

A HISTORY OF LOCAL FOOD IN AUSTRALIA 1788-2015

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Abstract

This study investigates the history and evolution of the concept of 'local food' in Australia from the late 18th to the early 21st century. It does so by examining and explaining the meanings attached to and conveyed by local foods within their social-historical context. This is the first academic inquiry into the history of local foods in Australia and thus it makes an original contribution to the fields of Australian history, food history and marketing studies. The thesis argues that a preference for local food did exist in the post-1788 environment and supports this argument with the identification of various factors that were responsible for distinguishing local foods in Australia, including government intervention, industrialisation, marketing and the desire to develop a cultural identity separate from Britain, promoting a fierce independence reflected in the production of branded Australian-made products starting around the time of Federation. Using a history of commodities approach to link the production and consumption of local food products in four case studies, the main forces driving the connections to local foods are documented. The thesis contends that definitions of 'local' and understandings of the benefits associated with local foods have clearly shifted over time and the changes in meanings make it confusing for today's consumers, meaning there are a number of fundamental uncertainties relating to how the distinctive characteristics of local foods may be determined, and how the special end qualities of such products may be understood or identified.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name in any university or other tertiary institution and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis investigates the history and evolution of local foods in Australia from the late 18th to the early 21st century by examining and explaining the meanings attached to and conveyed by local foods within their social-historical context. This is the first academic inquiry into the history of local foods in Australia and thus it makes an original contribution to the fields of Australian history, food history, marketing studies and food studies. The thesis argues that a preference for local foods did exist in the post-1788 environment and supports this argument with the identification of various factors that were responsible for distinguishing local foods in Australia, including government intervention, industrialisation, marketing and the desire to develop a cultural identity separate from Britain, promoting a fierce independence reflected in the production of branded Australian-made products starting around the time of Federation. A review of the literature connected to the general history of food production and consumption in Australia is provided in each chapter, drawing attention to the contextual evidence that illustrates the changing meanings of local foods throughout Australia's history as a settlement. Using a history of commodities approach to link the production and consumption of local food products in four case studies, the main forces driving the connections to local foods are documented. The thesis contends that definitions of 'local' and understandings of the benefits associated with local foods have clearly shifted over time. It also aims to establish a contextual framework within which other detailed, single country studies may find wider points of reference by using a similar analytical approach.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the subject matter and the nature of the research problem and explain the broad investigational approach adopted. The chapter begins by explaining the motivation of the project by examining the breadth and variety of popular conceptualisations of local foods along with an overview of their economic and policy contexts. It then proceeds to identify the gaps in the literature which render the history of local foods worthy of investigation. This is then followed by a statement of the research questions and the structure of the thesis, incorporating a description of each chapter. The chapter concludes with a summary of the methodology adopted to undertake the research, in particular a history of commodities approach.

Popular Contemporary Conceptualisations of Local Food

Previous scholarship indicates that consumer desire for local food in Australia is a new trend,¹ but this view is historically inaccurate. There is much evidence to suggest that the desire for local food existed from the time of First Settlement in Australia. However, the definitions of local food have changed over time, and these shifting definitions are a key point of focus in this project. In more recent years, individuals and groups specifically related to the ethical food sector have emerged, including retailers, processors, producers and consumers, who distinguish local food products by their special characteristics sometimes related to ideological concerns. Thus, criteria such as food miles, sustainability, community and/or producer support, animal welfare, health, safety, quality,

¹ B. Cuthberston and N. Marks, 'Beyond credence? Emerging consumer trends in international markets' (Victorian Department of Primary Industries, Agribusiness Group, May 2007). <http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/5980/2/cp08cu01.pdf>. Accessed 27 October 2015.

seasonality, spirituality and methods of production have become prominent in the food media in discussions of local food.² Other factors reinforcing the current desire for local food include Country of Origin Labelling (CoOL), marketing and branding, education, and government intervention and support, however all of these elements were connected to local food in Australia's past. Foods also may have other distinctive attributes, such as geophysical characteristics related to their locale, which may be produced by a unique combination of circumstances in the physical environment or by the employment of particular customary production methods of the local population (or both).³ The explosion of premium specialty foods carrying local, organic, and Fair Trade associations and/or certifications is defining "new and rapidly mainstreaming spaces in the food economy", known as 'Alternative Food Networks' (AFNs). Within AFNs, it is claimed that the production and consumption of food are more closely tied together spatially, economically, and socially.⁴

Nutritionists have also championed the philosophy of eating closer to home as part of a move towards dietary guidelines that promote sustainability, contending that if food is collected from its point of production within a few hours of harvest, then it could be expected that its nutritional quality would be high.⁵ Further, an increasing amount of research associates health benefits with community gardens, such as improving quality of life, providing opportunities for exercise, and increased consumption of fruits and vegetables.⁶ Other proponents of eating closer to home include advocates of the '100 mile (160km) diet' and author Michael Pollan, whose primary tenet is "Eat food. Not too much. Mainly plants".⁷ Slow Food is another international movement that seeks to reverse the impacts of industrialisation and globalisation through a turn to local, traditional, and quality foods. Founded in 1989 by Carlo Petrini, it is based on the concept of eco-gastronomy, and its central tenet is pleasure in "good, clean and fair" food.⁸ These bodies and advocates herald a growing awareness of the changing nature of the food supply and have implications for newly evolving policy objectives in food related sectors.

Another key point of exploration for this thesis is that there is no single, generally accepted definition of local food. Some definitions take a geographical approach, but these are often vague and range from one or two kilometres from their point of production or consumption, to hundreds of kilometres,

² See: Susan Chant, "The Ethical Consumer – Toward a New Definition" (Masters' Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2008).

³ Locale here is defined as "a locality, especially with reference to an event or occurrence taking place there". "locale, n.", OED Online (Oxford University Press. September 2015). <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/109551?redirectedFrom=locale>. Accessed 10 November 2015.

⁴ D. Goodman and M. K. Goodman, 'Food networks, alternative', in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (2009): 208-20.

⁵ J. D. Gussow, 'Dietary guidelines for sustainability: Twelve years later', *Journal Of Nutrition Education* 31 (4) (1999):194-200; G. Edwards-Jones et al., 'Testing the assertion that 'local food is best': The challenges of an evidence-based approach', *Trends in Food Science and Technology* 19 (5) (2008): 271; R. T. Hirsch, et al., 'Vibration of fresh fruits and vegetables during refrigerated truck transport', *Transactions of the ASAE* 36 (4) (1993): 1039–1062; G. Goldberg, ed., *Plants: Diet and Health. The Report of a British Nutrition Foundation Task Force* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003).

⁶ J. Twiss et al., 'Community gardens: Lessons learned from California healthy cities and communities', *American Journal Of Public Health* 93 (9) (2003): 1435-1438.

⁷ See for example: Alisa Smith and J. B. MacKinnon, *The 100 Mile Diet: A Year of Local Eating* (Random House, 2007), and M. Pollan, *In Defence of Food* (New York: Penguin, 2008): 1.

⁸ Carlo Petrini. *Slow Food Nation. Why Our Food Should Be Good, Clean, and Fair* (New York: Rizzoli International, 2007).

to a state or territory, or even can be defined in terms of a country or continent.⁹ Other definitions do not depend on a particular radius, but instead define local food as based on the connections between food producers and consumers.¹⁰ The types of products associated with local food vary greatly, ranging from raw (fresh produce at farmers' markets or grocery stores) to highly processed foods (branded, iconic, stereotypical Australian-made foods, available for purchase at large supermarkets), and the market categories they belong to also range from artisan-made produce appealing to niche market consumers, to highly commercial products that appeal to the mass market. However, in each case an assertion is typically made that the special or distinctive characteristics of these products are linked in some way to the locale from which they originate. Thus the resulting end products are imbued with various meanings for the consumer that in part relate to the assumption that 'local' has come to be a proxy for quality.

Methods of production can also convey a sense of local identity; the particular practices and processes by which a food is produced may demonstrate a connection to the people who live in a particular place. Marketing and branding can be used to commodify such intangibles, using any number of alternative narratives to encompass the additional value these products carry. Many authors use terms like 'tradition,' 'artisanal,' and 'territory' in the same sense as the French word *terroir*. For example, Carlo Petrini, founder of the Slow Food movement, argues that the combination of natural factors (soil, water, slope, height above sea level, vegetation, and microclimate) and human elements (tradition and the practice of cultivation) gives unique characteristics to each small agricultural locality and the food grown, raised, made and cooked there.¹¹ Other authors such as cultural anthropologist Amy Trubek argue that *terroir* is aspirational: consumers merely want to believe that local foods are linked in some way with geographical origin.¹²

What counts as local has also evolved over time due to macro-environmental forces such as migration, industrialisation and political and trade influences, all of which have been prevalent from early times.¹³ In eras of migration and international exploration and trade, new techniques and new products have moved from one place to another, and often have become subsumed and naturalised into local production and processing habits. Processes of industrialisation, including mechanisation,

⁹ See for example: Smith and MacKinnon, 2007.

¹⁰ Thomas R. Sadler, Heather McIlvaine-Newsad, and Bill Knox, eds. *Local Food Networks and Activism in the Heartland*. (Champaign, Illinois: Common Ground Publishing, 2013): xvii; Michael C. Hall, 'The contradictions and paradoxes of Slow Food: Environmental change, sustainability and the conservation of taste', in *Slow Tourism Experiences and Mobilities*, ed. S. Fullagar, K. Markwell, and E. Wilson. (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2012): 111-112.

¹¹ Carlo Petrini, *Slow Food: The Case for Taste*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003): xxiv.

¹² Amy B. Trubek, *The Case for Taste: A Cultural Journey into Terroir* (Berkeley: University of Columbia Press, 2008): 248-9 – Trubek uses *terroir* interchangeably with 'taste of place', interpreted for this study as locale, throughout her book – see page 22; Randall Graham, 'The phenomenology of terroir' (Da Vino Commedia: Bonny Doon Vineyards Newsletter, Spring, 2006), cited in Trubek, 2008: 249-250.

¹³ See E. Millstone and T. Lang, *The Atlas of Food: Who Eats What, Where and Why* (London: Earthscan, 2003): on the worldwide dissemination of domesticated plant and animal varieties, combined with changes in how food is produced; T. Lang, 'Food industrialisation and food power: Implications for food governance', *Development Policy Review* 21 (5-6) (2003): 555-68; G. H. Peltó and P. J. Peltó, 'Diet and delocalization: dietary changes since 1750', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1983): 507-528; and S. Mennell, *All Manners of Food* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996): 329: on the rise of complex, food distribution networks, and the growth of food processing industries; and B. M. Popkin, 'The nutrition transition and its health implications in lower-income countries', *Public Health Nutrition* 1 (1) (1998): 5-21: on the migration of people from rural to urban areas and from one continent to another.

standardisation of production and movement of populations to urban areas, would at first appear to have a negative effect on purported local characteristics of foods, as any reference to local distinction in both end food products and their production methods would seem to be removed in the act of manufacturing and processing. Yet these supposedly homogenising forces can also be associated with the appearance of certain iconic specialities in Australia, such as Vegemite, and also with the emergence of a commercial marketplace with strongly identifiable, branded local products.

Daniele Giovannucci et al. argue that there are many reasons why a renewed concept of 'local' has emerged, including other distinct yet interrelated drivers.¹⁴ Food businesses including retailers and producers of all scales increasingly market produce that is differentiated as local, claiming a variety of social, economic, environmental and quality benefits. All Australian states and territories administer programmes and policies that attempt in some way to stimulate demand for foods that are produced or processed within the state's boundaries, usually in the form of state or regionally sponsored labelling and promotional activities.¹⁵ The trend is equally pronounced in the media, where food blogs, celebrity chefs and social media advocate the use of local produce.¹⁶ Marketing of most local foods, however, appears to be undertaken by supermarkets, which categorise local foods in a broader sense than those explored above, by using terms such as 'Australian-grown' or 'Australian-made' produce.¹⁷ Restaurants of all descriptions (from high-end fine dining establishments to casual cafes, food trucks and take-away food businesses) also frequently advertise the use of local produce to promote their establishments,¹⁸ and many tertiary culinary and hospitality management courses are increasingly offering subjects related to food ethics including the benefits of local food.¹⁹

Government intervention has had a more straightforward impact on local food in Australia, through the support of various 'eat local' campaigns, but also through various food and agricultural policies which encourage a socio-economic environment where the emphasis has predominantly been on production maximisation and the application of industrialised methods and scientific discoveries rather than the appreciation of regionally distinctive raw materials or artisanal methods of production. This differs greatly from Europe, where protected designation of origin (PDO), protected geographical indication (PGI), and traditional specialities guaranteed (TSG), promote and protect names of quality 'local' agricultural and artisanal foods, based on the legal framework provided by the EU Regulation No. 1151/2012.²⁰ This regulation ensures that only 'genuine' products originating in a region may be identified as such commercially. The law protects the reputation of regional food, promotes rural and agricultural activity, helps producers obtain a premium price for their authentic products and

¹⁴ Daniele Giovannucci, Elizabeth Barham, and Richard Pirog, 'Defining and marketing 'local' foods', *The Journal of World Intellectual Property* 13 (2) (2010): 94–120.

¹⁵ See for example Appendix 1: Table 1, examples from one state in Australia (South Australia).

¹⁶ See for example: G. Ujvary, 'Food trends for 2014', *The Foodologist*, December 30, 2013. <http://www.foodologist.com/food-trends-for-2014/>, accessed 14 January 2015.

¹⁷ See for example: 'Australian Made' website <http://australianmade.com.au/why-buy-australian-made/>.

¹⁸ See for example: S. Langley, 'Key trends for Australian and New Zealand consumers in 2015, Mintel', *Australian Food News*, October 27th 2014. <http://ausfoodnews.com.au/2014/10/27/key-trends-for-australian-and-new-zealand-consumers-in-2015-mintel.html>; Ujvary, 2013.

¹⁹ See for example: Le Cordon Bleu Australia: Master of Gastronomic Tourism; Bachelor of Business in Food Entrepreneurship and others: <http://www.lecordobleu.com.au/>, accessed 28 June 2015.

²⁰ European Commission, 'Agricultural and Rural Development', EU legislation on agricultural product quality, Quality Regulations. http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/schemes/legislation/index_en.htm, accessed 19 July 2015.

eliminates unfair competition and non-genuine products. This framework is similar to other national appellation systems, such as the *appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC) used in France, the *denominazione di origine controllata* (DOC) used in Italy, the *denominação de origem controlada* (DOC) used in Portugal, the *denominación de origen* (DO) system used in Spain and the *Denumire de origine controlată* (DOC) system used in Romania.

The available empirical evidence suggests that the economic significance associated with the local foods market in Australia represents a growing segment of the total agri-food sector, with a recent government report indicating that “consumers [show] a preference for ‘local’” and hold positive attitudes towards local products and local providers.²¹ In Australia today, total food production is valued at AUS\$43 billion.²² Fifteen per cent of all Australian jobs are in the food industry and its importance to the economy cannot be overestimated, particularly in regional Australia, as ninety per cent of food production jobs and fifty per cent of food processing and manufacturing jobs are located outside urban areas. From a regional industry perspective, therefore, the economic output of the local food sector is considerable. On the demand side, market reports reveal that the market share of local food is increasing across a variety of food product categories.²³

Areas of government support related to local foods consist of various campaigns, including farmers’ markets. Along with other alternative fresh food retail markets, farmers’ markets represent about seven per cent of the market for fresh food in Australia.²⁴ Researchers argue that farmers’ markets are a response to the industrialisation of the food supply and the disconnection between consumers and producers, and evidence shows that they are being held more often, in more locations, and are attracting increasing numbers of customers and stallholders.²⁵ Growing consumer interest is the primary success factor for the growth of farmers’ markets and for consumers they offer added value as outlets for locally produced foods as well as an arena for sourcing information about the products they purchase. Furthermore, an additional array of marketing schemes have been launched at regional and local levels, often involving funding with matched grants from local authorities.²⁶ Local foods thus appear to have an increasingly important role within the changing rural and agri-food policy contexts. Evidence of this heightened role comes from the observation that local food products have become the target of a number of specific schemes and initiatives, administered by different agencies which support and develop the rural economy and agri-food sector.²⁷

²¹ S. Spencer and M. Kneebone, ‘FOODmap: An analysis of the Australian food supply chain’ (Canberra: Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry, 2012): 5.

²² Department of Agriculture 2014, Australian Food Statistics 2012–13. CC BY 3.0. www.agriculture.gov.au., accessed 27 October 2015.

²³ See for example: Cuthberston and Marks, 2007.

²⁴ David McKinna, ‘Power shifts in the Australian agrifood supply chain’, *Crawford Fund* (Conference Proceedings: The Supermarket Revolution in Food: Good, Bad or Ugly for the World’s Farmers, Consumers and Retailers?, 14-16 August 2011).

²⁵ D. Gallegos, ‘Social approaches to understanding food, eating and nutrition’, in *Food and Nutrition. Food and Health Systems in Australia and New Zealand*, ed. M. Wahlqvist (Allen and Unwin, 3e, 2011): 25-36; Australian Farmers Market Association, ‘Market value: The positive contributions of farmers’ markets to Australian agriculture’, Agricultural Competitiveness White Paper, Submission IP209 (2014).

²⁶ For examples, see Appendix 1, Table 1.

²⁷ For examples, see Appendix 1, Table 1., for an illustrative overview of state-scale initiatives in South Australia.

Most importantly for the purpose of this thesis, policy initiatives and other various schemes rely on different interpretations of the definition of local foods, from fresh primary produce and ingredients derived from within the state at one end of the scale, and value added products which may also contain more widely sourced ingredients at the other.²⁸ In terms of how these schemes conceptualise local distinctiveness, the emphasis appears to be on the use of regional branding as a symbol of quality, rather than a focus on geographically distinctive qualities. Common themes include support for producers, the development of shorter supply chains or ‘food miles’, the desire to target broadly similar types of consumers and the use of a product’s regional identity to leverage consumer spending.

The government report *Australia’s Agricultural Future* identifies opportunities and barriers for the agricultural sector in the context of social and political issues in regional Australia and addresses factors affecting Australian agriculture’s comparative advantage, including “clean, green, safe, affordable, sustainable and ethical” foods. The report cites “respecting and responding to consumer preferences, including for ethically produced foodstuffs” as a major policy challenge.²⁹ Furthermore, food is a new science and research priority for the Australian Government.³⁰ New strategic research programs such as ‘Securing Australia’s Agricultural Future’, launched by the Commonwealth in 2014, cite agriculture as a key economic pillar in Australia and focus on research-based evidence to support policy development.³¹ Recent Australian government reports acknowledge that consumer attitudes have the potential to affect agricultural competitiveness; for instance the current government’s Agricultural Competitiveness Issues paper notes “new production technologies and consumer attitudes to their application” as a key challenge and opportunity for the sector.³² Popular media reports, marketing surveys and scholarship suggest that Australians are becoming increasingly concerned about a range of values associated with food production in Australia, evidenced in the proliferation of environmentally friendly and socially responsible product lines.³³ However there are few mechanisms which explicitly incorporate consideration of values or ethics in the development of policies related to food production.

To understand the origins of the diverse current-day popular concepts and governmental policy contexts of local food, it is critical to know the history of local food in Australia. Examining the different historical settings in which local food has been constructed will demonstrate how the prevalent socio-political values consumers identified with in each time period informed and inspired different concepts of local. By exploring the context, evolution and history of local food in Australia, this thesis

²⁸ See for example ‘Eat local principles and guidelines,’ accessed at <http://eatlocalsa.com.au/principles-and-guidelines/> and ‘Stallholder criteria’ <http://www.adelaidefarmersmarket.com.au/www/content/default.aspx?cid=780&fid=778>, accessed 5 July 2015.

²⁹ J. Daly et al., *Australia’s Agricultural Future*, Report for the Australian Council of Learned Academies (2015): 12; 89. www.acola.org.au, accessed 22 November 2015.

³⁰ Australian Government, Science, ‘The Priorities’ <http://science.gov.au/scienceGov/ScienceAndResearchPriorities/Pages/ThePriorities.aspx>, accessed 23 November 2015.

³¹ ACOLA 2014. ‘Securing Australia’s future’. www.acola.org.au/index.php/projects/securing-australia-s-future, accessed 27 October 2015.

³² Commonwealth of Australia, Agricultural Competitive Issues Paper (Canberra: February 2014).

³³ See for example: K. Lyons, ‘Environmental values and food choices: Views from Australian organic food consumers’, *Journal of Australian Studies* 87 (2006): 155-166; P. Singer and J. Mason, *The Ethics of What We Eat: Why Our Food Choices Matter* (Melbourne: Penguin, 2007).

sheds light on the complex contemporary construction of local foods as a product of socio-political factors.

Gaps in the Literature

In introducing the contemporary economic importance and policy contexts that surround local food, some immediate issues have arisen. These include deep differences in the definition of local food, as well as the perception that the preference for local food is a new phenomenon. This thesis will show that the preference for local food is by no means a distinctive feature of the present day, as is widely – and, this thesis argues, mistakenly – perceived. In the Australian case, the preference for local food dates back to the beginning of early European settlement in 1788. Further, the definition of local food in the current scenario appears to work as a proxy for a vast array of prevalent values, moral tenets, and economic priorities. This indicates that local food is ‘problematic’ and worthy of scholarly investigation. Although governments, market research agencies and the food media talk of a local food ‘sector’, evidence suggests that this sector is very diverse. For example, based on the brief illustration of local food policies within the South Australian context contained in Appendix (1), it is clear that a wide variety of products exist, from animal to vegetable, fresh to highly processed, comprised of either singular or multiple ingredients derived from a particular region, state or nationally, and that these ‘local’ products belong to different market categories and, as such, convey a multiplicity of meanings.³⁴ This raises the question of whether local food can be categorised as one homogenous concept. If local food is worthy of such widespread support, then it is important to understand the multiple categories and meanings associated with it, including ‘Australian-made’, ‘South Australian’, ‘regional’, ‘traditional’, ‘artisanal’, ‘local’ and so on, all of which appear in the rhetoric of various initiatives. Despite these categories having a distinct inclination towards locale, each term is based on different perceptions of the value and meaning attached to the product. As such, the way local is defined requires greater scrutiny.

Questions begin to emerge about the reasons why people view certain food products as local, and whether the physical environment in some way bestows these foods with distinctive ‘local’ characteristics. For example, is it possible that the combination of soil type, microclimate and foraged plants that livestock feed on has some measurable impact on the organoleptic qualities of the resulting meat or dairy product, or are the distinctive characteristics of such products determined via a connection to the people who live in that particular place and engage in particular production practices? Could historical factors or a sense of nationalism come into play? There may also exist a number of other factors connected to local food that construct and reinforce the perception of food as local.

It would appear that local food derives from different types of environments and processes and communicates different end product qualities. This diversity signals a need for an in-depth historical investigation into local food which explores and analyses the apparently complex and multiple ways in which locale, food policy, nationalism, labelling, perceptions of quality and marketing influence or appear to bestow special characteristics on food products. This is a valuable investigation in practical terms because without it, both the food industry and marketing agencies are likely to rely upon overly

³⁴ For example, local food can range from fresh products such as ‘Saltbush’ lamb or ‘Kalangadoo’ apples, to sophisticated processed foods such as Buderim ginger, Leatherwood Honey, Hepburn Springs Water, ‘RainFed’ rice, Haigh’s chocolates, Heidi Gruyere or King Island Triple Cream Brie.

broad notions of a local food 'sector', rendering it unlikely they will make optimal decisions with regard to these growth products. This investigation also assists in enriching cultural understandings of the circumstances surrounding the interpretation of local food products at different times in Australia's history.

To undertake this study, a deeper examination of the ways Australians viewed local food in the past is required. However, no research currently exists which specifically addresses the history of local food in Australia. Food marketing scholar Angela Tregear's PhD thesis *Speciality Regional Foods in the UK: an Investigation from the Perspectives of Marketing and Social History*, along with her journal article 'From Stilton to Vimto: Using Food History to Re-think Typical Products in Rural Development', while not strictly historical studies, are the only scholarly works to partially use historical perspectives to consider local food in terms of the way in which production and consumption forces shape the links between food and locale. Tregear's thesis provides an excellent model for this project and her general argument is largely supported by this thesis.³⁵ Tregear's analytical approach has much in common with the historical and context specific case studies of agri-food enterprises undertaken by economists Richard Blundel and Tito Bianchi in the field of small firm research, and the comparative analysis of the development of agricultural policies in France and New Zealand undertaken by geographers Warren Moran et al.³⁶ These studies correspond broadly to the development phases of 'world cuisine' described by anthropologist Jack Goody and culinary historian Stephen Mennell et al.³⁷ Tregear challenges the implicit assumptions associated with locally-produced food, which she terms 'typical' food, and traces over time the key social, economic, political and cultural influences on the links between food and territory.³⁸ Tregear achieves this by dividing the evolution of food-territory links into three time periods: pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial, with a fivefold classification of products tied to territorial definitions, including categories such as 'appropriations' and 'reinventions'. In each era, the key trends and forces are briefly identified in both production and consumption domains. However, the main focus of her research centres on an examination of present-day regional food products and the producers who bring the products to the marketplace. Tregear concludes that contrary to expectations, producers display a combination of highly market-oriented, entrepreneurial and 'craft' dispositions, partnered with an eagerness to portray themselves as 'craftspersons', with reference to the competitive circumstances and prevailing market conditions in which the producers find themselves. Tregear's other findings include that 'speciality regional foods' have meaning at an 'essential' as well as a 'projected' level and that both meanings need be taken into account for regional food policy initiatives to be effective. The 'essential' level relates to the distinctive characteristics of local food products that derive from geophysical and human factors, whereas the imaginary or 'projected' level derives from distinctive characteristics relating to intangible end product qualities

³⁵ A. Tregear, *Speciality Regional Foods in the UK: An Investigation from the Perspectives of Marketing and Social History* (Newcastle University Library, 2001); A. Tregear, 'From stilton to Vimto: Using food history to re-think typical products in rural development', *Sociologia Ruralis* 43 (2) (2003): 91-107.

³⁶ R. Blundel, 'Network evolution and the growth of artisanal firms: A tale of two regional cheese makers', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 14 (2002): 1-30; T. Bianchi, 'With and without co-operation: Two alternative strategies in the food-processing industry in the Italian South', *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development* 13 (2001): 117-145; W. Moran et al., 'Family farmers, real regulation, and the experience of food regimes', *Journal of Rural Studies* 12 (1996): 245-258.

³⁷ J. Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); S. Mennell, 'Divergencies and convergencies in the development of culinary cultures', in *European Food History: A Research Review*, ed. H. Teuteberg (Leicester University Press, 1992).

³⁸ Mennell, 1992.

that are communicated through packaging, symbolism and other forms of marketing. Tregear determines that for speciality regional food producers, multiple tendencies and behaviours co-exist and it is the producers' prioritisation between these which determines the appropriateness of current policy support mechanisms.³⁹ Tregear's thesis is useful in terms of structure, however her work is based in the United Kingdom (UK), and literature specifically addressing similar factors and themes is limited or non-existent in Australia.

To investigate the nature and meaning of local food in Australia, a more in depth historical examination is required, taking into account the influence of social, cultural, economic and political factors. This approach contributes to a broader narrative of Australian history and offers a new perspective by exploring issues and areas often neglected in more traditional approaches. Historically Australia is generally regarded as having imported its food culture from Britain and is credited with little distinctiveness, yet this does not take into account when and how Australians came to regard their adopted (or adapted) foods as Australian. The construction of Australian identity therefore needs to be taken into account along with the construction of a culture of food and eating which paralleled the post-1788 environment. Mapping out changes in the way in which local food has been viewed socially, politically and economically by different groups of Australians over time shows how food can not only reflect changing eating patterns, but also changing political ideologies, technological advances and cultural values.

Given the limited amount of material available for this study, this thesis provides a comprehensive but necessarily selective history of local food in Australia. As mentioned at the start of this chapter, one aim of the study is to establish a conceptual framework within which more detailed, single country studies may find wider points of reference. It is intended as the starting point for and justification of more focused and detailed studies of local food history within a range of national, regional, and other contexts, ideally involving the collaborative effort of multiple scholars drawing on a variety of source materials.

Aims and Research Questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate and understand the nature and meaning of local food in Australia today in comparison with historical understandings of how local food was defined and interpreted. The thesis therefore explores the following questions:

1. How have certain foods popularly thought of or promoted as local been produced and consumed in the past in Australia, and how have the meanings associated with these products changed and evolved over time?
2. What factors have served to create, build and reinforce the perceptions of food as local in Australia in comparison to elsewhere?

Structure

The thesis is organised thematically rather than chronologically. A review of the relevant literature is provided in each chapter. The next chapter, Chapter 2, provides a general review of interrelated concepts of 'local food' in the global context. The chapter aims to understand how foods popularly thought of or promoted as local have been produced and consumed in the past outside of Australia and how the meanings associated with these products have changed in the global marketplace.

³⁹ Tregear, 2001, iii.

Following a review of literature drawn from food history, marketing, 'country of origin' research and definitions of local food in contemporary and historic periods, it is demonstrated that key factors in defining local food are the geophysical links between food and locale, the human factors involved in local production, CoOL and marketing. In Chapter 3, a synthetic analysis of the available literature connected to the general history of food production and consumption in Australia is provided through the lens of the 'local', drawing attention to the contextual evidence that illustrates the changing meanings of local foods throughout Australia's history as a settlement. Chapter 4 provides an in-depth study of four locally produced food products, presented individually as case studies using a history of commodities approach. The commodities surveyed are sugar, lamb, dairy products and rice and were chosen as they were popularly thought of or promoted as local during the period under investigation. A review of the literature connected to each of the products is given, drawn mainly from social historical studies of food and government and agricultural reports. The aim of using these four case studies is to deepen our understanding of what the concept of local foods represented to Australians at different points in time, including investigating what other connotations and connections local foods may have. As this thesis is multidisciplinary, it brings together the contexts of consumption and production that often have been ignored in other scholarly literature; therefore by linking the production and consumption of these products, the thesis seeks to cast a new light on the standard historical narrative. Finally, the conclusion synthesises the findings in relation to the research questions, summarising what has been learned about the nature and meaning of local food. It identifies the meanings attached to and conveyed by local food, as well as establishing what factors served to create, build and reinforce the perception of food as local. In doing so, implications for future research are explored alongside implications for producers, marketers, policymakers and others interested in promoting local foods.

Methodology

The nature of the research questions and that of the phenomena to which they relate are important determinants of the type of approach adopted.⁴⁰ Despite Australia's small population, it is a unique example of a developed western and multicultural country with a colonial past, meaning it has a distinctive history and geography, resulting in a wide range of meanings attributed to food and concepts of local food. To investigate the nature and meaning of local foods in Australia, an examination of their histories is required, taking into account the influence of social, cultural, economic and political impacts. This approach allows the thesis to contribute to a broader narrative of Australian history and allows for exploration of issues and areas often neglected. Historically Australia is generally regarded as having imported its food culture from Britain and is credited with little distinctiveness, yet this does not take into account when and how Australians came to regard their adopted foods as Australian. Barbara Santich's scholarship provides historical accounts of how Australians, from the time of the colonial days, have 'Australianised' foods and recipes from other countries, resulting in a distinctive food culture. Santich gives some attention to the preference for buying local products over imported products from as early as the 1920s.⁴¹ Michael Symons, in *One Continuous Picnic*, provides some useful information for this study regarding the period from the mid-

⁴⁰ J. Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

⁴¹ B. Santich, *Bold Palates* (Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2012): 258-259; B. Santich, 'Nineteenth-century experimentation and the role of indigenous foods in Australian food culture', *Australian Humanities Review* 51 (2011): 65-78; B. Santich, *What the Doctors Ordered: 150 Years of Dietary Advice in Australia* (South Melbourne: Hyland House, 1995).

1800s to the early twentieth century, where he reveals that before the industrialisation of food, Australia boasted city farms and markets and a host of keen, cosmopolitan gourmets. Symons also contends that Australian food culture owes less to Englishness and immigration than often suggested, and since colonial times, the nation has almost exclusively nourished itself with factory food, far removed from the point of its origin. Industrialisation and lack of a peasant class, according to Symons, meant the food industry re-packaged and sold food to a country of people who lacked any real connections to the food they ate.⁴² However this thesis challenges this viewpoint, arguing that it was industrialisation that brought about many iconic 'local' food specialities in Australia. The creation of a commercial marketplace for strongly identifiable, branded local products was also a key factor, and the development and widespread availability of these products contributed to a deep connection between Australian consumers and their nation through the support of these local foods.⁴³ Symons' focus on why Australian society seemed culturally impoverished overshadows a more nuanced investigation of factors influencing the construction of a local culture of food and eating. This thesis will add to and enrich the histories provided by Santich and Symons by taking into account the construction of a culture of local food production and consumption and the ongoing construction of Australian identity. The broader historical themes on which this study sheds light will also have considerable relevance beyond food history for areas such as consumer and marketing history and contemporary Australian cultural history.

Although this study sits primarily within the discipline of history, it will engage with literature from the fields of sociology, politics and marketing studies, amongst others, as scholarship within these areas has added substantially to the study of food in historical contexts.⁴⁴ Food studies, as a research field, includes the study of how, where, when and why food is produced, transformed, and consumed, which in turn implicates the philosophies, beliefs and values that influence the production and consumption practices across cultural groups. Barbara Santich proposed a multidisciplinary approach to food studies, drawing upon two distinct areas that fall within the social sciences and the humanities, namely the production and the supply of food and the practices and implications of consumption. The disciplines of communication, history and literature further inform and enrich the understanding of practices, values, traditions and symbolism in relation to food. Food studies has been formally in existence as a field (indicated by, for example, the proliferation of scholarly journals and academic programs) for several decades and its rise in popularity worldwide has been accompanied by growing scholarly interest in consumption habits and practices.⁴⁵ As such, it is a multidisciplinary field where food serves as "a 'lens' through which to view, explore, analyse, and interpret society in the present as well as the past."⁴⁶ The multidisciplinary nature of the study of food therefore demonstrates how a variety of perspectives can lead to an understanding of the beliefs and values, norms and traditions

⁴² Michael Symons, *One Continuous Picnic* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007): 12.

⁴³ This view has also been argued by Barbara Santich in *Bold Palates*.

⁴⁴ See for example: Deborah Lupton, *Food, the Body and the Self* (London: Sage Publications, 1996); Mennell, 1996; Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin, 1985); Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* (London; Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986); Pierre Boisard, *Camembert: A National Myth*, trans. Richard Miller. *California Studies in Food and Culture*, 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ See for example: Jeff Miller and Jonathan Deutsch, *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods*. English ed. (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2009).

⁴⁶ William Woys Weaver and Solomon H. Katz, *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture* (New York: Scribner, 2003): 16. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, accessed 27 July 2015.

of a culture or country and the political, agricultural and economic systems which help define it. In this way the study of food becomes a catalyst for cultural understanding.

A sociological perspective is also relevant for this study as it involves the investigation of commodities from the point of view of the social and cultural forces relating to them, encompassing different production and consumption behaviours. Food, like language, is symbolic of the way human beings relate to their environments and to each other, and so by studying it, it is possible to discover different patterns of understanding related to the ways people view food products in different times and places.⁴⁷ The sociology of food, as a distinct field of sociological inquiry, views food as having symbolic roles, and thus serving as a vehicle for communication and identity.⁴⁸ Anthropologists Claude Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas have both used food to illustrate their theories. Lévi-Strauss saw patterns as humans moved away from a natural state into a cultural state. In his book *The Raw and the Cooked*, he associates 'raw' with nature, and 'cooked' with culture. Lévi-Strauss, along with linguist Roland Barthes and anthropologist Mary Douglas, argue that food can be used as a 'point of entry' into understanding human behaviour.⁴⁹ Scholars contributing to food studies such as anthropologist Sidney Mintz, sociologist Anne Murcott and culinary historian Stephen Mennell, argue that the nature and meaning of food is subject to macro-environmental forces, rather than being 'fixed.'⁵⁰ Viewing food products and commodities as symbolic items subject to external forces is useful for this study as many different meanings are attached to local foods, suggesting the products contain symbolic values derived from the social and cultural contexts of different eras. This thesis therefore pays attention to the social history of local foods, examining their symbolic value and the influence of the cultural forces at play.

The marketing perspective is used in this study to investigate and explain local foods in terms of their roles as exchange products or commodities.⁵¹ Product meanings and symbols are considered as part of the construction of manufactured items by food producers, processors and distributors who have economic agendas; therefore there may be a disconnection between the actual product and the symbols and meanings that are conveyed to consumers. The nature and meaning of local foods must be understood both by considering their roles in society, as well as their appeal to consumers. The producers and consumers of such products are considered as proactive agents who make pragmatic decisions about the construction of local foods for their own socio-economic circumstances. In adopting a multi-disciplinary approach for this project, the research therefore addresses the wider,

⁴⁷ A. Strauss and J. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (London: Sage Publications, 1990); Roland Barthes, 'Toward a psychosociology of contemporary food consumption', in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Penny Van Esterik and Carole Counihan (New York: Routledge, 1997); M. Douglas, 'Deciphering a meal', in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Penny Van Esterik and Carole Counihan (New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁴⁸ S. Mennell, A. Murcott, P. and van Otterloo, eds. *The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1992).

⁴⁹ Lupton, 1996: 10; Barthes, 1997: 20-27; Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: Noonday Press, 1972); Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'The culinary triangle', in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Penny Van Esterik and Carole Counihan, (New York: Routledge, 1997): 28-35; Douglas, 1997: 36-54.

⁵⁰ Mintz, S. 'Time, sugar and sweetness', *Marxist Perspectives* 2 (1979): 56-73; A. Murcott, 'Food as an expression of identity', in *The Future of the Nation State: Essays on Cultural Pluralism and Political Integration*, eds. S. Gustavsson and L. Lewineds (Nerenius and Santerus Publishers, Routledge, n.d.); Mennell, 1996.

⁵¹ See for example: P. Kotler, *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, Implementation and Control* (London: Prentice Hall International (UK) Limited, 1997); D. Jobber, *Principles and Practice of Marketing* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1995).

socio-cultural significance of market-related phenomena beyond their role within economic exchange relationships.⁵²

As no previous studies have been conducted in relation to the history of local foods in Australia, this study commences with many 'unknowns', rendering highly structured or quantitative approaches inappropriate.⁵³ The subject matter of this study, 'local food', embodies complex, shifting meanings and multiple interpretations, which points to the need for nuanced qualitative approaches.⁵⁴ One method for qualitative research is the review of texts and documents for themes, which describe a phenomenon from the point of view of those experiencing it in order to formulate a theory or hypothesis that is emergent from the data. This approach is appropriate as it can be used to identify and explore the meaning and status of local food, in all its complexities, from the perspective of the historical, social, political and economic forces which have combined to create the desire for food that is grown, produced and consumed locally.⁵⁵ Researchers who utilise qualitative approaches generally believe that phenomena do not exist untouched by the influence of social processes in the social world.⁵⁶ From the outset, the construction of particular types of products as 'local' has been investigated from this perspective, embodying multiple diverse meanings, requiring a multi-disciplinary research approach which is sensitive to the status of local food both as a culturally significant object and economic entity.

History of Commodities Approach

A history of commodities approach has been selected for this study as this approach is commonly used to explore the historical connections between the production and consumption of basic commodities across a geographical area such as a nation. According to Samuel Adshad, a commodity is a product used for immediate consumption rather than an ingredient which is used as part of a process to produce another commodity.⁵⁷ In economics, the term commodity is defined as a good or service produced to satisfy wants or needs; in some cases foods don't fit either of these criteria.⁵⁸ This

⁵² J. Goody, *Cooking. Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); E. C. Hirschman, 'Aesthetics, ideologies and the limits of the marketing concept', *Journal of Marketing* 47 (3) (1983): 45-55; S. Brown, 'Postmodern marketing?', *European Journal of Marketing* (Illustrative Issue 1994/95): 50-65; S. Brown, 'Art or science?: Fifty years of marketing debate', *Journal of Marketing Management* 12 (4) (1996): 243-267; D. Brownlie and M. Saren, 'The four Ps of the marketing concept: Prescriptive, polemical, permanent and problematical', *European Journal of Marketing* 26 (4) (1992): 34-47.

⁵³ E. Shaw, 'The research spiral: An effective guide to the inductive analysis of qualitative data - evidence from a small firm study' (paper presented at Celebrating the Small Business: the 21st Conference of the International Small Business Association, 1998).

⁵⁴ R. Walker, 'An introduction to applied qualitative research', in *Applied Qualitative Research* (Hants: Gower Publishing Company Ltd, 1985).

⁵⁵ N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, 'Entering the field of qualitative research', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (London: Sage Publications, 1994); K. Henwood, 'Qualitative inquiry: Perspectives, methods and psychology', in *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences*, ed. J. Richardson (Leicester: BPS Books, 1996).

⁵⁶ M. Miles and A. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, 2nd edn (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994); D. Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (London: Sage Publications, 1993); Walker, 1985.

⁵⁷ Samuel A. M. Adshad, *Salt and Civilisation* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1992), ix.

⁵⁸ Karl Marx, 'A contribution to the critique of political economy,' in *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Volume 29* (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 269; Karl Marx, 'Outlines of the critique of political economy (rough draft of 1857-1857),' in *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Volume 28* (New York: International Publishers, 1986): 80.

definitional discrepancy can often account for the different weights recent historiography has accorded to different foods, regardless of their relevance in the diet. For instance, pepper is a compelling example of a widely exchanged, and thus socially significant commodity, while fruit, consumed in greater quantities in some places, may not be as socially significant from a commodities history perspective. Local foods can be considered collectively as a type of commodity, as they have cultural and economic significance and thus act as a prism through which to view the diverse ways production and consumption influence the historical and economic development of a country. The systematic consideration of production, distribution and consumption based on first-hand investigation of primary sources is the distinctive feature of this historiographical genre. Therefore, this approach provides a useful way to explore local foods in Australia, including how they evolved and of the role of producers and consumers in this process of meaning construction. Those connections that are created through the production, exchange and consumption of a given commodity or commodities during a certain historic period are referred to as commodity chains. Consumption and production habits related to commodity chains can only effectively be understood when set in the broader social context in which they occurred, thus acknowledging changes in a food's social significance over time. By using specific commodities as focal points, the past is viewed from unfamiliar and often unsettling angles in order to think through the logic of how meanings developed, changed and were sustained over time.

A history of commodities methodology has become popular in recent years and has paralleled the rise of scholarly interest in histories of consumption. Recent relevant works focused on commodities include studies on papaya and imitation crab in contemporary contexts, Irish salt beef in the early modern French Atlantic, rice in the African diaspora in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and African green beans in France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, among others.⁵⁹ The focus on a single commodity has an extensive history in France, where the study of wine and spirits has been covered by many scholars.⁶⁰ For example Jean-Robert Pitte's more recent work on wine adds to his first monumental work on trans-European chestnut culture from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ian Cook, 'Follow the thing: Papaya', *Antipode* 36 (2004): 642–664; Becky Mansfield, 'Imitation crab' and the material culture of commodity production', *Cultural Geographies* 10 (2) (2003): 176–195; Bertie Mandelblatt, 'A Transatlantic Commodity: Irish Salt Beef in the French Atlantic', *History Workshop Journal* 63 (2007): 18–47; Susanne Freidberg, *French Beans and Food Scares: Culture and Commerce in an Anxious Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Judith Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Judith Carney, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

⁶⁰ Henri Enjalbert, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin: L'avènement de la qualité* (Paris: Bordas, 1975); Roger Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle*, 1959 reprint (Paris: Flammarion, 1977); Roger Dion, *Le Paysage et la vigne: Essais de géographie historique* (Paris: Payot, 1990); Alain Huetz De Lempdes, *Vignoble et vins d'Espagne* (Bordeaux: Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1993). For a review of the French wine historiography within the discipline of geography, see Raphaël Schirmer, 'Le Regard des géographes Français sur la vigne et le vin', *Annales de géographie* 614–615 (2000): 345–363. For a recent contribution that places the French wine and brandy literature in an Atlantic context, see Bertie Mandelblatt, 'L'Alambic dans l'Atlantique: Production, commercialisation, et concurrence d'eau-de-vie de vin et de rhum dans l'Atlantique Français au XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle', *Histoire, Économie, Société* 2 (2011): 63–78.

⁶¹ Jean-Robert Pitte, *Les Terres de Castanide: Hommes et Paysages du Châtaignier de l'Antiquité à nos Jours* (Paris: Fayard, 1986). See also Jean-Robert Pitte, ed., 'La nouvelle planète des vins', special issue of *Annales de géographie* 614–615 (2000); Jean-Robert Pitte, *Bordeaux, Burgundy: A Vintage Rivalry*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Historians, anthropologists and others have researched a variety of foods as commodities, drawing on resources from a wide range of disciplines, including not only history, sociology and marketing, but anthropology, archaeology, science, technology, medicine, political science, commerce, religion, literature, linguistics and folklore. More recently, the emphasis of commodity histories has changed, as commodities are no longer seen as items of commerce, but rather as objects imbued with rich cultural significance. Among the earliest of the recent studies are historian Robert Multhauf's 1978 *Neptune's Gift: A History of Common Salt*⁶² and anthropologist Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, published in 1985. Mintz's work on sugar is part social history, part cultural history. He insists the whole account of a product has to be set in its historical context and in relation to the politics and economics of international trade and colonial development. Mintz describes how sugar transformed from a luxury item to an everyday staple and how the lives of eighteenth century slaves on Caribbean sugar plantations were intertwined with those of British mill workers. Mintz's work is instructional for this thesis as it shows how the production and consumption of sugar, which will be used as a case study in the Australian context for this thesis, was given new meanings by different groups of people at different points in time.⁶³ A large literature in the anthropology and history of food includes studies that address the contexts of colonialism, and many of these studies have followed Mintz's commodity chain model, tracing food items in the world system and the development of 'modern' taste. Others have examined taste experience and social eating practices within specific colonial cultures, including Jeremy Rich's work on nineteenth-century Gabon and Richard Wilk's and Barry W. Higman's accounts of changing food culture in the Caribbean.⁶⁴

Since the domain of commodity histories is appealing to a lay and general readership, a lighter and more journalistic approach has provided a vast array of contributions that also fit the genre. For example, apart from Robert Multhauf's more scholarly study on salt, later journalistic works exist by a number of authors including Samuel Adshead, Pierre Lazlo and Mark Kurlansky.⁶⁵ Kurlansky's studies, including those on cod and oysters, are typical of the popular biography of commodities genre.⁶⁶ However, many of these authors' approaches, methods and sources of evidence vary greatly, from long-term histories, to a narrow focus on a specific time period, location or culture, to collections of short stories on selected characteristics of the commodity. For example, Kurlansky's *Salt* traces the history, production, culinary uses, and industrial transformation of salt, beginning in 6000BC China

⁶² Robert P. Multhauf, *Neptune's Gift: A History of Common Salt*, Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, New Ser., No. 2. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

⁶³ Mintz, 1985; see also: Sidney W. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

⁶⁴ For overviews, see John C. Super, 'Review essay: Food and history', *Journal of Social History* 36 (2002): 165–178; Sidney W. Mintz and Christine M. DuBois, 'The anthropology of food and eating', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002): 99–119; Mintz, 1985; John C. Super, *Food, Conquest, and Colonization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Albuquerque, NM, 1988); Jeremy Rich, *A Workman Is Worthy of His Meat: Food and Colonialism in the Gabon Estuary* (Lincoln, NE, 2007); Richard Wilk, *Home Cooking in the Global Village: Caribbean Food from Buccaneers to Ecotourists* (Oxford, 2006); Barry W. Higman, *Jamaican Food: History, Biology, Culture* (Kingston, 2008).

⁶⁵ Adshead, 1992; Pierre Lazlo, *Salt: Grain of Life*, trans. Mary Beth Mader (New York: Harper Collins, 2002); Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (London: Vintage, 2003).

⁶⁶ Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World*. New York (Walker and Company, 1997); Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: New York in the World: A Molluscular History*, 1st ed. (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006). See also, for example, Sophie Coe, who was rigorous in her research by 'going to the sources' to trace the history of chocolate from its origins in ancient Mesoamerica to modern day: Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996): 7.

and travelling to 3000BC India, the ancient Western world, and eventually to North America.⁶⁷ Pierre Lazlo, on the other hand, provides a selection of short stories on the different aspects of salt, including its political and cultural uses, the human need for salt, its production, and use in salt cured foods.⁶⁸ Patricia Rain, in her popular narrative *Vanilla*, traces the commodity from prehistoric Central America and its dispersal in the tropics, to the growth of the modern industry.⁶⁹ Alternatively, Ken Albala's *Beans* is a series of histories of the most common types of beans consumed by humans, and Kurlansky's work on New York oysters is as much a history of the city and its population as it is of the oyster.⁷⁰ Among the multiple popular commodity histories that might fit the criteria for this approach, many are poor models from a methodological perspective as they are not intended as scholarly works and thus do not disclose their sources and methods.

Drawing on key scholarship from models such as Mintz and Multhauf, this thesis uses a series of case studies to examine the production and consumption of four locally produced food items over time in Australia. In alternative food network (AFN) research and in commodity histories, the favoured empirical methodology is clearly the case study.⁷¹ Case studies are valuable for exploring and explaining the connections, connotations, processes and interactions of foods and hence are well suited to the field. The case studies in this thesis provide an opportunity to delve deeper into the histories of the consumption and production practices of specific food products and hence look at the past from unfamiliar angles. The four food products chosen for the case studies have been selected due to their popularity and widespread use as staples in Australia's past; thus it was expected that ample information would be accessible in terms of historical documents and records. The products chosen include sugar, lamb, dairy products and rice, as these products represent commodity-like foods that are widely sold in their unprocessed forms. The major reason sugar has been chosen is due to its perception as a 'national' commodity and also because of its connection to protectionism, while lamb has been selected due to its association with rations, pastoralism and its close ties with Australian identity. Dairy products have been selected because of their strong association with government intervention and also because they provide context as a more localised product due to perishability. Lastly, rice has been chosen as it was expected to provide a potentially negative example of a local food due to popular perceptions of its production as environmentally problematic in the context of Australia; interestingly, as will be documented, this was not at all evident in the research. An additional rationale for the choices of the case studies was that rice, dairy and to some extent sugar, which proved interesting in this regard as will be detailed later, all allowed for the disentangling of state/regional and national ideas of local.

The four case studies are presented using a history of commodities approach to examine their changing meanings over time. The study of these products allows us to develop a deeper understanding of what these foods meant to Australians at different points in time, how people

⁶⁷ Kurlansky, 2003.

⁶⁸ Lazlo, 2002.

⁶⁹ Patricia Rain, *Vanilla: The Cultural History of the World's Favorite Flavor and Fragrance* (New York: Tarcher/Penguin, 2004).

⁷⁰ Ken Albala, *Beans: A History* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); Kurlansky, 2006.

⁷¹ See for example: J. Wilkinson, 'Network theories and political economy: From attrition to convergence?', in *Between the Local and the Global: Confronting Complexity in the Contemporary Agri-Food Sector*, Research in Rural Sociology and Development, Vol. 12 (2006): 11-38; D. Goodman, 'The quality 'turn' and alternative food practices: Reflections and agenda', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (1) (2003): 1-7; J. Murdoch, 'Networks - a new paradigm of rural development?', *Journal of Rural Studies* 16 (2000): 407-419.

utilised these commodities, and in what contexts their meanings developed. This fits with Stephen Mennell et al.'s developmentalist tradition which is concerned with the aesthetic, pattern-making aspects of food, cooking and culinary tastes, approached from an historical and developmental viewpoint.⁷² As mentioned previously, Angela Tregear's thesis provides guidance in this regard as it develops a number of themes and time periods to use as a model. In the context of Tregear's work, 'production' relates to aspects of agro-food systems such as labour, trade, technology, mechanisation and behavioural and motivational aspects of production and supply. 'Consumption' is taken to include markets, consumer lifestyles, tastes and behaviours, as well as the processes and nature of social valorisation of food-territory links. Tregear argues that local products themselves are conceptualised at the intersection of production and consumption dimensions, shaped by both physical aspects such as ingredients and production techniques, and by perceived or symbolic consumption aspects such as identity, branding and ethical concerns. Although Tregear's thesis is not strictly an historical study, it has been used as a guide for this project, and her arguments underpin many areas of the research in this thesis.⁷³

The challenge with researching food in an historic context is that the term 'local' food typically is not explicit in the resources but rather is implicit throughout the narratives. Therefore, the overall approach to the study is one of flexible, open inquiry, as this is considered appropriate to the cultural phenomena under study. The open nature of the research highlights a limitation to this study, as the investigation requires research be undertaken from multiple sources whose boundaries can be difficult to delineate. For instance, some aspects of local food (such as production) parallel the histories of specific commodities, while other aspects (such as consumption) are markedly different and difficult to pin down, as will be demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4. The study therefore principally concentrates on re-examining and reinterpreting popular narratives and secondary literature. Resources are drawn from diverse fields, relying on a combination of primary and secondary sources. A wide range of materials have been used and are detailed in subsequent chapters. Given the study's broad scope and timespan, primary documentation is scant; nonetheless limited but important material does exist, for example in the form of government gazettes, business archives, cookery literature, food labels, trademarks, marketing advertisements and posters from newspapers, periodical journals and magazines, mostly sourced from Trove at the National Library of Australia.⁷⁴ While there is very little published material specifically referring to local foods in Australia, there are many secondary sources relevant to the early history of food consumption and production which provide evidence relevant to this concept. These include references to changing attitudes relating to the tradition of pastoralism, manufactured food and marketing, imported foods, food policy, nationalism and patriotism.⁷⁵

⁷² Mennell et al. 1992: 14, 16.

⁷³ This thesis partly uses Tregear's structure as a model: Tregear, 2001: 93.

⁷⁴ See for example: Trove. National Library of Australia. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/>. Accessed 11 November 2015, for historic newspaper, journal and magazine articles and advertisements on food, food products and food related issues; trade magazines and other publications and pamphlets; advertising archives including historical trademarks, adverts, and posters.

