eagle interview V1 57:00:00)*

As Wolfgang Mommsen (1987: 44) expressed it in relation to Webers view of the way values interact with rationality and their power to effect shifts in history,

*‘wherever thrusts of rationalization resulted in the direction of inner-worldly activity, they ha[ve], in Weber’s view, revolutionary effects on the surrounding society.*

*It is always the extraordinary powers that give the impetus to such rationalization, through first the conduct of life of the group primarily affected, and then the restructuring of social institutions in a corresponding direction. ....The probability that such ultimate values will initiate far-reaching societal changes increases with the degree of opposition between ultimate ideals that are given to, and are binding upon, the individual and the everyday reality’*

Harvest’s effectiveness then is related to the extent of its opposition to the ‘everyday reality’ of markets, consumers, places and people in the Sydney context, and this forms the ‘backcloth’ and the ‘extraordinary situation’<sup>490</sup>, the ‘cultural’<sup>491</sup> and psychological prerequisites’<sup>492</sup> (Cavalli, 1987: 322) for a charismatizing process with providential qualities. It is thus because, like the Protestant sects that Weber studied, it was not ‘an outlet for longing to escape from the senselessness of inner-worldly activity’ (ibid), another opportunity to explore hedonistic

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490 From Chapter Three two telling quotes: “There is no place for agriculture in the Sydney basin”, and “Why should government view the family farm business as being different to any other small or family business? Why should the community/tax payers be expected to pay for any special support to family farm businesses? Why should they prop up unviable and dysfunctional businesses? Why should we prop up a peasant rural society?”. The extraordinary situation is also more broadly the social disconnection of people from food and land, in my estimation at least as significant a change in human relations with the world as was the shift from hunter-gatherer to agrarian society. For the full hypocrisy in the “why should...” statements above, see Food Inc. (2008) and the ‘way’ corporations manipulate ‘government support’ to their own ends, strategically using neo-liberal rationality and bureaucratic systems, especially the ‘law’.

491 Here they are both what ‘The Hawkesbury’ means and the paradox of modernity with its attendant freedom and meaninglessness.

492 See especially the biographical portraits of Alan, David, John and myself in Chapter Two.

indulgences<sup>493</sup>, but instead became a vehicle for directed and meaningful action in resistance to the immutable logic of economic rationalism. This speaks directly to Jeffrey Alexander's (1987: 202-203) interpretation of Weber's stance on the Iron Cage where he clearly argues that Weber foresaw phenomena that provided a vocational behavioural setting in the modern, secular world, like Harvest. But Weber also said these would be unlikely, that the opportunity to express a calling which 'directly related to the highest spiritual and cultural values' and give expression to 'courageous assertions of freedom' would 'prowl about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs'<sup>494</sup>. While my focus here is on the Weberian individual dimensions, it was Durkheim who identified the supra-individual groupings that would be needed as carriers for these individual needs (ibid), in this case, Harvest<sup>495</sup>.

Harvest allowed technical experts and professionals in DPI and UWS to be empowered in a creative response to a problem situation where departmental policy and structuring (through both jurisdictional constraints and re-definition of acceptable workload) had removed them from the field of action they had been previously instrumental within (agriculture and education). It parallels the example in Barnett et al (2008) of the Bristol City Fairtrade Foundation campaign to gain Fairtrade City status. Rather than a simplistic implementation of neo-liberal processes, Harvest (and the professionals and others who comprise its organisation) 'interpreted' these to its own ends, albeit within the dominant hegemony of an advanced liberalist, rationalist economic state. In this way Harvest created new 'infrastructures of consumer choice' (FGT, markets, open farms, provedoring) and exploited the 'direct injunctions

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493 Although my Cohen analysis of experiential modes (Chapter Four) means this is also possible but frowned upon by the farmer hosts.

494 Alexander quoting from Talcott Parsons' (1930) translation of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p.182.

495 *Food Inc.* (2008) documents the American food system critique, and consistent with the American embrace of Weberian individualistic ethics, its call to action is through individual consumer decision-making. Harvest actors and its supporters understood that there was/is an educative role needed and that cooperative groupings would also be required to balance the power of system players. The same resistance to these as found in the US is felt here in Australia – see for example the Senate inquiry into the dairy industry and the arguments of the retailers and processors about anti-competitive cooperatives of farmers and that they breach fair trading laws.

to individual consumers' (Barnett et al, 2008: 638) in the general media and policies of government about sustainable food systems and food culture 'to re-shape the 'choice sets' which mediate individual consumption behaviour' (Levett et al. 2003 cited in Barnett et al, 2008: 638). Contrary to Barnett et al's suggestion that in re-shaping the actions of consumers there might have been a 'relative indifference' to consumer's subjective motivations in engaging with Harvest initiatives, the Harvest ethic is one where these motivations are of central importance to Harvest's actors because each of the Harvest interventions is undertaken in order to 'help' farmers survive and to exert a distinctly Hawkesbury presence in the face of globalised markets and consumer systems – there is a very subjective and personal involvement in working on the Harvest problematic that is driven by passion. It is important to Harvest's actors that what is important to them is also important to the users of Harvest initiatives. It is important that the consumerist mechanisms Harvest uses, work 'not through the promotion of unfettered hedonism and self-interest, but by making problematic the exercise of consumer choice in terms of various, ever proliferating responsibilities and ethical imperatives.' (Barnett et al, 2008: 640) At the same time they have to manage the dissonance created when these motivations are revealed as 'unfettered hedonism and self-interest' because through this their higher order aims are supported and achieved. There are many kinds of 'sleeping with the enemy' that Harvest and its actors have to rationalise to it/themselves.

So Weber said it was unlikely that such a phenomenon would emerge, and he definitely did not speculate as to where in the systematized complex this form would spring, but in the Harvest case we can see that, paradoxically, it is from the core of the bureaucracy that these actors emerge and coalesce to answer their calling, and to express their individuality; David, from within the ranks of the DPI, John from within the ranks of industrialized agriculture, Alan from within the ranks of Telstra (corporatized public sector), and myself from within the ranks of corporatized academia. Similarly, it was those working in local government, in the health

system, and in the university sector who were most attuned to the issues and who David was able to interest in his initial foray into SAFE, and who joined him around the table in the Penrith Food Project and Hawkesbury Food Program. These technocrats were ideally conditioned as limited by and complicit in the 'system' that was creating the 'problem' and they were 'ripe' for a self-actualizing deviation from their formal rationality where they might express their substantive rationality. For Harvest actors, it is our embeddedness within the rational complex that amplifies our technical knowledge, our 'scientific' understanding of the rational arguments, but which also heightens our sensitivity to the rightness or wrongness of the conclusions that flow from those very scientific understandings, and through this heightened sensitivity, come to form our irrational view, our so-claimed 'erroneous judgement' and our calling. It is as Weber said, that scientific knowledge without volition is an empty trajectory. It is only by being able to sense otherness that we can conceive of some other reality, it is only by being at the rational core that irrationalities can be seen and named, but it is also here that a paradoxical sensibility to these develops, where it's possible to live with both at the same time, and to conduct a revelatory dialectic.

### ***The Iron Cage and the Prisoners' Dilemma***

One of the enduring constructs of Weber's sociology is his speculation<sup>496</sup> that the modern economic world will have the dystopian character of an "Iron Cage", 'characterized by sweeping coercion, practical rationalism, impersonal exchange relationships, and narrow specialization' (Kalberg's introduction to *The Protestant Ethic* in Weber, 2009: 35). This iron cage deprives the individual of those moral and ethical values that define 'the personality', as David expressed it, of "*understanding myself, of re-shaping myself*", leaving them to simply be 'cogs in the machine', and again as David expressed it, "*be creative, or be destructive*". In my thesis, this is certainly what underpins the consumers of Harvest's 'products' in their corporated life, allowing the

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<sup>496</sup> That he did indulge in this is partly attributed by Barbalet (2008) to his 'political education' sub-text in writing the *Protestant Ethic*.

'products' to be positioned by Harvest and perceived by consumers as holding out a softening of the steel hard case.

Through Harvest there is a re-activation of the 'capitalist frame of mind' (Weber, 2009: 431-435). Max Weber identified what he characterised as the malady of modern capitalism, the driver of neo-liberal approaches as a system of economic thought where 'private vices ....under certain conditions, [are] in service to the civic realm' (ibid: 435). Harvest, as a creature of the secular world, is not explicitly informed by any religious or spiritual worldviews (although these have varying influence over Harvest's individual actors), but does en-value the transactions its initiatives aim to create between producers and consumers in moral and ethical ways that set them apart from the 'mainstream' relationship. I am not concerned here to explore the concepts of self-interest that underpin rationality, especially economic. These concepts have been debated by others (see Barbalet, 2012 for instance and the large literature in economics) and while the dynamics of Harvest-contextualised self-interest might add something to these debates, I am not interested in adding to rationalist understandings of economics. I am however, interested in arguments that self-interest 'is the interest an individual has in being someone other than they are, of improving their condition by changing their character, nature or identity' (Barbalet, 2012: 427) and that this is core to what attracts people to Harvest and its economic mechanisms in addition to the neo-classical conceptions of self-interest that inform economic theory and drive commodity exchanges through these mechanisms. As Barbalet (ibid) points out, '[i]n social relations, undiluted self-interest is unfeasible' because of the direct connections between individuals. What dilutes self-interest in contemporary relations between farmers and consumers is the alienation or disconnection they have because of food system structures and dynamics. The chance of a social relation is denied by the systems that have grown to fill the 'space' between growers and eaters, and this means establishing and maintaining trust between growers and eaters is remote.

