NEW FARMERS IN LUTRUWITA/TASMANIA: STRUGGLING TO FORM COMMUNITY.

A Thesis submitted by

Jennifer C. B. Smith, M.A. Cantab.

For the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

2021

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how and why people who have no immediate farming heritage – "New Farmers" – have chosen to dramatically change their way of life by moving into rural Tasmania and learning to farm, learning to become farmers and learning to correspond with their new social and ecological surroundings. These people are learning how to dwell, with others. An important finding of this research is that New Farmers moving into rural Tasmania develop a motivation in common: the seeking of community. Ethnographic methods are used to work with New Farmers and to understand and interpret their dwelling in southern Tasmania. In particular, participant observation – the attentive observation and respectful participation in other people's lives, or, learning together – is employed in private and public settings, in small and large gatherings.

Research participants become unsettled in their former lives, privately and professionally, moving with the survival of their immediate family in mind. Their world views are influenced by ideas around climate change, the apocalypse, urban dystopias, and the potential for social and economic collapse. They imagine Tasmania to be a clean green activist refuge, a place of enislement (a place for self-sufficiency and isolation), yet also a safe European-like home where an agrarian utopia might be progressed with an existing responsive community. New Farmers move and attempt to manifest their imaginaries, discovering that Tasmania is not as they expected – and this is expressed by them as learning to farm through "trial and error". Learning to farm reveals the fact that Tasmania is not Europe – it is the palawa (Tasmanian Aboriginal) lutruwita, and New Farmers' efforts to dwell here lead them to suffer from exhaustion and loneliness. Yet, many New Farmers have persevered with their new lives in this new place.

Research participants try to form communities in real and virtual spaces, because they need them to survive – mentally and physically. They also struggle, however, with the reality that community is a participatory activity; it is a dynamic shifting multiple concept that requires the constant hard work of creation and maintenance. Community becomes tangible as a group of people communicate, move together, and correspond with one another in real or virtual space. Things develop in common through this correspondence and people start to develop obligations to one another the more they share. The bonds of community can materialise and strengthen during gatherings and events when people come out and acknowledge their

membership. Bonds exist as invisible sticky ties stretching between these moments, but they can also be broken.

Membership of a community, of multiple communities, is affective of and important to individual identities, how people feel about themselves, and how people choose to live their lives if they have the privilege of choice. Indeed, community is a macro form of identity and they both form as we interact with one another until correspondence is cut by death.

Dwelling in this thesis concentrates on New Farmers learning to be at home with other humans as they learn to raise plants and animals for food. In this regard, dwelling is a relational activity (a correspondence) within social and ecological surroundings. Merging ideas from philosopher Martin Heidegger and anthropologist Tim Ingold, it argues that communities are not simply collections of objects, static assemblages of people and things – communities are dynamic correspondences which are constantly becoming. It thus concludes that New Farmers like all of us, therefore, must constantly learn how to form communities; and we must constantly learn how to develop things in-common with others to experience being at home in the earth.

CERTIFICATION OF THESIS

This Thesis is entirely the work of Jennifer C. B. Smith___________________________
except where otherwise acknowledged. The work is original and has not previously been submitted for any other award, except where acknowledged.

Principal Supervisor: Dr Celmara Pocock________________

Associate Supervisor: Dr Jane Palmer____________________

Associate Supervisor: Dr David Collett __________________

Student and supervisors' signatures of endorsement are held at the University.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge and pay my respects to the traditional and original owners of this island – the palawa people of lutruwita (Tasmania). I acknowledge that ownership of this land has never been ceded and that I have benefited from my white privilege, conferring on me the freedom to learn how to dwell in this beautiful country. I have also benefited from working with and learning from members of the Tasmanian Aboriginal community over many years.

I would like to acknowledge my patient and dedicated supervisorial team: Dr. Celmara Pocock, Dr. Jane Palmer and Dr. David Collett. They all contributed differing perspectives and expertise from the very start of my research, and I could not have accomplished any aspect of it without them. I would especially like to thank Celmara – it is never easy supervising a friend, but you managed my tantrums expertly, and you were always right.

I would like to thank all my research participants who welcomed me onto their properties, into their homes, who generously shared their personal thoughts, feelings, time, and food with me, who laughed with me and who patiently put up with the anthropological parasite in their midst. I thank my friends for believing that I could finish this work and for not betraying any boredom as I banged-on about it. To Sally for walking conversations, to Amanda for hating my hyphens, and to Kelly and Simon for gifting me a spare office chair.

I must thank my fellow students at the University of Southern Queensland for their years of support and comradeship – knowing that they were there became very important to me, even while it was mostly at a distance (as it became for us all in 2020). I also acknowledge the support staff of the University of Southern Queensland who assisted me with many administrative labyrinths and conundrums. I would like to thank Dr. Hamish Maxwell-Stuart for inviting me into his group of students at the start of the process, so that I could witness the wayfaring of fellow PhD students at the University of Tasmania in real time and space.

Finally, I thank my long-suffering (and they did suffer on occasion) family: Brett, Ben and Alec. I could not have done it without you; one motivation for undertaking this thesis was you. Brett, I thank you for loving support, reading lots of words, correcting (some) of my bad grammar and for making me feel clever when I was being stupid. Ben, I thank you for reading excerpts and always commenting that it was “really interesting”. And Alec, for informing me at the start when you had just turned nine years old, that I should be studying something I knew more about. You were probably right darling.

This research has been supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ... i
CERTIFICATION OF THESIS ... iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ... iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS ... v
LIST OF FIGURES ... ix
ABBREVIATIONS ... x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ... 1
1.1 Research origins ... 1
1.1.1 Survival and climate refugees ... 3
1.1.2 Nostalgia and dichotomies ... 3
1.1.3 Learning how to dwell, with others ... 6
1.2 Research focus ... 7
1.2.1 A community of people sharing a world view ... 8
1.2.2 A community of people sharing a place ... 8
1.2.3 A community of people sharing relationships ... 9
1.2.4 Research questions ... 10
1.3 Thesis structure ... 10
1.4 Research significance ... 12
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW ... 14
2.1 An Introduction to New Farmers ... 14
2.1.1 Themes in New Farmer Studies ... 19
2.1.2 New Farmers in Australia ... 20
2.2 Defining What Makes a Community ... 25
2.2.1 Community as Shared World View ... 28
2.2.2 Community as Shared Place ... 30
2.2.3 Community as Shared Relationships ... 33
CHAPTER 3: ENTERING THE FIELD ... 36
CHAPTER 4: METHODS ... 46
4.1 Observing through participation ... 47
4.2 Storytelling by correspondence ... 47
4.3 Theming the Permablitz ... 48
4.4 Initial planning ... 49
4.5 Working in the 'field' ... 51
4.6 Writing ... 53
4.7 Analysis ... 56

CHAPTER 5: MOTIVATIONS 60
5.1 Experiences that push people away from their old lives 61
5.1.1 An unsettling world mood 61
5.1.1.1 Unsettling change 61
5.1.1.2 Climate change 62
5.1.1.3 An apocalypse and the Gaia Theory 63
5.1.1.4 Financial insecurity 64
5.1.2 Unsettling experiences of place 64
5.1.2.1 Dystopian imaginary 65
5.1.2.2 Too many people 65
5.1.2.3 Damage 66
5.1.3 Relationships that unsettle 66
5.1.3.1 Death 66
5.1.3.2 Family conflict 67
5.1.3.3 The disappointment of failed communities 68
5.1.3.4 The disappointment of interrupted careers 69
5.2 Drawn to Tasmania 70
5.2.1 Tasmania as antidote 70
5.2.1.1 Small-scale farming as an attractive way of life 71
5.2.1.2 Tasmania as a refuge 74
5.2.2 Tasmanian possibilities 76
5.2.2.1 Enislement 76
5.2.2.2 Tasmania as a European home 77
5.2.2.3 Tasmania realised 77
5.2.3 The allure of community 78
5.2.3.1 Community and islands 79
5.2.3.2 Family, kith and kin 81
5.2.3.3 New careers, and new professional relationships 82
5.3 A Summary of New Farmer Motivations 82
CHAPTER 6: STRUGGLING TO BECOME A FARMER 83
6.1 Taking the plunge 84
6.1.1 Looking for land 84
6.1.1.1 Food matters 84
6.1.1.2 Survival matters more 85
6.1.1.3 Reshaping land and plans 86
6.1.2 Building a home 87
6.1.2.1 Off-grid shelters 88

6.1.2.2 Straw bale nurturing 89
6.1.3 Learning to cultivate 90
6.1.3.1 Choosing what to farm 91
6.1.3.2 Choosing how to farm 94
6.2 Practising farming 98
6.2.1 Hard work 98
6.2.1.1 Challenges to the ideal of an agrarian utopia 99
6.2.1.2 Challenges to the body 102
6.2.1.3 Challenges to the mind 103
6.2.2 Multiple identities 104
6.2.2.1 Farmer 105
6.2.2.2 Or not a farmer 107
6.2.2.3 Isolation, alone, loneliness 108
6.3 A Summary of New Farmers Struggling to Become Farmers 109
CHAPTER 7: STRUGGLING TO FORM COMMUNITIES 111
7.1 Working together 112
7.1.1 Family (kin) 112
7.1.2 Neighbours (kith?) 113
7.1.2.1 Antipathy towards neighbours 114
7.1.2.2 Neighbourliness is assistance, obligation, and reciprocity 115
7.1.2.3 Swapping 118
7.1.2.4 Debt 119
7.1.3 Labouring on the land 120
7.1.3.1 Co-workers 121
7.1.3.2 Permablitzes 122
7.2 Thinking together 124
7.2.1 Longing for belonging. Or longing for people like us? 124
7.2.1.1 Tribal 125
7.2.1.2 Local 126
7.2.2 Forming organisations 127
7.2.2.1 Channel Living (Sustainable Living Group) 128
7.2.2.2 Huon Producers' Network 129
7.2.2.3 Sprout Tasmania 130
7.2.3 Recruitment 131
7.2.3.1 Transition Towns 131
7.2.3.2 Regenerative Agriculture Network Tasmania 132
7.2.4 Performances 134

7.2.4.1 The Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering 134
7.2.4.2 Willie Smith's Huon Valley Mid-Winter Fest 137
7.3 A Summary of New Farmers Struggling to Form Communities 138
CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS 141
CHAPTER 9: LEAVING THE FIELD 155
REFERENCES 158
BIBLIOGRAPHY 174
APPENDIX 1: HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL 186
APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET 187
APPENDIX 3: FIELD RECORDING FORM 190
APPENDIX 4: WORD CLOUDS 192
APPENDIX 5: MAP 194

LIST OF FIGURES

PHOTO 1: The Huon Valley	***36***
PHOTO 2: Building the gabion wall	***38***
PHOTO 3: Straw bale truth window	***42***
PHOTO 4: Beer o'clock	***44***
PHOTO 5: The Sleeping Beauty from Grove, the Huon Valley	***45***
PHOTO 6: Hillside Pioneer Cemetery, Huon Highway	***45***
PHOTO 7: Acrid air, Belinda, Kev & Luke's, summer 2019	***155***
CARTOON 1: First Dog on the Moon, The Guardian, 21 February 2018	***frontispiece***
CARTOON 2: First Dog on the Moon, The Guardian, 30 January 2019	***154***

ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
BOL	Bug-out location
NRM	Natural Resource Management
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
SHTF	Shit hits the fan
TAC	Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre
TEOTWAWKI	The end of the world as we know it
USQ	University of Southern Queensland
UTAS	University of Tasmania
WTSHTF	When the shit hits the fan
Wwoofers	Willing workers on organic farms; or, world-wide opportunities on organic farms

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores why people with no immediate farming heritage – "New Farmers" – have chosen to dramatically change their way of life by moving into rural Tasmania and by learning how to farm, how to become farmers, and how to correspond with their new social and ecological surroundings. Hereafter, the capitalised New Farmer is used throughout this thesis to represent research participants and their way of life.

Before this research was conducted, little was known about New Farmers in Tasmania, their motivations for change, how they are learning to be farmers, or what their relationships are to others. Significantly, the seeking of and attempting to form community – social relationships – became the heart of this thesis. It also became apparent, however, that an established definition for community has been assumed in much academic and mainstream literature, and that community formation itself has been under-explored.

My primary research focus, therefore, is the struggle by New Farmers to form community as they learn how to dwell in rural Tasmania.

1.1 Research origins

The idea for this research began by noting the opposite movement (or, at least, what was considered initially to be an opposite situation) – that of established farmers, farmers with heritage, moving off the land, leaving farming and often moving towards more urban environments. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) notes that 40 per cent of Australian agricultural operations are commercially small (worth less than $50,000) and 36 per cent of farms are under 50 hectares in size. The number of farmers, however, declines every year as small-scale farms are sold to large-scale farming operations and fewer people take over their family's farm (ABS 2011; see also Alston 2004).

The ABS notes that over two-thirds of Australians reside in major cities, strongly indicating urban living is attractive. As a result of these trends, it is argued that there has been a drop in social capital (that is, human connections) within depopulating rural regions – yet, paradoxically, these same regions maintain strong symbolic capital (that is, a recognition of prestige) in the Australian psyche (Alston 2004; Brett 2011; Mayes 2014; Merlan & Raftery 2009).

The ABS website also states that farm consolidation and rural depopulation trends accelerate in times of drought (ABS 2011). Drought, a decrease in expected annual rainfall, however, is becoming common. Records show continuing extremes of drought, heat, and fire with 2019 "… just another step down on the continuing descent into an ever more dismal future – unless we finally take serious action" (Professor van Dijk of the Fenner School of Environment and Society, Australian National University, cited by Wright 2020). Given these trends, it might be expected that more and more people will leave farming and drying rural regions.

The ostensible fact that farmers and farming are symbolically and culturally important – and that there is something unbalanced between rural and urban regions – was apparent when the former Australian Prime Minister John Howard (1996-2007) announced drought payments in 2006 and declared that farming is central to Australia's psyche and that family farms should not be allowed to die (Merlan & Raftery 2009, p.1). This idea was further promoted when 2012 became the "Year of the Farmer" and the ABS stated it would be:

> … a chance to pay tribute to the important role that farming and agriculture plays in our economy and society, and the unique place it holds in our cultural heritage… The events… aim to establish closer links between Australia's rural and urban communities… highlighting the role of Australian agriculture in maintaining national and global food security…
>
> (ABS 2011)

Tributes are a form of gift (Mauss [1954] 2002), a social obligation that operates within all human relationships and one that ensures ongoing interactions. In the urbanised, industrialised West, however, individuals attempt to free themselves from this debt in advance – by assigning a specific price for every service – breaking down the foundations of community in the process (Esposito 2010, pp. 12-14). Yet, from the above quotes, re-establishing human relationships between rural and urban regions – and maintaining farming, the family farm, indeed, food production as a way of life – is an important national and cultural effort.

1.1.1 Survival and climate refugees

Nevertheless, some farming businesses and farming family dynasties continue to move south from drier parts of mainland Australia, particularly south-east Queensland, into Tasmania. This is a journey of around 1,500 kilometres as a crow might fly. Some of these new Tasmanian arrivals have dubbed themselves, "climate-change refugees" (Courtney 2019), while others have noted love for their "… new life, their new friends, their new community" (Courtney 2015).

Tasmania and southern New Zealand have been foci for 'climate refugees' for at least a decade, backed by James Lovelock predicting that the climate will not change as dramatically for certain northern and southern hemisphere island "lifeboats" (Lovelock 2009, pp. 17-18). In fact, Lovelock suggests that abundant agriculture will only be possible on specific island lifeboats and at discrete continental oases soon (Lovelock 2009, p. 18).

Movement of people away from drying regions of Australia, then, is potentially another factor that ruptures former social relationships in the places that they leave behind. For those who can move, this change appears to be about the survival of their farming businesses as well as their immediate families, but there is the hint of a movement towards community.

1.1.2 Nostalgia and dichotomies

The dramatic movement of 600 head of cattle and three generations of farming family from Queensland to King Island off the north west coast of Tasmania (Courtney 2015), can be compared with more modest movements of individuals and families to begin farming in Tasmania. In Australia, the journey of Matthew Evans from big city Sydney, New South Wales, to the rural Huon Valley of southern Tasmania has been well documented (Evans 2014; SBS 2010). Matthew Evans trained and worked as a chef and food critic in New South Wales, moving to Tasmania in 2007 to begin farming at a small scale.[1] Evans states in the memoir of his journey from urban Sydney to rural Tasmania:

> I can't pretend to be a proper farmer. Wasn't born one, can't become one, probably at this stage in life. But I can enjoy farming, and my association with the land... We feel

[1] For the purposes of this research, I will be defining individuals like Evans as a 'farmer': he raises plants and animals for food with the intention that his practices will at least partially support himself and his family financially. Evans is a 'new' farmer in the sense that he started farming as an adult after practicing largely unrelated occupations.

> blessed to have had the chance to get closer to the soil, to have dirt under our fingernails, to have witnessed the joys of rearing and husbanding animals.
>
> (Evans 2014, p. 300)

This quote gives a romanticised representation of the new farming experience – hinting at a fortune divinely bestowed. Watching the Special Broadcasting Service's television series, however, suggests that the reality is more challenging (SBS 2010). While Evans is hesitant about defining himself as a farmer, he is very clear about what motivated him to start to farm. He describes his decision to farm involving the taste of milk and, more correctly, his "memory" of how milk used to taste before it became processed (Evans 2014, pp. 4-6). Evans's epiphany triggered by taste caused him to "yearn" to grow his own food and it was a "physical ache" to get "closer to the soil" (Evans 2014, p.9).

Evans has constructed a nostalgic reaction to a taste-triggered memory from childhood – or so it seemed on early reading. Senses (taste, smell, sight, touch, and hearing), the repetition of words and concepts, and possibly the repetition of physical actions have the power to trigger frames in our minds (see for example Hage 2000; Seremetakis 1994; Vannini *et al.* 2009). Mental frames are physically realised neural circuits connected to our emotions (Lakoff 2010, p. 71). To emphasise this point, there is purposive repetition of words and concepts within this thesis. This was undertaken with the aim of reinforcing connections between important details of research participants' lives and the theoretical material presented in this introduction and the literature review. As with an ancient oral epic, repetition triggers memory and gives the story shape.

The public story of a movement from mainland Australian cities into rural Tasmania provided by Evans (and even First Dog on the Moon, see *frontispiece*) offered a way of thinking about the movement of New Farmers who have smaller public profiles. While Evans is alluded to in the body of this thesis, the complex and unique stories of research participants are the focus and strength of this research. Considering Evans's presentation above, nostalgia for an imagined past agricultural, agrarian, way of life became a potential theme for investigating people's motivations when adopting farming as a new practice (Boym 2001; Malpas 2011; Sandin *et al.* 2013; Thompson 2010; Thompson 2011; Wilson 2015, p. 482). Nostalgia for a past agrarian time and place has been used to explain people living off-the-grid in the United States of America (USA) (Vannini & Taggart 2014; Wilson 2015, pp. 482-

483), along with a concern for the environment, wishing to be more self-reliant and rejecting the over-consumption found in modernity (Wilson 2015, p. 482).

The idea of traditional agriculture as a virtuous occupation has become a culturally embedded mental frame – a dominant story plotline – in Western societies and their colonies. In the West, we have centuries of stories about agriculture as a "natural" and "virtuous" way of life, even when its hardships are portrayed, or its progression queried (Bakhtin 1981; Head 2014; Mayes 2014; Sandin *et al.* 2013; Thompson 2011; Wilson 2015). Late 18th century writings of the American politician Thomas Jefferson, influenced by the British Enlightenment philosopher John Locke, labelled agriculture and country life as "virtuous" while manufacturing and city life "suffocates… virtue" (Mayes, 2014, pp. 267-268) – creating paired oppositions between virtue and vice, agriculture and industry, and country and city.

The German Philosopher Martin Heidegger also revealed a nostalgia for earlier farming ways of life when he introduced the dichotomy between a peasant's care and maintenance versus the mechanised food industry's challenge to nature (Heidegger [1953] 2008, p. 320). Heidegger constructed an opposition between the traditional agriculture of the agrarian peasant and the industrial agriculture of the contemporary world. This "…sentimental agrarian myth…" (Christopher Lasch, cited by Wilson 2015, p. 482) could be a component of the agrarian imaginary (Mayes 2014).

Dichotomies are in constant use, pairing seemingly opposing concepts and their recurrence can be explained by the activation of one mental frame automatically triggering its oppositional frame, or antithesis. Simplistic binary oppositions have been criticised for obscuring complex realities (Lockie *et al.* 2006, p. 90), when what is needed is an awareness of the entanglements in a lived experience (Ingold 2008, 1993).

Nostalgia and the ability to trigger opposing frames, however, are useful tools in advertising and in politics. By referencing a quintessentially Australian agrarian imaginary – the hard-working family farmer who is central to the nation's soul – the former Australian Prime Minister, John Howard (see above), triggers the sentimental agrarian myth frame in our minds: farming is natural which is good; the family is virtuous; the family farm is therefore our natural, virtuous, foundation stone. This is a comforting idea; it is assumed that some people yearn for the rural family farm even as it fades into the past.

Major (2011), writing about new agrarians in the USA, suggests, however, that many Americans only pretend that they are yearning for a rural life. He finds that many Americans

hold a prejudice against farmers and that feeling sits uncomfortably alongside the opposite prejudice that farmers are the "… moral backbone of society" (2011, p. 174). Clearly, things are not always what they superficially appear to be – and disentangling the apparent nostalgic journey of Matthew Evans and other small-scale New Farmers is pursued through this thesis.

At face value, people moving away from the rural towards the urban leaving farming and their farms, when contrasted with people moving away from the urban (or, at least from urbane careers) towards the rural, learning how to farm, learning how to become farmers – that is, New Farmers – appear to be opposite situations. There is also the grouping of large farming businesses with farming dynasties moving away from, adding to the depopulation of, drought-stricken regions and moving to better-watered, better inhabited regions to be considered. All these people have the knowledge, privilege, and ability (the cultural and economic capital of Bourdieu ([1980] 1990)) to improve their family's futures by moving.

Interestingly, all these assemblages of people could be partially motivated by similar concerns – that is, these people are not only unsettled by climate change, and by professional and personal dilemmas, but by the apparent breakdown or loss of community, combined with the desire to seek and realise new communities elsewhere. All these groups of people, therefore, are potentially unsettled, but they are all then seeking companionship in other places.

1.1.3 Learning how to dwell, with others

If, as Major suggests, nostalgia for an agrarian lifestyle is not ubiquitous and many people do not aspire to move to rural regions and farm (and note the attractiveness of urban places revealed by the ABS statistics mentioned above), understanding why some people choose to move into rural regions, why they choose to learn how to farm and live as farmers became the focus for this thesis.

The British anthropologist Tim Ingold uses Heidegger's work around dwelling, that is, how to be in the world (Ingold 2005; 2000). For Heidegger, dwelling is how humans cultivate and nurture things that grow, how humans build and construct things, and how humans cherish, protect and care (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 145). Dwelling is a way of being at home in the world, with others, and it can be a struggle (Ingold 2005, p. 503). The concept of dwelling, therefore, was chosen as a theoretical underpinning for this research to understand people who are consciously trying to learn how to literally cultivate; that is, they are learning how to raise (grow) plants and animals for food.

An associated aspect of this proposal is an exploration into how these New Farmers are learning to farm. To paraphrase Ingold, learning to live in the world, the one world we all inhabit, is a lifelong quest (Ingold 2016a, p. 4). Heidegger believed that humans must constantly learn how to dwell, because we are thrown into a world at a time and a place not of our own making (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 159). Indeed, skilled practice needs to be learnt (or regrown) by each generation and is not passed down from one generation to the next (Ingold 2000, pp. 4-5).

If this is accepted, then farmers must constantly learn how to practise farming whether they are New Farmers or whether they have always dwelt this way. It could also be argued that, for people who have moved (who throw themselves into another place not of their own making), learning how to be and who to be in new surroundings with different ecologies is a major issue – and skilled practice must also be relearnt to some extent every time there is movement.

New Farmers learning to dwell, therefore, is relational to their new social and ecological surroundings – and it is the dwelling with others that is key. New Farmers are attempting to re-build a home in new surroundings which will enable them to protect and care for others, and this requires new correspondences. Ingold describes human correspondence as how we respond to one another, or co-respond (Ingold 2016b). Correspondence is not simply about how we respond to one another as humans, but includes how we co-respond with non-human animals, plants, micro-organisms, the earth, landscapes, even the weather.

1.2 Research focus

The focus of this research is therefore principally concerned with how New Farmers in Tasmania correspond with others, and in what manner they were (and are) learning how to dwell. As New Farmers imagine what they want from life, it can lead to a practical engagement – a correspondence – with their surroundings that is then exhibited, in anthropological and philosophical terms, where they dwell (Ingold 2000, p. 186).

Another way of thinking about how people correspond with one another, is through the idea of community. As mentioned above, an established definition for community is often assumed in academic and mainstream literature. During the background research for this thesis, the question of how to define community continually surfaced. The necessity to understand what community is, seemed to be particularly pertinent for people moving into a new place which already contained established farms, networks of people, and associated

professional and social groupings of which they were not originally a part. Working definitions for community are explored in Chapter 2, and revolve around people sharing a world view, sharing a place and/or sharing relationships.

1.2.1 A community of people sharing a world view

Among New Farmers in Tasmania and their associates (locally, and further afield), there may be a shared background understanding, part of a shared set of social imaginaries, of how things could or should work, of how certain practices can be pursued to bring about a practical and moral order. A reformation, that is believed – perhaps hubristically – to mutually benefit all (Taylor 2002, pp. 106-109). It is possible that New Farmers are combining a set of shared imaginaries that they desire to see transferred from a minority understanding to a majority understanding (Taylor 2002, p. 106). These imaginaries may include ideas around survival and climate change, along with the nostalgic agrarian frame, and associated concepts of what is virtuous and what is immoral.

As people move into Tasmania and start to farm, New Farmers are potentially displaying to themselves, and to the outside world, something about how they want to live their lives, and possibly how they think others should live their lives as well through their choice of farming and farming practices (Berliner *et al.* 2016, p. 6; Heidegger [1971] 2001; Ingold 2011; Tovey 1997, p. 27). New Farmers, therefore, are owning up to – being authentic about – some of the choices they have made regarding who they are, who they want to be (their identities) and how they will get there (their practices) (Varga & Guignon 2014).

New Farmers may choose to farm in Tasmania as a manifestation of their imaginations, as a reflection of who they are, or rather, as a reflection of who they would like to become. As New Farmers 'come out' in time and place, they may be intending this observable gesture to influence other people's world views, other people's identities, other people's activities.

1.2.2 A community of people sharing a place

Place and becoming emplaced – rather than community and community formation – have developed into familiar academic concerns (for example, Cronon 1992; Ingold 2016b; Malpas 2018; Tilley 2004; Trubek 2008; Urry 1995). In this thesis, searching, movement – across space, into place, within places, within the mind and body, through time, and, crucially, with others – will be focussed upon.

For Ingold, "… the path, and not the place, is the primary condition of being, or rather of becoming" (2011, p. 12). Movement with others may be of equal importance to place, and possibly more important to those humans who display a high degree of local and global mobility and inter-connectedness in the 21st Century. And it is movement with others where community potentially becomes intermittently materialised and observable.

While some of the New Farmers in this study are not from Tasmania, not one of them is living on the land upon which they grew – no one is local in that sense. These people can be thought of as 'out of place' by others who have always lived in that place. Just as an anthropological definition of dirt can be matter out of place (Douglas 1970, p 48), the ecological definition of a weed can be a plant out of place, and a feral can be thought of as a non-human animal out of place, then it could be argued that these human animals are seen as strangers or aliens in the Tasmanian rural landscape. Mary Douglas also explains dirt as a dis-order, one where a re-ordering is attempted (Douglas 1970, p. 12). It could be that New Farmers in Tasmania are attempting a re-ordering of their apparently dis-ordered personal, social, and environmental ecologies (Guattari 2000). Indeed, every weed, feral animal, and stranger that inhabits a new place must learn to form relationships within their new surroundings – New Farmers in Tasmania may be attempting to form or reform new social and ecological communities.

1.2.3 A community of people sharing relationships

It is change (a movement in itself), the introduction of different farming practices, strong socio-cultural relationships, and social capital (human connections) that improve adaptive strategies and resilience in agriculture and, therefore, resilience in rural regions (Adger 2000; Alston 2004; Crate 2011, p. 180; Hunt 2009, p. 129; see also King 2008). New Farmers may be developing social capital through new networks of relationships, adding to diversification, catalysing change and, therefore, improving the socio-cultural resilience of the rural regions in which they settle.

Resilience as a concept, however, must be used with caution. Resilience in agriculture should be referring to functioning healthy farming communities – rural dwelling people with healthy social relationships – who can change in response to climatic shifts and other upheavals. An ability to respond requires more that an ability to bounce back, implied by the etymology of the term resilience. An ability to respond to changing conditions requires a common understanding of what needs to be enacted in reality – that is, an ability to be observant,

flexible and able to modify what is farmed, how it is farmed and where it is farmed, together, in locally appropriate ways.

In their new social surroundings New Farmers must make decisions about with whom they enter relationships – who they choose to move with – in their efforts to learn how to farm and how to become farmers. It is possible that they primarily desire to develop relationships with people who share their social imaginaries, who they believe to be like-minded – if they can be found. As New Farmers attempt to reform themselves and their new ecological surroundings by learning how to be farmers, they may stimulate change in their new social surroundings. These new social surroundings will include people who simply live in their local areas, regardless of whether they appear to be like-minded, regardless of whether they are dwelling in a similar manner to New Farmers.

1.2.4 Research questions

The exploration of this research topic, then, began with the observation of people moving away from the rural, away from farming, towards the urban and contrasting this with the smaller movement of people moving into the rural, to farm, and away from the urban. The concern then became why people would make this dramatic change in their way of life, against the trends, and how they would learn to dwell in their new social and ecological surroundings. Part of learning how to dwell is learning how to correspond with others, and so this research became focussed upon:

- Why and how do new small-scale farmers in Tasmania struggle to form community?
- How are people establishing a shared world view, a shared place, and shared relationships?

The primary question above guided the trajectory of this thesis, while the secondary exploration provided a coherent structure.

1.3 Thesis structure

The literature review (Chapter 2) drives this thesis by considering other studies of New Farmers from around the world, and then combining this with an examination of how community can be defined. Following this chapter, Chapter 3, “Entering the Field”, presents the story of the inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz as an example of human correspondence by New Farmers learning to dwell in Tasmania. The Huon Valley Permablitz is then used to illustrate the methods applied during fieldwork (Chapter 4).

In the main body of this thesis, Chapter 5 discusses New Farmer motivations for change and movement. Research participants became unsettled in their former lives, privately and professionally. There is a world mood involving ideas around climate change, the apocalypse, urban dystopias, and the potential for social and economic collapse that influences people's imaginaries. People might leave behind some extended family members, but largely they move with the survival of their immediate family in-mind.

In Chapter 6, New Farmers' attempts to manifest a safe agrarian utopia in Tasmania are discussed. People correspond with their new ecological surroundings, gathering things together and attempting to bring new things into being as a poiēsis. New Farmers all express the struggle to realise their imaginaries as learning through "trial and error". Part of this struggle involves the realisation that they cannot accomplish everything they need to, without a like-minded and like-acting community.

This leads into Chapter 7, which most importantly deals with New Farmers struggling to form communities in real and virtual spaces. People make the effort to form community because they need communities to survive – mentally and physically. They also struggle, however, with the reality that a community is a participatory activity; it is a dynamic shifting multiple concept that requires hard work in its creation and maintenance – and that effort can at times be enlivening and at times exhausting.

Tasmania – the real and imagined place – becomes an influential setting in all these chapters. In Chapter 5, Tasmania is presented as a place of promise. New Farmers imagine Tasmania to be a clean green activist refuge, a place of enislement (a place for self-sufficiency and isolation), yet also – somewhat nostalgically – a safe European-like home where an agrarian utopia can be progressed with a responsive community. In Chapter 6, New Farmers discover that Tasmania is not as clean, green, activist, or safe as they expected. Learning to farm in Tasmania exposes the fact that Tasmania is not Europe, it is other, and this other is strange to New Farmers – it is the palawa (Tasmanian Aboriginal) lutruwita (TAC 2020).[2]

[2] The Tasmanian Government has an *Aboriginal and Dual Naming Policy* which allows for the official acknowledgement of a Tasmanian Aboriginal history and survival. Dual naming could be considered a public memorial (serving as a reminder) of earlier ancient ways of dwelling in and forming of this landscape – of Aboriginal people at home on this island and their relationship with their social and ecological surroundings. Dual naming provides a time depth to a space, as it connotes stratigraphical human to more-than-human relationships.

During this process, people also discover that Tasmania does not contain the communities they expected or desired. In Chapter 7, the complex social surroundings in southern Tasmania are revealed, where some New Farmers discover members of their tribe[3], while others accept that Tasmanian communities are made up of local people who are not necessarily like-thinking or like-doing. With all these Tasmanian community members, however – the tribal and the local people – effort needs to be made so that an in-commoning can continue, or occur for the first time, through human correspondence.

1.4 Research significance

This research, therefore, considers why there are movements into rural Tasmania to farm by people without immediate farming heritage – "New Farmers" – while for decades the general movement has been in the opposite direction, with people moving away from rural regions, and away from farming, towards urban centres. By highlighting a movement into rural Tasmania, it is hoped that less discernible small food production will become evident. In this way, diverse food production on a small scale by new practitioners should become a valuable (and valued) facet of Australian food security, particularly as climate change progresses and shifts in ecological zones make some forms of agriculture, such as large-scale cultivation of water-thirsty mono-crops, unviable in many regions of Australia.

This research project is important as it bridges the gap in knowledge about New Farmers and their influences upon local communities (and vice versa). Importantly, in a world that at times feels like a frightening, chaotic, and dis-ordered place to exist this research project uncovers positive stories of transformation, reordering, and reformation. That is, stories that illustrate how individuals and small groups of people can imagine and then enact productive change within themselves and to the social and ecological surroundings in which they are learning to dwell – at least when they have gained the freedom and privilege to do so.

Of greatest significance, is the fact that this research contributes to an understanding of what community is, its multiple forms and its dynamism. The survival of individual families and their vital bindings to community, the search for community, the attempts at community

[3] The term 'tribe' has a problematic history in anthropology and popular use, including the misuse of Elman Service's original organisational taxonomy (band, tribe, chiefdom, state) in a social evolutionary system. For contemporary urban people, however, tribe can simply mean close friends or people who are loyal to you (Urban Dictionary). 'Tribe' is frequently used by some New Farmers, and so the terms tribe and tribal are used in this thesis. It can be how New Farmers refer to other New Farmers, and to people who 'think' and 'do' as they do.

formation, are revealed as motivating factors for human movement, human correspondence and human in-commoning. People learn how to dwell with others; that is, in a community.

These gaps in knowledge are significant given the general shift away from agriculture and particular rural regions at a time of intensifying climate crisis, fear, and rage – and this last emotion is increasingly being presented by people involved in this research.

The next chapter, Chapter 2, will review the literature concerning New Farmers worldwide, in Australia and in Tasmania. This information is analysed to expose and consider interesting gaps in knowledge, which will then be used to frame a specific research question to guide the argument for this thesis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 An Introduction to New Farmers

Individuals and groups of people began to farm for the first time in their lives, historically – for instance in Australia, through state-promoted closer and soldier settlements – and in recent decades worldwide. The more recent movement has been categorised in the literature as being performed by hippies, back-to-the-landers, neo-peasants, neo-pioneers, new agrarians, and new farmers and there has been media interest in so-called preppers in the United States and now "collapsologists" in France (Spinney 2020). The historical version of this movement and some of those involved with the prepping phenomenon are people of a lower socio-economic status. The majority of the collapsologists and New Farmers would appear to be of higher socio-economic statuses. The bulk of studies into New Farmers focus on Europe and North America, with outlying considerations of the phenomenon in Japan, New Zealand, and Australia.

In France, in the 1960s and 1970s there were hippies or the baba cool (Mailfert 2007), or those who "return to the earth" (Léger & Hervieu 1979). Mailfert talks of the weak ties New Farmers form with their local communities in France, where advice may be sought from established long-term farmers, but relationships do not strengthen via inclusive gatherings, as they rarely socialise together (Mailfert 2007, p. 28). Ngo and Brklacich speculate that this may be a result of rural France's strong terroir traditions, and this implies that terroir as a concept can be applied to humans who come from that earth, as well as the plants and animals they raise – an autochthony for humans and non-humans alike (cf. Trigger 2008a and 2008b). It is also a good example of the feeling of being outsiders in a region with "deep farming traditions" (Ngo & Brklacich 2014, p. 64).

People performing such "deep farming traditions", however, are not necessarily at a social or economic advantage. The prematurely-aged bachelors in a French Pyrénéan village, where Pierre Bourdieu grew up and revisited for study in the 1960s, were painfully aware of their new marginal status, their unrefined clumsiness compared with a younger city-oriented individualistic generation (Bourdieu 2004). Research from the 1970s into the French who "returned to the earth" of the Cévennes was followed up in the 1990s illustrating that some New Farmer movements – referred to in this study as "neo-peasants" or "Néos" – have

longevity. The Cévennes is thought of as a marginal rugged area with a history of human exodus from isolated farming hamlets, yet the neo-peasants present it as a site of inspirational historic rebellion (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 322). The earliest waves of neo-peasants included those influenced by the 1968 Paris student riots seeking "Arcadia" after becoming disillusioned with bourgeois urbanity, followed by more "pragmatic" ecologists and artisans (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 322).

Willis and Campbell found that the Cévennes neo-peasants have endured over the original so-called traditional peasants by blending "…the survival strategies of the old peasantry with the skills and abilities of the educated urban elite" (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 317). Incoming neo-peasants have accessed subsidies and benefits, they have tapped into the productivity of chestnut collection and marketing, selling their crafts, chestnut and other products (chestnut flour and jam, cheeses), and they have supplemented their incomes with work outside the region. In so doing, they have produced "authentic" local goods and rebuilt ruined farmhouses, outlasting the hostility of absentee locals who tried to oust them (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 327).

In Ireland, many of the early organic movements' pioneers were entirely new to farming and not Irish. They were British and German citizens who were repelled by overpopulated and overdeveloped industrialised cities and attracted to a space that allowed them to experiment with alternative ways of living (Tovey 1997, p. 25). In the European Union generally, organic farmers tend to be younger and better educated than their 'conventional' compatriots and are less likely to be from farming backgrounds (Padel 2001, cited in Lockie *et al.* 2006, p. 88). These newer organic farmers were found to be motivated by the need for financial security, the health and safety of the farm and the farm family, and general environmental concerns (Padel 2001 cited in Lockie *et al.* 2006, pp. 87-88). Care for the environment is seen as the main reason for farming organically in 'back-to-the-landers' in Northern Italy (Wilbur 2012, p. 154). The way in which this is performed depends on whether they are emphasising gastronomic or self-sufficiency goals (Wilbur 2012, p. 164).

In Northern Italy, "back-to-the-landers" interviewed for Andrew Wilbur's doctoral research were from urban Italy, Switzerland, Germany, England, Scotland, and the USA (Wilbur 2012). The ambition to start farming came from professional people who no longer wanted to work in an urban context and saw moving to rural Italy as a chance to experiment with alternative ways of dwelling and living (Wilbur 2012, 2013 and 2014). Staying in Italy, in the

Alps, abandoned terraces are being farmed again including by "educated outsiders", with all participants being interested in recreation and creativity (Varotto & Lodatti 2014, p. 321). Varotto and Lodatti see the adoption of abandoned terraces as an "in-between" farming model, where agriculture shifts from economic production (a productivist mindset) to environmental care with participants taking on the roles of traditional family groups allowing for the continuation of aspects of Alpine culture (Varotto & Lodatti 2014, pp. 323-324).

Richer nations around the globe are concerned about their aging populations, and this is no less true for farmer demographics, with the USA and the European Union (EU) offering subsidies to new entrants – whereas Australia has one of the lowest levels of government support for agricultural producers in the world (Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment 2020). The EU supports the entry of young people (under 40 years old) into farming through the Common Agricultural Policy (Kontogeorgos *et al.* 2017, p. 1). The Japanese government has also introduced a subsidy scheme to attract young new entrants into farming based on the French "New Entrant Scheme", where there is a fixed income with obligatory training (Kontogeorgos *et al.* 2017, p. 2).

It is expected in Japan that new organic farming incomers to upland Japanese farming hamlets may lessen this region's decline (McGreevy 2012). It was noted that modernization in upland farming has allowed locals to reframe formerly negative connotations of the *hyakushō* way of life. *Hyakushō* has been used in an equivalent way to that of "peasants", "country-bumpkins" or "rustics" in English (see Ching 1997). Unlike the French examples cited above, in recent times the *hyakushō* way of life has been reframed as a source of nostalgic pride with positive attributes of self-sufficiency and resilience (McGreevy 2012, p. 395). What constitutes "legitimate knowledge" and "acceptable behaviour" between incomers and locals is contested, however, ensuring that local knowledge transmission does not flow smoothly from the latter to the former (McGreevy 2012, p. 393). Where incomers can gain access to local knowledge, it is because they meet some of the pre-requisites for membership to the local group such as farming as a family, allowing for the formation of weak ties (McGreevy 2012, p. 409).

Taking-up farming in retirement is a theme in some North American studies. One study looked at incentives to beginning farming in later life and concluded that USA government subsidies have attracted people back to farming as a retirement occupation and lifestyle choice. It is speculated that motivations for change are a result of older people knowing what

they like, what they value and what works (Mishra & El-Osta 2016, p. 74). In New Zealand, Lesley Hunt (2009) looked at retirees who became kiwifruit farmers, some of whom were new to farming and to the rural setting. The motivation behind beginning farming here seems to be about keeping active in older age and finding something that would reward their hard-work and nurturing attention. The orchards themselves are presented as actors in a performance of moral exchange with the new farmers (Hunt 2009, p. 111); that is, the farmers expect reciprocity from their orchards where the care they give to the trees will be repaid by a prolific harvest. A caring connection with the land providing the conditions for a farm to give 'gifts' (Mauss [1954] 2002) is part of an "agrarian imaginary" adopted by USA farmer, novelist and activist Wendell Berry and others (Mayes 2014, p. 269).

Environmentalism and spirituality were presented as motivations for starting to farm in another study based in the USA (Inwood *et al*. 2013). First generation farmers were classified as unencumbered from considering potential heirs, but they needed to be encouraged to develop meaningful attachment to the land (Inwood *et al.* 2013, p. 366). Interestingly, this study also found that younger first generation and multi-generational farmers were more concerned with economic values than older farmers who wanted the farm to be, "…a real family farm" (Inwood *et al*. 2013, pp. 358-359).

As with new retiree kiwifruit farmers in New Zealand who disliked the label 'hobby', as it implied their occupation was not serious (Hunt 2009, p. 119), the accusation of "playing farmer", of not being "really a farmer", of being a "backyard gardener" or "hobby farmer" clearly hurt one younger new farmer in Ontario, Canada (Ngo & Brklacich 2014, p. 63). Women from urban backgrounds with existing networks are prominent in what is termed "agroecological" movements in Canada (Laforge & McLachlan 2018, p. 266). Interestingly, and of concern, male new and existing farmers labelled the more numerous female new farmers as "gardeners" or "hobby farmers", implying that they were not as serious as them (Laforge & McLachlan 2018, p. 262). These more recent new farmer studies tend to be framed as agroecological in approach as agriculture is woven together with ecological and cultural knowledges and political values (Laforge & Levkoe 2018, p. 991). The Canadian statement does not fully explain what constitutes "cultural knowledges" with reference to newer entrants into agroecology; the agroecological approach is comparable to 'regenerative agriculture' in Australia (see below).

In Canada, Laforge and Levkoe emphasised new farmers were "…reimagining their role, not just for providing food but for building alternative food futures" as part of a global struggle (Laforge & Levkoe 2018, p. 1003), something that could be categorised as an aspect of a global imaginary. It appears that while people learn how to farm, learn how to be farmers, at the local level there is an assumed correspondence with, and an assumed prefiguration of, a transformed global sphere.