⁷⁵ See for example: E. P. Thompson, 'Eighteenth-century English society class struggle without class?', *Social History* 3 (2) (1978): 133-165; G. J. Aplin, 'People in an alien landscape: Early Sydney's environmental context', in *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie*, ed. G. J. Aplin (Kensington, NSW: University of New South Wales, 1988): 18-38; Susan Sheridan, 'Eating the other: Food and cultural difference in the *Australian Women's Weekly* in the 1960's', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 21 (3) (2000); J. Newling, *Foodways Unfettered. Eighteenth-century Food in The Sydney Settlement* (Masters Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2007); Colin Bannerman, *Print Media and*

Chapter 2: The Concept of ‘Local Food’: A Review of Interrelated Concepts of ‘Local Food’ in the Global Context

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature that is connected to local food and concepts that are related to it outside of Australia. First, the links between food and locale are investigated by examining the human and geophysical facets of local food and what is meant by the European term ‘typicality’. Second, Country of Origin Labelling (CoOL) and marketing are scrutinised. Finally, the various definitions of local food developed by scholars are explored, including the multiple interpretations of distance. The chapter draws from literature derived mainly from food history, food studies, marketing, consumption, and ‘country of origin’ food-related research. The chapter thus provides a comparative background to the Australia case, which will be developed in the next chapter. It is intended to demonstrate the extent to which different historical and cultural settings inform and inspire different concepts of ‘local’.

Different foods, like any manufactured products, are produced in particular locations around the world, for historical, traditional, economic or other reasons. This makes food similar to other products in terms of the influence of geography. The range of literature that exists on various links to food and locale includes social historical studies of food, scientific studies and studies of territory and *terroir*. Many authors argue that foods *are* different to other types of products due to their derivation from the earth, which shapes their flavour, form and yield.⁷⁶ Other authors argue that foods represent the transformation of turning raw materials into edible goods; therefore the production and processing methods have significant impacts and thus make territory and *terroir* less relevant.⁷⁷ In food studies research, locale typically is claimed to have a dual influence on food products: firstly through the geophysical nature of the local environment and secondly through the methods of food production and processing developed by the local population.

Human Factors of Food Production

One means by which local distinctiveness can be conferred on food products is through human intervention: that is, the cultivation, rearing, production, processing and preservation techniques employed by individuals to derive nutrition from the physical environment. Amongst these, historians have emphasised the importance of preservation techniques as a means of extending the life of otherwise perishable sources of nutrition: for example, smoking fish, curing ham, or separating milk

the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c. 1850 to c. 1920: the Evidence from Newspapers, Periodical Journals and Cookery Literature (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Canberra, 2001); Colin Bannerman, ‘Making Australian food history’, *Australian Humanities Review* 51 (2011): 49-63; Colin Bannerman, *Acquired Tastes: Celebrating Australia’s Culinary History* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1998).

⁷⁶ See for example: L. Mason, *Traditional Foods of Britain* (Tomes, Devon: Prospect Books, 1999); L. Berard and P. Marchenay, ‘Places, time and evidence. The social construction of local products’, *Terrain* 24 (1995): 153-164, cited in Tregear, 2001: 19.

⁷⁷ Giovanni Ceccarelli, Alberto Grandi, and Stefano Magagnoli, *Typicality in History: Tradition, Innovation, and Terroir* (European Food Issues, 2013); A. Tregear, *Speciality Regional Foods in the UK: An Investigation from the Perspectives of Marketing and Social History* (Newcastle University Library, 2001).

to make cheese.⁷⁸ The general premise in the literature is that humans living in different geographic locales develop their own techniques of food production which become customary and shared within their community.⁷⁹ In this way, ‘traditions’ form which are distinctive to local areas. Such traditional processes represent much more than food production techniques - they are deeply tied to culture. Levi-Strauss refers to this process as the transformation from nature into culture.⁸⁰ The human factors involved in production are also not static, as production techniques change over time as new technologies, processes and policies develop.

Italian historian Massimo Montanari suggests an ancient era where local food was the “natural order of things.”⁸¹ Sociologist Anne Murcott proposes that the geophysical and human factors of foods are influenced over time by forces of trade, migration, industrialisation and the implementation of agri-food policies.⁸² For example, the development of international shipping and commerce caused inter-regional trade to increase. Trading products and commodities made new products, ingredients, and techniques available to food-producing communities living in different locales. Thus delocalisation occurred when increasing amounts of foods came from distant places through commercial channels.⁸³ Hence, the long-term impacts of trade and the movement of commodities highlights that neither geophysical nor human aspects of local distinction are fixed or static. There are many examples of ‘local’ foods now considered native to a region which derive from ingredients that were introduced relatively recently. For example, potatoes and maize, both native to Latin America, were introduced to peasant populations in northern and southern Europe following the European discovery of the New World; the tomato was introduced to Italy and rhubarb to England in the fifteenth century (although the latter was not widely grown until the eighteenth century); and olive oil did not arrive in Provence until the seventeenth century.⁸⁴

Other factors that have changed the perception of and concepts related to local foods include changes in social structures associated with certain types of food production.⁸⁵ For example, food practices change when people migrate to a new location or when a community receives immigrants.⁸⁶ Migration of populations highlights how methods of food production are fluid and potentially draw upon influences from multiple locations, even when they appear to be fixed to one locality. In eras of large-scale migration and international exploration and trade, new techniques and new products appeared rapidly, many of which became subsumed and naturalised into local production habits. Some items became prized and associated with wealth and prestige, leading to differences in food habits shaped by socio-economic class rather than by geography. Changes in social structures can also affect the

⁷⁸ It is also noteworthy that prior to industrialisation, food production of this style was considered artisanal, from a subsistence, peasant-based agriculture.

⁷⁹ Mason, 1999.

⁸⁰ Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked* (London: J. Cape, 1970).

⁸¹ M. Montanari, *The Culture of Food* (London: Blackwell, 1994); M. Montanari, ‘Unnatural cooking’, in *Slow Food, Collected Thoughts on Taste, Tradition, and the Honest Pleasures of Food*, ed. C. Petrini (White River Junction VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 2001): 30-33.

⁸² Anne Murcott, ‘Food as an expression of identity’, in *The Future of the Nation State: Essays on Cultural Pluralism and Political Integration*, eds. S. Gustavsson and L. Lewin (Nerenius and Santerus Publishers, Routledge, n.d.); see also: Tregear, 2001.

⁸³ Pelto and Pelto, 1983; Montanari, 1994.

⁸⁴ Goody, 1982.

⁸⁵ Murcott, n.d..

⁸⁶ Galegos, 2011.

meanings associated with local foods, particularly through status. Much has been written about the ways in which people confer status upon themselves. The French theorist Pierre Bourdieu, for instance, wrote an influential book on the subject titled *Distinction*. The ways in which people construct themselves as social beings, Bourdieu explains, is a process by which they distinguish themselves from others.⁸⁷ Where distinction and status were once defined by a person's position in a fairly rigid social hierarchy, now people use matters of individual taste and style to distinguish themselves from one another to assert their status. Local foods can be afforded status when wealthy classes prize certain products from particular regions, making them become renowned and special.⁸⁸ For example, a significant change in the expression of status occurred in the Enlightenment era of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, when *haute cuisine* began in Italy and then later in France.⁸⁹ *Haute cuisine* quickly became fashionable amongst the European aristocracy and was adopted by the wealthier classes as it enabled them to identify with a more sophisticated, refined way of life, setting the wealthy elite apart from the lower classes.

A further means by which local distinctiveness can be conferred on food products is through industrialisation. Generally scholars contrast local food systems with industrial food systems.⁹⁰ According to Massimo Montanari, with industrialisation, a delocalisation effect impacted on systems of food production and consumption, and practices began to take place at increasing geographical distance from one another.⁹¹ Angela Tregear contends that industrialisation is generally considered a force of destruction for local foods because they are largely interpreted as deriving their local distinctiveness from small-scale, peasant style agriculture, in which the production and processing techniques are non-mechanised and heavily reliant upon human labour and collective knowledge developed and passed on through generations.⁹² This conceptualisation depicts food production and consumption as taking place within close geographic proximity, with producers either consuming local products or exchanging them at local markets. Culinary historians Stephen Mennell and Christopher Driver both contend that France, where the effects of industrialisation were less severe, had a proliferation of such distinctive regional specialties.⁹³

However, the development of new processes and technologies often makes it possible to grow or obtain certain raw materials within a particular locale. Social historians Derek Oddy and John Burnett discuss the positive impacts of the industrial era, in particular the creation of market conditions conducive to the appearance of clearly identified, branded products, giving the impression of increased choice for consumers. In pre-industrial eras, much of the production of local foods was random, resulting in individual products of variable characteristics and quality.⁹⁴ With the emergence of industrialisation and commercial business operators, products began to appear with labelling

⁸⁷ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

⁸⁸ Symons, 2007: 42-43.

⁸⁹ Mennell, 1996.

⁹⁰ Clare Hinrichs, 'Embeddedness and local food systems: Notes on two types of direct agricultural market' *Journal of Rural Studies* 16 (2000): 295-303; Gail Feenstra, 'Local food systems and sustainable communities', *American Journal of Alternative Agriculture* 12 (1) (1997): 28-36.

⁹¹ Montanari, 1994.

⁹² Tregear, 2001: 29.

⁹³ Mennell, 1996; C. Driver, *The British at Table 1940-1980* (London: Chatto and Windus, The Hogarth Press, 1983).

⁹⁴ D. J. Oddy and J. Burnett, 'British diet since industrialization: A bibliographical study', in *European Food History: A Research Review*, H. J. Teuteberg, ed. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).

specifying quality and brand identity. A new range of concerns arose with these developments, including the price and quality of food and the transformation of the population into ‘consumers.’⁹⁵ A further impact of industrialisation was the appearance of convenience foods. According to British historian Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, convenience foods precede industrial foods and were first prepared by small artisans on the streets of European cities in the Middle Ages.⁹⁶ Their popularity was consolidated by the development of commercial kitchens used to feed large numbers of workers from the factories of the industrial revolution.⁹⁷

Geophysical Factors: Terroir, ‘Place’ and Typicality

Studies of territory and *terroir* are amongst those that aim to understand the links between food and locale through the geophysical nature of the local environment. The geography of a locality includes soil type, water sources, topography, geology and climate, all of which have a bearing on local flora and fauna and their potential uses in food production. For example, dairying and cheese making are generally associated with pasturing regions with rich soils, while more arid areas may be associated with the grazing of certain breeds of cattle for meat production. The geophysical environment also influences the broad types of resulting products: thus in wine-making, many viticulturists are convinced of the direct relationship between vineyard soils and the specific qualities of resulting wines, and producers of meat and dairy products also argue that specific foraging environments give distinctive qualities to end products. These sorts of claims are supported by numerous scientific studies attempting to prove or refute the premise that geophysical factors bestow specific organoleptic qualities upon food products.⁹⁸

The concept of ‘place’ occupies a central role in the literature on local food. Even though it is notoriously difficult to define, place is commonly connected to the ‘territoriality’ of food, that is, the relationship between a food system and its context of production. In the literature, a distinction is made between globalised or conventional food systems, considered to be de-territorialised and detached from a specific place, and localised or alternative food systems, assumed to be more closely connected to a territorially defined production context.⁹⁹ The concept of embeddedness is widely used to characterise these two types of food systems; rural researcher Brian Ilbery and human geographer Mora Kneafsey refer to the dis-embedded, globalised food system as a ‘placeless foodscape’, related to countries such as the UK and the US, and to embedded, localised food systems typical of countries such as France and Italy.¹⁰⁰ However, food products can also become embedded through a process of

⁹⁵ ‘Producer and consumer’, *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, 1 March 1913: 31.

⁹⁶ F. Fernandez-Armesto, *Food: A History* (London: Macmillan, 2001).

⁹⁷ Jane M. Dixon, Sarah J. Hinde, and Cathy L. Banwell, ‘Obesity, convenience and ‘phood’’, *British Food Journal* 108 (8) (2006): 636 – 638.

⁹⁸ See for example: A. Teixeira, R. Delfa, and P. Alberta, ‘Influence of production factors on the characteristics of meat from ruminants in the Mediterranean area’ (Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Basis of Quality of Typical Mediterranean Animal Products, Spain, 29 September-2 October 1996, EAAP Publication No. 90, Wageningen Pers, the Netherlands, 1996); Mason, 1999; Berard and Marchenay, 1995: 153-164, cited in Tregear, 2001: 19.

⁹⁹ Ash Amin, ‘Regions unbound: Towards a new politics of place’, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 86 (1) (2004): 33-44.

¹⁰⁰ B. Ilbery and M. Kneafsey, ‘Registering regional speciality food and drink products in the UK: The case of PDOs and PGIs’, *Area* 32 (3) (2000): 317-325.

mobilisation of values and meanings that construct place as 'local.'¹⁰¹ Territorial embeddedness can be formalised through the creation of a 'quality' brand, for example, which may involve social and historic relationships that establish a connection between territory and the authenticity of a product. Far from being a fixed geographical entity, place emerges as a socio-cultural construction.¹⁰²

Carlo Petrini points out that due to a media focus on criteria for Michelin stars, Italy's traditional *osterias* (restaurants similar to French bistros), make use of subversive terms like 'tradition,' 'simplicity,' 'friendliness,' 'moderate prices' and above all *terroir*, a word Petrini uses throughout his book in a similar sense to the French word *terroir*. Petrini describes *terroir* as the combination of natural (soil, water, slope, height above sea level, vegetation, and microclimate) and human (tradition and practice of cultivation) factors that give the unique character to each locality and the food grown, raised, made, and cooked there.¹⁰³ The organisation Slow Food, founded by Petrini, links *terroir* with taste, place and culture. This is especially true at the Turin festival *Salone del Gusto*, held every second year, where *laboratory del gusto* (taste workshops) encourage attendees to use their sight, smell and touch to discern unique tastes to consider food's connection to the earth. Although Slow Food aims to develop better markets and create a more informed public to enable the preservation of artisanal food and wine, the focus is on connecting the senses with *terroir*. Petrini describes the experience of *terroir* as "the history, climate, the land...that have defined a cultural, economic and human story."¹⁰⁴

Cultural anthropologist Amy Trubek refers to the link between food and locale as 'taste of place.' Trubek argues that tasting *terroir* is aspirational, meaning one must adopt a sense of framing values that inform agricultural practices and shape physiological tastes. For example, the people growing certain food products or the cooks making certain dishes can enable others to taste place if they are given the cultural tools and structures to do so. *Terroir*, Trubek says, is "ultimately untranslatable because it never refers to specifics, only to universals: the earth, the human condition, the relationship between nature and culture."¹⁰⁵ Randall Grahm also sees *terroir* as aspirational: a desire to make and appreciate food and wine with place always in mind. There is, he says, only "terroir intelligence: [which] does not entirely repose in the site itself, of course, but within the relationship that exists between the land and those who have farmed that land over generations."¹⁰⁶ British author and expert on wine, Hugh Johnson, describes *terroir* as meaning "much more than what goes on below the surface. Properly understood, it means the whole ecology of a vineyard, every aspect of its surroundings from bedrock to late frosts and autumn mists, not excluding the way the vineyard is tended, nor even the soul of the vigneron."¹⁰⁷

Trubek contends that contemporary understandings of *terroir* assume quality is linked to an origin of some kind. However, this understanding is further complicated by the production, exchange and

¹⁰¹ Roberta Sonnino, 'The power of place: Embeddedness and local food systems in Italy and the UK', *Anthropology of Food. From Local Food to Localised Food* (S2, March 2007).

¹⁰² Amin, 2004.

¹⁰³ Petrini, 2003: 7-8.

¹⁰⁴ Carlo Petrini, 'Terrific terroir', *La Stampa*, February 27 2006. http://www.slowfood.com/international/food-for-thought/slow-talk/12146/terrific-terroir?-session=query_session:42F9436A053a723669pU8B74DC20. Accessed 13 August 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Trubek, 2008: 248-249. Trubek uses *terroir* interchangeably with 'taste of place' throughout her book.

¹⁰⁶ Grahm, 2006, quoted in Trubek, 2008: 249-50.

¹⁰⁷ H. Johnson, 'Foreword', in *Terroir: The Role of Geology, Climate and Culture in the Making of French Wines*, by James E. Wilson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998): 4.

consumption of *terroir* products in a global marketplace. Trubek traces the trajectory of *terroir* and *goût du terroir* in France to demonstrate that its current meaning – as an indicator of taste, place and quality – is a recent development.¹⁰⁸ For centuries, the French vision of *terroir* was bound up with the construction and preservation of a French agrarian ideal: the ‘taste-of-place-embedded-tradition’ in the French soil. The introduction of the 1855 Bordeaux wine classification changed this notion in the mid-nineteenth century. The attempt to codify the taste of place connected *terroir* to ideas of quality, an approach that gained momentum at the turn of the twentieth century as the notion of *terroir* became implicated in wine culture when *Appellations d’origine contrôlées* (AOC) was introduced as a system by the 1930s to protect French wines in a growing international marketplace. Thus the emergent relationship between taste, place, quality and wine culture took on a multi-faceted meaning in France. *Terroir* indicated a non-quantifiable cultural approach to place, such as local winemaking traditions and philosophies of flavour, but it also came to denote a scientific approach to place as something that could be known and studied.¹⁰⁹

Over the course of the twentieth century, the French notion of *terroir* assumed a meaning that became deeply connected to tradition, memory and identity. In an increasingly fast-paced and urbanised context, taste of place has become a conscious practice, a form of nostalgia for an agrarian history.¹¹⁰ As such, contemporary manifestations of *terroir* and *goût du terroir* in France can be best understood as a way of maintaining a national identity within a globalised economy. Trubek argues that we should value the French model because it embraces the cultural as well as the scientific components of *terroir*, but warns that the contemporary manifestation of the French taste of place also honours nostalgia and perpetuates a view of *terroir* as an essentialist form of heritage-making, which therefore precludes the imagination of new possibilities in a global context.¹¹¹ Trubek also explores the global circulation of the idea of *terroir* and shows how the concept gives rise to different interpretations and practices in the United States. The so-called Mondavi Affair in Aniane, France, in 2001 unfolded because the California-based winery had interpreted ‘place’ and ‘*terroir*’ to refer only to measurable geographic properties; it understood ‘soil’ only as the dirt itself to the exclusion of local tradition and identity, and as a result was denied the opportunity to build a winery by the citizens of Aniane.¹¹² Such present day articulations highlight the way in which *terroir* takes on different meanings in France and the US.

Culinary *terroir*, the progeny of California’s wine *terroir*, is based on the idea of environmental sustainability as a reaction to a delocalised food system, but the emergence of local cuisines and place-based food products introduces a cultural component, where consumers forge robust local agrarian food cultures.¹¹³ Slow Food emphasises that contemporary incarnations of *terroir* relate to consciously slowing down in a fast society and shaping the local in a delocalised world. In France, *terroir* can be interpreted as nostalgia for a bygone era and tradition in which French identity was rooted in the land.

¹⁰⁸ Trubek, 2008: 22.

¹⁰⁹ Trubek, 2008: 69; see also for example: Kollen M. Guy and Johns Hopkins University, *When Champagne Became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 121st Ser., 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Pierre Boisard, *Camembert: A National Myth*, trans. Richard Miller, California Studies in Food and Culture 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹¹⁰ Trubek, 2008: 52, 93.

¹¹¹ Trubek, 2008: 247.

¹¹² Trubek, 2008: 54-92.

¹¹³ Trubek, 2008: 237.

According to Trubek “the taste of place exists, as long as it matters.”¹¹⁴ The notion of the link between food and locale in terms of *terroir* could therefore be said to be somewhat mystical and unquantifiable, never referring to specifics, only universals, such as the relationship between nature and culture. Trubek argues that the taste of place is rooted in geography, however it is not solely confined to a region, contrary to the definitions favoured by many local foods scholars.¹¹⁵

Food ethics researcher Christian Coff considers the link between food and locale by delving into the distinction between so-called short-range and long-range food ethics, which he believes were inspired by Ancient Greek philosophy. Short-range ethics, according to Coff, were in evidence during pre-modern times, when both food production and consumption occurred within the same geographical locales. Hence, food ethics were limited to individuals’ immediate geographical and temporal contexts. However, as technological advancement and people’s capacity to intervene in the natural food growing processes increased and the consumption and production of food grew further and further apart both spatially and temporally, the implications of people’s dietary practices started to extend far beyond their local surroundings.¹¹⁶ Long-range ethics relate to this ever-increasing production-consumption gap, which, according to Coff, necessitates the expansion of consumers’ ethical concerns. By being distanced from the locale in which the food is produced, consumers remain unaware of the conditions associated with food production and are unable to assess the implications. Thus, for long-range ethics, knowledge takes the place of the direct experience on which short-range ethics are based. Consumers’ visions of the consequences of their choices are therefore somewhat blurred. According to Coff, consumers can only engage in the ethics of distance through the ethics of close proximity. They must experience the production “in the local and in the present.”¹¹⁷ Experience can be obtained either personally by visiting a farm for example, or in a mediated way from second-hand accounts.

Both scenarios allow for a ‘glimpsed’ experience of the link between local food and its geophysical environment. Consumers have the ability to extend their food ethics over lengthier distances as their personal experiences can turn the production history into some sort of narrative, consisting of information about the geophysical environment and other aspects of its production. Coff argues that this process is central to a consumer’s vision of food and locale. Consumers become both the receivers and the narrators. The narrative can be articulated in any way that connects the locale in a consumer’s mind, thus the food product itself becomes a reference to the absent conditions of the geophysical environment of which consumers previously had only a partial experience. The experience turned into a narrative becomes tied to the food and hence becomes a signifier of its geophysical facets. By bringing the absent into the present, consumers are connected beyond their immediate contexts.

The connection between geophysical factors and locale becomes problematic when local foods contain multiple ingredients and production processes become more complex. Thus so-called processed ‘resemblance’ or ‘stereotypical’ local foods rely heavily on marketing techniques to create connections to the locale from which they derive. The use of food narratives can be utilised as a nexus

¹¹⁴ Trubek, 2008: 250.

¹¹⁵ Trubek, 2008: 209.

¹¹⁶ C. Coff, *The Taste for Ethics: An Ethic of Food Consumption*, Vol. 7 (Springer, 2006): 107.

¹¹⁷ Peter Kemp, *L’irremplaçable. Une Éthique de la Technologie. (The Irreplaceable. An Ethics of Technology)* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1997): 99, cited in Coff, 2006: 99.

to further understanding the complex dynamics between material culture and meanings.¹¹⁸ The use of narratives is as much about making sense of how external factors shape practices and experiences as well as understanding how individuals experience the world.¹¹⁹ Thus narratives can represent an effort to humanise the process of commodity exchange, even if the commodity chain is globalised and the production is industrialised.¹²⁰ Marketing could therefore be redefined as a narrative project, using market research to identify stories that can be turned into rhetorical metaphors. Marketing narratives are particularly likely to appeal to consumers seeking to achieve their 'ideal story' where the rhetoric becomes central to a consumer's vision of food ethics. Studies show that strong emotions are generated when consumers sense a match between an actual or potential story and their ideal one.¹²¹ Narratives are an integral and pervasive aspect of all human cultures. Products or brands essentially become the central characters in their own stories and marketing plans are, in essence, stories: "they have a beginning, a middle and an end; a valued end point (marketing objectives); selection of events relevant to the goal state (the marketing mix); and an ordering of events (marketing programs)."¹²² The connection between local food and the geophysical environment in the research outside of Australia appears to be easily specifiable when artisanal on-farm production and singular ingredients are involved, for example olive oil or unprocessed fresh foods; however when local foods become processed and involve multiple ingredients, other means such as marketing narratives are relied upon to signify the locale from which the local food derives.

Scholarly attention has also been given to the history of Geographic Indications (GIs) and Appellations, particularly with regard to legal and economic implications of protection. This scholarship focuses primarily on Southern Europe, where the concept of regionalisation is widely believed to have originated. Food producers view geography and the knowledge embodied in food products as the criteria for certifying genuineness.¹²³ The Common Agricultural Policy reform in 1992 in Europe led to a shift from a quantity to a quality focused food policy, reflecting the European Community's observation that consumers attach greater importance to the quality, rather than the quantity, of foodstuffs.¹²⁴ Council-Regulation (EEC) No. 2081/92 on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs answers the growing demand for agricultural products or foodstuffs with an identifiable geographical origin. Other objectives of the regulation include the harmonisation of national legal practices for the protection of Geographical Indications and the securing of higher incomes for producers with registered products, especially in less-favoured (northern) areas. The preamble explicitly refers to the success of geographical

¹¹⁸ J. Paddock, 'Household consumption and environmental change: Rethinking the policy problem through narratives of food practice', *Journal of Consumer Culture* (2015): 1-18.

¹¹⁹ C. K. Riessman, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008).

¹²⁰ Josée Johnston, Andrew Biro, and Norah MacKendrick, 'Lost in the supermarket: The corporate-organic foodscape and the struggle for food democracy', *Antipode* 41 (3) (2009): 509-532.

¹²¹ R. Sternberg, *Love Is a Story: A New Theory of Relationships* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹²² A. Shankar, R. Elliott, and C. Goulding, 'Understanding consumption: Contributions from a narrative perspective', *Journal of Marketing Management* 17 (3-4) (2001): 429-453.

¹²³ See for example: Gilles Allaire, François Casabianca, and Erik Thévenod-Mottet, 'Geographical origin: A complex feature of agro-food products', in *Labels of Origin for Food. Local Development, Global Recognition*, eds. E. Barham and B. Sylvander (CABI International, 2011): 1-12; G. Allaire and S. Wolf, 'Cognitive representations and institutional hybridity in agro-food systems of innovation', *Science, Technology and Human Values* 29 (2004): 431-458.

¹²⁴ Official Journal of the European Communities, Council Regulation (EEC) No. 2081/92 of 14 July 1992, on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs. OJ No L 208, 24/07/92 (1992): 1-8.

indications in certain southern member states. So far, success in these particular countries is based on wine and, to a much smaller extent, cheese. Despite the fact that protected geographical indications also exist for industrial products (such as Brussels lace), this law was introduced solely for agricultural products and foodstuffs, excluding wine and spirits.¹²⁵ Since the European Union made the protection of geographical indications one of its premises, several researchers have analysed the economic and institutional conditions for developing protected designation of origin/protected geographical indication (PDO/PGI) products.¹²⁶ Despite this, not one single factor could be identified that guarantees a PDO/PGI product to be successful. The researchers conclude that a combination of factors are required, including: product specificity; relevant market factors (related to supply and demand); operator motivation of the participants; coordination and cooperation in terms of product and marketing management; and legitimacy and effectiveness of institutional support (relating to internal organisation).¹²⁷

A considerable amount has also been written about agro-food products that have special characteristics related to territory. A number of European authors refer to the combination of the geophysical and human facets of local food production shaped over time as 'typicality' or 'typicity'.¹²⁸ Although many related terms exist, for example 'typical products',¹²⁹ 'origin labelled products',¹³⁰ 'traditional foods',¹³¹ 'regional speciality products',¹³² 'artisanal products'¹³³ and 'special quality' or 'quality farm' products,¹³⁴ shared meanings are attached to the properties of these products. In general, 'typical' products are defined as "issuing from small-scale agricultural systems, with special characteristics due to the combination of local raw materials with traditional, inherited, production

¹²⁵ J. F. Heine, 'The new community system for protecting geographical indications', *Gewerblicher Rechtsschutz und Urheberrecht* 2 (1993): 96-103, cited in Thiedig and Bertil, 2000.

¹²⁶ D. Barjolle and B. Sylvander, 'Success factors of regional products whose designation of origin is protected in the EU' (Fromart - session 3-5, Zurich, May 2000).

¹²⁷ Frank Thiedig and Bertil Sylvander, 'Welcome to the club? An economical approach to geographical indications in European Union', *Agrarwirtschaft*, Jahrgang 49 (2000): 428-437.

¹²⁸ Ceccarelli, Grandi, and Magagnoli, 2013; Tregear, 2003.

¹²⁹ F. Arfini and C. Mora, eds., *Typical and Traditional Products: Rural Effect and Agroindustrial Problems*, (proceedings of the 52nd seminar of the European Association of Agricultural Economists, 19-21 June 1997), (Parma, Italy: Istituto de Economia Agraria e Forestale, Università di Parma, 1998).

¹³⁰ D. Barjolle and B. Sylvander, 'Some factors of success for origin labelled products in agrifood supply chains in Europe: Market, internal resources and institutions' (paper presented at the 67th seminar of the European Association of Agricultural Economists, Le Mans, France, 27-29 October 1999).

¹³¹ J. Bessière, 'Local development and heritage: Traditional food and cuisine as tourist attractions in rural areas', *Sociologia Ruralis* 38 (1) (1998): 21-34; V. Amilien, 'Is grandmother's cuisine traditional food? A concept definition in tourism research' (Proceedings of the 8th Nordic Symposium in Hospitality and Tourism Research, Alta, Norway, 18-21 November 1999); K. De Roest and A. Menghi, 'Reconsidering 'traditional' food: The case of Parmigiano Reggiano cheese', *Sociologia Ruralis* 40 (4) (2000): 439-451.

¹³² A. Tregear, S. Kuznesof, and A. Moxey, 'Policy initiatives for regional foods: Some insights from consumer research', *Food Policy* 23 (5) (1998): 383-394; B. Ilbery and M. Kneafsey, 'Producer constructions of quality in regional speciality food production: A case study from south west England', *Journal of Rural Studies* 16 (2000a): 217-230; B. Ilbery and M. Kneafsey, 'Registering regional speciality food and drink products in the United Kingdom: The case of PDOs and PGIs', *Area* 32 (3) (2000b): 317-325.

¹³³ B. Kupiec and B. Revell, 'Speciality and artisanal cheeses today: The product and the consumer', *British Food Journal* 100 (5) (1998): 236-243.

¹³⁴ J. Murdoch, T. Marsden, and J. Banks, 'Quality, nature and embeddedness: Some theoretical considerations in the context of the food sector', *Economic Geography* 76 (2) (2000): 107-125; I. Verhaegen and G. Van Huylenbroeck, 'Costs and benefits for farmers participating in innovative marketing channels for quality food products', *Journal of Rural Studies* 17 (2001): 443-456.

techniques.”¹³⁵ This conceptualisation is enshrined in EU law, via Regulation 2081/92 related to Protected Designations of Origin (PDO) for foods, characterised by the name of a particular place to designate products deriving from this area and therefore having a specific quality.¹³⁶ Under this legislation, producers of typical products may apply to have their products designated PDO or PGI.

The classic concept of typical products is based on ‘Roman’ (French and Italian) conventions.¹³⁷ These particular conventions denote the legal arrangements in France and Italy that regulate the production and labelling of agro-food products by geographic origin. The arrangements are based on a strong cultural belief in the existence of a relationship between geographic origin and special qualities in such foods. This classic concept pervades academic debates about local food in Europe and prescribes how food-territory links should be understood. However, local food is a complex concept that encompasses factors beyond its regulation by laws and rules. Scholars agree that a broader examination of how food and territory are inter-related via a more in-depth, historical account of the production and consumption forces shaping the links between food and territory provides a more sophisticated reading of the relationship between local food and forces such as industrialisation, globalisation and government intervention.¹³⁸ This approach would illustrate how specific contexts and conventions in other countries can offer a different and more insightful picture of the links between food and territory.

Food marketing researcher Georges Giraud undertakes a broader examination of typicality by considering it as a twofold concept, where the main understanding is based on the idea of resemblance. A typical product could be considered either a ‘traditional’ artisan-made product, or a ‘stereotypical’ product, which is branded and more industrialised. Consumers who appreciate stereotypical products are often disposed to brand names and may have limited knowledge of the production of the actual underlying product. Such consumers could be tourists for example, or those that respond to mass marketing: curious but not necessarily experts. A traditional product, on the other hand, is an archetype, produced in a traditional manner with a high level of authenticity, and is usually an artisanal, on-farm, and sometimes certified product, with clear traceability. An archetype has singular attributes and its market positioning is based on uniqueness compared to other competing products. Consumers who appreciate archetypal products often have a deep knowledge of the given product and are aligned with niche market consumers.¹³⁹

This second understanding of typicality is complementary. In the marketing literature, two words exist: *typicité* and *typicalité* (the English version for both appears to be typicality). The word typicality is rarely used alone in the literature and is more often included in the expression ‘typicality

¹³⁵ L. Bérard and P. Marchenay, ‘Places, time and evidence. The social construction of local products’, *Terrain* 24 (1995): 153-164; D. Bell and G. Valentine, *Consuming Geographies: We are Where We Eat* (London: Routledge, 1997); J. Bessièrè, ‘Local development and heritage: Traditional food and cuisine as tourist attractions in rural areas’, *Sociologia Ruralis* 38 (1) (1998): 21-34; Tregear, 2001, 19; P. Mongondry, ‘Definition of traditional food products?’ (Presentation at IP Traditional Food in Combating Foodborne Pathogens TAMK, Tampere, 2013), <http://www.mf.uni-mb.si/mf/instituti/IPweb2013/html/presentation/mp2.pdf>, accessed 8 July 2015.

¹³⁶ Commission of the European Communities. *Council Regulation (EEC) No. 2081/92 of July 14, 1992.*

¹³⁷ Thiedig and Sylvander, 2000.

¹³⁸ See for example: Tregear, 2003: 103-104.

¹³⁹ G. Giraud, ‘The role of typicality judgement in consumer choice process with respect to food: A theoretical framework’ (International Food and Agribusiness Management Association, World Food and Agribusiness Symposium, Chicago, Illinois, 2005): 3-6.

judgement.’ The terminology explains the decision-making processes of consumers when they are unsure about a product, resulting in the use of external quality cues as shortcuts for information, such as brand, price and other guarantee signals as a means of cognitive process simplification.¹⁴⁰ In this way consumers prioritise either ‘resemblance’ or ‘difference’ traits. The choice of resemblance products leads to stereotypical brands with traits that are easily acknowledgeable. The choice of difference leads to archetypical products that have distinctive traits. In the case of a resemblance-based choice, the stereotype’s attributes must satisfy consumers’ expectations of reassurance and risk minimisation. Sensory attributes must satisfy a broad range of consumers; the product must be widely accessible and have a strong identifiable brand and would most likely be conveniently purchased from a supermarket. Strongly branded and identifiable products play a key role as they give consumers positive feelings of reassurance and guarantees of quality and safety.¹⁴¹ Typicality therefore can reflect both human-created facets of production as well as inherent facets of the geophysical environment. If the product is stereotypical, it is more likely to reflect stronger human elements of production, such as processing and branding, and would thus appeal to a broader market category. If the product is traditional, its attributes would more likely reflect aspects of its geophysical environment, as the raw materials would have been sourced from the locale in which it was produced. The techniques of production would also be evident; however these would reflect artisanal on-farm methods with clear traceability.

Among scholars who study the connection between the geophysical and the human facets of local foods through the lens of ‘typicality,’ historian Madeleine Ferrieres examines *terroir* as one aspect of this concept. She believes that *terroir* has a wider meaning than ‘territory’, suggesting that the geographical characterisation of foods preceded the birth of gastronomic tradition.¹⁴² During the *Ancien Regime*, artisan produce tended to be protected on an explicitly geographical basis, partly as a result of the rise of guilds in the Middle Ages. Conversely, by the time of industrialisation in England, the commercial revolution brought about “*l’affirmation d’une typicité sans terroir*” – typical products not derived from the earth.¹⁴³ Food historian Laura Prosperi argues that the connection between food and locale can be traced to earlier times, stating that attention to the association between food and its place of origin was widespread from the late Middle Ages to the Early Modern Age.¹⁴⁴ Sociologist Maura Franchi argues that local products evoke ‘elsewhere’ geographies from other times or places, with aspects of legend or myth in their background. Many ancient cookbooks, for example Apicius, from the fifth century in Rome, included ingredients because of their places or origin as much as for their contributions to the flavour of the dish.¹⁴⁵ The legendary or mythical aspect of locale, Franchi states, often “needs to be built up” by placing appreciation within a context of cultural references.

¹⁴⁰ E. P. Köster, ‘The psychology of food choice: Some often encountered fallacies’, *Food Quality and Preference* 14 (2003): 359-373.

¹⁴¹ Giraud, 2005: 3-6.

¹⁴² M. Ferrieres, ‘Terroir: Milestone in the history of a word,’ in *Typicality in History: Tradition, Innovation, and Terroir*, eds. Giovanni Ceccarelli, Alberto Grandi, and Stefano Magagnoli (European Food Issues, 2013): 23-44; Ceccarelli et al., 2013.

¹⁴³ Ferrieres, 2013: 23-44.

¹⁴⁴ Laura Prosperi, ‘The building of typicality as food patter (Italy, XIV-XVI centuries),’ in *Typicality in History: Tradition, Innovation, and Terroir*, eds. Giovanni Ceccarelli, Alberto Grandi, and Stefano Magagnoli (European Food Issues, 2013): 87-96.

¹⁴⁵ M. Franchi, ‘The contents of typical food products: Tradition, myth, memory. Some notes on nostalgia marketing,’ in *Typicality in History: Tradition, Innovation, and Terroir*, eds. Giovanni Ceccarelli, Alberto Grandi, and Stefano Magagnoli (European Food Issues, 2013): 45-68.

Thus taste is “both premise and result in the construction of a typical food product”, and the result of storytelling.¹⁴⁶ This leads to a reconsideration of marketing, which has provided a testing ground for newly constructed local products since the time of industrialisation.

Country of Origin Labelling

A further factor to consider in understanding the connection between food and locale relates to consumer perceptions of labelling schemes that make reference to the origin of a product. The end qualities attached to local foods and the perceptions of consumers with regard to these products is explored in country of origin consumer research. This research investigates how the indication of place of origin (usually country) on a product’s label impacts on consumer perceptions and purchasing behaviour. Food labelling is thus used to identify a multitude of features and characteristics that set local food products apart from other competing food products. Such label information not only includes a product’s place of origin, but also other unregulated criteria, such as its brand, quality, production methods, nutrition and health information, and whether the product has local or ‘ethical’ characteristics, for example.¹⁴⁷ These many characteristics pose a challenge to researchers in their understandings of consumer preferences.

While no historical studies on the evolution of country of origin labelling were found, many empirical studies exist in the field of country of origin research, largely focused on Europe and the United States (US). A US study done by Wuyang Hu et al., for example, explores consumer willingness to pay for products differentiated with interpretations of ‘local’.¹⁴⁸ In the study, local production included three levels: sub-state regional, state (i.e. certification indicating a product is locally produced within a specific state) and multi-state. Consumers were asked to consider a processed fresh product, enabling judgement about whether or not local production was valued and what the extent of local was for such products. Other characteristics under consideration included whether the product was store branded, regionally branded or nationally branded. The study found that ‘national’ branding of the product was relatively important in consumer choice and resulted in higher frequency of selection relative to a store brand or regional product brand identification. The presence of a sub-state logo was shown to significantly increase the likelihood that a product would be selected. Sub-state level and multi-state level labels of production location were more important still. Consumers were willing to pay more for the product labelled as produced in the region than those bearing a state-level logo. Knowledge that the product was produced in a specific region within the state also enhanced the likelihood that the product would be selected. The results supported the notion that consumers were willing to support small family farms if the product was clearly labelled as such, and that consumers were prepared to pay more for a product labelled as produced in the region. The results of the study suggested that respondents were no more likely to purchase a product that was produced in their region of the state than produced elsewhere in the state. A conclusion of Hu et al.’s study was that food producers and marketers could increase profit by employing better-defined marketing strategies

¹⁴⁶ Franchi, 2013.

¹⁴⁷ See for example: U.S. Food and Drug Administration, ‘Food Labelling Guide’.

<http://www.fda.gov/downloads/Food/GuidanceRegulation/UCM265446.pdf>, accessed 28 October 2015; Food Standards Australia and New Zealand, ‘Food Standards Code’, 2016,

<http://www.foodstandards.gov.au/code/Pages/default.aspx>, accessed 28 October 2015.

¹⁴⁸ W. Hu et al., ‘Consumer preferences for local production and other value-added label claims for a processed food product’, *European Review of Agricultural Economics* 39 (3) (2012): 489–510.

related to place. Given the importance of other indicators of local production, local brands were significantly less preferred relative to national brands. Possibly this was due to limited knowledge of the sub-state and state-level brands by most consumers. If the brand had been better marketed as a local product, sales may have been greater. Hu et al.'s study determined that exploration of this hypothesis could be done using well-known local products or by providing the consumer with more information regarding product origin.¹⁴⁹

Sharron Kuznesof et al. took a more in-depth approach in a study of consumer perceptions of 'regional' and 'northern' foods in the UK. The study found that food and geography may be linked together in more complex ways and the nature of the consumer perceptions of these links is likely to reflect this complexity.¹⁵⁰ In the study, participants were asked to give examples of 'regional' foods and then discuss in depth their perceptions and behaviour relating to each food. Consumers attached a variety of meanings to the term 'regional food', describing it as being food specific to a country, region or area; products suited to a climatic area; and the 'free food' of an area. Associations were also made with certain types of lifestyles: 'old-fashioned food', 'poorer people's food' and 'home-cooked food'. The authors identified the dimension of tradition or heritage in regional food (distinguishing regional food from other types of food) as derived from a combination of custom and locale-related features. Particular climatic conditions or soil types, meanwhile, constituted the more geophysical or locale-related means by which a food may be perceived as regional. Although this research gives more detailed insights into how local foods may be perceived by consumers, it was carried out over a decade ago and in the UK, therefore a more comprehensive account of the end product qualities associated with such foods is required. Both studies do, however, highlight the complexity of the meanings attached to local foods outside of Australia, which suggests that perceptions of the end product qualities of these foods are varied and complex in terms of origin labelling.

Marketing of Local Foods

The emphasis so far has been on reviewing what the existing literature has documented regarding definitions of the 'local', and what factors have influenced the ways in which these foods are perceived. Three distinguishing dimensions have been identified: geophysical factors, human factors and country of origin labelling. Labelling shows how local distinctiveness in foods can be shaped by the producers and marketers of local foods. Products may be marketed as highly prized items and achieve a certain prominence; thus, they become 'specialities' associated with their place of origin. In the industrialisation era, efforts to brand certain foods gave rise to distinctive identities, turning them into place-associated specialities. The notion of local distinctiveness as an attractive product feature appealing to consumers is derived from the marketing perspective of food products, by which objects are analysed not in terms of their place in social history, their physical composition, or the techniques of their production, but rather in terms of what they offer and communicate to consumers at certain points in time within an economic exchange transaction.

The marketing perspective infers that products are exchange commodities offered up by producers with the goal of attracting a purchaser by emphasising superior qualities to those offered by competing products. In this sense, any local food product is thought of as a set of tangible and

¹⁴⁹ Hu et al., 2012: 506-7.

¹⁵⁰ S. Kuznesof, A. Tregear, and A. Moxey. 'Regional foods: A consumer perspective', *British Food Journal* 99 (6) (1997): 199-211.

intangible features and qualities from which a consumer may derive value.¹⁵¹ A product therefore has a set of core benefits: these represent the fundamental reasons why a consumer purchases it. For local food products the reasons may involve the enjoyment of distinctive local flavours and aesthetic qualities such as product texture, flavour, appearance, packaging and brand name - product features which can be recognised and perceived through the senses that can be adjusted to communicate certain core benefits. For example, 'locally made' jam, packaged in a cloth and ribbon covered recycled screw-top jar with a hand-written label, communicates different core benefits to jam that is packaged in a more sophisticated jar with a brightly coloured and commercially printed label. There is also the value added product level: all the additional service features which are conducive to the purchase of the product and its core benefits. In terms of local foods, these may include the assurance of a direct relationship between the producer of the product and the end consumer, the provision of product origin information and safety guarantees, or the emotional and aesthetic experience connected to the product.

Theorists Joseph Pine and James Gilmore refer to the emotional and aesthetic experience as "the experience economy". The authors describe the experience economy as the next type of economy following the agrarian economy, the industrial economy and the most recent service economy. They argue that true economic growth requires value creation that goes beyond basic products and services themselves. Thus intangible and subjective factors such as experiences increasingly translate into benefits. According to Pine and Gilmore, in order to avoid commodification and decreasing returns, businesses needed to find ways of "experientialising" their offerings.¹⁵² This theory connotes a major shift in consumer attitudes, with the emphasis being placed on meaningful experience as a basic marketing requirement when providing service and business.¹⁵³ The authors use the example of a birthday cake to explain the concept. In the agrarian economy, a birthday cake was made from scratch using place-associated farm commodities (flour, sugar, butter and eggs) that would involve minimal cost. As the industrial economy advanced, convenient processed and premixed ingredients were available for purchase at a higher cost. Later, when the service economy emerged, decorated birthday cakes could be ordered from a bakery, costing ten times as much as the premixed ingredients. Now consumers are able to outsource an entire birthday event at an even higher price, where the cake is only one component of the experience associated with the birthday event.

Consumers increasingly desire such 'experiences' and more and more businesses respond by explicitly designing and promoting them. Pine and Gilmore refer to this pattern as being the "progression of economic value."¹⁵⁴ A number of elements have contributed to the emergence of the experience economy, including growing levels of wealth, the breakdown of traditional divisions between work and leisure, the emergence of 'lifestyle' and the expanded range of choices which this implies, the globalisation of culture (products and services), the growth in consumerism, the commodification of aesthetic experience and having emotional needs satisfied in ways that go beyond tangible service

¹⁵¹ See for example: P. Kotler, S. Burton, K. Deans, L. Brown, and G. Armstrong, 'New products', in *Marketing*, 9th Edn. (Pearson Australia, 2013): 316-351; D. W. Cravens N. F. and Percy, 'Planning new products', in *Strategic Marketing*, 8th Edn. (McGraw Hill International Edition, 2006): 221-249.

¹⁵² J. Pine and J. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy* (Boston: Harvard Business Review Press, 2011): 23.

¹⁵³ J. Pine and J. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy: Work is Theatre and Every Business a Stage* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1999).

¹⁵⁴ J. Pine and J. Gilmore, 'Welcome to the experience economy', *Harvard Business Review* 76 (4) (1998): 97-105.

and products. Consumers have become the driving force in product and service development and experience the process of consuming a product or service as well as placing a value on that experience. According to researcher Tom Baum, “consumers are seeking an integrated bundling of products and services in a way that generates responses across a range of their intellectual, emotional and aesthetic senses.”¹⁵⁵ The experience economy recognises that consumer culture is an enormously important element in global culture; thus the success of commercial products of all kinds depends on the experiences of consumers. The global marketplace, in which the now rapid cultural exchange of ideas and products, values, desires and emotions takes place, has changed the understanding of goods and services and of producers and consumers. A dramatic increase in the commoditisation of products across all markets has coincided with an increasingly affluent society which craves stimuli as it develops and self-actualises.¹⁵⁶

The marketing perspective highlights that local foods can be analysed from multiple viewpoints: the geophysical factors involved in their production, origin in terms of locale, the human and cultural factors surrounding production and the more intangible end product qualities and experiences these foods offer to the consumer. Consumers project their understandings onto products, regardless of what the product is in reality.¹⁵⁷ The marketing perspective also highlights that producers may manipulate products to communicate ideas about a product, which may conflict with the product history.¹⁵⁸ The marketing perspective also introduces the notion of local as a fluid, imagined entity, subject to the manipulations and interpretations of the individuals involved in local food production, distribution and consumption.

Definitions of Local Food

Interest in local food has increased in popularity amongst the general public as well as in academia over the past few decades, resulting in an abundance of scholarly literature. Compared with two decades ago, the past decade has seen an increased focus on consumer analysis, for example Stephanie Chambers et al.’s qualitative study of local, national and imported foods in the UK. The UK government’s promotion of direct sales of foods at the local level arose in response to the EU commitment to develop a ten year plan for sustainable consumption. This promotion is based on the view that food consumed closer to its point of production has the potential to provide economic, environmental and social benefits in relation to sustainable consumption. Chambers et al.’s study identified six relevant themes in relation to local, national and imported foods: cost, lifestyle, food quality, consumer ethnocentrism, choice and support for farmers. Even though enthusiasm for supporting British products generally was greater than the willingness to buy local produce, participants reported widespread enthusiasm across socio-economic groups for local foods, perceiving them as being of a higher quality than imported foods.¹⁵⁹ In an analysis of US consumers, Kim Darby et al.’s study addresses the geographical extent of local as well as the value consumers

¹⁵⁵ Tom Baum, ‘Reflections on the nature of skills in the experience economy: Challenging traditional skills models in hospitality’, *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 13 (2) (2006): 124.

¹⁵⁶ S. Shaw and J. Ivens, *Building Great Customer Experiences* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002): 1.

¹⁵⁷ L. Trognon, ‘The influences of territorial identity on consumer preferences: A contribution based on the RIPPLE programme’ (paper presented at Consumer Preferences for Products of Own Region/Country and Consequences for Food Marketing, 23-26 April 1998, Kiel, Germany), AIR-CAT Project 4 (3) (MATFORSK, As, Norway, 1998); cited in Tregear, 2001.

¹⁵⁸ As discussed by Amilien, 1999 and Tregear et al., 1998.

¹⁵⁹ S. Chambers et al., ‘Local, national and imported foods: A qualitative study’, *Appetite* 49 (2007): 208–213.

place on local production as distinct from other factors such as farm size and product freshness. The study reveals that consumers believe food produced and grown within state and nearby boundaries serves as a natural point of geographic delineation for 'local' production. The results also suggest that consumer demand exists for locally produced foods independent of other attributes often associated with them, such as greater freshness and decreased affiliation with corporate production and marketing entities.¹⁶⁰ An example of European consumer analysis can be found in Filiep Vanhonacker et al.'s survey data collected from Belgium, France, Italy, Norway, Poland, and Spain, revealing country-specific peculiarities regarding consumer perceptions of 'traditional' food products (TFP). The use of the word 'local' was considered too narrow to reflect the concept of origin, particularly in the Norwegian sample, although 'Norway' or 'Norwegian' appeared very frequently in the qualitative approach. Based on the data, the authors suggest that "a traditional food product is a product frequently consumed or associated to specific celebrations and/or seasons, transmitted from one generation to another, made in a specific way according to gastronomic heritage, naturally processed, and distinguished and known because of its sensory properties and associated to a certain local area, region or country."¹⁶¹ In another European study by Luis Guerrero et al., residents of southern European regions tended to associate the concept of 'traditional' with broader concepts such as heritage, culture or history, while central and Nordic European regions tended to focus on more practical issues such as convenience, health or appropriateness.¹⁶²

Concurrently, consumer confidence in conventional foods has decreased as a result of food scares, and scholars report that many consumers now feel alienated from modern-day food production.¹⁶³ Alison Blay-Palmer argues that the industrialisation of food has created the conditions for food scares, in conjunction with other social, environmental and diet-related health issues that have encouraged US consumers to seek out alternative food sources.¹⁶⁴ In the academic literature there have been efforts to quantify local food consumption and production capacity as well as attempts to link local food to health outcomes. Christian Peters et al. present a method for mapping potential foodsheds: land areas that could theoretically feed urban centres in the US.¹⁶⁵ In the environmental literature,

¹⁶⁰ K. Darby et al., 'Decomposing local: A conjoint analysis of locally produced foods', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 90 (2008): 476–486.

¹⁶¹ F. Vanhonacker et al., 'How European consumers define the concept of traditional food: Evidence from a survey in six countries', *Agribusiness* 26 (2010): 453–476.

¹⁶² Luis Guerrero et al., 'Perception of traditional food products in six European countries using free word association', *Food Quality and Preference* 21 (2) (2010): 225–233.

¹⁶³ Morgan et al draw a stylised distinction between two agri-food systems: the conventional food system, dominated by productivist agriculture and large companies producing food on a national and global scale, and the alternative food system, associated with a more ecological approach and smaller companies producing food for more localised markets. See: K. Morgan, T. Marsden, and J. Murdoch, 2006. *Worlds of Food*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 2.

¹⁶⁴ A. Blay-Palmer, *Food Fears: From Industrial to Sustainable Food Systems* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008).

¹⁶⁵ C. J. Peters et al., 'Mapping potential food-sheds in New York State: A spatial model for evaluating the capacity to localize food production', *Renewable Agriculture and Food Systems* 24 (1) (2008): 72–84; For other US studies see also: D. Timmons, Q. Wang, and D. Lass, 'Local foods: Estimating capacity', *Journal of Extension* 46 (5) (2008): 1-11, article no. 5FEA7; A. Gustafson, D. Cavallo, and A. Paxton, 'Linking homegrown and locally produced fruits and vegetables to improving access and intake in communities through policy and environmental change', *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 7 (4) (2007): 584–585; M. S. Nanney et al., 'Frequency of eating homegrown produce is associated with higher intake among parents and their preschool-aged children in rural Missouri', *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 107 (2007): 577–584.

empirical analyses aim to determine whether production of local food uses more energy than that used by conventionally grown foods, and researchers such as Gail Feenstra argue that local foods are an economically viable alternative to the global industrial food production system.¹⁶⁶ The combined result is that the local food movement has attracted a large amount of scholarly support across Australia, North America, Europe and the UK, with advocates promoting the social, economic, and environmental benefits of local food initiatives.¹⁶⁷

Much of the earlier scholarship on local food movements position them in a positive light, for example Berit Nygård and Oddveig Storstad assert that local food is safer, purer and more natural.¹⁶⁸ Fred Curtis argues that it is a way for communities to become self-reliant and achieve environmental sustainability;¹⁶⁹ Thomas Lyson suggests it is a way to reconnect with the land and sense of place¹⁷⁰ and Amory Starr proposes that it is a social movement.¹⁷¹ As the movement has matured, detractors such as Patricia Allen and Clare Hinrichs have written about the social justice and equity elements of local food by highlighting the implicit disregard of the needs of low-income consumers and a disproportionate favouring of the interests of farms and farmers.¹⁷² Patricia Allen et al.¹⁷³ and Melanie DuPuis and David Goodman¹⁷⁴ question the assumed 'goodness' of local food by examining its limitations in terms of its scale as well as its potential to reinforce inequality. Allen refers to 'defensive' localism, cautioning that "localism can be based on a category of 'otherness' that reduces the lens of who we care about."¹⁷⁵ Other authors suggest that defensive localism stresses homogeneity, leading to nativist sentiments, labelling such initiatives as elitist, exclusive and inequitable.¹⁷⁶ Assertions regarding the environmental and health claims of local food have additionally been critiqued at

¹⁶⁶ G. Feenstra, 'Creating space for sustainable food systems: Lessons from the field', *Agriculture and Human Values* 19 (2) (2002): 100; See also D. Coley, M. Howard, and M. Winter, 'Local food, food miles and carbon emissions: a comparison of farm shop and mass distribution approaches', *Food Policy* 34 (2) (2008): 150–155.