In recent consumer trust research (Centre for Food Integrity, 2011b) into the perceptions of consumers about today's farmers, the values dimension in generating trust between producers and consumers has the greatest influence in the relationship, with this being the most significant component of what produces 'confidence' in consumers in their relationship with producers<sup>497</sup>. The same research found that '[t]here is an inverse relationship between the perception of shared values and priorities for commercial farms. Consumers fear that commercial farms will put profit ahead of principle' (CFI, 2011a: 10)<sup>498</sup>. The question then is how does Harvest, in setting up the relationship between growers and eaters, bridge this gap in trust and inject principles into the dialogue farmers and consumers have when they transact through Harvest mechanisms? Of course the obvious response is that Harvest initiatives reconnect farmers and consumers and, as outlined in Chapter Four, facilitate the intersubjectivity that relationships offer, and hence the 'chance' to trust. But this doesn't quite explain why the major retailers who attempt the same tactic through their in-store 'relationship' with consumers, remain untrusted by the vast majority of consumers. The difference I propose lies in Harvest's activation of the Prisoners' Dilemma in the service of Harvest's agenda and the needs of growers and eaters to be able to trust, to have confidence in their food suppliers and mutually support each other in a relationship through food.

The Prisoners' Dilemma<sup>499</sup> (PD) is a paradox of acting rationally (see Sainsbury, 1995: 53-72). The Prisoners' Dilemma is predicated, perhaps inappropriately given its scenario of you and I being arrested for criminal acts<sup>500</sup>, on rational self-interest as the only factor in the choice game.

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497 Consumer trust research evaluates the influence of consumer education, experience and training (their competence as a consumer) and the role of verification of claims about farms, farmers and produce with the extent to which consumers and farmers have shared values about these things (consumer confidence in the relationship with farmers). The 'shared values' dimension is the most significant in trust forming and maintenance. See also Sapp et al 2009.

498 This fear has been fuelled very effectively by activists – see the documentary *Food Inc.* (2008).

499 and its related Newcombe's Paradox.

500 The 'dilemma' would not exist if the normative requirements of honesty and our systems of moral and ethical conduct were given effect because these remove the choices and the game. It also confuses our justice systems with ones that simply offer punishment and reward.

The key aspect of it lies in ‘the failure of rationality to produce the best results’ and that rather than being a ‘chance intervention... is a predictable and inevitable consequence of so-called rational reasoning’<sup>501</sup> (ibid: 67<sup>502</sup>). A relationship between Weber’s Iron Cage and the Prisoners’ Dilemma exists because of economic rationalism and the choice games that take place through economic transactions. I think it fitting that these two constructs ‘talk’ to each other so logically, we are all potentially prisoners if Weber’s Iron Cage exists, and he certainly thought it would, but because it exists we also seek out the dilemma, for it’s here that moral and ethical choice resides, where our spirit may be expressed, where the conduct of a good life may be realised in providential terms.

In a Weber-defined, idealised Iron Cage world with its ‘steel hard casing’<sup>503</sup> the paradox of the Prisoners’ Dilemma finds existence because the world’s hyper rationality gives primacy to self-interest<sup>504</sup>. Even in its closer-to-reality form, the ‘system’ preferences rational choice based on self-interest, including that which may be informed by non-rational values. This is encapsulated in what we describe as ‘free market ideology’. The Prisoners’ Dilemma paradox articulates the co-creation of oppositional forces (choices) that Weber described as the substantive irrationality of modern capitalism.

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501 I do not attempt a comprehensive exploration of the PD dynamic in the Harvest context here because that, in and of itself, would constitute another major work involving a knowledge of mathematics and logic that is beyond my capabilities. What I will do is, taking the PD as a well-researched and accepted model (Nee and Ingram, 2001)(even though from a scientific economic perspective it is a poorly predictive one), explore the dynamic as Harvest appears to interact with it, Harvest being a ‘rational’ choice engine that makes the ‘normal’ sub-optimal choice outcomes that are observed in PD experiments, a ‘rational’ outcome and by their virtue, irritate economists. See Field (2001).

502 See also in Hodgson (2009) articles by Field, 2001; Henrich, 2004; Henrich et al, 2001; Bergstrom, 2002 which discuss both the PD and the societal dimensions that influence economically rational reasoning with cooperative outcomes.

503 See Weber (2009) and Kalberg’s notes on page 548 regarding Weber’s original German term and the now famous “Iron Cage” English translation.

504 Of course, all neo-liberal orientations to economics favour this kind of world.



Of course the real world is far more complex and messy<sup>505</sup> making a literal interpretation of the Iron Cage impossible, and with the emergence of post-industrial economy and the post-modern society, there are many more dimensions to the basis of 'rational action' and the way that modern economies and societies work than were postulated by Weber in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Fukuyama, 2003). This is not a point I wish to challenge, rather my interest is in the notion of paradox and what appears to be lacking in the literature about the role of self-observed, centring, moral and ethical drivers of consumer behaviour that defy a rational explanation. Despite arguments that Weber's gloomy predictions of disenchantment were patently wrong (ibid), there still remains the phenomenon of a tension between economic optimization that rationalist ideologies use to explain *homo oeconomicus*, (Vromen, 2001) and that which we see as exemplified in the Harvest case as a rationality informed by non-rational values. I contend that Weber's 'steel hard casing' does constitute the now-accepted foundation of 'normal' choice, and that the existence of the Prisoners' Dilemma paradox is evidence of this, articulating as it does the game theory of competing self-interest in a context where there is an alternative to individual gain maximization.

It is the Prisoners' Dilemma that most reflects the 'setting-up' of a paradox in acting rationally through Harvest because it involves the interaction with other actors and consideration of their choices and values. Harvest creates for producers and consumers what Nee and Ingram (2001: 26) cite from Ullmann-Margalit's (1977) work on the emergence of norms, a choice dilemma and solution that seeks to reward cooperation and punish opportunistic self-interest. As in the Dilemma, higher order<sup>506</sup> and sub-optimal outcomes for producer and consumer is based on the assumption that they are equally 'rational' and think the same, but through Harvest their decisions are informed by value judgements that are, in an Iron

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505 See the many articles in Hodgson (2009) that make the case that neo-classical economic theory is deluding itself if it persists in thinking otherwise.

506 From Harvest's perspective in terms of what 'subscribing' to Harvest ideals means, but also placing cooperative mutual support above self-interested profit maximization.

Cage context, irrational because the choice options are informed by cooperative and/or value ideals. In this sense the choice set is a hybrid of modern and traditional capitalism, re-introducing the relational dimensions of traditional economic forms into a mix with modern capitalist instrumental rationality. These ideals impose transaction costs (Coase, 1960) on the parties<sup>507</sup> and Harvest’s initiatives are the institutional structures through which these costs are generated and monitored. At the same time Harvest’s initiatives deliver decreased transaction costs by removing uncertainty and providing assurance in the trust dynamic between grower and eater, in feeding confidence of the parties in the transaction.

Table 14: Harvest’s Prisoner Dilemma

	Eater trusts	Eater does not trust
Grower trusts	Highest quality produce traded for a fair price <b>1</b> Grower values consumer and their valuing of the grower Eater values the grower for who they are and what they do	Eater seeks price advantage and ‘freebees’ <b>2</b> Grower values consumer but can’t trust their motives Eater does not value grower in terms the grower respects
Grower does not trust	Lowest quality produce traded for highest price <b>3</b> Grower values consumer as source of demand only Eater values grower but cannot be sure they are who they say they are and do what they say they do	Growers and eaters exploit each other for price advantage only Grower/eater relationship is toxic <b>4</b>

Background: Adrian Maguire with customers at the Enniskillen market stall Rouse Hill, 2008

Harvest’s market mechanisms constantly activate the Prisoners’ Dilemma (PD), and Iron Cage rationality constantly threatens to undermine them, and frequently do, leading to less-than-optimal outcomes in Harvest’s moral/ethical terms, and a corruption of its meaningful

<sup>507</sup> See Hopcroft (2001: 279) for a précis on the institutional economists who have contributed to this aspects of economic theory.

purpose in pursuit of a re-enchanted relationship between growers/eaters and producers/consumers.

Producers who seek a direct relationship with consumers invite the PD. Consumers who seek a direct relationship with producers invite the PD. In doing so they make possible the providentiality inherent in the cooperate/trust scenarios that the PD paradox articulates. This is where the spirit resides in capitalism.

Translating the Harvest problematic into the prisoners' dilemma highlights the components of the 'iron cage' and the activation of the paradox. Recall that Harvest's vision and values are underpinned by respect and trust, and a trust that is ongoing, one that is between growers and other growers as well as with eaters. The 'rational' modes for market relations through Harvest are either based on this or not – in other words, the frame of mind of the grower or eater activates the potentials for trust scenarios, they may be seekers or not. The relations Harvest encourages between producers and consumers is one of mutual interest over self-interest, analogous to the 'both don't confess' scenario of the Prisoners' Dilemma, equating to a win/win<sup>508</sup> outcome. In practical application this is where both parties<sup>509</sup> openly and actively seek the best possible outcome for each other as the desired end, a values-informed, *fair* exchange reflecting the principles of co-production<sup>510</sup>, the kind of trading relations characterised by the Protestant Ethic and the relationships bound by the protestant sects that required fair trade (see quadrant 1).

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508 Albeit sub-optimal for the individual grower/eater in a 'profit' maximization sense.

509 The 'parties' can be individual growers and eaters or groups of both players, but if groups they do not have to operate as 'units'. Groups of actors (growers and eaters) will only operate as a unit if they share a common fate, in the Harvest PD for growers this is 'needing to be trusted' and for eaters it is 'wanting to trust' – see Vromen, (2001: 105) for an outline of the significance of individual/group 'natural' selection dynamics that are integral to the Prisoners Dilemma, it is here where potential evolutionary forces may select for survival, and as I argue in this chapter, deliver a providentially advantageous outcome for growers and eaters.