New farmers in Canada found it difficult to access and create agroecological learning networks until they had become involved in mainstream programs where they discovered like-minded peers (Laforge & McLachlan 2018, p. 265). Laforge and McLachlan employ Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome (or, mycorrhizal networks) to describe local and regional agroecological learning communities with no centralised organisational structure, which do not have to be situated in place and enable the entry of more diverse non-traditional identities into farming. It is claimed that mycorrhizal networks provide social and emotional support while emphasising the importance of the individual and the community in farming systems. It is stated that learning communities are digitally subterranean and unseen – yet they have been seen and identified by researchers (Laforge & McLachlan 2018, p. 266).

Despite the romantic concept of being socially and emotionally supported by hyphae, in Canada new farmers feel out of place due to differences with their neighbours, they have different tastes and they therefore feel that they do not need them. New Farmers here are characterised as being in a state of transition, or "between belongings", as they attempt to maintain their links with the city and they also want to be part of an organic community (Ngo and Brklacich 2014, p. 64, citing Marshall and Foster 2002). They are criticised somewhat for this attitude, as Ngo and Brklacich believe that a local food movement should be expanded through political activity and become a – presumably more inclusive – people movement (Ngo & Brklacich 2014, p. 65).

Laforge and McLachlan use Stewart Lockie's concept of a "network society", as a group who intend to come together with and for a shared purpose (Laforge & McLachlan 2014, pp. 257-258). They state that: "in food movements, new imaginaries and alternative knowledges are often ruminating within farmers' learning communities" (Laforge & McLachlan 2018, p. 258). With one Canadian program of agroecological training for New Farmers concluding that: "…by simply knowing that they have a community of peers, participants felt they could engage in agroecology despite the barriers caused by a lack of policy support, limited training

opportunities, financial risk, and socio-cultural pressures" (Laforge & Levkoe 2018, p. 1003). Ngo and Brklacich point to the fact that new farmers connect to a "broader community of interests". That is, they feel a connection via a specific world view to past and present back-to-the-land and sustainable agricultural movements, so they do not feel alone (Ngo & Brklacich 2014, pp. 61-62).

2.1.1 Themes in New Farmer Studies

From the above studies of New Farmers in richer nations around the globe, the bulk of the movement is from urban younger higher socio-economic status individuals moving to rural areas looking for an alternative environmentally-sensitive productive lifestyle which starts off small and then may grow in productive size as people find support, gain experience, practical, social and emotional connections, and confidence.

One theme emerges – dealt with directly or being notable by its absence: that of New Farmers struggling to integrate with existing local communities fully. In some regions of the world, weak ties may form – such as in highland Japan for new farming families or, in France where New Farmers gain some education from locals – but these social connections are not strengthened as people from the contrasting groups do not appear to socialise together. Indeed, some of the New Farmers in France met with blatant hostility but formed their own groups such as the "… thriving community of 30 people" following New Farmer founders buying and restoring an entire hamlet in the Cévennes.

Largely, however, in the Cévennes what had started as communal living splintered into what is described as "traditional households" over time (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 323) – and this could indicate that New Farmers struggle to form communities even with people living in the same location, with similar world views, and similar agricultural practices. An idea of the family as an important basic social unit recurs for New Farmers and for older conventional farmers with heritage.

In Canada and New Zealand New Farmers feel that they are not taken seriously but in Canada particularly, New Farmers also assume that conventional farmers are farming very differently to them. It is stated, however, that the New Farmers themselves are to blame for a lack of integration into existing more conventional farming communities. There are assumptions being made by the newer arrivals regarding members of the existing local community doing things differently to them, displaying different 'tastes' (in a sensorial and a cultural sense; Bourdieu [1984] 2010, pp. xxiv-xxv). These assumptions are combined with efforts made to

circumvent the need for integration by continuing to use urban connections (and this is mentioned for the Italian situation too) and developing networks of the like-minded through digital communication.

Interestingly, none of this literature defines what a community is, or what different types of community might look like (other than using the labels “learning community”, “network society” in Laforge & McLachlan 2018, “a community of peers” Laforge & Levkoe 2018). Ngo and Brklacich, however, construct a “sense of community” as an agricultural community of practice; that is, customers, farming colleagues, family and a “broader community of interests” (Ngo & Brklacich 2014, pp. 61-62). This “sense” of community is, therefore, part-imagined (see below, section 2.2.1 Community as Shared World View) and part actualised with a dynamic sense of place comprising rural and urban individual connections (Ngo & Brklacich 2014, p. 64).

Whether different types of community are successful – that is, whether groups of people can function positively for the individuals within them despite any perceived or assumed differences in ‘tastes’ and world view – is also difficult to ascertain. It begs the question, as stated by Brett Williams: “When do people who share a place also build community?” (Williams 2002, p. 348) – perhaps a more pertinent question would be: do people who share a place form community?

2.1.2 New Farmers in Australia

In Australia, there is far less published academic literature around new farming communities or regarding new farming as a movement. In the state of Victoria, early results from an ongoing sociological study are portraying New Farmer-activists as part of a revival; a transformative movement from city to country, farming within aesthetically pleasing landscapes, creating technologically enabled ethical food production. These people do not appear to wholly reject modernity, rather they are blending contemporary urban and rural lifestyles with old and new technologies, and they also object to being labelled ‘hobbyists’ (Zainuddin 2015).

Similar to the Canadian studies, the Victorian research intends to explore “…the farmer-activist communities use of digital platforms to enhance their community of practice” (Zainuddin 2020). It is, however, unclear to what degree these New Farmers are integrating into existing local communities or whether they exist as activist communities of practice in-place or via digital connections alone.

Earlier Australian New Farmer movements attempted to get families out of assumed unhealthy and morally risky urban environments, illustrating the anticipated reforming nature of agriculture and the virtuous agricultural rurality world view (Mayes 2014, p. 268). This idea is further emphasised when contrasted with the opposing world view of imagined urban dystopias (Halfacree 2007, p. 7). In Queensland, new farming communities – closer and soldier settlements – were laid out around a central church with planned railway lines for connectivity (Clark [1978] 1999, pp. 342-383). Successive governments intended to populate depauperate parts of the Australian bush (or 'outback') with Europeans and give returning soldiers wholesome livelihoods (Cameron 2005).

These Australian state-promoted New Farmer movements were generally considered to be unsuccessful as many participants did not know how to farm and the land was marginal. Kathryn Evans concludes that between 1901 and the 1960s, the Tasmanian government held an over-optimistic view of Tasmania's climate and rainfall levels in its attempts to attract new settlers and sell the state as "Antipodean England" even while droughts persisted (Evans 2012, pp. 282-335). Settlers at that time were victims, perhaps, of a colonial 'British imaginary'; which is also a myth. Parts of Australia have been made to look and sound a little more like an English 'home' with, for example, the introduction by acclimatisation societies of plants, animals, and birds the British thought should be present in the landscape (Petrow 2017).

The Tasmanian New Farmer Matthew Evans, introduced in Chapter 1, states in his memoir of the journey he made from urban Sydney to rural Tasmania:

> I can't pretend to be a proper farmer. Wasn't born one, can't become one, probably at this stage in life. But I can enjoy farming, and my association with the land...
>
> (Evans 2014, p. 300)

It is interesting to note that Evans seems to think that you cannot be a farmer if you were not born a farmer and this quote begs the question, what does Evans consider his personal identity to be? Evans variably refers to himself as the "Gourmet Farmer", a "foodie farmer", the "Dirty Chef" and declares he does not mind the term "hobby farmer" or "tree-changer", if he can grow his own food (Evans 2014, p. 8). Yet as these quotes from Evans attest, he appears unconcerned with any contradictions that may arise from multiple identities.

Groth *et al.* use the Collective Identity Construct in their study assessing the nature and impact of occupational identity – particularly farmer and non-farmer categories – in rural

communities (Groth *et al*. 2014, p. 73). Their study emphasises that human interactions are the key to how we identify ourselves, yet the study is limited to occupation alone. This contrasts with an understanding that personal identity consists of multiple features that define someone as a person, some of which are contingent and changeable over time – such as age and even class – and some of which usually remain the same – such as gender or ethnicity (Olson 2016).

Jan Blommaert (2016a) backs up the idea that identity is not a constant thing or a product, but that it is formed as we interact with each other – we may choose an occupation such as farming, but we may not choose an identity such as farmer because that occurs in the process of human interactions and it is jointly created. Consequently, the Victorian, Canadian and New Zealander farmers with heritage see the newcomers as hobbyists, not farmers; the serious Canadian male farmers refer to the female New Farmers as gardeners.

Identity may also be influenced by our imagined interactions (correspondences – Ingold 2016b; Chapter 1) with people from the past. These past correspondences include people we knew as well as those collapsed actors who influenced the landscape in which New Farmers are learning how to dwell (see Margaret Mead on collapsed acts in Ingold 1993, p. 162). In Tasmania, the landscape has been shaped through thousands of generations of Aboriginal people corresponding with each other, with animals and plants, with the more-than-human (and here, the more-than-human includes the cosmological and the magical). This has been followed by over 200 years of correspondences with European-style farming and other land management activities. To say that these spaces are contested would be somewhat of an understatement (cf. the rural as a contested space, Ngo & Brklacich 2014, p. 63).

As discussed in Chapter 1, while Evans is hesitant about defining himself as a farmer, he is very clear about what motivated him to start to farm. He describes his decision to farm involving the taste of milk and, more correctly, his “memory” of how milk used to taste before it became processed (Evans 2014, pp. 4-6). Evans’s epiphany triggered by taste caused him to nostalgically “yearn” to grow his own food and it was a “physical ache” to get “closer to the soil” (Evans 2014, p.9). An 11-year defamation court battle, fought by Fairfax Media in Sydney over three critical restaurant reviews written by Evans, may have also nudged his move to Tasmania (Meade 2014). Evans met his partner and now fellow New Farmer, Sadie Chrestman, in Sydney only a short time before his move to Tasmania. She describes him as “… holding back because he had been badly burnt in his last relationship” (Chrestman cited

in Lacey 2016). Indicated here, is a complex entanglement of professional and personal disappointments and fears – all motivating factors for change, rationalised as a positive experience of epiphany.

Epiphany is the concept that Charles Massy – Australian farmer, author and academic – uses to understand that moment of revelation when conventional Australian farmers with long heritages on the land decide they must transition from damaging traditional farming practices to regenerative (agroecological) farming practices (Massy 2017). Massy, defines regenerative agriculture as:

> … an active rebuilding or regeneration of existing systems towards full health. It also implies an open-ended process: of ongoing improvement and positive transformation… the enhancement of social capital and ecological knowledge… In addition to improved physical and mental human health, what this aspect also entails is the promotion of vital, coherent rural cultures and the encouragement of values of stewardship, self-reliance, humility and holism, particularly within the context of family farming. This inevitably entails resistance and insurgency against the ruling paradigm [the industrial agricultural model].
>
> (Massy 2017, pp. 51-52)

Again, the importance of the "farming family" is noted and while the term 'community' is not used, it could be read into the phrase: "vital, coherent rural cultures". It is also interesting to note that there is a sense of rebellion and activism as posited for Victorian New Farmers and the French examples discussed earlier. Economic (financial profit) considerations have not entered this regenerative farming definition.

Lockie *et al.* (2006) found that conventional and certified organic farmers in Australia chose agricultural practices following similar motivations, but it was the rankings and priorities they gave to those motivations that varied. Certified organic farmers thought that chemical safety, food quality, environmental and animal health ranked as their highest motivators, but they did not dismiss productivity and profit. Conventional farmers also thought that these motivators were important, however they prioritised productivity and profit (Lockie *et al.* 2006, p. 91). This suggests that for the conventional farmers, the end (productivity and profit) justifies the means.

Yet, like the findings of Ngo and Brklacich for New Farmers in Canada, Lockie *et al.* also found that certified organic farmers, being younger, more educated, and more critical of

industrial production methods, tend to avoid agricultural and environmental organisations that have developed to support conventional farmers – it is stated that they are not part of their moral community (Lockie *et al.* 2006, p. 97). In all these cases, boundaries are being maintained between groups.

The Tasmanian New Farmer Matthew Evans, however, hints at connections to established farmers in his region. Evans talks of his trial and error approach when learning how to farm, but his recollections are also of "old-timers" who, for instance, grafted his apple trees, and friends and neighbours who helped him build sheds, kill chickens, and milk cows (Evans 2014, p. 70). Clearly Evans has formed relationships with people who have farmed for a long time in the area he bought a farm. Given the area in question (the Huon Valley) it is likely that these farmers are from relatively small farms rather than large-scale industrialised operations and even if they are not part of each other's "moral community" (see above), they are part of the physical local community influencing how Evans farms.

Tasmania's farming history in this regard is interesting, as it does not have a strong tradition of French-style terroir (although this has been recently enlisted in the wine industry) and there are not deep traditions of peasant farming. From 1804, the carefully managed Aboriginal grasslands of the Derwent Valley attracted British invaders and eased access for their livestock (Jackson, cited in Brown 1986, p. 10). The Tasmanian historian James Boyce (2008) points out how adept the British were at living in grasslands. Their supposedly tough Bengal-cross cattle and sheep struggled to adapt to the new conditions, however, and wallaby and kangaroo became a more reliable source of protein and, hence, conflict with Aboriginal people. The state supplied large blocks of land along the River Derwent floodplain to rich free settlers. The state also supplied male convict (slave) labour to farm these properties. Beyond state surveillance, small herds of grazing animals shadowed by poor landless men, made their way through the valleys and up into the central highlands – a movement that has only recently been curtailed (Boyce 2008; Evans 2012). This was not a slowly developing peasant economy or group of communities as found in France and other parts of Europe.

The thickly forested valleys to the south of the Derwent Valley, including the Huon Valley, were taken up more slowly by poorer free settlers and ex-convicts who had to work their way in using axes. All these non-Aboriginal people benefited from land and resources with which they had no deep tradition, and they moved into new spaces beginning the process of localising themselves, their animals and their plants – an "experiential autochthony" perhaps

(Gressier 2014). As with the Cévennes, these new farmers outlasted (overpowered) the hostility of the locals. In this sense, New Farmers in southern Tasmania could be thought of as the continuation of a colonialising force. Nevertheless, it is unclear how effectively these New Farmers are integrating into existing communities, and/or are forming communities in-place with people of similar world views, or are forming virtual communities of their own via digital means as in Canada.

Compared with the New Farmer literature outside Australia, there has been very little academic attention given to New Farmer movements or communities here. This is a large gap in research. Given the thoughts around what defines a community discussed above, therefore, the element of that gap in research I will be exploring through this thesis is: **why and how do new small-scale farmers in Tasmania struggle to form community?** To start answering this question, it is necessary to consider some definitions for 'community' to structure the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

2.2 Defining What Makes a Community

From the literature review, there is an indication that just as an individual can have multiple identities, so can they participate within multiple communities based on: shared world views (such as a community of interests discussed by Ngo & Brklacich 2014); living in the same place (shared space, a geographically defined community found for example in the Italian Alps or highland Japan); and/or close personal relationships (shared feelings, emotions, senses, and the obligations formed in families and between work colleagues, as found with neo-peasants in the Cévennes). It has also been suggested that identity is dynamic, forming as we interact with each other (Blommaert 2016a) – and it is possible that this is also true for varying forms of community.

Before I pursue this line of reasoning, it is necessary to examine the word and concept 'community'. There have been attempts made to collect key features for definitions of community over time. For Ann Grodzins Gold, these include: Ferdinand Tönnies' writings on opposed modes of being – *Gemeinschaft* (relationships by descent and kinship, with a division and sharing of duties, pleasures and obligations) and *Gesellschaft* (an uneasy co-habitation, detached living alongside one another, translated as "civil society"); Max Weber's revision of these as a continuum where *Gemeinschaft* contains the emotional glue of people feeling that they belong together but these emotional bonds may become bondage – there is hierarchy, and *Gesellschaft* is characterised as rationality and individualism; the idea that

European thinkers were trying to “liberate humanity” from the constraints of community with its connections to the “idiocy of rural life”; an escape or uprooting from community, from tribal or communal laws, devolving to meaninglessness and alienation; a resurgence of community to cope with local environmental deterioration, thought by some as a type of enchantment; community as generative of identity, shared interests and the role of outsider-activists; the “rhetoric of community” as “imagined unity”; the “participatory exclusions” structured into some forms of community cooperation; the influence of “shadow communities” – the markings of past communities – on contemporary communities; the ritual work of community-making triggered by shame, guilt and debt (Gold 2005). As a summary, it can be stated that: “Who we think we are and are not has everything to do with how we connect to other people in space and time” (Williams 2002, p. 346).

In the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, community is characterised as:

> Commonty (the commonality, a community, commonage, land held in common); Latin communitas, common ownership, liabilities etc, common character; agreement, identity…social intercourse, society, the social state… A body of people organized into a political, municipal, or social unity… A body of persons living together and practising a community of goods.
>
> (OED 1983, p.379)

The OED narrows the definition down a little and suggests that community relates to having things in common, things that are shared; and, while some of the defining features of community sound quite fixed, there is a degree of social interaction. The British anthropologist, Tim Ingold, explores ideas around having things in common and the dynamism of that process (Ingold 2016b). Ingold discusses human correspondence as being how we respond to one another, or co-respond. He describes it as the process by which beings or things literally answer to one another over time, when exchange happens through conversation, gifts or even holding hands (Ingold 2016b, p. 14).

Ingold furthers his argument around correspondence by quoting John Dewey who stated that for life to carry on it must be lived with others and that the affinity between ‘communication’, ‘community’ and ‘common’ is not a coincidence. Dewey writes: “Men [sic] live in a community, in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common” (Dewey cited in Ingold 2016b, p. 14). Ingold clarifies that “to common” is a verb and having things in common is an outcome of

communication, not a prerequisite. This social life, this correspondence, is part of ecological life as well – because life is lived in relation to non-humans too (Ingold 2005, p. 503).

For New Farmers, moving into new regions, new landscapes, new communities (where there are pre-existing groups of people, plants and animals with things dynamically in common) and having recently changed their way of life (their 'practices'), there must be a leaving of some former communities behind. These communities were where the New Farmers had things in common: through conversations around how they once thought life should be lived; in places where they had previously built homes; and, of course, with individuals who shared feelings, emotions, senses, and obligations. In a new space, with new practices, New Farmers must attempt new correspondences within the new communities with which they may have little in common, trialling who to correspond with, how to correspond with them and developing new things in common in that process.

While "[it] is in the nature of beginning that something new is started which cannot be expected from whatever may have happened before" (Arendt [1958] 2018, p. 177) – a poiēsis – we should also understand "…the new as an improved re-statement of the old" (Arendt 1978, p. 216). As New Farmers seek and adopt a new way of life and new communities, they may not simply replace earlier ways of life and social connections: to a degree, these new practices preserve the old ones within them. This idea can be likened to the Hegelian dialectic (thesis-antithesis-synthesis) where later concepts also preserve the earlier concepts that they replace, and there is a constant to-and-fro, a constant self-reflection and comparison (Maybee 2016). Indeed, Maybee (2016) argues the 'new' is not something that shows up arbitrarily but develops because of necessity due to challenges inherent in the earlier concepts. In other words, New Farmers may feel that something is wrong with their lives, with the social and ecological world they inhabit, and they feel the need (they feel an obligation) to change. As they transition to something 'new', aspects of their being may appear to be transformed by beginning again, but they are in fact a palimpsest and an entanglement of old and new relationships, influences, memories, practices, actions, and experiences upon which they then reflect and compare in a constant back and forth.

To return to the idea that people can belong to varying categories of dynamic community, forming as a result of individuals corresponding (or, in-commoning) with one another, as they learn how to farm – it is necessary to define the types of 'community' New Farmers may form and/or participate within, to structure the body of this thesis. From the New Farmer

literature and other relevant ideas, this thesis will consider New Farmers' struggles to form community in the following groupings: shared world view; shared place; and, shared relationships.

2.2.1 Community as Shared World View

From the literature review, there are groups of motivations that New Farmers have in common, revolving around: escape from the urban (for those moving to isolated parts of rural France, Italy); escape from the industrial, the overpopulated and overdeveloped (for British and Germans moving to Ireland). An attraction to the rural for those: who want to undertake hard work (New Zealand); who desire space – and time – for experimentation (Ireland and Italy); who want to be part of the earth spiritually (France and the USA); who perceive and want to be part of globally-aligned ideas around an agroecological (regenerative) struggle and care for the environment (Canada and Italy). There is also some unease around not having much in common with the community of people who already exist in the place to which New Farmers moved – and it would seem that the New Farmer world view may not be the same as many in their new local areas.

The question that needs to be considered here is, what leads New Farmers to hold elements of a world view in common, which then mobilises them to move from the urban to the rural and to farm for the first time? Many of the motivations for moving and attempting to start new communities have elements of nostalgia (Japan and Tasmania), and when coupled with ideas around caring for the environment and the assumed virtue of farming, they align with what Christopher Mayes has called the "agrarian imaginary" (Mayes 2014).

Mayes draws on Charles Taylor's work on the social imaginary (Taylor 2002), which in turn was inspired by Benedict Anderson's writings on the nation as an imagined community ([1983] 2006). Of interest to communities-as-shared-world-view, Anderson points out that the nation is "…imagined as a community regardless of inequality and exploitation… it is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson [1983] 2006, p. 7). From this, Taylor claims that there was a pre-modern order that conceived of 'a people' (Taylor 2002, p. 98), where there was complementarity but also hierarchy (Taylor 2002, pp. 98-99). This aligns with ideas around *Gemeinschaft*, where now we tend to think of a rise of individualism as replacing community which is more aligned with *Gesellschaft*. In fact, Taylor argues, the primacy of the individual has meant that there is a new understanding of sociality – and it contains a moral order of mutual benefit, including life and the means to

live, within the practice of virtue and the rights of freedom, with the expectation that all participants should share these rights equally (Taylor 2002, pp. 99-100).

Heidegger also used the idea of "The People" in *Being and Time* in the late 1920s and could be accused of nostalgia for earlier farming ways of life when he introduced the dichotomy between a peasant's care and maintenance versus the mechanised food industry's challenge to nature (Heidegger 2008 [1953], p. 320). As alluded to in Chapter 1, Heidegger constructed an opposition between the traditional agriculture of the agrarian peasant and the industrial agriculture of the contemporary world. This implies that industrial agriculture and the contemporary human world attempts to control "nature", or the more-than-human world.

Mayes summarises: "… the imaginary is the collective use of stories and images to legitimate certain practices and articulate their meaning for a community" (Mayes 2014, p. 272). If the community itself is imagined, however, then the use of stories and images – the shared world view – is driven by the individual. Mayes believes that the agrarian imaginary in an urban context comes from authors and media personalities (mostly white and male), including Michael Pollan, Joel Salatin, Wendell Berry, Paul B. Thompson, and so on. Mayes also suggests that if we keep in mind there has been a tendency to exclude the vulnerable, then an agrarian imaginary – a return to farming and consumption practices that existed before the advent of industrial agriculture – could establish new, morally-just spaces for urban community interaction (Mayes 2014, p. 282). Social media, or Internet communities, are fertile spaces for sharing world views and imaginaries, but also practical advice and experiences. There is ongoing debate about whether Internet communities are real or imagined – yet they allow people to "…think together about matters that concern them" (Agre cited by Wilson & Peterson 2002, p. 456). As such, it could be valid to discuss Internet communities in 'communities as shared world view' or 'communities as shared place'.

While an "agrarian vision" refers to small-scale agriculture and the caring connection to the land (Mayes 2014, pp. 268-269), it is also importantly about political and social ideas concerning the way society should be organised (Mayes 2014, p. 268). Indeed, Mayes explains that community is an agrarian virtue, and it is related to the concept of land as a gift (Mayes 2014, p. 269). The version of the agrarian vision presented by Paul B. Thompson (Thompson 2010), however, has troubled some academics with its relationship to the 'Blood and Soil' movement of national socialism in Europe, impractical romanticism and nostalgia, rigid gender roles, hierarchies, and social control ignoring the lived realties of the urbanised

West, and the related disappearance of rural communities and their replacement with non-renewable forms of energy (Sandin *et al.*, 2013).

In the 21st Century, regardless of which authors and media personalities we pay attention to, it is impossible to avoid references to (and arguments about) the climate crisis, 'natural' disasters, 'unprecedented' bushfires, droughts, floods, crop failures, extinctions, the threat of a burgeoning human population and 'illegals' (also known as 'refugees'), corporate and political misdemeanours, peak oil and renewables, pollution of the air and water, the intractability of plastics. And now, of course, pandemics. We all have in common, in varying versions, to varying degrees, dystopian or apocalyptic imaginaries, where "the background" is abuzz with feelings of impending near-future chaos (Taylor 2002, p. 107).

Heidegger refers to this as a "mood" – we are always in some form of a mood as part of our being. It is how the world is disclosed to us, and world-disclosing moods are culturally embedded (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018). If our mood contains, therefore, elements of the dystopian or apocalyptic, then the world opens to us in that way. Over a year Ingold has adjusted his, "most pressing environmental question of our time: how *should* we live" (Ingold 2016a, p. 4), to, in effect, how should we survive. This was written regarding a critical role for anthropology: "In finding ways to carry on [from the brink of collapse], we need all the help we can get" (Ingold 2017, p. 22). This mood of an impending collapse, the future as a frightening chaotic time and place, the past as somewhere we can learn from to survive has become more common – and those who sense this mood could be defined as a community with a shared world view. As Charles Taylor theorised, a common understanding makes possible common practices and, "what start off as theories held by a few people may come to infiltrate the social imaginary, first that of elites, perhaps, and then of society as a whole" (Taylor 2002, p. 106).

2.2.2 Community as Shared Place

There is an assumption that people situated in a single locality constitute a community. Indeed, anthropological research regularly uses place-based boundaries to define an object of study. An assemblage of people living in one geographical region, however, does not mean they are in-commoning or corresponding – it cannot be assumed that people are exchanging anything through conversation, gifts or holding hands (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). This type of community sounds very much like the co-habitation, the detached living alongside one another, the individualism, of *Gesellschaft*.

If a common understanding, a shared world view, however, means that there is some form of conversation going on (virtually or in a real space and time), it makes possible the enactment of that world view through the undertaking of common practices. It could still be expressed, however, that many former city-dwelling New Farmers do not have 'deep roots' in the land on which they farm – indeed, they may not be considered 'in place' or 'local' by some of their neighbours.

A Scottish borders hill farmer expressed his comfort in the hills and his discomfort in town, declaring "I wonder about city folk who decide to give up living in the city and move to the country because they are out of place" (Gray 1999, p. 441). As mentioned in Chapter 1, New Farmers can be thought of by others as 'out of place' (Douglas 1970, p 48). Because of this attitude, when New Farmers move to new places, some of them attempt to affirm their identity in time and space through the food they produce and a frame of locally defined flavour – certainly Matthew Evans emphasises the localness of his food. New Farmers' feelings of belonging can be mediated through locally produced and consumed food; that is, *they* are not local, but their *food* is.

Neighbours are the people who dwell near to us. But not simply in the sense of geographical proximity, more significantly in the sense that their dwelling with the earth is like our own (Heidegger [1971] 2001, pp. 144-147); that is, we cultivate growing things, build homes and cherish others in similar ways (Heidegger [1971] 2001, pp. 143-159). Neighbours, therefore, in a Heideggerian sense, should be the people with whom we learn to dwell. It should be considered as well that all neighbours in a biological system have intentionality, that each one "…modifies its neighbours, however slightly, so as to make its own survival slightly less improbable" (Latour on Gaia, 2017, p. 98).

In earlier writing, Ingold used Heidegger's work around dwelling, that is, how to be in the world (Ingold 2005; 2000). Ingold somewhat regrets the cosiness of the term 'dwelling', but he describes it as a way of being at home in the world, with others, and it can be a struggle (Ingold 2005, p. 503). Humans attempt to protect the place of their homes and all that they contain, but place should not imply a bounded territory, but "a nexus of ongoing life activity" (Ingold 2005, p. 506). Ingold develops this idea in later writing stating: "… selves *are* not; they *become*" (Ingold 2016a, p. 13), and, "… the path, and not the place, is the primary condition of being, or rather of becoming" (Ingold 2011, p. 12). Being 'out of place',

therefore, is not possible but it may still be the opinion of people with which New Farmers have as yet nothing in common.

For people who have moved, the idea of living lives along paths rather than in place as they try to build a new home, works well. The Tasmanian phenomenologist, essayist and poet Pete Hay wrote: “to recover ‘home’ is thus to recover ‘community’” (Hay 2002, p. 7) because ‘home’ is the basis of our individual and communal identities (Hay 2002, p. 7 quoting Heideggerian geographer Edward Relph).

For Heidegger, building, dwelling and thinking are very place-based. He describes dwelling as the way in which mortal humans *are* on the earth, it is how humans cultivate and nurture things that grow, how humans build and construct things, and how humans cherish, protect and care (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 145). But time does creep into this definition when Heidegger states: “The real dwelling plight lies in this, that mortals ever search anew for the nature of dwelling, that they must ever learn to dwell” (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 159). Heidegger thought that we are thrown into a world at a time and a place not of our own making (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 159). Indeed, skilled practice needs to be learned (or regrown) by each generation and is not passed down from one generation to the next (Ingold 2000, pp. 4-5) – regardless of whether someone has farmed all their life in a family with farming heritage, or whether someone is new to farming.

In Canada, Laforge and Levkoe emphasised the necessity of place-based knowledge for New Farmers. To become experienced oneself, however, requires more than observation and repetition based on expert locals, it requires “…a process of personal discovery of the new affordances of the world and of one’s mind-body emerging simultaneously…” (Krzywoszynska 2016, p. 304). For Anna Krzywoszynska, the choreographies of care in farming, the totality of farming activities which enable “maintenance, continuation and repair of the farming ‘world’”, depend upon “experiential knowledge” (Krzywoszynska 2016, p. 289). Because they also depend upon “expert situated knowledge”, however, it means that formal abstract training alone is not enough for adequate care in farming to be practiced (Krzywoszynska 2016, pp. 290-291). In other words, local experts may be able to provide “rules of thumb” based on their situated experiences, but New Farmers must then adapt those rules to their own bodily and ecological situations.

In summary, community as a shared place encapsulates the idea that place and community are both dynamic, and that they are both constantly being formed by correspondences

between humans and non-humans and by their activities (common or otherwise) within a landscape. As human pathways become entangled, so too do relationships.

2.2.3 Community as Shared Relationships

It was notable that attempts at communal living amongst New Farmers in France, splintered into what is described as "traditional households" over time (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 323). This is assumed to be male and female partners, children and possibly grandparents sharing the same farmstead. It should also be noted that one of the objections absentee locals had with the Néos at first, was the "fluidity" of their intimate relationships (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 325).

Older farmers with a farming heritage also wanted their farms to be, "…a real family farm" in the USA (Inwood *et al.* 2013, pp. 358-359), and the support of family is expressed as an essential aspect for regenerative farming (Massy 2017, pp. 51-52). It is also important to recollect that farming as a family allowed New Farmers in highland Japan to make some closer ties with the local group (McGreevy 2012, p. 409). Clearly, family – kin – can be as fundamental for community as shared relationships. Family provides one form of the emotional glue of *Gemeinschaft*, but there is hierarchy and there are obligations, which can at times feel like bondage (see above).

Obligation can be thought of as commitments that develop through human correspondence (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). These correspondences are important within families (especially when they share a home), but they also build up over time with other people with which there are shared world views, and the people we correspond with regularly by virtue of sharing with them space, time and activities (see place above).

Ingold unpacks Marcel Mauss's writing on the work that the gift undertakes in social life (Mauss [1954] 2002). When gifts are given, they remain joined to the givers and these are the tendrils that bind people together in mobile fluidity (Ingold 2016b, p. 10). Roberto Esposito emphasizes that it is the act of giving that is the important point, not the gift itself, but the modern individual assigns a specific price to services rendered and thus attempts to immunize themselves from returning the favour, the debt and any gratitude (Esposito 2010, p. 12).

Correspondences engaged in through shared world views in a virtual context, however, are different to those engaged with in the same space and time. Such correspondences enlist all the senses. As stated in Chapter 1, our senses (taste, smell, sight, touch, and hearing and their complex interactions) have the power to trigger frames in our minds, and these mental frames

are physically realised neural circuits connected to our emotions (Lakoff 2010, p. 71). Gatherings of people in one place and at one time create the opportunity for neural circuits to be triggered as emotional sensitivity is heightened, especially through the buzzing energy of cooperative activity in the spaces between people working together on the land. This is described as collective effervescence by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim (see Olaveson 2001), and its experience can be enjoyable and tempting.

There is an element of performance in our daily lives where we display to ourselves (being) and to the outside world (appearing) who we imagine we are, or wish to be, and what we believe in (Arendt 1978; Goffman 1956; Turner 1985). As we have seen above, identities can be multiple and dynamic – but presumably we can also choose what to display and what to conceal in some social interactions. There are instances when people's actions have contradicted their beliefs (Berliner *et al.* 2016, p. 3). This idea contrasts with that of Bourdieu ([1984] 2010), where he believes that people's beliefs are observable in their performances, practices and declarations of allegiance, and that of Ingold (2000, p. 186) where he suggests beliefs become observable on-the-ground where people dwell. This suggests that as people hold a frame up to their world and make choices, their beliefs (their imaginaries) become visible – but on occasion this framing might itself be part of an external performance. Kevin Hetherington states that:

> If in our world of multiple and fractured identities, however, we seek to belong, this may take the form of the search for some lost, authentic and essential community… It can, however, just as readily be seen as a more paradoxical search, a search for community in choice, whose sense of belonging and authenticity may not be attached to issues of nation or ethnicity but to other symbols…
>
> (Hetherington 1998, p. 50)

These "other symbols" may well be the community of a shared world view, which is performed in place through shared practices and relationships. Michel Serres, however, warns that there is a danger behind a passion for belonging as it alienates others and can become colonial and invasive (Serres [1985] 2016, p. 259). Our perception of self and how others see us could mean that our identities and relationships are also predicated on who we choose to leave out of these interactions (Mead & Baldwin 1971). As we are constantly in debt to other beings, we are responsible as individual beings for the choices we make regarding who we owe and who we might pay back (Olafson 1998, p. 45). More positively, New Farmers may

actively create new kith and kin (or, “kinnovation” Haraway 2015, p. 162, note 15), and in each act of gathering people in and forming new relationships, they could ‘bring forth’ as a social-poiēsis (see Heidegger in Wheeler 2018).

New Farmers have elected to leave behind members of their families, the people they share consanguinity (kin) and affinity (kith), and it has been relatively common and straightforward to accomplish in Western capitalistic industrialised societies. When people move from urban lifestyles towards more rural settings, a non-industrial social obligation of labour afforded by kith and kin, would be very useful (Burnstein *et al.* 2002, p. 77). This means that new arrivals without family need to enter kith and kin-like relations, new webs, entanglements, and correspondences with others to assist in production. In effect, the existing residents in a new place can become affordances (a perception of how something can be used, see Ingold 2000, p. 166; McCall Howard 2012).

In seeking to understand why and how new small-scale farmers in Tasmania struggle to form community, this thesis will explore the entanglements and elusiveness of establishing: a shared world view; a shared place; and shared relationships.

Before moving on to the Methods section (Chapter 4), the story of the “Inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz” is presented next as “Entering The Field” in Chapter 3. This story is an example of correspondence between participants at an event – and as such, it is an active demonstration of methods used in the field. The participants – New Farmers in Tasmania – share aspects of a world view, they briefly share (and in some respects create) the place in which they are working together and the Huon Valley of which it is a part, and they share relationships during and, potentially, beyond the setting and time of the event. The “Inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz” illustrates entanglements temporarily forming as like-minded people work with one another in a bounded space and time, as an attempt is made to form the sticky bonds of community obligation.

CHAPTER 3: ENTERING THE FIELD

The Inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz: Sunday 20th August 2017

The go-ahead appears on *Facebook*. Finally, the morning has come when I can get ready to help at the inaugural "Huon Valley Permablitz" on land in Surges Bay near Geeveston. It had become a moveable feast due to rain and mud. I do not have any suitable food to harvest from the garden (that is, home-grown fresh food), or the pantry (that is, home-grown preserved food) – so I compromise by making a (non-local) Persian frittata using eggs, herbs and walnuts grown and harvested by other Tasmanians. I omit the well-travelled barberries from the recipe, even though they are available at my local shop. I worry about the clothes I should wear for this day. Old, obviously, comfortable, protective, and preferably not synthetic. I select jeans, a tired thin woollen jumper, and my gardening gloves. It turns out to be such a sunny day that I must borrow a sunhat and only wear my woollen beret later in the afternoon.

It is an hour-and-a-half drive to Surges Bay, but it is a beautiful winter's day, which eases the tension caused by poor Classic FM reception for part of the trip. The view of the Huon Valley travelling across Vinces Saddle has been described to me by a New Farmer who arrived here 30 years ago as seeing Providence for the first time.

The Huon Valley: W. Hatcher

I feel calmer, more in control of the car through Grove, Huonville and into Franklin, when the road is at river-level. At Geeveston, I do not enter the massive tree-trunked triumphal gateway but take Scotts Road – like many places it is named for families that are still resident. I drive through Cairns Bay and Waterloo, small, dispersed hamlets with gently smoking chimneys of weatherboard farmhouses either side of the road. The turn-off I want is

sudden and the road narrow, twisting and unsealed, it leads me into another small valley, a private place. I feel that I am trespassing.

I park at the side of the unsealed road, not in the driveway as is usual. There are and will be too many much larger vehicles blocking that passageway to the house and land. The owners of this land have commented on the unnecessary hardware people travel around in. Next to my car, opposite the front gate, is an old shed and ruined chimney breast, overgrown, neglected and seemingly incongruous with the well-tended surroundings.

I am late – but when I walk up onto the front veranda, I am presented with a mug of Kev's delicious goat-milked coffee and one of Sharon's fresh muffins. Sharon is very keen for all to share this food. Feeling somewhat undeserving, it is impressed upon me that it is a good time to arrive – I had only missed the initial gathering and discussion regarding the works to be carried out. I get the distinct impression that no one here should feel unwelcome.

Kev, Belinda, their son Luke, and the red-and-white setter Nuva are our hosts. This is my fourth visit to their home. Kev and Belinda have described themselves as climate refugees – escaping the heat and pests of Queensland to farm in a place with a gentler climate. Kev moved from urban Melbourne in the late 1970s to help found a commune in Queensland – a "hippy thing", he was then concerned more about world war than world weather. Belinda's journey to farming in Tasmania took her from rural New Zealand to Queensland via New South Wales. It was in Queensland that she decided, when she left paid work to home-school Luke, she must support her family by growing food. Belinda wanted to remain "productive". Luke is completing an online eco-design course.

The first job of the day is forming metal cages for a rock gabion wall. The gabion wall will be the back (southern facing – that is, the cold side) of a greenhouse. Kev shows us the best way to twist the thick metal wire around the joins of the cage sides and entreats us to watch out for the very sharp ends. I feel the twist of anxiety form in my chest: have I understood properly what Kev has in mind? Will I get my hands and brain to co-ordinate the actions successfully? Will I look like an idiot? We use box-end wrenches to bend the wire, and it is pleasing to note that quite a few of the blokes seem as cack-handed as me at first. Eventually we get the hang of something that Kev had made look so easy. We learn by doing, chatting as we go.

At first, people are surprised (and a little uncertain) about my not living in the Huon. I explain what I am doing, and that I have started to get to know Belinda and Kev. This seems to make things okay, and I think the lack of being 'local' (new or otherwise) is almost

forgotten. Most conversations between strangers at the Permablitz start with a 'tale of our place in the world' – the odyssey that people have been on, moving through other parts of Australia, via other countries, into the Huon Valley. In their stories I detect the apparent randomness employed by the Wayfarer, the bricoleur, the *courir à randon* movement of the hunter, a long journey with random occurrences (Serres [1985] 2016, pp. 260-261). Their stories do contain whirlpools and monsters, because like the wily Odysseus they have eschewed the best way (Serres [1985] 2016, p. 261), but there is much in the telling that is missed out.

These stories of movement can seem like a substitute for non-human animals sniffing each other – impolite for most human animals but we are still curious about each other's worlds (Manguel 2015, p. 326). Our bodies (senses) are absorbing more details of other people than is given away in words. As well as semi-conscious smells, sounds, looks, etc., we are ascribing qualities and values to all that sensory information. 'That person is old, posh, funny, messy, shy, opinionated, likes me, does not like me, is like me, must have an Asian parent, is powerful, has connections, is clever, has a weird accent… etc.'.

Theo and Joanna are a very recent new farming couple with land at Cradoc Hill, on the opposite side of the Huon River to Franklin. They are in their late-twenties, early-thirties. Theo talks about the idea of a food forest – to be set up while they are young, so food is less-onerously accessible when they are old. I consider this to be an enviable ability to plan, which is not in my nature. Joanna is a financial planner and works largely from home. From New South Wales (NSW), they travelled through South America, then lived and worked in the United Kingdom (UK). Joanna has a sister who did biological anthropology at the Australian National University. They also have a dog, Digger, who is new to them. It is suggested that, as the last owner was male, Digger answers better to men; that is, not to Joanna. Joanna digs a shallow ditch for the gabion wall to sit in, while Theo and I twist wire.

Building the gabion wall: P. Jones

The dogs keep chasing the chooks. Belinda reckons the chooks are extra healthy – they have been eating the broccoli (so much for the oft-quoted benefit of chickens cleaning up pests in fruit and vegetable gardens – they do do this of course, but they also get a taste for cleaning up veggies too). The healthy fast-moving broccoli-fuelled chooks are unlikely to be caught by the comparatively pampered pooches.

Caroline is from Canada and moved down to Tasmania with her partner from the mainland, to live a rural life. She declares that she knew he would love the place they ended up buying because it is so isolated and hidden from neighbours. She was attracted to it because it seemed to be a warm house. I am assuming Caroline is at the Permablitz to get to know her community better. She is an interesting mix of do-it-yourself (she enquires about the on-the-grid, off-the-grid possibilities) and the need for certain conveniences. Caroline states that the home must have the energy capacity to dry towels to a soft fluffiness in a dryer, line-drying does not do that. We all have different comfort thresholds. The new place is near Judbury – a surprisingly long drive to Surges Bay, as the roads follow the creek-lines and river rather than crossing the hilly country in-between.

Hugh and Pete are working together, and they have twisted their wires the wrong way. We chuckle conspiratorially about the fact. Hugh has land in Pelverata and is quiet and shy, he appears awkward in company; his female dog Gertie is also quiet and well-behaved – she is not a chook-chaser. Pete seems the opposite to Hugh, but I suspect that he is shy as well, with the shyness exhibiting itself differently. Pete is very chatty, jocular even. He has moved down from NSW quite recently, buying land at Castle Forbes Bay where he is planning to live off-the-grid and to 'grow'. Like others at this gathering, Pete describes himself as a climate refugee, but elsewhere he describes himself as a prepper. It feels as if Pete is new to everything; he must be in his mid-50s, and he is undergoing a rebirth. He is new to the idea of farming, new to the idea of fully living a rural lifestyle, quite new to veganism. Pete wears a *Nick Cave* t-shirt and has lots of tattoos about life; he worked as a truckie and mentions the way truckies speak – they have their own 'accent', their own language. Unlike most New Farmers, Pete has not had a tertiary education. He describes his wife as the brains of the organisation: she works with computers.

As we individually finish our jobs on the gabion walls, there is a slow move over by some of us to the biochar drums. I wander across to Belinda where the drums are smoking into the bright wintry sky, only vaguely aware of Kev discussing his successful use of a water-level in

the construction of their straw bale house. It is a technical explanation and, without intending to, I have managed to push it into the background.

Earlier on, Belinda and Sharon had been carrying piles of wood down the hill behind the house with Luke and started the burning in two wide metal drums. After handing out muffins that morning, Sharon had headed straight off to help Belinda and they seem to know each other well. Sharon keeps stock, sheep I think, and she has some longevity in farming/stock raising. She is a slim weathered capable woman, and she tells me that she and her partner only slaughter and eat their own animals. Her apparent wiry exterior hides a fragility, a vulnerability, and I wonder whether she (like many here) do not associate with groups of people often.

Luke comes over to his Dad to help with the construction of the greenhouse frame; Joanna and Caroline move to the biochar drums as well, and I think Kaitlyn is indoors starting the lunch preparation. Suddenly we have sexually dimorphic work groups. Joanna laughs and wonders what the anthropologist makes of that. What do I make of that? Before the division was complete, Hugh had commented that he was the only bloke left in our group – so people had noticed. It was a thing, a happening, that was distinct. I moved off when the construction started to get technical and a few men started to plan the next phase of the erection. They were men with power tools, which put me off – but to be honest, not all the men looked comfortable. I was also attracted to the biochar making – I knew nothing about the process, but it looked comprehensible, and I had not worked with Belinda yet. We had self-sorted.