¹⁶⁷ For a summary of the myriad of local food advocacy platforms see: P. Allen and C. Hinrichs, 'Buying into "buy local": Engagements of United States local food initiatives', in *Constructing Alternative Food Geographies: Representation and Practice*, eds. L. Holloway, D. Maye, and M. Kneafsy, (Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2007): 255–272.

¹⁶⁸ Berit Nygård and Oddveig Storstad, 'De-Globalization of food markets? Consumer perceptions of safe food: the case of Norway', *Sociologia Ruralis* 38 (1) (1998): 35-53.

¹⁶⁹ Fred Curtis, 'Eco-localism and sustainability', *Ecological Economics* 46 (1) (2003): 83-102.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Lyson, *Civic Agriculture: Reconnecting Farm, Food, and Community* (Medford, MA: Tufts University Press, 2004).

¹⁷¹ A. Starr, 'Local food: a social movement?', *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 10 (6) (2010): 479-490.

¹⁷² P. Allen, *Together at the Table: Sustainability and Sustainance in the American Agrifood System* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2004); Hinrichs, 2000: 295–303.

¹⁷³ P. Allen et al., 'Shifting plates in the agrifood landscape: The tectonics of alternative agrifood initiatives in California', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (1) (2003): 61-75.

¹⁷⁴ E. Melanie DuPuis and David Goodman, 'Should we go 'home' to eat?: Toward a reflexive politics of localism', *Journal of Rural Studies* 21 (3) (2005): 359-371.

¹⁷⁵ P. Allen, 'Reweaving the food security net: Mediating entitlement and entrepreneurship', *Agriculture and Human Values* 16 (2) (1999): 122.

¹⁷⁶ See for example: C. C. Hinrichs, 'The practice and politics of food system localization', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (1) (2003): 33–45; L. B. Delind, 'Market niches, "cul de sacs", and social context: Alternative systems of food production', *Culture and Agriculture* 13 (47) (1993): 7–12; Dupuis and Goodman, 2005.

length.¹⁷⁷ Branden Born and Mark Purcell¹⁷⁸ and Gareth Edwards-Jones et al.¹⁷⁹ make a strong case that local food is not necessarily more sustainable than global food and discuss the problems with assuming inherently positive impacts at a local scale, and Roberta Sonnino and Terry Marsden argue that it is not possible to distinguish easily between the merits of alternative and more conventional mechanisms of food supply.¹⁸⁰ Julie Guthman considers organics and sustainable agriculture and highlights the potential for exclusion¹⁸¹, and Clare Hinrichs et al. describe an inability to understand a consumer segment that is diverse in terms of income, education, and occupational backgrounds.¹⁸² Other scholars such as Gwendolyn Blue note that the preference for local food is embedded in neoliberal forms of governance and helps to reinforce these problematic institutions by placing the burden of food system reform on individuals rather than governments.¹⁸³

Laura DeLind notes that the potential for local food systems to promote equity, citizenship, place-building, and sustainability, which she noted in regards to Kenneth Dalhberg's notion of a regenerative food system in 1993,¹⁸⁴ has not been realised. She attributes this failure to an over-emphasis on individual consumption and commerce, to the fact that those who control the food system (such as large chain supermarkets) are increasingly setting the popular limits for what is and what is not reasonably local, and to the influence of the rhetoric of popular food writers.¹⁸⁵ However, despite these criticisms, local food movements have continued to grow.

As mentioned in the introduction, Daniele Giovannucci et al. and other US researchers argue that there are many reasons why a renewed concept of 'local' has emerged. These include a desire for freshness, support for the local economy and traditions, the belief that reduced transportation and processing positively impacts climate change, lower cost, a relationship with farmers and the community, food safety, food security, improved nutrition, better flavour, a backlash against a disconnection from the land and feelings of alienation.¹⁸⁶ In terms of the definition of the geographic

¹⁷⁷ G. Edwards-Jones et al., 'Testing the assertion that "local food is best": The challenges of an evidence-based approach', *Food Science and Technology* 19 (5) (2008): 265–274.

¹⁷⁸ B. Born and M. Purcell, 'Avoiding the local trap: Scale and food systems in planning research', *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 26 (2006): 195–207.

¹⁷⁹ Edwards-Jones et al., 2008.

¹⁸⁰ R. Sonnino and T. Marsden, 'Beyond the divide: Rethinking relationships between alternative and conventional food networks in Europe', *Journal of Economic Geography* 6 (2006): 181–199.

¹⁸¹ J. Guthman, 'Bringing good food to others: Investigating the subjects of alternative food practice', *Cultural Geographies* 15 (4) (2008): 431–447.

¹⁸² C. C. Hinrichs K. S. and Kremer, 'Social inclusion in a Midwest local food system project', *Journal of Poverty* 6 (1) (2002): 65–90; see also: C. Weatherell, A. Tregear, and J. Allinson, 'In search of the concerned consumer: UK public perceptions of food, farming and buying local', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (2) (2003): 233–244; D. Goodman and M. Goodman, 'Localism, livelihoods and the "post-organic": Changing perspectives on alternative food networks in the United States', in *Constructing Alternative Food Geographies: Representation and Practice*, eds. L. Holloway, D. Maye, and M. Kneafsy (Oxford: Elsevier Press, 2007): 255–272.

¹⁸³ Gwendolyn Blue, 'On the politics and possibilities of locavores: Situating food sovereignty in the turn from government to governance', *Politics and Culture* 2 (2009), <http://politicsandculture.org/2010/10/27/on-the-politics-and-possibilities-of-locavores-situating-food-sovereignty-in-the-turn-from-government-to-governance/>, accessed 27 October 2015.

¹⁸⁴ K. Dahlberg, 'Regenerative food systems: broadening the scope and agenda of sustainability', in *Food for the future*, ed. P. Allen (New York: Wiley, 1993): 75–102.

¹⁸⁵ Laura B. DeLind, 'Are local food and the local food movement taking us where we want to go? Or are we hitching our wagons to the wrong stars?', *Agriculture and Human Values* 28 (2) (2011): 273–283.

¹⁸⁶ Giovannucci et al., 2010; C. Weber and H. S. Matthews, 'Food-miles and the relative climate impacts of food choices in the United States', *Journal of Environmental Science and Technology* 42 (10) (2008): 3508–3513.

proximity of local food, different authors define physical distance in different ways, not all of them related to geography. A number of markets in the US, such as Greenstar Natural Foods Market and Ithaca Farmers Market in New York, believe that thirty miles (48km) defines local,¹⁸⁷ while Susan Porjes believes 250 miles (402km) or no more than a day's drive away is considered local.¹⁸⁸ Alisa Smith and James MacKinnon represent a group of practitioners who believe 100 miles (160km) is the limit for local foods.¹⁸⁹ Other researchers use wider scopes. Kelly Giraud, Craig Bond and Jennifer Bond; Stan Ernst and Kim Darby; Wuyang Hu, Timothy Woods and Sandra Bastin; Rich Pirog; Frank Norton; Jennifer James, Bradley Rickard and William Rossman all equate the political distinctions of state or region boundaries with local.¹⁹⁰ Riccardo Scarpa, George Philippidis and Fiorenza Spalatro differentiate several areas in the Mediterranean region as local.¹⁹¹ Dana Frank refers to the explicit promotion of local products, which has occurred in a number of countries as an expression of nationalism.¹⁹² Steve Martinez et al. define local as the marketing arrangement, defined as the direct selling by farmers to consumers,¹⁹³ whereas Wendell Berry defines local primarily in terms of community.¹⁹⁴ Thomas Sadler et al.¹⁹⁵ and Michael Hall¹⁹⁶ define local as the connection that exists between the producer and the consumer. Angie Clonan et al. surveyed UK consumers for a variety of products without specifying the definition of 'local' at all, rather relying on consumers' interpretation of local products.¹⁹⁷ Rachele Saltzman defines local as 'place' based: either as an ecological and

¹⁸⁷ Danielle Winterton, 'Farm aid...Cornell program brings would-be farmers to TC', *Ithaca Times*, 27 February, 2008, cited in Giovanucci et al., 2010: http://www.ithaca.com/news/local_news/farm-aid-cornell-program-brings-would-be-farmers-to-tc/article_d72ea4d7-97b1-5c5e-80df-8b733344139c.html, accessed 26 August 2015. See also definition at: Greenstar Natural Foods Market, <http://www.greenstar.coop/grocery/106-news/1122-crooked-carrot-grows-with-local-food-system>; and Ithaca Farmers Market, <http://www.ithacamarket.com/>, accessed 26 August 2015.

¹⁸⁸ S. Porjes, *Fresh and Local Food in the U.S. Packaged Facts* (Rockville MD, 2007); Winterton, 2008.

¹⁸⁹ Smith and MacKinnon, 2007; R. Pirog and B. Rasmussen, *Food, Fuel, and the Future. Consumer Perceptions of Local Food, Food Safety and Climate Change in the Context of Rising Prices* (Ames, Iowa: Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, 2008).

¹⁹⁰ K. L. Giraud, C. A. Bond, and J. J. Bond, 'Consumer preferences for locally made specialty food products across northern New England', *Agricultural and Resource Economics Review* 34 (2005): 204–216; S. Ernst and K. Darby, 'Buy Ohio? Why? and where?' (selected research report presented at the annual meeting of the Food Distribution Research Society, 11–12 October 2008, Columbus, OH); W. Hu, T. A. Woods, and S. Bastin, 'Consumers' acceptance and willingness to pay for blueberry products with non-conventional attributes', *Journal of Agricultural and Applied Economics* 41 (2009): 1–14; R. Pirog, *Ecolabel Value Assessment: Consumer and Retailer Perceptions of Local Foods* (Ames, Iowa: Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, 2003); F. Norton, 'Wal-Mart expo 'a lot like dating' – world's top retailer dangles a chance for local food vendors to sell to its stores', *The News and Observer*, 17 April 2008, cited in Giovanucci et al., 2010; J. S. James, B. J. Rickard, and W. J. Rossman, 'Product differentiation and market segmentation in applesauce: using a choice experiment to assess the value of organic, local, and nutrition attributes', *Agricultural and Resource Economics Review* 38 (2009): 357–370.

¹⁹¹ R. Scarpa, G. Philippidis, and G. Spalatro, 'Product-country images and preference heterogeneity for Mediterranean food products: A discrete choice framework', *Agribusiness* 21 (2005): 329–349.

¹⁹² Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000).

¹⁹³ Steve Martinez et al., 'Local food systems concepts, impacts, and issues', *Economic Research Report* 97 (2010).

¹⁹⁴ W. Berry, *The Unsettling of America. Culture and Agriculture* (New York: Avon, 1977).

¹⁹⁵ Sadler et al., 2013: xvii.

¹⁹⁶ Hall, 2012: 111-112.

¹⁹⁷ A. Clonan et al., 'UK consumers' priorities for sustainable food purchases' (paper presented at the 84th Annual Conference of the Agricultural Economics Society, Edinburgh, 29–31 March, 2010).

geographical niche, a heritage basis, or as the narrative that explains those connections.¹⁹⁸ Other researchers define local as the narrative or story related to where food comes from and the cultivation of those relationships associated with it.¹⁹⁹ Christian Coff argues that the local food movement is about knowing the story of where food comes from.²⁰⁰ Locavores tend not to count food miles so much as cultivate relationships and, in the process, they acquire knowledge about how their food is being produced. According to Coff, it could be argued that the real moral power of the local food movement is epistemological in nature.

Several authors, such as Johnnie Dunne et al.²⁰¹ and Alistair Iles²⁰², define local in terms of food miles as a response to climate change. Peter Singer and Jim Mason are amongst the authors who describe a response to climate change as an emerging trend within the food industry, and discuss retailers' responses such as obligating suppliers to examine their carbon emissions and their carbon footprints overall.²⁰³ Singer contends that climate change "will almost certainly kill more people" than acts such as terrorism.²⁰⁴ Paul Harris argues that climate change promises to inflict great suffering and death on humanity, and will disproportionately affect the global poor.²⁰⁵ Many authors agree that there can be no doubt that climate change is a serious issue for consumers in relation to how food is produced, which is a significant cause of climate change.

The concept of 'food miles', apparently first coined in the United Kingdom in the early 1990s, has been attributed to Dr. Tim Lang, Professor of Food Policy at City University, London.²⁰⁶ It first appeared in print in a report titled "The Food Miles Report" published by the SAFE Alliance in 1994.²⁰⁷ The concept has been used to describe global concerns mounting around emissions caused by the distribution, production and retail components of food systems.²⁰⁸ Many studies show that consumers of local foods care about food miles, because they care about their carbon footprints and about the health of the planet.²⁰⁹ This argument, called the food miles argument, has found its way into popular culture, and is the basis upon which many consumers understand buying local foods as an expression of moral virtue. A 'locavore', who lives by the principles of the '100 Mile Diet' and, wherever possible, sources

¹⁹⁸ R. Saltzman, *Taste of Place Project, Phase II: Outreach Final Report* (Ames, Iowa: Leopold Center for Sustainable Agriculture, 2005); see also E. Barham, D. Lind, and L. Jett, 'The Missouri regional cuisines project: Connecting to place in the restaurant', in *Urban Place: Reconnections with the Natural World*, ed. P. F. Barlett (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005): 141-172.

¹⁹⁹ See for example Coff, 2006: 127.

²⁰⁰ Coff, 2006.

²⁰¹ Johnnie B. Dunne et al., 'What does 'local' mean in the grocery store? Multiplicity in food retailers' perspectives on sourcing and marketing local foods', *Renewable Agriculture and Food Systems* 26 (1) (2011): 46-59.

²⁰² Alastair Iles, 'Learning in sustainable agriculture: Food miles and missing objects', *Environmental Values* 14 (2) (2005): 163-83.

²⁰³ Peter Singer and Jim Mason, *The Ethics of What We Eat* (Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company, 2006): 130.

²⁰⁴ Peter Singer, *One World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004): 1.

²⁰⁵ Paul Harris, 'Fairness, responsibility, and climate change', *Ethics and International Affairs*, August (2006): 150.

²⁰⁶ Katherine Kemp et al., 'Food miles: Do UK consumers actually care?', *Food Policy* 35 (6) (2010): 504-13.

²⁰⁷ A. Paxton, 'The food miles report: The dangers of long-distance food transport' (London: SAFE Alliance, 1994).

²⁰⁸ Tim Lang, 'Toward food democracy', in *For Hunger-proof Cities: Sustainable Urban Food Systems*, eds. Mustafa Koc et al. (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1999): 222.

²⁰⁹ See for example: Kemp et al. 2010; Weber and Matthews, 2008; Iles, 2005.

produce from within a 100 mile (160km) radius, is an example of a subset of consumers who feel they are doing more than just supporting local businesses and communities: they believe that they are contributing to saving the planet.²¹⁰

The food miles argument has arisen due to the food and agricultural industry overall being recognised as a significant user of fossil fuels, and thus questions have been raised around the connection between climate change and the use of heavy agro-machinery, chemical inputs and the emissions produced by food transportation.²¹¹ The globalisation of the food system has allowed millions of people access to an increasingly diverse range of foods from all over the world. Diets are no longer restricted by seasonality of produce. Food products travel along long distribution chains to ensure consumers are provided with every type of food all year round. Often, although food is grown for export in one region, the same product is simultaneously being imported for consumption. Further, sometimes food grown locally and sold as local produce has been transported to other regions to be processed or packaged at a cheaper cost, only to be returned to the 'local' area to be sold as 'local produce', thus adding hidden food miles.²¹² The premise is that the longer the food chain, the more potential exists for increased emissions and thus environmental impacts. An indication of this growing concern for food miles is that a number of large food retailers in the UK such as Tesco and Marks and Spencer label the products sold in their stores with food miles information.²¹³

Alternatively, many authors argue that the moral heart of the local food movement is *not* food miles. According to historian James McWilliams, "a food-mile litmus test is an inadequate measure of our food's environmental impact."²¹⁴ Scholars argue that the problem with the food miles concept is that the number of miles food has travelled communicates very little about the amount of energy used to get the food to the plate. For instance, local tomatoes from a heated greenhouse will have a greater carbon footprint than efficiently shipped tomatoes from a warmer climate, and driving across a city to buy locally grown vegetables is likely to be less energy efficient than picking up non-locally grown vegetables during a regular weekly trip to the supermarket. Secondly, it is well established that transportation accounts for a small portion of the energy used in the processes of production and consumption; Singer and Mason discuss a study that cites the figure at eleven per cent. The authors also compare the fuel costs of locally grown Connecticut tomatoes raised in a heated green house with field tomatoes freighted from south-western Florida by truck, and discover that, in this case, local vegetables grown out of season exact a greater environmental toll.²¹⁵

Further definitions of local relate to nutrition, diet and sustainability,²¹⁶ and according to food historian Rachel Laudan, "what makes a food or a cuisine local is culture, not geography or agriculture or the 'rich bounty' of the region."²¹⁷ While the physical distance and concept of 'local' is variable, a

²¹⁰ For example, see: The Locavore restaurant, Stirling, <http://www.thelocavore.com.au/>, accessed 10 November 2015.

²¹¹ Weber and Matthews, 2008; Iles, 2005.

²¹² Weber and Matthews, 2008; Iles, 2005.

²¹³ Kemp et al. 2010: 504-513.

²¹⁴ James McWilliams, *Just Food* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 2009), 23; Singer and Mason, 2006: 145-146.

²¹⁵ Singer and Mason 2006: 145-146.

²¹⁶ See for example: J. D. Gusso and K. L. Clancy, 'Dietary guidelines for sustainability', *Journal of Nutrition Education* 18 (1986): 1-5; Pollan, 2008; and Petrini, 2007.

²¹⁷ Rachel Laudan, 'Afterward', *Food and Foodways* 19 (1-2) (2011): 168.

widely cited definition is that of Gail Feenstra, who defines local as a social movement: “a collaborative effort to build more locally based, self-reliant food economies - one in which sustainable food production, processing, distribution, and consumption [are] integrated to enhance the economic, environmental, and local health of a particular place.”²¹⁸

This analysis of the available literature exploring the definition of local food outside of Australia demonstrates that local food cannot be categorised as one homogenous concept, but is better understood as a proxy for a vast array of values and moral tenets. Despite the changing definitions of local, many researchers have found that most consumers are willing to pay for locally grown products; however what consumers are prepared to pay often depends on what the products are. In Ernst and Darby’s study, not only did locally grown produce labelled at the sub-state level capture a premium, but also locally specific labelling (in this case: ‘Ohio proud’) influenced consumer choice.²¹⁹ In addition to fresh products, often used as case studies in analyses of local foods, studies by Hu, Woods and Bastin, Ernst and Darby, and McNaull all illustrated that premiums were paid for local labelling of processed fresh food.²²⁰ In a pilot study of willingness to pay for breed preservation through the purchase of Heritage pork products, complementary trends were illustrated.²²¹ Hu et al. considered three levels of location labelling: in addition to the sub-state-level label and state-level label, a multi-state level describing a region larger than one state was also considered. This study is noteworthy as it was one of the first to consider different levels of ‘local’ labelling for a processed product.²²²

Summary

This chapter has provided a general review of the main concepts related to local foods and how these have been understood and defined outside of Australia. Although primarily providing a review of existing literature, it synthesises this literature in a novel manner given the overall aims of the project. Through this unique synthesis of the literature, the chapter has shown that local foods may be analysed from a variety of perspectives, including the geophysical links between food and locale and the human-created facets of local products. Human factors include industrialisation, Country of Origin Labelling and marketing. The chapter identified that the human factors involved in the production of food, such as tradition and practices of cultivation, have a significant connection to the end product characteristics of local foods. Production techniques tend to reflect the socio-economic circumstances of the local population more so than the geophysical aspects of the locale in which the foods are produced. Migration highlights how methods of food production are fluid and potentially drawn from multiple locations, even when they appear to be fixed to one locality. Some items become prized and associated with prestige, leading to differences in food habits marked by social class rather than by geography. Industrialisation resulted in the mechanisation and standardisation of production of food products and as such worked against geophysical distinction, but was also associated with the appearance of specialities and the emergence of a commercial marketplace with strongly identifiable,

²¹⁸ Feenstra, 2002: 100.

²¹⁹ Ernst and Darby, 2008.

²²⁰ Hu et al., 2009; Ernst and Darby, 2008; J. A. McNaull, ‘Consumer preferences for ‘local’ fresh baked pies: Estimating willingness-to-pay using conjoint analysis’ (M.S. thesis, Department of Agricultural, Environmental and Development Economics, The Ohio State University, March 2007).

²²¹ S. Ernst, D. J. Sanders, and C. W. Ernst, ‘Heritage meats: The probability of a marketing theory. Research update’, *Journal of Food Distribution Research* 38 (1) (2007): 205.

²²² W. Hu et al., ‘Consumer preferences for local production and other value-added label claims for a processed food product’, *European Review of Agricultural Economics* 39 (3) (2012): 506-7.

branded products. Geophysical factors reinforce the connection to locale, however 'taste of place' and *terroir* is understood as a way consumers construct and maintain a national identity, often by turning the production history into a narrative. Local distinctiveness from the marketing perspective shows that consumers analyse local food products in terms of what they offer and communicate, including both tangible and intangible features such as physical, political and nostalgic aspects. The marketing perspective highlights that producers can adjust and manipulate products to communicate specific narratives about the product and its history.

The complexity of the meanings attached to local foods demonstrated through this synthesis of the literature suggests that local food products may be considered as fluid entities, subject to the manipulations of forces such as marketing. In the next chapter, the literature connected to the general history of food in Australia is analysed through the lens of 'local', paying particular attention to the social and cultural significance of the products themselves.

Chapter 3: A History of Local Food in Australia

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the literature on definitions and understandings of local food and its related concepts in regions outside of Australia was reviewed, in particular the link between food and locale. The purpose of this chapter is to compare the themes drawn out in the previous chapter with those that arise in the Australian context, in particular how local is constructed by marketing. The chapter also introduces some other major themes, namely the relationship between the construction of local and the necessity of rationing, subsistence and food security initiatives; the displacement of local food by imports (which were preferable to some consumers, often due to status reasons); and the construction of industrial foods as local. Factors such as government intervention, marketing and the desire to become independent from Britain are referenced to distinguish local foods in Australia and also to explain the similarities and differences between these themes and those articulated in the previous chapter, thus addressing the research question of how foods popularly thought of or promoted as local have been produced and consumed in the past and how have the meanings associated with these products have changed over time in Australia. This chapter analyses the literature connected to the general history of food in Australia through the lens of local, paying particular attention to the social and cultural significance of the products themselves. The literature is drawn mainly from social-historical studies of food and agriculture, supplemented throughout the main text with references to more specific contextual circumstances to show that the changing meanings associated with the production and consumption of local food were a form of cultural expression.²²³

It is important to emphasise that indigenous food cultures, both before and after 1788, have been given emphasis in this study only in terms of the ways in which they were adapted by European settlers, despite their obvious connections to the concept of local food. The main reason for this is that indigenous foodways rarely figured in any of the literature associated with Australia's early food culture. This was probably due to cultural reasons relating to the perception that indigenous foods were connected to a primitive state of existence. Thus indigenous food lore was acceptable to European settlers generally only in the context of survival.²²⁴ It was also deemed quicker and more efficient to import and adapt European food production technology than to domesticate native resources.²²⁵

It should also be noted here that the intention in this thesis is neither to sketch out a complete history of the period from First Settlement to the post war period, nor to describe in any detail the social, economic and cultural environments of Australia as these are already well documented. Rather, the purpose is to draw attention to the most significant contextual features against which the evidence

²²³ Key references include: Symons, 2007; Bannerman, 2001; and Santich, 2012. Tregear is referenced in terms of structure: Tregear, 2003; Tregear, 2001.

²²⁴ It should be noted that Barbara Santich accounts for the extensive and often successful experimentation by many early settlers of indigenous food lore, however many of those ingredients were not maintained in the Australian diet once a staple supply of exotic foods was established: see Santich, 2011.

²²⁵ See for example: Bannerman, 2001: 83.

for this thesis has been interpreted to support the argument that a preference for local foods existed in the post-1788 environment. This argument is supported through the identification of the key themes with which the preference for local foods was, historically, associated, specifically necessity, industrialisation, food security as related to local food production, and marketing as it related to local food consumption. These themes are explored in the periods in which they have most relevance, for example the theme of necessity was most prevalent in the colonial period and thus the meanings associated with local foods in this era were largely about survival, accessibility and the lack of imported food. Using a history of commodities approach throughout this narrative, the main forces driving local foods are documented, showing that definitions of 'local' and understandings of the benefits associated with local foods have clearly shifted over time.

Historical Literature Review

There is a substantial body of literature on food history and culture in other countries.²²⁶ However, the study of food and consumption patterns in Australia has received relatively limited scholarly attention. No scholarship specifically addresses the history of local food in Australia in any detail and hence this dissertation seeks to fill that gap. Nonetheless, scholars have given attention to the history of pastoralism in Australia, and some important but limited literature explores the history of particular food products.²²⁷ Pastoral history is significant for this study as detailed scholarship exists on sheep and cattle production as well as the importance and relevance of pastoralism for morals, science, art, literature and politics.²²⁸ Historians have given attention to the dairy industry due to dairying and politics being closely intertwined from early in the twentieth century.²²⁹ The sugar industry has received some scholarly attention, mainly because it benefited from government assistance and protection to establish substantial export markets during the twentieth century.²³⁰ No significant

²²⁶ For example, general histories used in this thesis include: Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York: Stein and Day, 1988); Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food* (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); Jean Louis Flandrin, Massimo Montanari, and Albert Sonnenfeld, *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, English edn. Albert Sonnenfeld; trans. Clarissa Botsford et al., *European Perspectives* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 2000).

²²⁷ For example, considerable literature exists on the history of sugar production in Australia, which is covered in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

²²⁸ See for example: James Collier, *The Pastoral Age in Australasia* (London: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1911); Stephen H. Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement (1788-1920)* (Melbourne, Macmillan and Co., in association with Melbourne University Press, 1924); W. K. Hancock, *Australia* (Brisbane, Jacaranda Press, 1964).

²²⁹ See for example: N. T. Drane and H. R. Edwards, eds., *The Australian Dairy Industry: An Economic Study* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1961); Kenneth Sillcock, *Three Lifetimes of Dairying in Victoria* (Melbourne: The Hawthorn Press, 1972); Fellows of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, *Technology in Australia, 1788-1988: A Condensed History of Australian Technological Innovation and Adaptation During the First Two Hundred Years* (Melbourne: Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, 1988); Jim Crosthwaite, 'Dairy industry', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. Graeme Davison, John Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre (Oxford University Press, 2001), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t127.e404>, accessed 12 November 2015.

²³⁰ Peter Griggs, 'Sugar demand and consumption in colonial Australia', in *Food Power and Community*, ed. Robert Dare (Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1999): 74-90; Angus Mackay, *Sugar Cane in Australia: Series of Essays Upon Cultivation and Manufacture* (Brisbane: Salter, 1870); John Kerr, *Southern Sugar Saga: A History of the Sugar Industry in the Bundaberg District* (Bundaberg, QLD: Bundaberg Sugar Company, 1983); Helen Doyle, 'Sugar industry', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. Graeme Davison, John Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre (Oxford University Press, 2001),

scholarly research has been conducted on rice in relation to its history, production or consumption in Australia. As this thesis is multidisciplinary, the contexts of consumption and production of the four aforementioned food products will be detailed in greater depth in the case studies in the next chapter.

General histories of Australia's gastronomic past provide context for this project as they examine Australians' popular attitudes to food and the diet.²³¹ Anne Gollan was one of the first authors to write a history of Australian cookery, defining three overlapping stages of development: the outdoor kitchen (1788 to c. 1870), corresponding roughly to the age of survival and discovery; the outhouse kitchen (c. 1850 to c. 1920), corresponding to the age of awareness and refinement; and the 'respectable kitchen' (c. 1880 onwards), corresponding to the age of convenience and commercialism.²³² Among the most prominent scholarship on the early years of Australia's gastronomic history, as discussed in the introduction, Michael Symons's *One Continuous Picnic* remains the dominant historical account relevant to this thesis. Symons contends that since colonial times, Australians have almost exclusively relied on factory food for nourishment, far removed from the locale from which the raw ingredients derived. Like Gollan, Symons also found three stages of development, but uses these stages to describe a process by which, he claims, Australians became alienated from the sources of their food due to industrialisation and lack of a peasant class.²³³ Symons argues that from 1788 to the 1860s, the cultivation of food was industrialised by the establishment of modern methods of production based on specialisation and economies of scale. The processing and retailing of food was subsequently industrialised due to the development of railways from the 1850s to the 1930s, as well as storage and distribution systems that enabled the sale of tinned, processed and non-perishable foods to city households and overseas markets. From the 1940s onwards, in the era of convenience foods and automobiles, cooking was industrialised as factories and restaurants took over most of the work of preparing food for the table. Symons provides some valuable information throughout his book; however his argument fails to consider the factors that were responsible for the support of iconic industrialised local food products in Australia, which this thesis will show.

Jacqueline Newling's 2007 Masters Dissertation, *Foodways Unfettered: Eighteenth-century Food in The Sydney Settlement*, is a useful reference that debunks the perception that colonists in eighteenth-century Sydney survived on meagre rations. Newling demonstrates how the colony developed from a penal settlement into a vibrant commercial centre by the turn of the nineteenth century, explaining that local food was a vital factor in this process. She thus reveals that the early colonists were not passive victims of a food supply controlled entirely from above, but active participants in food procurement and consumption, exercising individual and collective rights and preferences. The evolution of their foodways reflects the transformation from penal colony to an entrepreneurial

www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t127.e1407, accessed 18 September 2012.

²³¹ See for example: Barbara Santich, *Looking for Flavour* (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 1996); Santich, 1995; Babette Hayes, *Two Hundred Years of Australian Cooking* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1970); Anne Gollan, *The Tradition of Australian Cooking* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978); Stephen Downes, *Advanced Australian Fare: How Australian Cooking Became the World's Best* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 2002); Laurel Evelyn Dyson, *How to Cook a Galah: Celebrating Australia's Culinary Heritage* (South Melbourne: Lothian Books, 2002); Cherry Ripe, *Goodbye Culinary Cringe* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1993); Warren Fahey, *When Mabel Laid the Table: The Folklore of Eating and Drinking in Australia* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1992).

²³² Gollan, 1978.

²³³ Symons, 2007: 12.

colonial society as the first settlers made new lives in New South Wales.²³⁴ Newling provides some valuable references to local food procurement and production, however her work is restricted to the eighteenth-century New South Wales settlement.

Colin Bannerman's 2001 PhD thesis *Print Media and the Development of an Australian Culture of Food and Eating c. 1850 to c. 1920: The Evidence from Newspapers, Periodical Journals and Cookery Literature*, his book *Acquired Tastes, celebrating Australia's Culinary History* and his more recent journal article 'Making Australian Food History' are also useful references. His 2001 thesis examines early colonial Australian newspapers, beginning with the *Sydney Gazette* and *New South Wales Advertiser*, first published in 1803. Bannerman shows that the process of making a food culture in colonial Australia was remarkably well documented even in the pages of its first newspaper, the *Sydney Gazette*. Through market reports, shipping notices and advertisements, the transition of food from a necessity of life to a culture of commercialism was recorded. Bannerman points out that the First Fleet brought its own printing press and the novelty of the colonial enterprise guaranteed that literate colonists would record their experiences; therefore many records were preserved. Bannerman's thesis has provided a rich source of data from which some of the marketing history associated with local foods has been reconstructed.²³⁵

Other references that provide relevant information include Philip Muskett's books from the late 1800s, particularly *The art of living in Australia*, which, although written from a dietary or medical perspective, provides insight into diet, health and the link between food and cultural utopianism.²³⁶ Richard Beckett's *Convicted Tastes* generally is not considered scholarly, and is primarily a critique of patterns and styles of eating from colonisation to the early 1980s. Beckett contends that Australia never really recovered from the early years of surviving on rations in the harsh environment of European settlement, but he provides only limited documentation to support these claims.²³⁷ However the book does provide a number of leads, which are the basis of further investigation in this thesis, in particular in relation to his suggestion that the colonists were willing to experiment with local resources, which Newling documents further. Sources such as *Technology in Australia 1788–1988*, Mark Walquist's chronology of historic Australian food events, Helen Nelson's 'Recipes for Uniformity' and John Goldring, Laurence Maher and Jill McKeough's body of work on consumer protection law provide detailed accounts of regulatory milestones regarding various *Food Acts* and policies.²³⁸ Geoffrey Skurray's *The Great Australian Bite – a 200 year history of food in Australia*; Beverley Wood's (ed.) *Tucker in Australia*; Stewart Truswell and Mark Wahlquist's (eds.) *Food Habits in Australia*; Robert Dare's (ed.) *Food Power and Community* and Warren Fahey's *When Mabel Laid the Table: The Folklore of Eating and Drinking in Australia* similarly provide some evidence of the existence of a local food

²³⁴ Newling, 2007.

²³⁵ Bannerman, 2001; Bannerman, 2011; Bannerman, 1998.

²³⁶ Philip E. Muskett, *The Art of Living in Australia Together with Three Hundred Australian Cookery Recipes and Accessory Kitchen Information by Mrs. H. Wicken* (London and Melbourne: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1894); *The Attainment of Health and the Treatment of Different Diseases by Means of Diet* (Sydney: William Brooks and Co., 1908); *The Diet of Australian School Children* (London: George Robertson and Co., 1899).

²³⁷ Richard Beckett, *Convicted Tastes* (Allen and Unwin, 1984).

²³⁸ Fellows of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, 1988; Mark L. Walquist, 'History of nutrition in Australia', in *Food and Nutrition in Australia* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1988); Helen Nelson, 'Recipes for uniformity', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 27 (1992): 78-90; John Goldring, Laurence W. Maher, and Jill McKeough, *Consumer Protection Law in Australia*, 3rd edn. (Sydney: Butterworths, 1987).

culture.²³⁹ *From Scarcity to Surfeit* by Robin Walker and Dave Roberts examines the nutritional value of the rations based diet which characterised the convict era until the mid-nineteenth century, acknowledging the use of other food sources in the colonists' diets; however convicts and rations are the primary focus.²⁴⁰ Central to the arguments of each is these sources is the secondary nature of locally produced foods, probably due to the transference of English dietary practices and dependence on rations. While the colonists' efforts to grow and produce their own foods are acknowledged in all of these historical studies, the dominance of rations in the colonial diet has overshadowed other aspects of the colony's foodways.

Andrea Gaynor's *Harvest of the Suburbs: An Environmental History of the Growing of Food in Australian Cities* challenges some of the widespread myths about food production in urban Australia and provides new insights into both the quest for independence and the desire for interdependence via a shared commitment to support backyard and community gardens in suburban Australia.²⁴¹ Jillian Koshin's 'Shifting Visions: Developmentalism and Environmentalism in Australian History' discusses the historical changes and influences from the days of early European settlement to the mid-twentieth century that led to the rise of developmentalism as a dominant force in the Australian psyche. Koshin seeks to provide an analytical framework for the role that developmentalism played as the precursor to environmentalism and thus is a useful reference for the history of the environmental movement in Australia, supporting the notion that consumers were taking ethical considerations regarding food and the environment into account from at least the mid-nineteenth century.²⁴²

Barbara Santich's scholarship provides many useful historical accounts of Australian food; for example, her most recent publication *Bold Palates* describes how Australians, from the time of colonial days, have 'Australianised' foods and recipes from other countries, resulting in a distinctive food culture. Chapter 8, 'Made in Australia', pays particular attention to the preference for buying local products over imported, but only traces these origins as far back as the 1920's. Santich's 2011 journal article 'Nineteenth-Century Experimentation and the Role of Indigenous Foods in Australian Food Culture' provides some valuable examples in which existing local foods in Australia provided a mediating pathway between colonial European and indigenous Australians' cultures, and her book *What the Doctors Ordered* provides a more specialised contribution in terms of dietary advice.²⁴³ As previously discussed, Symons and Santich therefore remain the dominant historical accounts of eating in Australia, although both contain scant reference directly to local food.

Since this thesis is concerned mainly with references to local food consumption and production and their significance within Australia's developing food culture, the primary sources of evidence are a purposeful sampling of historical texts relevant to food and food history. The most useful sources are those references concerned with local food as a matter of survival, articles about local production or

²³⁹ Geoffrey Skurray, *The Great Australian Bite – A 200 Year History of Food in Australia* (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1990); Beverley Wood and Australian Association of Dietitians, *Tucker in Australia*, ed. Beverley Wood (Melbourne: Hill of Content, 1977); A. S. Truswell and M. Wahlqvist, eds., *Food Habits in Australia: Proceedings of the First Deakin/Sydney Universities Symposium on Australian Nutrition* (North Balwyn, 1988); Dare, 1999; Fahey, 1992.

²⁴⁰ Robin Walker and Dave Roberts, *From Scarcity to Surfeit* (New South Wales University Press, 1988).

²⁴¹ Andrea Gaynor, *Harvest of the Suburbs: An Environmental History of the Growing of Food in Australian Cities* (University of Western Australia Press, 2006).

²⁴² Koshin, 2011.

²⁴³ Santich, 2012: 258-259; Santich, 2011; Santich, 1995.

manufacture, local trade and locally-produced food as a source of wealth, social control or artistic expression. Further, since most Australians would have identified with the local food culture of interest, the most useful sources of data are historical texts revealing or illuminating the past, popular media including marketing literature, chronicles recording food produced, prepared or consumed, and technical reports describing food resources and their properties.

The available primary sources of evidence that specifically relate to early Australian food production are primarily concerned with survival. Published material includes reports and technical publications, newspapers, and magazines that are mainly related to the distribution and supply of food. Literature concerned with food consumption is primarily contained in manuals and journals, and related to appreciation and taste. Recipes sometimes include reference to an abundance or scarcity of ingredients or suggested variations that might be made when ingredients are not available.²⁴⁴ Reference is frequently made to Australians' preference for 'plain' food, reflecting their British cultural heritage.²⁴⁵ 'Bush cookery' is another area that overlaps with the emerging bushman legend, and also refinement reflected in cooking and eating is viewed as evidence of the progress of civilisation in Australia and also a means of emulating the Old World.²⁴⁶

In order to manage the literature as outlined in a more purposeful way, the next section of this chapter examines the literature connected to the general history of local food in Australia, and in doing so, has uncovered the four major themes detailed below: local as necessary; local as displaced by imports; industrial foods as local; and local as constructed by marketing. The four case studies in the next chapter are further used to explore specific details from the literature related to the production and consumption of sugar, dairy products, lamb and rice. Overall, there is considerable literature on various aspects of the history of food and agriculture and the history of Australia, but there is clearly a gap to be filled by an overarching study based on original research on the history of local food in Australia.

Local as Necessary

The construction of local as necessary due to rations and subsistence is the first key theme to emerge chronologically from the literature, particularly in the early period of European settlement in Australia. This theme is also evident in a wide range of food policies and programs which were used to manage Australia's food supply, production, distribution and public health status.²⁴⁷ For the early settlers, food grown in close geographic proximity to its point of consumption initially related to survival and accessibility.²⁴⁸ Food rations and other provisions were sent with the First Fleet and it was expected that the provisions would "be fully sufficient for their maintenance and support" for two years, as long

²⁴⁴ Bannerman, 2001: 45-46.

²⁴⁵ It is worth noting that Charmaine O'Brien has argued persuasively that the term 'plain' carried a different and more appealing meaning in her study of the cookbooks of colonial Australia. See C. O'Brien, 'Text for Dinner: 'Plain' Food in Colonial Australia ... Or, Was It?', *M/C Journal*, 16 (3) (2013) <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/viewArticle/657> accessed 15th March 2016.

²⁴⁶ Bannerman, 2001: 56.

²⁴⁷ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 'Australia's food and nutrition 2012', Cat. no. PHE 163 (Canberra: AIHW, 2012): 42.

²⁴⁸ See for example: C. J. King, *The First Fifty Years of Agriculture in New South Wales* (NSW: Department of Agriculture, 1950): 48; 54.

as they were supplemented with local foods.²⁴⁹ The individual weekly rations on the First Fleet included seven pounds (3kg) of bread (in fact this was a hard biscuit), two pounds (.9kg) of salt pork, seven pounds (3kg) of salt beef (the salt serving to preserve the meat), two pounds (.9kg) of peas, three pounds (1.4kg) of oatmeal, six ounces (170g) of butter, three quarters of a pound (340g) of cheese, half a pint (280ml) of vinegar, and three quarts (1.1litres) of water each day. In addition, rice, dried fish and soup were sometimes available. When the ships were in a harbour there were also fresh meat and vegetables. Women and children were given a slightly different list of rations, and people who were ill were given wine and spirits. Even though the First Fleet was expected to survive for two years on the rations that they carried, Captain Arthur Phillip, first appointed by the British Government as Captain-General and Governor in 1786, determined once they arrived in Sydney that they only had enough food for forty-nine weeks. In addition to rations, the Fleet also carried a number of animals, plants and seeds.²⁵⁰ Much of this cargo was transported from England and the remainder was collected when the First Fleet harboured at Rio de Janeiro and Capetown.²⁵¹

Food rationing was the first informal form of food policy in Australia, where a course of action was adopted and pursued by government to meet the objective of sustaining the population.²⁵² Until the early 1790s, the colony faced perpetual food insecurity. As a result, malnutrition and scurvy were common.²⁵³ Governor Phillip was an early pioneer of food regulation, another recurrent issue for the early settlers.²⁵⁴ His persistence resulted in a change to the British Royal Navy rations whereby fresh foods were distributed indiscriminately to marines and convicts on health grounds, whether they were well or sick. He also obtained authority to purchase provisions en route, including fresh fruit and vegetables.²⁵⁵ Early settlers were initially dependent on food shipments for survival and supplies commonly reached the settlement in a deteriorated state, for example the First Fleet's barley and wheat deteriorated during the voyage to Botany Bay because of excessive heat and weevils.²⁵⁶

As convicts were expected to pay their debt to society by providing labour, those who did not work were advised they would not eat.²⁵⁷ Rations were distributed weekly from a central store to convicts on regular days, divided into weekly portions. In the first five years of settlement and on the voyage to Australia, rations were relied upon, and more than once the whole settlement, from the Governor down, existed on reduced rations while awaiting store ships from England, the Cape, or India for more

²⁴⁹ HRNSW, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, ed. Government Printer Charles Potter, Vol. 1, Part 2 – Phillip, 1783-1792, facsimile ed. (NSW: Landsdown Slattery and Co., 1892, reprint, 1978), 18: 'August 18, 1786'.

²⁵⁰ The animals included sheep, pigs, dogs, cats, goats, turkeys, geese, ducks, chickens, pigeons, horses and cattle. Plants and seeds included coffee, cocoa, cotton, bananas, oranges, lemons, tamarinds, guava, prickly pear, *Eugenia (pomme rose)*, jalap, ipecacuanha, figs, bamboo, sugar cane, esparto grass, grape vines, quinces, apples, pears, strawberries, oaks, myrtles, rice, wheat, barley and maize.

²⁵¹ 'First fleet', in *Australian Encyclopaedia* IV (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1958): 72-76.

²⁵² Barbara Santich, 'The development of food policy and the legitimisation of pleasure', *Australian Cultural History* 15 (1996): 52.

²⁵³ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012: 11.

²⁵⁴ R. Polya, *Food Regulation in Australia—A Chronology* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2001): 1.

²⁵⁵ Alan Frost, *Botany Bay Mirages* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994): 118.

²⁵⁶ Governor Phillip, *History of New South Wales* (Sydney: Charles Potter, 1889): 335, cited in Polya, 2001: 2.

²⁵⁷ E. L. Jones and G. W. Raby, *The Fatal Shortage: Establishing a European Economy in New South Wales, 1788-1805*, Discussion Paper No. 16/88: 17-46 (1988): 23; Walker and Roberts, 1988: 2; Arthur Bowes Smyth, 'A journal of a voyage from Portsmouth to New South Wales and China in the Lady Penrhyn, merchantman William Cropton Sever, commander by Arthur Bowes, Smyth, Surgeon, 1787-1789', (Sydney: Australian Documents Library, 1979): 254. Paul Fiddon and R.J. Ryan (eds.), 1790. February 7, 1788, cited in Newling, 2007: 21-22.

provisions. The hungry years (1788-1792) have been described by Davey et al. in a paper by the same name which discusses the rations in the first five years of settlement when the colony came close to failure at Sydney Cove. Settlers “barely existed” for the first five years of settlement:

[M]en who had already existed for eight months on salt provisions suffered greatly from lack of fresh meat, and so great was the lack of green vegetables and fruit, that scurvy was rampant. As 1789 wore on, and drought-stricken 1790 followed, however, the ration had to be cut to so low a level that men saw the approach of famine, and were too enfeebled to carry out the toil of the day.²⁵⁸

Part of Captain Phillip’s role was to clear and cultivate the land at Botany Bay to encourage ex-convicts, free settlers and non-commissioned officers to settle, with the incentive of free land grants and exploration of the hinterlands. It was hoped that English farming methods and food technologies would enable the new colony to be self-supporting within two years. However, the colony barely survived its first few years, and was largely neglected by the British government until 1815, due to their preoccupation with the Napoleonic Wars. Despite this neglect, an important beginning was made during these years in the formation of a private economy to support the penal colony. Local food production was established on the basis of land grants to senior officials and emancipated convicts. Although economic life depended heavily on the government Commissariat for supplies, individual labour and property rights were recognised, and private markets eventually started to function.

Food habits and farming practices were those that were familiar and drew on traditions from eighteenth century England.²⁵⁹ Even though these practices, supplies and preferences were imported from Britain, evidence of a local food culture can be seen with the establishment of early market gardens and markets, displaying a collaborative effort to build a locally-based, self-reliant food economy in which traditional food production, processing, distribution and consumption were integrated.²⁶⁰ For the settlers, producing food in the very early stages of the colony was one of the most basic expressions of independence from Britain. The penal authorities allocated time for convicts to establish and tend gardens as well as to procure native foodstuffs.²⁶¹ The early settlers were very aware of the new country’s geographical and climatic differences and also demonstrated an active curiosity and desire to learn about indigenous food sources and techniques. Food, especially when locally-procured, was mentioned as a subject of interest in letters, accounts and diaries as a means of providing audiences with a taste of this distant and curious new environment.²⁶²

Early evidence also shows the beginnings of agricultural and food industries as locally grown crops were processed into beer, wine and bread. In 1788 Governor Phillip’s land at Farm Cove produced

²⁵⁸ L. Davey, M. Macpherson, and F. W. Clements, ‘The hungry years: 1788–1792: A chapter in the history of the Australian and his diet’, *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 3 (11) (1945): 191-193.

²⁵⁹ See for example: Beckett, 1984, 21; Truswell and Wahlqvist, 1988; 45.

²⁶⁰ For historical references see: Frost, 1994: 233; Truswell and Wahlqvist, 1988: 164; 167; Skurray, 1990: 23; 27; 30-31; Symons, 2007: 16-17; 19.

²⁶¹ David Collins, Philip Gidley King, and George Bass, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales: With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, &c. of the Native Inhabitants of That Country, to Which Are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand / Compiled, by Permission, from the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King by David Collins*, Australiana Facsimile Editions; No. 76 (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1971).

²⁶² Newling, 2007: 17.

twenty-five bushels of barley.²⁶³ In 1791, Philip Schaffer was noted as the first private vigneron with one acre of vines.²⁶⁴ In 1795, Australia's first brewer, James Squire, who arrived on the First Fleet, established a brewery at Kissing Point using locally grown maize as well as barley and hops imported from England.²⁶⁵ There were also other local foods which supplemented the colonists' diets. Many of the journals and accounts from colonial officers at the time make references to the habits and practices of Aboriginal peoples.²⁶⁶ Until introduced foods were successfully produced and in good supply in the colony, indigenous foods played an important role in the colonists' diets and officially supplemented the rations when they were low. These supplementary local foods signified another level of independence and individualism beyond the passivity of receiving rations. However, only native foods which could be adapted to familiar English food habits such as greens, 'tea' tree (*Leptospermum*), berries and cabbage trees were willingly adopted, while other, less familiar foods were rejected due to dietary and cultural preferences.²⁶⁷

Fish appears to have been the most important locally-procured food for the early settlers, supported by evidence that 8,000 fishhooks and forty eight dozen lines were brought on the First Fleet, plus harpoons, lances and whale line.²⁶⁸ There are many records documenting an abundance of local fish supplies: "At one haul of the Sein we caught Fish enough to serve the Ships Company, Hospital, Battalion & great part of the Convicts."²⁶⁹ Eels and mud oysters could be sourced from the Parramatta River and from Sydney Harbour, and oysters remained a common food source for all levels of society until the nineteenth-century.²⁷⁰ There are also references to consumption of local birds and game meat, mainly emu and kangaroo, which were shot or caught with the assistance of greyhounds.²⁷¹

Culturally, bread was as important as meat in the colonists' diet, both for energy and as a familiar staple. Wheat was the principal English cereal staple and bread made from locally produced fine wheat flour had rapidly become a symbol of status.²⁷² Initially, however, locally grown maize proved more productive and resilient to the climate in New South Wales and was first issued as part of the official ration in 1792, continuing to be part of the rations issue for many years to follow. Livestock continued to be both locally bred and imported, and locally-produced butter and cheese was sold in

²⁶³ Ida Lee, *The Coming of the British to Australia 1788 to 1829*, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906): 85; One bushel of barley is equivalent to 27.2kg.

²⁶⁴ Fellows of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, 1998: 74.

²⁶⁵ Fellows of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, 1998: 73.

²⁶⁶ See for example: Watkin Tench and Tim Flannery, eds., *1788: Comprising a Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay and a Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson* (Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company, 1996); Collins, 1971.

²⁶⁷ The early colonists coped with dwindling tea stocks by substituting native plants such as *Leptospermum*, the most commonly used bush tea, which was referred to as 'tea' tree: see: William Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales, the Journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786-1792*, Publication (William Dixson Foundation) No. 11 (Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in Association with Ure Smith, 1969), 'October, 1788'.

²⁶⁸ Frost, 1994: 137.

²⁶⁹ Bradley, 1969, 'April 30, 1788'.

²⁷⁰ Dominic Steele, Do 'Animal bone and shell artifacts report', in Cumberland/Gloucester Streets site, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report: Specialist Artifacts Reports, ed. Grace Karskens (Sydney: Sydney Cove Authority, Godden Mackay Pty. Ltd., 1999): 187.

²⁷¹ Tench and Flannery, 1996: 239.

²⁷² J. C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957): 221.

marketplaces from at least 1792, although there would have been limited supplies unless these were made from goat's or sheep's milk.²⁷³

By around 1792, the colony's local food supply became more stable due to increasing success with agriculture and livestock. Areas under cultivation increased as the settlement expanded and English farming practices remained prevalent. The population became more reliant on local food to supplement rations. Markets were established in Sydney and Parramatta, selling a variety of locally grown vegetables, maize, poultry, eggs, fish, fresh and salt pork, and sometimes hams and bacon. Coffee, tea, sugar, flour, cheese, soap and locally grown as well as imported tobacco were also available.²⁷⁴ Despite its inclusion in rations, Governor Phillip found that salted meat was a food of preference even when fresh fish and fresh meat was available for issue in its place.²⁷⁵ According to historian Grace Karskens, salt meat was still readily available in the Rocks area of Sydney well into the nineteenth century, despite good supplies of fresh meat.²⁷⁶

While the colonists' efforts to grow and produce their own foods are acknowledged, the dominance of rations in the colonial diet overshadows other government policies relating to the production and consumption of food. For many years the colony survived on a hand-to-mouth existence. Until introduced foods were successfully produced and in good supply in the colony, rations played an important role in the colonists' diets, creating a reliance on and a taste for food items such as tea, sugar and mutton.²⁷⁷ "Grazing's success turned [Australia] into a nation of meat eaters" due to the expansion of the wool industry, resulting in abundant quantities of meat which was relatively cheap and frequently consumed three times a day.²⁷⁸ The workforce was paid in weekly rations, consisting of ten pounds (4.5kg) of flour, ten pounds (4.5 kilograms) of meat, two pounds (1 kilogram) of sugar, and a quarter pound (100 grams) of tea and salt; eventually earning the name "Ten, Ten, Two and a Quarter". This became the diet for Australia's first century. Political debates, job advertisements and contemporary accounts continuously referred to rations into the nineteenth century, paid weekly to the itinerant workforce: "They influenced life like no other foods before or since."²⁷⁹

Until agriculture was established in the early 1800s, food quantity rather than quality was the predominant concern of the first European governors and settlers. Early food manufacturing was minimal due to scarcity of ingredients, giving rise to instances of deliberate contamination to reduce the cost of production. As a result, Governor King issued the first Australian food manufacturing policy to regulate and control milling and baking quality in 1801. There are many examples of the early settlers using fillers, usually ash (potash) or clay for thickening or bulking foods.²⁸⁰ In 1806 food regulation prohibited brewing in order to conserve scarce wheat for bread making. By 1814, four brewing licences were allowed in New South Wales and in 1821, when distillation of spirits was first permitted, the only raw imported ingredient allowed was sugar, with every other ingredient grown

²⁷³ Keith Farrer, *To Feed a Nation: A History of Australian Food Science and Technology* (Collingwood, VIC: CSIRO Publishing, 2005): 25.