510 As defined by Slow Food.

This is contrasted with the most advantageous outcome based on self-interest where the producer and consumer seek to exploit the other for maximum gain at each other's expense, this being analogous to the 'I confess/You don't' and 'You confess/I don't' scenarios in the Prisoners' Dilemma, equating to win/lose outcomes (see quadrants 2 & 3). In practical terms this is seen in transactions where one of the parties gain at the cost of the other, for instance, growers selling second-quality produce at a premium, exploiting consumer ignorance of quality, or consumers under-valuing produce and therefore paying lower prices than the grower considers fair or reasonable for its quality. Additionally in the case of growers, despite shortening the value chain and capturing more of it for themselves<sup>511</sup>, they do not reduce the prices for food because the very system they seek to bypass, the supermarket system, and in so doing, deliver greater margins for themselves, also sets the prices that consumers pay. There is a lock-in effect despite the alternative channel existing and functioning as it is intended for farmers, because the farmers price their products to match, and in many cases add a premium to, the prices set by supermarkets. Farmers markets should deliver better returns to farmers and lower prices to consumers, but farmer's trade-off the sensible longer term market advantage for short term exploitation of the relationship with their consumers. Farmers are literally and metaphorically 'making a killing', but the long term consequence may be that they are pointing the gun at themselves. Consumer reaction is emerging (Graham, 2009).

The final scenario is that in quadrant 4 where the parties are out to exploit each other in whatever way they can and the relationship is toxic and corrupt in Harvest terms<sup>512</sup>, undermining both the grower's best interests and the eater's best interests in the process producing a lose/lose outcome. This scenario is most like the disconnected and distrustful one

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511 For example, growers can capture five times the value of an apple by selling direct to consumers than they can get by selling into the central markets.

512 Because there is no trust and both parties are using the Harvest market mechanism for cynical purposes.

consumers have with growers via the supermarket system<sup>513</sup> because values and priorities other than those that are mutually beneficial drive the market transactions.

The competitive destructive dynamic described above in scenario 2, where Harvest represents the trusting party and others the untrusting, has manifested in relationships that Harvest itself has had with lose/win outcomes featuring in the relationship. Examples include that with GPT at Rouse Hill, the partnership with Mamre House and UWS in the Farms Project<sup>514</sup>, the relationship between Black Castle and Harvest<sup>515</sup>, the collapse of tourism services in the Hawkesbury following the Council's implementation of competition policy in 2005<sup>516</sup>, and relations with its farmer's market stall-holders<sup>517</sup>.

It is in the mutual trust scenario, what Portes and Sensenbrenner describe as 'enforceable trust' (2001: 130) where providentiality through Harvest's mechanisms is realised for growers/eaters, where in the original Weberian sense, the notion of a 'sentiment of solidarity' rooted in values is manifest and forms his conception of a 'substantive rationality'.

The *form* of providentiality varies by degree. The first is what economists (Simon, 2005) classify as reciprocal altruism expressed via the mutually supporting and future oriented decision

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513 Farmers see consumers as complicit in the abuse they experience in the system, if not consciously, then at least unconsciously and perhaps as Weber postulated, under 'sweeping coercion'. John Maguire (interview 0:42:20) clearly identifies the "mindset" they have as being price-obsessed. However, given my argument below about the system removing the cooperate/trust choice sets of the Prisoner's Dilemma, consumers have only price as the remaining decision criteria, and this is imposed on them by the supermarkets. Consumers too see farmers as complicit in their subjugation to the food system, having in the same way as they, surrendered themselves to forced productivism, serving the system's needs and wants in preference to the customer's. Both point to corporate profits as the 'real' agenda the system is designed to produce.

514 See April, 2006 and 2007; 4th August and 20th November, 2008; 25th March and April, and 24-27 November, 2009.

515 See December 2004; and 2008.

516 See January-February, July, 3 August, 8, 27 & 29 September, and November 2005; 3 April, 2007; 25 June and August, 2008.

517 Where the 'multiple or iterative', what is known as 'long-run multi-shot' Prisoner's Dilemma (see Sainsbury, 1995: 71; and multiple chapters in Hodgson, 2009) has been found in Harvest's relations with others, while-ever there is an ongoing trading relationship with future attendance at markets envisaged by the stall-holder, they honour their commitments to meet Harvest's requirements and pay for their stall. When they decide they will exit the market and relationship, they begin to cheat on Harvest's policies and fail to pay for their stalls, self-interest over-rides mutual interest. Paradox in action.

to transact cooperatively. Self-interest still underpins the reciprocity manifest in trading relations and is maintained as in long-run, multi-shot PD relations<sup>518</sup>. I call this *Gesellschaft* providentiality, providential effects flowing from transactional relations that underpin social relations via *homo oeconomicus*. The second is ‘doing-the-right-thing’ altruism which appears to be a moral expression founded in a sense of belonging and beliefs about people and community, one that has a spiritual dimension which is a self-consciously and self-interestedly personal, centring force. I call this *Gemeinschaft* providentiality, providential effects flowing from an economically-expressed, transactional mode of relation, but not by *homo oeconomicus*. Both forms deliver here-and-now providentiality, and may or may not have dimensions that speak to predestination for people who hold such religious beliefs<sup>519</sup>. The last aspect of these forms observed is what I call the ‘providentiality veil’ – Weberian secular rationality is so pervasive (hegemonic) and politically correct that people will use reciprocal altruism, Type 1 Providentiality, as a veil for what they are actually seeking, that is Type II Providentiality. This is because it is logical and defensible in a secular world where action can be interpreted as cooperation, especially since we think in terms of markets, and market mechanisms are the vehicles through which the motivation for providential action are expressed, a fundamentally *Gesellschaft* thing, but for some it is *Gemeinschaft* in a *Gesellschaft* veil<sup>520</sup>.

There is potential for what Weber identified in his comparative studies of the world religions to work against Harvest-like phenomena in the economy. This potential manifests in the absence of a cognitive tradition of ethical conduct driven by substantive rationality vested in

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518 What Nobel Prize winning mathematician John Nash showed was one of two potential ‘equilibria’ in long-run, multi-shot PD games.

519 Religiously based providential acts are self-interest where the pay-off occurs in the after-life.

520 John Maguire expresses this when he talks openly with me about Harvest as an expression of higher order concepts because of our connectedness through the Harvest mission, but in relations with visitors and customers in his farm gate outlet he shies away from this deliberately saying, “I would never declare it” (referring to his foundation beliefs in Catholic Social Justice and subsidiarity). In my discussions with him this is for two reasons. First, the ‘fall from grace’ of the Church in recent times makes, for John, being Catholic a defensive position, and secondly, that connecting with people on these levels is both personal and beyond the rationality of the situation, that is, the Farm Shop. It is however, the substantive rationality underpinning his reasons for being and the purpose of his Farm Shop.

Christian moral and ethical spirituality. Thus, is it possible that those ethical values that Harvest exploits in order to prosecute its dialogic struggle will have no philosophical, moral or ethical traction for peoples from non-Christian religious and cultural backgrounds. The prevalence of negative interactions between farmers and some Asian and especially Indian groups may be an indicator of such a fundamental clash of value systems. Of course, there may also be underlying racism, xenophobia and intolerance on the part of the farmers, but in talking to them about this it is 'the greed' that they find insulting, implying a trust scenario 2. These farmers have the same response to the supermarkets and their predatory approach to market dealings, they react to the clear lack of ethics in transactions and the consequent lack of valuing of what they do and produce<sup>521</sup>.

At a different scale this dynamic also plays out, as already mentioned in the relations between agents and organisations with whom Harvest has had dealings. And with Harvest itself, the use of the PD as a means of regulating un-trusting behaviours has also been hotly debated, the idea of using the PD relation of purely rational choice to manipulate stall holder abuse of the Harvest ethic at its farmers markets being an ongoing intellectual and practical challenge. As Alan Eagle laments when I have presented this ethical choice as a 'method',

*"You can't put people in a marketplace sometimes, people themselves you know, 'cause it doesn't work like that, OK, it's alright for an egg or a product or something where you let the market 'decide' whether some of those things actually fit, when you put people in there you get all kinds of different things that happen to them, and I think sometimes we lose that, you know, you believe sometimes that the competitiveness of farmers markets should overcome some of the constraints we actually put on them, and I still don't believe, I'm twixt between what you say, let's bring in fifteen vegie growers and let the market sort it out, and I think then we're no better than Coles or Woollies where we've said to them, you know, this is what you've got to do*

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521 Based on their desired trust/trust outcome.

*and there's four hundred people in here and we'll only pay this much, or have that monopoly, but I don't mean monopoly, but somewhere a fair price you know, 'coz I don't believe that some of those ways, so it's that conversation that we've had many times, and then how do we resolve that over time, so we do tests and pull to do that" (Eagle interview Full 2:24:00:00 – 2:25:25:00)*

In an attempt to generalise the grower/eater paradox to a broader scale and context we can view industrialisation with its characteristic specialisations and bureaucratisation (the Iron Cage) separates growers/eaters, producers/consumers. This separation removes the PD from the dynamic between them, and makes each transactional exchange between grower/eater a one-shot exchange, there is no ongoing relation, no orientation to future mutual benefit<sup>522</sup>. In the Australian context, both producers and consumers have come to trust that the middlemen, especially the retail chains in the food system, will always pursue profit-maximization, a no-trust equilibrium. Where middlemen attempt to impose a cooperative/ethical set of relations between producers/consumers through their policies, for example, fair trade or claims about fair returns to farmers and fair prices for consumers, both producers and consumers remain cynical despite extensive media advertising by the supermarket chains and we see frequent media attention driven by this cynicism and stories that fairness remains an issue.

The public distrust and at times open hostility toward middlemen is a consequence of the removal of the trust choice from the producer/consumer dynamic. Producer choice and consumer choice are 'stolen' away, and both parties seek to punish the middlemen because

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<sup>522</sup> This is also where the farmers I have spoken with over the years express deep regret, that they and their farms are no longer seen as part of society's asset base for the future. Even though Wendell Berry may have captured the sentiment well with his "If you eat, you're in agriculture", it is not a sentiment that is any longer widely held by the consuming public. In this way, the farmers see it as a social failure of the food system which has undermined a social norm (what the Centre for Food Integrity describe as 'agriculture's social license') with considerable heritage, creating a dystopic effect. Harvest's actions seek to re-socialize the parties and restore a social pact that farmers see as foundational to their existence and role in society. See also Ellickson (2001) and his classic case of rural dispute resolution in Shasta County, USA, on the importance of rural social norms – of course I am extending the logic to a broader context, but the dynamic of "not being aware of the natural working order" (p. 66) is the same.



they, like those in society who always put their self-interest first, threaten the species<sup>523</sup>. Even though having a trust choice presents a PD, it is in the tussle to choose that we can exercise our spirit in capitalism, to seek providentiality or not, even if this is just reciprocal altruism.