Arnold van Gennep (1960) saw the sexual division of men and women as universal, but I imagine these largely middle-class, middle-aged permablitzers would try to resist such apparent stereotyping. To stay with van Gennep, however, his analogy of society as a house divided into rooms and corridors, seems appropriate here. As one female individual left the original mixed group, she made a clearing (Heidegger [1935] 2008, p. 178) and opened a passage to another room, a passage that other women were able and willing to follow.

Personally, I found the male room a less attractive place to be – it felt more specialised, individualistic, and competitive, a feeling that was confirmed in my mind by the discussion amongst the men of things that they had built, the tools that they had used to build them, their skill or lack thereof. Kev comments later that for some men working together turns into a "pissing contest". Heidegger's *technicity* refers to tools, but it is also a world-wide modern phenomenon where beings become objects that can be controlled (Heidegger 1976). While

Heidegger acknowledges that technicity propels things to function, he feared that it also uproots humans from the earth. I felt uprooted, I had nothing to offer here, and the movement of women attracted me to them and entrained me; I drifted off like flotsam.

We women talk as we burn – a slow burn, nesting the small tree-limbs constantly, as I think the oxygen must be kept low and little carbon released. Biochar has magical properties. There are arguments in the media about its value and its connection with the ancient *terra preta* of the Amazon Basin (see for example, Monbiot 2009 and Lovelock 2000b in *The Guardian*). The Huon Producers' Network and others in the region run biochar-making workshops and Maurice, who is working in the male room, has been to one of the workshops and made biochar for his vegetable patch at Gala Farm. He is surprised when a First Nations Amazonian makes contact via his blog, raising the alarm about what happens when biochar transforms from a small-scale locally produced and used resource, to a large-scale globally exported corporatized business encouraging more forest to be logged. Scale is everything. We are using wattle – but any plant material could work. The wattles are primary colonisers and short-lived; a few that were too large and too near to Belinda and Kev's house have been pushed over. I have noted wattles invading New Farmer paddocks before – they are a sign of a change in land use.

The biochar is ready when there is white ash on the blackened logs. The whole lot needs inoculating (activating) before you use it, using nutrients such as seaweed. If it is not inoculated, the biochar pulls all the nutrients from the soil – although they are then slowly re-released – which would mean initial growth of crops would be poor. Belinda told me that the University of Tasmania (UTAS) tested biochar without inoculation and, not surprisingly, their conclusions about its efficacy were unfavourable. Belinda is disappointed by their poor experimental procedure, the poverty of their scientific method.

Leaving the biochar to itself, we travel to the next job – a huge pile of flattened cardboard boxes beside the vehicle-strewn driveway. Belinda collected the cardboard boxes from department stores to use as weed-suppressant mats in the orchard. First, we need to remove all the plastic sticky-tape and labels. This is a marvellously mindless task to talk over. Interestingly, the neighbour opposite their place, with a large orchard of old apple varieties such as Bramleys, had asked Belinda and Kev early on to remove the modern-varietal apples from their land. I am surprised at the gall of the request and ask Belinda how she felt about it – but Belinda was fine with it and understood. The modern varieties threaten the heritage

apple varieties as they can act as 'vectors' for diseases like blackspot. Belinda thinks that the heritage varieties have a level of disease immunity; I do know that their neighbours' apple cider tastes very good.

At this point, the call comes for lunch, which proves to be delicious. Potatoes roasted in olive oil, turmeric and chilli, beetroot, goats' cheese, bread rolls, sausages, pickles, couscous salad, frittata, fried yams, and so on the feast spread out along the large wooden kitchen table. The kitchen-living area of the straw bale house manages to feel expansive and cosy at the same time. Straw bale houses seem to absorb sound and radiate warmth.

Straw bale truth window

Everyone is hungry, and plates are filled; Belinda comments that she does not normally eat lunch, that she gets hungry later in the day. We are indoors and sedentary, but our mouths keep moving. I sit on a large wooden hand, talking to Luke about music and keyboards that communicate with his computer. I think it sounds like a good idea for my musical but computer-obsessed Number Two son.

Pete and Maurice chat over lunch – they became *Facebook* – and are now 'real' – friends. Maurice is critical about the need for so much energy in Pete's planned new place – he suggests they should have fewer monitors for his partner's work. Pete declares he is not brave enough to interfere with that. Maurice is a believer in the 'end-of-times' and even though he is in his early 60s, he is working hard to prepare himself and his family for self-sufficiency. Maurice talks about a time soon when the grid will fail. Hydro Tasmania cannot maintain their infrastructure, their power supply, without fossil fuels. He provides the example of their use of helicopters to access powerlines as an example of their unsustainable practices. I wonder whether they will simply do it the way they used to – people walking or riding, carting gear, but I say little. Maurice comes across as grumpy. He seems less delighted by the company of people than the others present, and I find him harder to read. Maurice was born in France, moving to Belgium as a boy with his family to survive the post-war chaos. Soon

after this move, the family emigrated to Queensland and now Maurice is hoping to survive the worst of world systems collapse and climate change chaos in Tasmania. Maurice's wife has not moved down yet as she still works as a nurse and cares for her elderly mother. Maurice is lonely.

Some people leave after lunch. I want to see the day out, and I am enjoying the interactions – but I am surprised at the departures after sharing food: it seems misplaced, the ritual incomplete. I do not know if anyone else either notices or cares.

After lunch, we carry on preparing the cardboard and placing it around the orchard. Someone mentions that some cardboards are now manufactured with chemicals in their processing. Belinda rolls her eyes; she has the gift of being able to place a whole string of expletives into a look – "…another fucking thing to fucking worry about entering our fucking food system". We start loading woodchips into wheelbarrows to pile on top of the cardboard. Kev comes over to explain "pile hygiene" using his shovel (really: how not to waste chips, to ensure the pile stays compact and how not to let bits spread around). With a grin, Belinda explains how she ignores Kev, and uses her hands.

I attempt to observe pile hygiene, keeping a sniff-out for dog poo, while having enjoyable conversations with Belinda and Kaitlyn. Kaitlyn is a friend of Belinda's. She moved to Tasmania from the mainland with her partner Glenn (who is here but with the blokes, and we do not talk on this occasion), buying land in the Huon Valley and growing chemical-free garlic and other veggies. This conversation is personal. Kaitlyn is obviously sad; she is tense about her situation and finds it difficult to relax.

But as we three women continue to work together, we do relax – even while our bodies physically perform. The work takes on the flow of a well-choreographed dance between three beings who have performed together for eternity. There is a contemplative repetition of the back and forth with heavy wheelbarrows, I realise in retrospect we operated with some skill along thin planks and through a narrow gateway, weaving around each other in synchronicity.

These lines of activity are drawn across the Permablitz place, they flow into space and concentrate there, vibrating as each organism meets with others, then we pull away to flow into another space and vibrate anew. Meanwhile, other (non-human animal) organisms leap, gambol, and course between these activity islands, circling them, criss-crossing the sea-lanes as they move.

Rodger comes over to our work area and breaks the spell; he had arrived late and gone to join "the blokes", but they were looking like they did not need help. There is a slight quiver to the working buzz of our group, in the air around the space we occupy, as individuals adjust to a new presence. Rodger is excited by my project and talks about older 'lifestyle changers'. Rodger also considers himself to be a climate refugee – a description that keeps being repeated at this event. Rodger speaks of Maurice almost reverentially, in hushed tones, and tells me about Maurice's blog.

At 4 pm Kev declares it to be 'beer o'clock' – and that sounds so good I have one, even though I do not normally drink anything when I am driving. We stand around and admire the progress that has been made.

Beer o'clock: P. Jones

The blokes have finished the gabion-wall of the greenhouse, it simply needs the rock in-fill. They have put up struts for the opposite reinforced-glass wall, and there will be a roof of plexiglass – plastic because glass will be too heavy. The roof will have sections that open with the heat for air circulation, with beds down the centre on water-filled drums; the greenhouse will heat up, but then cool down slowly, as if the plants are next to the sea.

I feel loath to go, but I want to get back to Hobart before dusk when the wallabies start sitting on the highway. As I walk through the gateway, it feels that I am leaving a liminal space as I cross Belinda and Kev's threshold, our ritual leaders for the day. I had been part of a seasonal rite that marked and prepared the land and people for change; it had been a poiēsis, and I had absorbed sacred food that was the body and blood of these people's lands. I had chosen to be there, and yet my presence, my effort, the work I performed, the food I shared, had positioned me within a series of mutual obligations. Now I am returning, transformed. I manage to avoid bogging my little car in the mud and turn around in a neighbour's driveway.

Driving back towards Hobart, around Willie Smith's Apple Shed in Grove, I am stunned at the dominant exquisiteness of the Sleeping Beauty – seen from the Huon and the Derwent valleys she divides the wetter from the drier landscape, as her snow-dusted face confronts the sky.

The Sleeping Beauty from Grove, the Huon Valley: P. Jones

A good friend of mine is a geologist. She has lived in Tasmania for 25 years and she has never perceived the Sleeping Beauty – she sees the weathering-resistant Jurassic dolerite intruding into the Earth's crust. My friend thinks about the world through the deep-time movement of rocks, sediments, and deposits; she imagines the uplift of hard sills, the erosion of soft ridges, the layering cut of rivers, the thrust of volcanic activity, the grinding of glaciers. The Sleeping Beauty's face has the official name of Collins Bonnet, her breast is Trestle Mountain, but I have rarely heard people use these names, and she controls this landscape with a quiet strong presence. Perhaps she is the tutelary goddess, the guardian of this place (Serres [1985] 2016, p. 242), the powerful "Great Spirit" people sense in mountains and other places of 'nature' (Turner 2012, pp. 147-148).

Swinging back up towards Vinces Saddle, the road takes a sudden loop, and it feels like one might drive straight into the Hillside Pioneer Cemetery. The cemetery is precariously perched on a steep rocky terraced slope, headstones leaning and stained, a monument to the early Europeans' precarious and transient lives. It also appears as a *memento mori* for drivers, and I snap my attention back onto the road and my journey home.

Hillside Pioneer Cemetery, Huon Highway: Ron L.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS

Presenting the story of the "Inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz" (Chapter 3) has allowed me to demonstrate methods used in the field – in action. It has enabled the reader to enter the field with me, to witness the movement of human and non-human animals and the brief materialisation of the sticky bonds of community formation alluded to in the previous two chapters. There is an assumption that people situated in a single locality constitute a community. Indeed, anthropological research regularly uses place-based boundaries to define an object of study. An assemblage of people living in one geographical region, however, does not mean they are corresponding, or that an in-commoning is occurring. With the Permablitz, however, intentional and attentional movements together are documented – people are co-responding and an in-commoning can begin.

To answer the question why and how new small-scale farmers in Tasmania struggle to form community, this research takes a qualitative approach. More specifically, ethnographic methods are used to work with New Farmers, and to understand and interpret their dwelling in southern Tasmania. The qualitative, essentially anthropological, approach I chose required an emergent design (Creswell 2014, p. 235). That is, ethnographic methods necessitate flexibility – they need to be adaptable to the needs and interests of research participants, and adaptable to my personal and professional development as fieldwork progresses and I reflect on my research.

To reiterate, for the purposes of this research a 'farmer' is someone who raises plants and animals for food with the intention that their practices will at least partially support themselves and their families. A 'new' farmer is someone who started farming as an adult after practicing largely unrelated occupations or being employed in other types of work. A New Farmer, in other words, is someone who does not have immediate farming heritage – but this simple definition will become more nuanced as the research progresses.

As an "island lifeboat" (Lovelock 2009a, pp. 17-18; Chapter 1), Tasmania makes a good, bounded research site for the movements and motivations of New Farmers. Tasmania is an island on the periphery of a large continent, and a place continually accused in the media of being "broken", "freeloading", the "poorest state", yet still a "mainlander's dream" (Coslovich 2018), Tasmania could potentially be characterised as one of the "…cold spots of

globalisation” which needs researching (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 328). Tasmania as a potential cold spot of globalisation, of capitalist activity, of rural transformation, may open a space for experimentation by incomers – as is the case for the Cévennes region in France with the arrival of neo-peasants (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 319; see Chapter 2).

4.1 Observing through participation

The “Inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz” presents an early fieldwork event where I was learning to be a participant observer – someone who describes and interprets the event and participants therein, with the other attendees. Descriptions and interpretations, however, were also formed through my own personal experience, and display my own biases, expectations and confustications. As Ingold has asserted – where ethnography is a practice of description, a data-gathering exercise – participant observation is to join in correspondence with others in a movement forward in time. There is a relationship between those present that unfolds dynamically (Ingold 2014, p. 5). A methodological examination of the Permablitz, then, is useful here as it presents a working justification for the methods used in the field.

The Permablitz is a story of participant observation, it is an example of active correspondence. Participant observation is the attentive observation and respectful participation in other people’s lives, it is learning together – it can be uncomfortable, and those present do not always agree with one another. Anthropologists are committed to speak about how humans are being, how they are becoming – and anthropologists must be speculative. As such, anthropology is philosophy performed in the world, in conversation with others (Ingold 2017, pp. 23-24).

Interestingly, given that I was corresponding with my research participants at this event and on other occasions, I also speculate that an in-commoning has occurred, indeed, advanced, as fieldwork progressed. That is to say, we found and developed ideas and attitudes in common which have led to mutual empathising, if not always agreement – we have modified one another in the process of our correspondence (Latour 2017, p. 98).

4.2 Storytelling by correspondence

As stated in Chapter 2, correspondence is the process by which beings or things literally answer to one another over time, when exchange happens through conversation, gifts or even holding hands (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). At various points during this research, I have done all three. The Permablitz is storytelling by correspondence – during the event we talked and

listened, we offered the gift of our labour and exchanged food items, we were physically close, and emotions were attended to. The Permablitz, therefore, is a revealing prologue for the substantive chapters of this thesis. The presentation of the Permablitz could be described as "showing through stories" (Turner 2012, p. 9), and it was generated via correspondence on a particular day, at a particular place, by a particular group of people. These people came to know about me and my research, but they carried their own ideas about what I was there to do and learn with them, and all participants responded to one another individually and collectively.

The purpose for the series of permablitzes in the winter of 2017, was described by the Huon Producers' Network as "getting the land ready for spring". From this stated purpose, an earlier idea had been to present the Permablitz as a seasonal liminal experience, occurring as it did during a natural break in the seasonal flow (Turner 1974, p. 85). Because most of the participants were relatively new to farming and new to the area, I felt them to be betwixt and between not only the seasons but betwixt and between old and new ways of life. Presenting the Permablitz as a seasonal liminal experience might have been a straightforward analysis of this story that resonated with the people involved. Correspondence within the Permablitz, comparison with other events and conversations, and consideration of the literature review, however, suggested other ways in which this event could be creatively interpreted.

4.3 Theming the Permablitz

It became apparent that the value of the Permablitz rested on the fact that it captured a group of like-minded people attempting to form the sticky bonds of community obligation through working together – an attempt that was not completely successful. As such it gives a rare but important glimpse into something that is dynamic but transient, requiring active participant observation. Turner sees, "the story form as the speech of communitas", and states that "researchers can only get a purchase on this slippery thing [communitas, but also I believe, community] when they are right inside of it" (Turner 2012, p. 8). We are not, after all, staring at an agar plate under a microscope.

Heidegger considered that being (*Dasein*) is a timebound historical process, that essentially unfolds through life as human beings are continually transformed during series of sense-making events (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018). The Permablitz is a sense-making event, bounded in time and space, it helps people make sense of their lives, and participation is transformative of the land and the people involved. In Heideggerian terms, the Permablitz can

also be thought of as an "event of appropriation" – *Ereignis* – where participants take on the event's activities and intentions as their own, as an "en-ownment" (Malpas 2018, p. 19; Wheeler 2018). In other words, the Permablitz is an event where one takes things into oneself. Participants take ownership of something, and there is a close relationship to the concept of authenticity, or 'ownedness', of owning up to something (Varga & Guignon 2014). Participation in the Permablitz, therefore, is the equivalent of 'coming out' in time and place.

Related to this idea of owning up to something, participation in the Permablitz also speaks to ideas around the flowing from "I" to "Thou", with a dynamic facing of each other, a being with rather than being side-by-side or being above and below (Turner citing Martin Buber [1969] 2002, p. 372). Heidegger's concept of *Mitsein*, being-in-the-world-with-one-another, or co-existence, is a similar idea but one which he does not fully develop (Olafson 1998, pp. 3-5). Expanding on *Mitsein* offers a fundamental insight – that ethics are generated by relationships between human beings and are not some supreme moral truth (Olafson 1998, p. 7). This sounds abstractly philosophical, however, if anthropology can be understood to be philosophy in the world (indeed, in the field), with others, it offers a practical way of thinking about how humans are responding to one another, and how on occasion they attempt to create new things. For example, creating new communities with new working and ethical relationships, out of existing things – the people they have on hand (cf. Heidegger [1954] 2008, p. 322).

The Permablitz, then, stands as an example of an event that can be themed, analysed and spoken about in many ways. For this present thesis, it highlights some of the themes that are discussed further, such as: human responsiveness; community formation; working together; loneliness; movement; skill; how we learn new tasks; and people self-identifying as "climate refugees". The Permablitz also introduces five individuals who are key research participants working with other New Farmers in a bounded communal setting.

4.4 Initial planning

At first, I identified potential research participants during the Sprout Tasmania "Cross-Pollinate 2016" conference, which included new small-scale farmer members of Sprout Tasmania's "Fork to Fork" online farmers' market. Sprout Tasmania had come to my attention in 2015, following a well-advertised crowd-funding campaign to build the Fork to Fork farmers' market website. Secondly, I approached New Farmers directly based on details

collected from websites and during farming exhibitions and farmers' markets. This latter sampling method introduced me to the Huon Producers' Network and the Channel Living group.

Prospective participants were informally approached when I was reasonably satisfied that they were 'new' farmers; that is, that they had not grown up on a farm with farming relatives. Interestingly, while I had not initially targeted individuals who had moved into Tasmania to farm, most research participants were from interstate with only two people growing up in Tasmania (Clara and Jack). Examples of early candidates were Angus and Jack who participated at the Sprout Tasmania's Cross-Pollinate conference late in 2016, and who both made it publicly known at that time that they had no immediate farming heritage. I chatted with Kev at a Huon Producers' Network farmers' market early in 2017, discovering that he was new to farming and happy to be visited on the farm he had established with Belinda.

Following ethical approval for this project (Appendix 1), prospective participants were sent a background information package (see Appendix 2), before I organised to meet with them in person to discuss the project, their participation, and my role. This ensured that people were able to provide prior and informed consent before agreeing to participate. I also discussed times to meet with them and opportunities for participant observation. "Ethnography" commonly includes 4-5 case studies (Creswell 2014, p. 239), but in this study I intended to follow New Farmers' networks and I needed to be flexible regarding the number of interviewees. Other studies have concluded that there is a saturation point where no new or revealing information is gathered (Charmaz 2006), however, I also intended to be mindful of the fact that every person's story is to be respected (see Ganguly 2009).

From a list of potential key participants, I used a 'snowballing technique' to access other participants. Snowballing is a method of networking where one follows the thread of people's social relationships, including family, friends, colleagues, expert advisors, neighbours, etc. It is an appropriate technique here, as it exposes formal and informal networks of relationships and it allowed me to add extra research participants as necessary. For example, I visited Clara simply because she was emphasised by Belinda as an important friend and colleague – and I was delighted to discover when first chatting to Clara that she too is a 'new' farmer.

The Permablitz acted as an opportunity to put the 'snowballing technique' into further practice, as I had been working with the hosts (Belinda and Kev), but I was introduced to Maurice, Joanna and Theo who became key participants as well. Snowballing also allowed

me to see who the New Farmers relied upon, who provided support in their new ventures, and in which events and gatherings people participated – leading to some of the core research findings of my thesis.

4.5 Working in the 'field'

Fieldwork was conducted over 14 months between April 2017 and June 2018; however, I have continued to keep in touch directly (through visits) and indirectly (through emails and social media) with most key research participants. Visits were typically undertaken as day-trips because there are numerous New Farmer contacts close to my home in Hobart, especially in the Huon Valley, the D'Entrecasteaux Channel, and the Derwent Valley (see map Appendix 5).

Conversations with research participants have been on occasion very personal, and they have not always been about farming – I accepted people's right to talk freely about the things they understood to be important to them in their new lives without my forming an inflexible structure over proceedings. Some of my research participants have come to know me as fully as I have come to know them – in this sense, interviews have been participatory correspondences, an anthropology <u>with</u> rather than of New Farmers (Ingold 2016c, p. 24).

My intention was to start conversations by informally chatting with participants and being able to situate them in their personal historical and social landscapes. I developed, therefore, a list of general questions, devised as openings, which could be added to and varied following initial observations and discussions. Preliminary questions included:

- Why did you take up farming?
- In what ways has this changed how you see yourself?
- What kinds of agricultural practices have you trialled?
- How have you learnt to farm and to become a farmer?
- What personal and professional relationships have you formed along the way?
- Where do you see yourself in the next few years?

Entering people's farms and homes, the content and context of conversations rarely materialised as I expected. Indeed, while I had questions in mind and I developed a "Field Recording Form" (see Appendix 3), I rarely used them. Sometimes we worked outside which made conversation more difficult, sometimes we peripatetically talked and walked together outside, sometimes people found jobs inside around the kitchen table (such as seed-saving),

so we could talk more easily, sometimes we simply sat, drank tea or coffee, ate cakes, and talked.

When I worked outside in isolation, I often had an internal conversation with myself about what I was doing, what I was feeling, and it was a useful time for thought. These occasions were slightly more active uses of 'waiting fields' where people get on with their everyday lives while the researcher waits, and glimpses are made 'backstage' (Goffman 1956; Manny and Morgan 2015; McGranahan 2012). In effect, I was actively waiting in the (literal) field for the next interaction with my human correspondent. This could also be considered as "attentive waiting", waiting "upon" rather than "for" my research participant. My waiting was relational to them and the tasks they were prioritising, ensuring that the power in that relationship rested with them and signalling my respect for them, their work, and their time (Palmer *et al*. 2018, pp. 427-428).

I usually arrived at participants' homes with a homemade edible "gift" – I intuitively felt the need to offer something to busy people who were giving me their time and attention. These gifts were normally accepted with delight, apart from one instance when a research participant pointedly cut down my offerings in size. On this occasion, it was clear to me that the New Farmer in question was struggling with the pressures of his successful farming business; the cutting of the cakes I interpreted as something that he could control in his home, and our relationship was also something he could control as we had not yet created any mutual obligation. I was not surprised when this person decided not to continue active participation. I continued, however, to send him written material and he was happy to allow me to use information I had gained through my shortened correspondence with him.

My research participants regularly also offered me "gifts" at the end of a visit, usually in the form of produce from their land – eggs, basil, feta cheese, etc. On one occasion (a first visit where we chatted, but I did not work), I rejected the gift offered and I felt terrible all the way home. I had not thought myself deserving of a gift, but it had been graciously proffered, and it was wrong to refuse. I did not refuse a gift again and I learnt a level of humility from my misjudged response. Over time, the conversations shared became a gifted exchange, to which we all looked forward. It would be fair to say that some of my research participants and I have had an entangled attentional wayfaring, rather than a more systematic intentional travelling experience – which is a form of storytelling (Ingold 2016c, p. 19 and 2007; see also

Foskey 2010). That is, we did not follow a strict plan designed to get us from A to B; rather we meandered together, listening to and guiding each other.

While this approach allowed me to see what people were doing (their being), as well as what they were saying they were doing (their appearing), this participatory correspondence allowed me to understand the relationship between how people express themselves through words and how people experience the worlds they inhabit (Krzywoszynska 2015). The fact that I also observed people at and participated in their conferences, working-bees and other gatherings allowed me to appreciate how research participants negotiated the different public and more private stages upon which they performed and grasp how (and if) people performed differently depending upon the size and aims of a group.

This proved to be an important feature of the fieldwork and findings of this thesis – that is, the necessity of witnessing people's lives in varying public and private contexts, the potential witnessing of people coming together and disengaging themselves from one another. As such, there is a rich range of encounters with my research participants covered in this thesis: online (through blogs, webpages, *Facebook*, private emails, etc); at work (during permablitzes and working with people on their farms); at home (chatting with them and their friends around kitchen tables); at markets (such as the Hobart Farm Gate Market); at annual general meetings (for the Huon Producers' Network, Channel Living and Sprout Tasmania); during workshops (for specific projects such as Regenerative Agriculture Network Tasmania); and, at events and festivals (for instance, Sprout Tasmania conferences, Mid-Winter festivals and the Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering). This last event – the Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering – gave me some idea of how representative my research participants were when compared with New Farmers from around Australia (see section 7.2.4.1). My research participants were on average older than Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering attendees, with more stable assets (land ownership), a wider range of land sizes and most have been farming for a longer period. There was a similar emphasis on mixed farming (a combination of fruits, vegetables, leafy-greens and small numbers of animals) within the Deep Winter Agrarians and the majority of my research participants.

4.6 Writing

Originally, it had been my intention to collect data in the field at every available opportunity using all available means, but I found that sound (particularly our spoken conversations, bird calls and dogs barking on the farms) and sight dominated. Smell, taste, and touch were

occasionally triggering (that is, emotions and memories were stimulated) of the fieldwork site, the surrounding bush, work experiences and even my research participants (see Pink 2015). Smells were apologised for many times. From the common composting toilets to the ripening smells of fruits and vegetables awaiting processing, New Farmer hosts thought that city-dwelling guests might be offended. Taste was enlisted through sharing meals and the edible gifts. And touch became more common as our friendships evolved. All these senses and the totality of their associated experiences, however, were quickly transformed into the written word.

In this process, a translation occurred that was influenced by my intentions and attentions as an observer and participant in the worlds of my research participants. As time passed my intentions and attentions evolved – indeed, my ability to 'observe' using all my senses improved, but perhaps it would be clearer to say that I became more focussed in my search (see below) – so that translations and understanding also transformed.

From the first meeting, I decided not to digitally record our conversations. Conversations working outside would have been very difficult to record successfully. It became clear to me, however, that the presence of a recording device, and my potential nervous checking of it, would be a distraction. I wanted to commit my full attention to research participants and our environment. I believe that people related very private information about their lives because I was not digitally recording them orally – indeed, I was not even furiously jotting-down notes. While it was neither appropriate nor necessary to include private information in this thesis, this private information did, however, provide a personalised emotional landscape for me to place research participants within. In other words, private information helped me 'get' my research participants, and this was invaluable for my ability to interpret people's motivations with a level of confidence.

While I wrote notes during large meetings where I was to some extent anonymous, when I met with individual research participants and their families, I wrote detailed notes from memory as soon as I left the farm (usually in a scenic viewing area where I remained in the farm's landscape). Once I returned home, the original notes were transcribed to my laptop as quickly as possible, and additional information added – either further memories, or links to literature or other field notes.

After a lapse of a few days, I revisited my notes and reworked them – analysing them as I went, making connections with recurring themes as identified during the Permablitz and the

assessment of the literature review. I found that multiple workings of field notes allowed for a more complete picture of the conversations and associated events to emerge – it also allowed varying themes to emerge. It was surprising how continual re-reading and re-working of earlier notes triggered new memories and connections.

Participants were sent copies of fieldnotes (and later, associated conference papers and thesis drafts) to check their veracity and to respond to me with more thoughts if they wished. Some research participants clearly enjoyed this process, and I have continued to be in contact with them as they correct minor misunderstandings and comment about some of my findings, adding new recollections of their own. These elements all added to a 'thick' description in the search for meaning (Atkinson 2005; Geertz [1973] 1993) – that is, stories are concerned with meaning and not only description (McGranahan 2015). In this way, it is hoped that the claim that this research was *with* my research participants, rather than simply *of* them, is supported.

Throughout the fieldwork stage of this research, I also kept a diary to document my interactions, activities, and observations of self. The diary has helped me to reflect critically on my own reactions to participants' activities and comments, and to track personal changes in my opinions and judgements. It has been important for me to think about and make visible my own frames of reference, my own social imaginaries, during this research. It has also allowed me to perceive and understand the in-commoning that can result from continued correspondence with research participants (see also Chapter 9).

I believe that my research participants, as readers of my notes and the draft thesis, as correspondents over time, did trust the interpretation that exists at multiple levels: their own interpretation of their own lives and the lives of others; the interpretation that we created collaboratively as we conversed; and the next level of interpretation that evolved as I filtered their stories further while writing the thesis narrative. It should not be forgotten, however, that I also discussed potential findings and interpretations with my supervisors, fellow Doctoral candidates, other academics, family members and friends. Ultimately, however, the interpretation (warts and all), originates with me.

The fact that research participants could see that they had the freedom to relate private information without it being used, that they were able to see what I was thinking about them, their lives, and their correspondences, I believe helped people to trust me and trust the process we had developed together. No one asked to participate anonymously, and most of the research participants were and are aware of others' participation. I resolved, however, to

use pseudonyms for all participants (the names of their farms, and even their dogs) to protect them from uninvited scrutiny.[4]

4.7 Analysis

Prior to entering the field, I undertook a preliminary analysis of publicly available material presented by new small-scale farmers and established farmers using the Qualitative Data Analysis software package *NVivo* (see Appendix 4). The main finding from themed World Clouds was that New Farmers emphasised “farming” and the established farmers “farms”. That is, New Farmers concentrated on the ‘doing’, farming as a verb, an activity, rather than on the property or place, the static noun of the farm. This was suggestive of a concern with mental and physical movement from New Farmers, of people not yet embedded mentally into a new way of life, or physically into a new landscape.

Interestingly, New Farmers had also expressed positive emotions such as “love” and “enjoy” in their Word Cloud, sentiments that did not appear in the established farmers’ Word Cloud. Matthew Evans desires to “…enjoy farming” too (Evans 2014, p. 300). Yet, these positive sentiments around new farming were not apparent from the analysis of fieldwork notes. As people became used to talking with me, they openly expressed that farming is hard work and lonely, with the struggle to farm referred to by everyone as learning through “trial and error”. This was a poignant reminder of the necessity of observing what people do, rather than what they say they do (Leach 1982, p. 130). Leach’s guideline, however, can be broadened by emphasising the necessity of getting to know people as well as time permits, rather than relying upon quick interviews and publicly available material. Indeed, what I believe this difference illustrates is that people will present a filtered version of their lives in certain public fora – not untruthful, but with a certain economy of truth. In the case of the Word Cloud generation, the fora were websites that had been developed to sell produce and promote eating local produce. In short, New Farmers did not want to put people off their way of life and its productions.

At the outset of my research, I anticipated that most new small-scale farmers would be feeling positive about their lives, as they were likely to be of a higher socio-economic status with the sense that they were to some degree in control of their lives. By the end of my

[4] Note that as pseudonyms have been used, quotes from research participants’ blogs, etc., cannot be fully referenced. Also note that Matthew Evans was not interviewed for this research, and quotes by Evans are all available from published material and in the public domain.

research, however, I was struck by the fact that some of my research participants were sensing a lack of control in their personal lives and their social and ecological surroundings; sadness and rage, due to accelerating climate change and the increased frequency of climate emergencies (such as intense wildfires); and the sense that they could not persuade many other people to change. Despite this, and with some adjustments, many people have continued upon their chosen paths (while some of their associates have floundered), and some research participants have continued to experiment with new ways of influencing others to change.

I continued to use New Farmer blogs, websites, and social media pages, constantly comparing this more public information with data I gathered in the field. While I found some of my research participants through their involvement with online markets and promoted events, I did not fully grasp at first that they all had some form of online profile. Many New Farmers kept in touch with one another through social media sites (such as *Facebook*) and blogged, especially as they started to farm, recording their progress – in part, I believe, to reach out to a wider audience. Quotes from these more public sites have been used throughout this thesis and supplement more private musings. This layering of data sources allowed me to richly portray the private and public, being and appearing lives of research participants. Joanna and Theo, for example, did not have a webpage when I first met them at the Permablitz, but they started to record their farming exploits and share their thoughts publicly towards the end of their first-year farming. I felt that Joanna and Theo needed something solid to present to the world, something that was 'real', before they could start promoting their way of life to others. Tom had similarly started a blog around farming (and eating) in Tasmania when he and Bronwen first started to farm here, but as they settled into a pattern of established farming the blog petered out. On-the-other-hand, some New Farmers do not make time to blog, and keep in touch through their personal and commercial *Facebook* pages (Clara, Jack and Robin), and/or they have an official webpage to promote their business which includes a potted history of their farming lives (Helen).

Once I had written the initial story of the Permablitz, I continued to enhance and reformulate this story over many months until it developed into a more analysed bounded chronicle of that occasion. The communications and actions of the participants therein are not simply related *verbatim*, there is analysis – a consideration of how people were learning to dwell individually and collectively. The creation of the story of the Permablitz gave me confidence

in writing more stories from my fieldwork experiences, and all these stories became material evidence for analysis.

Importantly, however, it was using findings from the literature review that shaped the main structure of this thesis and which allowed me to search for specific references and themes within this data: why people wanted to begin farming; why they moved into rural Tasmania; how they learnt to farm and relate to their new ecological surroundings; why they felt the need to connect with other people; and how they corresponded with their new social surroundings.

As an example, from the list of themes recognised initially in the Permablitz, I started to make notes as follows:

- Why people wanted to begin farming – to survive climate change (expectations of farming, food supply), working together (attractive).
- Why they moved into rural Tasmania – movement (the ability to move), climate refugees a repeated idea (expectations of Tasmania).
- How they learnt to farm and relate to their new ecological surroundings – learning new tasks (by doing), skill, responsiveness (to surroundings), working together (learning from/with others).
- Why they felt the need to connect with other people – loneliness, human responsiveness (need).
- How they corresponded with their new social surroundings – human responsiveness, skill, community formation through working together (with people who are thinking in a similar way – another expectation).

It looks like a neat process when the analysis is presented in this way. Many notepads and pieces of butcher's paper were employed to work through ideas; 'great ideas' have been abandoned, but these could be resuscitated at another time. As such, I went down many a blind, theoretical rabbit hole before I could concentrate on the important detail to keep the thesis focussed. Finally, the evidence thus collated from all my fieldwork stories was explored in the main body of this thesis using the community definitions identified in Chapter 2 to guide the argument, as follows:

- Shared world view – why imaginaries and influences people experience in common unsettle them, motivate them to change the way in which they live their lives, attract

them to rural Tasmania, and propel them to move to seek a new way of life within a potential new community (see Chapter 5).

- Shared place – how these people move into rural Tasmania and attempt to manifest their imaginaries by building a new home, learning to farm, and by struggling to become farmers in their new ecological surroundings; discovering in the process that this cannot be undertaken in isolation (see Chapter 6).
- Shared relationships – how people must also negotiate their new social surroundings through corresponding (working and thinking) with others, attempting to influence others to change, and struggling to form communities (see Chapter 7).

The following three chapters, Chapters 5-7, will investigate why and how new small-scale farmers in Tasmania struggle to form community, while exploring the entanglements and elusiveness of establishing a shared world view, a shared place, and shared relationships.

CHAPTER 5: MOTIVATIONS

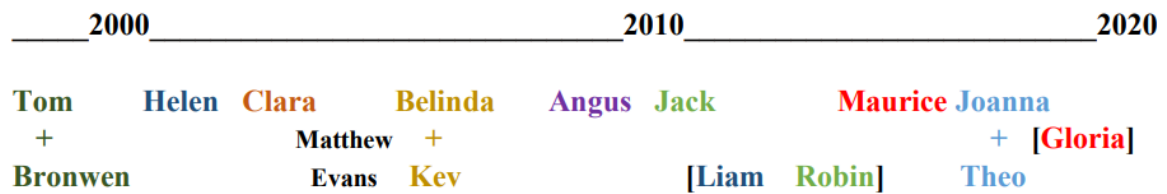
There are influences that affect the way people view the world, their place within it, how they think and feel about how they should live their lives, where they should live their lives, and with whom they should live their lives. This chapter explores the motivational factors that have pushed people away from their previous homes and human correspondences (Ingold 2016b, p. 14), away from their previous ways of living, to seek alternatives. It further aims to understand why Tasmania emerges as a place that is attractive.

As stated in Chapter 2, at any point in their lives people are a palimpsest, an entanglement, of old and new relationships, influences, memories, practices, actions, and experiences upon which they constantly reflect. The German-American philosopher, Hannah Arendt expresses the experience of pull and push factors and their association with time well:

> Man [sic] lives in this in-between [between the past and the future], and what he calls the present is a life-long fight against the dead weight of the past, driving him forward with hope, and the fear of a future (whose only certainty is death), driving him backward toward "the quiet of the past" with nostalgia for and remembrance of the only reality he can be sure of.
>
> (Arendt 1978, I, p. 205)

As with New Farmers worldwide discussed in Chapter 2, New Farmers in this research became unsettled. They pushed away from urbane experiences and were attracted to globally-aligned ideas around care for the environment through careful rural farming. They share similar motivational factors which have pushed them away from the urban and unsatisfactory rural experiences, and then pulled them towards Tasmania. It is possible to identify within the diversity of human life stories, experiences, and influences some common elements.

For context, the following is a rough timeline of research participants' arrival in Tasmania on the land they started to farm, with Tom and Bronwen being the first in 1999, and Joanna and Theo the most recent in 2016:



5.1 Experiences that push people away from their old lives

5.1.1 An unsettling world mood

Many of the New Farmers in this study, started to be unsettled about the future of the planet some years before it became a common world mood (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018). For some this has been partially through experiences of trying to grow food in the heat of Queensland, along with a shared understanding of climate change, and potential and realised environmental, social, and economic upheavals. These shared understandings are frequently experienced and accentuated through the mainstream media, but also through social media groups (see Chapter 7) and blogs that some of the New Farmers write and/or follow, where there are discussions in the comments sections around these issues.

It is apparent from their early blog entries and publications, that people in this research feel that they have a lived experience of climate change and it causes a level of anxiety, of fear. As Arendt puts it: there is "…the fear of a future (whose only certainty is death) …" (1978, I, p. 205). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the British anthropologist Tim Ingold has also altered his urgent question from how to live, to, in effect, how to survive – at the "brink of collapse" (Ingold 2017, p. 22). The change to Ingold's and New Farmers' perspectives reflect an unsettling world mood. This world mood creates for some a situation where survival is deemed to be the necessary mode of living – and this is an unsettling way to live.

5.1.1.1 Unsettling change

Attempts to escape from harmful change have longevity in New Farmer circles. Kev talks about his original move from Melbourne to found a commune in Queensland in the late 1970s, which he describes as being more about escaping "world war than world weather". The Vietnam War and conscription had only recently ended, and Kev and his housemates wanted to avoid a nuclear replay. This Cold War world mood and motive to move are exactly what pushed Martin Polin, a Utah Lawyer, to the Central Highlands of Tasmania in the 1970s

"… seeking a haven from nuclear war" (*The Examiner*, 11 May 2013). This unsettling world mood caused by the fear of war anticipated that of climate change.

5.1.1.2 Climate change

When New Farmers set out to farm in Australia, it is common for them to express the fact that the climate pushed them away from the place they lived in. Escaping the heat appears to be a strong motivator for people moving to Tasmania. Maurice states emphatically that the heat of Queensland drove him to Tasmania, and in an answer to a blog comment he states: "rising heat [is] killing me".

Helen states that she and her friends in Queensland discussed environmental collapse; she assumed life was not sustainable and would "shut down soon". At this time (the 1980s), Helen and her friends also had an interest in esotericism – a search for enchanted lost knowledges. These experiences drove Helen to experiment in the 1990s with "self-sustainability" in rural Queensland which was "unusual back then". Trialling this in Queensland increased her desire to move away from a place "where the weeds grew too well", to seek land that would "sustain my family nutritionally".

Belinda and Kev were pushed away from Queensland by the unsettling heat, pests, and diseases common in more northerly parts of Australia. In 2005, Belinda set her family a challenge and they attempted to live for six months on their rural property in Gympie without spending any money. They almost achieved this, and the journey became a very instructive blog and a popular book. Belinda talked about the experiment as seeing if they could survive the "disintegration of world systems". Their attempts at growing healthy crops were, however, constantly thwarted by bean fly, stem rot, cucumber fly, fruit fly, etc. They describe outbreaks on their land in Gympie as turning everything to "mush".

During a break from catering in rural Victoria, Angus studied a History, Politics and Philosophy degree. In his blog he writes about that time as revelatory, which could be framed as a type of apocalypse (see below), or an epiphany (see Massy in Chapter 2), and it is unsettling:

> I read all the evidence around climate change and learnt a lot about the history of our species and our planet. I was startled at where we are, and the consensus about what is happening to our planet.
> Feeling the need to address this situation, and after a lot of thought, it seemed that the best response, for me, was to live as simply as possible and do something that does

> not damage our biosphere, and something that would help to create a resilient community.

Note here that Angus is not talking about personal survival, but community resilience assisted by his response to the planetary crisis. Angus, however, also notes the biosphere is edging closer to "catastrophic change" in his blog. This suggests, like Ingold, Angus understands that change cannot be averted.

5.1.1.3 An apocalypse and the Gaia Theory

Ideas of the apocalypse – which is a revealing, a process, not a final collapse – have been unsettling people for a very long time (Wessinger 2016). Maurice, Belinda and Kev all refer to a popular prepper acronym TEOTWAWKI (The End Of The World As We Know It), which is highly suggestive of dramatic change rather than obliteration. This dramatic change is not expected to be pleasant, however, as they all also employ the prepper acronym WTSHTF/SHTF (When The Shit Hits The Fan/Shit Hits The Fan). Before he comes to Tasmania, Maurice entitles a 2013 blog entry "Preparing for the Zombie Apocalypse" and quotes the Rocky Mountains Institute:

> Following a colourful introduction to Zombie-ism – *"Scoff at your own peril, but consider this: Doomsday Preppers—a reality TV show about families who stock up on non-perishable food, ammunition, fuel, and more in preparation for a potential apocalypse, zombie-induced or otherwise—is the most popular series of all time on the National Geographic Channel, pulling in 1.3 million viewers for the season two premiere in November last year".*

In Queensland, Maurice had worked hard to build a 10-star environmentally rated home and permaculture property at Cooran, and he ran as a Greens candidate in the state elections. In his blog, Maurice states that James Lovelock and the Gaia Theory are "…largely instrumental in shaping the way I see most things these days". In the comments section of this blog, it is discussed that Gaia is not concerned with morality and there will be, there needs to be, higher human mortality rates. Some people are shocked by these comments. When Lovelock presented his theory, he wanted to highlight "… the *goal* of the self-regulating Earth, which is… to sustain habitability", where the environment is not fixed, but "… we of the industrial world have been busy changing the [Earth's] surface and atmosphere... [and there is] little time left to escape" (Lovelock 2006, p. 33). Escape is in the forefront of Maurice's mind.

5.1.1.4 Financial insecurity

There is a common experience around the lack of security and untrustworthiness of conventional financial systems and economic welfare. It has unsettled and pushed people away from places and lives which require a dependence on current vulnerable structures.

For Joanna particularly, it was her experience of the unreliability of "the establishment", which she believes will worsen, that unsettled her world. Joanna thinks we can no longer rely on government to support us in old age. She states that her mother retired too young, leaving paid work without access to an early pension and undertaking glorified childcare for her older brother. Joanna witnessing her mother's relative poverty has made her want to support her, care for her and themselves in old age.

Belinda and Kev's trial at living for six months in rural Queensland without spending money, is also an attempt to unhook from mainstream economic inter-dependency. Maurice and Helen both believe that there will be a collapse in world financial systems and economies. Helen was an early purchaser of cryptocurrency, while Maurice sees the need to abolish currency altogether and return to bartering, or a gift economy (Myers 2013). Bartering is perceived by most people in this study to be a function of rural living, of rural work, not of urban living and urban work.

5.1.2 Unsettling experiences of place

All the New Farmers in this study have experienced living in different parts of the world, and/or in different parts of Australia. They have lived and worked, therefore, within different ecologies and climate zones, and as such they have developed an understanding of what might be possible (or impossible) in different places. These experiences range from: Maurice who moved from post-war France to Belgium to Australia as a child, living and working in different parts of Queensland and the UK as an adult; to Clara, born in suburban Tasmania, travelling overseas for the first time in 2018, but describing her many movements in Tasmania and to mainland Australian rural properties for work as: "meeting different cultures within a culture".