²⁷⁴ D. Collins, 1971, 215: 'May 1792'.

²⁷⁵ See for example: Newling, 2007, 54; HRNSW, 1978, 359: 'Phillip to Grenville July 17, 1790'.

²⁷⁶ Karskens, 1999: 65.

²⁷⁷ Mutton is meat from a mature sheep that has been annually shorn of its wool at least twice, to maximise its value. Lamb in comparison is less than a year old and may have only been shorn once, so had less value.

²⁷⁸ Symons, 2007: 28.

²⁷⁹ Symons, 2007: 29.

²⁸⁰ Polya, 2001: 3; Walquist, 1988: 13.

locally.²⁸¹ In 1824, Australia's oldest manufacturing operation, Cascade Brewery, was built in Hobart, and by 1827, food regulation permitted the use of locally grown grain for the first time.²⁸² The Australian meat pie had been invented by 1850²⁸³ and in 1857, Thomas Austin introduced twelve wild rabbits at Winchelsea near Geelong, an important food source until after World War II (WWII).²⁸⁴ By 1859, an unintended consequence of introducing the rabbits was the resultant rabbit plague that had serious environmental and economic impacts. Although a notorious pest, the rabbit provided a source of food and extra income during wartime and the Great Depression.²⁸⁵

According to historian Valerie Ross, the independent settlers' lives "had a biblical quality", as they existed in a mutually supportive community which was intrinsically linked with the soil.²⁸⁶ The Hunter government at the time made efforts to support this culture, ordering that preference be given "to the man whose grain was the produce of his own labour; and if any favour were shewn, to let it be to the poor but industrious settler who might be encumbered with a large family," hence showing early government support for local production.²⁸⁷ Had Governor Phillip's earlier vision for domestic gardening and subsistence farming succeeded, agrarianism may well have become established in Australia; however the wealthier and more influential landowners proved to have greater influence as the colony's focus moved away from agricultural development into a more globalised commercial phase of shipping, importing and trading, resulting in urban population expansion.²⁸⁸ Just as the peasant class had fallen victim to the development of capitalist individualism in England during industrialisation in the eighteenth-century, the small colonial landowners' subsistence lifestyle seemed out-dated in Sydney only a few years after it had been initiated.²⁸⁹ Capitalism and consumerism had all but extinguished the colonial society's initial connection with the land.²⁹⁰ The English authorities at the time brought this attitude with them and showed diminishing interest in local resources as their focus shifted to the introduced commodities which had an established commercial value.²⁹¹

Due to the pervasiveness of food insecurity, references were still made to 'survival' cookery up until 1864. Edward Abbott's cookbook included 'survival' dishes such as Colonial damper, Bush cookery [kangaroo], Pan jam [kangaroo tail] and Slippery bob [kangaroo brain fritters in emu fat].²⁹² The business of survival and food supply was so prominent that it became the foundation of commerce in Australia. Historian Alan Frost claims that in comparison with the early settlement of North America,

²⁸¹ Polya, 2001: 7-8; Fellows of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, 1988: 74-75.

²⁸² Polya, 2001: 8; Fellows of the Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering, 1988: 74.

²⁸³ Walquist, 1988: 18.

²⁸⁴ Walquist, 1988: 19.

²⁸⁵ M. Pearson and J. Lennon, *Pastoral Australia: Fortunes, Failures and Hard Yakka. A Historical Overview 1788-1967* (Collingwood: CSIRO Publishing, 2010): 114-115.

²⁸⁶ Valerie Ross, *Matthew Everingham: A First Fleeter and His Times* (Sydney Library of Australian History, 1980): 59.

²⁸⁷ D. Collins, 1971, 106: 'March 1798'.

²⁸⁸ George Parsons, 'The commercialisation of honour: Early Australian capitalism 1788-1809', in *A Difficult Infant: Sydney before Macquarie*, ed. G. J. Aplin (Kensington NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1988): 103-104.

²⁸⁹ Parsons, 1988, 102; Thompson, 1978: 154.

²⁹⁰ Newling, 2007: 71.

²⁹¹ HRNSW 5: 'Matra 1786'.

²⁹² Abbott, 1864: 79; 86.

and especially in light of the greater distance, the establishment of the New South Wales colony was a remarkable economic success.²⁹³ Overcoming food insecurity was a driving force for exploration and expansion of the interior of the continent and was a critical factor in the survival and success of the early settlers. Although the significance of local foods in the colony's success is often only recognised implicitly, historians such as Geoffery Blainey, David Day and Jan Kociumbas have given attention to the role local foods played as a motivating factor not only for survival, but also for exploration and settlement in terms of trade and economic development.²⁹⁴

The economic development of the British colony in Australia in 1788 was overshadowed by its original function as a jail for convicts; however, by the 1890s a highly successful settler economy had been established due in large part to pastoralism, agriculture and an abundance of mineral wealth. Plentiful land became particularly productive with John Macarthur's introduction of Merino sheep in 1796. Wages were also comparatively high and created huge economic opportunities. Following the discovery of gold in Bathurst in 1851 by Edward Hargraves, the population nearly tripled and the national income quadrupled as people took advantage of Australia's mineral wealth.²⁹⁵ The middle of the nineteenth century saw the completion of the main exploratory expeditions and the expansion of railways. From the 1870's onwards, new farm workers were transported from England. With the assistance of railways, clippers and steamers, Australian agriculture developed beyond wool to include the production of food, and beef, wheat and butter became the main items of production. By the end of the nineteenth century, Australians enjoyed the highest standard of living in the world.²⁹⁶ Australian produce entered the global food trade and production was most intense between 1870 and the 1914-1918 war.

The introduction of free trade at the time of Federation inaugurated a new economic era in Australia.²⁹⁷ The federal government progressed from ideal to reality, and adjustments were made as public response to World War One (WWI) cemented the popular cultural expressions of independence and nationhood. The First World War was the most significant social event in the early twentieth century and combined elements of celebration, grief, hope and reconstruction for the Australian population. The financial crisis from 1929 onwards led to changes in attitudes to local food. Several generations had adopted a 'waste not, want not' outlook due to WWI and the severe economic depression. In 1943 Prime Minister John Curtin launched 'Grow Your Own', a campaign styled on the 1939 Dig for Victory program active in Roosevelt's America, pioneered by the UK Department of Agriculture. Advertising and posters were used to encourage consumers to "Grow your own, can your own" and local food was promoted as a "mighty weapon of war," the "Highway to victory" and

²⁹³ Frost, 1994: 226-227.

²⁹⁴ Geoffery Blainey, *Our Side of the Country*, (first published Methuen Haynes, 1984, reprint Sydney: Pan Macmillan Publishers Australia, 1991), Chapter 4; David Day, *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996), Chapter 5; Jan Kociumbas, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 2: 1770-1860 Possessions* (Melbourne etc: Oxford University Press, 1992), Chapter 5.

²⁹⁵ Angus Maddison, *The World Economy*, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Centre, Vol. 1 (2004): 449; 462.

²⁹⁶ Angus Maddison, *Statistics on World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2008 AD* (horizontal file, University of Groningen, 2010).

²⁹⁷ John Hirst, 'Protection', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. Graeme Davison, John Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre (Oxford University Press, 2001); Hancock, 1964.

“Vegemite fights for the men up north”.²⁹⁸ WWII saw the introduction of new laws aimed at increasing the security of the country, which affected lifestyles as well as the nation’s economy. Items such as meat, butter, eggs, milk, tea, sugar, beer and spirits were rationed and emphasis was placed on living in an austere and modest manner. Thrift was highlighted during this era, as well as in the preceding Depression years, when the ethos ‘eat everything on your plate’ became embedded in consumer psyches. Thrift continued to influence sustainability approaches to food in more prosperous times.²⁹⁹ The Second World War affected almost every aspect of Australia’s food industry. Michael Symons argues that it galvanised the food chain, alienating consumers from the source of their food as well as revealing the central role of rations within Australians’ eating culture, even when they were not, strictly speaking, necessary: “having embraced the rations of the ocean expedition, the penal settlement, the out-station, the commuter suburb, and the mobilised nation, we were about to discover the rations of the supermarket world.”³⁰⁰

Environmental determinism, the belief that the environment shapes people, was popularised in the context of debates over the fate of the transplanted British. It also was evident in the idea that urban residents needed to escape the degenerative influences of the city and immerse themselves in the reforming, healthful influence of rural areas, even if only in the suburban backyard vegetable garden. Producing food was considered one of the most basic expressions of independence. The use of household land and labour and making use of waste avoided reliance on others for basic needs. Particularly for the middle-classes, it provided exercise and nourishing locally produced food, both of which were culturally tied to the ideal of independence. Home-grown produce was actively promoted, for example a 1944 advert in the *Australian Women’s Weekly* stated: “There are foods in plenty to replace those that are scarce, particularly when supplemented from our own vegetable garden and our fowl-yard.”³⁰¹ During the war years, the production of food became an activity of national importance. Australians increasingly grew their own food in suburban backyards for a variety of reasons, including thrift, leisure, enjoyment and food quality. Home food production was seen as insurance against a “change in the season, onset of pests, unexpected interruptions to transport, manpower difficulties and other interventions.” Historical scholars writing about Australian backyard gardens describe this transition from their use in the Second World War for ‘production’ or ‘utility’, to various post-war uses described as ‘recreation’, ‘display’ or ‘consumption.’³⁰² The preference for home-grown food from backyard gardens became one of the markers by which Australians confirmed their status, seeing themselves as “respectable rather than rough, industrious rather than idle.”³⁰³

²⁹⁸ C. McDowell, ‘Carolyn’s culinary delights, rationing to riches – part one’, Poster circa 1942, (2014): <http://www.thecultureconcept.com/circle/carolyns-culinary-delights-rationing-to-riches-part-one>, accessed 12 November 2015; Symons, 2007: 190.

²⁹⁹ M. Wahlqvist, *Food and Nutrition in Australia* (NSW: Methuen Australia Ltd, 1983).

³⁰⁰ Symons, 2007: 199

³⁰¹ Cited in Symons, 2007 (8th April 1944): 187-191.

³⁰² See for example: J. Fiske, B. Hodge, and G. Turner, *Myths of Oz: Reading Australian Popular Culture* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987): 47; P. Cuffley, *Australian Houses of the 20s and 30s* (Fitzroy: Five Mile Press, 1989), 150; K. Holmes, ‘In her master’s house and garden’, in *A History of European Housing in Australia*, ed. P. Troy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 171; R. Freestone, ‘Planning, housing, gardening: Home as a garden suburb’, in *A History of European Housing in Australia*, ed. P. Troy, P. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): 128.

³⁰³ Gaynor, 2006: 54.

Consumption figures from government statistics, cookbooks and shopping lists still showed the same food patterns of the early settlers - beef, mutton, leafy vegetables, carrots, wheat flour, raisins, bread and milk. Even after the First World War, the majority of Australians were still of British origin and continued to follow British eating patterns.³⁰⁴ Australia's first dietary survey was conducted in 1936-1938 by the Commonwealth Advisory Council on Nutrition, revealing that the average Australian ate about 90.7 kilograms each of flour and meat per year, 45.4 kilograms of sugar, 3.2 kilograms of tea, 90.7 litres of milk, 13.6 kilograms of butter and 1.8 kilograms of cheese.³⁰⁵ In contrast with the bush rations of 'Ten, Ten, Two and a Quarter', the survey showed that a small but significant proportion of the Australian population ate an unbalanced diet – too little dairy products and too much in the way of refined cereals and sugars. In 1937, Australians living in towns and cities had access to a vast choice of commercial biscuits, well over a hundred different varieties of cakes and scones, buns, pasties and pies from local bakery shops. The Council declared it a community responsibility to improve the nation's diet. Education on the value of milk and dairy products was singled out and promoted, especially to children.³⁰⁶

Other nutrition related conditions such as stunting and anaemia were common in many industrialised countries. Evidence at the time indicated that intakes of meat and milk promoted growth in children, and the consumption of milk, butter, fats and sugars increased their weight.³⁰⁷ These findings contributed to changing agricultural and food policies, mainly to raise food outputs and reduce prices. Subsidies were paid to farmers to increase the production of various food products including meat, dairy products, rice and sugar, thus contributing to national health and food security. Food security policies were also fundamentally linked to strategic issues of national security. Following WWII, as the Western allies confronted forces in Africa, the Far and Middle East and Europe, it became clear that there were millions of semi-starving refugees and other displaced communities in many parts of the new free world. These wartime experiences led most nations to establish new agricultural policies based on the principle that meat, milk, butter, and sugar were essential sources of protein and energy that had to be safeguarded as an issue of national security.³⁰⁸

The end of WWII heralded an era of economic prosperity for Australia. Australia's industrial capacity had significantly increased due to the war and manufacturers quickly adjusted for post-war production. Wartime investment in scientific research also resulted in changes to the food industry as new production processes were introduced. Public health concerns regarding food security, advances in technology, increasing globalisation and demographic changes over the past two centuries transformed the food supply system.

For much of Australia's early history, food policy was associated with food security, both in terms of feeding the nation and in relation to the strategic value of feeding the armed forces during WWI and WWII. Food production was a large-scale, rural, capitalist undertaking until the mid-nineteenth century, dominated mostly by wealthy squatters. The rationale for food policies was as much social as economic, as small-scale family farms promoted desirable agrarian traits such as hard work and thrift; attributes it was hoped would raise the moral tone of the colonies. These agrarian ideals became

³⁰⁴ See for example: Skurry, 1990: 38.

³⁰⁵ Symons, 2007.

³⁰⁶ Santich, 1995: 92-98.

³⁰⁷ P. James, 'Marabou 2005: nutrition and human development', *Nutrition Reviews* 64 (2006): S1-S11.

³⁰⁸ James, 2006: S3.

articulated as ‘countrymindedness’ by the Country Party from the 1920s to the 1970s. Their goal was to enhance the status of farmers and to justify subsidies for them. Agrarianism was further entrenched in the national psyche by the disproportionate number of young men from rural areas who volunteered during WWI. Many returning soldiers were rewarded for their service by policies that granted them farmland under various soldier-settlement programs, further linking rural Australia with its national self-image. The importance of farm income from Federation until after WWII was reflected in the 1946 rural policy statement by the Chifley government, which gave prominence to the goals of raising the standard of living of primary producers and included policies such as organised marketing, stabilisation schemes and floor price arrangements.

Local as Displaced by Imports

A second key theme in terms of analysis of the literature was that local foods were sometimes displaced by imported foods which were preferable to Australians often due to status reasons. Foreign (non-Anglo) foods were initially only reluctantly accepted. Evidence shows that colonists did not appear to value any of the imported ingredients for their exotica or differences; rather they utilised them in ways that were familiar to them.³⁰⁹ Formal dinners, especially at Governor Phillip’s residence, included both native and imported foods, reinforcing the importance of maintaining ‘civilised’ English cultural traditions.³¹⁰ Colonists that resided in urban areas were more reliant on marketed consumer goods and purchased more foods that were produced by others than their rural counterparts, showing a disconnection from the land and indigenous resources. A multi-layered system of consumption evolved, with the privileged adhering to traditional middle or upper-class English customs, demonstrated through the display of consumer goods including clothing and food as well as dining customs which were representative of superior social status.³¹¹ There are also many accounts in the early 1800s which speak of the longing for tastes from home and make it clear that the available local produce was a less than desirable object of consumption. For instance, South Australian resident Mary Thomas wrote the following to her brother in England in 1836: “I have such a desire for something English that nothing else gives me any pleasure.”³¹² In 1864, in one of the earliest published Australian cookbooks, Edward Abbott refers to nineteen local food ingredients, emphasising fish, birds, and ground game, which could be harvested without either agriculture or animal farming. However no local vegetables or fruits were mentioned, and, like many Australians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Abbott gave little attention to them.³¹³ Further evidence of the distaste for local food can be seen when American imports were highly sought after by those that could afford them at the time of the Gold Rush.³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ Newling, 2007: 59.

³¹⁰ See for example: John Currey, *David Collins: A Colonial Life* (Melbourne University Press, 2000): 85; George B. Worgan and Library Council of New South Wales, *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon*, William Dixon Foundation, Publication No. 16 (Sydney: Library Council of New South Wales in Association with the Library of Australian History, 1978): 34-35.

³¹¹ Bill Brampton, ‘A stewed cockatoo, a parrot pudding: Perceptions of bush foods in colonial South Australia’, *History forum (1030-3405)* 20 (1) (1996): 19-21; Karskens, 1999: 50; 51; 64; 72; 74; Symons, 2007: 11.

³¹² Symons, 2007: 26.

³¹³ Edward Abbott (‘an Australian Aristologist’), *The English and Australian Cookery Book: Cookery for the Many, as well as for the “Upper Ten Thousand”* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864).

³¹⁴ Arthur Hamilton Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era, An Epitome of Famous American and British Clipper Ships, Their Owners, Builders, Commanders, and Crews, 1843–1869* (Camden, ME: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1910).

The gold rush was the most significant and defined social event in the nineteenth century and produced a period of prosperity that lasted for forty years and contributed to material wellbeing, giving rise to inventions such as gas stoves and ice chests which began to appear in households. The expansion of the cities, which included the provision of utilities, facilitated many infrastructure changes that influenced people's food selection, preparation and lifestyle.³¹⁵ Lastly, with the Pacific War, Australia became populated with American troops who wanted to be fed beef, pork, corn, tomatoes, orange juice and chilli con carne.³¹⁶ In the preceding decades, Americans brought technologists to Australia, who renovated the food industry with their machinery and expertise. Accompanied by Hollywood films and pervasive marketing, they profoundly changed the way Australians ate.³¹⁷

Industrial Foods as Local

The construction of industrial foods as local due to the influence of marketing and government intervention is a third key theme revealed from analysis of the literature, particularly from the late 1800s onwards in Australia. The development of new processes and technologies made it possible to grow or obtain certain raw materials in Australia. New technologies such as irrigation, for example, made it possible to grow rice in a practically waterless region. With industrialisation, a delocalisation effect impacted on systems of food production and consumption, where practices began to take place at increasing geographical distance from one another.³¹⁸ As identified in the previous chapter, on the one hand industrialisation worked against the growth of small-scale agricultural and artisanal producers associated with regional differentiation, yet on the other hand it brought about the creation of market conditions conducive to the appearance of clearly identified, branded 'Australian Made' products, thus allowing increased choice and convenience for consumers. Mechanisation, science and technology were all widely adopted by producers and manufacturers across Australia, leading to the standardisation of what otherwise may have resulted in regionally diverse practices. In effect, consumers became separated from the producers of food, resulting in the supply and distribution of a vast array of food products, and in many circumstances obliterating geophysical distinction and seasonal variation.³¹⁹ The business of food supply became the foundation for industrialisation in Australia because food security was such a motivating factor in the development of early Australia and also because agriculture and food manufacture were well supported by governments.

Barbara Santich argues that food manufacturing in Australia began as an extension of standard domestic practices, with a focus on artisanal products such as preserves and pickles. Up until the mid-nineteenth century, manufacturing was typically represented by small-scale businesses using traditional methods of production, but by the second half of the century, industrialisation gave rise to distinctive, highly processed foods which created a new type of market environment where local specialities were given distinctively Australian identities. Some examples of these sorts of iconic products are Aeroplane Jelly, Foster's Lager, Vegemite, Milo, Minties, Rosella Tomato Sauce and Arnott's Biscuits.³²⁰ The Rosella brand, first manufactured in a Carlton backyard in 1895, is an example of a product that quickly moved to larger more industrialised premises when the company gained a

³¹⁵ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2012: 12.

³¹⁶ Sheridan, 2000: 322; Symons, 2007: 188; 204

³¹⁷ Sheridan, 2000: 322.

³¹⁸ Montanari, 1994.

³¹⁹ Symons, 2007: 6-7.

³²⁰ Santich, 2012: 260-299.

reputation for its tomato sauce, which has since become one of Australia's most iconic food brands.³²¹ William Arnott, and his son James Arnott, are examples of entrepreneurs who set up their own bakery after discovering they could make more money selling pies and bread to miners than they could from gold mining. In 1865 they started production of the distinctly Australian Milk Arrowroot, Sao and Iced Vo biscuits.³²² Although many of the iconic products did not have any reference to specifically Australian symbolism (with the notable exception of the rosella bird used by the Rosella brand), they have become part of Australia's consumer heritage.³²³ The industrialisation era gave rise to a multitude of Australian food specialities, considered 'local' by virtue of their iconic status as Australian made products.

Michael Symons argues that Australians became part of a food provisioning and consumption system based largely on industrialised production, including collectivised milk and processed, preserved and dried goods, with few regional specialities.³²⁴ In the previous chapter, it was discussed that in pre-industrial eras, much of the production of local foods was random, resulting in individual products of variable characteristics and quality.³²⁵ With the emergence of industrialisation and commercial business operators, products began to appear with labelling specifying quality and brand identity. Coupled with this appearance came a new range of concerns, including the price and quality of food. Another consequence was the transformation of the population into 'consumers.'³²⁶ Many examples exist of newspaper articles written about concerns with the price of food in Australia,³²⁷ as well as issues with food quality relating to diseased or adulterated food.³²⁸ Consumers initiated public campaigns addressed at ensuring effective controls were put in place to guarantee fair trading, especially in respect to weights and measures of food.³²⁹

³²¹ Karen Collier, 'Rosella tomato sauce back on shelves after Sabrands buys the historic Aussie brand', *Herald Sun*, News Ltd., 14 August 2013.

³²² Skurry, 1990: 42-46.

³²³ Mimmo Cozzolino, *Symbols of Australia* (Penguin Books Australia Ltd, 1980): 15.

³²⁴ Symons, 2007.

³²⁵ Oddy and Burnett, 1992.

³²⁶ 'Producer and consumer', *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, 1 March 1913: 31.

³²⁷ 'The supply of food', *The Observer*, Adelaide, 28 June 1851: 5; 'The staff of life', *The Goulburn Herald*, Goulburn, 2 February 1856: 2; 'Prices control abolished', *The Australian Town and Country Journal*, Sydney, 4 June 1919: 12; 'Sugar for home', *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, 24 January 1920: 35.

³²⁸ 'After the adoption', *The Argus*, Melbourne, 28 December 1860: 4; see also: 'Sixteen ounces in the pound', *The Herald*, Melbourne, 21 March 1905: 2; 'Editorial' (on adulteration of food), *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1879: 2; 'Highly-seasoned mysteries' (sausages), *The Herald*, Melbourne, 6 September 1884: 2; 'The meat supply of the metropolis' (diseased meat), *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1891: 2; 'Diseased meat', *The Courier*, Brisbane, 4 May 1895: 4; 'Our water supply' (purity), *The Courier*, Brisbane, 17 January 1896: 4; 'Diseased fruit', *The Sydney Mail*, Sydney, 26 February 1898: 425; 'Public health and diseased meat', *The Sydney Mail*, Sydney, 10 September 1898: 611; 'The milky way' (adulterated milk), *The Herald*, Melbourne, 7 May 1887: 2; 'Pure milk for the babies', *The Herald*, Melbourne, 4 May 1908: 2; 'The manner in which laws...' (editorial advocating improvement in pure food administration), *The Courier*, Ballarat, 9 September 1910: 2; 'Food adulteration', *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, 29 May 1911: 31; 'Death in the milk jug', *The Herald*, Melbourne, 28 June 1911: 4; 'There is a difference...' (adulteration of butter), *The Age*, Melbourne, 21 August 1911: 6.

³²⁹ 'Condition and prospects of the Colony', *The Australian Town and Country Journal*, Sydney, 8 January 1870: 8; 'The world grows better', *The Herald*, Melbourne, 9 January 1911: 2; 'The Depression disappearing', *The Queenslander*, Brisbane, 31 December 1892: 1257; 'Christmas to Christmas', *The Queenslander*, Brisbane, 6 December 1913: 22.

A further impact of industrialisation was the appearance of convenience foods, which have a long history in Australia. Once market gardens and markets were established, local foods became more accessible for those consumers who could afford to purchase them.³³⁰ The earliest food markets were established in Sydney and Parramatta, selling a variety of locally grown and produced foods.³³¹ The nation's fondness of a European invention, the meat pie, is well known, and its Australian interpretation can be traced back to 1850. Moreover, for much of the twentieth century, Australia had a home delivery system for local foods, which were delivered weekly by grocers' boys. With the arrival of automated transport, small producers and vendors conveniently sold local foods including milk, bread and vegetables from the backs of small trucks in the suburbs. As supermarkets and convenience stores proliferated in the 1950s, shopping was transformed into a commercialised activity.³³²

The end of the nineteenth century also saw a massive increase in food entrepreneurship, which had clear impacts on the industrialisation of food provisioning, particularly in the early to mid-1900s.³³³ The concept of entrepreneurship has its origins in macroeconomic theory, in particular the work of economist Joseph Schumpeter, who argued that the entrepreneur takes initiative in combining scarce resources of land, capital and labour to produce a good or service.³³⁴ There are no specific histories or scholarship related to Australian food entrepreneurship, yet Australia has a long history of innovation and invention, evidenced by the striking number of Australian entrepreneurs who existed from the period between 1788 and WWII, contributing significantly to the industrialisation of the local foods industry. Their work dealt directly with the scarce resources of the physical landscape to make important contributions to the development of the Australian food industry and culture more broadly. Agricultural innovation was part of an exchange of ideas occurring within a wider global context, both colonial and non-colonial. This exchange reflected a wider process in which Australian identity was negotiated between internal experiences and external ideas, suggesting a sustained commitment to an agrarian development that placed Australia on the international map. Given the close connection of the landscape to the business of survival, much of the innovation had strong emotional implications, which provides insight into evolving relationships with the land.

Entrepreneurship thus initiated a broad range of food and agricultural mechanisation including wind power, transport, canning, fermentation processes, refrigeration, irrigation, hydraulic railway brakes, mechanical implements and occasional areas of telecommunication. Some of the main entrepreneurs relevant to this study include grazier Frederick Ebsworth (1816-1884), who pioneered the use of steam for making tallow from an excess of sheep carcasses, as well as making mutton hams from the sheep's legs.³³⁵ The wastage of meat in the rendering process stimulated Sizar Elliot (1814-1901) to can the excess meat. James Alston (1850-1943) turned his inventive skills to the construction of windmills of circular design with curved sails, which provided the solution for extracting artesian water and also

³³⁰ For historical references see: Frost, 1994: 233; Truswell and Wahlqvist, 1988: 164; 167; Skurray, 1990: 23; 27; 30-31; Symons, 2007: 16-17; 19.

³³¹ Collins, 1971: 215.

³³² B. Kingston, *Basket, Bag and Trolley: A History of Shopping in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994); K. Humphery, *Shelf Life: Supermarkets and the Changing Culture of Consumption* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); J. Dixon, *The Changing Chicken* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002).

³³³ Tyler Cowen, *The Great Stagnation: How America Ate All the Low-Hanging Fruit of Modern History, Got Sick, and Will (Eventually) Feel Better* (Penguin eSpecial, Dutton, 2011).

³³⁴ J. Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934).

³³⁵ Santich, 2012: 166.

met the growing demand for power to drive machinery in saw mills, shearing machines and even ploughs. John (1845-1932) and David (1850-1936) Shearer invented fixed ploughs, scarifiers, harrows, strippers and grubbing machines, designed to deal with the harsh landscape, particularly mallee and native pine scrub. Alexander Dobbie (1843–1912) imported milking separators and other mechanised items, used as a foundation to reinvent and reproduce ‘for farm and home’. Thomas Sutcliffe Mort (1816-1878) teamed up with the French engineer, Eugène Dominique Nicolle (1823-1909), and in 1861 patented an ice manufacturing process dependent on the evaporation of ammonia. Together the two men established a large freezing works near Sydney and an abattoir at Lithgow. In 1879 the SS *Strathleven* successfully carried 40 tons of frozen beef and mutton to Britain, all of which was discharged in excellent condition. Auguste de Bavay (1856-1944) developed Australia’s first ‘pure yeasts’ foundation process and was the first brewer to adopt pure yeast in fermentation brewing, subsequently working with Fosters, Melbourne, as chief brewer. His ‘Melbourne No 1’ brew, created in 1889, became the basis of colonial brewing. Around the same time, Christian Koerstz (1847-1930) invented improved wool presses, water pumps and rotary pumps and Frederick York Wolseley (1837-1899) devised and developed a mechanised sheep shearer, which by the end of the century had revolutionised the wool industry. Colonial governments also offered rewards for machinery that was particularly sought after. Hugh McKay (1865-1926) was one such respondent to the South Australian Government’s request to produce a harvester combining stripping, threshing, winnowing and bagging. With his father and brother John, he invented a stripper harvester from existing implements and machines, patented in 1885.

By 1900, agricultural development and manufacture had become the fastest growing sector of the Australian economy.³³⁶ Invention and the entrepreneurial skills of financing and marketing products were the most conspicuous features of successful nineteenth century innovation. Entrepreneurs found specific niches, promoting and marketing products and techniques that enabled Australia to establish a technological lead in important areas such as the stump-plough, machine harvesting, and reaping. Furthermore, Australia’s public sector made important strides with many inventions and innovations in railway extension, bridge building, telegraph and long-line telephony, and in port construction using technologies and know-how adapted from overseas.³³⁷ By the early part of the twentieth century, Australian innovations in food production had contributed to the nation’s newfound independence, and Australian made and grown food expressed and conveyed this.

The end of WWI heralded a new sense of optimism and progress for many Australians. The 1920s signalled a higher level of material prosperity, and refrigerators became common purchases for ordinary families. This had major implications for food preservation and, according to Mark Wahlqvist, this constituted “the single most important technological innovation with respect to our food supply”, as many of the traditional ways of preserving food, for example salting meat, were no longer required.³³⁸ Convenience foods, requiring little or no cooking, were heavily promoted, with typical grocery items being flour, sugar, rice, sago, tea, tomato soup, spaghetti and baked beans, most of

³³⁶ Noel G. Butlin, *Investment in Australian Economic Development, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

³³⁷ Ann Moyal, ‘An entrepreneurial nation: agricultural invention and innovation in nineteenth century Australia’, *Obituaries Australia*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/essay/11/text30784>, originally published 26 February 2015, accessed 22 June 2015.

³³⁸ Wahlqvist, 1983: 15.

which were locally-grown or produced. In addition, in 1921 the Federal government prohibited importation of many primary products including sugar and rice to protect the Australian industries.³³⁹

Protection of local production and manufacturing of goods by tariff barriers was national policy from the early years of the Commonwealth until the 1980s, and arguments between supporters of free trade and protectionism existed from the nineteenth century. Protection was first adopted in Victoria in the 1860s, where it was a central tenet in the Liberal program, supported by farmers seeking protection from cereal imports and by urban workers and gold-diggers who hoped for employment in the manufacturing industries.³⁴⁰ In an article in *The Argus* in 1860, it was clear that Australians were ready to cast off their adherence to British practices and reliance on Britain: "After the adoption of the cry of protection...none of the exposed and cast off blunders of the old country remained."³⁴¹ Protection shifted consumer expenditure from imported foods to an increased demand for local foods.³⁴² Tariffs were commonly used to protect local industry and were the most contentious political issue in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Laws prohibited or taxed the importing of goods that could be produced locally and also required that any imports and exports be carried in ships owned and registered within the nation.³⁴³ The most notable academic defence of protection was advocated by J. B. Brigden, who served as chair of an official inquiry into the tariff in 1929. He argued that it promoted employment in manufacturing at wage levels acceptable to Australians and attractive to migrants, and that without protection, there was no prospect of Australia's population continuing to grow, since rural production had reached its physical limits. It was argued that the cost imposed on rural producers was a justifiable redistribution of income. Protection was part of a broader mindset, which included the White Australia Policy and wage regulation.

In summary, the key theme of 'industrial foods as local' resulted in growth in technology and food transport and trade led to major changes in the food supply system, along with advances in food processing, manufacturing, retailing and distribution systems.³⁴⁴ The mechanisation of production processes in the industrial era changed the character of what was considered to be locally produced, and industrial processes were supported and encouraged politically. Industrialisation was further supported in the early twentieth century by agricultural policy focused on production maximisation and food policy focused on dietary improvement through the application of scientific and technological advancements. With the advent of WWII, the emphasis on food security increased through the standardisation and intensification of food production. The impact of long-term food rationing on the culinary habits of Australians had a homogenising effect on the diets of all classes. Widespread consumption of industrialised foods further broke down the links between consumers and traditional culinary practices. Food security, food rations, food regulation and production maximisation policies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries changed the meanings attached to local foods and had a complex and far-reaching impact, not only through the creation of market

³³⁹ Mary Albertus Bain, 'Male, Arthur (1870–1946)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/male-arthur-7469/text13013>, accessed 1 April 2013.

³⁴⁰ Hirst, 2001.

³⁴¹ 'After the adoption', 1860.

³⁴² W. Fisher and P. Byron, *Buy Australian Made* (Townsville: James Cook University, 1995): 49.

³⁴³ John Goldring, 'Globalisation', *Macquarie Law Journal* 8 (2008): 81.

³⁴⁴ E. B. McCullough, P. Pingali, and K. Stamoulis, 'Small farms and the transformation of food systems: An overview', in *The Transformation of Agri-food Systems: Globalization, Supply Chains and Smallholder Farmers*, eds. E. B. McCullough, P. Pingali, and K. Stamoulis (Rome: FAO, 2008): 3-46.

conditions conducive to the appearance of clearly identified, branded products, but also through the added convenience and choice given to consumers through these products.

Local as Constructed by Marketing

The fourth key theme identified from the historical literature review at the beginning of this chapter is the effect of marketing on perceptions of what was considered local. This section reviews the literature connected to the general history of food in Australia and pays particular attention to the social significance of local foods and the ways in which these were marketed to consumers. It should be noted here that it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate every example of marketing, branding and labelling related to local foods over the history of European settlement in Australia, therefore only the main themes of significance up until the mid-twentieth century are identified. The literature is drawn mainly from the works of three authors, Colin Bannerman, Anne Gollan and Michael Symons, each of who write about the effectiveness of the commercial sector in changing the eating habits of Australians.³⁴⁵ This section of the thesis demonstrates that the marketing of local food in Australia reflected the social and moral values of the eras, in particular nationalist sentiment, and that marketing was to become increasingly influential as Australia turned to industrialisation.

Australian journals published around the 1850s relied heavily on extracted material relating to food and recipes, but according to Colin Bannerman, gradually the balance shifted from recipes and content from overseas, to cookery adapted to local food. This was most noticeable in relation to seasonality. In the early decades of the 1800s, recipes were often given out of season. By the 1870s, recipes more frequently reflected the seasons in which particular local ingredients were abundant.³⁴⁶ By the 1890s, some columns were almost fixated on seasonality, teaching the importance of making the best use of local fruits and vegetables in season.³⁴⁷ Around the same time the Adelaide *Observer* was linking home growing of vegetables with social evolution and civilisation:

It would be possible to name a great many other plants which would be valuable for food, and useful as furnishing a variety in diet, but we have gone far enough to show that the British rural populations are not as well acquainted with the nature of succulent vegetables as are their confreres of the adjoining continent, and that they might live better and more economically, enjoying better health and spirits if they knew as much about what is good to eat as the French, Italian, and Spanish peasantry.³⁴⁸

Food selection and preparation was also affected by the invention of mechanical refrigeration by James Harrison of Geelong in 1851; however, it was a century before household refrigerators were commonplace. The butcher, grocer and greengrocer regularly delivered local food to households in the suburbs, supplying bread and milk daily by horse and cart. Ice-carters made regular visits to residents in Sydney and suburbs, with regular supplies available from around 1853 in Sydney and from 1858 in Melbourne.³⁴⁹ Shelf life was improved by milling, bottling and canning, and Australians were encouraged through marketing to purchase processed, branded foods. This era also heralded the

³⁴⁵ Gollan, 1978: 175–181; Symons, 2007.

³⁴⁶ For example, see: 'Green artichokes in white sauce', *The Sydney Mail*, Sydney, 3 January 1874: 28; 'Quince marmalade', *The Sydney Mail*, Sydney, 7 January 1871: 11.

³⁴⁷ Cited in Bannerman, 2001: 161.

³⁴⁸ 'Kitchen garden', *The Observer, Adelaide*, 6 February 1886: 11.

³⁴⁹ Nigel Isaacs, 'Sydney's first ice', *Dictionary of Sydney* (2011), http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydneys_first_ice, accessed 19 May 2015.

beginnings of food processing in Australia, during which new technologies were introduced, including the introduction of roller mills which resulted in the cheap production of white flour and the establishment of iconic Australian companies.³⁵⁰ As a result of the increased mechanisation of food production and the packaging revolution, Australian parliaments enacted laws from the 1860s onwards allowing the registering of trademarks. In 1850 households commonly made their own soap, candles, clothes, medicines, preserves and bread and butter. By 1900, factories increasingly made these and other goods, selling them under distinct brands and trademarks. Originally, general stores sold most of their goods straight from packing cases, vats and barrels, transferring them to customers' baskets and containers, however by 1900 more goods were sold individually in labelled containers such as tins and jars.³⁵¹

The appearance of trademarks represents an important milestone in the evolution of local food and the way it was constructed. Trademarks reflect changes in the social, cultural and nationalistic attitudes of past generations. They illustrate changes in trading patterns, packaging, advertising methods and consumption. Through their proliferation and diversity, they are illustrative of the growth of local trade in Australia and the development of the national economy. While Australian Patent Law was originally based on the British Law system, trademark law in Australia was more advanced than in Britain, whose *Trade Mark Registration Act* came into operation in 1875. In Australia, five Australian States had already enacted laws to protect registered trademarks by this time. South Australia was the first in 1863, followed by Queensland, Victoria and Tasmania in 1864 and New South Wales in 1865.³⁵²

In the era prior to radio and film, the printed word and the painted picture were the dominant medium for advertising, and trademarks combined these mediums. Preceding this time there is little reference to the origin or provenance of local food except for the occasional commercial announcement in the press. Such announcements of local food started to appear from the very early 1800s, for example, the *Sydney Gazette* advertised William Chapman's "excellent and well-constructed Mutton Pyes" in 1804.³⁵³ The provision of recipes to promote the sale of foods and related products was also prevalent.³⁵⁴ The second half of the nineteenth century was effectively the beginning of mass advertising as a tool of commerce. For example, the *Adelaide Observer* showed a progressive increase in the proportion of space occupied by food related advertising up until the 1890s. In this period, public interest in household cooking was also widespread. Food advertising declined in the era following, due to a combination of newspapers settling on a ratio of advertising to journalistic matter,

³⁵⁰ For example: Arnott's, Rosella, MacRobertson, Small's Chocolates and Foster's: Symons, M. 'Australia's cuisine culture: A history of our food', *Australian Geographic*, June (2014), <http://www.australiangeographic.com.au/topics/history-culture/2014/06/australias-cuisine-culture-a-history-of-food>, accessed 19 May 2015.

³⁵¹ Geoffrey Blainey, 'Behind the label' in *Symbols of Australia*, ed. Mimmo Cozzolino (Penguin Books Australia Ltd., 1980): 11-12.

³⁵² Australian Government, IP Australia, 'History of Australian Trade Marks', <http://www.ipaustralia.gov.au/about-us/news-media-and-events/feature-articles-listing/history-tm>, accessed 6 August 2015.

³⁵³ 'Classified advertising', *The Sydney Gazette*, December 2 1804: 3, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article626526>, accessed 13 November 2015.

³⁵⁴ The earliest surviving example was a sixteen page pamphlet: *Ice, and its uses*, produced by Sinnett & Co. in Adelaide in the 1860s: Bannerman, 2001: 197; see also Symons, 2007.

and the broadening range of goods and services being offered for sale and therefore competing for advertising space.³⁵⁵

The first centenary of settlement was followed by talk of Federation, and much was being written about nationalistic stirrings. Sydney newspaper *The Bulletin*, founded in 1880 by J.F. Archibald and John Haynes, became the leading national weekly in Australia and fostered nationalist writing and art which presented the bushman as a distinctive Australian figure - capable, resolute and independent, yet altruistic. The period's outstanding artists, Tom Roberts (1856-1931) and Arthur Streeton (1867-1943), additionally depicted nationalism in the era.³⁵⁶ Arguments about national identity by authors such as Russel Ward pointed out usefully that the idea of national identity was the product of a particular view of the world at a particular time, building in part on earlier work by Vance Palmer and critical contributions by others including Ann Curthoys and Richard White.³⁵⁷ As White remarked, the widespread belief that a national type was developing within Australia was an important feature of Australian intellectual and cultural life. The culture of the time can be understood and represented in terms of the bushman legend, used primarily as a symbol for ideas about Australian national identity. Studies of colonial food practices generally acknowledge that food was centrally important to the construction of identity and figured consciously in the mediation of the colonial encounter.³⁵⁸ The most notable feature of the period was the emergence of food culture into public consciousness and the growing sense of food as an expression of civilisation, hence it is known as the age of culinary refinement.³⁵⁹ Mennell et al. use the term culinary culture to describe the attitudes and tastes people bring to cooking and eating.³⁶⁰ In this context, culture embraces the shared experiences, habits and attitudes of Australians about the kinds of foods they eat, how they eat, and a shared understanding about what is characteristically Australian.

In 1901, Federation led to the removal of interstate tariffs which had previously hampered trade between the colonies. Prior to Federation each of the Australian colonies was a distinct political entity with its own parliament, governor, laws and regulations. Despite such differences, by the end of the nineteenth century the population increasingly began to regard themselves as Australian and on January 1st 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed. The colonies became states and a

³⁵⁵ Bannerman, 2001: 198.

³⁵⁶ See also: Symons, 2007: 301; John Hirst, 'Federation', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davison, J. Hirst, and S. Macintyre (S. Oxford University Press, 2001); *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press, Adelaide University, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t127.e548>, accessed July 16 2012; W. G. McMinn, *Nationalism and Federalism in Australia* (Oxford University Press, 1994); Robert Birrell, *A Nation of Our Own* (Melbourne: Longman, 1995); John Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2000).

³⁵⁷ Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1964); Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties* (Melbourne University Press, 1954); Ann Curthoys, *Australian Legends, Histories, Identities, Genealogies* (Armidale: University of New England, 1992); Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz, *Journalism: Print, Politics and Popular Culture* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999); Richard White, 'Americanisation and popular culture in Australia', *Teaching History* (History Teachers Association of N.S.W.) 12 (2) (1978): 3-21; Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin Australia, 1981): 64-66.

³⁵⁸ See: Shannon Lee Dawdy, 'A wild taste': Food and colonialism in eighteenth-century Louisiana', *Ethnohistory* 57 (3) (2010): 389-414; Michael Dietler, 'Culinary encounters: Food, identity, and colonialism', in *We Are What We Eat: Archaeology, Food, and Identity*, ed. Twiss, Katheryn (Carbondale, IL, 2007): 219.

³⁵⁹ Bannerman, 2001: 31.

³⁶⁰ Mennell et al. 1992: 20.

Federal Parliament was formed according to the Constitution. Australia as a Commonwealth came into existence, but with none of the formal symbols by which a nation expresses its identity: British currency remained the legal tender, the postal services continued to issue colonial postage stamps featuring the reigning monarch and there was no national flag or coat of arms. The monarch's birthday had always been celebrated, but Empire Day was introduced in 1905 and January 26th was declared Anniversary Day, later becoming Australia Day. These celebrations indicate that Australians were seeking to implement their own symbolism, identity and national day.

At the same time, Australia's agriculture rapidly expanded. Along with improved farming techniques, railways, shipping and refrigeration, the country changed from being a net importer to a net exporter.³⁶¹ Many Australians at the time felt that locally produced and yet highly processed food freed them from culinary orthodoxy. Food technology, refrigeration and gas stoves thus allowed them to experiment with new and unfamiliar products which were considered 'exciting'. Locally produced foods were no longer being sold in anonymous sacks or boxes but were being advertised and packaged with prominent brand names. What came to be known as 'national' advertising as opposed to 'retail' advertising originated in this era. Also notable in this period is that the provenance of local food was rarely advertised until trademarks made their appearance in the second half of the nineteenth century. Trademarks generally denoted that products were 'made in Australia', with little or no evidence of regionally branded foods. There were some historical examples of state branded foods, although these were not widespread. For example, by the 1830s Tasmanian jams had established a reputation in the rest of the colony;³⁶² Jubilee cake from the early twentieth century was restricted to South and Western Australia;³⁶³ there were regional variations of pies - the unique pie floater was introduced in Adelaide, South Australia towards the end of the nineteenth century;³⁶⁴ and various spa table waters from Hepburn Springs in Victoria, Ballimore Spring in Dubbo and Oodnadatta in South Australia were promoted at the same time.³⁶⁵

At the time of Federation, the use of Australian symbolism was becoming more prevalent in labelling and advertising, including native animals and flora, maps, nationalistic language and landmarks. Such symbolism was also evident in appeals to patriotism at the time of the First World War. Nationalism was reflected explicitly in the trademarks of merchants, shopkeepers and factory owners: "nationalism in the marketplace was far more influential in the 1890s and early 1900s" in part due to the introduction of trademarks.³⁶⁶ Advertisers were using a very wide variety of media to promote their food products, including daily newspapers, journals, cookery books, posters, promotional pamphlets and recipe booklets. Trademarks regularly appeared on shop windows, tobacco tins and on billboards in railway stations and city streets from the 1880s onwards.

³⁶¹ T. Henzell, *Australian Agriculture: Its History and Challenges* (Canberra: CSIRO, 2007).

³⁶² Santich, 2012: 260.

³⁶³ Symons, 2007: 161.

³⁶⁴ Santich, 2012: 229.

³⁶⁵ Symons, 2007: 302-303. Fresh regional foods that were mentioned by the colonial Brisbane merchant Nehemiah Bartley include: trumpeter from Hobart, giant crab from Queensland, dugong from southern Queensland, New South Wales peaches, Hobart cherries, and grapes from Adelaide: Nehemiah Bartley and Royal Australian Historical Society, *Australian Pioneers and Reminiscences, 1849-1894* (Sydney: John Ferguson in Association with Royal Australian Historical Society, 1978).

³⁶⁶ Blainey, 1980: 11-12.

As early as 1857, the explorer and politician W. C. Wentworth began suggesting a Federation for Australia, and by 1889 Sir Henry Parkes had launched an all-out campaign. By the 1890s the concept had rapidly grown, and it is reflected in trademarks from the 1880s onwards. At the time of Federation, the term 'Australian made' or words to that effect reflected the broad definition of what was considered 'local' food. The merits of buying Australian made had been advocated in Federal parliament since Federation, and Chambers of Manufacturers had been championing the cause in publications and press advertisements since the 1920s.³⁶⁷ Although recipes and dishes were often given nationalistic names such as 'Federation pudding', they were still predictably English in style.³⁶⁸ New localised agricultural innovations were also given nationalistic names, such as Federation wheat, named in 1901 by William Farrer. Federation wheat remained the most popular wheat variety to be farmed in Australia up until 1925.³⁶⁹ Although regional identifications in advertising and on labelling were sometimes referenced, they were rarely used to the same extent as Australian symbolism and the word 'Australia', indicating a stronger corporate attachment to nationalism than to regionality.³⁷⁰

One of the most striking features of early marketing was that the strategic approach used by the advertisers from the mid-nineteenth century onwards nearly always focused on attracting the attention of consumers. Through the adoption of aggressive marketing campaigns, commercial interests became the dominant shapers of food culture during the era. Food supplies at the time equalled the nutritional needs of the population, which meant the object of advertising food and related products was more about persuading people to change what they selected for food, how they prepared it and the circumstances in which they ate it, rather than to buy more. Nutritional reformers argued that simpler food was more wholesome, however food producers, processors and distributors attempted to increase their market share and value-add to their products through advertising. Along with the demands of large-scale urbanisation, these principles underpinned the industrialisation of consumption in western countries. It is therefore useful to look for ways in which advertisements for locally produced foods reinforced the cultural circumstances surrounding their production.

The *Sydney Morning Herald*, established in 1831, identified more with commerce than with consumers. Therefore, its treatment of food reflected significant stages in the social and economic development of New South Wales: its early maritime culture, the development of primary production and commerce, the middle classes' growing concern with providing comfortable homes for themselves, and basic education for the masses. From about 1830 to 1860, the food culture reflected in the newspaper was predominantly maritime.³⁷¹ The term 'oilmen's stores' (stores which sold food that could survive several years at sea) was still appearing up until the 1890s, and ship Captains, inland settlers and townsfolk all bought what were termed 'provisions'. Food advertising was dominated by ship arrivals and the general practice for ship cargoes was to sell their produce by auction. Due to the

³⁶⁷ 'History of Australian Made', <http://www.australianmade.com.au/why-buy-australian-made/history-of-australian-made/>, accessed 13 November 2015.

³⁶⁸ See Symons, 2007: 58-60; 116.

³⁶⁹ C. W. Wrigley, 'Farrer, William James (1845–1906)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/farrer-william-james-6145/text10549>, published first in hardcopy 1981, accessed 2 July 2015; 'Federation wheat', Powerhouse Museum, http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/australia_innovates/?behaviour=view_article&Section_id=1000&article_id=10007, accessed 2 July 2015.

³⁷⁰ Cozzolino, 1980: 24.

³⁷¹ David Day, *Claiming a Continent: A New History of Australia* (Sydney: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996): 76.

influence of maritime culture, durability and portability were more desirable qualities than freshness and taste. Merchants' interests therefore were best served by promoting long-life, portable food for all purposes. Isolation and the harsh climate also may have encouraged newcomers to Australia to rely on long lasting food supplies rather than fresh local produce. Evidence of this tendency was the reliance on tinned food by the population, particularly by the lower classes. In 1897, *The Herald* reported that: "Poor people (who are the greatest consumers of tinned foods) should learn how to make good soups and cook hot meals, on the score of health and economy", and a few months later: "Tinned food should be sparingly used as occasional relishes" and "do not think people of the upper classes live chiefly on highly seasoned or tinned foods."³⁷²

At the same time immigration was growing, and immigrants were settling the interior regions of Australia. Although there was evidence of significant local food production, fresh bread, meat, fruit and vegetables were not advertised to any great extent, as most fresh foods were purchased from local markets or hawkers who did not advertise. By the 1850s, ordinary provisions were being supplemented by what were considered more luxurious packaged goods such as bottled sauces and tinned fish of various kinds. Sydney residents were encouraged to value tinned fish over fresh and to equate the consumption of such 'luxurious' goods with appreciation and good taste, linking advertising with ideas of civilisation, progress, refinement and the 'new woman'.³⁷³ Most advertising was aimed at promoting highly processed or manufactured foods that were individually packaged.

In the period from 1850 until 1880, the colony was becoming more independent in its food supply and advertising was comparatively expensive. There were very few marketing campaigns and the narratives of these were very formal. Advertisements often seemed more like announcements:

*HENRY BELL, wholesale and retail butcher, 16, Pitt-street, begs to inform his numerous customers and the public generally that having now completed the alterations in his premises, and also secured a regular supply of fat stock, he is prepared to contract for the supply of meat in any quantity, and of the best quality. Large consumers will find it advantageous to get their supplies from him. N.B. - A considerable reduction in the price of ration meat, of good quality.*³⁷⁴

Australia continued to rely on food shipped from Britain, America and Asia, and after complex navigation laws ended, fast American clippers lured by the gold-rush trade competed on the Australian routes.³⁷⁵ Between 1788 and the 1850s, shipping times from England dropped from eight months to under three months, and Melbourne became the preferred destination over Sydney. Food sources were very diverse, for example, potatoes arrived from as far as California and as close as New Zealand. Exotic items, such as "Bright Mauritius counter and snowdrop sugars, per Fanny Fisher Java sugars, per Acacia; Java coffee...Black pepper, Steam refined white Java sugar...Java machine cleaned table rice... Madagascar rice...Ground sago...Tapioca, arrowroot, &c..." were advertised for sale.³⁷⁶ Brand names were also becoming more common, with names such as Harvey, John Bull, Lea and Perrins,

³⁷² All articles from: 'Cottage cookery', *The Herald*, Melbourne, 17 April 1897: 3; 7 August 1897: 3; and 4 September 1897.

³⁷³ Bannerman, 2001: 201.

³⁷⁴ 'Public notice', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 July 1855: 6, cited in Bannerman, 2001: 202.

³⁷⁵ Blainey, 1966: 174–176.

³⁷⁶ 'Potatoes! Potatoes! Potatoes!!!', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 July 1855: 8; 'Good news', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 July 1855: 8; 'To grocers and country storekeepers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1855: 8, cited in Bannerman, 2001: 201.

Carr, Whybrow and Champion appearing regularly. With them came a gradual transition from bulk to retail packaging. Buyers concerned themselves more with quality and less with the risks of passage by sea. During the same period there was evidence of growing supplies of locally produced foods, including produce transported by ship from other Australian colonies. During the 1870s to the 1890s the amount of food advertising declined, possibly due to population shift to the suburbs where consumers relied more heavily on small local retailers who did not advertise.³⁷⁷

In the early nineteenth century, complacency around the availability of good quality food was upset by harm caused by adulterated, impure and unsafe food. The regulation of foods was at the heart of consumer protection from 1838, when the *Adulteration of Bread Act* was passed in New South Wales, which was the forerunner of similar legislation in all states. The *Act* was a means to protect consumers from the unsafe food practices that were prevalent at the time. By the 1850s, public and government analysts were appointed. In 1863, The Victorian *Act to Prevent the Adulteration of Articles of Food and Drink* was passed but proved to be ineffective, in part due to the lack of analysts and appropriate analytical methods. Australia's partially uniform controls on the sale of foods can be traced to the United Kingdom *Sale of Food and Drugs Act 1875*,³⁷⁸ and in some instances to the United States *Food and Drugs Act of 1906*.³⁷⁹ State differences in food regulation became entrenched in respective *Pure Food Acts*, firstly in Victoria in 1905, followed by those of other states in the ensuing five years.³⁸⁰ The National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) Food Additives Committee was set up in 1953 to help position Australia at the forefront of those countries striving for a safe food supply. Uniform food standards were promised in 1908, however no successful mechanism for developing them was developed until 1988.³⁸¹ Until recently, the food and drug legislation of states and territories has been labyrinthine; prior to the agreement in 1990 to establish a National Food Authority (NFA), there were, conservatively estimating, in excess of 100 different *Acts* and sets of regulations, with most of the important controls and standards scattered throughout numerous regulations.³⁸² Many of the individual statutes have since been repealed or replaced with uniform food legislation where co-operative agreements are entered into to obtain national uniformity.