A choice to trust is only meaningful if a choice to not trust exists. If the choice to not trust is imposed, or as Weber expressed it, coerced, by virtue of the way our systems work, as in the food system, then this is a moral offense to the spirit of capitalism<sup>524</sup> as embedded in the PD. Thus the Iron Cage of Weber's future, our current reality, is not just that not-trust/defection rationality dominates our choices, but that the bureaucratic imperatives such systems entail remove the choice dilemma and undermine the spirit of capitalism. This explains why bureaucrats experience what Weber identified as their 'resistance' to the very thing of which they are a part<sup>525</sup>. Bureaucratic systems that gravitate toward and operate on a consistent non-trust basis are held in contempt by their subjects for the same reason – they are 'in' a system where the trust choice is denied, an affront to a sensibility of the spirit of capitalism.

Bureaucratic systems are designed to control for not-trust choices. Accountability systems within these are designed to control for and punish non-co-operators. Paradoxically, bureaucracy removes the PD from human relations, and thus the potential for providential acts and the chance to exercise the spirit. Bringing this together we have the Spirit of Capitalism attributed by Weber as the archetypal force that generated a system of economy and its bureaucratic processes, which is resisted by people because it denies the spirit in capitalism. This is a self-referencing loop.

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523 See Hodgson, 2009 and the many chapters that discuss this evolutionary perspective on cooperative dynamics in human affairs.

524 John Maguire expressly described this as a 'higher order' purpose – see Chapter Two.

525 See Nee and Ingram (2001) for a discussion of this, particularly 'Proposition 6' (p.36).

### ***Harvest and the Prisoners' Dilemma***

Harvest, the organisation, faces a tyranny similar to the Prisoners' Dilemma – it's caught in a bind between being foolishly trusting and ruthlessly calculating. Rational action and the realpolitik compel Harvest and its farmer traders to corrupt the foundation principles of authenticity and integrity of supply. Yet both would be far better off if they did not indulge this rational, but win-lose mode of behaviour. The dilemma can be described as follows.

Harvest market mechanisms (re)create direct relationships between producers/consumers: growers/eaters underpinned by casuistic rationality<sup>526</sup>. This has meaning only because it gives effect to the visitor's/consumer's desire for meaningful action in resistance to the mainstream food system and its dominant players, the supermarket chains. The dehumanizing and predatory character of chain behaviour is antithetic and makes possible a defensible alter-niche which obtains great strength while-ever the supermarkets don't or won't facilitate a trust relationship between growers and eaters<sup>527</sup>. As long as the supermarkets block connections/relations between growers and eaters they are compelled to try other means of building trust, but their profit-maximization imperative constantly undermines their capacity to do so.<sup>528</sup> The angst, distrust and cynicism that producers and consumers express remains part of their role in the food system.

The providentiality of transactions through Harvest is found in this. The rightness of consumer actions makes them meaningful, adding to the learning journey, and contributing to

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526 Pertaining to the conscience and the bounds of ethical choice.

527 What we have seen is the large retail chains presenting a simulacra of this by presenting 'home' brands on the selves, implying that the supermarket is also the producer, or using 'organic' as a proxy for it. They might be able to activate consumer trust when and if they fully vertically integrate and become industrial farmers themselves, controlling the entire food chain, but here again they will face the negative perceptions of consumers and their understanding of the dehumanizing effects of industrial agriculture and its technologies.

528 In the Australian context both Coles and Woolworths have been 'caught-out' misrepresenting the provenance of fresh foods (eg. baked-in-store artisanal breads, fruits and vegetables labeled as Australian-grown when not) or exploiting supply crises (banana or other fresh commodity price gouging that takes place when extreme weather events destroy crops in the growing regions of Australia).

expression of personality<sup>529</sup>. Their feel-good experiences are a dividend of their substantive rationality, but its casuistic character is vulnerable to formal rationalities of the market, as exemplified in the exchange below on a customer experience at a Harvest farmers market.

*'The lady who was sold the Thailand asparagus by [X], at our last market, discussed the issue with me last week. She was still upset as she felt she was doing the "right thing" by buying from a grower. She doesn't feel she will return to [location] market but simply buy from me [elsewhere]. Now to me, that's extremely disappointing. She also asked me why [X] had a sign saying [X] was a genuine grower?...again to me, that's disappointing. How many others has she told about her experience? (farmer/stallholder, 2011)*

The stallholder's behaviour is consistent with an instrumentally and formally rational purpose for being at a farmers market, that is, to maximally exploit the opportunity to sell produce, even if it is not their own. However, it clashes with the substantive rationality that Harvest represents and the legal rationality that Harvest's forms and procedures require of stall holders. It stains relations with angst, distrust and cynicism, and ultimately it's a prisoners' dilemma.

Harvest and its farmer traders purport to uphold standards of business conduct that secures the authenticity of supply for consumers – it's about the investment in delivering, and building of confidence in the 'promise'. Harvest contracts and agreements codify the promise. If it's delivered, strength is gained over the long term and the integrity of all brands will grow, securing their position in markets. The rational and tempting choice is to indulge in corrupt/defection behaviour which will deliver financial and other gains<sup>530</sup> (defection/not-trust scenarios types 2, 3,

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529 In Weberian terms the ethic of responsibility becomes an integral part of personality formation – the self-limitation that goes with casuistic choices, in this context to support Harvest market mechanisms, gives effect to ascetic methodical life practices, and therefore fills the void left by a-ethical consumption. See Schluchter (1996: 38) for the discussion of these ideas as they evolved through Weber and his engagement with the Free Students movements of Germany in the post-WWI period.

530 It was this aspect of credibility and accountability that Harvest's current Chair, Bill Sheilds, was sceptical about and which kept him from engaging in Harvest in the early years. It's not that he was

and 4). For farmers, corruption of principles happens when boosting revenues with sales of non-authentic produce and in efforts to keep other suppliers out of markets where they can reliably meet demand. For Harvest, it is in building market 'offerings' quickly, in generating increased stall revenues through greater turnover of stall-holders, and in 'occupying the turf' that non-authentic 'farmers' market operators would take if Harvest markets didn't occupy them.

In the absence of both formal and mutually agreed 'laws or rules', Harvest and its farmer traders face this dilemma, and it acts as a constant source of mistrust between the parties. Risk attends if either party sacrifices its self-interest for a cooperative outcome ('foolishly' trust by delivering on the promise), and where a self-interested party reneges, the possible retribution (punishment) with future iterations of the game. An initial stance of trust when relations start on a trusting basis is a reinforcing stance, that is, it encourages the return of trustworthy behaviour. However, in neo-liberal and rationalist contexts, deviating from the moral path once taken, is usually forgiven and often privileged by the rewards of competition in win/lose terms. In the Australian parlance, it is seen as 'fair game' to 'have a go' and 'see if you can get away with it'. Paradoxically, in Australian culture, the code of ethics in our concepts of mateship act to counter the ruthlessness of exploitative action, and at the same time embrace it as reasonable behaviour<sup>531</sup>. Here too the behaviour is 'winked-at'.

The Harvest board have to deal with this paradoxical tension constantly. Harvest stallholders and others complain that board members do not have the business acumen or 'expertise' to run 'commercial' operations, when in fact all have business experience and been successful. My observation is that this is a playing-off between an ethically-defined system of praxis and the 'realities' that critics and others 'know' the open and free, but ruthlessly rational

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convinced otherwise, but that he too realized that this dynamic is 'a fact of life', but one that Harvest at least makes explicit and attempts to control through its policies and codes of conduct.

531 There is always an internal paradox at work with traders – the farmer whose complaint is featured above regarding the asparagus was also happy to defect from Harvest when it suited him, being instrumental in the establishment of a competing market and encouraging other farmer stall-holders to defect with him.

market to be. Life experience says dedication to principles and passion to volunteer time and energies, cannot compete in neo-liberal markets and thus requires actors who can and will take the choice to not-trust over the promise when the game dictates.

There's a supreme irony in the internal contradiction that the critics themselves express when they complain about Harvest not upholding its difficult balancing act. Typically, this is expressed as Harvest's failure to police its own Genuine Grower/Producer policies or not audit farmers and their claims of authenticity in supply. The contradiction is as follows.

Critics are themselves traders and at Harvest markets they have a protected status because Harvest limits trader/stall number of each type so that market share is viable. These stall-holding farmers use Harvest markets because they are 'unfit' in the 'mainstream' system, depending on Harvest initiatives and principles to reinforce their defensible niche. Harvest, on their behalf, imposes an irrationality based on principled relations and Harvest's mission. When their fellow farmers cheat on the ethic of responsibility, these same farmer critics retreat behind the rational veil, insisting that Harvest impose its bureaucratic machine and police the market place, on their behalf – they literally want to have the cake and eat it too, hiding behind Harvest's apron and not meeting their scenario 1 type responsibility to openly and ethically engage with their fellow growers. They are quite happy to partake of the irrationality for their own interests, but complain bitterly when wanting Harvest to enforce policies against their fellow farmers, where Harvest's ethic requires that relationships ought to define the response to a breach of ethics. Alan's quote above also talks to this tension. In reflecting on this issue of trust and the kinds of trust (competency, intentional, disclosure and contractual trust) in relations with Harvest's, Alan Eagle observes,

*"I think we're competent in the way we've done things from a Board perspective and our intentions are there, our disclosure's OK, you know, and*

*even though we don't meet our contracts<sup>532</sup> as far as getting the farm gate trails out and all those things, our intentions are right, so it's about the members" (Eagle interview Full 1:46:50:00 – 1:49:35:00)*

### ***Traditional Capitalism***

Harvest's substantive rationality is about relationships with members, but this also positions two interpretations of Harvest's mission against each other; the rational order encouraging open competition in order to develop markets and foster a robust alter-channel market system, against traditionalist economic drivers characterised by keeping markets 'closed' in order to protect a select number of stall holders who typically couch their justification for this in terms of 'we can't supply' or 'we don't have the capacity to attend all these markets'. In other words, Harvest, as Weber's said about traditional economies, is constrained by traditional, rational, individual needs satisfaction over a more formally rational, circumscribed ethic that facilitates a spirit of capitalism. It's ironic that Harvest in expressing a resistance to neo-liberalism in markets, seeks to recreate 'traditional capitalism' vested in relationships as a form of freedom from the Iron Cage of formal rationality.