Here I think Clara is presenting what she felt were the different communities (generally based around a farming family with their seasonal labour-force sharing a place and social interactions) to be found within the imagined Australian rural community. This imagined rural community is part of Australian "country-mindedness", where "… agricultural pursuits are inherently worthwhile and wholesome… [and] it is half of a dichotomy, the other half of

which is non-farm life" (Botterill 2009, p. 61). This implies that "non-farm life" is worthless and unhealthy, part of an imagined urban dystopia that should be abandoned (Halfacree 2007, p. 7).

5.1.2.1 Dystopian imaginary

The idea of the city, the urban, non-farm life, as dystopian appears common in Western thought. In Chapter 2, the urban was noted as a place that is "undesirable, unnatural and unnecessary" (Clark 1999 IV, p. 1/16), with urbane work suffocating virtue (Mayes 2014, p. 268). Most of the people in this study are notable for their ability to bounce between the urban and the rural. It seems, however, to be their experience of the lack of space and nature, or the perception of a lack of space and nature, which defines the urban dystopia for them, rather than its more literal translation as a 'bad place'.

In a radio interview in December 2018, Joanna and Theo describe their move from the "concrete jungle to the grass jungle", and while their experience of city life (specifically, Sydney and London) shaped "who we are", it also "drove the move" (Briscoe 2018). They felt that they could not reconnect with nature in the city. Robin did not want to continue living in Sydney following a holiday in Tasmania, because again there was not enough "space" or "nature" in this large densely-populated city. Robin stated that people ignore the seasons in the city, and she exclaimed that they do not even notice when there is a drought. People in this study perceive an unsettling lack of reality from urban dwellers.

Angus worked in the retail sector in urban Melbourne as a teenager. He describes life in urban Melbourne as "impersonal" – there are a large number of people with "no real connection". City life was too "hurried", and city work was too "harried". Angus's experience of city life indicates an association between the urban and too many people living side-by-side as an unconnected co-habiting assemblage (see Chapter 2); and, an association between a lack of space and nature and a high human population density.

5.1.2.2 Too many people

Maurice has been emphasising over-population on his blog since 2008. Indeed, over-population and food shortages have been unsettling ideas since Thomas Malthus's unpopular predictions at the turn of the 19th Century (Bourne 2015).

Yet, because Maurice has attempted to escape from climate change (while acknowledging that that is impossible), he states, "the hustle and bustle of 'the big smoke' always shocks me… the unsustainability of our civilisation…" and, "security will always be a problem in

big cities post-crash". This idea is supported by a prepper-friend of Maurice's because, for him, cities are densely-packed with zombies. The zombie is a prepping-term for a person who has not prepared for social collapse in time. The urban experience for Maurice, then, is unsettling as the city will become a dangerous dystopia in the near-future; and that danger must be avoided by moving away.

5.1.2.3 Damage

The urban is not a nurturing place to heal when people are damaged. Belinda pushed away from urban Sydney to rural Queensland following the death of a second partner. Her experiences of being the governess for a family Out West (a remote part of Queensland) was, however, even less nurturing, as the family were "racists" and "abusive". There was more space, but it was paradoxically claustrophobic.

Other research participants were similarly pushed away from unnurturing places by damaging experiences of abuse, violence, and betrayal.

5.1.3 Relationships that unsettle

Grief, loss, and disappointments with personal and professional human relationships are common to all the people I have worked with in this research. The experience of unsettling relationships is frequently part of the motivation to move away from one place, to move away from a former way of life.

Relationships that unsettle are common to most human beings, of course, but many people do not have the ability to respond with the same level of agency as people who participated in this research. The New Farmers in the present study, display mobility and choice because they are relatively well-off, tertiary educated, well-travelled, well-read people. They have a good stockpile of cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu [1980] 1990).

5.1.3.1 Death

That only certainty – death – united Belinda and Kev. While Belinda's childhood in New Zealand was rural, she did not grow up on a farm. She did, however, fall in love with a farmer's son who died in a microlight plane crash. Belinda had felt unease about the plane before the crash, and she was devastated by her boyfriend's death. The young man visited her when Belinda was in despair. Belinda believes in ghosts because of this apparition.

Belinda left New Zealand with a new partner. They moved back and forth between New Zealand and Australia until they finally decided to settle in Sydney, New South Wales. They

ran a wholefood shop together, until this second partner died. After this second death, Belinda was introduced to Kev because he had recently lost his partner in a similar way.

Both Belinda and Kev have kept on moving, separately and together, displaying a high degree of unsettledness. Death would appear to cut all obligations between the living and the dead – yet, getting to know Belinda and Kev, I believe they still feel an obligation to their dead and while they have moved away from the sites of their deaths, their dead have moved with them. In other words, the "…dead-weight of the past…" (Arendt 1978, I, p. 205) is always present, unsettling and propelling people forward in time and space.

5.1.3.2 Family conflict

It was not simply the loss of relationships through death that I think drove Belinda to seek new communities through more enduring relationships. Her New Zealand family also fat-shamed Belinda – her body was never quite acceptable for their perception of young womanhood. Belinda's refusal to visit them in New Zealand, ostensibly due to her anti-flying principles, has maintained the rift.

Family ruptures are common to all the New Farmers. Before she married, Clara worked on various farming properties, and was a member of the Army Reserves. Clara was badly injured during an explosion and, finding it hard to continue physical agricultural work, she took herself to Glenormiston Agricultural College in Victoria. While she healed thoroughly at college, Clara "learnt how to learn" which she said was "invaluable". After Clara's return to Tasmania, she married a dairy farmer with heritage in the north of the state. The farmer would not allow Clara to farm, and this relationship broke-down after their fourth child. Clara needed her freedom from a restrictive relationship that cast her as 'farmer's wife' not as 'farmer'.

While Clara's Tasmanian family did not always like the choices she made, they helped Clara move the four children and numerous animals (chickens, sheep, 2 cows) back down south after her marriage ended. Clara's description is of a travelling ark. At one point, as they bumped along, there was an explosion and Clara looked around in time to see a chook propelled into the air. She had been sitting on a bad egg, which exploded with gas. It seemed symbolic of Clara's predicament, how accidents in life can suddenly propel you in a different direction.

Like Clara's husband, Tom's parents also tried to control his activities. Tom states that he was "allowed" to have a small garden making it sound like a major concession on his father's

part. This is where Tom discovered that he really liked growing things, that he really liked using his hands to grow things. Tom's parents' disapproval and restrictions helped push Tom away from urban Adelaide (from them) because he also craved his freedom.

Helen moved back and forth between urban Brisbane and rural Queensland, as personal relationships came and went. There is a sense that these relationships may have helped trigger some of the movements, but Helen has always been keen on creating opportunities for more lasting relationships, on moving on from things that do not work.

5.1.3.3 The disappointment of failed communities

There is a history of seeking new human correspondences by forming alternative communities among some of the New Farmers in this study (see also Chapter 7). Helen was teased at school for being the daughter of a single mother and later she observed more family separations. Now she thinks we are more successful at blending families, but when Helen was younger she thought that too many people lived "filing-cabinet lives", where neighbours were unknown to one another, where there were no reliable networks, where there was no kinship. Helen describes her "epiphany" when she realised the need to start to collectivise again.

After a brief move back to Brisbane from Coomera, Helen tried to found a collective enterprise on land near rural Maleny in 1989. There were government grants for the development of collective living and Helen and a new partner planned a holistic medicine centre. According to Helen participants were too "fearful" of "sharing" and "collective decision-making" and they were scared off. One potential participant decided that she would like to live near somewhere like this, but not in it. Helen was again left without the extended family she craved.

When Kev and his fellow students founded their commune in Queensland, the new community knew little about growing their own food, how to build weather-proof structures, or even how to live together. Only Kev struggled on, surviving harassment from Joh Bjelke-Petersen's Queensland police who saw hippies as the enemy (and who were possibly threatened by the idea of communal life). Kev advanced from a leaky log cabin to a decently-built mud brick home, with his partner and two children. The land, however, was "shit", people struggled to share, and the commune broke apart.

These experiences of the fear of sharing, are ones where people are reluctant to be bound by the sticky tendrils of gift giving (Ingold 2016b, p. 10); they want to immunize themselves from having to return the favour or the debt (Esposito 2010, p. 12).

5.1.3.4 The disappointment of interrupted careers

As well as the unsettling nature of families and the disappointment of relationships that do not endure, there are also disappointments with careers and the correspondences severed when they are lost. New Farmers have had many and varied occupations, and if it is true that identity forms during human interactions (Blommaert 2016a), then when careers end the disruption to people's sense of identity is extremely unsettling.

Jack faced disappointments with other humans in her chosen career, and she seems to have experienced an unsettling crisis in her identity as professional relationships ended. Jack joined the Royal Australian Navy as a marine technician when she was 19 years old. It meant she could travel, and as a starting wage it paid extremely well enabling her to buy land. The notorious "Children Overboard" affair, however, changed Jack's attitude to the navy and the Australian Government.[5] Interestingly, Jack does not refer to this event directly, but suggests another incident as the catalyst for a new career: when her navy crew was attacked, only Jack "reacted with clarity" and was able to help the injured. This experience motivated Jack to leave the navy and become a paramedic, but all these incidents unsettled her by displaying other people's lack of moral fibre and resilience.

For Maurice, work has included being a Civil Service draughtsman, a professional photographer running a thriving business, an Energy Rating Technician, an attempt to be a Greens politician, and a stay-at-home father. Maurice explains his disillusionment around 1990 with the "recession we had to have", which ruined his lucrative photographic business.[6] At the same time, however, Maurice had made a complaint about his professional photographers' association. He discovered what he believed to be a misuse of funds, but his

[5] The "Children Overboard" affair is notorious in Australia. In 2001, near Christmas Island, the *HMAS Adelaide* intercepted, and attempted to turn back towards Indonesian waters, the SIEV 4 (Suspected Illegal Entry Vehicle 4), with 223 passengers and crew. Some adult males from the SIEV 4 ended up in the water, and a child was seen held over the side of the boat. The next day, as it was being towed, the SIEV 4 started to sink forcing some of the *Adelaide's* crew into the water in order to save lives (https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Former_Committees/scrafton/report/c02). There was a lot of controversy over who said what about the situation, but the idea that children had been thrown overboard by 'unauthorised arrivals' began to circulate in political circles and the media. The incident is widely credited as assisting in a Howard government election victory that year by their representation of the ruthlessness of 'illegals' and the strength of the government. The Navy maintains that no one from SIEV 4 threw a child overboard.

[6] "This is a recession that Australia had to have" is a notorious quote from the Labor Government's Treasurer, Paul Keating, in 1990. It referred to the inevitability of recession following the financial excesses of the 1980s, where there were excessive business loans and high interest rates that could not be maintained. This event highlights the mood that continues today around government and financial institutions being untrustworthy.

whistleblowing came with the threat of being sued. His wife Gloria describes this period as being very stressful due to the menace felt from former colleagues and the loss of savings.

When I visit Maurice in his temporary shed-home in the Huon Valley, I spot a handsome and large photographic portrait of Maurice. He holds an impressive single-lens reflex camera and is beaming in the picture. Gloria reflects that Maurice was happier then and was also very funny. She quickly amends that statement, to say that Maurice still cracks jokes, but he is more serious now. I reflected that, despite Maurice's bravado in the earlier interview, there is palpable disappointment with the way his career worked out, with his colleagues, with the world, and specifically with the world of people who are too stupid to "get-it-together" for survival. Maurice is proud of his intelligence, his ability to "get it", his capacity to learn vital new skills and his daring to start again from scratch, relatively late in life. Maurice maintains a seemingly dispassionate practical ability to adapt and move – but it does not make him liked or happy.

Participants in this research start from different places, with different histories, yet there is a sense that they all become disappointed with their working lives, with varying human correspondences and with the state of the world. They all become unsettled and they mobilise themselves as a result. For this mobile group, Tasmania then becomes an attractant.

5.2 Drawn to Tasmania

5.2.1 Tasmania as antidote

All the New Farmers in this study have responded to the various motivations discussed above by moving and learning to cultivate things-that-grow, as Heidegger would have put it; that is, by starting small-scale farming in Tasmania. It is an occupation that engenders the feeling of control. As Theo states regarding farming in Tasmania as the climate changes "… there is plenty we can do and have control over".

There are two main, inter-related, and at times blended, positive motivators that present themselves through the analysis of New Farmers in Tasmania, that of: small-scale farming as a better way of life, nostalgically slower, cleaner and greener, with the hope of progressing towards an agrarian utopia; and, an attraction to Tasmania as a refuge, a safer place where

climate change can be survived, where the worst of climate, social, and economic upheavals might be avoided.

5.2.1.1 Small-scale farming as an attractive way of life

In the West, we have centuries of stories about agriculture as a natural and virtuous way of life, even when its hardships are portrayed or its progression queried (Bakhtin 1981; Head 2014; Mayes 2014; Sandin *et al.* 2013; Thompson 2011; Wilson 2015). Regardless of our personal opinions on Judeo-Christian scriptures, the Old Testament is filled with farming references and metaphors. As such, the idea of traditional agriculture as a simple and honourable occupation has become a culturally embedded mental frame – a dominant story plotline – in Western societies and their colonies (Lakoff 2010). These ideas can be contrasted with contemporary perceptions of industrial agriculture fuelling climate change, but in this present study research participants see themselves as being on the 'right side', they see small-scale farming as providing some of the answers to climate change woes.

While Arendt believed that the dead weight of the past drives people forward with hope, there is a constant nostalgic reference to that past because it is the only reality (Arendt 1978, I, p. 205). In Chapter 2, many of the motivations for change, moving and attempting to start new ways of life contain aspects of nostalgia, and when coupled with ideas around caring for the environment and the assumed virtuousness of farming – being in control through small-scale farming – they align with what Christopher Mayes (2014) has called the "agrarian imaginary". It has also been explored that the idea of the urban dystopia with too many people and as a damaging environment triggers the opposite – that of the rural utopia with fewer people and a nurturing environment. Utopian activities include farming by all in a community in a place where there is space and nature (More [1516] 1981, pp. 70-71).

As Angus contemplated his move south to Tasmania, he nostalgically imagined a simple life where he would deliver his home-grown vegetables by horse and cart, and it seemed a utopian place from which he would never need to fly. This implies that an agrarian utopia also contains more time as well as space, as life's pace slows. While Kev believes that farming is "the one job option with a future", he fears any of us living the life of the original French peasants, as "neo-peasants". Kev refers to *La Terre* by Émile Zola which does not elicit nostalgia for the countryside, the agrarian past; life is too nasty, brutish, and short. Kith and kin are unkind and destructive. That for which we feel nostalgia has not always existed in the past in quite the form we imagine. There is anti-nostalgia here for the rural past – the grinding work and powerlessness of the peasants is not attractive.

Regardless of this, it is interesting to note that many of the New Farmers in this study, and in research around the world (see Chapter 2), have some of the same media influences feeding their perception of the agrarian as the best way to live. This aligns people (generally white people of a higher socio-economic status) globally with the idea that care of the environment through careful rural small-scale farming is how they can be in control of their futures.

Most commonly, New Farmers mention the influence of North American farmer and advocate for holistic farming, Joel Salatin, and food writer Michael Pollan. Both have been criticised for their nostalgic and blinkered agrarianism (see for example, Guthman 2007; Harper 2015; Stănescu 2010). Angus acknowledges Salatin's influence, but he also criticises his "high energy input", while he states that Pollan's *Omnivore's Dilemma*: "had a lot to do with starting us down our current path".

Joanna and Theo attended one of Salatin's talks when they lived in London. He is quoted as referring to himself as a "Christian libertarian environmentalist capitalist lunatic farmer". London Real points out that opinions on him vary, from "…the high priest of the pasture" to "bio-terrorist, Typhoid Mary, charlatan, and starvation advocate" (London Real 2016).

After university, Joanna and Theo shared an apartment in Chippendale, Sydney and "over-dosed" on *Escape to River Cottage* (Channel 4, 1999) when it was thought of as "daggy" and not on the television at a popular time. The host, Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, had been a chef and was attempting to be self-sufficient. He inspired Joanna and Theo to grow tomatoes in their apartment, but as there was little light the experiment was not a great success. Fearnley-Whittingstall's "infectious enthusiasm", however, helped them to persevere with their nostalgic "rediscovery of lost skills".

Maurice and others watched *River Cottage Australia* (Keo Films/Foxtel, SBS 2013). Unlike Fearnley-Whittingstall, the host, Tasmanian Paul West, did not own River Cottage in New South Wales. West eventually moved back to the city (Newcastle, then Melbourne), stating that his dedication to sustainability had not changed and, "River Cottage is more a state of mind than a physical location, I think… Shop locally, cook at home using fresh ingredients, start to grow your own herbs and micro-greens, nurture your local community" (Barrett 2018).

All the New Farmers in this study have some understanding of permaculture principles. Permaculture is not simply a way of farming, and it permeates the thinking of New Farmers and their associates. It is a term coined in Tasmania by Bill Mollison and David Holmgren in

the 1970s, and it captures the concepts of permanent agriculture and permanent culture. Holmgren writes:

> Permaculture is also a global movement of individuals, groups and networks working to create the world we want, by providing for our needs and organising our lives in harmony with nature. The movement is active in the most privileged and the most destitute communities and countries. Permaculture may be Australia's most significant export for humanity facing a world of limits.
>
> (Holmgren 2020, citing *Retrosuburbia*)

Clara undertakes permaculture planning for others, Maurice did a permaculture course in Queensland. Maurice and Clara had chatted before Maurice moved to Tasmania, connected by their interest in permaculture. They both cite the British Geoff Lawton as their permaculture "guru". Most people credited as being 'gurus' or experts in the farming world (and beyond) tend to be male.

A black vegan academic, Amie "Breeze" Harper, claims that Salatin's position of white male privilege acts to conceal the fact that black people in the USA have less access to good food and land. Salatin's promotion of himself and his way of life conceals racism and sexism inherent in the system, and it becomes very hard to criticise (Harper 2015). Salatin does display a level of self-awareness of his privilege, for instance when he describes himself and his fellow "homesteaders" (part of the back-to-the-land movement in the USA) as the: "elite change agents of our culture" (Salatin 2019).

It is interesting to consider the influence these negative attributes might have on New Farmers. Maurice seems able to distinguish some of what he considers to be positive influences, from the negative: "I've been following Salatin for years, and he is truly inspiring….. my goal is to run the [Gala] Farm as a scaled down version of [Salatin's] Polyface Farm…. I do wish he wouldn't put all 'greenies' in the same basket though". Maurice was also influenced by reading Belinda's book and following her blog while he still lived in Queensland. Belinda had started her blog in 2007, after she moved down to Tasmania. Following her first post, other people acknowledged the influence that Belinda had had on their lives. People commented that Belinda's book has caused them to dream of moving to the rural, or it has inspired them to grow their own food where they live. One person in New Zealand stated that they moved to acreage outside of Christchurch, because of the book.

Joanna and Theo read all things permaculture, following their awakening to “what was possible” when they lived in London. This included Mollison (*Permaculture: A Designer’s Manual*), Holmgren (*Permaculture: Principles and Pathways Beyond Sustainability*), and Masanobu Fukuoka (‘Natural Farming’) and *The One-Straw Revolution*. Joanna and Theo’s perceiving “what was possible” is interesting. As well as reading about permaculture, Tom and Bronwen were involved in community gardens in Australia and in the USA. It was in Seattle that they also witnessed a vibrant farmers’ market and got to know some of the people there and observed their lifestyles on small farms not far from the city. It was at this point they too realised “what was possible”; and this revelatory idea has been described as a type of transcendence that allows people to become inspired to perform something new (Stephan *et al.* 2015, p. 1406).

Since that time, Joanna and Theo became interested in the American-Tasmanian Steve Solomon (mentioned by others in this research) but found his approach too difficult and inaccessible. Solomon, for example divides food gardeners into two groups: casual gardeners who learn from television presenters and magazines and only produce a small proportion of their family’s food; and, serious gardeners who are: “independence-minded individualists raising a large portion of their family’s food supply” (Solomon 2015, p. 4). Joanna and Theo are also keen on the Canadian Jean-Martin Fortier (*The Market Gardener*), but they are critical of his constant cropping which is hard on the soil and on the body – hence their interest in perennials and food forests. In short, Joanna and Theo state they did as much research as possible before they, “took the plunge”.

In effect, with the Western worldview that small-scale farming is a natural and virtuous way of life playing in the background, New Farmers have then observed, through alternative farming in popular culture, how it might become a possible way of life for them. New Farmers have embraced a theory about how they might progress to a nostalgically slower, cleaner, and greener agrarian utopia. For some, this theory culminates with the idea that Tasmania is the best place to put this vision into practice – because there is a perception that Tasmania is a safer place where climate change can be survived, and where the worst of climate, social and economic upheavals might be avoided.

5.2.1.2 Tasmania as a refuge

Tasmania and southern New Zealand have been foci for a trickle of ‘climate refugees’ for at least a decade, spurred on by James Lovelock predicting that the climate would not change as dramatically for certain northern and southern hemisphere island “lifeboats” (Lovelock

2009a, pp. 17-18). Learning how to farm becomes urgent if, as Lovelock suggests, abundant agriculture will be possible only on specific island lifeboats and at discreet continental oases in the near future (Lovelock 2009a, p. 18). It is possible, however, that even James Lovelock has an "Antipodean England" frame emotionally wedged in his mind (Evans 2012, pp. 282-335).

Many of the research participants and their associates in this study frame themselves as climate refugees. As such, Tasmania became in their minds a refugium – a safe place where they can remain or become productive. This sense is entwined with the mood of a world that is presently being disclosed as one in which we need to survive, rather than one in which we need to simply learn how to live (Ingold 2017, p. 22).

The unsettling world-disclosing mood of fear is transformed to a more attractive mood of hope, or at least courage, in a refuge. This allows people to contemplate a more productive survivable future. Courage has been added with Maurice in mind, for he does not like the concept of hope. Maurice is a self-proclaimed "doomer", which he thinks is a more pragmatic and intelligent version of a prepper. He believes having hope is an illusion, and that the masses are misled and subdued into inaction by "hopium".

In the blog about her book, Belinda, however, manages to display a degree of active hope ("opportunities") for the future even while acknowledging apocalyptic change:

> Kev and I have talked about a follow up [to the book], so much has happened, changed, grown, evolved. Ideas and beliefs have been eroded, or simply torn down overnight. We've both felt we were watching the end of the world, and still do… there are solutions to our various planetary emergencies. Perhaps even opportunities for an even better life.

During her family's challenge to live without money, Belinda's mantra became "Let's move to Tasmania", in response to the difficulties encountered farming organically in a pestilential climate. Kev had visited Tasmania, but Belinda had not been to the island. She imagined it was like New Zealand, but without her relatives. It sounded like a safe nurturing place to grow food and survive.

A prepper friend of Maurice's has referred to Tasmania as his BOL, or "bug-out-location". A BOL is a prepping term for a secret refuge in which to avoid those marauding urban ill-prepared zombies. Thanks to Lovelock and others, the Tasmanian refuge is not a secret – but

for the present at least, it becomes a place that allows survival away from too many other people.

5.2.2 Tasmanian possibilities

Tasmania can be presented as a place where contradictory ideas co-exist awkwardly. Tasmania is an island and the smallest state of Australia, with a population of a little over 500,000 people. It is on the periphery of a much larger, warmer and generally drier continent ("the mainland"), and – as mentioned in Chapter 4 – it is a place continually accused in the media of being "broken", "freeloading", and the "poorest state" (Coslovich 2018).

Tasmania, however, should also be remembered as the place where one of the world's first 'Green' political parties was established – the United Tasmania Group in 1972. There were high profile environmental campaigns around the flooding of Lake Pedder, the Franklin Dam, and the Wesley Vale pulp mill in the 1970s and 1980s. Greens candidates were elected to the Tasmanian state government from the 1980s onwards. Prospective incomers to Tasmania would be aware of this history, and it influences the way they imagine Tasmania: as a place of pugnacious clean green space and nature.

Tasmania, therefore, can become a "mainlander's dream" (Coslovich 2018). It can be thought of as a site of inspirational historic rebellion (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 322), and fantasised as a space for experimentation (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 319), as incomers did about the Cévennes of France.

5.2.2.1 Enislement

In Queensland, Helen repeatedly dreamt of Tasmania. She kept seeing images of Tasmania everywhere. Tasmania was "calling" to her, and there was something about Tasmania that Helen was dwelling on. Tom and Bronwen were very attracted to the idea of living on an island. A holiday on Kangaroo Island off South Australia made them yearn for the isolated privacy and low population of island living, but they could not work on Kangaroo Island. When a job in Hobart (Tasmania's capital in the south of the state) was advertised while they lived in Seattle, USA, they jumped at the chance to move to an island.

This enislement is metaphoric and literal. To enisle is to make into an island, to place or settle on an island, to isolate or sever (OED 1983, p. 660), and it was introduced to me by Belinda, reading her draft novel set in a not too distant future dystopian, post-apocalyptic Tasmania. Enislement contains the double motivational concepts of a metaphoric enislement where

people imagine the possibilities for nostalgic self-sufficiency, and a literal enislement by living on an island and being isolated from upheavals.

5.2.2.2 Tasmania as a European home

As noted in Chapter 2, myths about Tasmania's climate and landscape have been used to attract British settlers for decades. Even today, people have the idea that Tasmania is in some way more English, more European, than other regions of Australia with its tourist shots of autumnal Lombardy poplars lining narrow roadways and rows of French lavender stretching to the horizon. Every New Farmer who mentioned farming in other parts of Australia, had clear ideas that Tasmania was cooler, wetter, seasonal (that is, with four temperate European seasons), less pestilential, even more fertile. In short, the idea of Tasmania as a benign place that is more compatible with small-scale farming was attractive.

Helen stated, "we wanted to be somewhere more European". By this, Helen is suggesting that a more-European place has a temperate climate, one which is better suited to European-style farming. Joanna and Theo had a practical list of attributes that helped them choose Tasmania, and it included the fact that they wanted a place with seasons.

Nearly all my research participants have European ancestry – only Tom is different in this regard (his parents are from India), but Tom is influenced by European ideas, growing up in a country dominated by the White Australia policy and British histories.[7] As such, I believe for them Tasmania is imagined to be more European. It is, therefore, a place that is imagined to be more like 'home' – and therefore, the idea of moving to Tasmania can be thought of as a return home.

For Heidegger, constructing a home, building a home, is the fundamental way mortal humans are on the earth, along with cultivation and cherishing, caring for, others (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 145). Tasmania is attractive to New Farmers as a place, therefore, that offers the opportunity to recover home and a sense of belonging for people who have moved many times in their lives. Building and being part of an (imagined) European-style rural community within Tasmania becomes an essential part of home-building.

5.2.2.3 Tasmania realised

After her failed experiment with a collective enterprise in Maleny, Helen had continued to grow her own food and started a veggie box scheme. It was from Maleny that she came on

---

[7] The White Australia Policy (*Immigration Restriction Act* 1901) effectively prevented non-European migration to Australia, until it was largely abandoned in 1973.

holiday to Tasmania with her then-partner to try and understand her attraction to the island. Helen hoped her partner would not agree to move to the place with which she was obsessed. He, however, encouraged the move from Queensland because he wanted to experiment with wine grapes – clearly Tasmania for him was a place that provided such an opportunity.

Tasmania's small size and population, and the relative accessibility of rural land from urban areas, have been an attractive idea for New Farmers. Small rural blocks of land are available here and, until recently, were much cheaper than equivalent mainland Australian properties unless the latter were remote and very marginal. On his blog in 2012, Maurice points out:

> Real-estate in Tassie is half the price, acre for acre, of what it is here [Queensland]… I like the feel of the place [the Huon Valley], the way one is never very far from anywhere, the way the countryside is still not overpopulated.

Maurice avidly watched *The Gourmet Farmer* (SBS 2010) as New Farmer Matthew Evans made lots of mistakes on his first farm in the Huon Valley – largely because it was southern-facing and cold. After a few trips down to the Huon Valley, Maurice was alerted by a local friend to the perfect piece of land near Geeveston with a northern aspect and reliable water. There was a lot of competition for this 5-hectare block, including from his new Tasmanian neighbours who also moved from the mainland. The block seemed so good, Maurice states he broke his own rules and bought it sight-unseen. Maurice was following Belinda's blog when he was delighted to discover that she now lived only 14km away. Maurice had lived around 30km from Belinda and Kev in Queensland, but he was yet to meet them.

While Joanna and Theo did not buy land until they were renting in Tasmania, like many of the New Farmers, they began their search for land through the Internet from the UK. Joanna thinks that the Internet has allowed people to see new possibilities. Their explanation for how they came to focus on the island is simple and practical: they wanted a small block of land, near to a city and airport, and near to other people.

5.2.3 The allure of community

While there is a tension between ideas of self-sufficiency on small-scale farms with that of participation within a community, the ideal of community as a wholesome attractive ambition is constantly repeated among research participants. As Kevin Hetherington suggested, New Farmers are seeking to belong to "… some lost, authentic and essential community…" (1998, p. 50) by moving to Tasmania and learning how to farm in this place. Farming with a

permaculture ethos supports this ideal, as permaculture practices have also been identified as: "…ethical doings that connect ordinary personal living with the collective" (Puig de la Bellacasa 2010, p. 159).

There are ideas around improved correspondences between people on islands and in the rural, and there are ideas around an island as a place where community and the land itself can be shaped by intended New Farmer activities. There is more space and time for community to form as landscapes are reformed. In Chapter 2, Pete Hay explained: "to recover 'home' is thus to recover 'community'", because home is the basis of our individual and communal identities (Hay 2002, p. 7), and home becomes our field of care (Hay 2002, p. 9). As New Farmers come 'home' to Tasmania, they care about their neighbouring communities, as they desire them to be made up of people learning to dwell together in a similar fashion to them (Heidegger [1971] 2001, pp. 143-159).

While it has been noted that New Farmers are aware of the negatives of a peasant way of life, some research participants still show an interest in rural communities with heritage that appear to co-respond well. There is, therefore, a degree of nostalgia for and attraction to imagined successful past communities, and some contemporary communities in poorer nations which have endured. Watching a video of Bolivian farmers (Anon. 2016), showing the older villagers dancing in circles wearing their traditional garb, with the visiting Vice Minister for Rural Development and Agriculture, Belinda appreciated:

> … how low level the dance activity was at, so even the old could be part of what is basically a dance of communal connection. How much we have lost! How unlikely we are to regain it.

As well as a caring connection to the land through small-scale farming, an "agrarian vision" is also importantly about political and social ideas concerning the way society should be organised (Mayes 2014, p. 268), and community is an agrarian virtue (Mayes 2014, p. 269). Positive social interactions allowing for in-commoning - a "dance of communal connection" – is for what many New Farmers yearn.

5.2.3.1 Community and islands

Islands are perceived as being bounded and binding of people, as places that facilitate correspondence and in-commoning. Maurice's attraction to Tasmania has much to do with it being a place that allows survival (see above), but he also knew people here and he illustrates

the idea of islands as a ready source of community. In his blog in 2013, he writes in response to queries regarding his decision to move:

> I'm not moving into a commune, but rather a community (in Tassie) where I already know several couples who are very much like minded.

After discussions with people who had already made the move to Tasmania, in 2012 Maurice states "the sense of community in Tasmania is far more present than almost anywhere on the mainland".

Maurice says that he has heard bad things about 'intentional communities', as there is too much political interference from members, even if it is with the best of intentions. For Maurice, part of his attraction to Tasmania is a perception of a ready-made community containing people he knows to be like-minded. Maurice has had some correspondence with these people and they already have practices in common. As explored in Chapter 2, from such correspondences come expectations of continuing social obligations.

When Helen implied Tasmania is "more European" (see above), this includes the impression that Europe is a collection of thriving traditional communities. Tasmania as a rural European-like island, becomes a place where community evolves naturally. As explored through the idea of relationships that unsettle, Helen has been seeking to collectivise and glue new types of family back together again in a form of *Gemeinschaft* (see Chapter 2). As well as an emotional glue, *Gemeinschaft* involves the glue of obligations that appeals to Helen. In Tasmania Helen can attempt a form of "kinnovation" (Haraway 2015, p. 162, note 15); that is, she can create a new community by gluing family (kin) back together again, the kin she has craved since childhood. By kinnovation, Donna Haraway refers to making families of non-biological kin and more-than-human kin to reduce the human population – but over time Helen persuaded both her son and her daughter to become enisled with her.

Not everyone has been convinced by the idea that rural places, including islands, may provide more social interactions and obligations. Angus's paternal grandfather had the opposite experience. He farmed on mainland Australia but disliked the social isolation of the rural; he moved into the suburbs and grew great flowers and veggies, finding the conversation he craved. When Angus first moved to country Victoria, he found the interest people showed in him, their desire to stop and chat, to correspond, a challenge. He, however, became used to these new correspondences and slowed down in the process. In his blog Angus writes:

> What remained of my city-bred reticence was tested by interactions in the back yards and lounge rooms of people I probably would never have socialised with had I stayed in the city. Small town demographic squeeze meant rubbing shoulders with ideals and perspectives -- political, social, religious -- I had rarely encountered. I learnt to extend the small town courtesies … more deeply, encompassing a respect for difference. For as a friend helpfully noted, a ‘community’ is not a group of people who agree about something; a ‘community’ is a group of different people with something in common -- in this case a shared geographic location.

This statement resonates strongly with Ingold’s ideas around the necessity for people to correspond in a place in order to constitute a community; that they do not have to have things in common, rather this develops as they interact (but also see Chapter 2 and Internet communities). As islands are geographically bounded, the impression for New Farmers is that opportunities to correspond will be improved, but there is often the impression that the community in Tasmania is already like-minded. A commentator on Angus’s blog stated she wanted to relocate from New South Wales to Tasmania with her family in 2014 because, “I want to live in a community which values and celebrates real food and we can form a relationship with the grower rather than a faceless conglomerate”. Maurice mentions the “Tassivore” movement which encourages eating more local in-season food as being part of his attraction to Tasmania.

5.2.3.2 Family, kith and kin

Our families attract, even while they can hurt. Kin appear to have a powerful pull, with binding tendrils that are stronger than those for non-kin (Ingold 2016b, p. 10). Joanna and Theo’s careers in London were successful enough that they bought a house near Wimbledon, and they started to look for land in the UK. The first rumblings of Brexit, however, were being felt and they were missing their Australian family, so kin helped pull them towards home even though they chose a different state.

Kin resident in Tasmania have attracted the Tasmanian-born New Farmers back to the island. After leaving the Royal Australian Navy, Jack studied to become a paramedic in the Northern Territory, when a relationship there (with another Tasmanian) ended. Jack returned home to her supportive family. Driving back down from the bush one day, Jack talked about her mum and dad who she describes as being very practical, and she shares her mum’s love for horses. Her dad built his own boats and followed Jack to various ports when she was in the navy. As a child, she watched him and helped him make and mend things. She particularly absorbed

his ability to work things out as he went along with a job: ever seeking, ever learning (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 159), along the becoming path (Ingold 2011, p. 12). In other words, Jack has much in common with her parents, and that attracts her to live near to them.

5.2.3.3 New careers, and new professional relationships

Finally, the idea that moving to an island, moving to the rural, presents opportunities for new work correspondences is strong, and attractive. Like Matthew Evans, all the New Farmers in this study have been offered a form of rebirth in their careers as well as in their personal lives by moving to rural Tasmania and learning how to farm. They are attracted to building positive identities through new working relationships, and while they feel they can leave failures behind they remain a palimpsest, an entanglement, of the old and the new.

5.3 A Summary of New Farmer Motivations

There are push and pull factors in common that have motivated people to change their lives, move, and become New Farmers in Tasmania.

People have had experiences in common concerning: world mood that unsettle (climate change, the apocalypse, financial insecurity); place that unsettle (a dystopian imaginary, too many people, damage); and, relationships that unsettle (death, family conflict, disappointments with failed communities and interrupted careers). Tasmania has attracted New Farmers through common ideas of its being an antidote to the ills of the world, via small-scale farming in a refuge. Tasmania raises possibilities for enislement (nostalgic self-sufficiency and isolation), and a safe European-like home which can progress an agrarian utopia and encourage community formation.

In this chapter, discussion has been around the observable patterns that contribute to people becoming unsettled, and the common ideas which have attracted people to Tasmania. It leads us some way to understanding why and how new small-scale farmers seek to find a new and safer place to form a new way of living, and to find community. As motivations, these ideas are part of people's imaginations, but they are made manifest by moving into Tasmania and learning how to farm on the island; by struggling to become a farmer, as explored in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6: STRUGGLING TO BECOME A FARMER

People in this research have sensed a world mood (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018) and imagined a new way of life which they believe can be disclosed, solidified, made real, by becoming a farmer. New Farmers in Tasmania are learning how to dwell in a new place. They are learning to cultivate and nurture things that grow, build and construct things, cherish, protect and care (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 145).

As part of moving into rural Tasmania and progressing towards an agrarian utopia, people need to learn to correspond with their new surroundings. People have had to acquire new practices, or adapt existing practices, they have had to learn new skills. As Ingold has stated, "skill is about going along with things – about responding to things and being responded to. In a word, it is a practice of *correspondence*" (2018, p. 162). Correspondence varies through space and time, however, and New Farmers are not simply "…going along with things"; they come to Tasmania with pre-formed ideas of what this place is like, of how they might live here, of how they might affect social and ecological relationships.

In this chapter, the ecological surroundings of New Farmers in the broadest sense will be focussed upon. Ecology refers to relationships within a home; it is associated with economy which is the management of that home. New Farmers come to rural Tasmania with an intention to manage, as well as to correspond. As they engage with their surroundings, they attempt to make real their imagined new ways of life, but things do not always respond to them in ways they expect.

This chapter explores how new Tasmanian farmers learn to correspond with their new surroundings; how they find a place to live, build a home, and learn to cultivate living things. While New Farmers correspond with their new ecological surroundings, some of their imaginative intentions are revealed in the landscape, where they dwell. But other things are also revealed, and Chapter 6, therefore, considers the lessons and realisations New Farmers acquire as they struggle to be farmers in Tasmania.

6.1 Taking the plunge

6.1.1 Looking for land

As indicated in Chapter 5, there were Internet searches, trips back and forth to Tasmania, searches after moving to Tasmania, and tip-offs from friends to find suitable land. It also became apparent in Chapter 5 that many people had strict criteria to find their ideal block of land for farming. Not surprisingly, some people looked for good soil (Tom and Bronwen) or a favourable aspect and/or reliable water (Maurice; Belinda and Kev; Angus). While others emphasised infrastructure such as proximity to an airport (Joanna and Theo; Helen).

6.1.1.1 Food matters

While people kept a mental list of strict criteria, frequently they came upon the land they bought by surprise – as a pleasant discovery. People fell in love with some quality of the land that was not on a list. Tom and Bronwen were hunting close to Hobart where they were employed and they wanted land with good soil, carrying a spade around in their ute to examine the humus content. They are molecular biologists, but Tom is a cook and needed the soil to support hungry vegetable and leafy-green crops. As Tom states nostalgically in his blog, explaining the need for good fertility: "[you] can't cook the kind of great but simple food, that old cultures eat, without high-quality, super-fresh, heirloom variety produce". The concept of 'heirloom' will be returned to later in this chapter.

The block of land they eventually bought in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel area was simply spotted due to a "For Sale" sign tacked to a tree – it was a cow paddock with no buildings, and it had never been cropped. As soon as they walked onto the land, they were attracted to the warmth of this place with its open but sheltered aspect. The soil was satisfactory – "8 acres [almost 3.25 hectare] of ancient creek-bottom – sandy-silt with a reasonable amount of organic matter" – but not excellent. It cost more than they had budgeted for, and they sold the ute to raise the deposit.

The first two gardens they put in on the land were considered temporary, and as they suspected they were not successful due to their inexperience growing plants in southern Tasmania. As they observed the land, they selected an area with the best northerly aspect, planted orchard trees and vegetables in raised beds with an "almost" possum-proof fence. The area of vegetable production expanded to 400 square metres with a market-garden style planting and they moved orchard trees to allow for this expansion. They do not slash the

former pasture and wallabies graze on the long grasses without eating all the wattle seedlings. Wattles, therefore, have re-invaded the property and are one of the signs of a change in a way of life, a change in the correspondence between the land, the human and non-human animals, the plants, the soil, seasons, tools, etc.

6.1.1.2 Survival matters more

A wattle invasion also occurred on Belinda and Kev's land in the Huon Valley, and they have removed some of the trees for biochar production as they became too large and were too close to their house. When Belinda, Kev and Luke arrived by ferry in Tasmania, they drove around the north east first, camping and considering their options, then they thought it best to check the south before finalising their decision. The 3.5 acre (almost 1.5 hectare) block they found in the Huon Valley was the only land not sourced through the Internet, but it has a good aspect. Among my research participants, their block is the smallest; a conscious decision to farm an area that can be more easily managed by a small group of people.

It is surprising that they found this block at all, as it feels like it is in a secret valley with an unsealed narrow and winding access road. Tasmania has many such hidden valleys. Being hidden feels important to Belinda and Kev. Belinda's next book is set in an immediately post-apocalyptic Tasmania – being hidden from the starving, thirsty hordes pushed out of Hobart is vital. The land was owned by "…an odd man with a local reputation" and they managed to pay more than the asking price for the block. They panicked at first, thinking that they might have bought the wrong land. They had not, but once they had cleared a blackberry thicket impenetrable enough to hide a multitude of Br'er rabbits, they revealed a car dump on the site of an earlier homestead; evidence of multiple past correspondences in the process of collapsing (see Chapter 2 and Margaret Mead in Ingold 1993, p. 162).

Maurice, Angus, and Matthew Evans's properties are all haunted by past correspondences; the performances of past actors realised in and affecting of the landscape in the present. All three were apple orchards which were then reformed following the Tasmanian apple industry collapse in the late 1960s, early 1970s. On Maurice and Evans's land, water is channelled along remnant swales in unhelpful ways; although some of the tree stumps have re-sprouted at Fat Pig Farm offering Evans's pigs attractive foraging areas and the smallest piglets places to hide from wedge-tailed eagles (see also *frontispiece*).

Angus described his property as being in the "high tide" area for apple production, planted when prices were favourable, grubbed up when prices crashed and then grazed. I appreciated

his image of a wave controlled by external god-like market forces, washing over the land and transforming it time and again. Farming rarely seems to be about the food people need to eat, or what a piece of land is fit to produce – in short it is not a correspondence as such, people are not simply "… going along with things". Rather farming is often guided by 'the market' and what produce will make a profit, combined with the distracting novelty of the new (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018).

For many New Farmers, however, considerations of what the market will bear play only a minor part in their planned activities. For people intent on survival, it is the future that they are concentrating upon. Indeed, Maurice exposes his future focus when he mentions that he believes preppers are "nutcases", preferring to follow "…luminary futurists".

Maurice chose his 12.5-acre (five hectare) land for the water – it incorporates a large dam, and the lie of the land is such that water is directed into this area from the surrounding properties. Maurice and other New Farmers believe water will become locally scarce in Tasmania. While Maurice is also intent on the post-apocalypse survival of his family, unlike Belinda and Kev his land is not hidden. The main road runs along his bottom boundary, and log trucks made the temporary shed-home rattle as they thundered past. One commentator asks Maurice on his blog, how he will defend his land from the city folk, but Maurice does not reply. In 2019, however, when someone makes a similar point about defence, Maurice states that he is not a great believer in "wild mobs going crazy" as people are too unfit to travel far without a vehicle. Maurice points out with his land in the Huon Valley, "there are 3 big hills between them [wild mobs in Hobart] and us… And a big moat between Tassie and the big island [the Australian mainland]".

6.1.1.3 Reshaping land and plans

Like Maurice's land, properties with excellent views are often more visible to others from the outside, but the terrain can be steep and difficult to manage. Clara feels "cursed" by her 15-acre (six hectare) block of land's steepness, even if "the views are fantastic". The land was found for her by an orchardist-friend who lives nearby. Choosing this land allowed the friend to be near to Clara, and it is likely that she believed the views would soothe Clara and her children after their unsettling flight south. Swales Clara cut for directing water flowing through her block into the Huon River, however, have proved problematic. They were too difficult to drive across when carting her mobile pastured-chicken coops and they had to be re-shaped at great effort and expense. Continually reshaping the land to make it correspond with new farming dreams can lead to unforeseen consequences.