Thus, as manufactured foods became more common, quality control became an important aspect of the market, evident in recurring public debates and marketing which focused on regulation and food quality. The conditions under which meat and dairy foods, in particular, were processed and distributed were widely reported. The *Sydney Morning Herald* provides evidence of these debates and the imposition of regulation. Advertisers were quick to take advantage of public sensitivities about food purity.³⁸³ Bannerman argues that the marketing message was strengthened by the exploitation of concerns around the commercial distribution of impure and adulterated food, an ironic consequence of the industrialisation of the food supply. This emergence of new, higher-order themes

³⁷⁷ Bannerman, 2001: 204.

³⁷⁸ Goldring et al. 1987.

³⁷⁹ Cited in Goldring, 1998: 159; see also generally C. C. Regier, 'The struggle for federal food and drug legislation', *Law and Contemporary Problems* 1 (1) (1933): 3.

³⁸⁰ Nelson, 1992: 79.

³⁸¹ Polya, 2001.

³⁸² See Appendix 2 for a list of the main *Acts* from 1855-1981.

³⁸³ 'What is said is said', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1897: 7; 'Noted for their purity', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 January 1903: 5; 'Foods Adulteration Act', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 January 1903: 3, cited in Bannerman, 2011: 205.

was becoming more evident in food columns in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁸⁴ Publicly expressed moral concerns about food purity and health were framed along commercial principles, for example adulterated food was linked with fraudulence and pure food was linked with health and happiness. Consumers could avoid the harm from impure or adulterated food by buying from well-known industrial brands in hygienically sealed packages. From the turn of the twentieth century, marketing began emphasising the nurturing potential of industrial foods. Advertisements suggested that with the help of industrial food, women could aspire to gracious and refined living.³⁸⁵

The idea that scientific knowledge established moral and political superiority was another pervasive theme which gained widespread currency by the mid-nineteenth century.³⁸⁶ Colin Bannerman explores the idea of the industrial processing of food as proof of the triumph of science over nature, arguing that its changed nature was considered the ultimate expression of refinement.³⁸⁷ Marketing constantly projected the message that technology was transforming food, “and for the better, a message that progressive women were glad to believe”. As advertising became more important in supporting the costs of publishing, food columns increasingly reflected commercial interests and scientific cookery.³⁸⁸

The production, distribution and preparation of food was an important early concern for science, and its consequences for health became increasingly important throughout the nineteenth century.³⁸⁹ In urban centres, the main concerns related to having enough food provisions to feed the nation, maintaining ‘respectability’ and understanding the connection between health and diet. The link between diet and health was also discussed widely due to the view that public health affected the social evolution and progress of Australia. Australians compared their progress with Britain and America, and patriotic sentiment demanded that Australia should prove itself worthy of respect.³⁹⁰ Food was closely linked to the notion of civilisation and the improvement of the human race, thus better quality food and cooking, economy and convenience, artistic presentation and refinement of table manners were seen as necessary for progress. Although there was evidence of significant fresh food production during this era, minimally processed items such as bread, meat, fruit and vegetables were less advertised than the stereotypical manufactured foods which were extremely popular for consumers.

The era from WWI until the end of WWII (1914-1945) was also notable for the promotion of health. Marketers saw an opportunity for extolling the benefits of vitamins in foods, and government encouraged foreign businesses to set up in Australia in order to deal with a surplus of local milk at the time. Thus began local production of products either made from milk or designed to be used with it, such as condensed milk, milk chocolate, Milo, cornflakes, processed cheese and ice-cream – for

³⁸⁴ See for example: ‘Editorial’, *The Ballarat Courier*, 19 March 1870: 2; 76; Cited in Bannerman, 2001: 75-76.

³⁸⁵ ‘William white bread’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 April 1909: 3; ‘Make your own afternoon fea dainties!’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April 1909: 12.

³⁸⁶ Sybil Jack, ‘Science and technology’, in *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia*, ed. Neville Meaney (Melbourne: Heineman Educational Australia, 1989): 118.

³⁸⁷ Bannerman, 2001: 217.

³⁸⁸ Laura Shapiro, *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1986): 202-203. The American movement was present and, in some cases, prominent in Australian journals at about the same period. See also Bannerman, 2001.

³⁸⁹ See for example: Muskett, 1894: 96–99; 110-112.

³⁹⁰ Bannerman, 2001: 120.

example, “Peters – the health food of a nation.” The meanings associated with these sorts of locally produced foods related both to health and to the economy. More freight was being paid to the railways which kept the Country Party content as the demand for exported butter in Britain had declined; profits were gained by the big corporations; and children were provided with vitamins. The Great War showed governments the potential of persuading populations through advertising, and the era became one of ‘Australia Unlimited’. A diet shaped on convict rations had, by this time, become dominated by a consumer preference for highly industrialised foods, using predominantly local ingredients.³⁹¹

In 1924, what was known as The Great White Train was launched by the Australian Made Preference League. The train was significant because it travelled throughout the state of New South Wales in 1925 and 1926 promoting Australian made goods, including food products. Its President was Peter Board, known for his valuable services rendered as Director of Education. The League was non-party and non-sectional and numbered among its members “every section of the community.”³⁹² Its aim was to counter the popularity of imported goods at the time and promote the demand for locally made products, creating employment and encouraging a class of skilled artisans:

*The League is endeavouring to get Australians to realise that by insisting on “Australian-Made” they guarantee that the factories already in operation will be kept fully occupied supplying the demand, and as this demand grows ever stronger, additional factories and workshops will be called into being to meet it. These additional factories will give work to Australians, and moreover, open up avenues of employment for the population that will flock to these shores when flourishing manufacturing industries guarantee them “jobs”. And this influx of population is what the primary producers of Australia badly need, for it will mean a greatly extended home market is always the most profitable market. It is evident therefore that the League is already helping the country districts. But it wants to do still more, and as it is of opinion that many of the country districts have excellent facilities for the carrying on of successful manufacturing enterprises, the League is using its best endeavours to have manufacturing industries established in country centres. This will mean providing employment for boys and girls, making it unnecessary for them to leave their home-towns when they need employment. A successful factory will, moreover, mean a good buyer for the primary producers of the district. It will, finally, mean better and brisker trade for the local shopkeepers.*³⁹³

Similar trains, on a smaller scale, had visited Perth and the country districts of Western Australia many years earlier, as well as agricultural trains in Victoria, carrying lecturers and experts to teach farmers about scientific production and the importance of supporting high-grade ‘Australian-made goods.’³⁹⁴ In general, local industry was encouraged to produce goods that were new, original and reflective of the culture at the time. Patriotism and the White Australia Policy were both reflected in the rhetoric from the Souvenir of the “Australian Made” Exhibition Train:

³⁹¹ Symons, 2007: 142-175, especially 148.

³⁹² Official Souvenir, *Australian-Made Preference League* (Sydney: Australian Made Preference League, 1926): 2.

³⁹³ Official Souvenir, 1926: 2.

³⁹⁴ Official Souvenir, 1926: 19; 40.

*Patriotism never was, is not, and never will be, dead in the heart of an Australian, and the same men and women of the great out-back who rallied to the aid of the nation in war-time, will just as readily prove patriots in peace by rallying round the trade-marks of "Australian-Made" goods. The day is dawning when a great Australian public will think "Australian-Made," speak "Australian-Made," eat "Australian-Made," and wear "Australian-Made." Then and then only will this great country of ours turn its face in the direction of perpetual prosperity. The public of the present day demand the rigid enforcement of a White Australia policy as applied to humans, to prevent the country being over-run with colored foreign races. The SAME POLICY SHOULD APPLY TO FOREIGN MANUFACTURES.*³⁹⁵

Ironically, coinciding with the Australian Made Preference League, the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), formed by Colonial Secretary Leo Amery to promote intra-Empire trade from 1926 to 1933, changed the definition of what Australians considered 'local'. Throughout Australia's earlier periods of settlement, definitions of local in relation to origin ranged from the direct point of production or consumption, to state-based references to regional specialties from the 1830s, to national branding reflected by trademarks referencing 'Australia' or Australian symbolism from the 1880s. The EMB signified the widespread adoption of 'empire' as local.³⁹⁶ The message of the EMB was that fruit from Australia or tea from India was not foreign; such foods were considered local because they were imperial. In purchasing these products, the consumer was persuaded that they were consuming the products of their own garden. The promotion of empire produce as local illustrates the notion that local food was being embedded with meanings for consumers that related to ethical consumption, and not just place of origin. Consumers purchasing empire produce over foreign produce were supporting their fellow empire producers by 'doing the right thing'.³⁹⁷ Consumers purchased empire produce because of its dual appeal to patriotism and ethical self-interest.

The story of the Empire Marketing Board's efforts to develop the idea of 'Buying Empire' in inter-war Britain is well known, and its posters still appear regularly on the covers of books written about imperial culture. What is less well known is that although the EMB campaigns were designed for a metropolitan and British audience, they were surprisingly well disseminated in the colonies and were taken up with enthusiasm by a variety of organisations, achieving greater and more lasting prominence there than they did in Britain. Towards the end of the life of the EMB, a collection of posters toured the dominions,³⁹⁸ but some time earlier, the committee made limited numbers of posters available to colonial schools, where demand exceeded supply in Australia and New Zealand.³⁹⁹ In Sydney, large quantities of posters, along with thousands of locally produced versions, were distributed, appearing in railway stations and on retail store windows. The Myer Emporium in

³⁹⁵ Official Souvenir, 1926: 4.

³⁹⁶ 'Empire Shopping Week', Trove, National Library of Australia, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/result?q=%22empire+shopping+week%22&sortby=dateAsc>, accessed 7 January 2015.

³⁹⁷ M. Horton, 'Propaganda, pride and prejudice' (PhD diss., Manchester Metropolitan University, 2010), cited in: Uma Kothari, 'Trade, consumption and development alliances: the historical legacy of the Empire Marketing Board poster campaign', *Third World Quarterly* 35 (1) (2014): 51.

³⁹⁸ Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012): 187.

³⁹⁹ Minutes of Poster Sub-Committee, 16 June 1927 and 28 April 1927, 2, CO 760/26, PRO, cited in Barnes, 2014: 78.

Melbourne, for example, proudly displayed artist MacDonald Gill's *Highways of Empire*.⁴⁰⁰ These images were clearly acceptable to dominion audiences and because of their prevalence, they reflect a much broader definition of local, which extended well beyond the national branding of 'Australian made'.

By the 1920s, publicity had become integral to trade, and the close Australian interest in public relations activities was demonstrated when the Australian Dried Fruits Board sent Frank McDougall (who migrated to Australia to grow fruit on the Murray River and then studied marketing) to London as Australia's representative on the Imperial Economic Committee and the EMB.⁴⁰¹ The Board was initially set up in 1924 by the UK's Baldwin Government with a £1million annual budget to persuade empire consumers to buy more empire foods. The objectives were somewhat simplistic: if British consumers bought agricultural produce from the empire, the empire would be able to use its increased purchasing power to buy manufactured goods from Britain. In the late 1920s, anything that could stimulate trade between nations was considered to be a winning scenario for all concerned. The Board's first head of public relations, Gervas Huxley, in his memoir *Both Hands*, described the magnitude of the operation: "no British Government in peacetime had ever embarked on so large a publicity campaign."⁴⁰²

The EMB was made official in May 1926 by the Colonial Secretary Leopold Amery and directed by civil servant Stephen Tallents as a small government body. Tallents wrote: "it was not our business to advertise particular empire products or to compete with the publicity work of individual dominions, our business was to create the psychological background which would help these more specific efforts. What we wanted to sell was the idea of empire production and purchase; of the empire as a cooperative venture."⁴⁰³ The key aims were to link empire producers and consumers more efficiently in order to increase consumer demand in Britain for empire produced goods, thereby economically stabilising the empire and making preferential tariffs unnecessary. The idea to persuade consumers to 'Buy Empire' products was achieved through the use of committees for marketing and publicity. Much of the Board's effort went into research and analysis, including how to improve the quality, storage and distribution of British and colonial produce. The three principal aims were to support scientific research; promote economic analysis; and generate publicity for empire trade. Scientific research took up most of the Board's work and budget. It also assisted 126 agricultural and medical research projects, issued many Intelligence Notes, pamphlets and surveys, established links with buyers and produced market analyses to help producers. Australia's primary produce, namely apples, pears and dried fruits, were targeted as major British imports, signalled by elaborate displays in the retail sphere. The EMB was a politically charged initiative from the outset, and scholars such as Felicity Barnes, Stephen Constantine and Wendy Way have argued that its short existence was of such significance that it helped in a small way to remould the relationship between Britain and her imperial partners.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁰ 'Empire Shopping Week', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 May 1929: 10; Melbourne *Argus*, 25 May 1929: 17, cited in Barnes, 2014: 78-79.

⁴⁰¹ N. Turnbull, *How PR works.....but often doesn't* (Melbourne: N.S. and J.S. Turnbull Pty. Ltd., 2010): 15.

⁴⁰² Gervas Huxley, *Both Hands* (Chatto and Windus, 1970), cited in Turnbull, 2010: 15.

⁴⁰³ Steven George Tallents Papers, held in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, File 25: 10.

⁴⁰⁴ See for example: F. Barnes, 'Bringing another empire alive? The Empire Marketing Board and the construction of dominion identity, 1926-33', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42 (1) (2014):

One of the major aims of the EMB was to change the behavioural patterns of empire consumers through promoting 'empire-buying' via promotions that were carried out in the media by using large scale posters, newspaper and magazine advertisements in the national and local press, radio talks, empire fruit exhibitions, the EMB's own library, Empire Shopping Weeks, dedicated empire shops, shop window display weeks and school tours. EMB imagery was most evident in Australia during 'Empire Shopping Weeks' which began as early as 1911 and continued up until 1952.⁴⁰⁵ The most famous promotion, after the poster campaign, was the EMB film unit, led by John Grierson, who is often considered the father of modern documentary film.⁴⁰⁶ The unit produced around 100 films with titles such as *The Song of Ceylon* (promoting tea),⁴⁰⁷ *Solid Sunshine* (promoting New Zealand butter),⁴⁰⁸ *Wheatfields of the Empire* (promoting wheat),⁴⁰⁹ *Drifters* (promoting North Sea herring),⁴¹⁰ *Industrial Britain*⁴¹¹ and *One Family*.⁴¹² Through these films, the EMB encouraged British consumers to buy British and empire products. The marketing epitomised a wider shift from empire as an arena for military prowess and superior metropolitan character, to empire as an interactive economic and cultural community, and was a way of enriching capital and colonies alike. Along with posters and films, other empire collections included sets of cigarette cards, typically portraying the home country alongside the colonies. The empire, the Board argued, was Britain's best customer, thus buying the 'local' produce of the empire indirectly supported British jobs.

The EMB used every medium at its disposal to promote empire trade, however it was the poster campaign that was the most memorable and prolific. Although the posters varied considerably in style, they collectively romanticised local food, along with hard work, bountiful fields, busy factories and crowded shops, with maps being a favoured theme. One of the earliest posters was a map of the empire and the ocean highways that linked it to Britain. The most famous of these, which promoted a very literal sense of local food, was *Highways of Empire*, commissioned from MacDonald Gill. *Highways of Empire* featured an unusual spherical projection and a style that was vaguely reminiscent of renaissance cartography, and included stars in the night sky, cherubs blowing wind, ships sailing the world's oceans, scrolled annotations, the use of Latin, borders embellished with wildlife, and bold use

61-85; Stephen Constantine, 'Anglo-Canadian relations: The Empire Marketing Board and Canadian national autonomy between the Wars', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 2 (21) (1993): 360-363; Wendy Way, 'A vision of Empire', in *A New Idea Each Morning - How Food and Agriculture Came Together in One International Organisation* (Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press, The Australian National University, 2014), http://press.anu.edu.au/apps/bookworm/view/A+New+Idea+Each+Morning/10501/ch03.xhtml#toc_marker-15, accessed October 29 2014.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Empire Shopping week', National Library of Australia, Trove, Digitised newspapers and more, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/result?q=%22empire+shopping+week%22&sortby=dateAsc>, accessed 7 January 2015.

⁴⁰⁶ Scott Anthony, 'Empire Marketing Board film unit (1926-1933)', *BFI Screenonline*, British Film Institute, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/513720/>, accessed 26 September 2014.

⁴⁰⁷ Jaime Sexton, 'Song of Ceylon (1934)', *BFI Screenonline*, British Film Institute, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/442428/>, accessed 26 September 2014.

⁴⁰⁸ John M. MacKenzie, ed., '9', *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester University Press, 1986): 209.

⁴⁰⁹ MacKenzie, 1986: 214.

⁴¹⁰ Jaime Sexton, 'Drifters (1929)', *BFI Screenonline*, British Film Institute, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/439877/index.html>, accessed 26 September 2014.

⁴¹¹ Scott Anthony, *Industrial Britain (1931)*, *BFI Screenonline*, British Film Institute, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/513737/index.html>, accessed 26 September 2014.

⁴¹² 'One Family', *Colonial Film: Moving Images of the British Empire*, Arts and Humanities Research Council, <http://www.colonialfilm.org.uk/node/40>, accessed 26 September 2014.

of colour alongside strong curved lines which gave it a contemporary Art Deco appeal. The map caused many passers-by to hesitate a few moments and “seriously contemplate imperial matters.”⁴¹³

Britain’s most prominent marketers were appointed, including Sir William Crawford, Frank Pick, the head of the Empire Press Union, the Director of Education at the BBC and key communications specialists.⁴¹⁴ Australia’s energetic imperialist and artist Frank McDougall was also employed and played a pivotal role in overseeing dominion interests and imagery, designing his own poster series featuring New Zealand, South Africa and Australia.⁴¹⁵ The posters that attracted the most attention were produced in multiple sets and were displayed in the Board’s own frames, of which 17,000 were set up in public areas across Britain and Australia. The frames were made from English oak and measured about six meters long and one and a half meters high and were organised into five panels: three large and two small. The two smaller panels often carried cheaper letterpress messages that linked the three large lithographed posters together into a common theme. Often the centre panel in the display was a map that conveyed relevant information about Empire trade. The posters were changed every three weeks (in some cases every week) to keep them in the public eye as much as possible.

A major aim of the poster campaign was to change the behavioural patterns among empire consumers through promoting ‘Empire-buying’. In 1929, an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* stated: “Four years ago the Empire Marketing Board wasn’t in existence, now, you can go nowhere without being reminded of its influence”, and “Even if you are waiting for a bus, you will probably find yourself standing beside a colourful poster...and by the time you have studied it...you have had a pleasant little lesson in Imperial matters, almost without knowing it.”⁴¹⁶ The Christmas campaign in particular became a vehicle for slogans promoting local food in an attempt to represent the unity of empire, notably in the form of an empire Christmas pudding.⁴¹⁷ The ‘King’s Empire’ Christmas pudding recipe, an EMB creation which featured ‘local’ ingredients from across the empire, became “the most famous recipe in the world” at the time.⁴¹⁸ A column in the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared: “At Christmas time we can have our plum puddings made entirely from Empire ingredients, according to the recipe which has been supplied by the King’s own chef, Monsieur Cedard, and which is sent out to any housewife who applies for it to the Empire Marketing Board.”⁴¹⁹

⁴¹³ J. S. Murray, ‘Projecting the Empire’, Fine Books and Collections (OP Media, 2014), <http://www.finebooksmagazine.com/issue/1002/empire-1.phtml>, accessed 27 October 2014.

⁴¹⁴ S. Constantine, ‘Bringing the Empire alive: The Empire Marketing Board and imperial propaganda, 1926-33’, in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. J. M. MacKenzie (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1986): 198.

⁴¹⁵ McDougall’s design was rendered by W. Grimmond, CO 956/546-550A, PRO. See: *Empire Marketing Board Posters, 1926-1939*. Available through: Adam Matthew, Marlborough, Empire Online, [http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/Empire Marketing Board Posters](http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/Empire%20Marketing%20Board%20Posters), accessed November 13 2015; and ‘Empire Marketing Board Posters’, Manchester Art Gallery, https://www.flickr.com/photos/manchester_city_galleries/collections/72157629157846093/, accessed 13 November 2015.

⁴¹⁶ Murray, 2014.

⁴¹⁷ Kaori O’Connor, ‘The King’s Christmas pudding: Globalization, recipes and the commodities of empire’, *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009): 127–155.

⁴¹⁸ O’Connor, 2008: 148

⁴¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, Tuesday 9 April 1929: 13.

The Board had a unique political role in conveying the ‘dignity’ of government and went to considerable lengths to commission maps and artwork of the highest quality. Good design was considered a necessity to ‘move the hearts and minds’ and bring the Empire ‘alive.’ Historian Stephen Constantine points out the importance the EMB placed on good design through the commissions paid to its artists, paying as much as £300 for a full set of five posters, in an era when £700 would buy a three bedroom semi-detached house on the outskirts of London. Gill’s *Highways of Empire* earned him £157 as well as boosting his reputation. The EMB was so inundated by requests from schools for copies of Gill’s map that several additional print runs were ordered. Even two years after it was issued, public demand for the map still exceeded the Board’s supply. In one 1929 exhibition sponsored by Schoolboys’ Own, the EMB had 26,000 copies of Gill’s map ready for handout, but 100,000 visitors mobbed the display, knocked down the rails, and caused the Board to close its booth. The public also heavily endorsed other poster maps, which school teachers described as a “wonderful help both in Geography and History lessons...admirable for illustrating school geography...a splendid means of showing our boys...the links of Empire” and “invaluable for British Empire lessons.”⁴²⁰

The posters are historically significant not only as early examples of modern public relations and consumer marketing campaigns, but also because of their aesthetic and artistic qualities.⁴²¹ In order to ensure the popularity and marketing success of the poster campaign, the EMB committee solicited the help of London’s major design houses⁴²² and “became a major patron of commercial art”⁴²³, relying on a range of personnel, including those from the media, public relations and the advertising industry. The posters themselves are large and visually stunning, created by some of the most famous artists of the time such as Frank Newbould, Keith Henderson and Hugh Williamson. As such, they represent unique examples of industrial art from the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

Stephen Constantine argues that the campaign was more successful in selling the idea of empire, which was its most important effect, contending that the Board’s particular ‘idea of empire’ emphasised the existing metaphor of empire as family and as a “system of co-operative development bringing mutual benefits, in which the image of the family had a moral as well as an economic dimension.”⁴²⁴ Dominion identity appeared most commonly associated with food from farms, and only very rarely was it associated with other primary produce, although forestry and fishing were exceptions. Empire was idealised as a potentially self-sufficient, reciprocal system of trade, a competitor to the emerging powers of the United States and Germany. In this construction of empire as a ‘great interlocking economic unit’, Britain was at the centre of both consumption and secondary production, while its peripheries were imagined as sites of primary production.⁴²⁵ Dominion primary production was considered ‘local’ and can be seen in nature of the commodities themselves: wool, dairy produce, meat, apples and wheat, which were all familiar products of ‘home’ farms from Britain. The marketing imagery also softened the often harsh edges of diverse dominion landscapes to make

⁴²⁰ Murray, 2014.

⁴²¹ See: *Empire Marketing Board Posters, 1926-1939*; ‘Empire Marketing Board Posters’.

⁴²² David Lewis and Dennis Rodgers, eds., *Popular Representations of Development: Insights from Novels, Films, Television and Social Media* (Rethinking Development, 2014): 157.

⁴²³ Stephen Constantine, *Buy and Build, the Advertising Posters of the Empire Marketing Board* (London: HMSO, 1986): 7.

⁴²⁴ Constantine, 1986: 217.

⁴²⁵ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986): 118.

them more like 'home'. In Australia, orchard scenes prevailed over hot and dry outback settings, while New Zealand's harsh landscapes became romanticised pastures.⁴²⁶

While the posters enhanced the empire's food and farming, any signs of difference were played down to emphasise the links between the dominions and Britain. An article in *The Times* in 1927 stated: "For all I know, I may actually be eating stuff from their own farms or if not, it comes from their friends or from sons of my friends. Anyway, it's all in the family as it were. I always like dealing with my own people. Everybody ought to do the same."⁴²⁷ This invocation of empire as local is also reinforced through other forms of advertising emphasising preference, for instance: "The Dominions share with Great Britain the idea of securing and maintaining a high standard of living, food from Home or the Dominions is better and more wholesome than food from any foreign country which employs sweated labour and tolerates insanitary conditions."⁴²⁸ The EMB's *Map of Australia*, modelled on the successful 'Home' series of agricultural maps, did not even note the location of state capitals, rather populating an optimistically green Australia with wheat, sheep, cattle and kangaroos.⁴²⁹ However, it was the map of Britain superimposed over a map of the appropriate dominion that revealed the political and cultural implications of 'local' most clearly. In a graphic expression of what historian James Belich termed a 'recolonial' relationship, the ties of trade are superimposed with each other so that the two countries almost become one.⁴³⁰ The five-poster sequences combined images of different parts of empire into one campaign. The wording stressed economic integration by balancing the value of exports with the value of imports bought from Britain, while at the same time, cultural integration was reinforced by the supporting posters by using images of British people and the people from the dominion in question to emphasise and construct 'local' food.⁴³¹

Artists drew on many different approaches to express 'local' food and its benefits, many of which did not rely on actually depicting the colonies or dominions. Graphs, tables and charts, like those in the series 'Raise the Empire Line', emphasised the empire's trade through its different products, rather than its different places,⁴³² while places were sometimes reduced to little more than signifiers, like labels on plain parcels piled under an empire Christmas tree.⁴³³ Campaigns stressing the moral, rather than economic dimensions of empire relied even less on place. The heroic work of empire building was expressed through group portraits of famous imperial figures, from Cabot to Cook and Raleigh to Raffles, made contemporary by the inclusion of a picture of British dockworkers.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁶ See for example: *Empire Marketing Board Posters, 1926-1939*: A. B. Webb, *Gathering Apricots for Canning*; Frank Newbould, *Butter and Cheese*.

⁴²⁷ *The Times*, 14 February 1927: 18, cited in Barnes, 2014: 70.

⁴²⁸ *The Times*, 14 February 1927: 18, cited in Barnes, 2014: 71.

⁴²⁹ MacDonal Gill, *Map of Australia. Empire Marketing Board Posters, 1926-1939*, accessed November 13 2015.

⁴³⁰ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001): 29-31.

⁴³¹ Barnes, 2014: 73.

⁴³² *Raise the Empire Line*, Service Advertising Studio, also CO 956/29B, CO956/78-83; CO956/139-44, PRO, Records of the Colonial Office, Commonwealth and Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, Empire Marketing Board, The National Archives, Kew.

⁴³³ *Empire Marketing Board Posters, 1926-1939*: Austin Cooper, *Support the Empire and it Will Support You*, CO956/235-40; *A Happy New Year to the Empire*, CO956/509-13, PRO.

⁴³⁴ *Empire Marketing Board Posters, 1926-1939*: Fred Taylor, *Today Trade Builds the Empire*, CO 956/529, 530, 481, 482, 483, PRO.

Empire products were embedded with ethical meanings that related to patriotism and ethical consumption, and shoppers were encouraged to perceive the empire as an ethical and interconnected concern:

*Most people feel instinctively that they would rather buy from their own people...Thousands of distant empire farmers...fellow citizens of ours, often of our own blood, often indeed our own relations, are always waiting anxiously to see whether the women who go shopping in our towns and villages will buy what they have laboriously grown. If we buy what they can send us, we can help them to prosper and to develop the resources of the countries in which they live.*⁴³⁵

Thus, the promotion of markets, trade and consumption through public advertising spread ideas about developing the colonies and attempted to create and sustain moral communities of care across distance.⁴³⁶ For Colonial Secretary Leopold Amery, the development of the colonies represented “a most wonderful piece of work upon which we are engaged. I think it is the most direct and practical contribution that we, the White peoples of the Empire, can make to the general welfare of mankind.”⁴³⁷ Attributes clearly displayed in the campaigns include the familiar, white and ‘British’ nature of the former colonies of settlement. The white dominions stressed both their difference from the dependent colonies as well as their similarity to Britain.

The campaign’s focus on promoting the consumption of produce from the empire also highlighted to consumers their connection to producers and their responsibility in helping the colonies develop. This has resonance with recent ethical consumption campaigns, branding and marketing centred around ideas of ‘fair trade’.⁴³⁸ The Board’s construction of a geographical family was a significant component of the campaign imagery and was responsible for shaping the public’s ethical disposition towards the empire. However, at times, Australian products such as ‘Kangaroo’ brand butter and Australian dried fruit were ironically advertised in Britain by the Australian Joint Publicity Department as “All British product[s]” rather than products of empire.⁴³⁹ Despite the success of the advertising campaign, which was well received, critics found the EMB to be “little more than a relic of an old colonial mentality”. Canadian parliamentarian, C. A. Dunning, called it “a completely out-dated idea” in a speech to the British Press Association. He asked why self-governing dominions like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa would want to produce raw materials for British industry, when they could be using those same products to create their own industries. This view gradually gained support across the empire and by 1933 the British Parliament ordered the EMB to be closed. The EMB’s considerable budget was to be put to other uses, as the nation was facing its greatest economic depression in

⁴³⁵ NA: CO 760/3, Empire Marketing Board Papers, EMB 247, cited in P. J. Atkins, ‘Food and the Empire Marketing Board in Britain, 1926-1933’ (paper presented at the 8th Symposium of the ICREFH; Prague, 2003): 14-15; see also Horton, 2010, as cited in Kothari, 2014: 51.

⁴³⁶ Kothari, 2014: 52.

⁴³⁷ L. S. Amery, *My Political Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1953): 352.

⁴³⁸ Kothari, 2014: 57; see also M. Goodman, ‘Reading fair trade: Political ecological imaginary and the moral economy of fair trade foods’, *Political Geography* 23 (7) (2004): 908.

⁴³⁹ ‘Advertising Australian butter’, *Gippsland Times*, 14 March 1927: 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/62607181?searchTerm=Advertising%20Australian%20Butter&searchLimits=l-state=Victoria||l-title=108>, accessed 14 November 2015.

history. Imperial trade continued to be encouraged, but through a system of preferred tariffs rather than a subsidised marketing campaign.⁴⁴⁰

The seven-year campaign left behind by the EMB included more than 800 different poster designs. Moreover, the EMB's legacy had single-handedly changed the consumption preferences of empire consumers:

It is to the housewife that the Empire Marketing Board makes a specially direct appeal. Five years ago women did not know much about Empire products. They went into a shop and bought their meat and vegetables and groceries, and never bothered to ask whether they came from Imperial markets or from foreign countries. It simply never occurred to them. But now they ask straight away for Empire produce, and woe betide the shopman who cannot provide New Zealand meat and butter, Australian wines and jams, South African fruits, or other Empire products. We know all about them now, and it is quite useless for the shop people to tell us that such and such a thing is out of season or unprocurable. Nonsense, we say, and to confute them we can produce the books which the Empire Marketing Board have thoughtfully provided to help us in our shopping. First comes the calendar of fruits and vegetables of Empire, which tells what fruits and vegetables are procurable from the Empire, and at what times of the year they are to be had in the shops. Then there is the book of Empire dinners, which gives two menus to each month of the year, the recipes being made up of Empire ingredients normally available at that season.⁴⁴¹

The EMB represents a seminal moment in the evolution of ethical consumption. As such, analysis of the posters can offer food for thought for contemporary advertising and marketing campaigns in respect to the definitions and interpretations of local food.

The introduction of free trade from the time of Federation inaugurated a new economic era in Australia,⁴⁴² however by the end of the EMB's operations in 1933, a system of imperial preference had replaced it.⁴⁴³ Despite support for imperial produce in this era, local advertising was increasingly used to define and reflect Australian identity, giving products a distinct Australianness.⁴⁴⁴ This was particularly evident during the war years when households adjusted consumption in the face of shortages and high prices. Thus marketing had an explicit wartime and seasonality focus, with patriotism and frugality (associated with healthy living) appearing as pervasive themes.⁴⁴⁵ Commercial producers struggled with food shortages during the war years, and by 1942 Australia was facing significant shortages of milk, meat, eggs and canned fruit. Manufacturers declared that "Never in the history of this free land has a well-balanced diet been so vitally important to all of us" and urged

⁴⁴⁰ Murray, 2014.

⁴⁴¹ 'Empire Marketing Board', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 9 1929, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/16544689?searchTerm=empire%20marketing%20board&searchLimits=l-state=New+South+Wales||l-title=35>, accessed 14 November 2015.

⁴⁴² See: Hirst, 2001; Hancock, 1964.

⁴⁴³ The National Archives, n.d. 'The Cabinet Papers 1915 – 1984. Policy, protectionism and imperial preference', <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/policy-protectionism-imperial-preference.htm>, accessed 14 November 2015.

⁴⁴⁴ See for example: Kingston, 1994; Santich, 2012: 290-299.

⁴⁴⁵ 'The success of a thrift campaign', *The Age*, Melbourne, 9 June 1917: 10.

people to “Eat foods that help make Australia strong,”⁴⁴⁶ implying that citizens ought to be fit not only to increase the rate of production but also to defend the nation.

Marketing promoted ‘grow your own’ campaigns as a patriotic duty. Radio broadcasts, magazines, public demonstrations, school and local government competitions, posters, newspaper advertisements, brochures and stickers on correspondence from gas and power companies were used to promote the message. In 1942, *Women’s Weekly* readers were advised that “Every woman who owns a garden plot and can use a spade or wield a hoe should cultivate a vegetable patch for the sake of her family.”⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, the ABC’s Women Talking radio series continually linked vegetable gardening with women’s primary responsibilities as mothers.⁴⁴⁸ Other themes of note during this era were thrift in terms of food waste, reducing meat consumption, and using cheaper proteins, including rabbit and fish. Marketing was less prevalent due to the wars, and the prominent themes related to the cultural zeitgeist at the time: patriotism and bravery, framed in terms of support for the soldiers abroad and sacrificial economy at home.⁴⁴⁹

The end of WWII heralded an era of economic prosperity for Australia. Australia’s industrial capacity had significantly increased due to the war and manufacturers quickly adjusted for post-war production. Wartime investment in scientific research also resulted in changes to the food industry as new production processes were introduced, including chemical extraction of oil from oilseeds, controlled atmospheric storage, quick-freezing and continuous process bread making. Public health concerns regarding food security, advances in technology, increasing globalisation and demographic changes transformed the food supply system. From the 1940s to the 1970s, the Green Revolution further modernised and changed agricultural practices, resulting in dramatically increased agricultural outputs due to improved crop varieties, expansion of irrigation infrastructure, new technologies, and the application of synthetic fertilisers and pesticides.⁴⁵⁰ Conservationists were active in the preservation of built and natural environments, coinciding with the Australian invention of permaculture, developed by Dr. Bill Mollison and David Holmgren in the 1970s. This integrated system of land management was promoted as having the ability to be sustained indefinitely by being adaptable to a large number of environments to provide shelter, food and human habitat.⁴⁵¹ Public perception of the environment also changed when the protection of native flora and fauna became associated with Australian heritage.⁴⁵²

The concept of a balanced diet transformed dietary patterns, and major dietary changes from the 1940s through to the 1970s corresponded with major changes in agriculture and the development of a powerful food industry. Women were recognised as major assets in the labour market due to their

⁴⁴⁶ *Life Magazine*, TIME Inc., Chicago, 25 May 1942: 42.

⁴⁴⁷ Australian Conservation Foundation, ‘Dig for victory’ (2013), <http://www.acfonline.org.au/news-media/news-features/dig-victory>, accessed 14 July 2015.

⁴⁴⁸ Andrea Gaynor, ‘Digging for victory’, *Memento*, National Archives of Australia, 34 (2008): 3-5.

⁴⁴⁹ ‘Home affairs’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1915: 5.

⁴⁵⁰ FAO 2011a, ‘From the green revolution to the gene revolution—how will the poor fare?’ <http://www.fao.org/3/a-af276t.pdf>, accessed 26 February 2015.

⁴⁵¹ Bruce Charles Mollison and David Holmgren, *Permaculture 1: A Perennial Agricultural System for Human Settlements* (Ealing, Middlesex: Transforld, Corgi Books, 1978); P. A. Yeomans, *Water for Every Farm, A Practical Irrigation Plan for Every Australian Property* (Sydney: K.G. Murray Publishing Company Pty. Ltd., 1973).

⁴⁵² D. Tow, *The Development of Australia’s Environmentalism* (Sydney: UNSW, 1989).

contributions to the war effort, resulting in intense pressure at home to provide meals. High quality foods in convenient forms for ready purchase with minimal preparation became highly desirable, fuelling a transformation in the food processing, manufacturing, distribution and retailing trades and a progressive concentration of industrial power. Transportation of foods, ingredients and products across the world increased and with this change came the removal of seasonality. An abundance of new convenience foods were brought to millions of consumers, promoting consumer individualism, and supermarket chains positioned themselves as operating solely for the consumer's benefit.⁴⁵³

It is clear that food and eating habits provide a reliable measure of the wider social changes that happened in Western countries during the second half of the twentieth century: growing consumerism, changing patterns of domestic and paid labour for women, industrial and technological changes, immigration, increasing affluence and new leisure activities. The 1950s were popularly conceptualised as an era of prosperous suburban conservatism.⁴⁵⁴ The rural sector generally enjoyed good seasons, good prices and improved productivity led by the wool boom and later by the resources boom.⁴⁵⁵ Sociologists at the time argued that social status in the rural hierarchy was determined by a combination of factors: "wealth, occupation, education and family membership", with the local businessperson always occupying lower status than the "local long-established grazier."⁴⁵⁶

The post-war period also signalled the beginnings of the migration revolution. Almost 700,000 immigrants arrived in Australia between 1946 and 1949, contributing to Australia's economic growth and multicultural society. The 1940s and 1950s marked the beginnings of a slow transition from a defensively 'White Australia' to a multicultural nation.⁴⁵⁷ Successive waves of migrants to Australia had a significant impact on eating patterns as new foods and recipes were introduced. Magazines, television programmes, food guides, cookery experts in the media and cookbooks as sources of information about food have provided reliable guides to the expansion of commodities at the time.⁴⁵⁸ It was not until the post-WWII period that Australians' eating habits moved away from the British eating patterns favoured by the early Australians. In the 1950's, highly industrialised foods were still being promoted as locally produced ('Made in Australia') as consumers were discovering the supermarket, cars, 'fridges', television, frozen food and junk food.⁴⁵⁹ Until the 1960s, foods such as bread, milk, vegetables, groceries and meat were still frequently home-delivered, but the supermarket dramatically changed these food purchasing patterns. In 1958, Coles and Woolworths moved into the grocery business after decades of competing as merchandisers of variety goods. Food marketing was controlled by the companies producing the products, and pre-packaging, bright labels and an emphasis on lower prices contributed to their appeal to consumers. Food was typically standardised

⁴⁵³ H. Raven and T. Lang, *Off Our Trolleys? Food Marketing and the Hypermarket Revolution* (London: Institute of Policy Research, 1995).

⁴⁵⁴ J. Murphy and J. Smart, 'Introduction', *Australian Historical Studies* 28 (109) (1997): 1.

⁴⁵⁵ Don Aitkin, *The Country Party in New South Wales* (Canberra: The Australian National University Press, 1972): 52

⁴⁵⁶ Jean I. Martin, 'Marriage, the family and class', in *Marriage and the Family in Australia*, ed. A. P. Elkin (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1957): 25.

⁴⁵⁷ Murphy and Smart, 1997: 1-5.

⁴⁵⁸ See for example: B. Kingston, 'Are we what we eat?' in *The Abundant Culture*, eds. D. Headon, J. Hooton, and D. Horne (St. Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 125; B. Harrison, 'The kitchen revolution', in *Consuming Passions: Food in the Age of Anxiety*, eds. S. Griffiths and J. Wallace, J. (Manchester: Mandolin Books, 1998).

⁴⁵⁹ Symons, 2007: 292-293

with a long shelf life and was usually tinned, dried or frozen, and was sourced from suppliers guaranteeing uniform quality and price. An ever-increasing number of food items became available in the supermarket; for example in 1950 it was possible to source 1,500 items on supermarket shelves; in 1970, 8,000 items were available; in 1975, these numbered 12,000; and by 2010, 55,000 different food items could be sourced.⁴⁶⁰ In addition, the advent of television and related marketing opportunities coincided with the arrival of the large supermarket chains and substantially influenced Australia's food-buying preferences.

Marketing dominated Australian eating in the second half of the twentieth century, and because of this, Australians were influenced to seek superficial variety and convenience. The fashion for 'Continental' foods was also evident, replacing the "culinary love affair with America."⁴⁶¹ Multi-national food companies saturated the media with advertising, persuading consumers to experiment with convenience foods in the form of snacks, quick meals and fast foods. However, Australian companies continued to play a significant role in defining the 'Australianness' of products, despite variety in where and how they were manufactured.⁴⁶² In 1961, the Associated Chambers of Manufacturers of Australia launched a national campaign, known as 'Operation Boomerang', to strengthen the profile of local manufacturing and encourage people to buy locally made goods.⁴⁶³ There was a shift in Australian agriculture, with a move away from the traditional sole operator farmer towards agribusinesses: large-scale farming with increasing mechanisation and the use of pesticides and fertilisers.⁴⁶⁴ It was not well understood until the 1960s that the food industry had a crucial role in determining the quality of food. Along with a renewed interest in health and nutrition by consumers, the food industry began modifying ingredients and processing methods so that new products (such as yoghurt and low-fat foods) would appeal to interested consumers and thus improve their sales.

At the same time, women were being empowered, via convenience foods, to reallocate their time to supposedly more important pursuits.⁴⁶⁵ The interpretation of a 'good mother' shifted from that of a woman who spent all her available time serving her family, to a 'super-mum': one who balanced multiple roles to the satisfaction of herself and her family.⁴⁶⁶ The 'super-mum' was defined as a 'conscious convenience seeker' and her ability to use convenience products to optimally balance time and commitments was seen as a critical skill: "a sense of power comes from the order imposed upon the chaos of motherhood through the use of convenience products."⁴⁶⁷ The use of convenience foods also had moral connotations, as using foods prepared outside the home was associated with being

⁴⁶⁰ See for example: Symons, 2007: 213-214; FSANZ 2008a, 'Assessment of 2005 labels for key mandatory labelling elements for consistency against labelling provisions (phase 2 report)', cited in *Australia's Food and Nutrition*, 2012: 13.

⁴⁶¹ C. Hardyment, *Slice of Life: The British Way of Eating Since 1945* (London: BBC Books, 1994): 91.

⁴⁶² See Symons, 2007: 216; 266-268.

⁴⁶³ 'History of Australian made'.

⁴⁶⁴ Henzell, 2007.

⁴⁶⁵ M. Carrigan and I. Szmigin, "Mothers of invention': Maternal empowerment and convenience consumption', *European Journal of Marketing* 40 (9/10) (2006): 1122-1142.

⁴⁶⁶ H. Vidgen D. and Gallegos, *Defining Food Literacy, Its Components, Development and Relationship to Food Intake: A Case Study of Young People and Disadvantage* (Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2012): 21.

⁴⁶⁷ Carrigan and Szmigin, 2006: 1128; 1137.

less nurturing.⁴⁶⁸ Australian studies also describe that for mothers, convenience foods were increasingly about “re-ordering” time, including the role they played in providing nutritious meals for the family.⁴⁶⁹

Related to more contemporary ideals of local, the inclusion of country of origin in marketing material appears to have been most prevalent from the 1860s onwards, coinciding with the introduction of trademarks. As previously mentioned, from the time of Federation, the term ‘Australian made’ or the use of Australian symbolism on food labels became widespread. Country of origin consumer research covers the end qualities attached to local foods and the perceptions of consumers with regard to these products; thus this field of research investigates how the indication of place of origin (usually country) on a product’s label impacts on consumer perceptions and purchasing behaviour. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there is a vast array of empirical studies which exist in the field of country of origin research, however, despite this, there is only a small proportion that provides information on specific aspects relevant to Australia, and no literature on historical studies on country of origin specifically relating to Australia. The available literature relates to contemporary consumer research, and these studies suggest that contemporary consumers in Australia display ethnocentric behaviour by exhibiting preferences for products of their own country or region. Country of origin can thus be used as a cue to infer product quality when a consumer is unfamiliar with a product.⁴⁷⁰ Studies also confirm that consumers perceive differences in the quality and safety of food products from some overseas countries, regardless of labelling issues.⁴⁷¹ Behavioural economist Wendy Umberger argues that contemporary Australian consumers are heterogeneous in their preferences for food labelling information, particularly in how they value country of origin information.⁴⁷² Umberger states that consumers use a combination of intrinsic (colour, size, fat content or leanness) and extrinsic cues (place of purchase, price, brand, nutrition, country of origin, or production and process information) to form quality expectations, and increasingly use extrinsic cues to form perceptions about food quality.⁴⁷³ Extrinsic information, particularly relating to country of origin, becomes more important to consumers when purchasing products that are relatively less processed or fresh. From a policy and marketing perspective, if consumers use country of origin cognitively to predict quality in their food, then providing them with origin information is very important. If country of origin information is not

⁴⁶⁸ Carrigan and Szmigin, 2006: 1122-1142.

⁴⁶⁹ Dixon, Hinde and Banwell, 2006: 634 – 645.

⁴⁷⁰ See: Wendy J. Umberger, *Country-of-Origin Labelling (CoOL). A Review of the Relevant Literature on Consumer Preferences, Understanding, Use and Willingness-to-Pay for CoOL of Food and Meat*, Final Report (Food Standards Australia New Zealand, 2010); Australian Competition and Consumer Commission, ‘Country of origin claims and the Australian Consumer Law’ (Canberra, ACT, April 2014): 1.

⁴⁷¹ See: John Coveney, ‘Food and trust in Australia: Building a picture’, *Public Health Nutrition* 11 (3) (2007): 237-245; M. L. Loureiro and W. J. Umberger, ‘Estimating consumer willingness to pay for Country-of-Origin Labeling’, *Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics* 28 (2) (2003): 287-301; M. D. Ehmke, J. L. Lusk, and W. Tyner, ‘Measuring the relative importance of preferences for country of origin in China, France, Niger, and the United States’, *Agricultural Economics* 38 (3) (2008): 277-285.

⁴⁷² Umberger, 2010.

⁴⁷³ Wendy J. Umberger, P. C. Boxall, and R. C. Lacy, ‘Role of credence and health information in determining US consumers’ willingness-to-pay for grass-finished beef’, *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics* 53 (2009): 603–623; Wendy J. Umberger, Dawn D. Thilmany McFadden, and Amanda R. Smith, ‘Does altruism play a role in determining U.S. consumer preferences and willingness to pay for natural and regionally produced beef?’, *Agribusiness: An International Journal* 25 (2) (2009): 268-285.

provided, consumers may be less able to predict quality or they may feel less confident in their ability to make choices.⁴⁷⁴

According to the 'Australian Made' website, the Australian Made, Australian Grown (AMAG) logo is the country of origin identifier Australian consumers know and trust best. Surveys show that almost all Australian consumers recognise this logo, which gives the vast majority (almost ninety per cent) of Australian consumers' strong confidence that a product is Australian. More than half the population purchases products grown and made in Australia based on country of origin claims. Conversely, nearly half of all Australian consumers surveyed found it difficult to identify whether a product was Australian made or Australian grown. Understanding of country of origin labelling was noted as poor, with better understanding of the term 'Product of Australia' than the term 'Australian Made', indicating a need for clearer government regulation and standardisation for country of origin labelling and greater education on country of origin terms.⁴⁷⁵ A study by Professor John Coveney found that labelling food products with a 'Made in Australia' logo increased consumers' trust with respect to safety. Coveney found that this perception exists because Australians perceive local food standards to be relatively higher than those of many other countries that import food.⁴⁷⁶ Although Umberger's study found that only a small share (under twenty per cent) of consumers appear to be willing to pay for country of origin information, the literature supports the notion that at least some Australian consumers use country of origin information when making food purchasing decisions.⁴⁷⁷

The proliferation of and interest in country of origin labelling has been driven largely by increasing international trade of food products and food ingredients and recent consumer and producer concerns about the various health and quality aspects of imported foods.⁴⁷⁸ Some countries are able to provide certain food products at a lower cost, therefore some imported food products may gain domestic market share as a result.⁴⁷⁹ Studies show that consumers consistently want lower prices and greater choice, particularly when a fresh product is out of season.⁴⁸⁰ Currently the average Australian household spends seventeen per cent of their total household expenditure on food and non-alcoholic beverages (currently \$204 per week), while the price of food has increased by thirty four per cent over the past decade, supporting the argument for reducing food prices.⁴⁸¹ However, price is not the only

⁴⁷⁴ H. T. Luomala, 'Exploring the role of food origin as a source of meanings for consumers and as a determinant of consumers' actual food choices', *Journal of Business Research* 60 (2) (2007): 122-129.

⁴⁷⁵ Roy Morgan Research, '2012 consumer survey— attitudes towards the AMAG logo, buying Australian' (2013), <http://www.australianmade.com.au/resources/research/>, accessed 20 October 2013.

⁴⁷⁶ Coveney, 2007: 241.

⁴⁷⁷ Umberger, 2010: 11; Roy Morgan Research, 2013.

⁴⁷⁸ See for example: S. Langley, 'Government berry havoc as Barnaby's agriculture department responsible for testing inadequacies', *Australian Food News*, February 23 2015, <http://ausfoodnews.com.au/2015/02/23/government-berry-havoc-as-barnabys-agriculture-department-responsible-for-testing-inadequacies.html>, accessed 9 July 2015.

⁴⁷⁹ M. L. Loureiro and Wendy J. Umberger, 'A choice experiment model for beef: What US consumer responses tell us about relative preferences for food safety, Country-of-Origin Labeling and traceability', *Food Policy* 32 (4) (2007): 496-514.

⁴⁸⁰ B. Belotti, 'Angst over berries makes case for 'good, clean, fair' food', *The Conversation*, <http://theconversation.com/angst-over-berries-makes-case-for-good-clean-fair-food-37892>, accessed 24 February 2015.

⁴⁸¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, '6530.0 - Household Expenditure Survey, Australia: Summary of Results, 2009-10', <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/6530.0Main%20Features22009-10>, accessed 9 July 2015.

determinant of food purchasing behaviour.⁴⁸² Studies show that consumers prefer local food and may be prepared to pay more for it, but availability is sometimes limited and food labelling laws make it difficult for consumers to make ethical choices.⁴⁸³ These studies also support the decline in consumer confidence regarding the safety of imported food.

The Australia New Zealand Food Standards Code (the Food Code) is responsible for mandating country of origin labelling for most food products sold in Australia, and the *Commerce (Trade Descriptions) Act 1905* is responsible for requiring that all imported food and beverage products are labelled with the country in which they were made or produced. Under Australian Consumer Law (ACL), country of origin claims for food must not be false. Country of origin labelling, particularly for food, has been the subject of several inquiries, reports and proposals for change, demonstrating the extent of interest in country of origin labelling within the Australian community.⁴⁸⁴

In Australia, market research shows that the main reasons Australians buy Australian made and grown products include wanting to support Australian growers and manufacturers; better quality products; taste; higher safety/better health; and better value.⁴⁸⁵ However, only one in five Australian companies have a firm policy of buying Australian made goods wherever possible.⁴⁸⁶ Consumers continue to profess concern about supporting local communities and buy much of their food from large supermarkets, which for their part have become ever more adept at sourcing local food at increasingly lower prices and aligning it with quality strategies mirrored in the UK and the US.⁴⁸⁷ Despite two thirds of Australian consumers saying they believe it is important to buy locally, only one third actually claim to do so. Australians say price is a barrier, and also that the vague meaning of 'locally produced' creates confusion, with labels like "Made in Australia from local and imported ingredients" contributing to the confusion.⁴⁸⁸

Public concern over country of origin labelling in Australia has resulted in numerous inquiries, reports and proposals over a number of decades. Consumers have demanded that changes be made to origin claims on food labels so that they are clearer and more meaningful. Australian consumers are not only interested in where food is made or packaged, but also whether the ingredients are grown in

⁴⁸² Berlotti, 2015.

⁴⁸³ Berlotti, 2015.

⁴⁸⁴ Australian Government, 'Australian Government response to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Agriculture and Industry report: A clearer message for consumers', Country of Origin Labelling, Department of Industry and Science, 2015, <http://industry.gov.au/industry/IndustrySectors/FoodManufacturingIndustry/Pages/Country-of-Origin-Labelling.aspx>, accessed 9 July 2015.

⁴⁸⁵ Support for Australian growers and manufacturers: 15%, better quality products: 13%, taste: 12%, higher safety/better health: 12%, better value: 10%. See: Roy Morgan Research, 2013.

⁴⁸⁶ Roy Morgan Research, '2013 Business Survey — policies and preferences on buying Australian' (2014), <http://www.australianmade.com.au/resources/research/>, accessed 20 October 2013.

⁴⁸⁷ M. Frith, 'Ethical foods boom tops £ 2bn a year and keeps growing', *The Independent*, 13 October 2006: 21; M. Burros, 'Supermarket chains narrow their sights', *New York Times*, 6 August 2008: F1.

⁴⁸⁸ See for example studies by Roy Morgan Research, http://www.ausfoodnews.com.au/2012/09/19/australian-consumer-survey-shows-popularity-of-local-produce.html?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+AustralianFoodNews+%28Australian+Food+News%29, accessed 14 June 2015; Matt Paish, 'Australian shoppers struggle to stay loyal to local, survey finds', *Australian Food News*, October 20 2011, <http://ausfoodnews.com.au/2011/10/20/australian-shoppers-struggle-to-stay-loyal-to-local-survey-finds.html>, accessed 14 June 2015.