Harvest's mechanisms for delivering a traditional opportunity are simulacra of those Macquarie used to achieve his vision. The vision is at risk unless circumscribed with a formal ethic. The Genuine Grower policy and protected market rules will simply be instruments for establishing traditional forms of monopoly and regulation, the 'the comfortable old ideal' of traditional capitalism (Weber, 2009: 82), and the vision will be undermined when Harvest's members attain the needs satisfaction they seek, but to the exclusion of those not Harvest members. Harvest will be 'winking at' self-interest.

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532 This refers to the contract to market trails, and especially for those of the original Farm Gate Trail who would later interpret Harvest's expansion of trails into other regions as a breach of contract to support the Hawkesbury, which is where they considered Harvest's loyalties ought to belong.

The corollary can be seen in reaction to expansion of the Farm Gate Trail. Tizzana Winery, an original member of Harvest, did not accept extending the brand and the trail into, firstly the Penrith and Wollondilly regions with the 6<sup>th</sup> Edition map, and then into the Southcoast region with the 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. In their view this was not what Hawkesbury Harvest was set up to do. In an email correspondence Peter Auld states,

*“I am not excited about the move to embrace the South Coast region and firmly believe that the Hawkesbury Harvest is losing it’s [sic] way.” (Auld, 2010)*

The comfortable old ideal defines prearranged, secure, commercial trading relationships and an unchallenging environment. The implied mistrust and sense of moral indignation in Peter’s words are telling. He goes on to say Harvest should “not blur the lines of “Hawkesbury”... as it was originally meant to be’. Here too is another irony because neo-liberal policy programs funded Harvest’s initiatives, at least in the initial or ‘seed’ phases. Harvest established members-based alter-channels in tourism and agricultural commodities, traditional capitalist forms. The anti-competitive sentiment expressed by Harvest farm gate trail and farmers market members is antinomical to the spirit and legal requirements of funded projects, requiring open access for all, and the dissemination of ‘technologies’ developed in accordance with contract requirements.

The farmer-captured value chains Harvest creates ressurect from the palimpsest pre-modern capitalist systems of agrarian, family-based economic entrepreneurialism. It is these that the PD choice dynamic and the possibilities of *Gemeinschaft* providentiality are found. Modern capitalism created the market conditions where pre-modern capitalist agrarian units can find a survival niche, having hung on through industrialisation and the market structures it evolved, and been nearly wiped out by it. These in turn, reveal what needs change in the food

system so growers and eaters regain confidence and a sense of security in their relations. Here again is the Harvest Turn.

Baroness Margaret Thatcher died in 2013. Professor Emeritus Robert Skidelsky quotes her as having said (2013), “Economics is the method. The object is to change the soul”. He went on to conclude that “Thatcherism was a failure” in its own terms, especially if its aim was to be revelatory and enhancing rather than deplete the soul. As a counterpoint, the way Harvest actors speak of their own ‘economic methods’ unlocking the Iron Cage, activating the Prisoners’ Dilemma, and offering up choice dilemmas to the soul, describes a morally informed way of being delivering a creative outcome of Thatcher’s thesis. As John Maguire says, it is the intersection of “*G[g]od, truth, beauty and justice*”.

### ***Providentiality and the Animation Experience***

My principle interest is not in Weber’s thesis as to the origins of the capitalist spirit in Calvinist theology and its logic of predestination<sup>533</sup>, but in what Weber ‘found out’ about the character of such beliefs for the believer. Through Harvest, an irrational choice is economically rational, holding out providentiality for both in an individual moral and ethical relationship. Unlike that proposed by Adam Smith<sup>534</sup>, this is not driven by an individual’s desire for approbation in their present social relations, instead it’s a soul-seeking and soul-enriching mode of being directed at another sphere that serves the soul through a quest to live a good life, and to *conduct* it. Engaging Harvest mechanisms and Harvest geographies has ‘realist *and* transcendental significance’ (Casey, 1997: 241 emphasis added), making possible both intensely

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533 As Jack Barbalet points out, there are many who have offered arguments and even proof that Weber’s thesis that this is the source of the ‘spirit’ is flawed (2008: 146). My own orientation to it is that Weber’s is one plausible explanation but that there must also be others, see specifically Zafirovski (2014).

534 That economic actors are morally constituted (Banks, 2006) and ‘that economic activities were embedded in non-economic social relations and shaped by moral values other than instrumental rationality’ (Anderson and Smith, 2007: 479).



private and public phenomena. Adapting Weber's words (1920: 69)<sup>535</sup> to my own purposes, seekers develop 'an unusually strong character' and hold a 'clarity of vision and ability to act informed by 'highly developed ethical qualities [needed] to overcome the innumerable obstacles', and 'above all the infinitely more intensive work which is demanded of the modern' moral consumer. As David Mason expressed this,

*"Relying on people's commitment and belief system to generate the ongoingness of it you know, it's not because we seek ... social standing you know like a lot of these bloody committees are you know, you don't get onto Harvest so you can add to your CV and say well you know, you do it because you believe in it, it's a bit like, it's a fundamental, it connects with the soul, in my opinion Harvest comes from the heart and the soul, it's almost a spiritual thing, you know it may very well, you can say it's a spiritual thing, and the people who are involved in it, it connects at that level, I actually believe that" (Mason interview Part II 56:45:00 – 57:35:00)*

The innermost core of personality and the necessity of a vocation in the everyday (Hennis, 1987: 63) are bonded spiritually in Harvest for its actors who re-constitute a 'whole', this bringing-together generating providentiality and posterity effects. This is what Weber found as the proto-typical character of the sects. Weber's gloomily predicted that the 'rationalized ordering of the everyday [would] no longer permit this' (ibid), but the Harvest case says otherwise. Bourdieu (1987:126), citing Weber, sheds further light on the 'whole'<sup>536</sup>. For the intellectual (Harvest actors) meaning is an inner need 'more remote from life, more theoretical... It is the intellectual who conceives of the 'world' as a problem of meaning'. Intellectualism, rationalization and systemization 'disenchant' the world, things 'simply *are* and *happen* but no longer signify anything', whereas through Harvest we can embrace the problem of meaning.

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535 Weber originally describing the character of entrepreneurs/capitalists – adapted from Barbalet (2008: 149).

536 In Weber's sociology of religion this characterized salvation.

There's are ironic implications for Harvest's future form. Its sect-ness, its archetypal form and reason-for-being can only 'live on' as a corporatized, bureaucratic form without its originating actors and their passions. This is also 'how' Weber described the legacy of the sects in setting the foundations of modern capitalism. This is the core paradox of modernity. For life-after-the-vision to be ongoing, a bureaucratic, corporatized form is required. Modernity is made possible and defined by such forms, they necessarily involve a loss of soul that Weber called the price of progress, and literally the 'soul' of Harvest is its actors' and those who are drawn to it. Weber's prediction still stands though, loss creates resistance and yearning for what was/is lost and the new forms of 'vehicle' through which some soul can be expressed. Regardless of whether the individual has a religious self, capitalists and consumers acting on spiritual or social motivations from their rational base as *homo oeconomicus* seek the providentiality of socially-informed relations.

In this sense then, actors and consumers of spirit through Harvest are their own portentous palimpsests. Harvest and its initiatives facilitate expression of seeking from within a canvass of individual loss, desire to trust, and meaning-making in the life-world. We seek something that allows the expression of spirit, and it is through moral and ethical choices for consumption that we find such opportunity. As David says, "*you need to be creative or you can be destructive*", some will find it in their tourism experiences, some through philanthropy, others through destructive processes where they really do embark upon a walk-on part in a war. Whatever vehicle, we are seekers of a life conduct with moral dimensions. These human canvasses seek re-writing, seek a dialectic, this is portentous for the spirit and for the soul, and for posterity.

### ***Portentiousness - "Well, It's For Posterity You Know"***<sup>537</sup>

*"I think Harvest is a critical group for the future of our area. I think it is a really effective lobby group at all levels of government. I think it hits the mark in terms of supporting the local rural economy, working to preserve our semi-rural lifestyle and makes a huge contribution to tourism in the area. It is precious and needs to be nurtured otherwise we all lose out."*

There's a strong sense that the providential relations Harvest makes available, builds its legacy in the Sydney story. It's evidenced by the art, tourism, physical and virtual presences, and in having '*ma[d]e the people of Sydney more aware of the importance of Hawkesbury-Nepean as an agricultural region*' (Mason, SFFBN, 1997).

As Alan Eagle says of Harvest's legacy, the 'writing' that will be found on the palimpsest of governance and development in NSW, its archeo-legacy:

*"I think we'll make a difference, we'll be in the archives of all the councils who we've been in with, so and if we search, if Google stays where Google is and all that mechanism stays, there'll be some connections, historical connections around our role, we're in the Mitchell Library as you know, the website's in the Mitchell Library, so those people will look back and say 'These people tried to do this', you know, and if there's another Ian Knowd who comes along and wants to do something else, then it should be a lane for that story, so when your PhD goes forward, it should provide someone with a vehicle about what went well and what can be improved" (Eagle interview Full 2:16:20:00 – 2:17:00:00)*

The 'Harvest Model' legacy should, therefore, be found elsewhere and be codified into the planning and other literature<sup>538</sup>.