Reshaping the landscape, however, is common on properties that New Farmers own. Jack and Robin's land is near Jack's family in the Derwent River valley, a landscape Jack is familiar with from her childhood. Jack explained that she needed land for a horse she brought with her from the Northern Territory, and this 252-acre (102 hectare) property has breath-taking views. It was part of a larger high status free settler 1827 title granted to George Frederick Read, the first son of King George IV from an annulled marriage. This section is very steep and flat areas and trackways have had to be cut into the rubbly slopes. This property, however, offered the space and its bushland offered the "nature" that both Jack and Robin craved.

Joanna and Theo had been looking for land with a house and ease of access to infrastructure for Joanna's work, so views, soil and water were secondary considerations. The land did, however, come with a creekline with a series of weirs surrounded by eucalypt woodland. The woodland has excited them – it has allowed them to imagine a food forest which could support them into old age – independence from government welfare being their prime motivation for learning how to farm. Joanna is annoyed that so many people assume that a largely eucalypt woodland cannot produce food – she thinks this attitude is biased towards European species.

Joanna finds that older people can be quite patronising when they offer advice, because she and Theo are young. They feel they are largely responding to and planning their future activities around the landscape as they find it; they are attempting to correspond with the landscape rather than pummel it into submission. In a sense, however, others have already reshaped the land for them: the concrete weirs along the creek, collections of rock cairns, an over-grown orchard, the eucalypt woodland, the open grassy areas – multiple past collapsing correspondences. Because they are young, Joanna and Theo have the time to be attentive, to experiment, to observe the land and slowly begin a new correspondence.

6.1.2 Building a home

New Farmers are making clearings in which to dwell, they are building a home where they can seize the opportunities created by moving into rural Tasmania. In this clearing, they will have access to, they will hopefully attract, other humans and non-humans with whom they can correspond, with whom they can create things in common (see Chapter 7). As stated by Heidegger:

> In the midst of beings as a whole an open place occurs. There is a clearing… Only this clearing grants and guarantees to us humans a passage to those beings that we ourselves are not, and access to the being that we ourselves are. Thanks to this clearing, beings are unconcealed…
>
> (Martin Heidegger [1935] 2008, p. 178)

Heidegger is attempting to open the possibility of an authentic human existence, one which the individuals truly own, one where people can come out into the light and truly live, truly dwell (Albert Hofstadter in Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. xiii). Building (in the imagination and on the ground) requires a practical engagement with one's surroundings (Ingold 2000, p. 186).

6.1.2.1 Off-grid shelters

Building homes off-grid displays independence; an intention not to rely on state infrastructure, of becoming enisled. For Jack living off-grid means that she does not continually have to be disappointed by the failings of others as was the case in the navy; she can be self-sufficient and look after those she cares about. Jack can manage her surroundings, and perhaps there is a desire to manage her own destiny.

Jack and Robin lived in an existing shack on their first block of land, but they considered building a straw bale house until they bought the neighbouring block with its huge modern Colorbond shed, which they are in the process of converting to their main home. The shack could not be an official residence; it was very cosy, with old well-loved furniture, paintings of Scottish Highland cattle and the muggy warmth of a miniature washing jungle suspended from the ceiling. Robin described this as the "ceiling wardrobe", with clothing left outside to dry getting blown away.

Moving into the converted shed feels like Jack and Robin are 'coming out' into the public (into the light) once more. Jack and Robin cannot wait to be able to entertain people – they have not been able to do that in the shack and they have had to go to other people's homes. They are excited about their plans for the new house: opening it up to the views, inserting separate rooms including a huge larder – necessary for the level of storage that they are planning, including fermented foods. They intend their new home to be off-grid like the shack, along with an off-grid abattoir whose processes will be "transparent"; where nothing will be "wasted". Their home and land, the storage plans, all speak of longevity and fortitude, or, as Jack has put it, "grit".

Maurice too is in for the off-grid long-haul. Like his 10-star rated house in Cooran, Queensland, Maurice's new house in the Huon Valley is meticulously planned. During the construction process, Maurice has had to live for almost three years in the only building that had not been excised from his land – a large, poorly constructed apple-packing shed that flapped and rattled in the wind. Making a home that will be habitable post-apocalypse takes time. It is an expensive, resource consuming, and exacting process. Maurice's construction techniques annoy some people who try to be careful with resources, who will not use concrete – Maurice has used a lot of resources, a lot of concrete. They think Maurice is selfish. Maurice, however, believes that we are too late, and there is little point in him worrying about such things anymore – a sentiment exhibited by Lovelock some years ago (Aitkenhead 2008). Maurice is readying himself and his family to survive a post-fossil fuelled chaotic future, so he believes that using up resources now is immaterial.

Both Maurice's Queensland and Tasmanian houses are named *Mon Abri*. *Mon Abri II*, is for Maurice and Gloria's twins – it will be their bolt-hole after the Shit-Hits-The-Fan along with the self-sustaining Gala Farm which should be fully operating by the time they take over. *Mon Abri* means 'my shelter' in French. Archaeologically, *abri* is a prehistoric rockshelter where people could warm themselves in the sun, protected from the wind. *Mon* is the singular of 'my'. It is an individualistic gesture, and such shelters are not normally moveable – but Maurice has managed to move his shelter south.

Maurice's home and farm are for the survival of his kin alone. The land is larger, but the house is smaller than Belinda and Kev's. The house and farm are about the adequate survival, shelter, and sustenance of one small family, for half a century or so. This is unlike Jack and Robin's house, or even Belinda and Kev's – their homes are more spacious, inviting selected others into their clearing, to dwell (albeit temporarily) within. Maurice does not aspire to founding a dynasty or welcoming in too many others.

6.1.2.2 Straw bale nurturing

Tom and Bronwen, Belinda and Kev have built straw bale houses. These homes are nurturing solidified. They feel richly upholstered (a concept suggested by Bronwen), and organic with their pleasing rounded edges. Sound is blanketed. Both houses have 'truth' or 'honesty' windows where a gap is left in the thick plasterwork revealing the straw construction beneath. Unlike Maurice's house, the construction of these houses was ecologically cautious, producing a very small carbon footprint.

As Belinda and Kev were building their house, they did not want to "use" people as affordances, that is, take advantage of new correspondences too soon, and they could rarely afford to hire others to help. Building is a slow process, but blog pictures of them putting the straw bales in place show the rapid transformation of the house frame into a home and massaging the render into place looks sensual and loving (although it rubbed their skin raw). This must affect the feel of a home, being wrapped around by the fertile productive earth of render and food gardens – it feels cherished and cherishing.

Belinda and Kev have used an old iron fly-wheel for their truth window and it is in their toilet, which might assist contemplation (see photograph, p. 42). They want people to witness the inner-workings of their lives, they want to be transparent about the life they lead, while attempting to make that life appealing. They do not want to scare people off. As Belinda states:

> Living simply is not about giving things up, forsaking them, frugality, denial, stinginess, depravation or lack. It's about taking things up: self-determination, freedom, autonomy and abundant living.

It was hard work building a house, but there is respite, there is a softness and comfort inside these straw bale rural homes. They feel consciously disconnected from the hardened concreteness, the sharp edges, the industrialised noise of the presumed damaging over-populated urban.

6.1.3 Learning to cultivate

Everyone in this research has stated that they have learnt, are learning, how to farm by trial and error. The idea of learning via trial and error speaks to New Farmers' awareness that becoming farmers is hard work and a process for the individual. It also speaks to their not always "…going along with things", of forcing an economy onto ecological surroundings. In some respects, New Farmers imagine they are the first to perform in their own clearings – like Adam and Eve (actually, more akin to Cain and Abel) – they are figuratively and literally breaking new ground.

New Farmers have also participated in more formal collective learning opportunities. To a certain extent, however, even this requires "personal discovery" (Krzywoszynska 2016, p. 304), and personal attention and endurance (Ingold 2011, p. 55). This attentive individualistic learning is challenging, and it can become isolating. As stated above, New Farmers are

learning to cultivate and nurture things that grow, learning to build and construct things, and learning to cherish, protect and care (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 145). Sometimes, what one should have been attending to is only discovered in retrospect – hence the oft-quoted method of learning by your mistakes, of learning by trial and error.

6.1.3.1 Choosing what to farm

For New Farmers, considering what to farm has depended upon: what they and others want to eat or drink (in the case of cooks like Tom and Angus, or winemaking for Helen and her partner); what they think will be easier later in life (for food forest advocates like Joanna and Theo, and Clara); what grows well in Tasmania in sufficient quantities for future survival (Belinda and Kev); what they imagine a small acreage mixed European farm should have (for Maurice this includes oaks, truffles and pigs, orchards and ducks, pasture and sheep); and, what will be supported by the land and look good (Jack and Robin's highland cattle).

What people have ended up farming, however, sometimes varies from this as New Farmers discover what works with their surroundings and how to support themselves economically. People dream of being self-sufficient but know that they still need money. As well as a food forest, Clara started a market garden to feed her children but found it boring and "…a rotten way to earn a living". It is unlikely that Clara was ever going to earn a living growing vegetables and leafy-greens, she had a habit of attending markets late with little produce. Her heart was not in it. Chooks, she declares, are more interesting.

Jack is also more comfortable around animals, as human animals have been disappointing. Jack is given difficult horses to train, and difficult cattle (the formerly feral highland cattle dubbed the "Lost Boys") to manage. Jack reads the animals with which she corresponds as individuals and as members of hierarchical groups. Jack is the mistress, the matriarch, the top animal in the pecking order. The cattle (most of them, anyway), horses, ponies, and dogs seem to know this. Jack treats them well but she does not let them get away with bad behaviour, so their groups achieve a level of stability. This close correspondence, this active care creating relationality (Puig de la Bellacasa 2010, p. 164), however, is not an equal exchange. The human animals have more power than the non-human animals and the relationship might be less trusting if the non-human animals realised this.

Like Clara, Jack grew up in Tasmania, and they both developed a love for horses. Farming meat, however, seems almost accidental as the cattle were originally enlisted as pasture managers, to keep the vegetation down and fertilize the soil. But they were also chosen for

their aesthetics, Jack states, “it’s all part of it”. We discuss the theory behind vegan agriculture, and Jack muses that it is almost impossible to do without animals on a farm, even if you are not going to eat them. Jack pauses and adds, “but that would be a waste, would it not?” For New Farmers not wasting things is important.

Like the highland cattle, Helen’s sheep are browsers rather than grazers. Looking for a secondary product to go with their vines in the D’Entrecasteaux Channel, Helen at first thought of ‘fat lambs’ (that is, lambs slaughtered for meat), but this was considered “bad karma”. By the time Helen had discovered a gap in the market – sheep milk and sheep cheese – the browsing sheep had eaten the vines. The soil was very poor, but this disadvantage was retrofitted positively to milk production. Helen writes on her business website that the Awassi sheep they crossed with East Friesians:

> …forage for food and select intuitively what they need seasonally. They are the fattest of fat tailed breeds. This means, like a camel, they store fat in their tails (up to 10kg) for ‘lean’ fodder times. They have not come from areas where their genetics have been ‘engineered’ to suit modern farming and thus they’ve retained desert like hardiness. A perfect animal for our environment and our farm and farming system/philosophy!... We don’t mess with nature… Our family business is founded on respect for our sheep, respect for the environment…

But humans do “mess with nature”, they do not just go along with things. That is, humans as part of nature influence their ecological surroundings constantly – it is a poiēsis. A poiēsis is something new brought into being, even if it is with pre-existing things. It can be thought of as the way in which humans gather so-called natural materials together, to bring new things forth (Heidegger [1954] 2008, p. 317; Heidegger in Wheeler 2018).

Belinda and Kev have run farming businesses which brought new things into being, and which also have needed to shift focus. Belinda and Kev started off market gardening but found that seed-saving brought in more money, even though they continually calculate from which part of the mainstream financial system they can unhook next. While Belinda is extremely good at seed-saving, it also satisfied a need to be prepared for what they firmly believe will be a chaotic future where local (European and New World) food seed will become scarce. Belinda and Kev point out on their website that:

> Seed saving is at the very core of food security. Ensuring the means to produce our food year in and year out using methods that aren’t dependent on what’s happening in

> the rest of the world. With open-pollinated and heirloom seed we can provide ourselves with one of the most important necessities – food.

It has been suggested that the use of the term “heirloom” displays a nostalgia for “old races” in colonised regions like North America (like Australia), while there is a tendency towards “innovation” and a “breaking with the past” in northern European countries such as the Netherlands where the authors reside (Heuts & Mol 2013, pp. 131-132). So, while historical context is valued in some places, in other places innovations are presented as exciting and producing a better product.

Certainly, Tom’s quote at the beginning of *Food matters* (section 6.1.1.1 above) points towards a nostalgia regarding how food might have been produced at another time, in another place. Belinda and Kev’s use of the term heirloom, however, is not enacted as glassy-eyed nostalgia, rather it is an attempt to break with corporate capitalism’s grip on agriculture and basic survival. Seed saving is a practical individualistic survival activity, but perfecting it takes time, attention and endurance (Ingold 2011, p. 55).

Establishing a food forest takes a long time too. In the interim, Joanna and Theo started to take-over a neighbour’s nursery and learn how to grow more conventional commercial crops, albeit at a small scale. They took me into the hothouse, where tomatoes were installed and flourishing in their biochar soils, drip irrigated at ground level – they like the heat, but they do not like wet leaves. Joanna and Theo made the biochar themselves, but the instructions for that were not clear. To New Farmers so many things seem like alchemy in this world, rather than there being a straightforward recipe. Recipes, however, do not capture the skills needed to apply their content to your own life (Warin 2018, p. 109). The tomatoes are good strong plants raised from Belinda’s seeds. They state Belinda is very clever with seed, and because of this Joanna and Theo do not need to learn this time-consuming new skill.

Joanna openly stated their goal was feeding themselves first. It is in part practical (they must learn how to grow before they can supply others regularly), and in-part a slight nervousness to take the plunge into a new way of dwelling. After a year, however, they started to supply a shop in Geeveston with their lettuces. Theo expresses in their blog the skills he and Joanna are developing with plants as a kinship:

> It seems silly to say aloud but we develop a close affinity to the plants when we’ve witnessed a whole life cycle. From determined seedlings popping up as surprises to surviving transplant and suffering a terrible batch of compost. From thirsty plants

> struggling to cope with summer heat to wispy stalks of green somehow producing plump fruits of magnificent colour and umami goodness.

There is a relationship with plants, a correspondence, that is unexpected and pleasing. One area of their polytunnels is referred to as the "science lab" for warm-loving crops like wasabi. Joanna and Theo accept that some crops might fail, but state that if they have enough food to feed themselves, it would not be a disaster even if their diets became a little boring. Framed as experiments (or, trials) in a laboratory, mistakes (or, errors) are not a problem.

6.1.3.2 Choosing how to farm

For New Farmers, farming framed as experimentation, and understood retrospectively as trial and error, feels less confronting. Tom explained to me that:

> …the mistake people make assuming there is no art in science. Scientific research is all about problem-solving, and you need to be creative for that. You need a good level of imagination. I've solved maths problems while asleep. Farming problems too – I have read a lot, but you need to try something for yourself – experiment with the theoretical knowledge – then adjust. I can 'dream-up' solutions – farming is a science and an art.

Tom is pointing to the fact that such experimentation – trial and error – is a heuristic, that is, it is fully learnt by discovering it for oneself, discovering "rules of thumb" that work well-enough creatively and practically within a specific "task environment" (Wheeler 2020).

Everything Tom has learnt is being employed to come up with adequate solutions quickly. More intractable problems take longer to think through, with solutions eventually being imagined during sleep. The solutions are then 'ground truthed', a phrase used in archaeology. This is a fitting term for the New Farmer situation where, following active engagement with the surroundings (Ingold 2000, p. 186), imagined solutions are brought back outside into the weather-world (Ingold 2010). They are then worked from the mind, through the body, into the earth and out again through the plants – and it is a poiēsis; something new is brought into being with pre-existing things. As such, someone farming plants interposes themself into the bringing-forth which could occur without them. In so doing, their ecological surroundings are transformed intentionally, accidentally, individually, and collectively (McCall Howard 2012, p.61).

Tom's friend Angus taught me how to hoe weeds (also known as plants out of place) – using a stirrup-hoe, with an oscillating head. Angus showed me what he was after: not pulling the

whole plant out of the ground but cutting it off a bit below the green stem. The hoe was sharp on both sides of the stirrup, so it could cut while being pushed forwards or pulled backwards. I hoed downhill between the lettuce beds; three consecutive sections separated by baulk pathways. The spacing between beds and the main right-angled pathways has required a lot of trialling (and erroring). Angus has been largely self-taught, and in 2015 he reflected in his blog:

> I knew very little about horticulture, and began my journey with a rake and a spade and a lot of enthusiasm. The first garden was small, dug by hand and planted a bit at random. It did work, though, and the first time I sold produce from the garden was a very happy day! I discovered why hoes were the essential tool in pre-industrial agriculture (think of the implications of the phrase 'hoedown'), and after 18 months I was able to afford a rotary tiller to hasten the work of cultivating soil. And then a couple of years ago I bought a share in a tractor, and I expanded again to other parts of the farm, and this year I am leasing a couple of acres from a friend on the Huonville road, so the trend of learn-apply-expand is continuing.

Angus nostalgically acknowledges the historical longevity of the hoe, while quickly evolving to more costly, more technologically complex and resource consuming tools to increase production. Meanwhile, Clara has problem-solved how to do pastured chooks on her own, bricolaging what she can get to new tasks (an old ice cream float, caravan props, etc.). When Clara notices some of the chickens are “head-nodding”, she explains it is a sign of stress and they must be quickly moved and released. Clara has multiple trailers for the pastured chooks, who are “correctly” free-ranged within mobile fencing so that they can only graze one small area of a paddock at a time, and they are moved frequently.

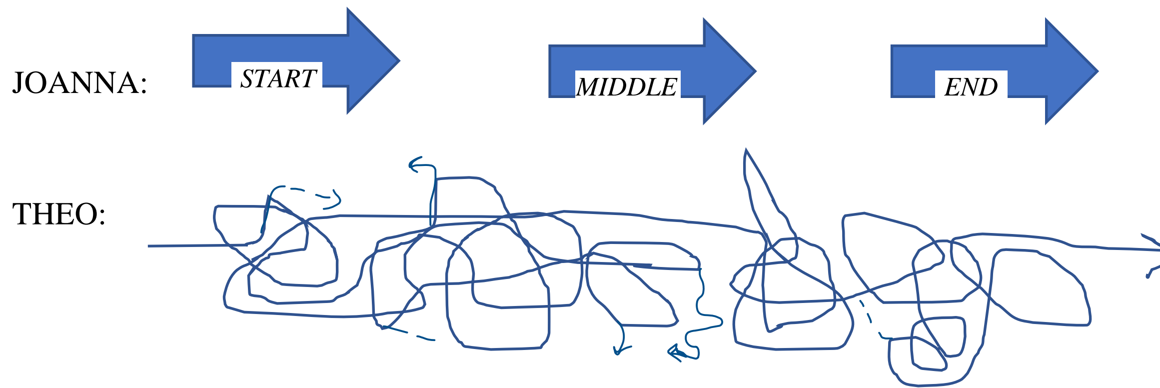
To Clara and others, this is part of regenerative agriculture. It is intensive and intense. The farmer cannot disappear for long stretches of time – she must be present, observing, thinking, and acting – dwelling with her animals, corresponding with them over time. Theoretically, there is a close correspondence in regenerative farming between the farmer, the land, the soil, the microorganisms, the plants, the animals, etc. Regeneration, however, suggests a recreation of past living conditions, a return to some previous healthier state. This is not the case for European-style farming in Australia – the land is in fact being transformed into something new. With newness comes unforeseen consequences – some positive and some negative.

Joanna has expressed concern about much of the advice they have received, as it is often contradictory. The scientist in Joanna explained the contradictions as potentially real – different people get different results. She stated, however, there is a mystifying lack of statistically verifiable data on growing food and people speak as if some things are clear, when it turns out they are not – recipes do not contain all the necessary knowledge. Experts, after all, can only offer general "rules of thumb" (Krzywoszynska 2016, p. 299). Joanna declared that they will keep good records.

As a project manager, Joanna breaks down a single project on the farm into chunks. Joanna is goal-oriented, and each project must have a finish point. Joanna laughs: "this project management process is a nightmare for a small farmer, where results may not be seen for a decade!" Joanna is a classic Ingoldian intentional traveller (Ingold 2007 and 2016b, p. 19), where life is experienced sequentially, it is goal-driven, and the ends are the most important aspect. Joanna's skill is expressed by action that is explicable, not simply explicit (Ingold 2018, p. 161-162). Theo is more of an Ingoldian attentional wayfarer (Ingold 2007 and 2016b, p. 19); he nomadically moves between tasks like a peripatetic philosopher, but he gives himself the opportunity to stop, and put his hands into the dirt. Theo's skilled practice is sensitive and precise, it involves movement and feeling (Ingold 2018, p. 162).

Theo is not directionless. He has many projects occurring at once that can inform each other, that are entangled, and it appears that how these projects are executed, what happens along the way, the means, are of equal importance to the ends. Theo is a bricoleur (Lévi-Strauss 1962, p. 11); he is more entangled with his physical environment, working through practical issues creatively, using whatever is on hand (Heidegger [1954] 2008, p. 322). Guided by his reading, Theo's movement through space with tools on hand helps him learn physically. Joanna, however, tends to learn intellectually.

Joanna states that she often forces Theo to his goal, and that it is typical of him to do something, to become something by accident (compliance banker, for example, when he studied biochemistry). Joanna emphasises, however, that Theo has a scientific brain, and this reminds me of Tom – they are a blend of the scientist/engineer and the bricoleur (Lévi-Strauss 1962, pp. 9-13). In my notes, I think of the contrast Joanna explains thus:



New Farmers in Tasmania tend to have "…the skills and abilities of the educated urban elite' (Willis & Campbell 2004, p. 317), with strong cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu [1980] 1990). These have allowed them to take risks, experiment, learn individually – or, at least, within the safety of their own small kinship groups – through their own trials and errors. New Farmers have, however, also attended more formal courses in their efforts to learn how to farm, and this influences how they choose to farm.

Natural Resource Management (NRM) developed from the early 2000s. There are 54 natural resource management organisations in Australia who compete for a mix of state and federal funds. There are three NRMs in Tasmania: South, North and Cradle Coast (the west coast and north west). Their role is to: "…protect, sustainably manage and improve our natural resources for the shared environmental, social and economic benefit of the community" (NRM South 2020).

NRM tends to target livestock farmers, simply because they have larger properties so they can cover the greatest area of land for limited funding. NRM South runs Small Farm Planning workshops, and Theo, Maurice, and Maurice's neighbour (also a good friend of Theo's) attended one together. Theo thinks that this workshop is designed to sit awkwardly between "industrial farming" and "organic/permaculture ideologies". Kev makes the same point, but states it sits uncomfortably between "mainstream" and "smaller alternative" farming.

Maurice had wondered on the first day of the course, why he was there. He stated that the course was clearly planned for total novices, while he is experienced, with a Permaculture Design Certificate and 10 years of experience in Queensland. He proudly showed them his Permaculture Masterplan for the farm, with which he intends to use permaculture principles to turn the farmland "from significant, to exceptional".

Once they were out on the land, however, it became more interesting. The workshop participants visited a Huon Valley farm which Maurice described as “inspirational”. Wallaby-proof fencing and the introduction of long rotation grazing (a regenerative farming technique) had transformed the farm from a place with little groundcover and rocks “appearing” as the soil shrank, to a flourishing mixed pasture that can withstand dry spells and does not require the expense of extra feed.

Maurice learnt about pasture on this course – he went from assuming “it’s just grass”, to realising that it is not. He can now recognize at least half a dozen grass varieties and determine what is “no good”. Interestingly, the NRM South course is more about building a correspondence with pasture, than with animals. The clover and grasses are deemed a “natural resource” while the domestic livestock are not. Maurice learnt that a high proportion of clover is a good sign, and Maurice is ‘living in clover’ on his farm.

As people look back, as they reflect on what they have learnt, how they have learnt, the choices they have made, the plans that do not transpire as expected – people tend to express this as individually learning through trial and error. Moving into rural Tasmania and attempting to live, attempting to survive as many put it, has required new levels of attention and endurance, but also some flexibility in responding to the local surroundings by varying activities and practices. It is important to note, however, that New Farmers are not simply responding to their part of the Tasmanian landscape as it was when they arrived; they are also responding to the changes they make to their Tasmanian surroundings. Time, space, and relationships are all entangled and there are some difficult lessons and realisations formed from those correspondences.

6.2 Practising farming

6.2.1 Hard work

New Farmers are practising what they imagined as a new way of life and a world mood (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018), by learning to farm in Tasmania. As they struggle along a new path (as they struggle to go along with things), their understanding of what it means to be a farmer, to live and survive, is transformed. With an individual skilled task, there is a completion, an end to the journey, however, “…every ending is a new beginning” (Ingold

2011 p. 55). And it is a similar concept in farming: people learn through observing and participating within the cycle of farming seasons, that there is a never-ending, cyclical nature to farming. There is constant repetition of a multitude of major and minor tasks. Every farm task is preparing (getting ready) for the next farm task (Ingold 2011, pp. 53-55). And it is mentally and physically exhausting.

While Maurice uses permaculture principles to plan his farm, he is aware of problems around permaculture advocacy which can make growing food sound easy. In 2016, Maurice quotes Ann Owen in his blog:

> *I still get irritated with wide eyed, blue sky thinking permies though, who despite knowing sod all about vegetable growing, come and tell us that we are not doing it "right" in our market garden, because if it's hard work, it can't be PC. Apparently, you can design hard work out of gardening; in PC Lala land, all you have to do is wander through your food forest with your mouth open and ripe, juicy fruit will just fall in! Isn't it exactly because of this desire to grow more food with less effort we ended up with industrial agriculture? And is it maybe also because it became so effortless to grow masses of food, we ended up valuing it so little that we waste tons of it every year?*

Maurice declares industrial agriculture was only possible because of fossil fuels and is more about "making money" than "feeding the world". He does, however, add that: "… people who are not taking up Permaculture right now, simply won't make it", because it takes a lot of time and a lot of hard work. Written between those lines of Maurice's, is his belief that most people in the West will not survive.

6.2.1.1 Challenges to the ideal of an agrarian utopia

From Chapter 5, it is understood that many New Farmers expect Tasmania to be a safe cleaner greener space in which to pursue an agrarian utopia. The agrarian imaginary connects ideas around the virtuousness of farming with caring for the environment (Mayes 2014). Yet, as seen above, in caring for the Tasmanian landscape and their ecological surroundings, New Farmers impact where they dwell in favour of soils, landforms, plants and animals not originally of this place.

New Farmers (indeed, all farmers) have less than caring relationships with undomesticated non-human animals. For instance, Tasmanian farmers can obtain crop protection permits to kill a variety of native wildlife, including wombats and black swans, from the Department of

Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment. This is also the government department charged with protecting native wildlife.

The Huon Valley farm that Maurice praised on his NRM course spent $30,000 installing wallaby-proof fencing. The farmer was becoming depressed about the sheer quantity of wallabies he had to shoot – they were coming off surrounding forestry plantations where there is very little feed. As mentioned above, wedge-tailed eagles will take piglets and other small, domesticated animals and there is a need to possum-proof food gardens (*Survival matters more*, section 6.1.1.2 above). Tom made rendang from a possum that one of their dogs killed inside the possum-proof fencing. He described it as "really good, with an interesting collagenous texture". Tom and Bronwen are happy to share their almonds with the yellow-tailed black cockatoos, if they do not touch the apricots. Feral blackbirds, however, they trap and kill.

Spotted-tailed quolls (also known as "native cats") are surprisingly common in Tasmania when compared with the mainland, and they are a protected species. A member of the Parks and Wildlife Service stated that he always carried materials around in his ute to help small-holders repair their chicken coops. This was his personal effort to stop farmers killing quolls. Quoll deterrence is one of the jobs of Maremma sheepdogs like Lolita, and Clara is very uncomfortable when she talks about quolls. The Tasmanian wildlife does fight back at times. One Christmas, five dogs were killed by snakebite in Belinda and Kev's local area.

Soil fertility is another challenge for New Farmers. Maurice expresses an unpopular prediction that, given the low natural fertility of most soils in Tasmania, more meat will be eaten in the future, rather than less. Clara, on the other hand, remarks that NRM South's soil "capability" course is blinkered because you can improve your soil. Maurice has been importing a lot of nutrients to improve his market garden. Indeed, all my research participants must source nutrients (compost, seaweed fertilizer, animal manure, etc.) from outside their properties – operating a closed system with one to two workers is difficult. All my research participants complain to each other about unreliable batches of commercial compost.

Joanna and Theo buy manure from Neika below kunanyi/Mt Wellington; Tom brings in expensive kelp-based fertilizer from the north west of Tasmania to ensure that constant cropping does not deplete soil fertility. Tom states that there is no adequate long-term data to prove that any form of agriculture is sustainable; people claim some systems are, but without much evidence.

As climate zones shift, like humans, associated pests and diseases shift too. Belinda and Kev were dismayed when there was a fruit fly outbreak in northern Tasmania; fruit fly was one of the reasons they moved south. Ironically, the fruit fly that was detected in Tasmania in 2018 was the Queensland Fruit Fly – *Bactrocera tryoni* (Biosecurity Tasmania 2020). European wasps also plague New Farmer compost heaps and windfall fruits. While Tasmania's climate is not exactly what people expected, Maurice comments on his blog in 2018: "Tassie gets weather as weird as everywhere else, but at least it is cooler". A commentator declares this is good, as it stops people coming to Tasmania.

Bushfires seem to be more severe too. Catastrophic fires burned parts of the Huon Valley and the Derwent Valley, and some of the townships in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel were evacuated due to life-threatening smoke, during the summer of 2018/2019. Clara made her way down to the shores of the Huon River with her animals, having already lost her first round of hazelnut trees to fires a few years before. Maurice looked on as helicopters continually recharged their huge water buckets from his dam.

Kev and Belinda stayed to defend their land, breathing in the toxic yellow fug, sleeping little for a couple of weeks while the fires swept around them (see photo p. 155). Kev joked afterwards that his smoked apricots tasted great. But the seeds saved from crops whose cross-pollination cages had to be removed so they would not burn, were discounted. They were sold as the "bush fire series" because their parentage could not be guaranteed. Without the cages, heavy European bumblebees could then access vulnerable plants and damaged their delicate parts in the process.

Theo mused that if the Tasmanian World Heritage Area burns as the ecological zones transform, then so be it – provided that agricultural land is protected. This implies that Euro-transformed places must be defended because they supply the food. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the bush, the Australian countryside, has seemed a more attractive place to live with its dispersed, low numbers of people. People moving out of the urban and into the rural appear not to have been directly unsettled by the idea of bushfires, but this may change.

Joanna and Theo (and Tom and Bronwen) were less directly unsettled by the climate crisis when they first arrived in Tasmania, but this has changed recently. This is an example of where New Farmer in-commoning is an outcome of their correspondence with one another (Ingold 2016b, p. 14) – there has been a transferral from a minority understanding to a majority understanding (Taylor 2002, p. 106). In 2019 Theo writes in their blog:

> This week we [the Huon Producers' Network] attended a presentation outlining some of the anticipated climate trends for South East Tasmania's near future. The purpose of this event was not to debate causality but to understand how we will need to adapt our methods of production in a changing environment… [we] need to speed up our implementation and get ahead of the impending changes.
> The list may seem endless, and slightly prepper-ish, but it highlights to us that there is plenty we can do and have control over.
> We are concerned about the future of our shared climate but we chose to use our disappointment at the lack of leadership in this space to galvanise our personal and local efforts.

Joanna and Theo noted with surprise their slowly ripening tomatoes in the summer of 2019/2020 even with the extended warmer, drier Tasmanian summers (Bureau of Meteorology 2020). Belinda and Kev were amazed at how many months their corn had to stay in the ground that summer too. Tasmania appears less predictable, less safe, less European and more alien than people were expecting. Tasmania is not Europe; it is lutruwita (TAC 2020). Tasmania has its own (albeit changing) climate, and it experiences its own complex palimpsest and entanglements of old and new relationships, influences, memories, practices, actions, and experiences. Given this, Tasmania does not quite live up to the ideal of a place where an agrarian utopia might be established, yet New Farmers doggedly persevere in moving towards this horizon.

6.2.1.2 Challenges to the body

When I first met Belinda, she was hobbling. One of the goats had butted her in the knees. Belinda and Kev's hands are deeply etched with earth and their bodies look strong. Belinda hated dirty hands as a child, but she has got over it. Kev stated he still hates the feeling of "sticky-stuff" on his hands, but he must get on with it regardless. Constantly encountering soil microbes in their work, nevertheless, is considered mentally and physically valuable. A member of Channel Living, however, contracted Legionnaires' Disease from potting mix.

Building your own home is also a risky business. Kev slipped a disc, was in agony for weeks and could not do much work. In 2019, Maurice broke two ribs falling from his rolling platform (a type of mobile scaffolding) as a co-worker had not applied the brakes. Life on the land is hard on the body in all sorts of ways, and many of the older New Farmers suffer from chronic back pain. Firm believers in the health benefits of eating fresh local food, Belinda,

Kev and Clara now take magnesium supplements to ease their aches – they speculate that food is no longer as nutritious as it used to be. But it could simply be a sign of aging.

Working into old age is the "finishing off" phase of life, when movement lessens, and the end – death – is sighted (Ingold 2011, p. 55). Indeed, many New Farmers are struggling with how they are going to farm, to feed themselves and others, into old age. Clara planned to put in more terracing and make room for a quad bike, so perennials can be accessed and cropped into old age. Joanna and Theo have been thinking about a food forest for this reason but converting a eucalyptus woodland seems difficult and they are busy with the market garden and their baby. Meanwhile, Maurice assumes his adult twins will take over his farm and support him when he is older; but they have yet to move to Tasmania.

6.2.1.3 Challenges to the mind

Angus was candid about how much money he made in a year. Before his divorce forced him to get a mortgage, Angus cleared $40-50,000, a relatively small amount but enough money to have a "comfortable lifestyle". When I first visited Angus in 2017, he was renting flatter land so he could grow more, and he was making $100-120,000 per year. This proliferation has been very hard work; Angus's "learn-apply-expand" cycle, has been mentally and physically exhausting. The 'actual' in Angus's "… dreams into actuality" has been superseded by an expansion for which he did not originally plan – indeed, Angus has suffered from his own commercial success.

Partially in recognition of this commercial success, Angus was awarded the 2016 Sprout Tasmania Small Producer of the Year. Sprout Tasmania is a not-for-profit organisation, founded in 2011 as "Sustainable Production Research and Training Incorporated", with their mission to "…support local food producers get their ideas in the ground, growing and to market" (Sprout 2015-2016 Financial Year Annual Report).

In his speech at the Sprout Tasmania conference dinner in 2017, Angus described the extra mental burden receiving the award had placed upon him, which deflated the listeners poised as they were to enjoy their feast. Jack and Robin said that it made everyone feel awkward, and they felt sorry for the 2017 recipients of the award. Tom missed the speech as he was cooking, but he stated it would have been a reality check for those present. Tom strongly implies that people need to know the truth about small-scale farming and the effect it can have on the mind and the body.

Angus had occasionally let work slide to make time for himself, but his new partner wanted him to work less – for his mental and physical health. This was only possible when Angus left the Hobart Farm Gate Market and the Cygnet Market. The loss of the former market was a particular relief as its demand that "only the people who own the business and grow or produce the items for sale are able to sell the goods" was onerous (Farm Gate Market 2019). This rule sounds romantic to the buyers, but it forced Angus to get up before dawn, harvest by head torch then drive for an hour to Hobart to open at 8.30 a.m.

Angus recently paused farming to re-assess his life; sailing solo to New Zealand he then returned to a downsized farm. Angus learnt, or at least remembered, at what scale he wants to dwell. His last blog entry noted that as he upsized and made more money losing a few crops ceased to matter, and if he needed some farming gear, he would just buy it because there was no time to do anything else. Angus decided that the 2018 season would be smaller and slower, with every carrot and turnip being precious, every bit of gear re-used. Angus is tired of struggling to be a commercial success and wants to go back to his original concept. Angus wants to return to the original vision he held when he was living in Victoria, of a simple life with more space and more time (see Chapter 5).

Charles Darwin's original concept was "the struggle for existence" (Darwin [1859] 2009, pp. 585-599), rather than the survival of the fittest, and refers to the idea that the organism that survives best is the one with a useful variation that corresponds well with its surroundings. Building, dwelling, living (in the imagination and on the ground) require a practical engagement with one's surroundings (Ingold 2000, p. 186). New Farmers in Tasmania are coming to a better understanding of their new ecological surroundings, through building somewhere they can live, creating a home and a clearing, learning to grow food, and forming new correspondences. They are trying to make their survival slightly less improbable (Latour 2017, p. 98). There are new realisations and disappointments along the way; there are challenges and adjustments made to imaginations and ideals, to the sense of self and how others see them.

6.2.2 Multiple identities

How New Farmers present themselves depends upon with whom they are communicating: from farmers with heritage; customers at markets; politicians solicited for help; fellow New Farmers; people they work with on- and off-farm; to anthropologists. Perceptions of each other form, deform, and reform as they interact. Identities, as discussed in Chapter 2, are

dynamic and complex – they are also influenced by other features such as gender, age, ethnicity, and class. New Farmers are an interesting mix of urbane, yet rural; intellectual, yet manual ("grassroots" even); sensitive, yet hardened to a tough life (most of the time).

Because of their relatively high socio-economic status, New Farmers appear untroubled by this hybridity and can perform in varying social contexts. It should also be re-stated that as New Farmers transition to a new way of life, aspects of their being may appear to be transformed by beginning again, but they are in fact a palimpsest and an entanglement of old and new relationships, influences, memories, practices, actions and experiences upon which they then reflect and compare in a constant back and forth (Maybee 2016).

6.2.2.1 Farmer

As stated in Chapter 2, there is an expectation that local farmers with a farming heritage might not consider many of my research participants to be farmers and they might not consider these apparently urbane people to belong, they may consider them to be out of place (cf. Gray 1999, p. 441). Of all my research participants in the Huon Valley/D'Entrecasteaux Channel, however, I believe farmers with heritage would say Angus belongs, because he has been successful in a way that they can identify. Farmers with heritage might claim Angus is a farmer because he has made a decent profit from farming alone over multiple years. This is exactly the definition of a farmer given by the brother of the Huon Valley farmer Maurice praised on his NRM course. He did not acknowledge that his family's farm was also supported by his mother's employment as a schoolteacher for many years.

Some New Farmers have chosen farmer as their preferred descriptor, even while they continue in other occupational roles. In 2013 Jack tweeted: "Paramedic by day and a farmer by day and night. Farming the way that feels right for myself and my environment. Caring for my land and living sustainably". Jack describes herself transitioning from a "hobby farm" to a "viable enterprise". Despite qualifications and skills in other varied occupations, Jack thinks of herself as a farmer who cares for the land. It seems that Jack wants a recognisable identification, and for her there is a link between a farmer, the land, the land's correct management and a good life. In a sense, I think Jack considers 'paramedic' is a job description, it is employment, whereas 'farmer' is a way of life, it has become her life's work.

An identification as 'farmer' is also chosen by Tom who states he is: "a farmer who cooks" rather than the other way around. Like Angus, Tom has worked in restaurants and still does some catering events – and perhaps that too is employment rather than his life's work. I also

suspect that calling himself a farmer might have had the bonus of irritating his parents. Tom states he thought of himself as a "nascent farmer" before he started to learn to farm – it explained to Tom why he really liked growing things with his own hands when he was young (see Chapter 5). When you shake someone's family tree who has non-Indigenous heritage, a few farmers will fall out.

The connection between identity and heritage is an interesting one. As stated from the outset, none of the people in this study have immediate farming heritage, and no one in this study is farming upon land to which they have an ancestral link – yet there is still an idea that heritage can be a factor in one's identity. The heritage that New Farmers appear to be identifying with is from another time and place: the pre-Industrial European agrarian. This is the background understanding they share, and which leads them to manipulate their social and ecological surroundings in particular ways. Ideas of heritage identity and heirloom seeds are connected in that for both there is a double-entendre regarding nostalgia for past "old races" and their use as models for future survival.

When the idea of using heritage to sell produce was mooted, Angus was defensive about why, how and for whom he farms. At the Sprout Tasmania conference in 2016, Angus had been on a panel (with Jack) discussing the practicalities of harvesting, freight and packaging – a seemingly dry and uncontentious topic. The previous speaker, however, was from Australian Food Safety and Technology (now the Australian Institute of Food Safety) and she had unwittingly influenced the content of the next panel's initial discussion. This speaker had talked about the importance of stressing a heritage when the future is scary, she stated, "…the past is safe because you know how it ends" resonating with Hannah Arendt's observation (see Chapter 5, Arendt 1978, I, p. 205).

The speaker had talked about food as fashion, the hipster movement, and the opportunities of tapping into the middle-class obsession with the body – a desire to age well and to not harm one's self. She emphasised that the present audience's unprocessed clean food could be labelled alluding to such interests, and she stated, "people will pay for your good intentions". This sentence resonated with the listeners and possibly not in the way the speaker had intended. While the next panel did not refer to it directly, the speaker had just framed their discussion: she had turned people seeking 'The Good Life' into people seeking 'The Goods Life'.

When Angus introduced himself as part of the panel, he emphasised that what he does is not just about money. He stated that he needs to, and does, feel good about his existence. He explained that there is a bigger picture to view, where his actions must not cause damage to his surroundings, and this is how he relates to the wider world. Angus went on to say in his introduction that, with 'real' food, there is a difference between the appearance and the quality: real food is local, it has grown in bio-active soils, it is fresh, flavoursome, nutritious and it has not travelled far. Angus stated that he can feed his family and the local community – in fact, he pointed out, that he knows most of the people who eat his food and they have come to understand what he does and accept any flaws. At the time of listening, I assumed he meant flaws in the look of his vegetables, but I now think he meant flaws in himself as well.

Following Angus's introduction, Jack pointed out that she and Robin had no tradition (no heritage) backgrounding what they do – they had therefore started out with a "clean slate". Working out how to farm had all been down to "trial and error" and any sustainability had to be sustainable personally, financially, for the animals and for the land. Both these speeches addressed, challenged, and criticised the previous speaker by explaining that they were more than businesses, more than hipster-serving fashionistas. Indeed, it would be dishonest to claim a heritage for the purposes of marketing, and they did not need to send their produce great distances to "premium markets" to have "fulfilling lives".

When I first met Angus at the Hobart Farm Gate Market in 2017, he mentioned that quite a few people had started farming around the same time as him, but few had persevered because the work was too hard. Angus speculated that with suicides of farmers with heritage, it was the forced sale of the land which activated the final crisis as it completed their loss of identity. Perhaps this suggests that these farmers found they no longer had a useful variation that corresponded well with their social and ecological surroundings. Indeed, as they became isolated from their social and ecological surroundings, their struggle for existence ceased.

6.2.2.2 Or not a farmer

As well as the many and varied careers research participants engaged in before they came to Tasmania, many New Farmers (indeed, many farmers) work in jobs not connected to their own farms. Joanna has continued as a financial planner for charities and Clara has taken jobs with the local newspaper when she can. Kev worked a few days a week coordinating the local community farm in Geeveston and Bronwen works at the Royal Hobart Hospital. Jack is still a paramedic and Robin works at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.

Liam resisted the label 'farmer' altogether stating that, "farmers are only interested in the size of your property, how many head you have, they are interested in your capital value, so I know I'm from the outside". Working for his mum, Helen, Liam felt he was "losing my sense of identity" until he worked out a use for their 'waste' whey. Liam the Distiller was born, winning international prizes for his whey vodka and gin – the third profit of their vertically integrated system. Waste is merely a resource out of place, after all. While Liam has been advertised as the "vodka shepherd", he is happy to let his Mum do the farming. After careful tuition, Helen has now outsourced the bulk of her sheep milk production allowing her to concentrate on making cheese and other secondary products.