Australia.⁴⁸⁹ Additionally, Australia's mandatory country of origin system is unique to Australia, meaning that companies exporting into the Australian market need to be familiar with the updated system.

The Australian Federal Government is proposing changes to current food labelling laws following the February 2015 recall of frozen berries that were linked to a number of cases of hepatitis A. The berries were grown in China and packaged by an Australian company.⁴⁹⁰ Australia's proposed new country of origin labelling system for foods is to become mandatory in 2016 (after agreement from states and territories) and will require labels for food products made in Australia to contain a country of origin symbol with the well-known 'Australian Made' kangaroo logo, but with a gold bar and shading underneath. The gold shading of the bar will show whether the product has either 'No Australian ingredients or less than 25% Australian ingredients', 'more than 25% Australian ingredients', 'more than 50% Australian ingredients', 'more than 75% Australian ingredients', or '100% Australian ingredients'. If there is a claim that the food has been grown in Australia, then the 'Grown in Australia' symbol will appear.⁴⁹¹

Products which have been packed in Australia but made from overseas ingredients will be required to specify a separate country of origin (made in or grown in) claim. However, beyond these mandatory labels, companies will only "be encouraged to provide information on the origin of significant ingredients where possible."⁴⁹² The new system aims to help inform Australian shoppers about the "Australianness" of the ingredients in products, and thus make it easier for consumers to know exactly where food products and ingredients come from. However, a number of groups report that the labels will provide insufficient information on origin. These groups say that consumers will not really know where ingredients come from, since it will only be optional to list the actual country of origin for many important ingredients that come from outside of Australia.⁴⁹³ For example, claims such as 'Made in Australia from more than 50% Australian ingredients' will not be required to specify from where the imported ingredients are sourced.

Summary

Local food clearly is not a new phenomenon when viewed through an historical lens. Social trends in Australia suggest that local food distinguishes itself from local food elsewhere, through tradition and history by achieving some measure of cultural and agricultural distinction. As demonstrated in this historical investigation, the changes in the meanings associated with local foods reflected wider cultural changes in society. Policies around food were initially focused on local as 'necessary', thus

⁴⁸⁹ Australian Government, 'Industry', Department of Industry and Science, <http://www.industry.gov.au/industry/IndustrySectors/FoodManufacturingIndustry/Pages/Proposed-reforms-to-country-of-origin-food-labels-overview.aspx>, accessed 26 August 2015.

⁴⁹⁰ Matt Watson, 'Frozen berries hepatitis A scare: Food labelling law changes to make origin of ingredients more clear', ABC News, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-02-25/frozen-berries-hepatitis-scare-food-labelling-laws-to-change/6260622>, accessed 25 February 2015.

⁴⁹¹ Australian Government, 2015.

⁴⁹² Australian Government, 'New Country of Origin food labels', Industry, Department of Industry and Science, <http://www.industry.gov.au/industry/IndustrySectors/FoodManufacturingIndustry/Documents/Country-of-Origin-Food-Labels-INDIVIDUALSAMPLES.pdf>, accessed 26 August 2015.

⁴⁹³ 'PM announces final version of Australia's Country of Origin Law', *Australian Food News*, <http://ausfoodnews.com.au/2015/07/22/pm-announces-final-version-of-australias-country-of-origin-law.html>, accessed 26th August 2015.

rations and the establishment of a sustainable food supply were priorities. As food quantity increased, policies turned to issues of quality and purity. The *Selection Acts* helped establish agriculture and closer settlement schemes, and government also provided subsidies for the manufacture of food items. With the advent of the wars, the emphasis on food security increased, thus food production was intensified and increasingly standardised. The impact of long term food rationing on Australians had a homogenising effect, however the widespread support of Australian made industrialised foods was considered a patriotic duty, reinforcing national sentiment and expressing Australian identity. The rationale for many of the food policies was a combination of social and economic factors, for example family farms promoted the desirable agrarian traits of hard work and thrift in order to raise the moral code of the colonies. At other times local food was considered a less than desirable object of consumption when it was displaced by imported food. Foreign foods were initially valued for status reasons, reinforcing the importance of maintaining 'civilised' English cultural traditions.

Governments and the media additionally played important roles in defining what was considered local. The marketing perspective highlighted that producers adjust and manipulate products to communicate specific narratives about the product and its history, confirming that local products may be considered as a fluid entity. For example, the EMB demonstrated that the definition of distance and country of origin is subject to multiple interpretations. The posters were also evidence of the presence of an early local food discourse which reflected the popular themes of the times including patriotism and ethical consumption. More contemporary country of origin consumer research indicated that consumers have preferences for products of their own country or region, and country of origin labelling was seen to act as a cue to infer product quality. Labelling Australian food products with a 'Made in Australia' logo increased consumers' trust with respect to safety because contemporary consumers perceive Australian food standards to be higher than other countries. To reveal to what extent different historical settings are able to inform and inspire different and sometimes antithetic concepts of 'local', this chapter has shown how 'local' has become a synonym for a number of themes including 'necessary', 'civilised', 'quality', 'purity', 'Empire', 'nationalism' and 'patriotism', and that these themes corresponded with the prevalent socio-political entities or cultural groups with which the consumers at the time generally identified.

Chapter 4: Case Studies: Local Food Products

Introduction

This thesis has set out to investigate the historical evolution of the concept of local food in Australia by focusing on two areas of inquiry: firstly, the nature and meaning of local foods themselves, and secondly, the characteristics of the production and consumption of the products. Despite garnering some useful insights in the previous chapters, uncertainty still surrounds certain aspects of how local food was conceptualised in Australia's past. In the previous chapters, the links between food and locale, CoOL, food policy, industrialisation and marketing were introduced as factors which created and reinforced concepts related to local food. As this thesis is multidisciplinary, this chapter brings together the contexts of consumption and production that often have been ignored in other scholarly literature; therefore, by linking the production and consumption of four 'local' food products, the thesis seeks to cast a new light on the standard historical narrative and deepen our understanding of what local foods represented to Australians at different points in time. The four food products which have been selected for this investigation are sugar, lamb, dairy products and rice. These food products were chosen as they were popularly thought of or promoted as local during the period under investigation. Each case study demonstrates distinctive findings. First, the history of sugar as a local food clearly represents both the powers and dangers of protectionism. Second, lamb as a local food epitomises the notion that the concept of local becomes more popular when culturally intertwined with national identity. Third, the history of dairy products as a representation of local demonstrates that local is not defined by distance and can be viewed from a number of 'spaces' that are small-scale local. Finally, the history of rice as a commodity shows clear connections between ideas of independence and the values of democratic production methods in establishing the concept of local. The histories of these products are presented individually as case studies, using a history of commodities approach to examine their changing meanings over time. Throughout this narrative, primary and secondary sources have been used extensively and considered from a different perspective than has been previously attempted. A review of the available literature connected to each product is given, drawing mainly from social historical studies of food and agriculture and government reports. The evolution of each product is presented in chronological order. The aim of this approach is to further support the research questions by understanding what these foods represented to Australians at different points in time.

Case Study One: Sugar

Introduction and Literature Review

A number of historical accounts of sugar have been written by geographers, journalists, historians and economic historians. Published material includes books and theses on the history of sugar production in New South Wales, Queensland and the Northern Territory, as well as substantial and well-researched books produced to celebrate milestones in the history of sugar mills. Historian John Kerr completed six histories of Queensland sugar mills, as well as the history of the Bundaberg Sugar

Company which operated four mills during the 1980s.⁴⁹⁴ Numerous journal articles and books deal with the labour supply of the Australian sugar industry as well as the rise of trade unionism amongst European sugar workers and cane cutting teams during the 1900s and the mechanisation of cane harvesting in the 1950s and 1960s.

As well as the many local and regional studies written on the historical development of sugar in Australia,⁴⁹⁵ Sidney Mintz's classic study explores the impact of power on the shaping of the modern world via sugar. The major argument in Mintz's *Sweetness and Power* is that the sugar price collapsed in the nineteenth century because of the dominance of the English upper industrial class in a long lasting political fight dealing with trade fees, which had little to do with technical improvements in sugar production. Technical improvements did of course play a role, but according to Mintz's understanding, the former dynamic was much more crucial in enabling sugar to become a common commodity in Britain, western Europe and then the rest of western world. By the mid-nineteenth century, the increased production and widespread consumption of sugar can be connected to the meanings attached to it by both the elite and lower classes. Mintz refers to these meanings as 'inside meanings' and 'outside meanings'.⁴⁹⁶ The former are those that people create for themselves, investing foods with deep significance. The latter, sometimes called structural power, refer to the ways in which others control the production and distribution of food. These terms have significance for this study as publications into aspects of the Australian sugar industry by historians and economic historians have mainly ignored the importance of the 'inside meanings' as well as the historical connections between production and consumption, including 'place' and regional differences.

⁴⁹⁴ See for example: John Kerr, *Northern Outpost* (Mossman: Mossman Central Mill Co. Ltd., 1979); *Southern Sugar Saga: A History of the Sugar Industry in the Bundaberg District* (Bundaberg: Bundaberg Sugar Co. Ltd., 1983); *Sugar at Maryborough: 120 years of Challenge* (Maryborough: The Maryborough Sugar Factory Ltd., 1987); *A Century of Sugar. Racecourse Sugar Mill, Mackay* (Mackay: Mackay Sugar Co-operative Association Ltd., 1988); *Top Mill in the Valley. Cattle Creek Sugar Mill, Finch Hatton, 1906-1990* (Brisbane: Boolarong Publications and the Mackay Sugar Co-operative Association Ltd., 1991); *Only Room for One. A History of Sugar in the Isis District* (Childers: Isis Central Sugar Mill Co. Ltd., 1996); *A Crystal Century: The History of Proserpine's Sugar Mill, Its Farms and Its People* (Proserpine: Proserpine Co-operative Sugar Milling Association Ltd., 1997).

⁴⁹⁵ For nineteenth century accounts see: Andrew Goodwin, *The Sugar Industry of the Lower Burnett in 1882* (Bundaberg: n.pub., 1882); Aneas Munro, *The Sugar Fields of Mackay* (Mackay: Hodges and Chataway, 1895); for more recent publications on Queensland see: James Collinson, 'The origin and growth of the sugar industry in the Cairns district', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* 3 (1945): 260-264; Don Dignan, *The Story of Kolan* (Brisbane: Smith and Paterson, 1964); M. J. Gaylard, 'Economic development in the Maroochi District until 1915' (BA Hons. thesis, University of Queensland, 1967); Helen Gregory, *Making Maroochi: A History of the Land, the People and the Shire* (Brisbane: Boolarong with the Maroochi Shire, 1991); Peter Griggs, 'Plantation to small farm: A historical geography of the lower Burdekin sugar industry' (PhD, University of Queensland, 1990); Dorothy Jones, *Hurricane Lamps and Blue Umbrellas: A History of the Shire of Johnstone to 1973* (Cairns: Bolton Printers, 1973); Dorothy Jones, *Trinity Phoenix: A History of Cairns and District* (Cairns: Cairns and District Centenary Committee, 1976); John Kerr, *Pioneer Pageant: A History of the Pioneer Shire* (Mackay: Pioneer Shire Council, 1980); Cathie May, *Topsawyers: The Chinese in Cairns 1870 to 1920*, *Studies in North Queensland History*, No. 6. (Townsville: History Department, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1984); and Janice Wegner, 'Hinchinbrook: The Hinchinbrook Shire Council, 1879-1979' (MA thesis, James Cook University of North Queensland, 1984); for more recent publications on the New South Wales sugar industry see: Louise Daley, *Men and a River: Richmond River District, 1828-1895* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966); R. E. Davies, 'The Clarence River and the city of Grafton: Economic and social development' (MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1953); and Graham Smith, *Sweet Beginnings: A History of Sugar Cane Growing on the Richmond River of New South Wales* (Coraki, NSW: G. Smith, 1991).

⁴⁹⁶ Mintz, 1985; Mintz, 1996.

Peter Griggs documents sugar's history from a national perspective, linking the evolution of sugar production in Queensland, New South Wales, Western Australia and the Northern Territory. Griggs shows a broader picture of the industry, and thus his work remains the dominant historical account.⁴⁹⁷ However, even though sugar cane was grown and processed into raw sugar in northern Australia, other parts of the industry (such as refiners and the merchants who sold raw and refined sugar to consumers) were located mostly in southern Australia. Griggs explains how the inter-colonial and inter-state trade in sugar linked Australian regions of production with regions of consumption, revealing how the flows of capital from southern Australia (especially Victoria) during the nineteenth century were responsible for financing the establishment and growth of sugar production in northern Australia.⁴⁹⁸ Sociologist Stephanie Affeldt traces the history of the white sugar campaign in Australia, explaining the accrual of racist symbolic capital to white convict labour. Her argument examines how whiteness was defined and redefined within the Queensland sugar industry and provides context for this study in terms of the historical campaign.⁴⁹⁹ Barbara Santich, Michael Symons and Colin Bannerman additionally provide some information in relation to Australia's high sugar consumption, which was reflected in the literature of cookery recipes and the broader culture at the time.⁵⁰⁰

Both political and economic forces were responsible for the great variation in the economic and cultural landscape behind the development of Australia's sugar industry. The environmental impacts of production and changes in production systems also differed between regions. Commercial sugar production emerged under different arrangements in the various sugar-producing districts. The speed of change in the production system during the nineteenth century was also not uniform, nor were the impacts of post-1930 regulations, particularly controls over production. There were other dissimilarities too, especially during the late nineteenth century, such as marked regional differences in the varieties of sugar cane cultivated, the adoption rate of new machinery and farming techniques, types of disease and pest outbreaks and the ethnicity of the workers employed. Another gap in literature exists where researchers often overlook the dual nature of sugar production: the agricultural sector and the industrial sector, which in the cane sugar industry is further split into milling and refining operations.⁵⁰¹ Historians and economic historians have concentrated on the agricultural sector, including labour supply and transformation of the production system from plantations to central sugar mills supplied by small farmers in the period from 1885 to 1915.⁵⁰² Griggs provides some information on the marketing of sugar as it relates to the evolution of the milling and refining sectors. These sectors had not previously been considered in any depth (or at all) in the standard works on the Australian sugar industry, and Griggs' analysis provides useful information for this investigation, along

⁴⁹⁷ P. D. Griggs, *Global Industry, Local Innovation: The History of Cane Sugar Production in Australia, 1820-1995* (Bern: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, 2011): 3-4.

⁴⁹⁸ Griggs, 2011: 4.

⁴⁹⁹ Stephanie Affeldt, *Consuming Whiteness. Australian Racism and the 'White Sugar Campaign'* (Racism Analysis, Studies 4, 2014); see also Stephanie Affeldt, 'A paroxysm of whiteness. 'White' labour, 'white' nation and 'white' sugar in Australia', in *Wages of Whiteness and Racist Symbolic Capital*, eds. Wulf D. Hund, Jeremy Krikler, and David Roediger (Berlin: LIT, 2010): 99-131.

⁵⁰⁰ Symons, 2007: 159-161.

⁵⁰¹ Griggs, 2011: 4-5.

⁵⁰² For examples see: A. Graves, 'Crisis and change in the Queensland sugar industry, 1862-1906', in *Crisis and Change in the International Sugar Economy 1860-1914*, eds. W. Albert and A. Graves A. (Norwich, 1984): 261-279; and R. Shlomowitz, 'The search for institutional equilibrium in Queensland's sugar industry, 1884-1913', *Australian Economic History Review* 19 (1979): 91-122.

with information drawn from a variety of sources on the impact of political ideologies on consumers and producers, including nationalism, the White Australia policy and protectionism.

Sugar Consumption

From around 1500, according to Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik's commodity studies, sugar conquered the world "at a terrible cost."⁵⁰³ Cane sugar replaced honey as the main sweetener in Europe, and numerous tropical islands were deforested and covered with slave plantations. They became so committed to export agriculture that many even imported their food.⁵⁰⁴ The first industrial factories were the sugar mills of the Atlantic Islands, such as São Tomé and the Caribbean, where sugar was refined by large slave forces for export to Europe. The crushing, boiling and distilling plants involved specialised labour, and the scale, complexity of operations and social organisation are what define them as the first examples of factory production. Technological advances from the sixteenth century onwards meant that the sugar mill was able to process much more sugar with far less mill labour, causing the price to drop dramatically.⁵⁰⁵ As a result sugar evolved from a rare precious spice and medicine, to a luxury, and then to a daily necessity for all, including the labouring classes. In the early stages of England's industrialisation, from 1650 to 1750, per capita sugar consumption rose dramatically, while consumption of bread, meat and dairy products stagnated.⁵⁰⁶

From the mid-seventeenth century the supply of sugar from the West Indian colonies to Britain increased rapidly to meet demand as a sweetener in tea and coffee. For the labouring classes, sugar and treacle were used on porridge to make what was considered a tasteless food more palatable. Per capita sugar consumption in the eighteenth century trebled from four pounds (1.8kg) in the early 1700s to twelve pounds (5.4kg) by the 1780s.⁵⁰⁷ Despite these figures, when the First Fleet arrived in Sydney Cove in Australia, sugar was not part of the rations allocated to sailors, marines and convicts. It does, however, appear on the list of provisions sent to New South Wales in 1788 for use in the hospital, along with sago and raisins requisitioned at the Cape of Good Hope, indicating that these items held medicinal value.⁵⁰⁸ In September 1789, Governor Phillip ordered that six ounces of sugar be added to the weekly ration, but only after the butter provision brought from England had been fully consumed by the settlers. Sugar is not mentioned in the settlers' rations again until the arrival of the store ship *Britannia* from Cape Town in July 1792. A regular supply to New South Wales was finally established by private traders, and in both 1800 and 1804, it is estimated that per capita sugar consumption was approximately sixty pounds (27kg).⁵⁰⁹ Historian J. B. Hirst confirms that the sugar consumption per capita in early New South Wales was outstandingly high and exceeded that of Britain.⁵¹⁰ Consumption increased in the succeeding decades to around 100 pounds (45kg) per capita in the late 1840s, and by the mid-1870s was higher than any other part of the world and more than

⁵⁰³ Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, eds., *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (London and Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999): 133.

⁵⁰⁴ Pomeranz and Topik, 1999: 143.

⁵⁰⁵ Pomeranz and Topik, 1999: 223-225

⁵⁰⁶ Pomeranz and Topik, 1999: 225; Mintz, 1985: 147-148; for British per capita consumption: 67.

⁵⁰⁷ Griggs, 1999: 74-75; see also Noel Deer, *The History of Sugar* (London, 1950): 532.

⁵⁰⁸ Historical Records of Australia, 'September 22, 1788': 88, cited in Newling, 2007: 60.

⁵⁰⁹ Griggs, 1999: 76.

⁵¹⁰ J. B. Hirst, *Convict Society and Its Enemies: A History of Early New South Wales* (Sydney, 1983): 39; Frederick Watson, ed., and Australian Parliament Library Committee, *Historical Records of Australia, Series 1, Governors' Despatches to and from England* (Sydney: Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 14, 1914): 615; 131.

twenty pounds (9kg) greater than Great Britain.⁵¹¹ Australians have remained among the world's top sugar consumers ever since.

From early times sugar represented power. Records show that sugar became integral to the management of convict labour and was given to convict servants as a reward for good behaviour.⁵¹² Hugh Roth claimed the practice of giving sugar in rations as part payment of wages in the late 1870s was a major contributor to Australia's high consumption.⁵¹³ Bruce Hindmarsh argues that the inhumane system of convict labour, tea and sugar was a component of a complex system of labour coercion, considered essential items in the moral economy of assigned convict labour in Van Dieman's Land.⁵¹⁴ Stephanie Affeldt contends that sugar's early allocation to convicts guaranteed that it spread through Australian society much faster than it did in Britain.⁵¹⁵ Increased consumption of sugar was linked not only to a degradation of health, but also to a degradation of the moral code of Australia.

By the late nineteenth century consumer demand had shifted from ration sugars (coarse brown or moist brown muscovado) to white sugars that had become more readily available and cheaper to purchase after 1850.⁵¹⁶ Sugar prices fluctuated until Australia's first sugar refiners and importers engaged in fierce competition from the late 1850s onwards. In mid-1884 world sugar prices fell dramatically due to massive dumping of European produced beet sugar on British and American markets. Historians generally agree that the Australian workforce during the long economic boom from the 1860s to 1890 was "less wretched than in other capitalist societies," with per capita income amongst the highest in the world, thus the mostly middle class society had the capacity to spend their income on consumer goods including more sugar.⁵¹⁷

Apart from its widespread use as a condiment to sweeten very strong tea, which emerged very early in Australia's history as the beverage drunk with every meal by most of the population, sugar and treacle were ingredients in many nineteenth century dishes including desserts, confectionary, hominy and pickling and preserving solutions.⁵¹⁸ Jam factories were established towards the end of the nineteenth century for those who did not wish to go to the trouble of making their own. For those who could not afford jam, treacle was relied upon, as it was a quarter of the price of jam.⁵¹⁹ Sugar's other major use in early Australia was in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, mainly rum and beer. In the early 1880s, Victorian brewers perfected the use of cane sugar in the manufacture of beer, leading to a huge demand for sugar, which resulted in Australian refiners manufacturing a specific type of sugar known as brewers' crystals. In 1893, in Victoria alone, it was estimated that fifteen pounds (6.8kg) of sugar per person were used in the manufacture of beer.⁵²⁰

⁵¹¹ Griggs, 1999: 78.

⁵¹² Griggs, 1999: 79-80

⁵¹³ H. L. Roth, *A report on the sugar industry in Queensland* (Brisbane, 1880): 93, cited in Griggs, 1999: 80.

⁵¹⁴ Bruce Hindmarsh, 'Though I knew that hunger would compel me to eat it: Convict diet in rural Australia', in *Food Power and Community*, Robert Dare, ed. (Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1999): 172-173.

⁵¹⁵ Affeldt, 2014.

⁵¹⁶ Roth, 1880: 62.

⁵¹⁷ K. Buckley and T. Wheelwright, *No Paradise for the Workers: Capitalism and the Common People in Australia 1788-1914* (Melbourne, 1988): 158; Griggs, 1999: 8; 10; 85.

⁵¹⁸ Hominy was a mixture of maize-meal, milk and sugar or treacle: see Gollan, 1978: 30.

⁵¹⁹ Beckett, 1984: 79

⁵²⁰ *Victorian Yearbook*, The Yearbook of Australia Ltd (1893): 223.

Barbara Santich argues that from the 1890s to the post-war modern period, the most remarkable feature of Australian recipe books was the “extraordinarily large proportion of recipes for sweet dishes - cakes large and small, biscuits and slices, puddings hot and cold, tarts and pies.”⁵²¹ According to Colin Bannerman, the growing taste for sweetness was also reflected in the literature of cookery recipes.⁵²² Despite the probable presence of contrary influences such as dietary reformers, recipes for sweet dishes steadily increased over the period 1850-1920. Stephanie Affeldt, in her recent study of the white sugar campaign and Australian racism, argues that white sugar achieved its success due to the embedded ‘White Australia’ culture at the end of the nineteenth century. Affeldt describes the two discourses associated with consumerism before and after Federation. First, the development of national identity was, she argues, carefully created by the establishment of ‘Australianness’ and the call to defend against the nations who challenged the British occupation of Australia, reflecting desirable features in persons considered true Australians: whiteness and manhood loomed large. Second, western deliberations about white supremacy on a global scale placed whites at the top, reflecting the fear that the white race would succumb to foreigners. As a consequence, whiteness was highly esteemed, and became extended from skin colour to other arenas such as food. In this context, the consumption of sugar became the consumption of whiteness.⁵²³ “It was particular in sugar in its doubly white condition that was eventually considered the panacea of white Australia,” Affeldt explains.⁵²⁴ Michael Symons contends that between the world wars, men took rations to work, drank until six o’clock, and women ‘civilised’ Australian society with sweet fantasies.⁵²⁵ Symons identifies the influence of ‘daintiness’ and associates it with efforts of Australian women to make society decent, claiming the great promoters of daintiness were the modern food companies: “They could not make much sales progress with the rough tastes of workmen, however they could coax housewives to adopt profitable frills.”⁵²⁶ Manufacturers convinced women to accept a new role as consumers. Daintiness was part of a long marketing campaign to refashion the traditional roles of women into materialist preoccupations. Symons contends that it was probably a similar impulse that led to the formation of the Country Women’s Association (CWA) in 1922. Women’s magazines and cookbooks produced in the era drew on manufacturers’ products in their recipes, pushing particular food ingredients such as sugar and ingredients commonly used with sugar, predominantly chocolate, desiccated coconut, custard powder and jelly crystals.⁵²⁷ Recipes were promoted that added daintiness to tea parties, with special emphasis on cakes.

Along with the emergent theme of daintiness and refinement, the growing role of consumerism and the power of cookbooks and newspaper food columns to promote particular foods or food products to the commercial advantage of their producers was reflected. John Carroll identifies consumerism as one of the main influences on twentieth century Australian culture.⁵²⁸ Sidney Mintz similarly argues that sugar was one of the stimuli for consumerism: “The introduction of growing quantities of

⁵²¹ Santich, 2012: 184.

⁵²² Bannerman, 2001: 160.

⁵²³ Affeldt, 2014; Affeldt, 2010.

⁵²⁴ Affeldt, 2014: 500.

⁵²⁵ Symons, 2007: 159-161.

⁵²⁶ Symons, 2007: 160.

⁵²⁷ See for example the *Australian Home Journal*, launched in 1894; *New Idea*, founded in 1902; *Australian Women’s Mirror*, launched in 1926, and *The Australian Womens Weekly*, established in 1933.

⁵²⁸ John Carroll, ed., *Intruders in the Bush: The Australian Quest for Identity* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992 (second edition)): 144.

consumer goods to masses of people who had never had them before gave the privileged classes the opportunity to imagine that such people might respond to the promise of enlarged consumption with more effort.”⁵²⁹ People would be prepared to work more in order to consume more. Demand for sugar and the desire to increase the demand for it almost certainly influenced patterns of trade, attitudes to social issues such as diet and lifestyle, the elaboration and refinement of cuisine, especially the development of home baking, and commerce in the marketing of foodstuffs and kitchen equipment associated with sugar consumption. The growing interest in daintiness and refinement in food and the circumstances of sugar consumption demonstrate a connection between local food and culture, whereby Australian women were using sugar in an effort to make society decent, reflecting the prevailing moral values of the era.

Sugar Production

The earliest supplier of sugar to the colony was the Crown, but the Crown’s attempts to keep up with demand were unsuccessful. Various contracts were awarded to merchants from Calcutta from 1792 onwards, but supply remained irregular. To counter the monopoly on imports of essential items, local independent traders began landing goods in Sydney, but despite their presence, supply continued to be inconsistent.⁵³⁰ The growth in the demand for sugar by the settlers eventually led to the conclusion that it made economic sense to cultivate and refine sugar in the colony, particularly in light of the ideal climate in the north of Australia. It also became the first crop in the economic development of Australia in which the Australian government played a distinct part.

The first attempts at establishing a local sugar industry were on Norfolk Island in the 1790s, in Sydney in 1817, and at Port Macquarie in 1821 when the penal settlement was founded there, however these attempts were commercially unsuccessful.⁵³¹ The industry developed from the mid-nineteenth century mainly in Queensland and northern New South Wales, and later became a successful crop in the northern districts of the colony. It was not until 1865 that much attention was paid to sugar as a commercial crop, when reasonable yields were obtained by settlers on the Clarence, Richmond and Tweed Rivers in New South Wales.⁵³² Sugar cane was introduced in the 1860s into Queensland, where the number of cane growers and the size of their acreages grew rapidly over the next two decades. By 1876 the total area devoted to sugar cane in Queensland surpassed that of New South Wales.⁵³³

The historiography of Australia's sugar industry reveals little about the production practices adopted by canegrowers. Adrian Graves provides brief details about cane farming methods prior to 1900 in his study of the Queensland sugar plantations and the immigrant labourers who worked on them, concluding that the techniques of cane cultivation employed during the plantation period were inadequate, and noting the high wages commanded by experienced European ploughmen and the focus of planters on clearing new land and extending acreage, rather than making existing cane acreage more productive.⁵³⁴ Walter S. Campbell, a politician who toured New South Wales in the mid-

⁵²⁹ Mintz, 1985: 64.

⁵³⁰ D. Hainsworth, *The Sydney Traders: Simeon Lord and His Contemporaries, 1788-1821*, 2nd ed. (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1981): 88; see also advertisements in the *Sydney Gazette*, 9 March 1806, advertisements from William Baker, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/6213>, accessed 14 November 2015.

⁵³¹ Doyle, 2001.

⁵³² R. D. Watt, *The Romance of the Australian Land Industries* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1955): 123-125.

⁵³³ Watt, 1955: 124-125.

⁵³⁴ Malcolm K. Wegener, ‘The contribution of science to Australian tropical agriculture: The sugar industry’, *Journal of the Australian Institute of Agricultural Science* 51 (1) (1985): 29-41; Adrian Graves, *Cane and Labour*:

1880s, reported on the state of agriculture in the colony, suggesting that cane farming in the Richmond River district was “wretched and primitive in the extreme” and the chief product was “weeds and these grow to perfection.”⁵³⁵ A similar report from the Special Correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1884 claimed that cane farmers engaged in a “careless profligate system of farming.”⁵³⁶

What becomes clear from the histories is that the techniques of cane cultivation employed during the plantation period were initially inadequate due to the high wages commanded by European workers and the focus on increasing the area of production rather than quality and efficiency.⁵³⁷ The success of cane growing in Queensland and New South Wales in the 1860s and 1870s hinged largely upon the indentured labour of ‘Kanakas’ or Pacific Islanders. Experimental cane growing in other colonies met with little success, although sugar beet was grown for a brief period in Victoria. The Sugar Company of Australia erected large extraction mills at Harwood on the Clarence River, Broadwater on the Richmond River, and, a bit later, at Condong on the Tweed River. The Company also built the first sugar refinery in Sydney in 1842, where imported sugar was refined for the market, supplying all Australian colonies during the 1840s. The Company was re-formed as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) in 1854, with the goal of eliminating rival refiners and importers of sugar. The consumer benefited greatly from the price-cutting between refiners and had access to a ready supply of cheap fine white sugar as CSR developed a network of distributors throughout the country.⁵³⁸ With the advent of steam power and other improved technology in the late nineteenth century, the refinery process was concentrated at a few centralised mills, increasingly managed by CSR.

The Queensland sugar industry initially mirrored the established global plantation based production model, although with indentured workers, not slaves. In New South Wales the dominant production model was of European farmers on small farms, who supplied the proprietary central mills, also staffed with Europeans. There was great prejudice in the southern states against the ‘coloured’ workers, particularly towards the Chinese, whose presence was resented first on the goldfields and later in small manufacturing industries.⁵³⁹ Opposition to the employment of non-European workers in Queensland and the implementation of the White Australia Policy after 1900 led to a transformation in the production model during the 1890s and 1900s. Queensland government policies supported the creation of a class of European small farmers for both social and political reasons.⁵⁴⁰ Europeans subsequently replaced the indentured workers after legislation was introduced in Queensland in 1913, which prohibited non-Europeans from leasing or owning sugarcane farms.

This production model reflected Australian culture at the time in several ways, as well as some important themes in Australia’s history. By 1915, a production system supplied by small family farms owned by Europeans relying on ‘white’ workers, mostly of Anglo-Celtic descent, characterised the

The Political Economy of the Queensland Sugar Industry, 1862-1906 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993): 25-26.

⁵³⁵ Walter S. Campbell, *Extracts from Reports on Certain Agricultural Districts of New South Wales* (Sydney: New South Wales Government Printer, 1888): 3.

⁵³⁶ Peter Griggs, ‘Improving agricultural practices: Science and the Australian sugarcane grower, 1864-1915’, *Agricultural History* 78 (1) (2004): 1-33.

⁵³⁷ Wegener, 1985, 29-41; Graves, 1993: 25-26.

⁵³⁸ Griggs, 1999: 87.

⁵³⁹ S. Wadham, *Australian Farming 1788-1965* (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1967): 41.

⁵⁴⁰ H. Blume, *Geography of Sugar Cane: Environmental, Structural and Economical Aspects of Cane Sugar Production* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Albert Bartens, 1985): 210.

industry, demonstrating the innovation and pioneer spirit of the 'whites' in overcoming the adversity of the harsh environment by permanently settling the tropics and embracing the hard physical labour involved. With the repatriation of the Pacific Islanders in 1906, the growers employed an unionised workforce with the cane-cutters practising an itinerant, aggressively masculine lifestyle.⁵⁴¹ The more expensive 'white' labour also prompted further innovation, such as the adoption of labour saving cultivation and machinery, making the industry a world leader in this field until at least WWII and creating the largest and most advanced bulk sugar storage and handling facilities in the world.⁵⁴² In contrast, the agricultural sector of the Australian sugar industry remained labour intensive. Another theme reflected at the time was the Commonwealth government's concern with populating its northern tropical regions to provide a defence against potential overseas threats from Asia between 1901 and 1960. The sugar industry provided the vehicle for achieving this goal, which it used as an argument for its continued protection and regulation, especially during the 1920s and 1930s.

The history of the sugar industry in Australia clearly exemplifies both the powers and dangers of protectionism. Protectionism versus free trade was a major national Australian debate involving the sugar industry, and there is no doubt the Australian sugar industry benefited from government assistance when it adopted high tariffs to protect domestic manufacturers against international competition and to establish substantial export markets during the twentieth century. However, consumers were denied access to cheaper sugar for much of the century.⁵⁴³ Protection came about following the 1890s depression when political forces realigned within the newly formed Federation due to increasing recognition of and resentment towards the costs of dependency on British capital, coupled with the underdevelopment of local industry. This resulted in a rise in support for protectionist policies, leading to a post-Federation model of development characterised as the 'Domestic Defence Model',⁵⁴⁴ alternatively known as the 'Australian Settlement'.⁵⁴⁵ This model was designed to shield key parts of the economy from the volatility of international markets.

Up until 1909, the two main political parties in Australia were the Free Trade Party and the Protectionist Party.⁵⁴⁶ Protectionism was viewed as the basis for nation building by many,⁵⁴⁷ along with the need for a more balanced economy, which was a central argument for protection in the manufacturing sector.⁵⁴⁸ There was much public support for building and sustaining a domestic manufacturing industry to take over from primary production, which had dominated Australian

⁵⁴¹ This formed the basis of Ray Lawler's play *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll*. Industrial militancy also culminated in major strikes during the 1930s, which Diane Menghetti has described in D. J. Murphy, ed., *The Big Strikes*; the strikes are also the subject of Jean Devanny's novel, *Sugar Heaven*. See: Ray Lawler, 'Summer of the Seventeenth Doll', play (1957); Diane Menghetti, "Rats in the sugar": The Weil's disease strike of 1935', in *The Big Strikes: Queensland 1889-1965*, ed. D. J. Murphy (ed.) (Brisbane, 1983); and Jean Devanny, *Sugar Heaven* (Sydney: Modern Publishers, 1936).

⁵⁴² Griggs, 2011: 833-844.

⁵⁴³ Doyle, 2001.

⁵⁴⁴ Frank G. Castles, *Australian Public Policy and Economic Vulnerability* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989).

⁵⁴⁵ Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty: The Story of the 1980s* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992).

⁵⁴⁶ F. G. Clarke, *The History of Australia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 98-100, eBook Collection, EBSCOhost, accessed 29 August 2013; John Quiggin, *Great Expectations: Microeconomic Reform and Australia* (New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 1996): 125.

⁵⁴⁷ Kelly, 2008, 6; Kym Anderson and Ross Garnaut, *Australian Protectionism: Extent, Causes and Effects* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1987): 6.

⁵⁴⁸ Albert G. Kenwood, *Australian Economic Institutions Since Federation* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995): 67.

industry since the turn of the century. The world's leading economies were also the most industrially advanced. Thus throughout much of the twentieth century, protectionism ideologies were deeply entrenched in the political doctrines of Australian governments, evidenced in former Prime Minister and leader of the original Protectionist Party Alfred Deakin's insistence that "no nation ever claimed national greatness which relied upon primary industry alone."⁵⁴⁹ Apart from manufacturing industries being protected from overseas competition, workers were guaranteed a degree of industrial protection through the establishment of a centralised industrial arbitration system incorporating a minimum basic wage. The basic principles of this model remained in place for the following seven decades, underpinning national development during the era of the post-war boom.⁵⁵⁰

The first protective sugar import tariff was applied by the New South Wales government in 1895, to protect it from imports of sugar from the state of Queensland. New South Wales canegrowers argued that locally produced sugar was more expensive to produce than Queensland sugar, as it was produced by an indentured Pacific Island labour force who were paid less than the European labourers in New South Wales. A protective tariff was placed on cane and beet sugar respectively via the *Excise Tariff Act* of 1902 in order to protect the industry against a flood of interstate and imported sugar, which had been produced more cheaply.⁵⁵¹

Successive Commonwealth governments protected the 'white' canegrowers from imports of cheaper sugar by agreeing to shed the reliance on coloured labour. Overproduction of sugar occurred during the 1910s, and by 1924 the industry was forced to export nearly twenty per cent of the country's total output at unprofitable prices. Measures were consequently introduced by the Queensland government to restrict production and expansion.⁵⁵² Protection for the Australian sugar industry was a contentious policy among consumers during the 1920s and 1930s, who argued unsuccessfully for the removal of the embargo on cheaper imports. In addition, the WWI disruption to the European production of beet sugar was of concern for Queensland sugar producers due to an interstate campaign by southern Australian fruit growers and jam manufacturers to abolish the embargo on imported sugar and allow it into Australia free of all duty or excise. Prime Minister William 'Billy' Hughes increased the price of raw sugar for three years, with strict conditions including a freeze on wages, which resulted in a sharp rise in the retail price of sugar. Domestic consumers, fruit growers and jam manufacturers in the southern states strongly opposed Hughes' policy and continued to call for the abolition of the customs duty on imported sugar. The Australian Sugar Producers Association (ASPA) published a series of pamphlets to counteract the anti-sugar industry sentiments in 1921 and 1922, highlighting the value of the sugar industry to consumers and producers and arguing for a more stable protective policy.⁵⁵³

The Commonwealth's involvement in the sugar business not only caused financial losses for the Australian taxpayer but, as Griggs argues, was poorly supervised, led to inflated prices for consumers,

⁵⁴⁹ Kelly, 2008: 6.

⁵⁵⁰ Ray Broomhill, 'Australian economic booms in historical perspective', *Journal of Australian Political Economy* 61 (2008): 12-29.

⁵⁵¹ Griggs, 2011: 58.

⁵⁵² G. Robinson, 'Deregulation and restructuring in the Australian sugar industry', *Australian Geographical Studies* 33 (2) (1995): 212-227.

⁵⁵³ Griggs, 2011: 774.

and demonstrated that CSR had done handsomely from the arrangements.⁵⁵⁴ The Australian Sugar Consumers Association, consisting of housewives and manufacturers of confectionary, jams, cordials and canned fruit products, published a pamphlet refuting a claim made by ASPA that it was responsible for nation building in relation to the populating of northern Australia. CSR was accused of profiteering due to its near monopoly over the supply of a commodity that enjoyed complete protection in its market.⁵⁵⁵ The Queensland Cane Growers Council (QCGC) counteracted these consumer claims by commissioning an album of photographs which toured the country along with sugar industry representatives who promoted the benefits of protection for the industry.⁵⁵⁶ Prime Minister Joseph Lyons finally resolved the debate over high retail prices in 1932, reducing the retail price in all Australian capital cities after January 1st 1933. The arrangement pleased few except the sugar producers, who effectively received an eleven per cent cut in prices (other agricultural products received a forty per cent cut). At the time, sugar was described as the 'darling of politics'.⁵⁵⁷

Even though many Australian consumers complained about the high price of sugar up until the 1930's, it did not deter them from purchasing it, and production decreased only very slightly during the Great Depression. From available records, the average per capita consumption during the late 1930s exceeded 132 pounds (60kg), the highest on record.⁵⁵⁸ Wartime rationing did not commence until 1942, when Australians considered it a serious hardship to be allowed only 1.1 pounds (500g) of sugar each week.⁵⁵⁹ CSR's refineries still managed record production during the early 1940s due to demand created by the armed forces, stockpiling by householders and a government build-up of six month reserves from early 1942.

Despite high prices for locally produced sugar, declining domestic consumption became widespread during the late 1960s and 1970s due to the momentum gained by publicity claiming sugar was responsible for a host of health related issues. The Australian sugar industry became increasingly concerned about the trend, particularly as it occurred at a time of moderate population growth fuelled by a sharp rise in net migration. The Sugar Board claimed the factors behind this sudden decline were due to the increased domestic sugar price and a switch by consumers to artificial sweeteners as a result of the aggressive advertising of such products. In 1981 the Sugar Board, assisted by CSR, commenced a decade-long Australian campaign to change the negative attitudes held by the public, media, politicians and health professionals. It also aimed to improve the nutrition education of the public with the ulterior motive of slowing and reversing the per capita decline in sugar consumption.⁵⁶⁰ The Sugar Board distributed a nutrition booklet to schools, dentists and medical practitioners throughout Australia, as well as a booklet on diabetes management for dieticians. Television and

⁵⁵⁴ Majority and Minority Reports from the Joint Committee of Public Accounts upon sugar, October 1922, various pages, in TR 1809/1, Box 2, QSA, cited in Griggs, 2011: 775.

⁵⁵⁵ Griggs, 2011: 782.

⁵⁵⁶ H. League, *The Sugar Embargo: Is Queensland a Parasitic State?* (Melbourne, circa 1930): 5-7; Sugar Consumers Association (Australia), *Sugar Embargo: The Story of a Greedy Industry* (Melbourne, circa 1930): 7-8; Queensland Cane Growers Council, 'The Queensland sugar industry and those it benefits from Mossman to Perth, 1930', National Library of Australia.

⁵⁵⁷ Griggs, 2011: 784.

⁵⁵⁸ Griggs, 2011: 786.

⁵⁵⁹ R. Hutchinson, *Food for the People of Australia* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1958): 17; M. McKernam, *All in. Fighting the War at Home* (1983, reprinted Sydney, 1995): 158, cited in Griggs, 2011: 786.

⁵⁶⁰ *Australian Sugar Year Book*, 1982: 233; and *Australian Canegrower*, June 1985: 42, cited in Griggs, 2011: 812.

magazine advertising informed the public about the role of sugar in a nutritionally balanced and varied diet, reassuring Australians they were not eating more sugar than they were fifty years ago. Advertising promoted sugar as an important and major Australian manufacturing industry, CSR supported athletics at all levels from 1984, and the Australian sugar industry as a whole sponsored 'Athletics Towards 2000', a program initiated by the Australian Athletics Union for Get Fit Australia programs.⁵⁶¹

Despite the advertising campaigns and an apparent change of attitude in Australian consumers towards sugar, domestic sugar sales only slightly increased during the mid-1980s, mainly due to sectors such as non-alcoholic beverages, preserved foods, dairy foods and confectionery purchasing more sugar. These gains, however, were only short lived, and annual per capita sugar consumption fell again in the late 1980s and early 1990s.⁵⁶² In 1984 the Commonwealth government, under Robert 'Bob' Hawke of the Labor Party, signalled to the Australian sugar industry that it must embrace some form of deregulation. On July 1st 1989 the embargo on sugar imports was removed, administered price arrangements ceased on June 30th 1989, and the Australian sugar industry protection tariff was gradually decreased over time.

The Commonwealth Government commenced regulating the refining, marketing and pricing of sugar in Australia in 1915. What began as a wartime measure continued for another seventy-four years. One stark problem with protectionism was the vested interests in maintaining and increasing the level of protection. The dominance of CSR over the supply of refined sugar remained unchallenged during this period.⁵⁶³ Australian sugar mill owners and refiners were protected against sugar imports, but another problem with the policy was that consumers were denied access to affordable sugar for much of the twentieth century.⁵⁶⁴ While protectionism provided some benefits to Australian manufacturers of sugar, it was at the expense of Australian taxpayers and consumers.

By the mid-1990s, sugar consumption was permanently declining with no apparent reversal in domestic consumption in the near future. Sugar consumption fell from in excess of 132 pounds (60kg) per capita in the late 1930s, to around 92.6 pounds (42kg) per capita in 2011.⁵⁶⁵ This decline highlights that marketing campaigns, even those featuring well-funded award winning advertising, do not always change broader social trends. By the early 1980s, sugar was a difficult product to market domestically in Australia in the face of the health revolution sweeping the country. The drop in domestic consumption per capita, however, has not impacted the industry, unlike continued low international

⁵⁶¹ Peter Griggs, 'A natural part of life': The Australian sugar industry's campaign to reverse declining Australian sugar consumption, 1980-1995', *Journal of Australian Studies* 30 (87) (2006): 141-154.

⁵⁶² Australian Sugar Industry Associations, *Living Directions Australian Sugar Industry* (North Sydney, 1990): 18; Griggs, 2006: 144.

⁵⁶³ CSR as a company was a major driving force in the development of the sugar industry in Australia. Under the guidance of Edward Knox and his son Edward W. Knox, the company has been responsible for about a quarter of the country's output of raw sugar since the 1920s. According to its own historian, Peter Griggs, it led the way in scientific and machinery applications, bred new cane varieties, controlled diseases and pests and promoted environmental strategies such as good drainage and plant nutrition. CSR's monopoly over the industry had disadvantages: as a company it was at times reviled by politicians, workers, unions and domestic consumers. Griggs suggests that this was not always justified as CSR was exemplary as an entrepreneurial business delivering a very high quality product, consistently purchased by Australian consumers.

⁵⁶⁴ Griggs, 2011: 823.

⁵⁶⁵ Greenpool, *Sugar Consumption in Australia. A Statistical Update* (Brisbane, Australia: Green Pool Commodity Specialists, 2012): II.

prices for sugar. Since the early 1990s, the Australian sugar industry has expanded considerably, with its output of raw sugar rising from approximately 3 million tonnes in 1991 to 4.7 million tonnes in 2003. The industry has sold the bulk of this increased raw sugar output to overseas consumers.⁵⁶⁶

Currently around ninety five per cent of sugar produced in Australia is grown in Queensland and about five per cent in northern New South Wales, along 2,100 kilometres of coastline between Mossman and Grafton. In the mid-1990s sugar was grown in Western Australia in the Ord River Irrigation Area, but the industry ceased operations there in 2007. After the Australian sugar industry was deregulated during the late 1980s and early 1990s, it resembled other international sugar industries in relation to its exposure from foreign sugar producers and limited government intervention in marketing arrangements (e.g. Mexico).⁵⁶⁷ More than eighty per cent of all sugar produced in Australia is exported as bulk raw sugar, making Australia the second largest raw sugar exporter in the world after Cuba.⁵⁶⁸ Almost all domestic sugar consumption in Australia is sourced from local production.⁵⁶⁹ The supermarket is the main channel for refined sugar sales due to sugar's status as a staple. The growth in café culture has additionally increased demands for portion control packaged sugars in food service and home use. Total consumer demand has been static over the past ten years due to sugar being mostly hidden from view in many processed foods, and demand has not risen due to increasing consumer consciousness of health and dietary concerns. While artificial sweeteners fail to replicate the wide range of functional properties of sugar such as colour, aroma, texture and shelf life, some offer a range of economic and functional (dietary and taste) advantages over sugar.⁵⁷⁰ Consistent with consumer interest in more pure and natural products, products naturally sweetened with Stevia grew 186 per cent according to Nielsen's Global Health and Wellness Survey, which reviewed purchasing trends between 2012 and 2014.⁵⁷¹

Summary

This case study has set out to determine the factors which created and reinforced concepts of the local in relation to sugar through an investigation of its production and consumption in Australia. The conclusions drawn from the investigation demonstrate that sugar represented power in three different but intertwined ways. Power can be described as an ability to affect something strongly and the history of sugar production clearly demonstrates the powers and the dangers of protectionism.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁶ Sugarcane Statistics. Australian Sugar Milling Council (2015), <http://asmc.com.au/industry-overview/statistics/>, accessed November 2 2015.

⁵⁶⁷ See: Robinson, 1995: 221-227.

⁵⁶⁸ Sugar Industry Review Working Party, *Sugar – Winning Globally. Report of the Sugar Industry Review Working Party*: 1; 7. For regulation of different sugar industries, see T. Sheales et al., *Sugar: International Policies Affecting Market Expansion*, ABARE Research Report 99.14 (Canberra, 1999); Australian Government, Department of Agriculture and Water Resources, *Sugar*, <http://www.daff.gov.au/agriculture-food/crops/sugar>, accessed 14 November 2015.

⁵⁶⁹ Australian Government, Department of Agriculture and Water Resources, 'Sugar products. Analysis of the determinants of prices and costs in product value chains' (2015): 94-98, http://www.agriculture.gov.au/SiteCollectionDocuments/ag-food/publications/price-determin/sugar_products.pdf, accessed 14 November 2015.

⁵⁷⁰ Australian Government, Department of Agriculture and Water Resources, 2015: 95-96.

⁵⁷¹ S. Langley, 'Growth of 'healthy' food sales globally, but not at expense of more indulgent foods', 'research', *Australian Food News* (2015), <http://ausfoodnews.com.au/2015/03/04/growth-of-healthy-food-sales-globally-but-not-at-expense-of-more-indulgent-foods-research.html>, accessed 5 March 2015.

⁵⁷² For the various definitions of power see: 'power, n.1', OED Online (Oxford University Press, September 2015), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/149167?rskey=KXfrOD&result=1>, accessed 21 November 2015.

The Commonwealth Government regulated the refining, marketing and pricing of sugar in Australia beginning in 1915. What commenced as a wartime measure continued for another seven decades. The vested interests in maintaining and increasing the level of protection supported the unchallenged dominance of CSR during this period. Protectionism provided benefits to the manufacturers of sugar, however it was at the expense of Australian taxpayers and consumers. Sugar also represented power in terms of control when it became integral to the management of convict labour as a reward for good behaviour, contributing to Australia's eventual high sugar consumption. In 1800 per capita consumption was recorded at sixty pounds (27kg). By the mid-1870s sugar consumption was higher than any other part of the world (60kg) and Australians have remained among the top sugar consumers worldwide ever since. Lastly, sugar was used as a powerful and influential tool by marketing companies. From the 1890s to the post-war modern period, dishes using sugar were associated with 'whiteness', 'daintiness' and refinement. The growing roles of marketing and consumerism were reflected in the promotion of sweet products to the commercial advantage of their producers. Demand for sugar, and manufacturers' desire to increase this demand, were responsible for influencing patterns of trade, attitudes to social issues such as diet and lifestyle and commerce in the marketing of foodstuffs and kitchen equipment associated with sugar consumption.

Case Study Two: Lamb

Introduction

While no scholarship specifically addresses the history of lamb production and consumption in Australia in any detail, scholarly attention has been given to lamb consumption by Barbara Santich, who provides the principal historical account for this case study. Santich describes how the appetite for lamb and mutton arrived in Australia with the First Fleet, and, like Australians' taste for sugar, represented a continuation of English tradition.⁵⁷³ Santich usefully provides insights into the history of the Australian barbecue and the production of mutton and lamb. She describes how Australians, from the time of colonial days, have 'Australianised' foods and recipes from other countries, resulting in a distinctive food culture. The history of pastoralism has also been given scholarly attention, and until the 1950s it was referred to by many authors as the central component of the general history of Australia.⁵⁷⁴ Historian Bruce Hindmarsh relates food rations, which were mainly comprised of mutton, to power, and Richard Beckett's *Convicted Tastes*, although not scholarly, is useful for its description of the resourceful and creative ways the early settlers used mutton.⁵⁷⁵ A number of historians also provide accounts of sheep farming and of the importance and relevance of the connection between pastoralism and morals, science, art and politics.⁵⁷⁶ Historians have additionally referred to the fact that Australia "rode on the sheep's back" in reference to the country's pastoral history. For example, sociologist James Collier's *The Pastoral Age in Australasia* explores pastoral dominance, and academic historians Stephen Roberts and Edward Shann refer to the romance and exemplary economic enterprise of Australia's squatters.⁵⁷⁷ Other scholarly sources include works by Keith Hancock and Brian Fitzpatrick, who recognise the central economic importance of pastoralism, and Noel Butlin, who

⁵⁷³ Santich, 2012: 110-183.

⁵⁷⁴ Pearson and Lennon, 2010: ix.

⁵⁷⁵ Beckett, 1984: 2-5.

⁵⁷⁶ See for example: Collier, 1911; Roberts, 1924; Hancock, 1964.

⁵⁷⁷ Collier, 1911; Roberts, 1924; Edward Owen Giblin Shann, *An Economic History of Australia* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1938), <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1300861h.html>, accessed 15 November 2015.

argues that pastoral activity was “unquestionably one of the main sources of Australian growth.”⁵⁷⁸ Butlin’s influence can further be seen in Gordon Leslie Buxton’s *The Riverina 1861–1891* and Duncan Waterson’s *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper: A History of the Darling Downs 1859–1893*, both of which connect pastoral activity to the previously neglected sectors of transport, towns, and mining, further reinforcing its economic significance.⁵⁷⁹ Pastoralists additionally developed their own forms of historical writing, including reminiscences, biographies and family and station histories. Pioneering experiences from the 1830s and 1840s are recalled in William Adams Brodribb’s *Recollections of an Australian Squatter*, Alan Macpherson’s *Mount Abundance* and Alfred Joyce’s *A Homestead History*.⁵⁸⁰ All of these histories implicitly reveal the links between the production of lamb and nationalism, as well as the moral right the settlers believed they had of consuming lamb, epitomising the notion that the concept of local becomes more popular when culturally intertwined with national identity. This connection was due in part to the various constructions of the Australian type: the bushman, the pioneer and the larrikin, all of which were closely associated with stereotypical foods such as mutton, damper and ‘billy’ tea.