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<sup>537</sup> David's conclusion of what Harvest and its rendering through the *Contested Landscapes of Western Sydney* art project was about.

<sup>538</sup> My references point to these 'findings', and as I pointed out in Chapter Two, the academic literature reveals not just similar phenomena, but the consequent shifts in journal titles to reflect the eclectic dynamics and interests of researchers from a diverse range of disciplines in Harvest-like phenomena. In the ten or so years I have been 'studying' Harvest, the concept of 'agro-ecology' has evolved to describe these phenomena.

**Table 15: Harvest and Food Planning Models for Action**

<b>Planning for Food Access and the Community-Based Food System: 10 Key Recommendations</b> (American Planning Association, 2012)	<b>As Expressed through the Hawkesbury Harvest Case (1993-2013)</b>
Partner with and include a cross-section of local government department staff	Established initially in the Penrith Food Project, diffused into the Hawkesbury Food Program and Hawkesbury Cuisine, and then as links with Harvest for each 'project', FGT expansions, and Farmers Market developments
Establish a Food Planning Committee (FPC), coalition, or network of food system stakeholders	Originally via the Penrith Food Project and after Harvest's formation through collaborative relationships with a broad section of community and private sector actors
Actively engage food-related non-profit organizations in the planning development and implementation process.	Hawkesbury Harvest was the hybrid cultivar that emerged.
Partner with local foundations to support community engagement, food assessment activities, and long term coordination.	Harvest partnered with tourism, environment and other food-related organisations – examples: Sydney Food Fairness Alliance, the Fresh Food Bowl Network, HHART, and the Hawkesbury Environmental Network.
Collaborate with a land grant university, university, or college to collect and analyse food access and systems data at baseline and over time.	Initiating actors came from within UWS Hawkesbury, NSW's equivalent of the US Land Grant Universities. The relationship continues with Harvest's membership of the RCE ESD.
Coordinate food systems efforts so that they are mutually supportive and mutually reinforcing.	Harvest was the vehicle through which the Strategy for Sustainable Agriculture (NSW DPI), the Tourism Action Plan for GWS (GWSEDB) and the Rural Tourism Potential of NW Sydney (NWRDO) could be implemented and mutually supporting.
Use food-related actions to achieve open space, transportation, land use, economic development, housing, natural resource, and solid waste goals of local level plans.	Farm gate tourism, farmers markets, food events, open farms, provedoring, quality-of-life promotion in support of retaining rural lands in Western Sydney
Evaluate how existing local policies inhibit or support food access and other aspects of the local food system during the plan development process.	Initially the local thrust of planning to allow farm gate sales with the Hawkesbury DCP, but at the Sydney scale in Harvest's involvement with the Metro Strategy, and then at the national scale through contributions to the BRS study into Drivers of Food and Wine Tourism and the CSIRO Climate Change Flagship
Clearly identify strategy type, time frame, funding source(s), lead agency or organization role and responsibilities, and co-benefits for each plan implementation action.	Harvests 'projects' and their dynamic – see A Bridging Dynamic of Governance and Development
When crafting plan goals and policies, balance and mirror aspirational goals with measurable objectives, indicators, and targets to enable effective plan monitoring and evaluation over time.	Hawkesbury Harvest Vision and Mission, its reporting of outcomes under projects, its dissemination of learning and engagement with critical review systems, including peer reviewed literature.

Harvest-like organisations in other places have similar genesis in the early 1990s. In 2012 (Hodgson) the American Planning Association (APA) released its three-year study into food system planning at the local level. It identified and evaluated the mechanisms for sustainable and equitable food system planning and coordination.

Ten 'key' elements of a planning system encompassing 'food systems' identify all those Harvest brought together to effect change in food planning for Sydney. The table here summarizes the APA findings<sup>539</sup> (Hodgson, 2012: 108-111) and how these 'key' elements were/are expressed in the Harvest case. Of course studies like the APA's do not reflect the time frame over which learning took place when they distil the collective wisdom of planning experience into ideal-typical forms, and hence the capacity of researchers and planners to integrate such 'findings' into our planning systems. Harvest, a local expression of the ten key elements, has worked for 20 years if we include the LGA hosted food planning projects of the early 1990s. Health, agriculture, food and planning learning took this long to penetrate planning orthodoxies and inform planning for healthy communities and sustainable cities. A truly systemic capacity to do this planning still has a way to go<sup>540</sup>. The absence of nothing happened remains.

The APA report also notes that future research would evaluate the intersection with higher level planning strategies such as in Harvest's engagement with the Sydney Metro Strategy, plans for agriculture at the State level, and the National Food Plan along with assessing the implementation and impact of food planning initiatives. The key gaps the APA identified for the US, and which also apply in the Australian context relate to:

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539 Of course Harvest will have had an effect in terms of disseminating its experience through the academic and other literature, starting in 2003 with the first of my conference papers and then later, especially through the food planning dialogue initiated at the World Planners Congress in 2006, through David and his Churchill Fellowship, and the consequent networking of groups and the publishing of papers in which Harvest was the case example. Here again is the self-referencing, double hermeneutic.

540 I note here that 'planning for food systems' is not, at the time of writing (2013), considered part of mainstream planning for cities, but it is gaining currency. The CSIRO Urbanism, Climate Adaptation and Health Cluster and its Health in Sydney Metropolitan Planning research aims to make this so.

- the extent of actual changes in food systems,
- a systemic<sup>541</sup> understanding of the role of state planning on regional and sub-regional planning for food systems,
- the influence of political systems and contexts on development and implementation<sup>542</sup>,
- the consistency and linkages between plans that have an influence over the food system,
- how plans express goals and objectives to achieve outcomes in the food system,
- the lack of research on community food systems around the world.

All of these aspects can be explored through Harvest's empirical experience and some of the 'answers' to these research questions can be found in this thesis. Harvest's continued existence and the expanding landscape of mushrooming alter-channel social forms are a rich field for further research.

### ***A Macquarie Legacy? A Harvest Critique of Planning***

Macquarie's need to harness a chaotic and feral milieu in the early days of the colony for nation-building left a legacy of Fertile Ground upon which Harvest was spawned. The state is still harnessing these forces to address peripheral group agendas that mainstream economic policy and directions do not support. The State's stance is neo-liberal, its policy aims are about the modern industrial complex and its values. By facilitating Harvest, it does what Weber said it ought to do, that is, stay out of the dynamics of the market and at the same time intervene when 'corrective' thrusts are called for by community. The key difference between the Macquarie era and this one lies in whose vision it is. Rather than the authoritarian regime, it's Harvest that conceives the vision of an agrarian civil society as part of the Sydney story today.

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541 The APA report uses the word 'holistic'.

542 At the CSIRO workshops held in Sydney (November, 2012) under the Climate Change and Adaptation Flagship study into food systems, this political dimension was identified by participants as the most important dynamic that food system planning needed to untangle if planning for a food system was to find a place in state and national level city planning systems.

The irony, perhaps even a paradox is that Harvest mechanisms create feral channels of market activity that are difficult for monolithic economic groupings to compete against and control, simultaneously articulating a values-based dialogue between producers and consumers invoking the visionary legacy of Macquarie. The visionary character of Harvest's agenda and the modes of engagement with NSW 'publics' through fundamentally self-interested rationalities, exhibit remarkable similarity to Macquarie's methods in pursuit of a development agenda.

This dynamic highlights the importance of government Weberian corrective thrusts in making possible the bootstrapping of social groupings like Harvest. Harvest's farmer constituency were left with no capacity to initiate a new direction in economic history in the face of grossly unbalanced power and market structures along with a prolonged period of resource depletion, including for many, their land assets. The spirit was willing but the body was weak. The kind of farmer they were implied a plurality of possible development paths. In Weberian terms, the normally healthy antinomial dichotomy between market and state that identifies innovative, corrective thrusts, had withered and become a stunted remnant unable to imagine pluralities. Government's equally stunted (perhaps more kindly described as paradigmatically constrained) development programs did not produce the corrective thrust in and of themselves, but Harvest did re-imagine them to create plural and alternative paths via its 'technologies'<sup>543</sup>.

In the Hawkesbury, despite Macquarie's best laid plans, his only means to an end in building an agrarian foundation for civil society, was to make best use of the stock of people he had at hand, and Darwinian forces of self-interest. For Harvest actors, despite their beliefs about agriculture and the role of The Hawkesbury in the Sydney story, their only option was to make use

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543 This is the same scenario that Aldo Leopold warned about in relation to land stewardship and a 'land ethic' in his seminal work, *A Sand County Almanac* (1949), and especially his essay titled "The Land Ethic". He warned that 'we must strive collectively to create institutions which counterbalance the singlemindedness of the profit motive in a capitalist society' because 'the good steward and the small farmer are losing the choice to practice the land ethic to the combined pressures of a growing international agribusiness industry' (LaFreniere, 1993: 4) and the rural lifestyle developments encroaching upon both prime and marginal lands.

of the stock of people at hand and neo-liberal ‘technologies’ on offer to shift the hearts and minds of Sydney-siders. Of course, we now have 20/20 hindsight and it seems others along the way could/did see where things were heading but were powerless in some way to effect a change. Macquarie himself, Fitzgerald, Tate and others were critical of what I describe as a lock-in syndrome of development in the basin. What has been written into our landscape had portentous origins, but like all manuscripts, what is read into them is often left to interpretation and the fashion of the times. I am in good company in presenting the thesis here, but it’s very rarely been heeded, and indeed, has most often been unpalatable.

### ***Path Dependence and Planning***

In 2006 Altuğ Yalçıntaş published an article critiquing the dominance in economics, sociology and other domains of human thought of purist concepts such as path dependence and Utopias. Path dependence explains why we didn’t end up in the ideal condition, and Utopia is a powerful, defining, yet deluding and unattainable construct that requires explanations using path dependence<sup>544</sup>. Yalçıntaş’ argues that dumping ideals like Utopia will liberate us from ‘tough-minded philosophy and economics’, and that they do not reflect the reality of geography on the ground anyway. Addressing his first point, the paradox is that without these ideals and tough-minded world-views, we are unable to critique what really is and form aspirations for what ought to be. It’s about ‘other’ and substantive rationality and aspirational planning. I have described at various stages throughout this thesis relations of ‘path dependencies’ and that Harvest’s social context is informed by utopian ideas and their dystopic counter-realities. Irrational utopian conceptions were conceived within the bureaucratic complex and informed resistance to paths in it, manifested in forms without, the creative tension generated within the complex and mind-sets.

