

## **A Comparative Study of Artisanal Food Producers' Motivations in Western Australia and Thailand**

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**Abstract:** The research objective in this study was to discover motivations of artisanal food producers in Australia and Thailand. This was mainly to inform farmers' market managers of the motivations of artisanal food producers, their clients, to better provide retail space to food producers. However, the same principle also applies to many other service providers, for instance banks, insurance companies and other financial services in developing products for this very specific group of small-scale business enterprises. Governmental advice and support services for these businesses will also benefit. Finally, out of a Royal Commission Report, chain supermarkets in Australia must source more from small-scale suppliers, yet they appear uninformed about who they are dealing with, their motivations and limitations, for instance not being able to supply large volumes. There has been virtually no research on artisanal food producers. Retailers have no research to inform them. Here was another gap to fill. Methodology for this study was interview-based qualitative, with data analysed through thematic content analysis. The paper's originality lies in two ways, meaning that it fills research gaps but also because its results are perhaps surprising. Artisanal food makers are primarily self-concerned, not community-concerned as the previous study would indicate.

**Keywords:** artisanal food; artisanal food production; Australia; producer motivations; Thailand

**JEL Classification:** L66

### **1. Introduction**

#### **1.1. Background to the Study**

Strict definition of artisanal food is difficult, especially as "artisanal" makers on the one hand scale up their production (particularly through greater mechanisation) to keep up with demand, but also scale up hyperbole in their marketing to keep alive, even develop, the lifestyle elements of their purchase proposition. La Brea Bakery

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proclaim “Passion and Love are baked in to each loaf of La Brea Bakery bread” (“Passion and Love”).

Attempts at academic definition of “artisanal” are frustrated by lack of research around artisanal production, never mind specifically artisanal food production. Artisanal cheese production fares a little better than average. Blundel (2016) looking at cheese production articulates a reasonable definition of artisanal. He regards artisanal as “a term used to describe production systems that are relatively small-scale and where hand-working and the skilled, intuitive judgement of the maker takes precedence over mechanized and automated methods” (Blundel, 2016).

McCracken (2006) adds to that when reviewing the artisanal movement, which would imply definitional content beyond just production processes. He sees the artisanal movement as having ten defining characteristics, to include, for instance, preference for a human scale, for hand-making, for things that are relatively raw and untransformed and unbranded. He continues that consumers have a preference for things that are personalised, but, in fact, talks more about heavy personal service propositions from small retailers, including at farmers’ markets.

Simplification of the product is seen as another defining characteristic of the artisanal approach, though McCracken (2006), through introducing the idea of connoisseurship as an element in the artisanal movement, creates a paradox. He puts forward a notion of the discerning palate. Complexity is exactly what the discerning palate discerns, and is often precisely what is sought out in a purchase. The world of highly processed food is often accused of blandness and uniformity. James Beard Foundation (“bringing back the flavors”) refer to “an artisanal movement that’s bringing back flavors of a world untainted by Wonder-bread and Kraft singles”. In McCracken’s (2006) listing this represents a characteristic concern of the artisanal movement with authenticity, very hard to define, but seen in terms of foodstuffs and cooking methods, though the current writers see this more in terms of lack of uniformity in flavour, shape, size, colour, the past realities. The last point ties back into the artisanal food movement’s dual concerns with locality and transparency. Provenance matters because terroir matters to the final product and exactly how it tastes, what inflections of flavour it has, what inflections of texture, shape, size and colour. Transparency enables the purchaser to know provenance clearly, but also such clarity around, say, transportation is important.

A further area of debate beyond what artisanal products and production are is what exactly are people purchasing? Is something bought beyond the goods, a simple transactional exchange, the singular focus of classical economics? Pine and Gilmore (1998) offer that customers are willing to pay for an experience, an experience that might be an inherent part of the transaction. Interacting with an artisanal producer, perhaps having a good chat, may be an example. Granovetter (1985) particularly challenges classical economics over its view of the rational consumer. Social factors

outside of the transaction, through their embeddedness, can modify or totally override traditional economic assumptions. Customers may pay a premium where the social environment is appealing. The question may be rather more whether they are asked to pay that premium. McCracken (2016) tends to see what he labels as dark value as remaining dark, producers blissfully unaware, and remaining unaware, of value not forming part of the original value proposition in their business plan. The potential for revenue wastage is substantial.