Lamb Consumption and Production

The way nations grow, distribute and consume food reveals many things about them, including their fundamental structures of power and authority. The English tradition, for example, emphasises that dishes with red meat, including lamb, were considered to be of vital importance to ‘strong’ nations.⁵⁸¹ Anthropologist Mary Douglas, amongst others, describes how the power of meat stands for “the very idea of food itself”, being of such significance that people around the world describe a “meat-hunger” that is other than ordinary hunger, and pointing to the central role that meat plays in constituting a ‘proper’ meal.⁵⁸² Relying on Douglas’s theory of natural symbols, anthropologist Nick Fiddes argues for the culturally constructed nature of tastes and traces the significance and consequences of meat eating, focusing on the meaning of meat as a profound symbol of man’s conquest over nature.⁵⁸³ Lamb also symbolises many things for other cultures: it was a Semitic sacrifice in pre-biblical times; a way to

⁵⁷⁸ See for example: Noel G. Butlin, *Australian Domestic Product, Investment and Foreign Borrowing 1861-1938/9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

⁵⁷⁹ Hancock, 1964; G. L. Buxton, *The Riverina 1861–1891: An Australian Regional Study* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967); Duncan Waterson, *Squatter, Selector and Storekeeper: A History of the Darling Downs 1859–1893* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1968). For squatting history see also: Sumner J. La Croix, ‘Sheep, squatters, and the evolution of land rights in Australia: 1787-1847’ (paper presented at ‘Inequality and the Commons’, 3rd annual conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Washington DC, 18–20 September 1992); David Denholm, ‘Squatting’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, eds. G. Davidson, J. Hirst, and S. MacIntyre, S. (Oxford University Press, 1998); J. H. Heaton, *The Bedside Book of Colonial Doings*, first published in 1879 as *Australian Dictionary of Dates containing the History of Australasia from 1542 to May 1879* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1984): 226.

⁵⁸⁰ William Adams Brodribb, and Lavinia Zenobia Anne Hasell Bennett, *Recollections of an Australian Squatter / by William Adams Brodribb. & Account of a Journey to Gipps Land* (Melbourne: Queensberry Hill Press, 1976); Alan Macpherson, *Mount Abundance, or, The Experiences Of A Pioneer Squatter In Australia Thirty Years Ago* (London: Fleet Street Printing Works, 52, Fleet Street, E.C., 1879), <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks09/0900601h.html>, accessed 15 November 2015; Alfred A. Joyce, *A Homestead History*, ed. G. F. James, G. F. (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1942).

⁵⁸¹ Laudan, 2011: 165-166.

⁵⁸² M. Douglas, *Implicit Meanings: Selected Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1999). See also J. Twigg, ‘Vegetarianism and the meaning of meat’, in *The Sociology of Food and Eating*, ed. A. Murcott A., Gower International Library of Research and Practice (Aldershot, Hants, England: Gower, 1983): 21.

⁵⁸³ N. Fiddes, *Meat: A Natural Symbol* (London: Routledge, 1992); N. Fiddes, ‘Social aspects of meat eating’, *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 53 (1994): 271-280.

commemorate the resurrection of Christ by Christians; a necessary component in the celebration of births, marriages and other significant life events by Arabs worldwide; and in Australia's case, it represented survival and the farmers leading role in Australian society, as well as "simplicity, honesty, familiarity, and the wholesome comforts of home."⁵⁸⁴ According to Santich, as a result of the place sheep had in Australian culture, lamb has the qualities of a "cultural superfood," having wide popular appeal to all classes.

Historically, nations that were high sugar consumers were also high meat eaters, and this was correspondingly true in Australia.⁵⁸⁵ The first concept related to lamb as a local food that becomes apparent in the history of its production was that for the early Australians, meat, and more specifically, mutton, was a necessity and represented survival. Early colonial newspapers, such as the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, first published in 1803, suggested local foods were referred to primarily as sustenance.⁵⁸⁶ Sheep arrived with the First Fleet, but it was not until 1796 when John Macarthur imported the first merino sheep to Australia that these animals thrived. Wool supported the fledgling colony while mutton kept the settlers alive.⁵⁸⁷

Bruce Hindmarsh describes how, up until the mid-nineteenth century, convicts in Australia were well fed and lived long because they lived in a system of coercion and punishment that centred on food. Food rations, consisting largely of mutton, were used as wages which were subject to competing attempts to maximise and minimise them.⁵⁸⁸ Convicts negotiated with masters and the law to defend what they saw as their rightful rations, and some stole food when their expected quota was not received. The masters resisted the claims against them, knowing the convicts ate well in comparison to their relatives in Britain, and continued to assert their right to vary rations as a form of discipline. When rations became scarce, the masters resorted to physical punishment.⁵⁸⁹

Many historians argue that convicts were regarded more as human capital than prisoners because they were expected to pay their debt to society by providing labour.⁵⁹⁰ From the outset, convicts were advised that those who did not work would not eat.⁵⁹¹ According to archaeologist Dominic Steele, "dispensing food from the store was one of the colonial authorities' chief means of social control."⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁴ Santich, 2011: 170.

⁵⁸⁵ Dare, 1999: 12-13.

⁵⁸⁶ See for example: *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Sydney, 5 March 1803, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/5653>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁵⁸⁷ Joyce Westrip and Peggy Holroyde, *Colonial Cousins, a Surprising History of Connections between India and Australia* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2010), <http://www.southernhistory.com.au/cousins.htm>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁵⁸⁸ Hindmarsh, 1999: 172-173.

⁵⁸⁹ S. Nicholas, 'Care and feeding of convicts', in *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, ed. S. Nicholas, S. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 183-187; R. B. Walker and D. C. K. Roberts, 'Colonial food habits 1788-1900', in *Food Habits in Australia: Proceedings of the First Deakin/Sydney Universities Symposium on Australian Nutrition*, eds. A. S. Truswell and M. Wahlqvist M., Deakin University, and University of Sydney, 1st edn. (North Balwyn, VIC: Rene Gordon, 1988): 40-44.

⁵⁹⁰ Jones and Raby, 1988: 23; Walker and Roberts, 1988: 2.

⁵⁹¹ Bowes Smyth, 1979, 'February 7, 1788', cited in Newling, 2007: 21-22

⁵⁹² Dominic Steele, 'Animal bone and shell artifacts report', in *Cumberland/Gloucester Streets site*, The Rocks: Archaeological Investigation Report: Specialist Artifacts Reports', ed. Grace Karskens, Grace (Sydney: Sydney Cove Authority, Godden Mackay Pty. Ltd., 1999): 170-210.

Rations were distributed weekly from a central store to convicts on Saturdays and marines on Mondays. Bulk supplies were divided into weekly portions to ensure parity:

*It was soon observed, that of the provisions issued at this ration on the Saturday the major part of the convicts had none left on the Tuesday night; it was therefore ordered that the provisions should be served in future on the Saturdays and Wednesdays. By these means, the days which would otherwise pass in hunger, or in thieving from the few who were more provident, would be divided, and the people themselves be more able to perform the labour which was required from them. Overseers and married men were not included in this order.*⁵⁹³

Records also show that officers increased their personal wealth and political power by controlling imports of consumer goods and liquor, thereby manipulating and monopolising local markets, which thus marginalised the poorer and less privileged colonists.⁵⁹⁴ Historian Edward Palmer (E. P.) Thompson argues that England underwent “a predatory phase of agrarian and commercial capitalism”, which, in addition to opening up the new world, enabled aspiring professionals to increase their social status by taking advantage of geographical mobility.⁵⁹⁵ Mirroring these trends in the early 1790s, officers imported an entrepreneurial spirit that celebrated competitive individualism and engendered capitalism. The exploitation displayed by the officers by monopolising the market for basic needs was underpinned by capitalistic attitudes and practices already emerging in England.⁵⁹⁶ The consequences of these circumstances directly impacted on local food distribution, standards, availability and sustainability. Similar discipline was implemented against labouring convicts in 1791 after the arrival of the Second Fleet, resulting in “the first instance of any tumultuous assembly among these people... ascribed to the spirit of resistance and villainy lately imported by the new comers from England and Ireland.”⁵⁹⁷ However, the dissidents eventually promised “implicit obedience to the orders of their superiors, and declared their readiness to receive their provisions” as had been directed by Governor Phillip.⁵⁹⁸ Hence from early times, mutton, like sugar, came to be associated with power. Food control was a means of maintaining social order and productivity which justified the changes in rationing control.

The development of sheep farming to supplement rations started from very humble beginnings. The number of sheep arriving on the First Fleet in Sydney Cove varies from author to author - Edward Shann states they numbered forty four, historical archaeologist Michael Pearson and co-author Jane Lennon suggest “about seventy” and Barbara Santich says one hundred arrived.⁵⁹⁹ Whatever the number, they were subsequently all consumed, and some died in the period known as the ‘Hungry Years’ from 1788-1792.⁶⁰⁰ More were imported in 1791 on *HMS Gorgon* and on the ships *Atlantic* and *Daedalus* in 1792, along with eight Merinos in 1797.⁶⁰¹ John Macarthur and his wife Elizabeth are recognised for their early development of the Australian Merino sheep breed and the birth of the

⁵⁹³ D. Collins, 1971: 84-85.

⁵⁹⁴ Newling, 2007: 68.

⁵⁹⁵ E. P. Thompson, ‘Eighteenth-century English society class struggle without class?’, *Social History* 3 (2) (1978): 139.

⁵⁹⁶ Thompson, 1978: 139; 143.

⁵⁹⁷ Collins, 1971: 193.

⁵⁹⁸ Collins, 1971: 193.

⁵⁹⁹ Shann, 1938; Pearson and Lennon, 2010: 4-5; Santich, 2012: 153.

⁶⁰⁰ Davey et al. 1945: 187-208.

⁶⁰¹ Pearson and Lennon, 2010: 4-5.

Australian wool industry.⁶⁰² It was not until 1810, however, that a reliable meat supply stabilised in the colony.

In the first twenty years of settlement, sheep were worth more for their meat than their fleeces. Ewes were even more valuable as breeding stock, especially after 1821 when free immigrants started to arrive.⁶⁰³ By 1825 land was granted according to means by Governor Ralph Darling, who established a new scheme encouraging exploration. The grazing of sheep and cattle and crop and horticultural production increased exponentially during this time. For every acre (.4ha) sown to grain crops in New South Wales in 1825, almost two acres (.8ha) were devoted to sheep farming. By the end of the 1800s, Australia was responsible for nearly twenty per cent of the world's sheep population.⁶⁰⁴ From 1830 onwards, consumption patterns had begun to consolidate, although British practices were still common.⁶⁰⁵ Political debates, job advertisements and contemporary accounts continuously referred to rations, which were still paid weekly to the workforce. As previously mentioned, the rations usually consisting of ten pounds (4.5kg) of flour; ten pounds of meat (usually mutton); two pounds (.9kg) of sugar and a quarter pound (100g) of tea and salt.⁶⁰⁶ From the available evidence, in the first century of settlement, Australians were mostly reared on these rations, having been introduced to them during the convict era.

Richard Beckett contends that Australia never really recovered from the early years of surviving on rations in the harsh environment, and describes the early settlers' humorous acceptance of their fate through the ingenious ways they disguised mutton, such as *Queensland Duck* (roast shoulder of mutton and onions) or *Colonial Goose* (boned leg of hogget with herbs and bacon).⁶⁰⁷ As mentioned in the introduction, historians have also referred to the fact that Australia "rode on the sheep's back." Long before wool achieved prominence, pastoralism was seen as a distinctive major economic force, especially in the colony of New South Wales. One of the most extravagant statements of pastoral dominance was James Collier's *The Pastoral Age in Australasia*.⁶⁰⁸ Pastoral dominance of economic historiography continued after WWI through a new generation of academic historians, namely Stephen Roberts, who wrote about the romance of Australia's squatters, and Edward Shann, who referred to squatters as exemplars of economic enterprise.⁶⁰⁹ Keith Hancock and Brian Fitzpatrick, who were opposed in their views of British imperialism, recognised the central economic importance of pastoralism, and Noel Butlin argued that pastoral activity was a major source of growth, especially at its peak from 1861 to 1876.⁶¹⁰ In their prime, the great sheep farming families had aspired to the status of an Australian aristocracy, an ideal which found expression in the building of impressive homesteads. Pastoral Australia and ideals of pastoral peace and solitude influenced literary expressions of Australia, from mid-nineteenth century British novelists to the poets of the *Bulletin* school, such as Banjo

⁶⁰² Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Farming in Australia', 1301.0 - Year Book Australia (2012), <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/1301.0~2012~Main%20Features~Farming%20in%20Australia~207>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁰³ Shann, 1938.

⁶⁰⁴ Santich, 2012: 154.

⁶⁰⁵ Truswell and Wahlqvist, 1988: 164.

⁶⁰⁶ Symons, 2007: 29.

⁶⁰⁷ Beckett, 1984: 2-5.

⁶⁰⁸ Collier, 1911; Roberts, 1924.

⁶⁰⁹ Roberts, 1924; Shann, 1938.

⁶¹⁰ Butlin, 1962.

Paterson. The histories also reveal that it was the pastoral worker – the shearer, stockman, bushman and swagman – who came to be regarded as the quintessential Australian in this era.

What is clear from all of the histories are the strong links to national identity and the moral right settlers believed they had of eating mutton by virtue of being Australian. This idea stems from early settler history, where eating meat in relatively large quantities was an expectation. Its dietary prominence gave it special cultural properties. As a cultural symbol, mutton represented the squatters' leading role in Australian society.⁶¹¹ Squatters were originally early farmers who raised livestock on land they did not legally have the right to use. In many cases squatters later gained legal use of the land and became wealthy. Wool gave them wealth, power and status and had great economic significance, representing almost one third of export income at the start of the twentieth century.⁶¹² Artists realised the significance of squatters as well, and representations of sheep can be seen in classic Australian paintings by Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton, George Lambert and Hans Heysen. The power of the squatter is also alluded to in Australia's most widely known bush song 'Waltzing Matilda'. George Nadel suggested that "the squatters' view", concerned primarily with the adaptation of British institutions to the colony, was one of two views shaping Australia's future in the 1840s, reinforcing the link between squatters, pastoralism and the tide of thought that was turning towards identity and nationalism.⁶¹³

Pastoralists came to see land as a resource during this era, to be exploited and turned into profit, replicating the practices of the landowning class in England. The expansion of the grazing industry and its output of wool and meat came at the expense of the cultivation of crops. Sheep were being raised for wool production, and even though meat was considered a by-product, government indirectly subsidised the pastoral industry by providing an assured market and set prices for mutton. In 1792, the standard ration of meat was two and a half pounds (1.1kg); by the 1830s the amount had risen to ten pounds (4.5kg), and later in the century to fourteen pounds (6.3kg) for farm labourers.⁶¹⁴ Settlers were eating meat at every meal and the slogan "Meat Three Times a Day" became the boast of nineteenth century Australia.⁶¹⁵ Mutton came to embody familiarity and home and thus was popularly accepted as symbolic of Australian culture. Bush and campfire cookery were the dominant symbols of Australianness, and Federation heightened national identity through food culture.⁶¹⁶ Popular constructions of Australianness become increasingly necessary to represent experiences of what it meant to be Australian. Rural values and stereotypes, such as the bushman legend, picnics or retreats to the countryside, and using campfire cookery with lamb chops as the main ingredient were entrenched in urban culture. Thus cooking and eating transitioned from survival and the necessities of life to a form of cultural expression.

⁶¹¹ See: Audrey Blunden, ed., 'Squatter', in *Australian Law Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2010); and Denholm, 2001.

⁶¹² Santich, 2012: 169.

⁶¹³ The other view was concerned with the social emphasis of the establishment of a new society that had no past traditions – see: George Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia* (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1957): 62.

⁶¹⁴ Santich, 1995: 10-11.

⁶¹⁵ Symons, 2007: 38.

⁶¹⁶ Bannerman, 2001: 226.

As would be expected, due to the ubiquitous nature of mutton, there are many accounts from this era that speak of the yearning for familiar British foods.⁶¹⁷ Mutton, damper and tea typified the diet of Australians in the nineteenth century, forming the basis of a sustaining, if monotonous, diet for rural workers. In *A Summer at Port Phillip*, Robert Dundas Murray wrote: “You have mutton and damper today, mutton and damper will appear tomorrow, and from that day till the end of the year, your dinner is mutton, boiled, roasted or stewed.”⁶¹⁸ Geoffrey Serle, describing life on the Victorian goldfields in the 1850s, observed that “The almost daily diet of the digger...was mutton (occasionally beef or veal), pickles, damper and black tea, with plum-duff on Sundays. Anything else was sheer luxury.”⁶¹⁹ The emerging Australian ‘ideal type’ accepted mutton, damper and tea as the food of necessity, and mutton was consumed everywhere, even in landowners’ homesteads.⁶²⁰

With economic improvement during the early nineteenth century, there was a surplus of mutton in the colony, as wool was sold overseas for the first time in Australia’s history. From the early 1830s, one of Australia’s first major industries emerged due to economic problems associated with the surplus. Sheep carcasses were boiled down to obtain fat to be used as tallow. Grazier Frederick Ebsworth made tallow as well as mutton hams from the sheep’s legs (which remained popular until the 1940s) in order to make a profit on each sheep.⁶²¹ Ebsworth calculated he needed two hundred sheep to produce one tonne of tallow.⁶²² The high protein residue was used either as fertiliser or pig feed and the fleeces were sold for additional profit. By 1844, sixty tallow plants were established, processing over a million sheep a year up until the 1890s.⁶²³ The wastage of meat in the rendering process stimulated entrepreneur Sizar Elliot to experiment with canning the excess meat. Elliot overcame the issues associated with non-acid food and the deadly bacteria *clostridium botulinum* by processing the cans of mutton in hot whale oil. He went on to establish a cannery in Sydney in 1846, also processing canned vegetables, soups and stews. Even though he won many awards and prizes for

⁶¹⁷ Symons, 2007: 26.

⁶¹⁸ Robert Dundas Murray, *A Summer at Port Phillip* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1843): 209.

⁶¹⁹ Geoffrey Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851–1861* (Melbourne University Press, 1968): 80.

⁶²⁰ The concept of an Australian ‘ideal type’ and the emergence of national identity arguments have almost become a branch of Australian social history. Protagonists include Russel Ward, building on earlier work by Vance Palmer; Ann Curthoys; Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton; Susan Margarey (et al.); Graeme Turner; Richard Waterhouse (in Neville Meaney) and Richard White. White pointed out (: 64-66) that “The idea of a national type was very much the product of a particular view of the world at a particular time.” The idea that it was possible to isolate ‘types’ and the widespread belief that such a national type was developing within Australia was an important feature of Australian intellectual and cultural life at the time. See for example: Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1964); Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties* (Melbourne University Press, 1954); Ann Curthoys, *Australian Legends, Histories, Identities, Genealogies* (Armidale: University of New England, 1992); Wayne Hudson and Geoffrey Bolton, eds., *Creating Australia: Changing Australian History* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1997); Susan Margarey, Sue Rowley, and Susan Sheridan, *Debutante Nation: Feminism Contests the 1890s* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993); Graeme Turner, *Making it National: Nationalism and Australian Popular Culture* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994); Neville Meaney, ed., *Under New Heavens: Cultural Transmission and the Making of Australia* (Melbourne: Heineman Educational Australia, 1989); Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688–1980* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin Australia, 1981): 64-66.

⁶²¹ Santich, 2012: 166.

⁶²² Fred Ebsworth, ‘The New Australian Staple’, *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (NSW: 1843 – 1893), Saturday 1 July 1843: 1 <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/124026>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶²³ Skurray, 1990: 27.

his products, the general public did not accept the canned meat products, finding them “ugly...unappetising, and either dry or greasy,” and after four and a half years, Elliot gave up canning and went prospecting for gold.⁶²⁴ The early canners, along with winemakers, brewers and bakers of the time, were unaware that microorganisms played a role in their processes until 1868, when Louis Pasteur showed bacteria could spoil foods or cause disease.⁶²⁵ Other entrepreneurs followed Elliot, like Moses and Israel Joseph and Henry Dangar, who had canneries at Camperdown and Newcastle, with processing capacities in 1848 of one tonne per day. Calcium chloride brines were used so that temperatures of 110 degrees centigrade could be obtained to kill bacterial spores.

Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the costs of preserving meat were reduced sufficiently to make exporting more profitable, and 5443 tonnes of preserved beef and mutton were exported each year, mostly to England. Many of the canning companies were short lived, however, as American canning companies resumed export after recovering from the Civil War and reclaimed dominance of the British market.⁶²⁶ Following the advent of refrigeration, frozen carcasses of sheep were shipped to London on the *Strathleven* in 1879, selling for triple the amount they fetched in Australia. Within sixteen years Australia was successfully transporting 1.65 million carcasses to the UK, a number which increased by another fifty per cent from 1901 to 1906.⁶²⁷ Suddenly there was value in mutton. Australians were consuming on average nearly 100 pounds (45kg) of mutton per person per year, four times as much as their British counterparts. The high consumption rate of mutton can be attributed to its continued abundance and affordability for settlers. Beef was also plentiful, although more expensive, and was consumed in even greater quantities; in 1903 the average Australian ate 134 pounds (61kg) of beef and 90 pounds (41kg) of mutton.

At the end of the nineteenth century, English farmers realised lamb was more profitable as year old ‘hoggets’ rather than three year old mutton, and consumers were also beginning to prefer meat from younger livestock. Graziers in Australia responded by modifying their production to focus on younger animals and exports expanded rapidly. By the 1920s Australia was exporting more lamb than mutton to the UK. Pasture improvements, crossbreeding and super phosphate also dramatically improved production. As a result, lamb became more readily available in Australia and the price correspondingly dropped so that it was only fifty per cent more expensive than mutton by the 1920s. During this era Australians’ tastes were swayed by direct marketing by the Department of Commerce, who appealed to Australians to “help win the war in your kitchen – serve lamb the body building food” and also “So that ships may be freed to send munitions and supplies to our troops abroad, Lamb usually exported must be consumed in Australia. Serve it often to your family.”⁶²⁸

By the 1930s, lamb was favoured more than mutton, although this is not reflected in cookbooks from the era, which appeared unaware of the shift in preference and continued their focus on mutton. It was not until the 1950s that Australian cookbooks mirrored the change in preference.⁶²⁹ In the 1970s, consumption of lamb dropped dramatically, partly in response to health concerns relating to

⁶²⁴ Quoted by Anthony Trollope in Santich, 2012: 160.

⁶²⁵ E. A. Beever, ‘Elliott, Sizar (1814–1901)’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/elliott-sizar-3478/text5325>, accessed 15 November 2015; Pearson and Lennon, 2010: 67-68.; Skurray, 1990: 28.

⁶²⁶ Pearson and Lennon, 2010: 68.

⁶²⁷ Santich, 2012: 161-163.

⁶²⁸ Cited in: Santich 2012: 177.

⁶²⁹ Santich, 2012: 179.

cholesterol and partly due to a sudden rise in prices. Eating habits were entering a new phase, and by the 1990s Australians consumed about 19kg of lamb annually – mostly hidden from view in processed foods such as pies and smallgoods. Lamb is still an essential element in the Australian social ritual, the barbecue. Barbecues, originally called ‘chop picnics’ in Australia, emerged in the 1920s, coinciding with a growing interest in bushwalking and hiking. The term barbecue was popularised after WWI, probably due to American soldiers being stationed in Australia during the 1940s.⁶³⁰

Culinary techniques and styles have changed over the last half century, but a preference for lamb has persisted. Barbara Santich refers to lamb as retaining the attributes of a “simple, reliable, true-blue comfort food” and, as previously mentioned, due to the place sheep had in Australian culture, mutton and lamb have the qualities of a “cultural superfood,” similar to rice in Japan or corn in Mexico.⁶³¹ Its egalitarian symbolism also means it has wide popular appeal to all classes. The nostalgic appeal of lamb is reflected in Meat and Livestock Australia’s advertising referred to by Rachel Ankeny. Ankeny argues that these explicit marketing campaigns have been developed to encourage Australian consumers to view eating lamb as their moral duty. The moral imperatives expressed in such campaigns echo notions of Australian personal identity as well as cultural and national identity, and play into people’s underlying attitudes towards red meat and their relationship to it.⁶³² Along with the moral right of eating lamb, links to patriotism are also evident.⁶³³ The idea that meat is the most highly prized and culturally significant of all foods in Western society has been noted by various anthropologists and sociologists as well, including a group of Australian researchers who argue that those who identify themselves closely with the consumption of meat are motivated to do so because its symbolism allows them to maintain, enhance and express their self-identity and human values.⁶³⁴ One concept relating to identity is an individual’s association with the land. To be Australian, in part, means to eat red meat, particularly Australian lamb, thus Australians largely identify themselves as being consumers of red meat.

Over two centuries have passed since the beginning of sheep farming in Australia. Today wool has become the by-product of a thriving meat industry. Specific breeds of lamb are more often bred for their meat quality than their wool. This century has also seen changes in Australian consumption patterns and the cuts of meat that consumers choose.⁶³⁵ In the past Australians ate mutton because it was always available and inexpensive. Today lamb is conveniently and readily available from multiple venues: supermarkets, local butchers, Farmers’ Markets and on restaurant menus. Sixty eight per cent of lamb produced in Australia is consumed domestically and Australians still eat more lamb than almost any other country, supporting its status as a national symbol.⁶³⁶ Explicit marketing

⁶³⁰ Santich, 2012: 116-117.

⁶³¹ Santich, 2012: 169.

⁶³² Rachel A. Ankeny, ‘The moral economy of red meat in Australia’, in *Food and Morality: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2007*, ed. Susan Friedland (Blackawton, Totnes: Prospect Books, 2008): 20–28.

⁶³³ Barbara Santich, ‘Feed the man meat!’, in *Staple Foods: Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1989 Proceedings*, ed. Harlan Walker (London: Prospect Books, 1990): 224-227.

⁶³⁴ Michael W. Allen and Sik Hung Ng, ‘Human values, utilitarian benefits and identification: The case of meat’, *European Journal of Social Psychology* 33 (2003): 37-56.

⁶³⁵ Natascha Mirosch, ‘It’s lamb but not as you know it’, *The Courier-Mail*, 26 October 2009, <http://www.couriermail.com.au/lifestyle/food-wine/its-lamb-but-not-as-you-know-it/story-e6frer56-1225791463543>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶³⁶ Santich, 2012: 151; Ankeny, 2008; S. Spencer, *Price Determination in the Australian Food Industry, A report*, Australian Government, Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (Canberra, 2004): 43.

campaigns continue to encourage Australian consumers to view eating lamb as their moral duty, reinforcing national identity. The preference for lamb has persisted due to its nostalgic appeal and it is still an essential element in the Australian barbecue.

Summary

This case study demonstrates that the concept of 'local' can be defined as an historical concept, since it can be understood as embedded in ideology deeply shaped by Australia's historical unfolding, and particularly the country's pastoral past. Lamb was popularly accepted as symbolic of Australian culture, and its origins and cultural significance in the diet of Australians was a natural extension of the British working class diet and convict rations. Bush and campfire cookery came to be dominant symbols of Australianness and popular constructions of national identity became increasingly necessary to represent experiences of what it meant to be Australian. Rural values, the bushman legend and chop picnics in the countryside became entrenched in urban culture. Thus lamb, as a construction of local food, transitioned from a necessity of survival to a symbolically charged form of distinctly Australian cultural expression.

Case Study Three: Dairy

Introduction and Literature Review

Dairy products have been selected as a case study due to dairying and politics being closely connected since early in the twentieth century. Scholarly attention has thus been given to the industry by a number of economic and political historians. The dairy industry also has context within a variety of 'spaces' – those that are more localised in terms of small-scale production and consumption due to perishability, and also those of a political nature. Hence the intertwining of politics and production spaces shows that the sense of local is not always defined by distance or geography, but rather by other types of 'spaces' more related to politics, and that these 'spaces' changed over Australia's history as a settlement. Outside of politics, a number of historical accounts of the Australian dairy industry have been written by scientists, journalists and economists, but these mainly concentrate on the agricultural sector. In the science field, some limited attention has been given to various aspects of production, for example the history of pasteurisation and the resulting effects on consumption habits.⁶³⁷ Other published material includes accounts of rural dairy production by authors such as Ted Henzell, Robert Dickie Watt, Sir Samuel Wadham and Gordon Wood, Noel Thompson Drane and Harold Raymond Edwards, Kenneth Sillcock and Jim Crosthwaite. These authors have predominantly focused on the history of land utilisation, the agricultural sector and the transformation of technology and production systems from farm or household-based to industrial cooperatives.⁶³⁸ David Harris and Geoff Edwards are amongst those that have published Australian dairy industry reports, analyses of government policies and case studies on dairy farmers' reactions to changes in government support; however these largely concentrate on the effects of deregulation and statistical information limited

⁶³⁷ See for example: H. Juffs and H. Deeth, 'Scientific evaluation of pasteurisation for pathogen reduction in milk and milk products', Food Standards Australia and New Zealand (May 2007).

⁶³⁸ Ted Henzell, ed., 'Beef and dairy products,' in *Australian Agriculture: Its History and Challenges* (CSIRO Publishing, 2007); Watt, 1955; Wadham, 1967; Sir Samuel Wadham and Gordon L. Wood, *Land Utilization in Australia* (Melbourne University Press, 1957); Drane and Edwards, 1961; Sillcock, 1972; Crosthwaite, 2001; R. L. Reid, *The Manual of Australian Agriculture* (Butterworths Pty. Ltd., 1990); G. Edwards, 'The story of deregulation in the dairy industry', *Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics* 47 (1) (2003): 75-98; Roberts, 1924.

to the past thirty years, with little attention paid to consumption, consumer perceptions and the social adjustments of the industry.⁶³⁹

More general histories of dairy consumption, the semiotics of milk and references to the cultural politics of milk have been written by authors such as anthropologist Andrea Wiley, culinary writer Anne Mendelson, sociologist E. Melanie DuPuis, economist Christopher Delgado, journalist and food activist Michael Pollan, market analyst Vivien Knips, physiologist Stuart Patton, historian Peter Atkins and geographer Ian Bowler, and anthropologists James Watson and Melissa Caldwell, for example.⁶⁴⁰ These works have usefully provided a broad overview of the cultural and economic aspects of milk and dairy products. Australian writers such as Philip Muskett, Robin Walker and Dave Roberts, and Barbara Santich, have paid some attention to the nutritional aspects of milk and the various reasons behind the production and consumption of other dairy products in Australia's past. Michael Symons provides insights into pasteurisation and the ways surplus milk was dealt with from the 1920s onwards by the Australian government.⁶⁴¹ Historian Andrea Gaynor's history of growing food in urban Australia is useful in that it analyses the changing role of home food production, focusing in particular on historical aspects of suburban dairy production and how home gardens were not primarily food sources but were considerably more complex areas of production. Gaynor argues that dairy livestock were one manifestation of the unease regarding increasingly restrictive planning and health regulations which 'sanitised' Australia's backyards. Gaynor describes how the decline of suburban dairies in Sydney in the 1930s was bemoaned by residents who believed suburban milk was superior to country milk, due not only to closer supervision by municipal health inspectors, minimal transport and handling,⁶⁴² but also because their existence mirrored cultural ideas about independence and the virtues of rural life and labour.⁶⁴³

⁶³⁹ See for example: David Harris, *Victoria's Dairy Industry: An Economic History of Recent Developments*, report prepared for the Department of Primary Industries, Victoria and Dairy Australia Ltd. (2011); David Harris, *Industry Adjustment to Policy Reform: A Case Study of the Australian Dairy Industry*, A report for the Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation, RIRDC Publication No 05/110, RIRDC Project No DAH-1A (August 2005); David Harris, 'Producer adjustment to policy reform: A case study on the Australian dairy industry', (contributed paper to the annual conference of the Australian Agricultural and Resource Economics Society (AARES), Melbourne, 11-13 February 2004); ABARE (Australian Bureau of Agriculture and Resource Economics), *The Australian Dairy Industry: Impact of an Open Market in Fluid Milk Supply*, report prepared for the Federal Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (Canberra, 2001); Edwards, 2003.

⁶⁴⁰ See for example: Andrea S. Wiley, 'Milk for 'growth': Global and local meanings of milk consumption in China, India, and the United States', *Food and Foodways* 19 (2012): 1-2; Andrea S. Wiley, *Re-imagining Milk* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Anne Mendelson, *Milk: The Surprising Story of Milk through the Ages* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008); Stuart Patton, *Milk: Its Remarkable Contribution to Human Health and Well-Being* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2004); Pollan, 2008; Laudan, 2011; Harris, 1985; Christopher L. Delgado, 'Rising consumption of meat and milk in developing countries has created a new food revolution', *Journal of Nutrition* 133 (2003): 3907S–3910S; Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler, *Food in Society: Economy, Culture, Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); E. Melanie DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food: How Milk Became America's Drink* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Vivien Knips, 'Developing countries and the global dairy sector part I global overview', Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Pro-Poor Livestock Policy Initiative, PPLPI Working Papers (2005); James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell, eds., *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: A Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

⁶⁴¹ Muskett, 1899; Walker and Roberts, 1988; Santich, 1995; Symons, 2007: 104; 148-50.

⁶⁴² Royal Commission of Inquiry as to Food Supplies and Prices: Sectional Report on the Supply and Distribution of Milk, *NSWPP*, session 2 (3) (1913): 120; Progress Report from the Select Committee on the Milk Supply for the City of Sydney and Municipalities in the Metropolitan Area, *NSWPP*, vol. 3 (1922).

⁶⁴³ Gaynor, 2006: 78-82.

Other authors argue that milk stands as a surrogate for Anglo cuisine as a whole and associate the consumption of milk with strength and prestige, therefore making strong individuals who create strong nations.⁶⁴⁴ Anthropologist Marvin Harris divides human societies into 'lactophiles' (milk lovers) and 'lactophobes' (milk haters), arguing that the consumption of mammalian milk is a profound delineator of cultural difference.⁶⁴⁵ Lactophiles were once in the minority, localised to people of northern European descent, pastoralists of East and West Africa, and some Middle Eastern and central Asian populations with long histories of dairying.⁶⁴⁶ Over more recent decades, global patterns of milk production and consumption have shifted, and the differentiation between lactophobic and lactophilic habits has become a descriptor of contemporary dietary practices. Today, global trade in dairy products is at an all-time high, including the overall volume of milk production and consumption, a trend especially evident in Southeast Asia.⁶⁴⁷ A 2007 *New York Times* article associated milk consumption with affluence, noting that in countries with emerging economies: "It turns out that, along with zippy cars and flat-panel TVs, milk is the mark of new money, a significant source of protein that factors into much of any affluent person's diet."⁶⁴⁸

History of Production and Consumption

Since European settlement in 1788, the production of dairy products has been one of Australia's most important farming practices. The first record of dairy products refers to those given to the early Australian settlers as rations. During their voyage to Australia, convicts received rations which included butter and cheese.⁶⁴⁹ Records show that the initial rations for marines and convicts on the 26th January 1788 included six ounces (170g) of butter in their weekly ration, and when butter ran out on the 12th September 1789, it was replaced with sugar.⁶⁵⁰ When the First Fleet established itself at Farm Cove, Port Jackson, it brought along black Cape cattle as part of its cargo, consisting of one bull, four cows and a calf.⁶⁵¹ These livestock were intended to supply milk to the new colony and serve as foundation stock for future herds; however there were many setbacks in the first year that precluded this possibility, in particular the major concern of poor soils and pastures. Within the first four months of settlement the original herd wandered off in search of food. The first mention of dairying in Australia was recorded seven years later in 1795, when a herd of lost cows was discovered west of Sydney near the Nepean River by Henry Hacking, consisting of forty cows and two bulls. Milk from these cows was used to supplement the diet of hospital patients and children and records show that a small amount of soft cottage cheese was made from the herd's milk.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁴ Wiley, 2011: 11-33.

⁶⁴⁵ Harris, 1985: 130-53.

⁶⁴⁶ William Durham, *Coevolution: Genes, Culture and Human Diversity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

⁶⁴⁷ Delgado, 2003; IFCN World Dairy Map, IFCN Dairy Research Center 5/2013, <http://www.ifcndairy.org/en/downloads/index.php?catid=15>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁴⁸ Wayne Arnold, 'A thirst for milk bred by new wealth sends prices soaring', *New York Times*, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/04/business/worldbusiness/04milk.html>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁴⁹ 'First Fleet', *Australian Encyclopaedia*, IV (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1958): 72-76.

⁶⁵⁰ J. Copley, *Sydney Cove* (1788): 87, 94, http://firstfleet.uow.edu.au/s_rations.html, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁵¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, Year Book No.1 (Canberra: ABS, 1901); 'First Fleet Cattle. Disaster and its Sequel', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 13 August 1932: 9, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/16889435>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁵² Skurray, 1990: 34.

During those early years, famine, drought and a lack of farming experience meant that many of the initial shipments of cattle were slaughtered for meat. After the early difficulties, Australia's cattle herd increased rapidly from 200 cows in 1796 to over 34,000 by 1825.⁶⁵³ Following the *Selection Acts* passed in all colonies in the early 1860s, exploration and accessibility to more land triggered the expansion of the dairy industry into southern districts.⁶⁵⁴ One of Victoria's first dairy farmers, Edward Henty, settled in Portland in south-western Victoria in 1834, producing small amounts of butter and cheese, and eventually exporting Victoria's first product, a cask of cheese, to Tasmania. The combined number of milk and beef cattle in Victoria rose to 116,000 by 1861, and dairy farms and cattle numbers in South Australia and Tasmania grew to closely resemble those of Victoria during the second half of the nineteenth century. Queensland dairy farming districts prior to 1900 were located in the Darling Downs and Moreton districts, while in Western Australia, soldier settlement programs after WWI were instrumental in starting the industry.⁶⁵⁵

Before the widespread use of mechanised milking machines in 1892, cows were hand-milked and farmers separated the cream manually. House cows were commonly kept in urban areas right up until the 1950s,⁶⁵⁶ although by the 1880s most milk production occurred on family farms situated close to population centres, due to the perishability of milk. Until the 1880s dairying remained a small-scale local industry that catered for a local city or town market, close enough to production to enable the product to be transported before it spoiled. Thus, the location of dairy farms was conditioned by the market.⁶⁵⁷ Apart from purely localised sales of fresh milk, dairy products were not transported over great distances due to lack of refrigeration and pasteurisation, which was not used for milk in Australia until 1889. As a result, most of the butter exported to Britain prior to 1881 was not used as food but as mechanical grease. The introduction of refrigeration ensured that the first successful shipment of unspoiled butter arrived in England on January 1881 on the ship *S.S. Protos*.⁶⁵⁸

The years between 1800 and 1900 witnessed a number of technological developments in addition to refrigeration for shipping. The Babcock system of estimating the fat content of milk was established, along with the development of factory methods for manufacturing butter and cheese and improved methods of preserving butter, all of which rendered the rapid expansion of dairying feasible.⁶⁵⁹ The advent of the hand operated cream separator in 1881 was another important innovation, enabling small farmers to produce cream more efficiently on the farm before it was transported to the factory to be processed into (increasingly exported) butter and cheese. Separation provided skim milk which was used to feed calves and pigs. As factories were established and technologies adopted, productivity increased along with profit margins. With cream delivered twice a week, expansion of dairying further

⁶⁵³ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'The Australian dairy industry', Year Book Australia 1301.0, (Canberra: ABS, 2004),

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/1301.0Feature%20Article182004?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=1301.0&issue=2004&num=&view=>, accessed 15 November 2015:

⁶⁵⁴ Roberts, 1924.

⁶⁵⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'The Australian dairy industry', 2004.

⁶⁵⁶ 'The House Cow', *The Land*, Sydney, NSW, 27 March 1953: 38,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/106924467?searchTerm=the%20house%20cow&searchLimits=>, accessed 22 June 2015.

⁶⁵⁷ Drane and Edwards, 1961: 27-29.

⁶⁵⁸ 'Fresh meat per S. S. Protos', *Australian Town and Country Journal* (NSW: 1870 - 1907), Saturday 26 March 1881: 20, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/70954042>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁵⁹ Drane and Edwards, 1961: 28.

away from the factory became possible. Depending on the availability of labour and the size of the farm, a dairy farmer in New South Wales in the late-1800s milking thirty cows could expect a net farm income of £136 per annum, compared to the average wage of £39 for farm labourers and £47 for milkers in the mid-1890s.⁶⁶⁰ The dairy industry expanded rapidly and established itself on a commercial basis, and most factories were set up and owned by farmers as co-operative enterprises.⁶⁶¹ Replacement of native pastures with more productive exotic species of paspalum, English ryegrass and clover also allowed farmers to dramatically increase herd rates and milk production.

Concerns around food purity, sanitation and hygiene were evident from around 1883 due to fears related to the adulteration and quality of milk and other foods. Adulteration was considered an immoral act, thus 'pure' food was considered an essential item in nation building.⁶⁶² Pure food, notably milk, also came to be considered as an essential element of health and happiness.⁶⁶³ Marketers were quick to take advantage of public sensitivities: "the N.S.W. Fresh Food and Ice Company, Limited...HAVE THOROUGH INSPECTION of every dairy, every can, and every cow that supplies them with milk... [and] have a written report...They know from these written reports the exact condition of every dairy, and the particulars of every cow."⁶⁶⁴ Through such newspaper reports and strategic marketing, consumers were 'educated' to buy dairy products from well-known industrial operators to avoid being harmed by impure food, and looked to regulation to remedy the 'moral offence' of adulteration.⁶⁶⁵ The Victorian *Act to Prevent the Adulteration of Articles of Food and Drink* was passed in 1863, but was ineffective due to a lack of analysts. *Pure Food Acts* were not implemented until 1905, first in Victoria and then followed by the other states over the next five years.⁶⁶⁶

Government support and encouragement was evident at the time. Materially, such support assisted the industry to take advantage of the opportunities that were opening up to it. Economic conditions favoured expansion, which continued until the early twentieth century, but declined somewhat in the 1910-20 decade. There is evidence of expansion in the 1920s due to the war service land settlement policies, high prices due to the war and post-war periods and because of the 'Paterson Plan', instituted in 1926 following the breakdown of earlier attempts to regulate prices. The 'Paterson Plan' aimed to provide a bounty for export butter by raising the domestic price. Ultimately denounced as 'Paterson's Curse' by opponents, the scheme operated from 1926-1933 and provided £20 million for the depressed dairy industry. It was replaced by a compulsory Commonwealth-State scheme in 1934.⁶⁶⁷

By the 1890s, forty per cent of the butter manufactured in New South Wales was being produced in factories, with the remainder still being produced on farms. Ten years later, at the turn of the century

⁶⁶⁰ B. R. Davidson, 'Rum Corps to IXL: Services to pastoralists and farmers in New South Wales', *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics* 60 (3) (1992): 313-367.

⁶⁶¹ See for example: Drane and Edwards, 1961.

⁶⁶² Bannerman, 2001: 118

⁶⁶³ Bannerman, 2001: 161

⁶⁶⁴ 'What is said is said', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1897: 7, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/14113920>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁶⁵ Bannerman, 2001: 205.

⁶⁶⁶ Nelson, 1992: 79.

⁶⁶⁷ B. J. Costar, 'Paterson, Thomas (1882-1952)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/paterson-thomas-7974/text13887>, accessed 5 November 2015; Drane and Edwards, 1961: 28.

and with industrialisation in full force, nearly all dairy products were made in factories and a high proportion of these new factories were built, owned and operated by farmer co-operatives that produced butter, cheese and bacon. The co-operatives usually transported the cream from farms to factories in their own vehicles and then manufactured the produce, held it in cold storage, sold it, and then transported it to wholesalers and retailers. In some instances, the co-operatives ran their own retail operations as well, selling and delivering bread and groceries to farmers. In many cases, co-operatives also organised the sale and shipment of surplus produce to Britain.

Pasteurisation was first used for milk in Australia in 1889, and was originally used to extend the shelf life of milk and enable greater distribution, thus allowing expansion of the domestic milk market, rather than to improve hygiene. Thus the destruction of pathogenic microorganisms was not the driving force behind the early commercial versions of the process; this was essentially considered a 'spin-off' benefit.⁶⁶⁸ According to Symons, pasteurisation, which had already been used to lengthen the life of beer, "was only slowly introduced and not as a health measure so much as another aid to transport."⁶⁶⁹ Even by the 1930s when dairies were required by law to pasteurise milk, the technology was greeted with great concern that took many years for consumers and the dairying industry to accept. Full acceptance of the technology did not occur until decades later, even after almost universal scientific acceptance and widespread adoption of its benefits elsewhere in the world.⁶⁷⁰

In the early 1800s neighbouring farmers supplied milk to the small-scale local spaces in the towns and cities of Australia. As urban centres increased in size, transport distances decreased further, as dairies arose within the metropolitan areas that milked stall-fed cows to meet the demand. With the construction of railways in each colony from 1854 onwards and the eventual linking of all states by rail after Federation, the railway system made it possible to quickly transport fresh milk from greater distances from the country to the cities, although these distances were still considered small-scale local.⁶⁷¹ Sydney after WWI provides an example of how milk supply to the larger populated centres operated. In 1921, sixty per cent of the 49,000 gallons of milk consumed each day by the one million people of Sydney was transported by rail from the Illawarra region and the Hunter Valley, and the remainder was produced by cows milked in dairies within the metropolitan area itself.⁶⁷² Large co-operatives collected the milk from farmers at railway stations and weighed, sampled, flash pasteurised, cooled and then further transported it in 700 gallon (3200 litre) tin-lined copper containers to a central depot. On arrival at a centrally located depot it was cooled again and distributed to a milk depot in the suburbs. The co-operatives' retail centres collected the milk from the depot and delivered it in smaller containers to the customer's door.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁸ Juffs and Deeth, 2007: 11.

⁶⁶⁹ Symons, 2007: 104.

⁶⁷⁰ See: Santich, 1995: 82-83; Walker and Roberts, 1988: 74; M. Lewis 'The problem of infant feeding: The Australian experience from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 35 (1980): 174-87; Joseph H. Hotchkiss, 'Lambasting Louis: Lessons from pasteurisation', in *Genetically Modified Food and the Consumer*, eds. Allan Eaglesham, Steven G. Pueppke, and Ralph W. F. Hardy (New York 14853: National Agricultural Biotechnology Council Ithaca, 2001): 58 – 72, http://nabc.cals.cornell.edu/pubs/nabc_13.pdf#page=58, accessed 19 June 2013.

⁶⁷¹ Department of Infrastructure and Regional Development, 'History of Rail in Australia', Australian Government, Canberra, <https://infrastructure.gov.au/rail/trains/history.aspx>, accessed 19 July 2015.

⁶⁷² Davidson, 1992: 313-367, accessed 4 November 2015.

⁶⁷³ Davidson, 1992.

State-based regulations also impacted on the transportation of liquid milk to cities like Sydney. More than just providing for the establishment of a Milk Board and for the fixing of prices for milk, the *Milk Act 1931* provided for the creation of a “metropolitan milk distributing district (embracing the metropolitan areas of Sydney) and of a producing district (the milk zone) from which milk supplies for the metropolitan milk distributing district. . .[were] drawn”.⁶⁷⁴ From the 1930s when the Milk Board created the milk zone, New South Wales was divided between a northern butter producing zone, with meagre returns to farmers, and a southern zone producing milk for metropolitan areas, where farmers were guaranteed a higher price.⁶⁷⁵

The introduction of the milking machine was another notable technology that encouraged rapid growth in the dairy industry. Although the first milking machines were patented in 1836, they were not introduced into Australia until around 1900 and did not win widespread acceptance until the late-1930s, by which time electricity was more readily available to farms.⁶⁷⁶ By the early part of the twentieth century Australia's agricultural production had rapidly increased as a result of new and improved technologies, including advances in dairy cattle breeding. Output expanded well beyond the needs of the Australian population, and Australia developed to become one of the world's major food exporters.

Important government policies related to the dairying industry include the previously mentioned *Milk Act 1931* and the *Selection Acts* of the 1860s, which were responsible for helping to establish agriculture and support closer settlement schemes. Government subsidies were also provided for the manufacture of many food items, including dairy products. In addition, government helped create overseas markets and provided protection from competition from margarine, through quotas on domestic production and through prohibition of imports, unless it was dyed pink with alkanet root.⁶⁷⁷ In the first half of the twentieth century margarine was considered by the dairy industry (and the public) as a cheap imitation of butter. In the late nineteenth century several countries introduced laws prohibiting the use of yellow colouring in margarine. These colouring regulations remained in place until the late 1960s.⁶⁷⁸ Legislators largely used colouring restrictions, as well as production quotas and taxes levied on margarine producers, to protect the commercial interests of the dairy industry.

A succession of governments, in an effort to support the growth of the dairy industry, provided various assistance schemes to the primary production sector, including *The Bounties Acts and Amendments* and the *Meat and Dairy Produce Encouragement Act* of 1893. These schemes were designed to encourage the manufacture of certain agricultural items by the payment of bonuses on production. The underlying reasons for encouraging production related to ‘local as necessary’: the production of more food was required to feed the nation, and increased production would help to establish more of

⁶⁷⁴ William Murphy, *The Milk Board of New South Wales: An Outline of its Origin and Development* (NSW Milk Board, Sydney, 1949): 13,16.

⁶⁷⁵ John Wilkinson, ‘Dairy Industry in NSW: Past and Present, Briefing Paper No 23/99’ (NSW Parliamentary Library Research Service, 1999): 10.

⁶⁷⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Year Book Australia 1301.0*, 2004.

⁶⁷⁷ A. G. Lloyd, ‘Table margarine in Australia’, *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics* (n.d.): 24-46.

⁶⁷⁸ G. Scrinis, ‘Nutritionism. Hydrogenation. Butter, margarine, and the trans-fats fiasco’, commentary, *World Nutrition* 5 (1) (2014): 33-63; R. Ball and J. Lilly, ‘The menace of margarine: The rise and fall of a social problem’, *Social Problems* 29 (5) (1982): 488-498; R. Dupre, ‘“If it’s yellow, it must be butter”: Margarine regulation in North America since 1886’, *Journal of Economic History* 59 (2) (1999): 353-371.

the population on the land to break up some of the vast squatter holdings.⁶⁷⁹ Following the end of WWI, the further expansion of agriculture was helped by the removal of wartime restrictions and a return to pre-war shipping and export patterns. New areas of agriculture were established as an extension of government's closer settlement policies pursued from the early 1900s. This served to provide returned soldiers with both a place to live and an occupation. It was argued this would attract more settlers and therefore boost the population. Closer settlement also fitted the agrarian ideal of a happy yeomanry, a notion that gained popularity in the 1890s amid general disillusionment with urban life.⁶⁸⁰

In the early 1920s, a number of favourable seasons resulted in a record high of 14.4 million head of cattle and a surfeit of milk. The government encouraged foreign companies to set up in Australia to deal with the surplus of milk. The most influential brands that were established in Australia in this period were Kellogg's and Kraft from the US, Nestlé from Switzerland and Cadbury from the UK, as well as the Australian owned company Peters.⁶⁸¹ These companies produced products either made from milk or designed to be consumed with milk. Milk's 'revolutionary' new forms included condensed milk, milk chocolate (Cadbury's marketing slogan, a full 'glass and a half' of milk in its dairy chocolate blocks, is still used today), cocoa, ice-cream, breakfast cereals and processed cheese. Strategic advertising promoted these products as providing extra energy and assisting in the development of growing children. These types of products were very popular and typical of the era, designed to promote 'family goodness' and nation building across all classes of consumers.⁶⁸²

In 1926 the dairy industry received more government support to offset a low export price for butter by establishing a high home price maintained by heavy duties on imports.⁶⁸³ Referred to as 'home consumption' prices, consumers "paid far in excess of going world prices" for dairy products.⁶⁸⁴ In 1924 another milestone was reached with the introduction of the *Dairy Produce Export Control Act 1924-1938*, which was responsible for organising and supervising the overseas marketing of Australian dairy produce via the appointment of the Dairy Produce Control Board. In conjunction with the Australian Dairy Council, the board gave advice to the government in relation to problems connected with the production of dairy goods and helped facilitate the production and marketing of Australian

⁶⁷⁹ Graeme McLeod, 'History of the dairy industry', interview with Trevor Chappell, ABC Local Radio, produced by Helen Richardson, 6 June 2013.

⁶⁸⁰ Helen Doyle, 'Closer settlement', in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (Oxford University Press, 2001), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780195515039.001.0001/acref-9780195515039-e-326>, accessed November 15 2015.

⁶⁸¹ In response to an increase in import duties in Australia – Nestlé's second largest export market – the company decided to begin manufacturing there in 1906 by buying a major condensed milk company, the Cressbrook Dairy Company, in Brisbane. See: Food Processing Strategy Industry Group, 'Final Report of the Non-Government Members' (2012): 60; Reference for Business, 'Nestlé S.A. Company Profile', Company History Index (2013), <http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/52/Nestl-S-A.html>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁸² Symons, 2007: 148-150.