For most people in this research, even those who like the label 'farmer', however, the verb 'to farm' is more important than the noun 'farmer' and as with identity, becoming a farmer is a process and not a product (Appiah 2016; see also Chapter 4 and Appendix 4). For instance, and reminiscent of Matthew Evans, Maurice states in his blog that he is not a novice at farming "even if I am not a real farmer". Maurice is unconcerned with labels, he wants to 'do' and not just to 'be'. Maurice wants to do the things that will allow him and his family to survive. This means that he and other New Farmers will attempt to closely manage their surroundings, rather than simply "going along with things" regardless of how difficult that can be (Ingold 2018, p. 162).

During this research, while some New Farmers liked to identify as being a farmer, I never gained the impression that many were too concerned about what others thought. This lack of concern increased with age. The older research participants were particularly indifferent to concerns regarding personal identity, they were more worried about having the necessary skills and knowledge to raise food successfully. Not being overly worried about what others might think is also suggestive of New Farmers' strong cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu [1980] 1990). Nevertheless, New Farmers need and desire others to assist with their way of life, and, in the case of New Farmers like Belinda, they want others to convert to that way of life for their own survival.

6.2.2.3 Isolation, alone, loneliness

Two New Farmers in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel left their farm after 18 months of milking cows. They achieved a lot in a short time, but it was "too much, too hard". It was isolating, even though they were not far from the urban masses. People would visit but they were tired and busy; the couple missed human correspondences. Maurice's prepper friend returned to the mainland because he missed his immediate family, particularly his grandchildren. Hugh,

who worked with him at the first Permablitz, moved back to the mainland. After five years of being grounded, Angus started flying again to see his family; while Kev worries that Belinda is becoming too much of a "hermit".

Throughout this research, people have expressed explicitly or implicitly the loneliness that working on the land, living in rural situations, engenders. Clara expresses that "farming is very isolating", Belinda wryly thanks me for my "therapy sessions", and Tom emphasises the value of having a partner who shares a vision (an imaginary). Tom states that he hates to work alone and loves to eat lunch with other people, meeting and chatting with chefs and other customers who use his produce, having visitors who exclaim "wow" when they arrive and remind him how good this place is and the life he leads. People are constantly reaching out for correspondences with others.

Identity is relational. It forms and transforms relative to the humans, non-humans, and the surrounding landscape, and includes people's contemplation of their homes from the past and in the present (Hay 2002, p. 7). Identity forms during human interactions (Blommaert 2016a), and as seen in Chapter 5, New Farmers have expected to form new working relationships with others in their new Tasmanian homes. Their experiences, however, have shown that they are often alone, being challenged by their activities. This might suggest that their identities (concepts of self) do not evolve as desired or expected. New Farmers, therefore, do not always feel good about their existence.

6.3 A Summary of New Farmers Struggling to Become Farmers

People in this research have attempted to manifest a safe agrarian utopia in Tasmania through small-scale farming. They have moved their imaginaries out into the world, ground-truthing them, attempting to realise them by their hard work, by close attention and endurance, where they dwell. New Farmers have not simply gone along with things in their new surroundings; they have attempted to manage things for their envisaged future survival. People have inserted themselves into their ecological surroundings, gathering things together and attempting to bring new things into being as a poiēsis.

New Farmers can imagine and attempt to do these things because they have agency; they can make clearings of control while the world around them seems chaotic. They feel, however, that they learn how to farm by trial and error. This concept is symptomatic of the struggles they experience as individuals while they learn to correspond with their new ecological surroundings. Struggling to farm, struggling to be a farmer, is mentally and physically

challenging. It challenges the way people feel about themselves, their activities, Tasmania, and the choices they have made. People want to feel good about their own existence, about what they are doing – and it is the 'doing' that is important. Indeed, this study emphasises that existence is a relational activity.

While new small-scale farmers in Tasmania learn to correspond with their surroundings, part of that correspondence is with other people. Ingold discusses human correspondence as being how we respond to one another, or co-respond (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). In this correspondence, older New Farmers seem less concerned about personal identity, with how others perceive them – yet they all need their way of life to be attractive because they need other people to support that way of life.

If it is reasonable to assume that: "who we think we are and are not has everything to do with how we connect to other people in space and time" (Williams 2002, p. 346), it is important to consider how people in this research are connecting with others. In Chapter 7, how New Farmers have struggled, are struggling, to form communities will be explored.

CHAPTER 7: STRUGGLING TO FORM COMMUNITIES

New Farmers in Tasmania are struggling to learn how to farm; how to become farmers. They have assumed that progressing towards an agrarian utopia in a safe space will include a pre-existing like-minded community or, at the very least, it will initiate the formation of a like-minded community (see Chapter 5). The ideal of community as a wholesome, attractive ambition is constantly asserted among research participants – essentially, people need (want) other people to live, to survive. As Maurice states in his blog "…community will be so important to survival". But questions remain: why do people in this research imagine a community is necessary; and why does community formation seem to be a struggle?

In Chapter 2, defining community looked at people sharing a world view, sharing a place, and sharing relationships. People live in a community because they have things in common and those things develop through communication (Dewey cited in Ingold 2016b, p. 14). Ingold discusses social interaction and sharing as correspondence, which is the process by which beings or things literally answer to one another over time, when exchange happens through conversation, gifts or even holding hands (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). New Farmers share similar motivational drivers (Chapter 5) that have resulted in them dwelling in rural Tasmania – the shared place (Chapter 6). Relationships, however, could still be in the form of *Gesellschaft* – an uneasy co-habitation, rather than *Gemeinschaft* – where there is the stickiness of emotional glue and obligations are formed.

In Chapter 5, Angus presented the idea of community sharing a geographic location, but not "agreeing" about anything. That is, people share a space, but they can be different and that is what makes them interesting when they get together, when they listen to each other. This communication might allow them to develop things in common. For others in this research, a community is composed of people who already think and 'do' like them; or a community must form that holds a world view in common that is then enacted for survival, conceivably at a distance, but preferably up close. Community formation for them, then, involves influencing others to think and act like them – it is not simply about going along with things (Ingold 2018, p. 162). There tends to be an underlying tension here between the insight that people in a community can come to understand one another even if they do not agree about everything, even if they do not act in the same way; with the presumed vital need that

individuals must think and act in the same way for them to become a viable community, for them to survive together.

This chapter considers the different human relationships New Farmers form while corresponding within their new social and ecological surroundings. Correspondence involves people working with others and thinking with others which both present opportunities for in-commoning. This is even while some people at times try to avoid too many social obligations. As Ingold notes, learning to be at home in the world with others is a struggle (2005, p. 503), and this chapter explores why, as New Farmers struggle to farm, they are also struggling to form communities.

7.1 Working together

7.1.1 Family (kin)

All New Farmers have cut physical fleshy ties with friends and colleagues in the places they formerly called home. These were the people with which they shared consanguinity (kin) and affinity (kith). Emerging from Chapter 6, New Farmers have learnt that they cannot manage a new way of life as individuals, alone – it is too mentally and physically challenging – and they have needed to rebuild their social capital as a result. In Chapter 2, the idea that a non-industrial social obligation of labour afforded by kith and kin is useful to an agrarian way of life was presented (Burnstein *et al.* 2002, p. 77). This means that New Farmers need to enter kith- and kin-like relations, new webs, entanglements, and correspondences with others to assist in production in rural Tasmania.

New Farmers have frequently moved in small kinship groups – that is, in couples, some with children. They have learnt about different aspects of small-scale farming and have shared different skills with each other. Joanna and Theo have described this sharing as “the power of 2” on their blog. As such, New Farmer small kin groups have been vitally supportive, but – in the case of Angus and of Helen – they have not always survived the strains caused by the struggle to farm.

Some New Farmers have pulled kin into Tasmania. Kin can belong to the next generation, or to the previous generation – people who already have skills and wisdom. Joanna’s father worked for Forestry on the mainland, and he has visited and given Joanna and Theo ideas

around how to "steward" their bushland. Joanna's mother is an expert gardener, has moved to Tasmania and rents the Swiss couple's farmhouse on the opposite side of the road (see below). She helps Joanna and Theo in their plant nursery and with their baby. Helen too drew her family into Tasmania, once her cheesery business was booming. She entreated her adult son and daughter to join her. Eventually they did, even though, as seen in Chapter 6, her son Liam did not want to be a farmer and he thought Tasmania a bit of a "wasteland".

Like Helen's adult children, younger family members are a source of labour and skill. They also have the potential to continue their parents' imagined futures, ensuring long term success. Succession – who in the next generation will farm New Farmers' land – has rarely come up in conversation. Maurice's home, *Mon Abri II*, pointedly has two small bedrooms. It is planned for only one more generation as Maurice does not want grandchildren, and his adult twins have agreed.

Clara's children, however, have all either become qualified in some aspect of agriculture or have gained active experience on rural properties. All four of her children have progressively moved away from Clara's farm, to live on their father's farm in northern Tasmania. Clara does not appear to be bitter regarding this succession – rather she views it as a natural progression and good for their father who missed out on their childhoods. I have wondered whether this feels to Clara like a failure of her longer-term ambitions, of her regenerative plans; her children have left a new farm and returned to a farm with heritage. Clara now finds it even harder to travel, without someone to leave in charge at home.

7.1.2 Neighbours (kith?)

From one vantage point on their land, Jack and Robin can see all their neighbours. The neighbours can see them too. Especially when they do dramatic things like accidentally setting their ute on fire due to a faulty electric fence. This is a different perspective to understanding a lookout as a one-way experience. Looking at a view from an official lookout, there is no sense that there are people looking in, back at you (Tudor 2008, p. 226). But on these steep properties in the Derwent Valley, this is what neighbours do. Being seen by others, however, is not the same as being seen with others, as being helped by others.

A neighbour is literally a near-dweller (OED 1983, p. 1394), but not simply in the sense of geographical proximity, more significantly in the sense that their dwelling with the earth is like our own (Heidegger 1971, pp. 144-147). Neighbours should be the people with whom we learn to dwell, as we travel along intersecting paths, and if neighbours correspond with each

other, they will slightly modify one another (Latour 2017, p. 98). They do not always correspond adequately, however, as portrayed by Helen and her "filing-cabinet lives" (see Chapter 5). People might be near-dwellers, but it can be a *Gesellschaft*, that is, an uneasy co-habitation of individuals who just happen to live in the same area.

7.1.2.1 Antipathy towards neighbours

A neighbour complained about Clara's chook-protecting Maremma sheepdog, Lolita, barking. This sounded like an urban problem, rather than a rural one. Another neighbour complained to the local council that Clara's long grass was a fire hazard. Clara felt it was a fair comment, but she was annoyed because they did not talk to her first, or, even, "good grief, offer to help". As with many New Farmers, there are few active farms or farmers in the immediate vicinity. When passing through rural areas, it is expected that the viewed landscape is producing food; yet the land and its occupants may not be directly involved in human food production. In other words, there seem to be few people dwelling on the earth like Clara and other New Farmers in their neighbourhoods.

At Clara's, "up the back" is one old farm and farming family, but they are selling their land. One small farm above the river buys Clara's eggs. But most of the other properties are what she refers to as "hobby" farms – it is these urbane hobby farmers that tend to complain. Clara does not feel that she is a hobby farmer; she is serious and there is a sense that the hobby farmers do not share her background understanding of what it is to be a farmer, of how to manage the land. Clara and these neighbours appear to correspond little with one another.

The perceived fragmentation of rural communities via hobby farming is also a concern of local councils. They block the division of significant agricultural land into smaller lots, even though, as Belinda notes, small blocks are what one family can manage to farm. Few rural holdings produce food, and their commuting part-time dwellers are time poor when it comes to contributing to their local communities, to helping their neighbours. Somewhat ironically, though, New Farmers in this study have all generally started off at a very small self-provisioning scale (see Chapter 6 with Clara and her "boring" market garden for feeding her children) and continue with employment off-farm. New Farmers can, therefore, also look like hobby farmers from the outside, and do not appear to get closely involved with those neighbours they consider to be different to them.

Tom mentions that most of the people living in his part of the D'Entrecasteaux Channel are not farming the rural properties on which they live; and he believes that while a few of the

neighbouring farms are farming in a traditional fashion, this is not how Tom wants to farm. He states:

> …even if we had wanted to [learn how to farm from neighbours], there was no one to learn from in the local area. The few actual farms here are just on repeat, repeat, repeat from earlier generations.

This could be in part a perception from the outside. Tom does not appear to have an intimate knowledge of what neighbouring traditional-looking farms are doing, he has not gained "expert situated knowledge" from them (Krzywoszynska 2016, p. 290). This reminds me of the oft-quoted anthropological concept of getting to know what people do, rather than what they say they do (Leach 1982, p. 130) – or even, rather than what it looks like they do from a distance. It is easy for humans to make assumptions about what others are doing, thinking, how they are dwelling, without corresponding with them more closely to gain a better understanding of how they are choosing to live.

Tom has had opportunities presented to him where he could have witnessed his neighbours in action, where he could have worked with them closely. A neighbour always beeped his horn as he passed when Tom was working in his market garden. One day, the neighbour rang Tom on his mobile (Tom was bemused that the neighbour had his number); he asked if Tom could assist bringing in his hay, paid of course. Tom simply could not do the dates presented, so he declined. For some time, the neighbour did not beep as he passed. As Graeber has suggested, neighbourliness needs to be constantly created and maintained (2014, p. 71) – and it has not been in this instance.

So, some people are not corresponding well with their neighbours, in the context of work and social interaction. This is either because their rural neighbours are not actually farming, or, because they assume their rural neighbours are not undertaking farming activities that they might benefit from understanding. The conditions for creating things in common have not been created.

7.1.2.2 Neighbourliness is assistance, obligation, and reciprocity

With echoes of Tom's comments, Joanna stated that farming traditionally would have been a case of imitating what your neighbours were doing before the Internet allowed you to see other possibilities. But if you did not get to know your neighbours well, perhaps even that imitation would not have been accurate. Ironically, Joanna and Theo have started to farm in a similar manner to their neighbours. The land on the opposite side of their small country road

is an established market garden, orchard and nursery owned by an older Swiss couple. This couple wanted to rent out their house and land while they went sailing for a few years, and they quickly went into negotiations. This chance event propelled Joanna and Theo into farming faster than they expected.

Joanna and Theo at first felt awkward as they slowly took over from the still resident market garden owners, although they acknowledged that they learnt things from them that they simply would not have known as New Farmers. For example, how much water the dam held, how many plants that water supported and for how long (this was adjusted in 2019, following the driest January on record). The speed of Joanna and Theo's progress in learning to farm could be due to it becoming "expert situated knowledge"; that is, by the mutually beneficial use of the affordances of expert local others (Krzywoszynska 2016, p. 290).

Another neighbour and friend, Cathy, helps on their property, and she is new to the area too. She brings the gifts of her hard work, company, and conversation. Cathy is very practical and has recently retired from the Royal Australian Air Force. As Joanna and Cathy chatted, they looked down towards the Huon River at cattle grazing on the river flats below – a truly bucolic scene. But they were somewhat scandalised by the thought of grazing cattle on fertile soil that should be raising crops. It was described as a waste, and the owner commutes from Sydney so cannot function as a neighbour.

Maurice has authentic neighbours whose intentions for dwelling with the earth are like his own (Heidegger 1971, pp. 144-147). This couple have been very helpful to him and he feels grateful, indebted even. Maurice admires their skills, borrows their equipment, and learns much from observing them on their land – they correspond well and are presumably modifying one another in the process (Latour 2017, p. 98). The neighbours are from mainland Australia and from Malaysia, the former growing up on an industrial-style farm. Maurice and Gloria farm sit once a year so that these neighbours can go away on holiday with their children. On his blog in 2016, Maurice states that some people who think they are doing permaculture, are not:

> … because they spend substantial periods of times overseas, and therefore have no means of looking after animals while they are away…. I'm afraid Permaculture is a lifestyle, and a full time one at that. I am very lucky that my neighbour is also a 'permie', with animals, and when we both took time out to go to Queensland, we looked after each other's animals. The community aspect of Permaculture here cannot

> be stressed too much, especially as we will all need to support each other as powerdown deepens.

Maurice is indicating community support is important, and that he believes it will become even more vital soon. It also shows that Maurice believes that community is made up of people thinking and doing alike. While Maurice pays when the neighbour's excavator is used on his land, this does not make Maurice immune to further indebtedness (cf. Esposito 2010, pp. 12-14). Maurice and his neighbours are entangled beyond financial transactions, despite Maurice's superficial eagerness to be hermetically self-sufficient.

Belinda and Kev's neighbours in their secret valley have also proved to be helpful, thoughtful people and a couple of these families are palawa (Tasmanian Aborigines). Neighbours gave them sheep to keep their grass down and helped on the construction of their house, although Belinda and Kev did not like to ask. Relationships are forming as part of everyday life, even though these neighbours are not all thinking and doing alike. This neighbourly correspondence has been vital in times of emergency, for instance when Kev almost died from Swine flu and had to be hospitalised. The neighbours lent them cars, stacked firewood, and delivered food – they brought gifts and figuratively held their hands. This contrasted with the feelings Belinda had about neighbours in Queensland, who corresponded poorly. Belinda wrote in her blog:

> I tried to barter my chook eggs for other staples in the neighbourhood but one neighbour wouldn't eat our eggs because the yolks were too orange and, ew, my nappiless chooks had touched the ground. She preferred to know they lived in cages, well away from the dirt. I felt alone. But then I often felt my aloneness just as keenly when I met up with other sustainable folk – because I realised that it was a competition, and that the only way to win is to trample someone else's attempts at sustainability at home. I hate to say it, but someone is always greener than you. It's not a competition people, it's a complementation.

These Queensland neighbours did not share a similar world view, they were dwelling in proximity, but they were not learning how to dwell together. And even those people who shared a world view worked competitively, rather than collaboratively, which formed boundaries between them. Tom too felt that small-scale farmers could be and should be "collegiate", rather than competitive. Tom stated that people were frightened of doing the same thing, creating gluts of the same crops. Tom was irritated by this idea, as he thinks we

need more of this, that we can cope with gluts, and crops are rarely in synch on neighbouring farms.

While neighbours in the Derwent Valley can keep one another under surveillance, illegal timber-getting has been a chronic problem on these large properties. The landed and precariat (the insecure) classes have competed for resources since the European subdivision of these open Aboriginal hunting lands (Boyce 2008, Evans 2012). Jack, however, took the unusual step of talking to the local timber-getter and coming to an amicable arrangement. He can remove dead trees, excepting those timbers with good hollows, keeping the fuel load down and supplying all Jack and Robin's firewood needs. This is a pragmatic relationship, and one which Robin believes is possible because Jack knows how to talk (correspond) with people. There is a power differential between landowner and timber-getter, and they may not share a world view – but with this close correspondence an in-commoning could begin.

In Chapter 5, Maurice stated the need to return to bartering (or a gift economy; Myers 2013), and he regularly barters surplus goods (for example, apples for ducks). Bartering, bringing things to people in need, sharing information and work, coming to mutually beneficial arrangements, all involve the sticky tendrils of gift-giving that bind people (Ingold 2016b, p. 10). In short, by their very communication people are becoming obliged to one another whether they intend to or not. We are constantly in debt to other beings, but we are responsible as individual beings for the choices we make regarding who we owe and who we might pay back (Olafson 1998, p. 45). New Farmers in Tasmania are developing an entanglement of reciprocity with (some) others.

7.1.2.3 Swapping

As indicated above, surplus produce is not always sold. There are Crop Swap groups throughout Tasmania. Crop Swap (Cygnet and Surrounds), which started in Winter 2017, states: "… swap, give or share anything edible or related to food, in the spirit of abundance, generosity and fairness. No money will change hands". While individual swaps are organised online (Clara, Belinda, Joanna, and Theo appear in Crop Swaps), there are local communal swaps where people from the same area get the chance to meet regularly face-to-face, talk and swap information as well as produce. They answer to one another through conversation, gifts and even holding hands (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). Importantly, they are seen together; they become recognisable to one another and identifiable as part of each other's community – they become recognisable to observers from the outside as well who can than label them as community.

Practical advice and information are also swapped through varying *Facebook* groups to which most of the research participants are connected, these include the Australia-wide group Australian Market Garden Success Group and the closed Tasmanian group, Tassie Agrarians. The latter group's membership is smaller and mostly Tasmanian (although the administrator of the Australian Market Garden Success Group is in New South Wales and a member of the Tassie Agrarians). Most of the Tasmanian members know each other, and the advice is localised and from first-hand experience.

Among the many topics they chat about, one of the banes of peoples' lives (other than zucchini gluts), is unreliable commercial compost which is often poorly made and always expensive. There is a difference, however, for people who are sharing advice and information virtually. They may feel indebted to one another, grateful even, they may be thought of as a community in thought, one that shares theoretical gifts. Their experiences and emotions, however, are not heightened to the same degree as face-to-face meeting – all their senses are not activated in this process. And, as these groups are closed, they are less visible to an outside observer.

7.1.2.4 Debt

Robert Esposito warns that by assigning a price to things, people want to immunize themselves from having to return the favour or the debt (Esposito 2010, p. 12). In other words, having paid money for something the individual no longer bears any other obligations. As seen from Maurice's experiences, however, this is not always true especially when it comes to near-dwellers: neighbours, people in local areas who encounter each other regularly, even members of localised information networks.

Similarly, having a stall at a local market is not always about a straight swap of food for money. While Angus was pleased to eventually leave the Hobart Farm Gate Market, the Cygnet Market was harder to quit. Cygnet involved people Angus had a relationship with who were sources of mutual comfort, who answered to one another via conversation and holding hands, who offered "skinship" (Mackay 2016). Angus explained on his blog:

> … when I was separating from my ex-wife, I had customers hugging me across the market stall bench, while people in the queue waited. And I really needed that; the support was amazing, and I still feel that very deeply… Then there's other times when——when selling your produce becomes more...like recently, when a guy, who I like to have a chat with, just one of those people who you seem to know, he came to

> the stall, and he was looking really rough. I sort of said, ‘you ok?’, and he looked at me for a moment, and said “I lost my daughter”. And I see him every couple of weeks and we chat, and I think, I hope, he’s coping alright.
> But for me, that he is able to share that with me, and I don't know what to do but reach out and touch him, and say "my friend"... what is so special is that he feels able to do that — what the tax department sees only as a monetary transaction is also a place for sharing—-suffering in this case, but there’s also so often recognition, there’s people just checking in, there’s people who may be single or lonely, being seen and known, and, most often, there’s just people you know having a chat and a laugh…and all these small happenings are building community one block at a time.

The experience of exchanging things for money, bartering and swapping produce in a local area illustrates Ingold’s “sticky tendrils” that glue people together, that start to develop the emotional bonds of *Gemeinschaft*. Exchanging things does not break people’s obligations to one another, rather it reinforces their relationships especially when it is repeated in the same space, over time – and especially when it involves touch, smell, taste, sight, and sound; especially when it triggers emotions and memories. From these exchanges, it is apparent that people desire these connections even while they might be trying to control who they owe and who they might pay back (Olafson 1998, p. 45).

From this analysis of neighbours, of people who dwell near, of potential kith, Heidegger’s definition requires expansion (Heidegger 1971, pp. 144-147). The people discussed above dwell geographically near, but their dwelling on the earth is not always alike. Indeed, while it seems easier to associate with the people we believe are just like us, humans can only begin to become alike, can only begin to dwell alike, if they respond to one another and begin an in-commoning. They may never achieve alikeness, of course, but their paths will be entangled. Dwelling, therefore, is an activity performed with entangled others and communities can ephemerally materialise along its pathways; but because community is multiple and dynamic, it needs constant creation and maintenance like neighbourliness (cf. Graeber 2014, p. 71).

7.1.3 Labouring on the land

Working with other people on the land, has often been expressed by New Farmers as a pleasurable part of their new lives, of helping them feel less isolated. Some New Farmers have been, however, more cautious than others regarding who they will work with and to whom they are prepared to become indebted.

7.1.3.1 Co-workers

Maurice does pay for workers (he has employed Luke and Kev to help him build his house), but he has the knack of engaging Wwoofers and *Workaway* people with great skills, who work for bed and board alone.[8] Maurice is bilingual, and this is a distinct advantage in attracting more skilled French and northern European travellers. He rewards their hard work by being a very good host with plenty of satisfying food, alcohol, and touristy excursions. Before Gloria moved to Tasmania, Maurice craved company – the Wwoofers and *Workaway* workers helped him "…get out of bed in the morning".

Other New Farmers have had mixed experiences with Wwoofers and *Workaway* workers – although Helen's daughter married one of their German Wwoofers. Angus, for example, avoids using them and pays for someone who appreciates his high standards, who is consistent, and can be trusted. Paying for labour, however, is difficult for the people in this study who prefer to barter and have little cash flow. As Tom has pointed out, a lack of ability to pay for services is exacerbated in Tasmania by expensive workers' insurance. Labour, workers, human hands are plentiful, they are a renewable form of energy yet they are in short supply for farm work. Workers are difficult to source, too expensive, or too inexpert; frequently they are perceived to be all three.

My experiences of being taught how to perform varying farm tasks and my observations of others working, have shown me that much of the work on farms is skilled even though it is repetitive. For someone with poor hand-to-eye coordination, it can be very difficult. When Kev managed a community farm, he discovered that things often went wrong with the Work-for-the-Dole people when he was not there. Kev felt that many of the youth were damaged. Their lives were shaped by negative experiences and being forced to work did not help them care about what they were being asked to do – they did not feel good about themselves or their work.

Farm work lacks prestige in this context – there is the impression that labouring on a farm is unskilled and it lacks symbolic capital. These rural youth did not appear to yearn for a rural life (cf. Major 2011; Chapter 1). Training on the community farm was slow because people needed to be taught to see the difference between "weed" and "seedling". Kev was troubled

[8] "Wwoofers" is a label for workers in the networks known as *willing workers on organic farms*, or *world-wide opportunities on organic farms*. It is a network that assists travellers to find work on organic farms throughout the world. The international *Workaway* scheme operates similarly, so travellers' room and food are covered through helping their host with a wide variety of jobs.

by the frequency with which he had to remind people how to perform simple repetitive tasks. For Kev, this experience did not bode well, as he considers that farm labouring must become a real job option again. Kev stated that "…it is the job option with a future".

The future is Maurice's focus. He painstakingly works on his house and land and annoys those who think he is exploiting people by taking advantage of their skills. Maurice appears to use people as affordances. An affordance is something's use value, and an awareness of how something might be used (Ingold 2000, p. 166; Ingold 1993, p. 158). It rarely refers to people's use value, or a perception of how a person might be used. Maurice is bluntly honest about the people he values, and it is this honesty that is shocking to some. In 2018, a follower of Maurice's blog stated:

> Wow every time I read one of your posts I say that's it, enough of this capitalist shit and then I persevere in the hope that one day you will have something useful to say about farming or anything but no, you continue with the spend, burn, get everyone else to do your work method. Good luck, your rants about the future of the world economy will surely come true – you'd know, you are the problem!

This comment suggests deep disappointment, particularly because of their perception that Maurice consumes people and things like every other part of the capitalist system. This follower wanted practical tips on small-scale farming, but feels that they can no longer watch Maurice's self-serving activities. So, while working with others can feel positive, there is also the related impression that some people are not valued, are not valuable. These people will not feel like they are a part of a community that neither values their skills, nor their existence.

7.1.3.2 Permablitzes

Whereas individual New Farmers have wanted and needed one or two others to work with them, some organisations have attempted to use events to materialise community. This is attempted by more people working together, in the same space, at the same time, for the same goal. In this way, the Huon Producers' Network offered more "kinnovative" attempts at community formation (Haraway 2015, p. 162, note 15). Like Helen trying to glue family back together again (see Chapter 5), the Network tried to do the same for community by introducing permablitzes in the winter of 2017.

A 'permablitz' can be thought of as a working bee on a property that is largely managed using the philosophy and techniques of permaculture, and to host a permablitz one must participate in a permablitz. They could be characterised as the space-time enactment of

community, of: "…ethical doings that connect ordinary personal living with the collective" (Puig de la Bellacasa 2010, p. 159); in short, "sticky *doings* with others" (Carolan 2016, p. 146). They provide people the opportunity of being seen together – of coming out in time and space (the *Ereignis*, see Chapter 4). In other words, the clearings New Farmers have created allow a passage in for others, where they can be authentic – that is, own up to who they are and how they want to live (Chapter 6; Albert Hofstadter in Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. xiii).

One member of the Network suggested to me that some of the Huon Valley permablitzes are not true permablitzes because they do not all have a permaculture design concept behind their planned activities – that they are in fact "working bees". This may be so, however, whether a blitz or a bee, these events involve humans coming together, being together, speaking together, moving together, working together, sensing one another, and making sense of life together (Chapter 4). As such they are a social poiēsis, as they are bringing a new social form into being, even if it is with pre-existing things. In so doing, their social and ecological surroundings are transformed intentionally, accidentally, individually, and collectively (McCall Howard 2012, p.61).

Heidegger states that while the authentic self is in the mode of the mine-self (the individual), being with others and learning how to relate to others, without losing your self, is the vital detail (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018). The mine-self and the they-self (the collective) do not exist as separate conditions; humans oscillate between these modes and, at the very least, one self-state influences the other. These features of the self allow groups of people to form and break apart, reforming at other times and places.

The first permablitz is recounted in full, in Chapter 3. The second permablitz in the Huon Valley was at Kaitlyn's place, and Maurice's prepper friend commented on *Facebook*:

> Apart from a feeling of isolation from all those I hold closest to my heart, I am actually enjoying meeting amazing, like minded people who I can't help but think will be good life long friends. Loving the permablitz get togethers (well the two so far), and looking forward to many more. Learning lots and feeling useful. Grateful.

This quote illustrates the attraction people feel to one another and the anticipation of long-term positive effects. Not all permablitzes, however, are equal. On a very wet weekend in September 2017, Maurice hosted a poorly-attended permablitz. I was greeted by Maurice and his prepper friend both armed with their utes. They were obviously disappointed with me, but polite. Another Network member turned up and was also surprised by the small work crew.

We put it down to the wet weather, but I quietly wondered whether people were put off by Maurice's dismissive, catastrophic attitude.

At the work site Maurice's neighbour and his son were in his digger – these two spoke little and worked at a distance. Even though Maurice and his prepper friend seemed to enjoy themselves, as they competitively performed in their utes, this permablitz did not give rise to the intense feelings of togetherness that I experienced at Belinda and Kev's. Working in machines hinders human correspondence; Maurice continually points out that you can do anything with fossil fuels – without using too many other people.

The work at Maurice's was about the "mine-self", about Maurice creating a permaculture oasis, an oxymoronic autonomous commune. This exposed the contradictory nature of many new farming performances: they are about the individual and self-sufficiency (the mine-self), but they want community (the they-self) in the form of people who are enacting a shared world view – the valued others.

On a more positive note, while community that is formed through this version of farm work appears to be ephemeral, the connections made have had longer term positive impacts on many participants who maintain a new level of connection as a result. People are attracted together like oppositely charged ions. They merge briefly, as they are mutually entrained – they are swept along in the flow – moving in the same direction through space and time. Then the group undergoes entropy: it falls apart, and the people go their separate ways – but they are transformed in the process. The transitory community working together in small groups leaves memorials physically in the earth, and emotionally in people's memories. If there is camaraderie, people will be encouraged to re-form similar communal groups, and in the process there will be the opportunity to recreate and maintain community (cf. Graeber 2014, p. 71).

7.2 Thinking together

7.2.1 Longing for belonging. Or longing for people like us?

As stated in Chapter 5, Tasmania became attractive as a place people imagined offered them the opportunity to recover home and a sense of belonging. If New Farmers are seeking to belong to "… some lost, authentic and essential community…" (Hetherington 1998, p. 50) by

moving to Tasmania and learning how to farm in this place, that authentic community is sought in the local area. When a local community, however, is not fully realised then it is also sought further afield.

Belinda enquired about tickets for the national 2018 gathering of the Deep Winter Agrarians in Tasmania (see below). On the Tassie Agrarians *Facebook* page, Clara responded to Belinda: "They're our tribe. There will be other hermits there for us to codgitate [sic; they laugh about being old codgers] with". Another Tassie Agrarian added "… [it's] nice to know [we're] not alone, [we're] part of a movement", to which another added: "These are our people. Hugs and connections, it's so comforting to feel understood without saying much at all." Belinda was exhausted and decided to nurture herself at home instead; but there was little good work for her to do here. If, as Clara described it, members of the Deep Winter Agrarians are part of their tribe – they are already thinking and acting like one another, so Belinda did not need to influence them to change.

7.2.1.1 Tribal

The phrase "our tribe" and the idea that people in this research are part of a tribe is declared frequently, particularly by New Farmers in the Huon Valley. Kev stated: in Tasmania "we have found our tribe". From the quote above, people also carry the idea that they have strong tribal connections with others elsewhere, with a community that might come together on occasion but one that maintains a connection at a distance as well. This suggests that New Farmers desire to belong to a community with a shared world view locally and remotely, both of which they often demarcate as "tribal".

This resonates with ideas around Neo-tribes. Neo-tribes are groups of people who gather offering a form of temporary belonging (Hardy *et al*. 2018, p. 1), they are elective (they choose to perform these collective identifications) and affectual (participation influences feelings) (Hetherington 1998, p. 49). Neo-tribes also incorporate processes of exclusion, inequality, hierarchy, and boundary formation (le Grand 2018, p. 28).

Certainly, many New Farmers desire temporary get-togethers with like-minded people who will positively influence their emotions. Equally, their world view and way of life can form a boundary excluding the un-like-minded. While this is partially expressed on the *Facebook* page above, nothing, however, replaces spending valuable time and space with valued other humans – the Tasmanian tribe desires more than temporary belonging. As Theo states, "…it is all so much easier with someone to chat to and vent to and laugh with". In other words, the

connection through a world view, to the "broader community of interests" so that they do not feel alone (Ngo & Brklacich 2014 pp. 61-62), needs to be realised, to be ground-truthed (smelt, touched, seen, heard, tasted), as a local reality – and needs not to feel too temporary.

7.2.1.2 Local

The desire to feel accepted as a local, to belong in their new home, and to enlist locals is also implied by New Farmer interactions. While they may seek out the like-minded further afield, people also make exploratory forays into their local communities. It is important to note that both Channel Living and the Huon Producers' Network (see below), founded by people who did not grow up in their local areas, started with the "local food for local people" maxim. While there may be some antipathy with neighbours, New Farmers are often found volunteering in their small very local communities, such as Kev being part of the Surges Bay Hall Management Committee. It is through these interactions a commoning can start.

In the literature review in Chapter 2, gaining access to the local is repeated as an issue for New Farmers worldwide. In Chapter 6, Angus defended his way of life at the Sprout Tasmania conference by pointing out that "real food…is local…". Indeed, Angus went further in a talk he gave to Sprout Tasmania on receipt of the Tasmanian Small Producer of the Year award in 2016 "… 'Local' is about community, about the coming together of individuals to form something greater; a network of support and nurture…". Tribal might think and act like you, but local can be there for you.

Matthew Evans' feeling of belonging is mediated through the localness of his food and its local flavour (see Chapter 2). In this sense, some New Farmers have attempted to break down barriers in their local areas by promoting their local food; in Angus's case by promoting the fact that they feed their local communities. Meanwhile, they contradictorily maintain boundaries through their tribal alliances. It is as if they state: 'we are inclusive, but not always', a tussle recognisable through the they-self/mine-self oscillations discussed above. New Farmers are attempting to operate in different relationship spheres: locally in space, and remotely in mind.

The "local food for local people" concept does not, however, always cross class barriers. Indeed, the bulk of Evans' food is used in expensive dining experiences, targeting richer mainland tourists. Maurice had wanted to take Gloria to Fat Pig Farm for a meal but was stunned by the cost. His neighbour stated: "you're not the audience they're aiming for mate". After operating from the popular Huonville Esplanade, the Huon Producers' Network was

forced to move its farmers' market to the drab Huonville Scout Hall. The Scout Hall was where Joanna and Theo first met the Network in the flesh. They declared it was exciting to meet people who were doing similar things to them, but at that time Joanna and Theo explained that they did have some reservations. It was on an occasion of the market's "Big Brunch" and they had lots of "lovely food"; there was an adjacent footy game which would have been a potential market for the food, but that idea was dismissed because "those people wouldn't be interested in that type of food".

Taste in food and taste in company is a "forced choice" (Bourdieu [1984] 2010, p. 173) – expectations around what people of different socio-economic classes might favour and savour are somewhat fixed, and correspondences are rarely entered. Despite initial reservations, from late 2017 the "grassroots" Huon Producers' Network combined forces with the "big name" Willie Smith's, appearing regularly at their Apple Shed's Artisan and Produce Market in Grove. This site is popular and much more aesthetically pleasing than the Scout Hall, but it is unlikely that large numbers of people from the lower socio-economic stratum are visiting this trendy place.

Nevertheless, Joanna and Theo illustrate a background understanding present for most New Farmers in Tasmania – the desire for and consciousness of a local community to which you can relate, which helps you understand who you are, which helps you feel good about what you are doing, to which you can belong. They write in their blog introduction that "we are also passionate about building a sense of community and sharing stories and experience with others…". While this idea sounds like that of Ngo and Brklacich's "sense of community" for new Canadian entrants to local food movements (see Chapter 2; Ngo & Brklacich 2014, pp. 61-62) – in southern Tasmania, community building attempts are at times more proactive. There is a background understanding for most New Farmers that an imagined community, the sense of community, must be realised through direct action. People want a lasting available local community, and that requires constant creation and maintenance (Graeber 2014, p. 71).

7.2.2 Forming organisations

Organisations for small-scale farmers have formed around the need to find markets for produce and to assist with ongoing training and educational needs. Importantly, these organisations also act as focal points allowing presumed like-minded people to "find" each other and realise that they are "not alone". As Clara expressed: "farming is very isolating". In effect, some organisations have acted as the putative foundations for like-minded members of

the local community to think together. As such, these organisations tend to target people who are already starting to think alike, who are more easily framed as part of the New Farmer tribe.

7.2.2.1 Channel Living (Sustainable Living Group)

In 2008 Naomie and a friend started Channel Living (Sustainable Living Group) in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel as a wholefood cooperative, and ran workshops and events concerning sustainable living. Naomie stated that the idea evolved from her awareness that it was hard to buy "good" food in the Woodbridge area. By good food, Naomie meant "local food" that could be "trusted". In 2010 they won a ClimateConnect grant to coordinate local food growers to directly supply local consumers. The grant's goal had to change rapidly as they discovered there were not enough local growers in their region. Instead, they encouraged new local producers to start-up (like Angus) and existing small producers to expand their production (like Tom and Bronwen). The first veggie boxes were delivered at the start of 2011 in a "local food for local people" scheme. It was Naomie's "dream" to broaden the scheme so that a veggie box could be accessed every 10 kilometres.

The new group of Channel Living growers visited each other's properties and "absorbed information from other people by association". As member-growers could either be certified organic or be producing via organic principles, volunteers would access growers' properties to oversee their production. When asked what they would look for, Naomie was unclear; it all came down to "trust". Early on, there were regular grower meetings, to discuss issues like this and ideas such as members working on each other's properties were floated. This latter idea was not popular with all members, as growers like Angus felt that they had higher standards and were concerned they would not get a consistent product as a result. Eventually produce was accepted from all over Tasmania, and growers were no longer personally known to one another.

Bronwen has been an ordinary member on the Channel Living committee but stated in her time it has dwindled, losing its wholesale cooperative store and veggie boxes. From 2017 the Channel Living veggie box scheme was taken over by a larger distributor in the regional hub of Kingston. Naomie considers that passionate people can become "tired and edgy"; she wonders if she was responsible for Channel Living's "voracity" – an apposite way of explaining how a largely volunteer organisation can have an insatiable appetite for consuming its workers.

Tom and Bronwen have catered for occasional Channel Living gatherings. The only one I attended was postponed due to bad weather, then held indoors at the exclusive Peppermint Bay Hotel in Woodbridge – and Tom and Bronwen were cancelled. I asked whether Helen and family ever participated in Channel Living events as their farm is very close – the answer was no. After a little time, a couple I had not spoken with approached me. They told me that Helen and her family had supported them privately and publicly through fund-raising efforts when their son died. It was an extremely painful recollection, but they decided that I needed to know. They wanted me to understand that Helen and family are part of the Channel community, despite being absent from gatherings. The couple implied that different people, different families, are engaged in community in different ways and some ways are more visible than others.

7.2.2.2 Huon Producers' Network

Of all the local organisations that have formed, the Huon Producers' Network is the most active in attempting to use its members to form a community with obligations, through such events as permablitzes. The Network was founded by Belinda, with support from Kev, Clara, and others, in 2013. It is Belinda's involvement that framed much of the Network's initial ethos. That is, community formation through reliable thoughtful active participation.

On their website, they describe their vision as working "cooperatively to establish a local food bowl and resilient economy", sharing "knowledge" and "resources", and they want to be a "dynamic force for change". Over the years, the Network has hosted many workshops (biochar production, seed-saving, fruit tree grafting, small animal husbandry, etc) run by and for members. They receive regular inquiries from older people who are intending to or who have moved from mainland Australia. Many of the inquirers "can't quite jump off yet" into the New Farmer life.

In 2014 the Network met with Christine Milne, then leader of the Australian Greens political party, over lunch at Belinda and Kev's. It was enjoyable, and topics ranged from industry regulation and workers' compensation to small animal and dairy processing units. On Milne's blog, she talked about the Network as "… community minded farmers and producers" and, "…building strong resilient communities and food economies by banding together". Milne exhorted people to buy "local and direct" whenever they could. Belinda and Kev said to me that it was the same old problem, however; Milne was the daughter of "Big Ag" – she grew up on a dairy farm in northern Tasmania – she wanted to help them "grow", to be more commercially viable and get into supermarkets. Milne was not a member of their tribe.

There have been conversations in the Network around “reclaiming” the Huon Valley brand from the “big names” in the region (Matthew Evans and Willie Smith’s Apple Shed are cited), describing the Network as the “grassroots” producers. The Network also used the “local food for local people” maxim; this changed to “Your Local Food Community” in 2019 and I consider that this is a conscious shift in ethos, to signify local inclusivity, rather than local exclusivity. In 2019, Joanna and Theo became more active in the Network. Joanna as Treasurer/Membership Officer and Theo as President/Training Officer. They have revitalised it and they are very funny – both factors which must be a relief to Belinda and Kev, as most of their members were older and less keen to be actively involved.

7.2.2.3 Sprout Tasmania

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Sprout Tasmania is a not-for-profit organisation founded in 2011 as, “Sustainable Production Research and Training Incorporated”, with their mission to “…support local food producers get their ideas in the ground, growing and to market” (Sprout 2015-2016 Financial Year Annual Report). In this way, Sprout Tasmania has tended to be somewhat misaligned with a proportion of New Farmers who want to start with a more agrarian-aligned self-sufficiency, rather than with the ‘market’ and commercialisation. Unlike Channel Living and the Huon Producers’ Network, Sprout Tasmania is not geographically delimited, with state-wide memberships and events – although it is largely run from southern Tasmania.

One of the original founders of Sprout Tasmania started farming over 50 years ago in California. He emphasises that he learnt more in his lifetime through making mistakes (Massy (2017, p. 103) would concur) – although he then states that an intention of Sprout Tasmania is to prevent people from making mistakes. He came out to Channel Living in their early days and talked about getting larger and exporting. Naomie explained that Sprout Tasmania had not really understood Channel Living’s goals, and that they were too “high-end” and interested in fine dining.

Tom cooked Jack and Robin’s beef for Sprout Tasmania’s conference dinner in 2017. Tom used a bay-leaf rub, then braised the beef, and it was delicious. He did an extra mushroom dish for vegetarians, but there were very few in this “elite meat-eating crowd”. Tom stated there were a lot of practical things Sprout could deal with – like the prohibitively high insurance costs for workers on the land, rather than cash-crops and “high-end” exports.

For Jack and Robin, however, the Sprout Producers Program has been invaluable. They received a scholarship in 2014, and the mentoring and field days involved were "transformative". Jack described it as being "life-changing" meeting the "moral network" of "like-minded" people with whom they could consult and share information. The best part was visiting other people's farms – there were similar and dissimilar ones – "but always great stories". The correspondence of sharing stories on the land, started the process of in-commoning; it helped people understand one another and glue them together albeit loosely at first. For Jack and Robin, these relationships have approached the stickiness of *Gemeinschaft*.