As early as their 1995 survey, long before farmers' markets were as embedded as they are today or as aligned with new and growing food trends, Kezis *et al.* (1998), researching farmers' market attendees in Maine, USA found that around 75% of their respondents stated a willingness to pay more for conventionally grown produce at the farmers' market than the supermarket. The willingness was to pay a 17% premium. Subsequently, farmers' markets have become embedded, Mortimer (Stephens, 2015) regarding them as something that is part of entrenched Sunday morning behaviour in Australia. Logically, that entrenched behaviour, essentially regarded by Mortimer (Stephens, 2015) as relating with social amenity has been underpinned, for instance by the rise of vegetarianism. Roy Morgan Research (2016) report that in 2016 9.7% of Australia's adults followed a totally or near-total vegetarian diet. In Tasmania, Australia's most adoptive vegetarian state, the figure was as high as 12.7% (Roy Morgan Research, 2016). In New South Wales vegetarianism grew at the rate of 30% between 2012 and 2016 (Roy Morgan Research, 2016).

Moving on from locating value, never mind factoring it fully into the price proposition, to consider simply costs, quality, profit and pricing, Scott Morton and Podolny (2002) found in their study of the California wine industry winery owners who would forego profit maximisation in the aim of maximising the utility of the wine produced. They took this as a suggestion that there is a hobbyist element among producers, with those people perfectly willing to accept lower financial returns in favour of producing a higher quality wine. In UK, Christy and Norris (1999) found that speciality cheese-makers may well accept higher costs as the price for adopting their chosen processes and ingredients. They were not concerned to pursue best practice by its usual profit-maximising definition. Tregear (2003) sees that in sectors like crafts, to include cheese-making, lifestyle motivations are as important to producers as the usual commercial aims. De Roost and Menghi (2000) looking at Parmigiano Reggiano cheese-makers found privately-owned firms making out of passion, to satisfy which they were willing to receive lower returns, whereas the industrial producers were passionless, less concerned for their product and more concerned to maximise profits. This last point was a critical element in the reporting of DTZ (1999), who saw the speciality food arena as product focused as against company focused

The upshot is that the motivations of artisanal food producers, notably in the area of product versus financial returns, are unlikely to be similar to those of corporations. Perhaps more so, though, is the case that the artisanal producer may have a range of both personal and social motivations simply unheard of in the corporate environment. In this personalising motivations of artisanal producers may be quite different from one another, from one country or region, with its particular socio-cultural backdrop, to another.

### **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

The broadest statement of the problem is the near-total lack of researched information about artisanal food producers, including their motivations, processes and limitations. This inhibits those dealing with artisanal food producers and the producers themselves. This study can only make a start in gleaning the much-needed information, which it has done at the base point of motivations. Accordingly, for the purposes of this study the statement of problem is “to discover the motivations of artisanal food producers”.

### **1.3. Purpose of the Study**

It is hoped that this research will contribute to improved decision-making in a variety of agencies working with artisanal food producers. Those might include, but are not limited to farmers’ market managers in particular, but also other providers of commercial services to artisanal food producers. The financial services industry, for instance, comes to mind. Equally Government, Local Government and Non-Government advice and support services will better understand this body of small business clients and their often quite specific needs, for instance resulting from seasonality.

## **2. Literature Review**

Available literature on artisanal production in general, let alone artisanal food production, is very limited. There is a substantial research gap in this field. The practical relevance of this lies in the area of planning by financial and other commercial institutions, including those who provide sales space and opportunities to artisanal food producers, along with government, local government and other public authorities in product development and advisory services and generally dealing with the demands of these very specific small businesses. The approaches required by all these institutions are likely to differ for the culturally different countries of Thailand and Australia.

An exception to the lack of previous research is Caricofe’s (2011) work. It is a general view of Ohio artisanal food producers and also covers their motivations. It is worth quoting Caricofe’s (2011) findings at length for later contrast with those of

the researchers on this occasion. The nub of her argument is that “Data revealed food artisans to be values-based individuals emphasizing product quality through their careful sourcing of ingredients (mostly local) and the use of traditional, time-consuming production methods” (Caricofe, 2011).