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544 Another self-referencing loop.  
Ian Knowd



On the second point and contrasting Yalçintaş' view (2006: 56), the Harvest case shows a 'reality of geography' mapped by path dependencies and physically manifested in The Hawkesbury expressing how 'economy, society or intellectual traditions' play out in landscape. At the same time, I agree with Yalçintaş' observation (ibid) that the importance of the 'theory of path dependence is that it points to the way a technological design or an idea such as 'truth' may stop functioning well, although it may have been useful within certain contexts in the past'. Harvest is an expression of a truth that stopped functioning well after it was expressed for the first time in an Australian context, the something that happened when nothing happened to account for the self-destructive flaw in Macquarie's grand plan, his fall-back on self-interest as the mechanism for progress and change. Colloquially, it came back to bite itself on the bum.

In the light of the Harvest actor's stories, there are 'small events' (Yalçintaş, 2006: 55) that set paths of convergence, and the most significant being David's galvanizing moment in 1993, the Department of Lands bloke's truth statement about agriculture in the Sydney basin. This was an incidental and insignificant *casual* event in the sidelines of Sydney's path dependence of urbanisation. Small events influencing path dependence 'are usually neglected, sometimes overlooked, and erroneous or contingent' and frequently 'ironic' (ibid: 59). Nobody else seemed bothered by what the Lands Department bloke had said, David's question to the plenary was an erroneous enquiry in the context of a dominant view which David could not understand. 'We may have to confront undesirable – 'inefficient' as economists have called it – outcomes in the future as a consequences of individual preferences in the past' (Yalçintaş, 2006: 55). David's visceral response to the lock-in described by the Lands Department bloke created a paradoxical counter lock-in of geographically referenced resistance within the institutions that were part of the problem, the State authorities determining policy for development of the Sydney basin. David acted on his own 'dissatisfaction with the present state of the evolution of an institution' and began to manifest a 'complaint about the historical condition of such institutions' (ibid: 56).

He expressed this through Harvest, citing the ‘truth’ of Sydney’s promiscuous urbanization had stopped, had never ‘functioned well’, although he could see it continued to be ‘useful within certain contexts’, that is, the myopia of planning for the city or Sydney. For him this ‘path dependence’ is a *‘pathology’*. It referenced its internal contradictions. Twenty years on, the dialectic continues, Harvest’s existence being marker of, and pointer to, its *causal* significance in the dialogue.

The ground was ripe for an alternative form of developmental agency and action, one that neo-liberal ideologies hold up as the model for democratic development (Kelly, 2008), but paradoxically, one which its bureaucracies cannot deliver. What they can deliver is ‘transfer of technologies’, ‘assistance’ in the broadest sense of the words, but the technologies within the arsenal of mainstream agriculture agencies did not include alternative market channels, tourism<sup>545</sup> and approaches that placed the actors in the situation above the technical experts. What dominated was *‘pig people, not people people’* technologies.

In contrast, Harvest’s learning journey reinterprets Gibbon’s (1997) expression where he says experts are traditionally ‘on-top’ in the dynamic of expertise in any given planning context. Instead they met Forester’s (2008) prescription that they be ‘on-tap’ if ‘Planning for Real’ is to occur, and more crucially, expertise was not just on-tap, but ‘on-topography’. Harvest’s expertise was physically and intellectually located in the cultural landscape of the place in which they would, and wished to work, with all the social, political and other characteristics/ complexity/ messiness that implies. ‘Experts’ from various backgrounds voluntarily (this is important) came to be ‘on-tap-on-topography’, having freedom of agency (Sen, 1999) to act as co-learners, in context, in real time. In this way ‘we’, Harvest’s actors, performed ‘topoanalysis’ (Tilley, 1994:15), articulating how and what constituted Harvest’s self-identity through place.

This was not a *“pig people”* situation and highlights the salience of the German Historical

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<sup>545</sup> Recall it was not until 2009 that ABARE commissioned its study into the *Drivers of Food and Wine Tourism*.

School's critique of economic thinking<sup>546</sup> (Forstater, 2007) that economic policy and planning demands contemporary groundedness.

Groundedness is the product of independent participatory action through Harvest. Lo Piccolo (2008: 190) asks "How does one conduct an 'inclusive' research in such a context, starting without any real request by neither institutions nor disadvantaged groups, and consequently exploiting just our own academic role?" This phenomenology is an answer, and how I came to it is part of the phenomenon. It came to be in the absence of the usual consensus between the state, institutions and the subject about the need for research of this kind. Harvest was an un-asked question and internally references fundamental failings of neo-liberal planning systems, the political and social systems they serve, and research agendas they pursue.

It illuminates the black hole where a communicative ethic demands knowledge of this kind be generated and made available, but is not formally rational. There are interesting parallels with Lo's Palermo case (and no doubt others from around the world where they have been documented) where an historic attitude of subjugation to rule leads to a cynical use of sustainability and Agenda 21 processes. Planning processes, especially consultation with community is done as a method of defusing dissent and presenting the appearance of inclusivity, what we call a garbage-can process. The Metro Strategy process as far back as the Cumberland Plan and despite its more contemporary consultative processes did not reflect growing community concern and influence planning for agriculture. Putting aside the realities of manipulation, there is always the challenge of 'translating' one form of dialogue (participatory knowledges) into a 'good plan' where these knowledges inform the rational instrument (MacCallum, 2008: 326), but in this case, Harvest and my research came about due to a clear absence of 'mediating between past and future' (ibid: 327) that good planning is supposed to

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<sup>546</sup> Gustav von Schmoller (1838 – 1917), one of Germany's leading economic thinkers of the 19th and early 20th Century dismissed the disconnected and theoretical conceptualisations of economics as failing to account for the dynamism and locatedness of socio-economic phenomena in their contexts and with their respective histories.

perform. It took the efforts of David and others like him in mounting arguments with Sydney-siders and producing pressure from outside institutions for a change to occur.

The 'Forum', *Sydney's Agriculture – Planning for the Future* of December 17, 2008 was an invitation-only audience with Agriculture and Planning ministers' representatives and bureaucrats, and it formally set an agenda to have agriculture explicitly considered in the Metro Strategy. It expressed a new form of dialogue but one still institutionalist in nature. It was a positive indicator of a changing approach. An Agriculture Reference Group was formed and began contributing to the planning process. Harvest and a number of other 'industry groups' were members.

With the election of the O'Farrell government in 2011 the status of all plans and community consultative committees was put in limbo. In 2012 the Agriculture Reference Group was reconvened to be informed that a new Metropolitan Planning strategic process was being implemented<sup>547</sup>. This new process basically wiped the slate clean of previous contributions and determinations and adopted a 'simpler, more accessible and better geared to the target public' approach, implementing a 'top-down steer' form (Pour la Solidarite', 2006) of institutional participatory democracy including the Government's 'Have Your Say' web portal and communications strategy. The ARG and any interested party were free to have their say, but it was now open invitation to respond to a planning draft and all preceding submissions on the place of agriculture in the Metro Strategy no longer applied.

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<sup>547</sup> This was particularly frustrating for the members of the Agriculture Reference Group formed after the Forum in 2008. The ARG and many of the representatives for agricultural interests in the Basin, including Harvest, had made submissions on the Sydney Metropolitan Strategy in its various renditions through the 1990s, 2000s and in 2010 only to be told by NSW Planning that the O'Farrell government (elected in 2011) had sent the planners back to start again. This was justified as a process that would ask Sydney-siders what they wanted Sydney to be like rather than the technocratically determined proposals that had been formulated over the preceding decades, albeit with formal consultative processes informing the strategy-making. It was, ironically, an actual instance of the NSW government treating planning for the Metro Strategy as a *tabula rasa*.

The planning process continues and the latest (2014) language around agriculture in the Basin talks about Metro Rural Areas. The challenge remains as to what and how agriculture can be accommodated in the Greater Sydney city of the future. Harvest remains in the dialogue and where it can, activates its dialectic in the hope of producing a richer and more nuanced vision of what the future ought to hold for farmers and farming in the Basin.

### ***Final Reflections On A Modern Parable***

Harvest is a paradox because it mirrors its opposites and involves self-referential loops – the tourism phenomenon references urbanised Sydney, interest in connecting with our food sources references the disconnection from our food sources, Harvest as a planning response references the planning non-response in the system, Harvest’s perceived value as an authentic, credible and philanthropic actor references the perceived lack of integrity in these terms within the established neo-liberal structures at local, state and federal levels. It is in the documenting of these that this study contributes to a sociological understanding of community-based phenomena.

Studying the Harvest phenomenon has been a learning journey and metaphorically like Harvest’s flagship ‘product’, the Farm Gate Trail. Like the tourists who head out into Sydney’s rural hinterland in search of a country experience, I have travelled with my Harvest co-conspirers on a journey of discovery about what emancipation means in the Harvest context. We have documented the obvious world from a perspective that is theorizing in the original sense. With the same purpose as Greek *theoria* (Burnet, 1920), and in something akin to Cobbett’s *Rural Rides* (1912), we have journeyed around the basin in time and space, and engaged the senses viscerally and intellectually in an activist critique of modernism and neo-liberalism. Our rural rides are characterised by an eclectic mix of themes, data and perspectives, they defy the ‘pinning down’ that traditional research demands, and illuminate openings to labyrinthine

threads of further questioning, portals to further exploration, and potential trips through the looking glass.