7.2.3 Recruitment

Throughout my work with Belinda and Kev, it is obvious that Belinda wants to recruit people to the cause. The cause being, as Belinda put it to me, "saving the world through small-scale agriculture". After reading Yuval Noah Harari's "Sapiens", Belinda had an epiphany: agriculture was a mistake, a con, with unforeseen negative consequences. But Belinda acknowledged agriculture is all we have, and it must be done better. When Belinda wrote to me about the "dance of communal connection" (Chapter 5), she also realised:

> … how insular we are as small farmers (and probably no less so for the big farmers whose 'community' is machinery). And how [Angus's] life would be so different if we didn't self segregate into individualistic endeavours (no doubt an extension of ownership/economies etc).

There is also the sense that recruitment might become enforced conscription. In 2017, Belinda wrote saying:

> … I do think that the only way farming will become financially viable and respected is if we have a famine. A small one, but a shortage of food and to know hunger and not be able to appease it may well have some positive outcomes long term. I say with my tongue tentatively in my cheek.

For Belinda, community cohesion (survival) involves influencing others in her local area as well as further afield, to think and act like a New Farmer – it is not simply about going along with things (Ingold 2018, p. 162).

7.2.3.1 Transition Towns

Both Belinda and Angus have stated that they were inspired by the Transition Town movement. Belinda explained Transition as Australian permaculture transported to the UK

and adapted to more urbanised areas. It was then transported back to Australia, but in Tasmania some early attempts at forming Transition initiatives have not lasted. The Geeveston Sustainability Initiative caused excitement at first, but it did not capture other people's imaginations for long – only Belinda remained as an active member, perhaps being more comfortable with the idea of a semi-permanent state of transition.

The Transition Network website states that they are about communities coming together to reimagine and rebuild the world starting at a local level (Transition Network 2019). The word 'transition' suggests change, a period of transformation, but it is not clear how people can change. Transitioning is uncomfortable, it involves uncertainty – it requires people to exist in a liminal state. Victor Turner emphasises liminality is insecurity, it is more creative, but it is more destructive too (1974, pp. 77-78).

In 2013, the year Belinda co-founded the Huon Producers' Network, Belinda also made a series of short crowd-funded films. Their goal was to educate the public about fossil fuel dependence, resource over-use, the need to implement change in all our lives, and the "mindtraps" we create for ourselves to ensure that we cannot transform. Later that year, Belinda wrote in her blog: "I am angry!". Belinda stated that she was trying her best to grow her own food, limit her consumption, but change needed to be much more radical and performed by many more people.

People posted comments to let Belinda know that she was not useless, that she had inspired them to change, that Belinda and her family's lives were powerful. Maurice asserted that she might be powerless, but not useless, and that "… collapse is the solution". Belinda responded that she lacked optimism for a better future, but she acted out of hope, she acted in the right way because there was no other way to act. Belinda wrote, "what a quandary to have no optimism for a positive outcome, but to feel compelled to do something anyway". As Ingold noted, "carrying on" requires endurance (Chapter 6; Ingold 2011, p. 55), and Belinda feels obliged to keep going, even without improved correspondences, without community forming as she conceives it.

7.2.3.2 Regenerative Agriculture Network Tasmania

Clara has had a similar experience recruiting local members to a Huon Farmers for Action on Climate Change group in 2018. After a few small meetings prepared the way, there was a very popular gathering in Huonville. The morning was for local farmers and included guest speakers, including Clara herself, the Huon Valley farmer from the NRM South course, and

owners of a small organic farm that started in the early 1980s to supply Franklin Dam protestors. One participant talked about the "transformative potential of community", and the idea they were the "grassroots" was repeated (see above).

The afternoon session was a public forum, and when visiting University of Tasmania academics arrived, one commented that as the town hall doors opened, there was an "out-rush of energy from the room". What was witnessed was an "…almost magical power of words", where the group had a "unique vision of its identity and an identical vision of its unity" (Bourdieu 1991, p. 224). Neither the identity nor the unity was stable, however, with a steady reduction in the number of attendees at subsequent meetings. Soon after this, Clara drove the goal of the group beyond the local, to persuade nationwide larger-scale established farmers to change. There was a further shedding of Huon Valley locals at this point, and the name of the group was changed to Regenerative Agriculture Network Tasmania.

Clara and a team of volunteers (including students from the University) organised a conference in northern Tasmania for farmers from around Australia. It was not far from her ex-husband's farm, and her children attended as well. Speakers included Charles Massy and participants farmed beef, some dairy, sheep (meat and/or wool) and grains. This gathering was older, and cautious. I chatted with participants during a break; many wanted to change, their presence at this conference was testament to that fact. Their properties were visibly suffering from lack of water, chemical exposure, and vegetation clearance – but they were fearful of change. People did not know how to change and were put off by the time taken to transition, and the intensity of work necessary to move to regenerative systems. It was striking how few people worked on their large properties, how a lack of labour (a lack of skilled community hands) restricted people's abilities to contemplate different futures.

During the conference, the term "regenerative isolation" was used. A National Wellbeing Survey (Mark Gardner, Holistic Management Consultant) had found that regenerative farmers felt more in control and optimistic, which was better than for conventional farmers. Yet, these same farmers responded that they also felt less connected to their local communities. It was discussed whether this social isolation already existed for these different thinkers, or, whether the isolation followed from the challenging changes that they had made. These regenerative farmers may not have maintained a "behavioural consistency" necessary for feelings of belonging to regional farming communities (Burton 2004, p. 198).

It is possible that this was an unstated fear for some of the older farmers at the Regenerative Agriculture conference. These older established farmers with farming heritage may be fearful of social isolation if they start performing on the land in ways that appear strange, or alien, to their neighbours. The necessity for networks of like-minded people was emphasised to prevent such isolation – and there needs to be a transferral from a minority understanding to a majority understanding (Taylor 2002, p. 106). Interestingly, both the Regenerative Agriculture Network Tasmania and Transition Town initiatives have relied on one main advocate (Clara for the former, and Belinda for the latter) driving people forward. But longevity requires a gradual increase in active participation from others.

7.2.4 Performances

As well as opportunities to work together, there have been events where people have come together, to be seen together with others, performing imagined communities – the gathering of tribes. In a sense, the Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering discussed below is an imagined world view community that is materialised as a real community once a year, with the prospect of conversing and thinking together.

Many of the people who are attracted to attend the Willie Smith's Huon Valley Mid-Winter festivals, on the other hand, do not know one another in real or virtual space beyond their extended kith and kin groups. Some of these kith and kin groups are identifiable at the festival though their matching tribal costumes – from family groups dressed as slightly surreal Arctic Circle Saami sporting bows and arrows to ephemerally tattooed flower-coroneted fur-bedecked friendship groups – this is how they display their allegiances. At the Mid-Winter festivals, it appears that attendees think alike, but not necessarily beyond that space and time. They are performing an imaginative community, one that harks back to another time and place: an embellished pagan (pre-Christian) Europe. It is fun, while it lasts.

7.2.4.1 The Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering

The Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering started in Victoria in 2015 following a plaintive *Facebook* cry from a small-scale farmer in New South Wales who wanted to catch up with fellow farmers in the middle of winter. The inaugural gathering was hosted on a farm near Daylesford. The 2018 Cygnet event was organised by a Tasmanian panel (including Clara), with participation largely sourced through the Deep Winter Agrarians and the allied Tassie Agrarians *Facebook* groups. After the gathering, there were complaints from some local small-scale farmers who would have liked to have attended, but did not hear about the event

in time. As well as Clara, Joanna and Theo, Tom and Bronwen, Jack and Robin, Maurice's neighbours, and Matthew Evans were present.

The bulk of attendees were from mainland Australia, growing fruit and vegetables with a few chooks, they were under 35 years old and had been farming for well under a decade, cropping well under 4 hectares of land. This is quite different to the NRM South workshop and the Regenerative Agriculture conference attendees who were older, with larger properties and tended not to farm vegetables. The younger Deep Winter Agrarians did not have the same level of capital supporting them.

Akin to the Huonville Town Hall, at the start of the gathering, the buzz of activity was intense as people arrived at the Cygnet Town Hall and met with old friends and acquaintances. The space was organised around a central clearing, for presentations. Local palawa woman Trish Hodge entered this clearing and welcomed attendees to Country. At this point, Trish was a temporary "ritual leader", an insider, and audience members were "ritual followers" (Collins cited by le Grand 2018, p. 22). As with the they-self/mine-self and tribal/local oscillations noted above, the roles of leader and followers also alternate. Leaving the clearing, Trish became a follower, possibly even an outsider.

There was a session on the following day regarding Indigenous access to the mainly mainland Agrarians' properties. It was reported that as these New Farmers do not have "security" themselves, they needed to wait until they felt secure enough to allow Indigenous people access. Correspondences, therefore, with local Indigenous Australians appear not to be considered and an in-commoning cannot be initiated. These younger New Farmers had decided who they owe and who they might pay back (Olafson 1998, p. 45); and the silence of any dissenting voice ratified their decision.

Jack and Robin presented early findings from their trip to American abattoirs, which had been funded through Jack's Tasmanian Rural Women's Award in 2017. When Jack started to speak, she made the point that people should not worry about missing the concurrent session ("Homo Grown (queer farming)" by Jaclyn Wypler), as they could supply the lived experience of being queer farmers. It was the first time that I had heard Jack and Robin refer to this status, and while it had comedic value it seemed to come from a place of feeling safe, at home, a belonging, within this group.

In the "How To Not Burn Out When Farming" discussion, Clara gently reminded attendees that they are all undertaking this life by choice, it was a privilege and they did not have to do

it if the going got too tough. Clara stated that there is, however, always a tribe out there for them so they do not have to feel isolated. She also warned of the risk of only operating within their "beautiful safe tribal bubble". At the end of the Tasmanian Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering, one of the members posted on their blog a summary:

> This is the 4th year running – each year perfectly shaped by the community of farmers and allies from that area that volunteer their time, energy and resources to organise everything! It is all to pull together a group of people that otherwise connect via bubbles. This is our tribe. A group of people from around the country that grow food (veggies, meat, dairy, eggs, fruit, grain) aiming to bring people closer to the production and to conscientious eating and to the ecology we all rely on – a group of people constantly searching for better ways to be sustainable and regenerative in their production in a world long down a road forcing food to be grown for logistics and transport and convenience… We left the weekend grateful - with warm hearts, bellies full of amazing food, inspired minds and a good dose of hugs. Where to from here? An inclusive, open, knowledge-sharing movement that is to walk united towards a healthy planet and a healthy people. VIVA!

This blog entry is an example of people's awareness at the Deep Winter Agrarian Gathering of being "pulled" by an attracting force to perform together. They considered themselves to be a bonded movement in the form of an imagined tribe, with an enactment of a shared world view through shared practices in different places (Chapter 2; Taylor 2002, p. 106).

The Deep Winter Agrarians regularly called and responded "viva" during the gathering. It added to the sense of a bonded collective – indeed it was a tangible glue, a call and response that could trigger positive emotions. This was an activist coming out, resonant of other Victorian New Farmers, Charles Massy's call for insurgency, and the rebellious nature of neo-peasants in France (Zainuddin 2015; Massy 2017, p. 52; Willis & Campbell 2014, p. 322; Chapter 2). I did not witness this type of overt group activism when Tasmanian New Farmers gathered.

There was the sense that the Deep Winter Agrarian community is not temporary. Modern communications and social media have allowed these people to perform entangled interactions at a distance. The annual gathering, however, enabled relationships to be strengthened through close conversation and skinship (Mackay 2016), and a commoning to occur – the necessary yearly recreation and maintenance of the community.

7.2.4.2 Willie Smith's Huon Valley Mid-Winter Fest

Apple festivals were popular in the Huon Valley and D'Entrecasteaux Channel in the 1950s and 60s, but by the early 1970s apple export markets had crashed and associated festivals dwindled. The 21st Century has seen a recovery in apple production, apple products (including cider) and associated festivals. The best-known festival in Tasmania is hosted by Willie Smith's Apple Shed in Grove – co-run by Andrew Smith, a fourth-generation Huon Valley orchardist. The co-founder of Willie Smith's cider, Sam Reid, stated he witnessed a Wassail on a trip to England's West Country importing the festival as, he Tweeted, "we're all about being memorable". [9] The memory of good times has been very good for business.

Apart from 2020, there have been Huon Valley Mid-Winter festivals every July since 2014. Each year the numbers of participants have grown, from 4,000 in 2014 to 16,000 in 2018, causing the festival to move to the neighbouring showgrounds of Ranelagh in 2019. Willie Smith's Huon Valley Mid-Winter Fest is a two-night/two-day festival close to the shortest day of the year in the southern hemisphere, importing elements of burning and luck-bringing rituals (the Wassail) from the northern hemisphere. It is not the first festival of its type in Australia, with smaller wassails, burnings and Morris dancing performed in an apple orchard near Reidsdale in New South Wales from the end of winter 2011.

As mentioned above, the Huon Producers' Network now has a close relationship with Willie Smith's, through the Artisan and Produce Market. In 2019 the Network was advertised for the first time as supplying plant food, or "garden goodies", for a Mid-Winter banquet at the festival. Unlike the weak ties noted in Japan and Canada (Chapter 2), the commercial ties between New Farmers and the established farms run by people with a long heritage in farming have become stronger over time in the Huon Valley, in part because they supply the veggies, and in part because they have endured.

The Huon Producers' Network and some individual network members (the "grassroots") keep a low profile. The more famous local food producers (such as Matthew Evans's Fat Pig Farm) are more visible. Helen has also been actively involved, selling cheesy offerings. In 2015 Willie Smith's and Helen's cheesery got together to produce *Wild Willy* a sheep cheese with a cider washed rind, described as an "unreplicable artisan cheese" with "unique wild microflora", it was a hybrid production between a cheese and the unknown yeasts of that place (Hanson 2015). The festival itself is a hybrid production with European (most of the

[9] Wassail: from *wes hāl* in Old English, meaning, "be in good health" (OED 1983, p. 2510). The Wassail is a luck-bringing ritual.

participants, the apples, and the main rituals) and Aboriginal (a small number of the people, the land, and distinct rituals) components.

One young woman, interviewed at the 2018 festival, stated that the burning was about letting go of the negativity in her life, celebrating her new life in the Huon Valley – she had moved down from New South Wales in 2017 (Zengerer 2018). She also saw the festival as a celebration of pagan history and pagan rites. In the same interview, a woman from Denmark likened the event to Danish mid-summer festivals where witches are burnt, and folksongs sung. A couple stated it was wonderful that such a festival draws Tasmanians out in the middle of winter, with the opportunity to celebrate the apples and community. This couple explained they were not locals, because they came from the D'Entrecasteaux Channel, 15km away. One of the Aboriginal women officiating at the proceedings explained the transformational capacity of fire, of the time for healing and making connections with one another, of humankind "digging deep" to connect through something ancient.

Willie Smith's Huon Valley Mid-Winter Fest is a commercial gathering of people unlikely to meet again, and as such participants' obligations go no further (Esposito 2010, p. 12). Its success relies in part on its performance in a bounded space at a bounded time. 'Bound' is Middle English for a landmark (OED 1983, p. 223), and it could be thought of as a timemark as well. A place, then, is a mark in spacetime.

At the Mid-Winter festivals there is a collective effervescence, an excitement among the participants of these gatherings particularly when it gets dark (see Durkheim in Olaveson 2001). People are experimenting with distinctive individual and communal identities based on how they imagine a past European spacetime, realised anew and marked in an Aboriginal spacetime. This place is marked by their concentrated movements on the ground and marked in their memories by their intense emotions – the performances feel good. The community belonging, however, is temporary as correspondence is brief and obligations are not prolonged. Perhaps this could change over time if these rituals and people's participation develop longevity. At present, however, like their costumes, these individual and communal identifications are embraced or discarded at will.

7.3 A Summary of New Farmers Struggling to Form Communities

As New Farmers struggle to manifest their safe agrarian utopia in Tasmania, they have come to understand more clearly that this is a lonely exercise that cannot be progressed adequately without people who are dwelling, or at least who are starting to dwell, like them. New

Farmers in Tasmania are constantly forming and reforming relationships from working with family members, neighbours, co-workers, and each other; and, thinking together via specialised organisations, recruitment opportunities and performances to influence people into realising their way of life. These, however, are not consistent endeavours. There is frustration with the stop-start nature of correspondences, and there are neighbours and others who are ignored.

At the beginning of this chapter, it was stated that there are two related unanswered questions: why do people in this research imagine a community to be necessary; and why does community formation seem to be a struggle? From the analysis of New Farmers, it was noted that many assumed 'community' to pre-exist in Tasmania, as a nurturing thing. While some people stated that they had found their "tribe" here (that is, there are individuals in Tasmania who share their world view and their way of manifesting it), there was also a realisation that more people are needed to support this way of life, to survive. People, however, struggle to form communities in part due to different perspectives regarding what constitutes community, resulting in a range of reactions as to whether it has been realised for them in Tasmania. Community formation has also felt like a struggle because it requires constant work, constant creation, and maintenance – and that is exhausting.

For Belinda, community needs to share a world view, a place if possible, as well as relationships if people are going to survive well. The world view is not simply about being like-minded, it must also become like-actioned, or it is pointless. Actions, practices on the land, must at times be repetitively performed communally, otherwise the stickiness of obligations will not form – and there can be pleasure from those communal events. Like the relationality of identity, there is a constant comparison with communities from the past and elsewhere in the present to gauge the health of a local community. For Belinda, there is also a distinct oscillation between the necessity of nurturing oneself, alone, and collectively pulling together towards the same future. It is the constant effort to create communal movements, to recruit people to her tribe, that makes Belinda feel hopeless and exhausted – she continually witnesses them undergoing entropy; community repetitively builds up and breaks down.

But then Maurice would inform Belinda that hope is futile. For Maurice, community is made-up of the currently like-minded and like-actioned people around him – and this makes them useful, valuable to one another. Outside of this resource-rich community, with strong cultural, economic, and social capital, it is assumed that other people are not going to survive. It seems

that Maurice thinks it is too late to recruit new members. For Angus, community is place-based, and he largely accepts it contains many people within it who are not like him in thought or deed. For Angus, it is the localness of these people that counts, and he will continue to feed his local community for as long as he can – but largely without their help. In a sense, this laissez-faire attitude somewhat immunizes him from the troubled outside world, from the difficulties encountered when one attempts to work and think with many other people. But it also risks immunising Angus from the pleasure of communal activities.

Evidently, community is not one stable thing – because while a "thing" is a general assembly, it is not permanent (Turner 1985, pp. 111-117). Communities, like identities, can be multiple and dynamic. This means that while people can operate within multiple communities, a community itself constantly changes, as people come and go. There is a constant oscillation between perceptions of the self, oneself as an individual (the mine-self), and the collective (the they-self), oneself as part of a community. It is a difficult balance which sees some New Farmers exclude others who are not part of their tribe, who do not share their world view and frequently, those who are not within their socio-economic stratum, or class. But, contradictorily, it also sees some New Farmers try and include their local communities – people with which they share geography, people with whom they would like (indeed, need) to live and survive.

Entanglements are complex, and some are stickier and more desirable than others. And some are more visible than others – indeed some relationships can be quite secretive. Regardless of this, positive entanglements, positive communities, can appear elusive because of their dynamic nature. A community needs constant creation and maintenance – it needs constant correspondence and in-commoning. Communities materialise via conversation (written in a virtual context; spoken over a distance and together), gift-giving (creating obligations), and holding hands (indeed, the triggering of all the senses).

The desire for a sense of community, the formation of a lasting available local community, therefore, is a struggle for New Farmers. They have imagined that positive rural communities are waiting for them ready-made in their new Tasmanian home. Even locals with heritage, however, need to work on them. As such, New Farmers attempting to form lasting relationships with their new social and ecological surroundings can feel at times elated and nurtured, and at times defeated and lonely.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

This research began by considering why there are movements into rural Tasmania to farm by people without immediate farming heritage – “New Farmers” – while for decades the general movement has been in the opposite direction, with people moving away from rural regions, and away from farming, towards urban centres. What became apparent – and of greater significance – is the fact that many of the New Farmers in Tasmania have been searching for and actively struggling to form communities.

Research participants shared motivations to change the way they lived, to support themselves, their families, and people in their local areas through farming. This change was sought in the context of either becoming part of a nurturing (or a useful) pre-existing community, or, of actively forming community through their own hard work – and this activity has been a struggle. Hence, this thesis has considered why and how new small-scale farmers in Tasmania struggle to form community, exploring the entanglements and elusiveness of establishing a shared world view, a shared place, and shared relationships.

This movement into Tasmania by New Farmers has been triggered by becoming unsettled in their previous homes, combined with a reasoned need to avoid the worst of climatic, social, and economic upheavals. This is a result of the present world mood (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018), one to which New Farmers are responding to survive (Ingold 2017, p. 22). This research suggests that the drive to form supportive skilled communities is strongly related to this perceived need to survive. As a result, there has been the associated need for New Farmers in Tasmania to learn to correspond well with their new social and ecological surroundings in a world that at times feels like a frightening, chaotic place to exist. As climate change progresses, it is reasonable to suggest that this movement into Tasmania by New Farmers may continue. Indeed, the movement of New Farmers could be encouraged and facilitated so that diverse food security and community relationships are maintained and improved.

Some of the people associated with this study – many of the people at the inaugural Huon Valley Permablitz for instance (see Chapter 3) – referred to themselves as “climate refugees”. Certainly, like anthropologist Tim Ingold shifting *how to live* to *how to survive* between material published in 2016 and 2017 (Chapter 2 and Chapter 5, section 5.1.1), several

research participants have shifted perceptions regarding their own motivations for moving into rural Tasmania and starting to farm in this manner – this is especially true for Joanna and Theo, for Clara and for Jack and Robin. Their emphasis has shifted over time from nostalgically seeking a good life, to urgently surviving the climate crisis – but motivations remain a complex palimpsest.

Surprisingly, other New Farmer studies did not arrive at climate change as being the main driver for people moving to rural regions and starting to farm. Christopher Mayes, however, believes that the rise in popularity of urban agriculture in large cities can be partly explained as a response to climate change (Mayes 2014, p. 271). The media are also reframing earlier New Farmer movements in this way. For example, "neo-peasants" have been re-classified as "collapsologists" in France (Spinney 2020). This research, then, has tracked a change in emphasis from new small-scale farming being framed as a nostalgic activity to its being reframed as a dystopian/apocalyptic activity.

Prior research in the UK and Germany, nonetheless, did identify escaping from urban over-population and over-development as common motivations for New Farmer movements. For New Farmers in Tasmania, the problem of over-population is also expressed, frequently by alluding to the lack of "space" and "nature" in cities. The biggest difference in Tasmania, is the association some research participants have made between over-population and the danger it poses to survival post-apocalypse. According to some people in this research, cities will become dangerous dystopias; governmental infrastructure will disintegrate; economies will collapse. For those in this study with a more apocalyptic view, people need to have achieved food self- and community- provisioning within like-minded rural communities by that time. And that time is soon.

Research participants have shared similar motivational factors that have unsettled them in their former homes, that have pushed them away from unpleasant experiences. These unpleasant experiences have commonly been associated with distress around personal family and professional career relationships. They have also shared similar motivational factors that have then pulled them into Tasmania: to wit, the expectation of small-scale farming as a better way of life, nostalgically slower, cleaner, and greener, with the hope of progressing towards an agrarian utopia; along with, an attraction to Tasmania as a refuge, a safer place where climate change can be survived, where the worst of climate, social and economic upheavals might be avoided.

All the New Farmers in this study and many elsewhere in the world, have been influenced by the dominant Western mental frame provided by an agrarian imaginary (Mayes 2014). This incorporates globally-aligned ideas around the naturalness and virtue of farming and care for the environment through small-scale agroecology, or regenerative agriculture (see Chapters 2 and 6). Fuelling the agrarian imaginary, reinforcing, and triggering the dominant frame, are the common texts (particularly concerning permaculture), television series and films that most New Farmers have absorbed and are absorbing – indeed, some of which New Farmers are creating themselves. What began as a minority interest is moving towards a more popular interest, even if it has not quite swelled from a minority understanding to a majority understanding. Yet, New Farmers in Tasmania do have a common understanding of the agrarian imaginary with the assistance of this media – and with common understanding, common practices – such as small-scale farming – become possible (Taylor 2002, p. 106).

People have attempted to make real their imaginaries where they have come to dwell. They have found land that has suited their purposes (that is hidden, sunny, well-watered, fertile, a small area, etc), and/or they have adapted land to better suit their purposes (adding in swales, removing swales, filling in old orchard furrows, importing compost, manure, etc). They have made a clearing in which to dwell, and they have built houses that reflect their intentions (off-grid longevity post-collapse, nurturing straw bale homes). The things that people enact as part of their imaginaries are exhibited where they dwell (Ingold 2000, p. 186); the way that they farm, the look of the farm and farmer corresponds with those imaginaries and corresponds to the trials and errors that occur as they proceed. Indeed, New Farmers' hard work has left memorials physically in the earth, and emotionally in their memories. In this sense, research participants have not simply gone along with things (Ingold 2018, p. 162); an economy – the management of their home – is forced upon ecological surroundings. People have inserted themselves into their ecological surroundings, gathering things together and attempting to bring new things into being as a poiēsis – and it is a struggle.

It is possible that farmers with heritage have a deeper sense of their own belonging in the landscape through stories their families relate, and through lived experiences of their farming traditions on the land. Farmers with heritage may connect to the land as an experiential autochthony (Gressier 2014). This contrasts to the apparent need for New Farmers to develop a meaningful attachment to the land (Inwood *et al*. 2013, p. 366). My research, however, suggests that New Farmers in Tasmania do not so much need, or desire, a sense of belonging

to the land – rather they desire, they need, a level of control over the land's productivity through small-scale farming.

This attitude relates to New Farmers' recent arrival in Tasmania, and the increasingly urgent ambition of communal survival through small-scale farming wherever New Farmers might dwell. New Farmers in Tasmania are paradoxically in a safe and privileged place but perceive a world of threat. In reality, bucolic, pastoral scenes conceal the fact that surprisingly little conventional food is being grown in appropriate Australian rural regions. Most European-style farmers, and the things they are farming are relatively recent arrivals in Australia. Many are struggling to farm. It is my belief that New Farmers comprehend these details, understand the risks, sense the insecurity – and fear the future as a result. But this fear does not cause them to freeze – or make them look to government to keep them safe – it calls them to action.

The people involved in this research have spent a lot of time alone – observing, thinking (dreaming), experimenting, practising – trying to work out how to live in their new home. Indeed, they have spent a lot of time outside, in the weather moving on unhardened surfaces corresponding with their new ecological surroundings. As time has passed, New Farmers' world views have started to align as the world mood changes and as they communicate with one another, and an in-commoning occurs; there has been a steady transferral from a minority understanding towards a majority understanding (Taylor 2002, p. 106).

New Farmers are being experiential and experimental by learning how to farm and correspond with new ecologies. The idea that New Farmers have had the time and the space to experiment with a new way of life is also a common feature in Tasmania and elsewhere in the world. Most of the people in these studies are middle-class and tertiary-educated. As such, they have strong cultural, economic and social capital (Bourdieu [1980] 1990). This ensures that they dare to take risks, or, as all the people in this study have phrased it – they have had the confidence to learn how to farm through individualistic trial and error. The variation from New Farmers elsewhere, is that research participants in this study (particularly the older ones) are now in more of a hurry as climate change progresses, as that only certainty, death, approaches (Arendt 1978, I, p. 205).

Many of the differences between New Farmer studies in other parts of the world and in Tasmania can be explained by reference to Tasmania itself. Tasmania has long been perceived as an impoverished part of Australia, but one with an imagined clean green activist heritage. Tasmania is also a spacious island with a small population, and as such is imagined

as a safe experimental refuge, a lifeboat tossed on a climate-chaotic ocean, but one containing a receptive community – and prospective New Farmers have understood community to be necessary for survival even while they often undertake trials and errors (experiment) alone.

Islands have a reputation for containing distinct communities (Chapter 6). Rural residents generally have little choice but to associate with one another, when compared with urban residents in densely-populated cities on large continents. The bounded nature of an island ensures that there is a bounded nature to a group of humans. This, however, does not result in people on an island, in the rural, being bonded, and Tasmania is a large island with complicated urban-rural, Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal, local-tribal, class, ecological and topographical relationships. Learning to dwell in a place and viewing it from a distance (over the fence or across a ditch, so to speak) are never going to offer the same perspective. Many people in this research have carried an impression of Tasmania as being like a past agrarian Europe, culturally and environmentally. There is, however, the reality of an Aboriginal past and present in lutruwita/Tasmania, that dual name reminding us of other correspondences within social and ecological surroundings. European-style farming in Tasmania, small-scale and large-scale, imposes itself onto and into the Aboriginal landscape.

As such, Tasmania, farming in Tasmania, is not exactly what new arrivals expect. While New Farmers think of their small-scale farming as rescuing local communities from the damage wrought by industrial agriculture (see section 5.2.1.1), the Aboriginality of the Tasmanian landscape and the unfamiliarity of Tasmania's ecosystem are little considered. Native wildlife, bushfires, unexpected seasons, weeds, crop pests and diseases, aching bodies, accidents, exhaustion, anxiety, fear, the never-ending cyclical nature of it all take their toll. Yet, many New Farmers have persevered with their new lives in this new place. Some have achieved around 20 years on their properties in Tasmania (see timeline in Chapter 5) and others have indicated that this will be their final resting place (Maurice, Belinda and Kev). They have all expressed their individual struggles to correspond well with their new ecological surroundings as trial and error. They are aware that working on their own properties, largely by themselves, has meant that they have had to learn from their own mistakes. Loneliness, however, is perhaps the biggest problem for New Farmers and the supportive Tasmanian community has not been realised as they imagined.

Moving to Tasmania, New Farmers have purposefully broken some links with the urban as well as with government infrastructure, whereas in Canada New Farmers kept strong links

with urban areas and even thought of themselves as bridging the urban-rural gap. Hence the idea of “between belongings” (Marshall and Foster 2002, in Ngo and Brklacich 2014, p. 64). But many New Farmers in Tasmania are interested in forming, or are trying to form, communities in (and from) their new rural homes – and this is not fully considered in other New Farmer studies around the world.

New Farmers in Tasmania have developed virtual connections through social media to like-minded and like-doing rural dwellers – their so-called tribe. But they have also created opportunities for meetings in the flesh, where the virtual becomes materialised through New Farmers temporarily gathering in a real space at the same time. The connection through a world view to a “broader community of interests” (Ngo & Brklacich 2013 pp. 61-62), is, therefore, more realisable (more sensational) and less remote than examples in Canada. It would also appear that New Farmers in Tasmania are endeavouring to associate with locals more, even while they on occasion avoid some interactions. There is an oscillation in Tasmania between sticking within their tribes and connecting with people who inhabit their local areas, people who are not part of their tribe (yet). This could be framed as an oscillation between maintaining like-minded existing relationships and creating new relationships; as an oscillation between maintaining a world view community and creating a community in-place – the latter being particularly hard work.

People moving into the rural and starting to farm, will tend to make pragmatic relationships with agricultural colleagues and customers for their produce, along with family members who support them, and others (near or far) they consider to have similar interests, members of their tribe from whom they seek advice. These pragmatic relationships are referred to as an “agricultural community of practice” by Ngo and Brklacich (2014, pp. 61-62). What is different in Tasmania, however, is that New Farmers here have attempted to form their own organisations in place. They have attempted to recruit others to their world view, and they at times perform desired communities.

The desire for community was strongly exhibited by research participants, even while there was acknowledgement that the locals may not be like-minded – as experienced in other New Farmer studies – and may not be part of their moral community (Lockie *et al.* 2006, p. 97). The fact that New Farmers are making forays into their local Tasmanian communities, means that an in-commoning is more likely to occur here. Ethics are generated by relationships between human beings (Olafson 1998, p. 7), as such moral communities can and will only

form by these acts of in-commoning. Socio-economic status, however, continues to operate as a boundary to human correspondence.

As with their ecological surroundings, people in this research have not simply gone along with things in their social surroundings either; they have attempted to manage new social relationships as well. New Farmers in Tasmania have inserted themselves into their social surroundings, gathering others together and attempting to bring new things into being as a social poiēsis – and it is also a struggle.

At first, New Farmers arrived in Tasmania and started to farm in their small kinship groups. There has been the desire to work for, and assist with, the survival of immediate family members through small-scale farming on the island. Presenting the centrality of family in this way, can make attending to one's own family seem self-serving. Family is emphasised by Australian politicians (Chapter 1) and by established farmers (Appendix 4). It is a safe, somewhat nebulous, unit that does not threaten the status quo. The rarely questioned 'good' of the family (or, at least, the good of a good family – however that might be defined) allows for the avoidance of discussing that larger and potentially more egalitarian unit community, and what community could or should be about.

After a little time in rural Tasmania, however, it became obvious that New Farmers cannot (do not always want to) operate in isolation with only their immediate family relationships, and many new pragmatic relationships have developed anyway. Beyond the pragmatism of working relationships, New Farmers in Tasmania have formed and been involved within specific organisations that serve their way of life. These organisations (especially the Huon Producers' Network) have acted as sticky focal points to attract and glue the like-minded and assist them in becoming the like-actioned.

While some New Farmers think that there is not time and do not display the inclination to influence others to change, other New Farmers want to speed up their efforts and operate at a larger scale. This has led some individuals (specifically Belinda and Clara) to form recruitment drives to influence others outside their tribe to change. Correspondence with others is highly skilled and not everyone has the confidence to perform it in public settings. In the case of Belinda, recruitment has mainly been about people in the local sphere who are yet to start making changes to their lives. In the case of Clara, recruitment started off as a local effort, but quickly changed to a state and national effort to get traditional large-scale farmers to change their habits. The latter endeavour would appear to have had more success,

as Clara has enlisted others to assist her cause. From on-line responses, however, Belinda has also influenced others to change, but not necessarily in her local area.

Transforming the local is a complex situation, especially when you are not considered to be local and you correspond differently (dress differently, talk differently, live differently) to the locals. One's tribe needs little assistance in this regard, even if it is important to gather from time to time to feel less isolated and to sense others thinking and doing as you yourself think and do – it validates their way of life and the choices they have made. But the local is necessary for survival, and some New Farmers are compassionate enough to want the local people around them to survive as well regardless of differences.

Communities materialise via conversation (written in a virtual context; spoken over a distance and together), gift-giving (creating obligations), and the triggering of senses and emotions – but these activities require consistent correspondence and opportunities for in-commoning. As has been revealed in this research, a community needs constant creation and maintenance (cf. neighbours in Graeber 2014, p. 71). In Heidegger's dichotomy too, care and maintenance are the preserve of the peasant rather than the industrial farmer (see Chapter 1). Care and maintenance, therefore, are understood to be important concepts and activities when corresponding within social and ecological surroundings. Creating new relationships, maintaining groups which share relationships, indeed caring, are all exhausting activities – so New Farmers often need time apart from others to nurture themselves. There is physical exhaustion from efforts at ecological poiēsis, mental exhaustion from efforts at social poiēsis.

New Farmers are trying to impose their order on their surroundings (their efforts at poiēsis), even while they are trying to be responsive to those surroundings, even while they attempt to adequately care for their social and ecological surroundings. This is how New Farmers are learning how to dwell. Dwelling is how Martin Heidegger describes the way in which mortal humans are on the earth (Heidegger [1971] 2001, p. 145). Humans cultivate and nurture things that grow, they build and construct things, and they cherish, protect and care. Through farming, humans are learning how to undertake all these aspects of dwelling. They cherish, protect and care for family, and some cherish, protect and care for community.

Like farming, family, community, and human are verbs – they are doings and becomings, not simply things and beings. Part of forever learning how to dwell, therefore, is humans forever "humanifying" themselves, their fellow organisms, and their surroundings (Ingold 2015, pp. 115-118). Becoming human is a life-long process to which there is no end (apart from death).

A person's being may be glimpsed but it is not the whole story as human becoming is dynamic – and the same, this research illustrates, can be said for community. There is no end to community formation either, it may be tangible at points in its becoming (during events and gatherings, for instance) – but it is also a vibrant verb that exists in its movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that New Farmers find community formation a struggle.

Tim Ingold explains the struggle for dwelling as a way of being at home in the world, with others (Ingold 2005, p. 503) – with community. Human life and community are generated by the relationships created therein – correspondence requires co-existence (that is, Heidegger's *Mitsein* – being-in-the-world-with-one-another, referred to in Chapter 5). Dwelling is a struggle because it is continuously in flux as beings and becomings are entangled, disentangled, and re-entangled. As Ingold states: "… the path, and not the place, is the primary condition of being, or rather of becoming" (Ingold 2011, p. 12), and "… selves *are* not; they *become*" (Ingold 2016a, p. 13). As they become along their chosen paths, people in this research continue to be a palimpsest, an entanglement, of old and new relationships, influences, memories, practices, actions and experiences. And the same could be said of communities.

In other words, New Farmers in their new Tasmanian home are constantly learning how to be and who to be with others, and there is a continual to and fro in time as they self-reflect and compare where they are, where they were and where they might be in the future. It was important, therefore, to explore with research participants as individuals and as part of collectives through time and in space, displaying dynamic lives with multiple identities, and participating within dynamic multiple communities.

Without explicit definitions for community, the New Farmer literature review indicated that individuals can participate within multiple communities based on: shared world views (such as a community of interests discussed by Ngo & Brklacich 2014); living in the same place (shared space, a geographically defined community found for example in the Italian Alps or highland Japan); and/or close personal relationships (shared feelings, emotions, senses and the obligations formed in families and between work colleagues, as found with neo-peasants in the Cévennes).

People live in a community because they have things in common and those things develop through communication (Dewey cited in Ingold 2016b, p. 14). Ingold discusses social interaction and sharing as correspondence, as how we respond to one another, or co-respond

(Ingold 2016b). People can share a world view through possessing similar imaginaries, such as the agrarian imaginary (Mayes 2014), and/or a dystopian/apocalyptic imaginary based on a common world-disclosing mood (Heidegger in Wheeler 2018).

People can also share a place, by dint of where they live. Not everyone, however, in a shared place deems others there to belong in the same way they do, and not everyone in the same place necessarily feels that it is their home. Regardless of this, people will learn how to dwell through movement with others in a geographic locality – movement with others (through time, in space) is the key to community.

People share relationships within their families but also with other people. Any of these relationships, however, could be in the form of *Gesellschaft* – an uneasy co-habitation, rather than *Gemeinschaft* – where there is the stickiness of emotional glue and obligations are formed. A full correspondence occurs when people literally answer to one another over time, when exchange happens through conversation, gifts or even holding hands (Ingold 2016b, p. 14). This quote is an important part of the repetition alluded to in Chapter 1 – a repetition of ideas that has given this story shape and a repetition of actions in the world that triggers memory and emotions. Repetitions reinforce the concept and efficacy of correspondence, and this is how community is created, recreated, and maintained.

Community and identity are dynamic, forming as we interact with each other (cf. Blommaert 2016a). Indeed, it seems that community is a macro form of identity. Identity is relational to others – and the form and boundaries of a community also relate to the members of that community: how they live and think; where they live and communicate; who they have feelings for; who they exclude from membership, or even who would never want to be included. Some aspects of identity require individuals to 'come out', to authentically reveal themselves to others – and this is true for community too. Being seen with others – the dynamic facing of each other (Turner [1969] 2002, p. 372) – makes the community visible, and it is a way of displaying, owning up to, allegiances and alliances (see Varga & Guignon 2014). A positive sense of identity and community is vital for how people feel about themselves and each other; they anchor us in life even while they transform us through living.

While community can be thought of as an imagined thing, it becomes tangible as a group of people communicate, move together, and correspond with one another in real or virtual space. People then start to develop things in common through this correspondence and will start to develop obligations to one another the more they share. The bonds of community can

materialise and strengthen during gatherings and events when people come out and acknowledge their membership, but bonds also exist as invisible sticky ties between these times. These bonds can stretch to breaking point. They need constant creation and renewal. And membership of a community, of multiple communities, is affective of and important to individual identities, how people feel about themselves and how people want to live their lives (when they feel that they have choices).

An important finding of this research is that New Farmers coming into rural Tasmania, farmers leaving the land and moving to more urban environments, and established farmers moving to better-watered regions of Australia, all share a common desire that reveals itself to them once movements have been performed. That common desire is community – the seeking of a vibrant established community and/or the intention to create new communities.

Not too surprisingly, community has meant different things to different participants in this research – and it probably means different things to farmers with heritage who have left farming or those who have moved to new farms. While carrying an agrarian imaginary, hoping to progress toward an agrarian utopia, and moving into rural Tasmania with its clean green activist reputation to avoid the worst of various collapses – many New Farmers believed that a nurturing like-minded community would pre-exist within this place. But that is because most people think community is a thing when, as illustrated above, it is in fact a participatory activity.

New Farmers in Tasmania, therefore, have made the effort to form community because they feel that it is essential for mental and physical survival in their new home, with their new way of life. New Farmers in Tasmania have also struggled to form community because it is an ongoing relational movement forward in time with others. That is, community is not a static assemblage, but it is a dynamic correspondence and as such community can be too energetic to capture or grasp.

New Farmers have formed relationships with some neighbours and others in their local areas, who do not necessarily think or act like they do. New Farmers have also formed and curated relationships with other New Farmers close by and further afield, people who are described as being part of their tribe. Some of these relationships are highly visible (for instance, at the first permablitz presented in Chapter 3), and it is during participation in events that perform those relationships where community briefly materialises and can be perceived. Equally, New

Farmers work and rest in isolated circumstances, feeling lonely, but needing to be alone – and at these times the ideal of community can feel like a nostalgic dream.

Contradictorily, both these positions are true. This is possible because a community of people requires constant creation and maintenance – it is hard work, especially when mobile individuals frustratingly have the habit of regularly entering and leaving. Therefore, from time to time, those individuals in lead roles need to withdraw and nurture themselves off-stage, out of the limelight that is directed onto the community stage.

As seen in this thesis, community forms, deforms, and reforms through communication between humans. It happens in a geographical location, for instance on people's properties or at markets in the Huon Valley, but it can also happen in virtual space through written and spoken correspondence. Communities can seem at their most interconnected when obligations form between members through gift-giving – through the exchange of things (information, objects, labour, company), in a space where all human senses are triggered, and people feel positive about these exchanges. There is always the danger, however, that such obligations may come to feel onerous.

It should not be assumed that the members of communities New Farmers are forming think alike, do alike, are alike (or, even like each other), although some people in this research have desired similarity and believe likeness to be necessary for survival. Indeed, long-term correspondence will allow members of these communities to develop things in common with one another – at the very least people will develop mutual understanding, if not mutual liking.

Participation in community formation and identity development reveal never-ending cycles, full of hard work. Until, that is, movement lessens, and the end (death) is sighted (Ingold 2011, p. 55). Given this fact – the fact of death – people should make the most of opportunities for correspondence as we collectively learn how to dwell and how to become human before movement ends. Dwelling in this thesis has concentrated upon New Farmers learning to be at home with other humans as they learn to raise plants and animals for food. Dwelling is a relational activity (a correspondence) within social and ecological surroundings. There is also much more to be understood regarding how New Farmers learn to dwell and form correspondences with more-than-human communities and this is a rich vein for future research.

Finally, to paraphrase and merge ideas from Heidegger and Ingold, communities are not simply collections of objects, static assemblages of people and things – communities are

dynamic correspondences which are constantly becoming. And we must constantly learn, therefore, how to form communities; we must constantly learn how to develop things in-common with others to experience being at home in the earth.

First Dog on the Moon, The Guardian, 30 January 2019

CHAPTER 9: LEAVING THE FIELD

Going Down the Huon: Friday 12th June 2020

My eldest son Ben and I are driving down the Huon to visit Belinda, Kev and Luke. It is June 2020, and we are free to visit, free to move beyond COVID-imposed – the state's imposed – boundaries. We feel excited to be 'out' and visiting people who we have both grown to love. It is winter, but a beautiful sunny day. The previous year's fires are only vaguely memorialised in the landscape through the occasional brown patchwork piece among the greens. First Dog on the Moon's exhilaration at moving to rural Tasmania (see *frontispiece*) had transformed to the terrifying exhausting reality of waiting for approaching fires in a year, where the only pleasing note had been his realisation that disaster makes community materialise – an in-commoning had been enforced. People had needed and wanted to correspond, to work together and to think about one-another (p. 154).