Additionally, Caricofe argued that “The food artisans studied expressed a strong desire to operate as locally embedded businesses, consistent with the ideas of Civic Agriculture. Their production practices and product quality goals reveal an alignment with the quality turn occurring in the food system, and a broadening of what the quality turn can encompass. While these artisans were not actively involved in an alternative food system movement as identified by other food system scholars, there were many similarities in terms of personal motivations and business practices among these artisans” (Caricofe, 2011).

Caricofe’s work is from USA. At least in English language, nothing has been written on artisanal food producers in Thailand, including on their motivations or their marketing, for instance through farmers’ markets and farm gate sales, though both occur. For Australia, the picture is somewhat different in that there is material on producers’ motivations in their sales and marketing, again, for instance, through farmers’ markets. Coster and Kennon (2005) noted highly significant increases in farmer income through three surveyed farmers’ market sites (86-94%), but also such elements as improved market intelligence through attending were noted, along with, for instance, promoting business and products and networking and enabling new local business arrangements.

Azavedo and Walsh (2017) in their quantitative study of vendors attending Victoria Park Farmers’ Market, Perth, Western Australia discovered the importance of five specific motivators to attend, to inform the public about one’s product, to learn about customers, to inform the public about artisanal products in general, to earn incremental income and to network with other businesses. When the motivations at Victoria Park were rank-ordered, the first time a singularly economic motivation can be seen is at position four out of five, and then only relating to incremental, not significant income. The hypothesis relating to significant income had been rejected by respondents as a motivator. This seems to cross-tabulate well with their findings in a parallel qualitative study. Literally, the only economic mention in that around reasons for attending was one participant’s “profitable sales (hopefully)”. Vendors kept using the word community and supporting the community was often offered up as a reason for attendance.

### 3. Methods

The research questions for this study were what were the motivations of artisanal food producers in setting up their business, then what were their motivations in continuing the business. The research was based from individual interviews of artisanal food producers representing established businesses in both Australia and Thailand. The interviewees were located through personal contact at farmers' markets, through third parties, and through online search to include farmers' markets, events and trade-fairs, food and beverage related articles and databases.

This research proceeded in the phenomenological tradition of seeking to interview or observe those closest to the phenomenon, in this case actual artisanal food producers, the classic beginning with the individual and his stream of experiences (Farver, 1966). The research followed an inductive approach. There was no predetermined theory. The qualitative data itself became the basis for the analytical structure. The particular inductive approach used was thematic content analysis. This involves analysing interview transcripts to identify themes within the data, ultimately to list a number of categories that inform the writing up of the material and the further categorisation of interviews. Interviews were semi-structured. The aim, following Burnard et al (2008), was a maximum of twelve categories to emerge as significant for consideration.

### 4. Results

#### 4.1. Research Findings – Western Australia

The themes and categories that emerged in Western Australia included two overarching themes, self-orientation and other-orientation/community-concern. Of those, for the majority of participants, self-orientation was the stronger theme. Categories within the themes included freedom, control and self-determination; pursuing a passion; self-discovery; self-realisation and engaging creativity; community health; community education; broad community support:

##### *Self-orientated.*

Sample statements contributing to the theme and categories

- Freedom, Control, Self-Determination – “I’m my own boss”, “Master of my own destiny”, “sick of working for other people”, “waking up in the morning at a time I want to wake up”, “It’s totally up to me and that is just – it’s worth gold”, “setting my own hours”, “suddenly I feel like the world is my oyster”;
- Pursuing a Passion – “my passion project”, “I used to work in the Government and I was totally bored shitless there”;

- Self-Discovery, Self-Realisation, Engaging Creativity – “I’ve discovered things about myself I just didn’t know”, “I didn’t realise I was such an extrovert”.

*Other-orientated/community-concerned.*

Sample statements contributing to the theme and categories

- Community Health – “I wanted to eat healthy food and provide that to the general public”, “just to produce clean food”, “More for health and wellbeing of individuals”;
- Community Education – “we’ve educated people about mushrooms since we started”, “We actually run the classes to teach people about the bees”;
- Part of the Community and Supporting it in the Broadest Sense – “wanted to do something useful”, “We also wanted the community to have a product that was raw, so we sell unfiltered honey”, “I’ve been coming to this market for probably five to six years and you do develop a relationship with the people that you sell to every week”. “So, it’s been good for me because growing mushrooms, you don’t tend to mix with too many humans.”