⁶⁸³ John Laurent, ed., *Evolutionary Economics in Human Nature* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Elgar, distributed by American International Distribution Corporation, Williston, VT, 2003): 15; B. Rice, 'One hundred years of Queensland dairying', *Queensland Agricultural Journal* 85 (11) (1959): 562-65; Australian Bureau of Statistics, Year Book Australia 1301.0, 'A hundred years of agriculture' (2000), <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/94713ad445ff1425ca25682000192af2/3852d05cd2263db5ca2569de0026c588!OpenDocument>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁸⁴ Botterill, 2003: 8.

dairy produce in the years leading up to WWII. The two bodies were combined in 1935 to form the Australian Dairy Produce Board (later to become the Australian Dairy Corporation), responsible for the control of all butter and cheese exports to the UK. Not long after its establishment and with the onset of WWII, the Australian and British governments entered into a number of contracts whereby the latter agreed to purchase Australia's surplus quantities of butter and cheese at fixed prices. The marketing agreements with Britain of the late 1930s and the war time contracts were a great boost to Australian dairy farmers and helped stabilise the industry after the uncertain times experienced during the Depression years. This level of intervention was seen as highly desirable; Australian ministers in 1952 stated that the UK was “the best example of government assistance to agriculture” due to the “huge sums...paid in direct subsidy to producers.”⁶⁸⁵

The period beginning in 1930 witnessed considerable growth despite the depressed conditions. Drane and Edwards, in *The Australian Dairy Industry*, attribute this growth to a slowing down of the expansion of the market on the one hand and an excessive expansion in supply on the other. The expansion in the midst of the Depression might have been ‘because of’ rather than ‘in spite of’ the Depression, due to what the authors’ term a “peasant reaction”, common to most primary industries at the time.⁶⁸⁶ A focus on health also contributed to this growth, evident in government subsidised school milk programs. Free milk was provided to school children, serving to enhance students’ health and therefore educational success, but also as a strategy to establish a market for local and multinational dairy companies. By 1939 The Commonwealth Department of Health was advising Australians to consume at least one pint (.5 litres) of milk per day (children were advised to drink at least one and a half pints (.85 litres) per day), and in addition milk was widely promoted and used in cooking, highlighting its essential role in the diet.⁶⁸⁷ Milk’s privileged position in these programs was also justified by its presence in governmental dietary advice.⁶⁸⁸ Drane and Edwards discuss the post-war arrangements and describe how the growth of urban populations increased the demand for fresh milk, noting that farmers who had rights to supply the market were considered the “lucky cousins” to the usually less favoured cream suppliers.⁶⁸⁹

Governments continued to actively support the dairy industry after WWII by providing farmers with subsidies based on production volume. Soldier settlement schemes created new dairying districts, and efforts to penetrate Asian markets began. Government assisted the industry due to the prevalence of low returns by dairy farmers producing milk for manufacturing purposes, principally for butter, cheese and ice-cream. Carol Vogt argues this was due to excessive middleman profits.⁶⁹⁰ The fluctuations in butter prices also became a stimulus for political mobilisation and the early Country Party became heavily based in dairying, with dairy pastures, herd management and milking methods becoming a major focus for state departments of agriculture.

⁶⁸⁵ National Archives of Australia, Department of Commerce and Agriculture, A518,B2/1/2 Part 2: Proceedings and Decisions of the Australian Agriculture Council: 36th Meeting, Canberra 21-22 April 1952: 30.

⁶⁸⁶ Drane and Edwards, 1961: 39.

⁶⁸⁷ Santich, 1995: 82-83; Commonwealth Department of Health, *Nutrition Pamphlet No. 4. Milk and Milk Products* (1939).

⁶⁸⁸ Commonwealth Department of Health, 1939; Santich, 1995: 114-15.

⁶⁸⁹ Drane and Edwards, 1961.

⁶⁹⁰ Carol Vogt, ‘Agricultural subsidies and farm income distribution: A case study of the Australian dairy industry’ (M.Ec. thesis, Monash University, 1975), 17; see also *Dairy Industry Committee of Enquiry 1959-1960*, vol.6: 1542.

Beginning in the 1960s, economists warned that the post-war arrangements penalised consumers and were inefficient. Despite the subsidies and the persistence of smaller, less advantaged producers, there was an increase in the size of dairy farms. This growth was made possible by continued pasture improvements and widespread mechanisation, resulting in increased production per cow. The Commonwealth funded adjustment programs from the mid-1960s, designed to help farmers improve their business viability and included interest free loans for installing refrigerated bulk farm storage and assistance for dairy companies to facilitate bulk milk pick-ups.⁶⁹¹ In 1966 and 1967 the UK was still the principal importer of Australian butter and Japan was the principal importer of Australian cheese. The trade in Australian butter was severely affected when Britain entered the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973. As a result of the declining market, dairy herd numbers fell and butter exports dropped. New markets were established in Asia and the Middle East which boosted trade in 1988. Nonetheless the rationalisation of the industry meant the end of the small localised dairy farmer and small farm operators overall in Australia.⁶⁹²

At the start of the twentieth century, through closer settlement schemes, state governments encouraged a population move to the land and the creation of a small farmer class. At the end of the century, farm economics in the dairying industry resulted in the opposite outcome. Small farms gave way to larger and more viable economic farm units. In the 1970s government removed subsidies to farmers and the restrictions placed on margarine. Prices fell as a result and production increased as farmers struggled to remain profitable. Dairy sheds were redesigned in herringbone fashion, resulting in more efficient systems, and the advent of refrigerated tankers ended farm based cream separation. The high costs associated with requirements to install refrigerated vats and increase hygiene standards led many farmers to exit the industry.⁶⁹³ There are now thirty per cent fewer dairy establishments, and the average herd size has increased from ninety cows in 1982 to an estimated 258 cows. Despite this, Australia produces sixty per cent more milk than twenty three years ago. There is also an emerging trend towards very large farm operations of more than 1,000 head of dairy cattle.⁶⁹⁴

Due to industrialisation, the links that originally existed between small-scale producers and consumers have been removed altogether as the purchase of fresh milk and dairy products is no longer a daily occurrence. Today, dairy products last longer and are no longer delivered to the consumer's door. Milk's small-scale local roots are, in part, a function of its short shelf-life, which can only be extended by mechanised pasteurisation. Thus it is difficult and expensive to transport, and only a very small percentage of total fluid milk production is traded internationally due to its perishability.⁶⁹⁵ Supermarket customers now see a vast range of branded dairy products in refrigerated cabinets and much of the consumption of dairy products is hidden from view within processed foods. For example, whey products, casein and milk powders, once by-products difficult to dispose of, are now important ingredients in the manufacture of processed food, including most margarine, as well as industrial, cosmetic and other technical applications. Such products are also the basis for significant penetration

⁶⁹¹ Harris, 2011: 4.

⁶⁹² Pollard, 2008.

⁶⁹³ Sillcock, 1972.

⁶⁹⁴ *Australian Dairy Industry in Focus 2013*, Dairy Australia Limited (2013), 3-6, www.dairyaustralia.com.au, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁶⁹⁵ Knips, 2005.

into Asian markets.⁶⁹⁶ In 2013, only around twenty seven per cent of Australia's total milk production was consumed as fresh milk.⁶⁹⁷

An increasing number of small-scale local dairy brands have re-emerged in recent years, and show market growth as some consumers choose to support smaller producers within alternative spaces such as farmers' markets. However, the larger supermarket chains' share of Australian milk sales has remained at just over fifty percent (as of 2012-13), indicating that these larger spaces are currently the greatest providers of dairy products. Moreover, in 2011, an outbreak of 'milk price wars' occurred within the supermarket channel when one of the major chains reduced the price of its private label milk to just \$1 AUD (about \$.75 USD) per litre. This action was immediately followed by all major supermarket competitors and led to a shift in sales of an additional two per cent of all milk purchases to supermarkets.⁶⁹⁸ Milk's popularity is largely due to its continued status as a staple in Australia, as well as beliefs about its contribution to childhood growth. Governments and medical professionals, including dieticians and nutritionists, continue to encourage consumption of dairy products, especially among children. Marketing promotes milk and dairy products as sources of 'wellness' and its alliance with childhood growth has underpinned the spread of consumption around the globe.

The pattern of Australia's dairy exports is vastly different today compared to the early 1900s, when the majority of Australia's exports went to the UK and former British colonies. A rise in incomes, changing food consumption habits and an increase in urbanisation have led to a strong boost in demand for dairy products.⁶⁹⁹ Consumption trends reflect multicultural influences, health perceptions around dairy products and manufacturers' responses (for example low-fat and lactose free variants), new product, flavour and packaging innovations, and the distribution and availability of products since the advent of railways and pasteurisation. According to current industry data, per capita consumption of milk in Australia is around 107 litres, reflecting strong growth compared to many other countries. This growth is mainly due to the expansion of 'coffee culture' in Australia over the last two decades, as well as to many consumers continuing to prefer the 'naturalness' of butter over margarine.⁷⁰⁰

Summary

The main theme evident within this case study is that the sense of local is not necessarily defined by distance, but rather by other types of 'spaces' which change over time. These spaces originally were small-scale local in terms of distance and were conditioned by the market; however, as industrialisation, technology and transport advanced, dairy products became increasingly intertwined with political spaces and thus associated with political ideologies such as closer settlement, quality, purity and the health of the nation. Various government acts also helped to stabilise the industry following the uncertain times experienced during the Depression and war years. Politically, the dairy industry created issues for legislators for almost its entire history. Oversupply and poor returns required government intervention; however, this sometimes did not solve the associated problems.

⁶⁹⁶ *Australian Dairy Industry in Focus 2013*; Crosthwaite, 2001.

⁶⁹⁷ *Australian Dairy Industry in Focus 2013*: 15-16.

⁶⁹⁸ *Australian Dairy Industry in Focus 2013*: 20.

⁶⁹⁹ Ximena Del Campo, 'Appetite for milk', Penn State Extension, <http://extension.psu.edu/animals/dairy/news/2013/appetite-for-milk>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁰⁰ *Australian Dairy Industry in Focus 2013*: 19.

Case Study Four: Rice

Introduction and Literature Review

The available literature on Australia's rice industry is scant and consists mainly of industry data which reveals very little about its consumption history. A number of reports identify its early cultivation commencing circa 1924, and more recent reports mainly only address environmental concerns and technological advances.⁷⁰¹ Therefore material for this study has been drawn mainly from the Australian Dictionary of Biography, agricultural and farming histories, newspaper articles, and available industry reports, such as Peter Lewis's historical account of the co-operative rice industry commissioned by Ricegrowers' Co-operative Limited (RCL). Lewis's history of the industry is constructed from primary data found in official records, newspaper articles, annual reports, unpublished manuscripts, interviews and promotional material and memorabilia from the industry's earliest days, and is described as "a sobering tale for those persisting in a view that natural resources exist solely for exploitation by mankind and as a tribute to the people who built the industry and the communities which have grown up around it."⁷⁰² Notwithstanding recent perceptions of environmental issues, the story of rice in Australia is one of a democratically run Australian primary industry, reflecting adaptation to seasonal cycles and changes in land use, water use and economic, cultural and political environments. This case study shows how 'local' can become a synonym for ideologies such as democracy, both in terms of closer settlement and the idea that it was possible to organise and fund the industry democratically.

History of Rice in Australia

Before Europeans discovered and settled in Australia in 1788, voyagers from the Indonesian archipelago, Papua New Guinea and China regularly visited northern parts of the continent.⁷⁰³ Edible varieties of rice,⁷⁰⁴ which grow spontaneously in tropical regions, were introduced by these Asian travellers, probably fishermen or traders, before European occupation.⁷⁰⁵ Anne Gollan and Peter Lewis refer to Aborigines making use of these introduced plants.⁷⁰⁶ Gollan writes that wild rice was collected, tied up, and soaked underwater before being dried and winnowed, then ground into a source of flour and used for bread. Rice was also a regular ingredient in the weekly rations brought to Australia from England in 1788, and according to Geoffrey Blainey, cultivated Indian rice entered the Australian diet

⁷⁰¹ See for example: Gary Lewis, *The Growers Paddy. Land, Water and Co-operation in the Australian Rice Industry to the 1990's* (Sydney: Sydney University, 2012); Sunrice, 'History of Australian rice', <https://www.sunrice.com.au/consumer/about/faqs/rice-growing-and-origin/>, accessed 15 November 2015; Robert D. Macadam, *Building Capacity for Change in the Rice Industry: A Report of a Review of the Extension Services of the Rice Industry*, report for the Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation (Barton, ACT: RIRDC, 2002).

⁷⁰² Lewis, 2012: 13.

⁷⁰³ Mark L. Wahlqvist, 'Asian migration to Australia: Food and health consequences', *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 11 (Suppl.) (2002): S562.

⁷⁰⁴ The two distinct forms of cultivated rice (*Oryza Sativa*) are 'upland' and 'lowland'. *O. sativa* grows at latitudes from 36° south in Australia, to 49° north in Czechoslovakia, occurring on every continent except Antarctica, grown extensively in tropical and temperate regions but also as a dryland (upland) crop. Lowland (or 'swamp') rice is grown under almost continuous flooding on submerged soil. See Lewis, 2012: 11; 15; 17; Office of the Gene Technology Regulator (OGTR), *The Biology and Ecology of Rice (Oryza sativa L.) in Australia* (2005): 1-3, www.ogtr.gov.au, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁰⁵ H. I. Oka, *Origin of Cultivated Rice* (Tokyo: Japan Scientific Societies Press, 1988). Oka, for example, believes that "common wild rice was harvested on a considerable scale in Africa, India, China, South America and tropical Australia"; see also: OGTR, 2005: 1-4.

⁷⁰⁶ See: Lewis, 2012: 11; Gollan, 1978: 14.

in June 1792 after Governor Phillip dispatched the store ship *Atlantic* to Calcutta in October 1791.⁷⁰⁷ As food imports became more frequent by the mid-nineteenth century, rice was advertised as a luxury item and frequently referred to its place of origin: “Important to those who can appreciate choice articles...Carolina rice,”⁷⁰⁸ and “Java machine cleaned table rice...Madagascar rice...”⁷⁰⁹, suggesting that consumers were interested in information about provenance. This preference was possibly due to residents being encouraged to value imported foods over local foods because their consumption was associated with ‘appreciation’ and refinement. It could also be because commercial operators exaggerated the exotic status of imported products to make up for the lack of fresh local foods and the isolation and harsh climate that Australians were experiencing at the time. Another possible reason is the indication that more staple foods were being provided locally and the merchants were giving more advertising attention to higher value-added items.⁷¹⁰ Whatever the reason, rice was a sought after ingredient. This is reflected in the sweet dishes prevalent in the late nineteenth century which were dominated by heavy farinaceous confections such as pastry, boiled suet puddings and baked puddings of rice, sago or tapioca.⁷¹¹ Of the most common dishes included in cookbooks from the mid-nineteenth century up until the early twentieth century, rice pudding was the second most popular dessert, was second only to potato as a starch⁷¹², and on dinner menus, rice custard was the most popular dessert.⁷¹³

The waves of Asian migration since European settlement and before and after the Colonial period contributed to the development of much of Australia’s food chain.⁷¹⁴ At every critical point, Chinese Australians have been the dominant Asian influence in the introduction of food crops including rice, various green vegetables, tropical, citrus and stone fruits, the Chinese gooseberry (later called kiwi fruit), herbs and spices, market gardens and the subsequent fresh food markets.⁷¹⁵ Chinese prospectors carried rice seed with them to the southern Australian goldfields in the 1850s and cultivated the grain in marshy areas and ponds using effluent from mining, helping to feed the workers while they fossicked for gold.⁷¹⁶ These early attempts at rice cultivation appear to have been commercially unsuccessful, probably due to poor understanding of climate and weather patterns of

⁷⁰⁷ See: Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983); Marika Vicziany, ‘Indian–Australian relations’, in *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, 1st rev. ed., G. Davison, John Hirst, and Stuart Macintyre, eds. (Oxford University Press, 2003), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.proxy.library.adelaide.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780195515039.001.0001/acref-9780195515039-e-775?rsk=4&q=rice>, accessed 15 November 2015; Westrip and Holroyde, 2010: “In 1791 Governor Phillip dispatched the *Atlantic* to Bengal for livestock, seeds, plants, copies of the Calcutta newspapers and rum. From 1790 Scottish born Robert Campbell of the Indian firm Campbell Clark & Co was trading with Australia.”; M. Nash, *Sydney Cove. The History and Archaeology of an Eighteenth-Century Shipwreck* (Hobart, Tasmania: Navarine Publishing, 2009): 29-30, <http://www.parks.tas.gov.au/file.aspx?id=7027>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁰⁸ Bannerman, 2001: 201

⁷⁰⁹ Bannerman, 2001: 203

⁷¹⁰ Bannerman, 2001: 204.

⁷¹¹ Bannerman, 2001: 90

⁷¹² Bannerman, 2001: 249

⁷¹³ Bannerman, 2001: 287

⁷¹⁴ The Colonial period ended on the 1st of January 1901 with the introduction of the White Australia Policy.

⁷¹⁵ Wahlqvist, 1981; B. Hsu-Hage, T. Ibiebele, and M. L. Wahlqvist, ‘Food intakes of adult Melbourne Chinese’, *Australian Journal of Public Health* 19 (1995): 623–628; F. J. Simoons, *Food in China. A Cultural and Historical Inquiry* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 1991).

⁷¹⁶ Ricegrowers’ Association of Australia Inc., ‘History of Rice in Australia’, Information sheet, <http://www.aboutrice.com/handout01.htm>, accessed 15 November 2015.

Australia in the nineteenth century.⁷¹⁷ The first documented record of successful rice cultivation was by a small rice industry which supplied Chinese locals during the 1860s in the Northern Queensland Gold Rush.⁷¹⁸ High import duties on rice (a form of tax on gold prospectors of Chinese descent) were in place, which forced many Chinese farmers to grow their own; however husking and milling the rice by hand dolly meant that commercial quantities were difficult to produce.

Rice cultivation was a small-scale endeavour until surveyor Thomas Behan arrived in Cairns in the early 1880s. Almost one third of the town's population of 5,000 was Chinese. In 1885, Behan obtained a thirteen acre (5.2ha) lease with water frontage on the Barron River to build the largest steam powered rice mill in Queensland, using the latest US milling technology.⁷¹⁹ By the spring of 1888, 400 people of Chinese descent were growing rice in the area.⁷²⁰ The Chinese also grew rice in the Northern Territory in the early 1900s. Although attempts were made for many years, the crops consistently failed due to iron and manganese toxicities in the soils and destruction by weeds and pests.⁷²¹ Even though rice cultivation was generally seen as a 'coolie' crop, it is evident that mechanised rice growing methods were known in Queensland when attempts were made to develop an industry there in the late nineteenth century.⁷²² The industry developed slowly, peaking at 30,000 tonnes of rice per annum, before finally collapsing in 1893 when farmers chose to grow sugar cane instead. Rice growing was also trialled at Esperance, Western Australia after WWII, but this too failed due to problems with quality and pests.⁷²³ The New South Wales Department of Agriculture began trials with 'upland' varieties in the north of that state in 1891, however results were not encouraging.⁷²⁴ Queensland remained the most successful area in Australia for rice production until the early twentieth century.

⁷¹⁷ Ching Fatt Yong, 'Ah Mouy, Louis (1826–1918)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1969, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ah-mouy-louis-2872/text4099>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷¹⁸ Lewis 2012, 11; Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc. (RGA), 'All About Rice', *Our Australian Rice Industry*, Growing Rice to Feed the World, [http://www.rga.org.au/f.ashx/\\$278535\\$All-About-Rice-Factsheet_Web.pdf](http://www.rga.org.au/f.ashx/278535All-About-Rice-Factsheet_Web.pdf), accessed 15 November 2015; G. C. Bolton and Kathryn Cronin, 'Leon, Andrew (1841–1920)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/leon-andrew-4012/text6359>, accessed 15 November 2015; G. N. Logan, 'Boyd, William Alexander (1842–1928)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/boyd-william-alexander-5325/text8997>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷¹⁹ See: Stratford Heritage Trail, 'Behan's Rice Mill, 2011' and *Cairns Post*, 17 September 1887: 4, http://stratfordhistory.org.au/Trail_Sites/14.php, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷²⁰ J. Malcolm, 'Kamerunga in the early 1900s', *Cairns Historical Society Bulletin*, No. 45, November 1962; *Brisbane Courier*, Thursday 21 July 1887: 2, http://stratfordhistory.org.au/Trail_Sites/14.php, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷²¹ Darrell N. Kraehenbuehl, 'Holtze, Maurice William (1840–1923)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/holtze-maurice-william-6720/text11605>, accessed 15 November 2015; G. C. Bolton, 'Wise, Frank Joseph Scott (1897–1986)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wise-frank-joseph-scott-15616/text26819>, accessed 15 November 2015; Jimmy Pang Quee, the son of a rice farmer, cultivated rice at 'Rice Gardens' near Pine Creek and Brock's Creek in 1910. See: G. Lewis, 2012: 11. For more information on pests, see: OGTR, 2005: 9–11.

⁷²² NSW State Records, *Chinese Migration and Settlement in New South Wales*. Chinese immigrants, known as 'coolies', were seen as part of a solution for a labour shortage that followed the ending of the convict system in New South Wales from 1828 onwards. <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/archives-in-brief/archives-in-brief-33>, accessed 15 November 2015; Lewis, 2011: 11.

⁷²³ Bolton, 'Wise, Frank Joseph Scott (1897–1986)'.

⁷²⁴ Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'History of Rice in Australia'.

In the 1860s, in south-western New South Wales, wool farmer Sir Samuel McCaughey demonstrated that irrigation was possible along the Murrumbidgee River. His efforts would greatly assist future commercial crop production which had previously failed due to lack of water in the region. The experimental area on Sir McCaughey's farm eventually became the Yanco Experiment Farm, the success of which persuaded the New South Wales state government to support the idea of a large irrigation scheme in the same area in order to encourage closer settlement and the creation of a small farmer class. By 1906, part of the Murrumbidgee River was dammed and the Burrinjuck Dam constructed (which was completed in 1927), allowing the irrigation area to be developed, supported by government legislation.⁷²⁵ These Acts allowed the Yanco and Mirrool areas to be established. The first farmers in the irrigated area produced fruit, vegetables and dairy products, but a combination of unsuitable soils, small farm sizes and inadequate farming skills led to great financial difficulties for the farmers.⁷²⁶ It was not until Japanese ex-parliamentarian Isaburo (Jō) Takasuka began cultivating Japanese varieties (*Japonica*) of rice in 1906, near Swan Hill on the Murray River in Victoria, that successful cultivation was possible.⁷²⁷ By WWI Takasuka demonstrated the feasibility of rice growing and completed what is thought to be the first commercial sale of paddy seed rice in Australia, donating the proceeds from his first 45kg (sold to the Lord Mayor of Melbourne) to the Belgian Relief Fund, part of Australia's support for European countries fighting against Germany.⁷²⁸ From WWI onwards the New South Wales Department of Agriculture experimented with Takasuka seed and other varieties on the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area and elsewhere. In the 1920s, rice was seen as a possible irrigation crop on soils within the Murray-Darling Basin that were too heavy for the cultivation of fruit and too infertile for wheat.⁷²⁹ In 1921 and 1922 Takasuka had favourable harvests on his property; however tests of his best variety conducted over four seasons at the Yanco Experiment Farm were not favourable and he eventually abandoned cultivation in 1927.

Meanwhile, Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission employee Jack Brady travelled to California in 1920 to study rice growing and, while there, observed that rice was produced in similar soil types and climatic conditions to that of the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area. Brady brought seed back to Australia that was successfully farmed at the Yanco Experiment Farm, combining Takasuka's seeds and techniques. The cultivation of rice was taken up by various agricultural groups over the following decades, mainly due to irrigation water being very inexpensive.⁷³⁰ In 1921 the Federal government prohibited importation of sugar and rice to protect the Australian industries, and by 1927 a duty was applied on imported rice along with an agreement to prevent rice production outside the

⁷²⁵ Peter Hohnen, 'McCaughy, Sir Samuel (1835–1919)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mccaughy-sir-samuel-682/text6485>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷²⁶ Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'History of Rice in Australia'.

⁷²⁷ D. C. S. Sissons, 'Takasuka, Jō (1865–1940)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/takasuka-jo-8741/text15307>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷²⁸ The term 'paddy', from the Malay-Indonesian word *padi*, refers to the field in which rice is grown and to the unhusked seed; Lewis, 2012: 9; 11-12; Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'The rice growing pioneer of Australia, Mr Isaburo (Jo) Takasuka', Information sheet, <http://www.aboutrice.com/handout05.htm>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷²⁹ Wadham and Wood, 1957: 266.

⁷³⁰ Wadham and Wood, 1957: 266-7.

Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area.⁷³¹ From 1922 to 1924, Department of Agriculture experimentalist Austin Shepherd demonstrated the viability of rice on the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area using the *Japonica* varieties obtained in California, and in 1924-25, farmers pioneered cultivation in the Leeton and Yenda districts. Californian varieties of rice were found suitable for the climate in the Riverina and the first mill opened at Leeton in 1951. Production rapidly overtook local consumption and rice exports to Japan became a major source of foreign exchange.⁷³²

The New South Wales rice industry helped save the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, then one of the largest and most expensive irrigation systems in the world, from economic failure. From its inception, the industry was a joint effort between the Department of Agriculture and the Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission, and a Federal Government 'gentlemen's agreement' confined rice growing to the state of New South Wales while the industry was being established. This was because the government believed the rice industry would become a "vast national asset," but was only effective so long as New South Wales fulfilled national rice needs.⁷³³ Proprietary millers, grocery merchants and rice importers assisted by providing infrastructure and ready markets for paddy rice and finished products through an organised network of retail outlets. The industry continued to develop without further protection, apart from a very low tariff, due mainly to the urging of growers who desired independence.⁷³⁴ This desire was demonstrated in a statement by A. F. Bell at the Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission Conference of Rice Growers in 1925: "When you start an industry in Australia it seems to me that you start with the idea of what can the government do for you in one way or another. I think sometimes that if we can make an industry standing on its own footing, irrespective of government assistance, we are doing something somewhat rare."⁷³⁵

By the early part of the twentieth century, Australia's agricultural production had rapidly increased as a result of new and improved technology, including more productive grain varieties and advances in livestock breeding. Output expanded well beyond the needs of the Australian population. In an effort to support growth, a succession of governments provided various assistance schemes to the primary production sector in the ensuing years. As previously mentioned, the first of these, *The Bounties Acts and Amendments*, aimed to support and encourage burgeoning industries and was designed to encourage the manufacturing of certain items. In 1907 bonuses were paid on the production of a number of agricultural products, including rice.⁷³⁶ The Acts enabled a government-funded bounty to be paid to each manufacturer based on the quantity of manufactured produce.⁷³⁷ The justifications

⁷³¹ Mary Albertus Bain, 'Male, Arthur (1870–1946)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/male-arthur-7469/text13013>, accessed 15 November 2015; Sunrice, 'Detailed Historic Timeline of the Australian Rice Industry', n.d.: 3, https://www.sunrice.com.au/media/6662/detailed_history_of_the_australian_rice_industry.pdf, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷³² Wadham and Wood, 1957: 266. Wadham states that at the time of publishing (1957) tariffs were: "for uncleaned rice, 1d.; and for other types, 1 ½ d. per lb."

⁷³³ R. B. McMillan, 'The Rice industry in New South Wales: Review of marketing and agricultural economics', c1945, Wade Shire Library, H633.18: 163.

⁷³⁴ Lewis, 2012: 12.

⁷³⁵ WCIC, Minutes of Conference of Rice Growers, Leeton, 14 July 1925, cited in Lewis, 2012: 64.

⁷³⁶ Other products supported were cotton, fibres, coffee, tobacco and dried fruits. Bonuses were extended across other agricultural industries, and in 1924 they included the production and export of canned apricots, peaches, pears and pineapples. See Pollard, 2000.

⁷³⁷ Pollard, 2000.

for such payments related to food security as well as to the goal of establishing a population on the land in rural areas. Furthermore, as rice was now growing successfully in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, and as the US had established a number of lucrative new outlets in Asia, in 1924-25 the Government, keen to support growers, applied a custom duty on the import of rice.⁷³⁸

In the Great Depression of the 1930s, farmers turned to growing rice when it earned a reputation as a “salvation crop.” It also had strategic value in feeding combat personnel in Pacific War zones during WWII, and production also rose in response to the Commonwealth’s drive to increase food production following the war.⁷³⁹ After the war, rice was bringing in exceptionally high prices but these were not reflected in grower returns. Rice growers subsequently formed a co-operative, Ricegrowers’ Co-operative Mills Limited, trading as SunRice, which eventually amalgamated to become Ricegrowers’ Co-operative Limited in the 1980s. In 1955, the co-operative launched its own branded retail packaging of ‘Sunwhite’ rice. It was also the first time that nutritional value, product quality (hence the purity implied by ‘white’ in Sunwhite) and consistency were emphasised in marketing.⁷⁴⁰ By the early 1990s, 2,400 Riverina rice farmers were producing over a million tonnes of rice paddy and their crop was received, transported, stored, milled, processed, packaged and marketed by Ricegrowers’ Co-operative Limited, wholly owned and controlled by growers. Around ninety per cent of all rice products were exported under Ricegrowers’ Co-operative Limited ‘SunRice’ brand name. Without any production or export subsidies, the New South Wales rice industry was regarded as the sole surviving free-trade rice industry in the world. In 2005, Ricegrowers’ Co-operative Limited listed on the stock exchange as Ricegrowers Limited (SunRice). The rice industry grew strongly and equitably with an ability to finance itself. It was regularly cited by politicians as an example of what was possible in Australian agriculture through democratic industry self-management. Worth four hundred million Australian dollars per annum, rice remains Australia's third largest cereal grain export and its ninth largest agricultural export.⁷⁴¹ In 2014 the industry celebrated its ninetieth anniversary.

Environmental issues

After WWII, rice production increased as a result of the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. Above average rainfall from the 1950s to the mid-1990s encouraged the expansion of the Riverina rice industry, but its high water usage in a practically waterless region attracted environmental attention concerned with declining flows in the lower Murray River, the Snowy River and the effects on fragile aquatic ecosystems.⁷⁴² Rice growing is dependent upon delicate irrigation systems, the design and use of which, in the past, were periodically subject to political expediency often at odds with environmentally sustainable choices.⁷⁴³ Since 1988, suitable rice growing practices have been determined on environmental grounds. In 2008, due to drought, only thirty eight farmers were

⁷³⁸ Pollard, 2000.

⁷³⁹ National Water Commission, ‘Water trading in the rice industry’, Australian Government (Canberra, ACT, 2011): 4

⁷⁴⁰ SunRice, ‘The SunRice story’, <http://www.sunrice.com.au/about-us/the-sunrice-story>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁴¹ Ricegrowers’ Association of Australia Inc., ‘Trading Australian Rice’, <http://www.aboutrice.com/handout12.htm>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁴² Australian Bureau of Meteorology, *Climatic Atlas of Australia: Rainfall*, Bureau of Meteorology (Melbourne, Victoria, 2000); Wadham and Wood, 1957: 266-7.

⁷⁴³ Lewis, 2012: 428.

involved in the production of 19,000 tonnes of rice in the Riverina.⁷⁴⁴ The Australian rice industry argues that it is the most technically efficient rice growing industry in the world, increasing from an average of eight tonnes per hectare in the early 1990s to more than ten tonnes per hectare in recent seasons, becoming a world leader in water usage.⁷⁴⁵ It was also the first industry to initiate a project to return water to the environment and the first agricultural sector in Australia to develop a biodiversity strategy and plan to minimise the impact of irrigation.⁷⁴⁶ In 2003, the industry launched a new breed of rice named 'Quest', its shorter growing cycle designed to reduce water use by a further ten per cent from the already reduced water usage of sixty per cent over the past ten years.⁷⁴⁷ 'Sherpa' is another new variety recently released to growers that has improved cold tolerance (down to 11.5 degrees celsius), meaning it requires less water to grow and has a positive yield potential.⁷⁴⁸ Growers are additionally experimenting with biodynamic rice farming with the variety 'Rainfed Rice', an example of 'dryland' rice which requires only natural rainfall to grow, saving critical water resources (most rice is grown in flooded rice paddies).⁷⁴⁹ The rice industry believes a significant cultural change is required in the future to move away from the exploitation of natural resources to their stewardship⁷⁵⁰, and a number of scientific and agricultural studies support this view, including studies on greenhouse gas emissions, water productivity, rising water tables and those addressing the notion that food security could be increased by relocating the rice industry to more climate suitable locations in northern Australia.⁷⁵¹ Although no consumer studies could be found that indicate a negative view

⁷⁴⁴ Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'History of Rice in Australia'; National Water Commission, 2011: 4.

⁷⁴⁵ Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'Water and Rice', <http://www.aboutrice.com/water.htm>, accessed 15 November 2015; Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., Submission to the review of rice vesting proclamation (NSW Rice Marketing Act 1983), August 2012: 2, <http://www.rga.org.au/f.ashx/030812-RGA-Rice-Vesting-Review-Submission-Final.pdf>, accessed 15 November 2015; National Water Commission, 2011: 6.

⁷⁴⁶ Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'Rice and the environment', <http://www.rga.org.au/rice-environment.aspx>, accessed 15 November 2015; see also for example: Australian Government, 'Ricecheck program', in *Australian Natural Resources Atlas*, <https://researchdata.andis.org.au/australian-natural-resources-atlas-anra/428784>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁴⁷ SunRice. 'History of Australian Rice'.

⁷⁴⁸ Ricegrowers' Association of Australia Inc., 'Research and Development', <http://www.rga.org.au/about-rice/research-development.aspx>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁴⁹ Rainfed Rice, <http://www.rainfedrice.com.au/>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁷⁵⁰ Robert Macadam, John Drinan, Neil and Inall, 'A report of a review of the extension services of the rice industry', A report for the Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation, RIRDC Publication No 02/009, RIRDC Project No RUE-1A. (January, 2002): 14.

⁷⁵¹ See for example: T. N. Maraseni, S. Mushtaq, J. and Maroulis, 'Greenhouse gas emissions from rice farming inputs: A cross-country assessment', *Journal of Agricultural Science* 147 (2009): 117- 126; S. Khan et al., 'Pathways to reduce the environmental footprints of water and energy inputs in food production', *Food Policy* 34 (2009): 141- 149; H. G. Beecher et al., 'Effect of raised beds, irrigation and nitrogen management on growth, water use and yield of rice in south-eastern Australia', *Australian Journal of Experimental Agriculture* 46 (2006): 1363-1372; E. Humphreys et al., 'Integration of approaches to increasing water use efficiency in rice-based systems in southeast Australia', *Field Crops Research* 97 (2006): 19-33; S. Mushtaq et al., 'Plausible futures for regional development and structural adjustment under climate change: A case of the rice industry in Australia', *Water and Climate: Policy Implementation Challenges; Proceedings of the 2nd Practical Responses to Climate Change Conference (2012): 224-231.*

of Australian rice relating to environmental concerns, several studies refer to the assumption that the “wider community” believes this is so.⁷⁵²

Summary

By investigating the consumption and production of rice in its Australian context over the last 200 years, the research has shown how ‘local’ has become a synonym for the ideologies associated with independence and democracy, both in terms of closer settlement and the idea that it was possible to organise and fund the industry democratically. Successive governments believed the industry would become a “vast national asset”, and it developed without further protection at the urging of the growers who strongly supported this independence. In an effort to support growth, various assistance schemes were provided, including the payment of bonuses for its production. In the 1930s depression, rice growing was associated with food security and its strategic value in feeding the armed forces during WWII. Without any production or export subsidies, the New South Wales rice industry was regarded as the sole surviving free-trade rice industry in the world, and the company SunRice was regularly cited by politicians as an example of what was possible in Australian agriculture through democratic industry self-management.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has investigated the histories of four local food products, paying particular attention to the characteristics and meanings associated with the consumption and production of these products. The essential elements of these local foods have been examined, along with the political and cultural impacts moderating them, to gain a richer understanding of what these local foods represented to Australians at different points in time and the different ways in which each has been constructed as local. The conclusions drawn from each of the case studies have identified distinct and yet interrelated drivers. It has been demonstrated that government intervention was a key factor in the development of each of the industries (although to a much lesser extent in the case of rice), allowing for the survival of food and agricultural industries which in a free market situation may not have developed to such an extent. The investigation of sugar has shown that there are both powers and dangers associated with protectionism. The government regulated sugar in Australia from 1915, and what commenced as a wartime measure continued for another seven decades. Protectionism provided benefits to manufacturers at the expense of Australian consumers. Sugar was a symbol of power in other ways as well. It was integral to the management of convict labour and used as a reward for good behaviour. This factor was shown to have contributed to Australia’s high sugar consumption. Sugar was also used as a powerful tool by marketing companies to ‘civilise’ Australian society, reflecting not only the growing role of consumerism, but the moral values of the era, epitomised through ‘whiteness’. The second case study demonstrated that the concept of ‘local’ can be understood as symbolic of Australian culture as a whole. The cultural significance of lamb stemmed from its natural extension of the British working class diet and its inclusion in convict rations. Lamb’s ultimate ubiquity and egalitarian symbolism came to be a dominant symbol of national identity, particularly in terms of deeply entrenched rural values. The case study on dairy products demonstrated that local can be constructed by different types of ‘spaces’ which are not necessarily defined by distance. These spaces ranged from small-scale local spaces conditioned by adjoining markets, to larger political spaces,

⁷⁵² See for example: S. Glyde et al., ‘Extension in the rice industry. A review of the development, delivery and prioritisation of extension in the Australian rice industry’, RIRDC Publication No. 13/072, RIRDC Project No: PRJ-007299 (2014): 30; Macadam et al., 2002: vii; 11; 14.

associated with specific political ideologies such as closer settlement and the health of the nation. The final case study on rice showed how 'local' can become a synonym for cultural values such as independence and democracy, both in terms of closer settlement and the idea that it was possible to organise and fund an industry democratically and without government assistance in terms of protection. In summary, the four case studies show that the development of a local food culture in Australia was driven by forces associated with ideas of progress, in particular the transition from survival to 'civilisation', generating Australian produced foods as an expression of national identity.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The study has clearly shown that the concept of 'local food' did exist in the Australian post-1788 environment and as such it has identified a number of different meanings and factors which were responsible for developing and distinguishing conceptions of local food in Australia. The main factors driving the development of a local food culture from the time of First Settlement were socio-political forces associated with progress, in particular the transition from survival to civilisation, and it was these factors that were responsible for generating Australian produced foods as an expression of national identity. In linking the production and consumption of food products in the four case studies, the main forces have become more explicit, particularly government intervention, which helped to establish pastoralism, closer settlement schemes and the creation of a smaller farmer class. Mapping out changes in the ways in which local food has been viewed socially, politically and economically by different groups of Australians at different times has shown how food can not only reflect changing eating patterns, but also changing political ideologies, technological advances and cultural shifts.

The findings of this research support the argument that attention to local food is not a new phenomenon. On the contrary, this thesis has shown that the term 'local' served as a proxy for a vast array of cultural values and moral tenets. These values and principles were drawn from contextual economic forces and ideological dynamics that changed over time and were historically determined. Therefore, the concept of local can be defined as an historical concept since it can be read and understood as a concept deeply shaped by the unfolding of historical circumstances. The evolution of concepts of local food in the Australian context illustrates the extent to which different historical settings are able to inform and inspire different and sometimes antithetic concepts of local. For example, at various points in time, 'local' was a synonym for concepts such as 'necessary', 'independence', 'progress', 'refinement', 'national', 'industrial', 'patriotic' and 'Empire'. These concepts were culturally determined by the prevalent group or socio-political entity with which consumers and producers at the time identified, and sometimes opposing concepts existed concurrently. For example, the rise of nationalism in the period before and after Federation heralded the use of origin in labelling and branding for the first time, as the word Australia or the use of Australian symbolism appeared, thus associating local food production with independence. Around the same time, Empire foods were marketed as local, associating local foods with *interdependence*. Local foods were a preference associated with survival and accessibility at the time of First Settlement, but at other times, lamb, for instance, was associated with monotony and ubiquity. Sugar was associated with power for the early Australians, but as local production increased, it came to be associated with refinement and good taste. Thus meanings of local foods are fluid and historically contingent.

The second major finding is that the development of a local food culture was strongly influenced by government intervention. Political forces were evident through the various policies which helped establish Australian food production, linking local foods with nation building. The rationale for food policies was often as much social as economic, as family farms promoted the traits of hard work and thrift in order to raise the moral tone of the colonies. Policy related to the production of food was initially focused on survival, however as food quantity increased, policies turned to higher order concerns related to quality and purity. *Pure Food Acts* were passed from the early nineteenth century

due to harm caused by impure and unsafe food. Nutrition related concerns also contributed to the payment of subsidies to increase production of meat, dairy products, rice and sugar, in order to raise food outputs and reduce prices, contributing to national health and food security. The *Selection Acts* helped establish the production of local food in Australia, and the government supported the creation of overseas markets, provided subsidies on the manufacture of food items and paid bonuses for the production of many local foods. New agricultural policies were also established based on the principle that meat, milk, butter and sugar were essential sources of protein and energy that had to be safeguarded as an issue of national security. Protectionism was a major national policy which was deemed of such importance to governments that it was viewed as the basis for nation building due to the shifting of consumer expenditure away from imported foods towards an increased demand for local foods. From the late nineteenth century, agricultural policy focused on production maximisation, while food policy focused on dietary improvement. The consumption of government subsidised free daily milk for schoolchildren was associated with health, but also with education and boosting the economy. With the advent of WWI and WWII, interest in food security increased again as emphasis was placed on standardising and intensifying local food production.

The research also revealed that industrialisation changed the face of local foods from small-scale local products, produced up until the late 1800s, to large-scale, highly industrialised, branded products. The latter appealed to consumers not only due to their supposed safety, convenience and low cost, but also because they represented social progress and the advancement of Australia. The impact of industrialisation on local foods in Australia was a significant force, resulting in increased production and population growth in urban areas. Industrialisation was responsible for the appearance of iconic Australian local food specialities and the emergence of a commercial marketplace with strongly identifiable, branded products. It had a major impact on the way local foods were perceived and was instrumental in shaping the food culture of Australia. Up until the mid-nineteenth century, manufacturing was typically characterised by small-scale artisanal methods of production, such as home-made pickles, sauces and bakery items. By the second half of the nineteenth century, industrialisation gave rise to distinctive, highly processed, stereotypical foods which created a new type of market environment where local specialities were given distinct iconic Australian identities. The desire to develop a cultural identity separate from Britain contributed to the fierce independence that was reflected in the production of branded Australian made products around the time of Federation. From the time of industrialisation, especially around Federation, products were increasingly branded with the word Australia or used Australian symbolism, and consumers responded with active support of iconic Australian made industrialised foods. Related to the production of local foods was the trend towards technology, packaging and processing, all of which were symbolic of progress, civilisation, efficiency and liberation. By the mid-twentieth century, Australian made and highly industrialised stereotypical convenience foods filled supermarket shelves and were implicitly promoted as locally produced. Growing consumerism, changing patterns of labour for women, technological changes, immigration, increasing affluence and new leisure activities of the post-WWII period affected almost every phase of the Australian food industry. By the 1950s, industrialised foods, implicitly viewed as locally produced, filled supermarket shelves, and emphasis shifted to convenience, with the supermarket effectively acting as a proxy for the producer.

Finally, marketing reflected changing Australian attitudes towards local food consumption through the use of popular cultural themes which included concepts such as austerity, food security, refinement, nationalism and independence. By the late nineteenth century, household consumption

had become a subject worthy of attention and literacy, thus local distinctiveness as a marketing feature was evident in terms of what local foods were offering and communicating to consumers. Designation of origin was not generally used in Australia until the period before and after Federation. This change was due to the introduction of trademarks in the 1880s, as the use of the word Australia and Australian symbolism as an expression of independence and Australian identity became more common. Marketing reinforced and built these connections, reflecting the cultural aspirations of the population. Concerns with the price of food and the subsequent need to avoid waste, evident in the late 1800s and up until the mid-1900s, expressed the prevalent moral values of the era such as economy, austerity and patriotism. During WWII and in the preceding Depression years, emphasis was placed on 'waste not want not' narratives and the rationing of food items, which accentuated living modestly. Marketing campaigns promoting locally produced foods encouraged Australians to view eating certain products as their moral duty. The Empire Marketing Board was a compelling example of how aspirational narrative was employed to stimulate trade between nations by creating the psychological background that linked empire producers and consumers in order to increase consumer demand for empire produced goods. Sensitivities to food purity were also used by marketers to emphasise the safety aspect of local foods, particularly dairy products. Various publications 'educated' women for commercial purposes and the Australian Made Preference League promoted Australian made food products by appealing to patriotism. Country of Origin Labelling demonstrated that the word 'Australia' or Australian symbolism was used in the past to confer not only national identity but also product quality and trust. In 1961, 'Operation Boomerang' further strengthened the profile of local manufacturing and encouraged people to buy Australian made goods, which cemented the broad 'national' definition of local. The notion of local distinctiveness as an attractive product feature derived from the marketing perspective shows how local foods have both tangible and intangible features and qualities from which a consumer derives value, highlighting that producers can adjust and manipulate perceptions about local foods to communicate specific narratives or experiences associated with the product and its history. Thus marketing history in Australia reinforces the concept of local as an imagined entity, particularly when public sensitivities, nationalism and patriotic sentiments are capitalised on to the benefit of producers and manufacturers.

Implications

This study has investigated the history of local food in Australia from the late 18th century to the early 21st century by placing local foods within their social historical context, and examined and explained the meanings attached to local foods at different points in time. The research has shown that the preference for local food is by no means a distinctive feature of the current scenario. The preference (or otherwise) for local food dates back to the beginning of early settlement in 1788 and the values and principles associated with local foods are drawn from contextual economic forces and ideological dynamics that change over time and are historically determined. Local food, then, cannot be categorised as one homogenous concept, but should be understood as a proxy for a vast array of values and moral tenets. Thus a number of fundamental uncertainties relate to how the distinctive characteristics of local foods are determined and how the special end qualities of such products are conceived or identified. This study therefore has implications for agricultural planning, food policy, the food industry and marketing agencies that rely on overly broad notions of the local food 'sector'. Such blurring of boundaries renders it unlikely that optimal decisions will be made with regard to local foods as emerging products. Singular, definitive characteristics of local foods are unrealistic and as such, the multiple concepts attached to local foods, often the result of overlapping and sometimes contrasting

tendencies and values rather than any one singular driver to the exclusion of all others, need to be more fully understood and taken into account. While arriving at a single definition of local foods has not been an aim of this thesis, the history of local food in Australia demonstrates the notion that the resulting end products are imbued with multiple meanings for the consumer that are historically determined. For example, 'Australian made' products stem from industrialisation and the emergence of Australia as an independent nation. Despite 'Australian made' having a distinct inclination towards locale, the term is based on different perceptions of the values and meanings attached to the product, in part relating to the assumption that 'local' has come to be a proxy for quality, but also because Australians have long identified Australian made products with social progress, independence and national identity. Thus there is scope for a more detailed exploration of contemporary consumer understandings of the complexities of meanings associated with local foods and their relations to the history outlined here.

As this thesis has shown that food is deeply embedded in cultural history, it also has relevance to future research in food studies. This investigation is intended as the starting point for other focused and detailed studies on the history of local foods within particular geographic, national, or other contexts and would ideally involve the collaborative efforts of multiple scholars. The main aim has been to establish a contextual framework within which future research into the history of local foods might be conducted across other single country boundaries. It is likely that the historic contexts surrounding local foods will differ from country to country, thus replication of this investigation in other countries would allow for a cross-cultural comparison of the evolution of production and consumption behaviours. This would help to provide greater understanding of the forces impacting on the values and principles connected to local foods today.

Appendix 1:

Table 1. Examples of Policy Initiatives in South Australia to Support Local Food Products

Initiative	Administering Body	Description
Regional Food Groups	Food SA /SA Government	<p>The 11 SA Regional Food Groups consist of: <i>Adelaide Hills Food; Food Barossa; Murraylands; Eyre Peninsula, Australia’s Seafood Frontier; York Peninsula; Clare Valley Cuisine; Good Food Kangaroo Island; Fleurieu Food; Limestone Coast Food; Food Riverland; Taste of the Southern Flinders Ranges.</i></p> <p>Co-ordination and partial financial support of a regional network of Regional Food Groups in South Australia is funded by government, with separate promotional bodies in charge of groups for other states. Each Group operates on behalf of its fee-paying members (all of whom produce local foods) as a business support centre, networking forum and collective marketing function, under a territorial umbrella brand name.</p>
Food SA	SA Government	<p>In the lead-up to the 2010 election, SA government committed \$1m per year for 4 years for the food and wine industry. Minister for Finance (Michael O’Brien) agreed that Flavour SA and Food Adelaide merge - part of the \$1m was used to deliver programs by Food SA for a 4 year period. Some went to SA Wine Industry Association, the remainder was left in PIRSA.⁷⁵³ Money allocated to Food SA was split into 3 – 1: Food SA programs; 2: regional programs and a seafood program in Eyre Peninsula – i.e. industry deliver programs <i>for</i> industry, and 3: FoodSA leverage funds. FoodSA produce an Operational Plan and Report every year (Eat Local is a project as part of the plan); it has its own strategic plan; one strategic priority is stakeholder linkages. The body sees itself as a conduit and ‘go to’ place for food, working to source funding at state and federal levels, with past success in gaining grants. The business model is: Membership; Sponsorship; Service delivery (managing grants), including events. In addition, the new state Premier (2012) announced ‘Premium Food and Wine from our Clean Environment’ as a strategic priority for the new government.</p>
Buy South Australian	Brand South Australia	<p>The organisation encourages consumers to support and choose products and services from South Australian producers, growers, suppliers, manufacturers and service suppliers.</p>
Regional Food Initiatives Program	SA Government/ PIRSA	<p>The Regional Food Initiatives Program has committed AU\$600,000 over a two year period between 2014-16 to support regionally-based food organisations to “build a stronger regional food presence in South Australia”.</p>

⁷⁵³ PIRSA: Department of Primary Industries and Regions SA. www.pir.sa.gov.au. Accessed November 15 2015.

Premium Food and Wine Co-Innovation Cluster Program	SA Government/ PIRSA	The Premium Food and Wine Co-Innovation Cluster Program is a State Government regional development initiative to support local regional agriculture, food and wine businesses to become more collaborative, productive and globally competitive.
Kitchen Gardens SA	SA Government/ Dept. of Environment and Natural Resources / SA Health	The Kitchen Garden Initiative is a strategic priority for the Botanic Gardens of South Australia and promotes the development of kitchen gardens in homes, schools and communities as a collaborative partnership. It encourages people to create their own connections between food, plants and culture and aims to develop a social, cultural and environmental understanding of where food comes from, with a horticultural, cultural and global perspective. Also supported by Santos.
SA Food Users Guide	FoodSA / SA Government	The South Australian Food Users' Guide is for chefs, purchasing managers and caterers to use in food establishments and covers bakery, beverage, cereals, grains, convenience, dairy, eggs, fruit, vegetables, meat, poultry, game and seafood, with detailed technical information on storage, handling, appearance, packaging, serving ideas, masterclasses, charts on seasonality and harvest, and an A-Z listing of nearly 500 South Australian food businesses: "the Guide gives you everything you need to put South Australia's fresh and innovative produce on your menu."
Eat Local	Regional Food Industry Association/ Food South Australia Inc/ Primary Industries and Regions SA.	A programme encouraging local businesses to showcase premium local produce on their menu. Distinguished by Eat Local signage and undertaken in partnership with Food SA (supported by Tourism SA), the aim is to improve the market for local foods. Particular emphasis is placed on raising the profile of products derived from distinctive regions and making these more accessible to consumers.
Appellation/Protected Designations of Origin and Protected Geographical Indicators	Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation	Following an agreement during the 1990s by the Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation and the Australian and EU governments, the others' GIs and the nations' traditional terms of winemaking were meant to have been protected by 1997, however, this has been proceeding slowly, and while some GIs have been protected in Australia, others are still available for use (primarily for products that have always been called that). There has been discussion around Appellation for food with PIRSA but no policy initiatives exist to date.
Farmers' Markets	Australian Farmers' Markets Association	A national network of specialist markets dedicated to showcasing and trading 'locally produced' food items, bringing producers and end consumers directly together. The Association provides a coordination, advisory and networking role.

Appendix 2:

Main Australian food Acts from 1855-1981

New South Wales: *Banana Industry Act 1969; Bread Industry Act 1969; Dairy Industry Act 1915; Dairy Products Act 1933; Dried Fruits Act 1939; Explosives Act 1905; Filled Milk Act 1960; Food Preservation by Sulphur Dioxide Enabling Act 1920; Meat Industry Act 1915; Milk Act 1931; Poisons Act 1966; Poultry Processing Act 1969; Public Health Act 1902; Pure Food Act 1908; Therapeutic Goods and Cosmetics Act 1972.* Queensland: *Dairy Products Act 1978; Drugs Standard Adopting Act 1976; Explosives Act 1952; Filled Milk Act 1974; Food Act 1981; Fruit and Vegetable Act 1947; Health Act 1937; Liquor Adulteration Act 1855; Margarine Act 1958; Meat Industry Act 1965; Milk Supply Act 1977; Poultry Industry Act 1946.* South Australia: *Abattoirs Act 1911; Agricultural Chemicals Act 1955; Bakehouses Registration Act 1945; Bread Act 1954; Cigarettes (Labelling) Act 1971; Local Public Dried Fruits Act 1934; Explosives Act 1936; Flammable Clothing Act 1983; Health Act 1935; Margarine Act 1939; Marketing of Eggs Act 1911; Plant Diseases Act 1924; Poultry Processing Act 1969; Sale of Fruit Act 1915.* Tasmania: *Cigarettes (Labelling) Act 1972; Dairy Produce Act 1932; Factory Shops and Offices Act 1965; Filled Milk Act 1960; Fruit and Vegetables Act 1953; Poisons Act 1971; Public Health Act 1962; Therapeutic Goods and Cosmetics Act 1976.* Victoria: *Abattoirs and Meat Inspection Act 1973; Bread Industry Act 1959; Broiler Chicken Industry Act 1975; Dried Fruits Act 1958; Filled Milk Act 1958; Fruits and Vegetables Act 1958; Health Act 1958; Liquor Control Act 1968; Margarine Act 1958; Meat Control Act 1981; Milk Board Act 1958; Milk Pasteurisation Act 1958; Poisons Act 1958; Poultry Processing Act 1958; Tomato Processing Industry Act 1976.* Western Australia: *Abattoirs Act 1909; Bread Act 1903; Dairy Industry Act 1983; Dried Fruits Act 1947; Filled Milk Act 1959; Health Act 1911; Margarine Act 1940; Poisons Act 1964.*⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁴ Goldring et al., 1987: 158.

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