The writing-up of this journey has its own paradoxicality. The Harvest phenomenon can only, within the paradigms of 'higher learning' that doctorates exemplify, be articulated through the self-referential processes that academic writing entails, and through the languages of academia and expert knowledge. I recall a conversation with Dr Wendy Holland<sup>548</sup>, before she became such and while on her own journey to write up her PhD thesis about her own story, that there was a tension and paradox created for her in having to academically codify her story in order to make it known in the Western realm of knowledge. It required a discounting of other ways of expressing it and perhaps a betrayal on the part of the investigator of the very people and stories they seek to have accepted into the pantheons of knowledge. The privileging of knowledges in certain forms in this way detracts from the richness that the stories inherently have if the personal were to be privileged as much as the objectification of it. I have a strong sense of this paradox myself in codifying and explicating the Harvest story in order to make it known in terms of the mainstream concept of theory. I have gone beyond a positivist mission in reporting 'what' has occurred and interpreted 'why' it did, transforming impotent data into a teleological instrument, doing as Weber, Friere and many others have done with their 'research', performing political education in the telling of *my* Harvest story. I am however, acutely aware that this expression of Harvest is more remote and difficult than a Farm Gate Trail experience, or attending a farmers market, or reflecting on the exhibits in *Contested Landscapes*, but then I am just meeting my inner need for meaning that's 'more remote from life, more theoretical' conceiving 'the 'world' as a problem of meaning' (Bourdieu, 1987 citing Weber). While my intellectualisation and rationalization paradoxically 'disenchants' my world, the things that

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<sup>548</sup> Wendy's thesis is titled '*Performing Multiple Identities: The complexities of an aboriginal family history*'

simply *happened and are*, now signify something transformational, through Harvest I embraced the problem of meaning, and it is providential.

Of course the story has not ended, the actors in this passion play continue to develop the plot and act out in the theatre of community development in Sydney's rural hinterland. The 'waves' (Bawden: 2005) of learning Harvest participants ride are paradoxically a 'rolling wave' of development (Kelleher, 1998 citing Rutherford et al, 1967 describing Sydney's promiscuous urbanisation) through Harvest. As a living experiment and example of local activist engagement with global issues at a local scale, Harvest promises to continue to challenge and inspire its host community with fables about land, food and farming that resonate profoundly in the current era.

Harvest is a new writing on the landscape of the Sydney basin. It speaks loudly to the portentous power of previous writings of the land, and of the philosophies and 'languages' used in those past writings. Harvest's self-referentiality is vested in those writings. The host community's sense of itself, and Harvest's actor's sense of themselves form the language of thought, action and expression through which the writing is being done. As a postmodern phenomenon, Harvest draws on the intensely located writings of cultural landscape in the Hawkesbury, and globalised themes that firstly allowed expression of community concern about food and farming, and then gave it new language with which to make the messages commonly, and globally relevant and understood. Harvest makes communicative connections meaningful in multiple contexts, realizing sympathetic understanding between Harvest's community of interest and others around the world grappling with sustainability and the challenges wrought by global changes in the biosphere and human affairs. In this sense it's a little story with big messages. It is a loudly resonating allegorical parable of our post-modern era with parabolic, vortical, fractal, Mandelbrotian and mandala effects revealing layered, hierarchical and looping dimensions.

Harvest activates the notations etched into the Sydney basin palimpsest by all the other composers and conductors of the determining canon to construct its own post-modern fugue.

This was Harvest's aggressively placist rendition of an 'enormously important public construction project, the "identity-making" of individual regions' (Horne, 1996). Harvest's emphasis on locatedness and its activation of farming heritages are key characteristics of its post-modernity. Its principle projects are about the links between people within and without its region and *their* links to *their* food system, one that they have become alienated within. It is about *their* everyday life and the chance to exercise moral authority over *their* role in a local economy, expressing *their* allegiance to *their* place, and in so doing, expressing a sense of place and personal commentary on the forces of globalisation and the hegemony of industrialised systems.

This placistness expresses The Hawkesbury's agri-culture. It invokes soil-based farming as the real thing, a fusion of nature and human action creating tamed nature, a non-destructive dialectical expression of both mastery and subjectification, for both nature and humans. It is multidimensional and multi-layered, one that reveals an interplay between humans and nature, humans and our food systems, and humans and modernity as 'mutual condition[ing]' (Brady, 2006: 5) of each side of the argument in order to create something different, but more than simply combined aspects of argument, instead a Hegelian synthesis via Harvest's reconceptualising our relations with food and farming.

So will this explication of the Harvest phenomenon prevent future 'failures' in planning and governance? I doubt it. There will be lessons and corrections made addressing the immediate context but system complexity and dynamics make further failure almost inevitable. From a human survival viewpoint, perhaps we do need the creative tension, the 'creative destruction' that economists describe to maintain our own capabilities in drafting new and improved futures.

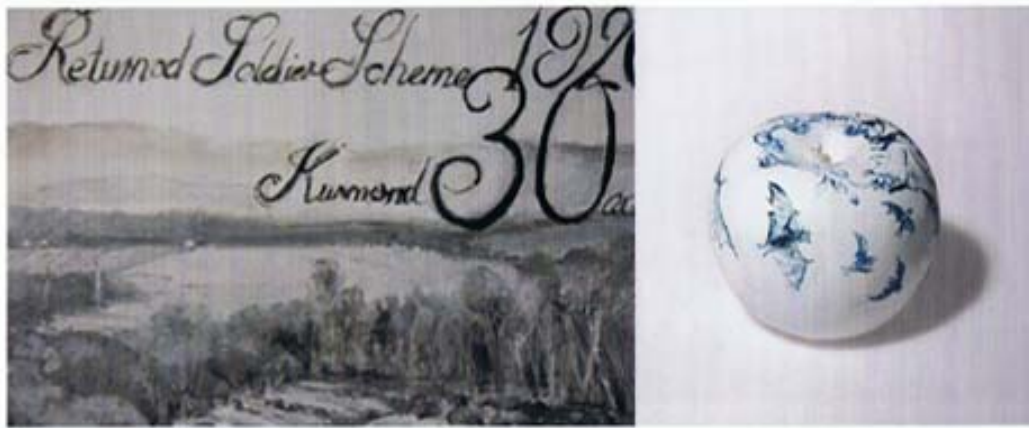


However, if we see Harvest as a new ‘temporary equilibrium’ (Teisman & Klijn, 2008: 297) created in a context with self-organising characteristics by autonomous actors, there are ‘new perspectives’ to be gleaned from the Harvest case for behaviour of planners and public sector management. Not least of these is a greater respect for and sensitivity to the emergence of outlier trends, the observation and monitoring of these trends, and capacities of reflection-for-the-future in professional planning praxis. One of the salient lessons for us in the Harvest case is that our existing planning paradigms remain afflicted with crippling path dependency and lock-in dynamics. As I noted in Chapter One, in an ideal world it would be nice to think we could plan emergent phenomenon like Harvest out of future scenarios, because we had planning systems good or fit enough to anticipate the dynamics that spawned it.

The centering of the local in the rich picture presented here, the thrusts at ‘relocalisation’ Harvest mechanisms activate, point to a fundamental questioning about how we implement sustainable development. In the global, industrialized, bureaucratically managed and scientifically communicated vision of sustainable development, place and the local have little import in weighing up what the ‘optimal’ use of space and resources ought to be. The local is too corrupted with placist notions, as Harvest FGT maps reveal, with farmers and faces, people and places, it asserts values dimensions that inject irrationality into decision-making. The catch-call of SD is ‘act locally, think globally’, but while-ever primacy is given to a formally rational assessment of what this should mean, there will remain a conceptual incompatibility between a local expression of SD and the global complex with its corporatized, industrialized and abstracted, non-placist preferences. What Harvest has attempted is to generate a substantively rational SD in Sydney, a substantive placistness in context. What it confronts is a formally rational interpretation, and from Harvest’s perspective, it’s a poorly informed and fallible one at that.

The last word on this telling of the Harvest story is from John Maguire. In my interview with him he characterised the situation for which Harvest was an answer, and the situation it faced in late 2012 as 'Quo Vadis'. At its most literal this is a simple question, 'where to from here?' At Harvest's genesis, this was the 'timeless' social justice action that it embarked upon and the harnessing of tourism and agriculture to prosecute the Harvest cause. In 2012 the same 'timeless' approach remains a true path, but John believes that there has been a shift in the forces at work affecting agriculture and that Harvest now needs to find new ways of tackling the situation that go beyond the tactics it has used so far. He did not know 'where to from here?' on this count.

For John there is often a religious dimension and level of meaning to be found. By invoking Quo Vadis, he references its usage in Christian tradition regarding Saint Peter and his meeting with Jesus on the road out of Rome. Peter is fleeing threat of crucifixion at the hands of the state. Peter asks the risen Jesus 'Quo Vadis?' Jesus' reply is "*Romam vado iterum crucifigi.*" ("I am going to Rome to be crucified again"). According to the Acts of Peter, this gives Peter the courage to return to Rome and continue his ministry, and to eventually be crucified. John's use of this alludes to the role of the state and its bureaucracies in persecuting agriculture through neo-liberal approaches and to Harvest, the quality of the cause, its spiritual dimensions as well as the worldly ones, perhaps not in its current form, but being a vehicle, a carrier through which its mission might continue to be prosecuted and through which farming and farmers will gain courage, and express the spirit.



Christine Shoji  
Lost forever 2010  
180 cm x 63 cm  
Mixed Media

"Once agricultural land is gone, it is lost forever" John Maguire, Enniskillen Orchard, 2010.

There are many threats to productive land in the Sydney Basin. Natural causes such as plagues of lorikeets and fruit bats, suburbanisation, Government policies, the subdivision of land and more recently the import of overseas fruit are all major threats. This is represented by the apples painted like Ming porcelain and the proportional representation of land sizes in the canvases.

Original photographs have been sourced which show the landscape at the time.



**Portent in the palimpsest: Land, expressing the values of our markets, and markets for our values.**

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Fresh Fruit and Vegie Stall, Luddenham, Western Sydney, 2010. Photograph: John Reid



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