All interviewees spoke, often with passion, of what can clearly be described as artisanal production, involving low volume/small batch production, using quality, often organic, ingredients, products handmade or at least with a low level of mechanisation and an understanding how further mechanisation would alter the quality, indeed nature, of the product. Environmental concern, for instance in waste minimisation was also mentioned.

This research revealed that personal or family health problems can quite often be a route into artisanal food production: “I used to play around with bread... because I’m celiac, and I really missed bread... My daughter came back from America – she’s gluten intolerant too – and she went crazy for them. So, every time she came back from America, she’d live on gluten free bread on toast with avocado and lemon”. Another baker became involved with gluten-free and sour dough because his first daughter is on the autistic spectrum. Gluten is unhelpful for autism and a range of behavioural issues. A final respondent revealed he established his whole business simply as a basis to return to Australia because of his mother’s ill-health.

No participant discussed income as a motivator, though one agreed that there has to be a survivable threshold level of income.

There are indications of gender difference in responses, women contextualising the business in terms of family, men not. The business as legacy for the children, time flexibility to be with the children, ability to involve the children in the business have all been mentioned by women. Women also mention self-discovery and learning whereas men do not.

## 4.2. Research Findings – Thailand

The same over-arching themes of self-orientation and other-orientation/community-concern revealed themselves for Thailand as Australia. Beyond that, though, not many similar underlying categories evolved out of the Thai study.

The list of categories for Thailand was both longer than Australia and more varied. Part of this came out of the researchers' insistence on involving both Thai and overseas ex-patriate artisanal food-producers in the study. Categories that emerged in Thailand were pursuing a passion; self-discovery, self-realisation and engaging creativity; pursuit of product perfection; a hobby; death/disablement of a partner; relocation; could not find a product; the position of expatriate women in the labour market; community health; community education; broad community support. Below are sample comments out of which both categories and themes developed:

### *Self-orientated*

Sample statements contributing to the theme and categories

- Pursuing a Passion – “My passion is all about cooking”, “My high”, “Yes, we have a love affair with bread”, “I’m doing something I’m doing with passion and dedication”, “I’m very passionate on the back of it – you know without any passion or enthusiasm I think people would soon realise even just tasting your food that there’s no passion, no enthusiasm”;
- Self-Discovery, Self-Realisation, Engaging Creativity – “I like creating and being a creative person enables me to kind of tick really”, “I love just anything that’s creative”;
- Pursuit of Product Perfection\* – “This is making better, making new cheeses”, “He want better, so, he roast his own coffee beans”, “Something better. Special coffee”;
- Hobby – “I didn't know I was going to end up really making a business of it, I thought it was more of a hobby”, “For fun. For learning, just then”, “It was like a hobby”, “And then from that hobby, it became my main business, my main occupation as I said”;
- Death/Disablement of a Partner – “Unfortunately, a few months ago, my partner died, and then it's suddenly motivating to make a lot more money”, “Yeah, because my husband he was ill. He cannot work”;
- Relocation – “relocating to Thailand/Chiang Mai I needed to utilise some of my experience in trying to make a bit of money and have a nice life,” “coming from a war environment, a non-peaceful environment, and having suddenly to take care of a spouse and two new-born babies in a peaceful environment, which finally end up to be Thailand, I had to find an economical survival”;

- Could Not Find a Product – “My motivation at the beginning was because I cannot find this kind of product in Pattaya”, “when I arrived in Thailand I couldn’t find any jams that I liked or chutneys, and so I started making some for myself”;
- Position of Expatriate Women – “because it’s difficult for a farang woman to do something here”.

\*Note that Pursuit of Product Perfection has been included under self-orientated characteristics as it aligned with Passion. In no interview did the participant align this characteristic with customer care concerns or community concerns. Pursuit, often obsessive, of product perfection was seen as an end in itself, not even a marketing end, perhaps also significant of an involved hobbyist.

*Other-orientated/community-concerned.*

Sample statements contributing to the theme and categories

- Community Health – “So on the side of my business I start to become a little nutritionist let's say. But I was not certified, but I just help people as much as I can”;
- Community Education – “there are many numbers of people who really don't understand French cuisine, so I let them understand by keep doing day by day, even though not many people, but I hope some day they will understand”, “And we offering services for free, because I believe you have to spend time with people to educate people”;
- Part of The Community and Supporting it in the Broadest Sense – “we are facilitating the regroupment [sic] of people, which have the same meaning of life than us”, “how I can use my knowledge about tea or my knowledge about selling tea to actually contribute to save forest areas that are in danger, and I slowly started to realise that this a tool to make the forest more valuable so that the people in the mountains take more care of this forest that is so valuable for all of us on the planet”.

It is to be noted that the categories concerning relocation concerned overseas expatriates every bit as much as that concerning the position of expatriate women. Relocation could be driven by many factors, though the most usual was pursuit of a personal relationship, accompanied by the thought of “what do I do in Thailand?” One interviewee was escaping a war zone with his family. The reference to expatriate women refers to highly qualified women, who have had significant careers of their own but chose to support a marriage partner’s career move overseas. Their chances of getting work in Thailand are close to zero, which may matter little in terms of income but matters a lot in personal developmental terms of using and developing their skill-sets, using and raising their creativity, raising self-esteem, and simply being occupied. The category concerning the inability to find products in Thailand, so doing it oneself, then for others, is mainly a reference to expatriates, but also referred to some returnee Thais. For instance, there seems a pattern of Thais in the

coffee industry having spent time living in Australia, picking up Australian tastes and presentation of coffee, then missing those on their return to Thailand.

Self-concern seemed the greater concern, as against community concern, if only at the level of having a hobby. One hobbyist's path into business was not simply accidental, but positively unwanted. He simply did not know what to do with the produce his hobby created. He began to give it away. Members of the wider local community heard of this and asked if they could buy. He agreed, but wondered if he was losing control. Next, though, other members of the local community started coming to his door and asking why he was not selling to them? He could see no solution but to scale-up production and sell to any and everybody.

This producer's path to community service was, of course, accidental, but, turning to other-orientated participants, it was noticeable that one participant, although always in business, was pushed in a new business direction by near-evangelical concerns about promoting healthy living, but likewise a major prompt for him setting up his business was people simply asking how he had lost so much weight?

## 5. Discussion

The two over-arching themes, Self-Orientated and Other-Orientated/Community Concerned showed in both Australia and Thailand. Underlying categories were dissimilar for the two countries. Two important exceptions were pursuing a passion and self-discovery, self-realisation, engaging creativity. Self-expression particularly came through. Worthy of substantial note is that the category covering freedom, control, self-determination, the most obvious for Western Australia, had no relevance in Thailand. These issues were literally mentioned by no interviewees in Thailand. Not being an employee, indeed active avoidance of being an employee, so important in Western Australia, was, for instance, simply not mentioned in Thailand. Perhaps deep cultural difference was being expressed, notably in terms of Thai the personality embracing compliance to institutional rules (eg Ounjit, 2012), with that maybe out of Thai Buddhism. Mabry (1979) speaks of Thai employee relationships and attitudes towards authority that are rooted in tradition and religion.

It should be remembered that several of the categories out of the Thailand data referred particularly to overseas expatriates and limitedly to returnee Thais. To the writers' knowledge none of the interviewees in Australia were recent migrants or returnees. The relevant categories were Relocation, Could Not Find a Product and Position of Expatriate Women.

The interviewees who mentioned being a hobbyist in Thailand were both Thais and overseas expatriate, with Thais often returnees. Perhaps the hobbyist element came over more strongly from Thais. Business was, perhaps, more often accidental in

origin. One participant talked over and over about dreams, not aspirations, and certainly not business aspirations. His greatest dream was to have a Probat coffee roasting machine, arguably the finest and with a price to match, installed in the family home. The dream referred singularly to ownership of the machine, not referencing what it could do for the business. Often hobbyists seemed to align most strongly with the pursuit of Product Perfection, including at all costs, meaning that the finest ingredients may be purchased to the point of happily imperilling margins.

Death or Disablement of a Partner were mentioned both by overseas expatriates and Thais in the Thailand study. Such motivations were not mentioned by any Australian interviewees. The category Self-Discovery, Self-Realisation, Engaging Creativity was important in both Thailand and Australia. However, it was more often mentioned in Thailand than Australia. Also, Australia seemed to look more to self-discovery, Thailand more often to creativity, particularly true of overseas expatriates among participants in Thailand.

Comparing the results for both Thailand and Western Australia with those of Caricofe (2011) for Ohio, USA shows a broadly similar concern among interviewees with values and similar values held. Emphasis on a high-quality product showed as strongly as in Ohio and there were similar concerns within production processes, together with similar processes. The notion of a locally embedded business may have shown through less in the current research than Caricofe's, notably in that a number of interviewees in both Western Australia and Thailand were looking to distribute out-region or out-country. This is a matter of production scaling requirements and can be typified by Chiang Mai producers looking to or already distributing to Bangkok. Some Australian producers were in the early stages of supplying overseas, such as to Singapore.

Turning to the Azavedo and Walsh (2017) study of Victoria Park Farmers' Market vendors, perhaps its major finding was on lack of vendor concern over maximising income. The current study seems to have had similar results and for both Western Australia and Thailand. No indications were given of income-maximising behaviour and, in fact, there was no desire to discuss income at all, arguably though something of a Thai character trait, especially with strangers. The broad alignment with the Azavedo and Walsh (2017) findings implies a similar broad alignment of the current study's findings with those of Coster and Kennon (2005).

In terms of community motivations put forward by Azavedo and Walsh (2017), Caricofe (2011) and Coster and Kennon (2005) the present study finds similarly strong community-orientated motivations, but it must be remembered that these were secondary to self-concerned motivations.

## 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

The conclusion of this study must be that motivations across the geographic locations Western Australia and Thailand were something of a mixed bag. Noticeable is that that percentage overlap of motivations in each area rises substantially if overseas expatriates among participants in Thailand were factored out. This is worthy of further research in itself.

Even, though, with the overseas expatriates in Thailand factored in, there were numerous commonalities between Western Australia and Thailand, most notable of which was self-orientation being primary as a motivation, as against other-concern/community-concerned. These relativities need further study.

To particularise, the researchers sensed from a number of narratives that community concern, if only in the sense of customers of the business, but often substantially more, grew as the business grew. The current research in great measure missed the possibility of change narratives, accidental or purposeful. The idea of the business and the owners' motivations changing over time must be much more clearly addressed in future research than simply asking around motivations at the outset of the business and motivations to continue so as to allow greater, particularly more precise, articulation of change narratives. The latter may have key turning points, reactive as per the lady mentioned who faced her partner's death, but also pro-active. For instance, one participant in Western Australia recently e-mailed to say that she is in the process of arranging a move to Australia's East Coast, near Sydney, for the much larger local market. Coincidentally, exporting from Sydney would be cheaper and easier to arrange.

The position of each small artisanal food business in its life-cycle appears critical to understand for all the businesses providing services to artisanal food producers or seeking to trade with them. For instance, banks need to think carefully about interest charge on loans at different points in the business' life-cycle, can business assets begin to be used to back loans, as against the personal guarantees and assets of the business owner, and, more broadly, can there be more equitable sharing of risk and its costs between artisanal producer and bank? Can the banks, in effect, if not at law, become over time "shareholders" or if not that, more effective stakeholders in a successful artisanal food business? This may well be done by not pushing too hard and fast, being willing to accept gradual but sustained and sustainable growth and as a supplier ultimately profit from that. Worth remembering is that the relative bargaining power over loan costs (Ang, 1991) should change over time, perhaps to the small producers' favour. The artisanal food producers also need to do some thinking, and hopefully other businesses will be willing to negotiate with them over credit terms on invoice. For instance, invoice payment periods given could be too generous for healthy cashflow in the early days, as contracts, for instance to supply local hotels, are chased.

Future research on artisanal food producer motivations might also benefit from greater geographic spread, especially in that that might avoid specific local circumstance. This argument does not apply in Thailand. The two major artisanal food production centres are those where interviews were undertaken, Bangkok and Chiang Mai. Interviews were also undertaken in Pattaya, a minor centre. Beyond those there is a little production in Chiang Rai, and between Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai. Even thinking of individual producers and farms would only easily bring Chumphon as an addition to the picture, and even more limitedly Hua Hin, which has a fairly sizeable artisanal dairy. Australia, though, is an entirely different picture, many Australian cities having large agricultural hinterlands. Perth and Western Australia are not alone in very active agricultural hinterlands and substantial numbers of artisanal food and beverage producers. Adelaide and South Australia, for instance, come readily to mind. Local circumstance may be quite particular, for instance Western Australia also being one of Australia's two resource states where jobs and incomes have been badly affected by the decline of the minerals industry. Some interviewees in this study had left the minerals industry.

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