Acrid air, Belinda, Kev & Luke's, summer 2019

By comparison, the summer of 2019/2020 had been peaceful in the valley. It had been cooler than average, and the threat of fire had receded somewhat in southern Tasmania. Life had slowed, and communities had experienced the entropy of returning to largely individualistic family activities. A cool island at what some consider to be the periphery of capitalist activity is influenced by change and viruses belatedly. It allowed for better organisation. It allowed for the drawbridge across our ditch to be raised, and we became largely COVID-free hermits. Many of us joined the entanglement of online communities. And here is the irony. That aspiring hermit Belinda had never been busier, and we became occasional (and occasionally very long) email-pals. In April 2020, Belinda wrote:

[The seed company] has gone wild. Had to close the shop in the end. Tried to reopen it, but $1000 in the first hour of panic seed buying, and then 2 days later it was so out of control we had to shut it again. Which is good for us, though timed during peak seed saving season it's been difficult. [Luke] has been a trooper. But I love seeing people finally get it. They want to learn how to not just grow their own food, but buy chooks (even goats – poor goats), learn to bake their own bread. Hell I even convinced people to grow their own loo paper! This is what needed to happen. I always thought it would take a brief stint of starvation before they did. But just the threat of it was enough. I hope, if and when this is over, that they don't go back to assuming the stupidmarket will always be there for them. That they become more resilient… [The pandemic as] a dress rehearsal for the apocalypse… [It] would be good to have a face to face rave. Always good. We now have visitors at the gate (usually while we're passing over buckets of slaughtered tomatoes for them to bottle/sauce), and it's weirdly nice. So little has changed about our lives. The cracks must be much wider for other families to step over. The old curse – interesting times.

Ben and I park in their driveway, with me pointing out all the changes the family has undertaken on their land over the years I have visited. I feel proprietorial now. I know this place, certainly better than when I helped at the Permablitz three years ago. The views, the smells, the sounds are familiar. As we pull off our boots on the veranda, I point out the huge greenhouse to Ben – it is a different design to the one we started in 2017. The veranda door opens, and there is an outrush of warmth and greeting from Belinda, Kev, Luke and Carlo. Carlo is another red-and-white setter, but much more barrel-shaped than Nuva.

We sit around the large wooden kitchen table, while Kev makes coffee and chai. Belinda has her digital scales set out and is efficiently measuring out seeds into separate paper packets to be posted to new gardeners, for new food gardens. Ben and Luke sit beside each other, one year apart in age, equally shy and happy with the other's presence. We have brought gifts. Tasmanian olive oil and lavender hand cream, cinnamon star biscuits and the loan of a book for Kev – *The Anarchy* by William Dalrymple. Ben brought his copy as Kev mentioned that he wanted to read it on *Facebook*. The book charts the rise of the East India Company with a portending of state-facilitated multinational corporations. Our conversation starts here then dives off into a wild world of other thoughts, ideas, readings, and concerns. We like book-swapping – it obliges us to visit again and again.

My research for this thesis is over. But as we share the table, this familiarity, this commensality is a treasured moment I believe for all those present. While the table separates us, it allows us to convey our thoughts and relate to one-another (Arendt [1958] 2018, p. 52). It is a moment of relative physical stillness, yet our brains, mouths and ears work hard. We may have been thrown together into a time and place not of our own making, but we have learnt to nurture this friendship between people who are leading different ways of life. When we visit, we are a small temporary community. We feel at home together.

On the way back to Hobart, Ben and I call into a shopping centre in Kingston. One of the two digital scales Belinda bought there is not working, and she really needs the second set to speed up the seed packaging process. Moving from farm to shopping centre feels surreal. In this manufactured space, footsteps and canned muzak bounce off the hard floor and walls. This place is bright and shiny, the thermostat invariable. We find our way to the shop, trying not to stare at the drug paraphernalia on sale. Once the transaction is successfully completed we rush back to our car, and I wonder how much more strange such an experience must feel for people who rarely leave the muddy greenness of the land in their hidden valley.

I feel grateful that I am granted access to Belinda, Kev and Luke’s home. While my ethical approval for this project expired in March 2020, I am free to visit people who have become friends. We are free to develop and share our own ethical relationship. I did not write any notes as we sat and chatted, nor will I write any when we get back to our city home. This was an ordinary visit to our extraordinary friends. I had left the field.

REFERENCES

Adger, WN 2000, ‘Social and ecological resilience: are they related?’, *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 347-364.

Aitkenhead, D 2008, ‘James Lovelock: ‘Enjoy life while you can: in 20 years global warming will hit the fan’’, *The Guardian*, 1 March, <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2008/mar/01/scienceofclimatechange.climatechange>.

Alston, M 2004, ‘Who is down on the farm? Social aspects of Australian agriculture in the 21st century’, *Agriculture and Human Values*, vol. 21, pp. 37-46.

Anderson, B [1983] 2006, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, Verso, London & New York.

Anon. 2016, ‘Bolivia to Be Completely Food Independent in 2020 by Investing in Small Farmers’, viewed 4 May 2017, <https://anonhq.com/bolivia-completely-food-independent-2020-investing-small-farmers/>.

Appiah, KA 2016, ‘Mistaken Identities’, *The Reith Lectures*, British Broadcasting Corporation, accessed 14 October 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b080twcz>.

Arendt, H [1958] 2018, *The Human Condition*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London.

Arendt, H 1978, *The Life of the Mind*, Harcourt Inc., San Diego, New York, London.

Atkinson, P 2005, ‘Qualitative Research – Unity and Diversity’, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 6, no. 3, article 26.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011, Australian Historical Population Statistics, cat. no. 3105.0.65.001, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, accessed 12 December 2015, <www.abs.gov.au>.

Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012, Australian Social Trends, Australian farming and farmers, cat. no. 41020, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, accessed 12 December 2015, <www.abs.gov.au>.

Bakhtin, MM 1981, *The Dialogic Imagination*, M Holquist (ed.), C Emerson & M Holquist (trans.), University of Texas Press, Austin.

Barrett, P 2018, 'River Cottage Australia host Paul West's reverse tree-change', *Domain*, <https://www.domain.com.au/domain-review/river-cottage-australia-host-paul-wests-reverse-tree-change-630038/>.

Berliner, D, Lambek, M, Shweder, R, Irvine, R & Piette A 2016, 'Anthropology and the study of contradictions', *Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 1-27.

Biosecurity Tasmania 2020, Queensland Fruit Fly, <https://dpipwe.tas.gov.au/biosecurity-tasmania/plant-biosecurity/pests-and-diseases/queensland-fruit-fly>.

Blommaert, J 2016a, 'Durkheim and the internet: Notes on sociolinguistics and the sociological imaginations. Part I: the social fact', *Ctrl+Alt+Dem blog*, weblog post 20 August, accessed 25 August 2016, < https://alternative-democracy-research.org/2016/08/20/durkheim-and-the-internet-notes-on-sociolinguistics-and-the-sociological-imagination/>.

Blommaert, J 2016b, 'Commentary: Mobility, contexts, and the chronotope', *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, Tilburg University, Paper 170, pp. 1-5.

Botterill, L 2009, 'The role of agrarian sentiment in Australian rural policy', in F Merlan & D Raftery (eds.), *Tracking Rural Change: Community, Policy and Technology in Australia, New Zealand and Europe*, Australian National University E press, pp. 59-78.

Bourdieu, P [1980] 1990, *The Logic of Practice,* R Nice (trans.), Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Bourdieu, P [1984] 2010, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Bourdieu, P 1991, *Language and Symbolic Power,* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Bourdieu, P 2004, 'The peasant and his body', *Ethnography,* vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 579-599.

Bourne, JK 2015, *The End of Plenty: the race to feed a crowded world*, Scribe Publications, Brunswick & London.

Boyce, J 2008, *Van Diemen's Land*, Black Inc., Melbourne, Victoria.

Boym, S 2001, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Basic Books, New York.

Brett, J 2011, 'Fair Share: Country and City in Australia', *Quarterly Essay,* vol. 42, pp. 1-67.

Briscoe, T 2018, Monday 31 December, Tasmanian Country Hour, Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Hobart, accessed 18 August 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/tas-country-hour/tas-country-hour/10667540>.

Brown, S 1986, 'Aboriginal Archaeological Resources in South East Tasmania: An Overview of the Nature and Management of Aboriginal Sites', *Occasional Paper No. 12,* National Parks and Wildlife Service, Tasmania.

Bureau of Meteorology 2020, Australian Government, Canberra, accessed 21 February 2020, <http://www.bom.gov.au/climate/current/statement_archives.shtml>.

Burnstein, E, Branigan, C & Wiezorkowska-Nejtardt, G 2002, 'Altruism Begins At Home: evidence for a kin selection heuristic sensitive to the costs and benefits of helping', in FK Salter (ed.), *Risky Transactions: trust, kinship, and ethnicity*, Berghahn Books, New York & Oxford, pp. 71-106.

Burton, RJF 2004, 'Seeing through the "good farmer's" eyes: towards developing an understanding of the social symbolic value of "productivist" behaviour', *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 195-215.

Cameron, D 2005, 'Closer Settlement in Queensland; the rise and decline of the agrarian dream - 1860s to the 1960s', in GB Davison (ed.), *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in Twentieth Century Australia*, Monash University ePress, Melbourne, pp. 06.1-06.21.

Carolan, M 2016, 'Adventurous food futures: knowing about alternatives is not enough, we need to feel them', *Agriculture and Human Values*, vol. 33, pp. 141-152.

Charmaz, K 2006, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*, Sage Publications, London.

Ching, GW 1997, 'Recognizing Rusticity: Identity and the Power of Place', in GW Ching (ed.), *Knowing Your Place: Rural Identity and Cultural Hierarchy*, Routledge, New York & London, pp. 1-38.

Clark, CMH [1978] 1999, *A History of Australia, Volume IV, The Earth Abideth for Ever, 1851-1888*, Melbourne University Press.

Cockburn, L 2007, *Living The Good Life; How One Family Changed Their World From Their Own Backyard*, Hardie Grant Books, Australia.

Coslovich, G 2018, 'How Hobart became a mainlander's dream', *Good Weekend, The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 27, <https://www.smh.com.au/national/how-hobart-became-a-mainlander-s-dream-20180221-p4z13c.html>.

Courtney, P 2015, 'Going South', Landline, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, <https://www.abc.net.au/local/archives/landline/content/2015/s4329231.htm>.

Courtney, P 2019, '"Climate-change refugees" quit mainland farming in search of greener pastures in Tasmania', Landline, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-02-16/climate-change-refugee-farmers-move-south-for-easier-farming/10794220>.

Crate, SA 2011, 'Climate and Culture: Anthropology in the Era of Contemporary Climate Change', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 40, pp. 175-194.

Creswell, JW 2014, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington D. C.

Cronon, W 1992, 'A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative', *The Journal of American History*, March, pp. 1347-1376.

Darwin, C [1859] 2009, *The Origin of Species and The Voyage of the Beagle*, Vintage Books, London.

Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment 2020, *Australian Government*, <https://www.agriculture.gov.au>.

Douglas, M 1970, *Purity And Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Pelican Books.

Esposito, R 2010, *Communitas: the origin and destiny of community*, T Campbell (trans.), Stanford University Press.

Evans, K 2012, '*'Antipodean England'? A History of Drought, Fire and Flood in Tasmania from European Settlement in 1803 to the 1960s*', unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Geography & Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania.

Evans, M 2014, *The Dirty Chef: from big city food critic to foodie farmer*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, London.

Farm Gate Market 2019, <https://farmgatemarket.com.au/>.

Foskey, R 2010, 'From the periphery: Experiencing being an academic newcomer', *Current Narratives*, vol. 2, pp. 14-26, <http://ro.uow.edu.au/currentnarratives>.

Ganguly, D 2009, 'Pain, Personhood and the Collective: Dalit Life Narratives', *Asian Studies Review,* vol. 33, pp. 429-442.

Geertz, C [1973] 1993, *The Interpretation of Cultures, Selected Essays*, Fontana Press, London.

Gennep, A Van, 1960, *The Rites of Passage*, MB Vizedom & GL Caffe (trans.), Routledge, London.

Goffman, E 1956, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Monograph No. 2, University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, Edinburgh.

Gold, AG 2005, 'Conceptualizing Community: Anthropological Reflections', unpublished background paper for *The Collaborative Initiative for Research Ethics in Environmental Health*, pp. 1-17.

Graeber, D 2014, 'On the moral grounds of economic relations: A Maussian approach', *Journal of Classical Sociology*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 65-77.

Gray, J 1999, 'Open Spaces and Dwelling Places: Being at Home on Hill Farms in the Scottish Borders', *American Ethnologist,* vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 440-460.

Gressier, C 2014, 'Experiential Autochthony in the Okavango Delta, Botswana', *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 1-20.

Groth, TM, Curtis, A, Mendham, E & Toman, E 2014, 'Farmer Identity in Multifunctional Landscapes: using a collective identity construct to explore the nature and impact of occupational identity', *Australian Geographer*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 71-86.

Guattari, F [1989] 2000, *The Three Ecologies*, I Pindar and P Sutton (trans.), The Athlone Press, London & New Brunswick.

Guthman, J 2007, 'Commentary on teaching food: Why I am fed up with Michael Pollan et al.', *Agriculture and Human Values*, no. 24, pp. 261-264.

Hage, G 2012, ‘The Fig, the Olive and the Pomegranate Tree’, in R Manne & C Feik (eds.), *The Words That Made Australia: how a nation came to know itself*, Black Inc. Australia, pp. 250-5.

Halfacree, K 2007, ‘Back-to-the-land in the Twenty-first Century – Making Connections with Rurality’, *Journal of Economic & Social Geography*, vol. 98, no. 1, pp. 3-8.

Hamilton, ND 2011, ‘Moving Toward Food Democracy: Better Food, New Farmers, and the Myth of Feeding the World’, *Drake Journal of Agricultural Law*, vol. 16, pp. 117-145.

Hanson, R 2015, ‘Unique cheese triumph side by cider’, *The Mercury*, 16 July, <https://www.themercury.com.au/lifestyle/unique-cheese-triumph-side-by-cider/news-story/7d9553b6975822c08f441484438776cc >.

Haraway, D 2015, ‘Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Cthulucene: Making Kin’, *Environmental Humanities*, vol. 6, pp. 159-165.

Hardy, A, Bennett, A & Robards, B 2018, ‘Introducing Contemporary Neo-Tribes’, in A Hardy, A Bennett & B Robards (eds.), *Neo-Tribes: Consumption, Leisure and Tourism*, Palgrave Macmillan eBook, pp. 1-14.

Harper, AB 2015, ‘White Fragility and Joel Salatin’s ‘Good Food’ Framework: Daring to Critique the Mainstream Food and Sustainability Movement’s White Hero’, *Sistahvegan blog* accessed 5 May 2016, <http://www.sistahvegan.com/2015/09/04/white-fragility-and-joel-salatin-daring-to-critique-the-mainstream-food-sustainability-movements-white-hero/>.

Hay, P 2002, *Vandiemonian Essays*, Walleah Press, North Hobart, Tasmania.

Head, L 2014, ‘Contingencies of the Anthropocene: Lessons from the ‘Neolithic’’, *The Anthropocene Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 113-125.

Heidegger, M [1966] 1976, ‘Only a God Can Save Us’, in W Richardson (interview and trans.), *Der Spiegel*, accessed 2 July 2018, <www.ditext.com/heidegger/interview.html>.

Heidegger, M [1971] 2001, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, A Hofstadler (trans. and introd.), Harper Perennial Modern Classics. London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi, Auckland.

Heidegger, M [1952] 2004, *What is Called Thinking?*, JG Gray (trans. *Was Heisst Denken*?), Harper Perennial, London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi, Auckland.

Heidegger, M 2008, *Basic Writings: from Being and Time (1927) to The Task of Thinking (1964)*, DF Krell (ed.), Harper Perennial Modern Thought, London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi, Auckland.

Hetherington, K 1998, *Expressions of Identity: space, performance, politics*, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Heuts, F & Mol, A 2013, 'What is a Good Tomato? A Case of Valuing in Practice', *Valuation Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 125-146.

Holmgren, D 2020, 'Holmgren Design, permaculture vision and innovation', <https://holmgren.com.au/>.

Hunt, L 2009, 'Moving to the country for a graduated retirement: constructing new meaningful lives', in F Merlan & D Raftery (eds.), *Tracking Rural Change: Community, Policy and Technology in Australia, New Zealand and Europe*, ANU E Press, pp. 111-133.

Ingold, T 1993, 'The temporality of the landscape', *World Archaeology*, vol. 25, no. 2, Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society, pp. 152-174.

Ingold, T 2000, *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*, Routledge, London & New York

Ingold, T 2005, 'Epilogue: Towards a Politics of Dwelling', *Conservation and Society*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 501-8.

Ingold, T 2007, *Lines: A Brief History*, Routledge, USA & Canada, Taylor & Francis e-Library.

Ingold, T 2008, 'Bindings against boundaries: entanglements of life in an open world', *Environment and Planning A*, vol. 40, pp. 1796-1810.

Ingold, T 2010, 'Footprints through the weather-world: walking, breathing, knowing', *The Journal of the Royal Institute*, vol. 16, Making knowledge, pp. S121-S139.

Ingold, T 2011, *Being alive: essays on movement, knowledge and description*, Routledge, USA & Canada, Taylor & Francis e-Library.

Ingold, T 2014, ‘That’s enough about ethnography!’, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-9.

Ingold, T 2015, *The Life of Lines*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London & New York.

Ingold, T 2016a, ‘A Naturalist Abroad in The Museum of Ontology: Philippe Descola’s Beyond Nature and Culture (Review Article)’, *Anthropological Forum* vol. 26, no. 3, pp. [301-332] 1-35, pre-copyedited version.

Ingold, T 2016b, ‘On human correspondence’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* vol. 23, pp. 9-27.

Ingold, T 2016c, ‘On place and the atmosphere’, *PAN: Philosophy, Activism, Nature*, no. 12, pp.11-2.

Ingold, T 2017, ‘Anthropology contra ethnography’, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 21-6.

Ingold, T 2018, ‘Five questions of skill’, *cultural geographies*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 159-163.

Inwood, S, Clark, JK & Bean, M 2013, ‘The Differing Values of Multigeneration and First-Generation Farmers: Their Influence on the Structure of Agriculture at the Rural-Urban Interface’, *Rural Sociology*, vol. 78, no. 3, pp. 346-370.

King, CA 2008, ‘Community resilience and contemporary agri-ecological systems: reconnecting people and food, and people with people’, *Systems Research and Behavioral Science,* vol. 25, pp. 111-124.

Kontogeorgos, A, Sergaki, P & Chatzitheodoridis, F 2017, ‘An Assessment of New Farmers’ Perceptions About Agricultural Cooperatives’, *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 1-13.

Krzywoszynska, A 2015, ‘On being a foreign body in the field, or how reflexivity around translation can take us beyond language’, *Area*, vol. 47, no. 3, pp. 311-318.

Krzywoszynska, A 2016, ‘What farmers know’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 289-310.

Lacey, S 2016, ‘Matthew Evans on tackling a long-distance relationship’, *Good Weekend, The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 August, <https://www.smh.com.au/lifestyle/matthew-evans-on-tackling-a-longdistance-relationship-20160706-gq0052.html>.

Laforge, JML & Levkoe, CZ 2018, ‘Seeding agroecology through new farmer training in Canada: knowledge, practice, and relational identities’, *Local Environment*, vol. 23, no. 10, pp. 991-1007.

Laforge, JML & McLachlan SM 2018, ‘Learning communities and new farmer knowledge in Canada’, *Geoforum*, vol. 96, pp. 256-267.

Lakoff, G 2010, ‘Why it Matters How We Frame the Environment’, *Environmental Communication*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 70-81.

Latour, B 2017, *Facing Gaia. Eight Lectures on the New Climatic Regime*, C Porter (trans.), Polity Press, Cambridge & Medford.

Leach, E 1976, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by Which Symbols Are Connected: An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology*, Cambridge University Press.

Léger, D & Hervieu, B 1979, ‘Le retour à la nature. “Au fond de la forêt … l’Etat”’, *Revue Française de Sociologie*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 756-758.

Le Grand, E 2018, ‘Rethinking Neo-Tribes: Ritual, Social Differentiation and Symbolic Boundaries in ‘Alternative’ Food Practice’, in A Hardy, A Bennett & B Robards (eds.), *Neo-Tribes: Consumption, Leisure and Tourism*, Palgrave Macmillan eBook, pp. 17-31.

Lévi Strauss, C 1962, *The Savage Mind*, G Weidenfield & Nicholson Ltd. (trans. *La Pensée Savage*), University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lockie, S 2006, ‘Networks of agri-environmental action: temporality, spatiality and identity within agricultural environments’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 22-39.

Lockie, S, Lyons, K, Lawrence, G & Halpin, D 2006, *Going Organic. Mobilizing networks for environmentally responsible food production*, CAB International.

Lovelock, J 2006, *The Revenge of Gaia: Why the Earth is Fighting Back – and How We Can Still Save Humanity*, Penguin Books.

Lovelock, J 2009a, *The Vanishing Face of Gaia: A Final Warning*, Basic Books, Perseus Books, New York.

Lovelock, J 2009b, 'James Lovelock on biochar: Let the Earth remove CO_2 for us', *The Guardian*, 25 March, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/mar/24/biochar-earth-c02>.

London Real 2016, '''Folks, This Ain't Normal", Joel Salatin', accessed 23 April 2017 <https://londonrealtv/e/joel-salatin-folks-this-aint-normal/>.

Mackay, J 2016, 'Why we need to bring back the art of communal bathing', accessed 16 May 2017, <https://aeon.co/ideas/why-we-need-to-bring-back-the-art-of-communal-bathing>.

Mailfert, K 2007, 'New Farmers and Networks: How Beginning Farmers Build Social Connections in France', *Journal of Economic & Social Geography*, vol. 98, no. 1, pp. 21-31.

Major, WH 2011, *Grounded Vision: New Agrarianism and the Academy*, The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Malpas, J 2011, 'Philosophy's Nostalgia', in H Kenaan & I Ferber (eds.), *Philosophy's Moods: The Affective Grounds of Thinking*, Springer, pp. 87-101.

Malpas, J 2018, *Place and Experience: a philosophical topography*, second edition, Routledge, London and New York.

Manguel, A 2015, *Curiosity*, Yale University Press.

Manny, D & Morgan, M 2015, 'Doing ethnography or applying a qualitative technique? Reflections from the 'waiting field'', *Qualitative Research*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 166-182.

Massy, C 2017, *Call of the Reed Warbler: A new agriculture – a new earth*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

Mauss, M [1954] 2002, *The Gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, M Douglas (fore. 1990), Routledge Classics, Abingdon, Oxon.

Maybee, JE 2016, 'Hegel's Dialectics', EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer 2016 Edition, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics/>.

Mayes, C 2014, ‘An Agrarian Imaginary in Urban Life: Cultivating Virtues and Vices Through a Conflicted History’, *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics,* vol. 27, pp. 265-286.

McCall Howard, P 2012, ‘*‘Working the Ground’: Labour, Environment and Techniques at Sea in Scotland*’, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen.

McGranahan, C 2012, ‘What Makes Something Ethnographic?’, *Savage Minds: Notes and Queries in Anthropology* (now *anthro{dendum}!*), viewed 26 November 2015, <http://savageminds.org/2012/05/31/what-makes-something-ethnographic/>.

McGranahan, C 2015, ‘Anthropology as Theoretical Storytelling’, *Savage Minds: Notes and Queries in Anthropology* (now *anthro{dendum}!*), viewed 13 October 2019, <https://savageminds.org/2015/10/19/anthropology-as-theoretical-storytelling/#_ednref4>.

McGreevy, SR 2012, ‘Lost in translation: incomer organic farmers, local knowledge, and the revitalization of upland Japanese hamlets’, *Agriculture and Human Values*, vol. 29, pp. 393-412.

Mead, M & Baldwin J 1971, *A Rap on Race*, JP Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Meade, A 2014, ‘$600,000 restaurant review: Fairfax loses 11-year defamation battle’, *The Guardian*, 10 June, <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2014/jun/10/600000-restaurant-review-fairfax-loses-11-year-defamation-battle>.

Merlan, F & Raftery D (eds.) 2009, *Tracking Rural Change: Community, Policy and Technology in Australia, New Zealand and Europe*, Australian National University E press.

Mishra, AK & El-Osta, HS 2016, ‘Determinants of Decisions to Enter the U.S. Farming Sector’, *Journal of Agricultural and Applied Economics*, vol. 48, no. 1, pp. 73-98.

Monbiot, G 2009, ‘Woodchips with everything. It’s the Atkins plan of the low-carbon world’, *The Guardian*, 24 March, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/mar/24/george-monbiot-climate-change-biochar>.

More, T [1516] 1981, *Utopia*, P Turner (trans. and introd.), Penguin Books.

Myers, J 2013, ‘The logic of the gift: the possibilities and limitations of Carlo Petrini’s slow food alternative’, *Agriculture and Human Values*, vol. 30, pp. 405-415.

Ngo, M & Brklacich, M 2014, ‘New farmers’ efforts to create a sense of place in rural communities: insights from southern Ontario, Canada’, *Agriculture and Human Values*, vol. 31, pp. 53-67.

NRM South 2020, *Natural Resource Management*, <https://nrmsouth.org.au/>.

OED 1983, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, CT Onions (ed.), Third Edition, Oxford University Press.

Olafson, FA 1998, *Heidegger and the ground of ethics: a study of Mitsein*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York & Melbourne.

Olaveson, T 2001, ‘Collective Effervescence and Communitas: Processual Models of Ritual and Society in Emile Durkheim and Victor Turner’, *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 26, pp. 89-124.

Olson, ET 2016, ‘Personal Identity’, EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* Spring 2016 Edition, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/identity-personal/>.

Padel, S 2001, ‘Conversion to organic farming: a typical example of the diffusion of innovation?’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 40-61.

Palmer, J, Pocock, C & Burton, L 2018, ‘Waiting, power and time in ethnographic and community-based research’, *Qualitative Research*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 416-432.

Petrow, S 2017, ‘Tasmanian Acclimatisation Societies’, *Companion to Tasmanian History*, Centre for Historical Studies, the University of Tasmania, accessed 3 March 2018, <http://www.utas.edu.au/tasmanian-companion/browse_r_concepts.htm>.

Pink, S 2015, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 2nd Edition, Sage, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington D.C.

Puig de la Bellacasa, M 2010, ‘Ethical doings in naturecultures’, *Ethics, Place & Environment: A Journal of Philosophy & Geography*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 151-169.

Salatin, J 2019, ‘Musings from The Lunatic Farmer’, <https://www.thelunaticfarmer.com/blog>.

Sandin, P, Marald, E, Davison, A, Nye, DE & Thompson, PB 2013, 'Book Symposium on *The Agrarian Vision: Sustainability and Environmental Ethics* by Paul B. Thompson', *Philosophical Technology*, vol. 26, pp. 301-320.

SBS 2010, Gourmet Farmer, Season 1, *Special Broadcasting Service*.

Seremetakis, CN 1994, 'The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory', in CN Seremetakis (ed.), *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-18.

Serres, M [1985] 2016, *The Five Senses: a philosophy of mingled bodies*, M Sankey & P Cowley (trans.), Bloomsbury Revelations.

Solomon, S 2015, *Growing Vegetables South of Australia: Year' Round Tasmanian Food Gardening*, Sixth Edition, Self-published.

Spinney, L 2020, '"Humans weren't always here. We could disappear": meet the collapsologists', *The Guardian*, 12 October <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/oct/11/humans-werent-always-here-we-could-disappear-meet-the-collapsologists>.

Stănescu, V 2010, '"Green" Eggs and Ham? The Myth of Sustainable Meat and the Danger of the Local', *Journal of Critical Animal Studies*, vol. VIII, issue 1/2, pp. 8-32.

Stephan, E, Sedikides, C, Wildschut, T, Cheung, WY, Routledge, C & Arndt, J 2015, 'Nostalgia-Evoked Inspiration: Mediating Mechanisms and Motivational Implications', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, vol. 41, no. 10, pp. 1395-1410.

TAC 2020, *Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre*, pulingina to lutruwita (Tasmania) Place Names Map, viewed 24 March 2020, <https://tacinc.com.au/pulingina-to-lutruwita-tasmania-place-names-map/?fbclid=IwAR0JJR9UlqeNWfXWK-cZd9xmAnhk1dOuUvTsQrbc_WM5EZo9pENeXP5wlBQ>.

Taylor, C 2002, 'Modern Social Imaginaries', *Public Culture*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 91-124.

Thompson, PB 2010, *The Agrarian Vision: Sustainability and Environmental Ethics*, The University Press of Kentucky.

Thompson, PB 2011, 'Re-Envisioning the Agrarian Ideal', *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics,* vol. 25, pp. 553-562.

Tilley, C 2004, *The Materiality of Stone: Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology:1*, Bloomsbury Academic, London.

Tovey, H 1997, ‘Food, Environmentalism and Rural Sociology: On the Organic Farming Movement in Ireland’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 21-37.

Transition Network 2019, <https://transitionnetwork.org/>.

Trigger, D 2008a, ‘Place, belonging and nativeness in Australia’, in E Vanclay, M Higgins & A Blackshaw (eds.), *Making Sense of Place: explaining the concepts and expressions of place through different senses and lenses*, National Museum of Australia Press, Canberra, pp. 301-9.

Trigger, D 2008b, ‘Indigeneity, ferality, and what ‘belongs’ in the Australian bush: Aboriginal responses to ‘introduced’ animals and plants in a settler-descendent society’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthological Institute*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 628-646.

Trubek, A 2008, *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey Into Terroir*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles.

Tudor, B 2008, ‘Local lookouts as places of belonging and escape’, in E Vanclay, M Higgins, & A Blackshaw (eds.), *Making Sense of Place: explaining the concepts and expressions of place through different senses and lenses*, National Museum of Australia Press, Canberra, pp. 221-7.

Turner, E 2012, *Communitas: the anthropology of collective joy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Turner, V 1969, ‘Liminality and Communitas’, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Aldine Publishing, Chicago, abridged version in M Lambek 2002, *A reader in the anthropology of religion*, Blackwell Publishers, Malden, Mass, Oxford, pp. 358-375.

Turner, V 1974, ‘Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbology’, *Rice Institute Pamphlet 60, no. 3*, Rice University Studies.

Turner, V 1985, *On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience*. ELB Turner (ed.), Tuscon, Arizona, The University of Arizona Press.

Urry, J 1995, *Consuming Places*, Routledge, London & New York, Taylor & Francis e-Library 2002.

Vannini, P & Taggart, J 2014, *Off the Grid: Re-Assembling Domestic Life*, Routledge, New York.

Vannini, P, Waskul, DD & Wilson, J 2009, 'The Aroma of Recollection: Olfaction, Nostalgia, and the Shaping of the Sensuous Self', *Senses and Society*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 5-22.

Varga, S & Guignon, C 2014, 'Authenticity', EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2014 Edition, <https://plato.stanford.edu/cgi-bin/encyclopedia/archinfo.cgi?entry=authenticity>.

Varotto, M & Lodatti, L 2014, 'New Family Farmers for Abandoned Lands', *Mountain Research and Development*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 315-325.

Warin, M 2018., 'Information is not knowledge: Cooking and eating as skilled practice in Australian obesity education', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 29, pp. 108-124.

Wessinger, C (ed.) 2016, *The Oxford Handbook of Millennialism*, Oxford University Press.

Wheeler, M 2018, 'Martin Heidegger', EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2018 Edition, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/heidegger/>.

Wheeler, G 2020, 'Bounded Rationality', EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Spring 2020 Edition, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/bounded-rationality/>.

Wilbur, A 2012, *Seeding alternatives: back-to-the-land migration and alternative agro-food networks in Northern Italy*, unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Geographical and Earth Sciences, College of Science and Engineering, University of Glasgow.

Wilbur, A 2013, 'Growing a Radical Ruralism: Back-to-the-Land as Practice and Ideal', *Geography Compass*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 149-160.

Wilbur, A 2014, 'Cultivating Back-to-the-Landers: Networks of Knowledge in Rural Northern Italy', *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 54, no. 2, pp. 167-185.

Williams, B 2002, ‘The Concept of Community’, *Reviews in Anthropology*, vol. 31, pp. 339-350.

Willis, S & Campbell, H 2004, ‘The Chestnut Economy: The Praxis of Neo-Peasantry in Rural France’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 44, no. 3, pp. 317-331.

Wilson, JL 2014, *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*, Duluth Library Press, Minnesota.

Wilson, JL 2015, ‘Here and Now, There and Then: Nostalgia as a Time and Space Phenomenon’, *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 38**,** pp. 478-492.

Wilson, SM & Peterson, LC 2002, ‘The Anthropology of Online Communities’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 31, pp. 449-467.

Wright, W 2020, ‘New report tells grim story of heat, drought and fire’, *Newsroom*, Strategic Communications & Public Affairs, The Australian National University, <https://www.anu.edu.au/news/all-news/new-report-tells-grim-story-of-heat-drought-and-fire>.

Zainuddin, Z 2015, ‘Ethical and sustainable food production practices: the emergence of a breed of new farmers who are embracing the ‘beyond-farm-to-table’ agrarian concept’, paper presented at the Australian Anthropology Society conference, Melbourne, 1-4 December.

Zainuddin, Z 2020, <https://www.linkedin.com/in/zainil-zainuddin>.

Zengerer, C 2018, ‘Tasmania loves a pagan festival, especially one with apples’, *On Mornings with Sarah Gillman*, ABC Radio Hobart, accessed 13 November 2018 <https://www.abc.net.au/radio/hobart/programs/mornings/huon-mid-winter-fest/10004128>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, TE & Herrmann, AF 2020, 'Expanding Our Autoethnographic Future', *Journal of Autoethnography*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-8.

Angé, O & Berliner, D (eds.) 2015, *Anthropology and Nostalgia*, Berghahn, New York & London.

Appadurai, A 1990, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', *Public Culture*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 1-24.

Appadurai, A 1991, 'Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology', in RG Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, School of American Research Press, pp. 191-210.

Appadurai, A 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Askland, HH 2015, 'Mining and displacement: introducing the concept of 'eritalgia'', paper presented at the Australian Anthropology Society conference, Melbourne, 1-4 December.

Beck, U 2011, 'We do not live in an age of cosmopolitanism but in an age of cosmopolitisation: the global 'other' is in our midst', *Irish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 16-34.

Bennett, A 2018, 'Youth, Music and DIY Careers', *Cultural Sociology*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 133-9.

Berkhout, F 2014, 'Anthropocene Futures', *The Anthropocene Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 154-9.

Berliner, D 2014, 'On exonostalgia', *Anthropological Theory*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 373-386.

Bernard, HR, Pelto, PJ, Werner, O, Boster, J, Romney, AK, Johnson, A, Ember, CR & Kasakoff, A 1986, 'The Construction of Primary Data in Cultural Anthropology', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 382-396.

Berry, W 2017, The *World-Ending Fire: the essential Wendell Berry*, P Kingsnorth (introd.), Penguin Books.

Bonnett, A 2015, *The Geography of Nostalgia: Global and Local Perspectives on Modernity and Loss,* Routledge, London & New York.

Bourdieu, P & Wacquant, LJD 1992, *Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, The University of Chicago Press.

Bouvier, V & MacDonald, J 2019, 'Spiritual Exchange: A Methodology for a Living Enquiry With All Our Relations', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 18, pp. 1-9.

Bradbury, J 2012, 'Narrative possibilities of the past for the future: Nostalgia and hope', *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology,* vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 341-350.

Briscoe, T 2019, Tuesday 1 January, Tasmanian Country Hour, ABC Radio Hobart, accessed 18 August 2019, <https://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/tas-country-hour/tas-country-hour/10668152>.

Brown, E 2017, 'Plato's Ethics and Politics in *The Republic*', EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Fall 2017 Edition, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/plato-ethics-politics/>.

Brown, SD 2013, 'In praise of the parasite: the dark organizational theory of Michel Serres', *Informática na Educação: teoria e practica*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 83-100.

Brumfiel, EM & Earle, TK (eds.) 1987, *Specialization, Exchange and Complex Societies*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press.

Bueger, C & Stockbruegger, J 2015, 'Actor-Network Theory: Objects and Actants, Networks and Narratives', DR McCarthy (ed., first draft), *Technology and World Politics: An Introduction*, Routledge, Abingdon.

De Certeau, M 1988, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, S Rendall (trans.), University of California Press.

Chakrabarty, D 2009, 'The Climate of History: Four Theses', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 35, Winter, pp. 197-222.

Chowdhury, MF 2014, 'Coding, sorting and sifting of qualitative data analysis: debates and discussion', *Quality & Quantity,* vol. 49, pp. 1135-1143.

Culpeper, N [1653] 1826, *Culpeper's Complete Herbal, and English Physician; Wherein Several Hundred Herbs, with a Display of Their Medicinal and Occult Properties, are*

Physically Applied to the Cure of All Disorders Incident to Mankind, to which are added, Rules for Compounding Medicines, and Upwards of Fifty Choice Receipts, Selected from the Author's Last Legacies; Forming a Complete Family Dispensatory, and System of Physic, J. Gleave & Son, Deansgate, Manchester (reproduced from the original by Harvey Sales 1989).

De Hoop, E & Jehlička, P 2017, 'Reluctant pioneers in the European periphery? Environmental activism, food consumption and "growing your own"', *Local Environment*, vol. 22, no. 7, pp. 809-824.

Deleuze, G & Guattari, F 1987, *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*, B Massumi (trans. and fore.), University of Minnesota Press.

DesRoches, CT 2018, 'What is *Natural* about Natural Capital during the Anthropocene?', *Sustainability*, vol. 10, no. 806, pp. 1-10.

Eberle, D n.d., *Handwerkheft IV Texte*. Department Architektur, Zurich.

Ellis, C, Adams, TE & Bochner, AP 2011, 'Autoethnography: An Overview', *Historical Social Research*, vol. 36, no. 4 (138), pp. 273-290.

Emery, SB & Carrithers, MB 2015, 'From lived experience to political representation: Rhetoric and landscape in the North York Moors', *Ethnography*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 388-410.

Entwisle, T 2014, *Sprinter and Sprummer: Australia's Changing Seasons*, CSIRO Publishing, Australia.

Evans, IJ 2018, 'Tasmanian Magic Research Project, Report of the Second Field Season, January 6-27, 2018', unpublished report to the University of Hertfordshire, The Vernacular Architecture Group and SG Sharman.

Evers, JC 2016, 'Elaborating on Thick Analysis: About Thoroughness and Creativity in Qualitative Analysis', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 1-21.

Fan, J & Zhu, X 2016, 'Cultivation Model of New Farmers under the Urban Rural Development: A Case Study of Guangdong Province', *Journal of Landscape Research*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 68-70, 74.

Fitzpatrick, K 2018, ‘Change the world, not yourself, or how Arendt called out Thoreau’, accessed 4 September 2018, <https://aeon.co/ideas/change-the-world-not-yourself-or-how-arendt-called-out-thoreau>.

Foucault, M 1977, *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison*, Pantheon Books, New York.

Frazer, JG [1922] 1967, *The Golden Bough: a Study in Magic and Religion*, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London & Toronto.

Friend, C 2006, *Hit by a Farm: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Barn*. Da Capo Press, Cambridge MA.

Gill, N 2005, ‘Transcending nostalgia: pastoral memory and staking a claim in the land’, in DB Rose & R Davis (eds.), *Dislocating the frontier: Essaying the mystique of the outback*. ANU E Press, pp. 67-83.

Goffman, E 1974, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Harper and Row, London.

Goodman, R 2017, ‘William James’, EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2017 Edition, <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/james/>.

Graeber, D 2013, ‘On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs: A Work Rant’, theanarchistlibrary.org, accessed 20 January 2018, <https://strikemag.org/bullshit-jobs>.

Graeber, D 2014, ‘Anthropology and the rise of the professional-managerial class’, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 73-88.

Grant, M (trans., introd. and notes) 2003, *Cicero: On The Good Life*, AC Grayling (fore.), The Folio Society, London.

Hall, S 1996, ‘Who needs ‘identity’?’, in S Hall & P du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Sage, London, pp. 1-17.

Hall, S 1997, ‘The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity’, in AD King (ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, pp. 19-40.

Haraway, D 2008, *When Species Meet*, Posthumanities Vol. 3, University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, London.

Hard, R (trans. and ed.) 2011, *Marcus Aurelius. Meditations with selected correspondence*, Oxford University Press.

Hes, D & Rose, N 2019, 'Shifting from farming to tending the earth: A discussion paper', *Journal of Organics*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 3-21.

Hofstadter, D & Sander, E 2013, *Surfaces and Essences: Analogy as the Fuel and Fire of Thinking*, Basic Books, New York.

Howley, P, Buckley, C, O'Donoghue, C & Ryan, M 2014, 'Explaining the economic 'irrationality' of farmers' land use behaviour: The role of productivist attitudes and non-pecuniary benefits', *Ecological Economics*, vol. 109, pp. 186-193.

Huon Valley Council 2016, Let's make the Huon one of the great valleys of the world', viewed 5 June 2016, <https://www.huonvalley.tas.gov.au/lets-make-the-huon-one-of-the-great-valleys-of-the-world/>.

Ingold, T 2012, 'Introduction', in Janowski, M & Ingold, T. (eds.), *Imagining Landscapes: past, present and future*, Ashgate Publishing, England & USA, pp. 1-18.

IPES-Food 2016, *From uniformity to diversity: a paradigm shift from industrial agriculture to diversified agroecological systems*, International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems.

Jones, R 1974, 'Tasmanian tribes', appendix in NB Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits and Proper Names*, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp. 319-54.

Kahneman, D 2012, *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, Penguin Books.

Keneally, T 2020, 'Thomas Keneally's 2020s vision: We must abandon the language of the market to reclaim our humanity', *The Guardian*, 10 February, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/feb/10/thomas-keneallys-2020s-vision-we-must-abandon-the-language-of-the-market-to-reclaim-our-humanity>.

Kimball, K 2011, *The Dirty Life: A Memoir of Farming, Food, and Love*, Scribner, New York.

Kitson, J & McHugh, K 2014, 'Historic enchantments - materializing nostalgia', *cultural geographies,* vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 487-508.

Knoblauch, H 2005, 'Focused Ethnography', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 6, no. 3, article 44.

Kozinets, RV & Sherry Jr, JF 2004, 'Dancing on common ground: exploring the sacred at Burning Man', in G St. John (ed.), *Rave Culture and Religion*, Routledge Advances in Sociology, pp. 285-301.

Lakoff, G & Johnson, M 1980, *Metaphors We Live By*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lakoff, G & Johnson, M 2002, 'Why cognitive linguistics requires embodied realism', *Cognitive Linguistics*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 245-263.

Lambek, M 2011, 'Catching the local', *Anthropological Theory*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 197-221.

Lambek, M 2013, 'The continuous and discontinuous person: two dimensions of ethical life', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 19, pp. 837-858.

Landau, M 1984, 'Human Evolution as Narrative', *American Scientist*, vol. 72, pp. 262-8.

Latour, B 1988a, 'The Politics of Explanation: an Alternative', in S Woolgar (ed.), *Knowledge and Reflexivity, New Frontiers in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Sage Publications, pp. 155-176.

Latour, B 1988b, 'The Enlightenment without the Critique: A Word on Michel Serres' Philosophy', in, J Griffith (ed.), *Contemporary French Philosophy*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 83-97.

Latour, B 1993, *We Have Never Been Modern*, C Porter (trans.), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Latour, B 2014, 'Agency at the Time of the Anthropocene', *New Literary History,* vol. 45, no. 1, Winter, pp. 1-18.

Law, J 1986, 'On the Methods of Long Distance Control: Vessels, Navigation, and the Portuguese Route to India', in J Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge? Sociological Review Monograph* vol. 32, pp. 234-263, <http://www.heterogeneities.net/publictions/Law1997MethodsOfLongDistanceControl.pdf >.

Lawlor, L & Moulard Leonard, V 2016, ‘Henri Bergson’, EN Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Summer 2016 Edition, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/bergson/>.

Lawson, G 2013, ‘Grow chickens without buying grain’, *Permaculture News*, viewed 11 May 2017, <https://permaculturenews.org/2013/12/06/grow-chickens-without-buying-grain-feeding-compost/>.

Lee, I 1912, *Commodore Sir John Hayes. His voyage and life (1767-1831) with some account of Admiral d’Entrecasteaux’s voyage of 1792-3*, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Le Guin, UK 2004, *The Wave in the Mind: Talks and Essays on the Writer, the Reader, and the Imagination*, Shambhala Publications, Massachusetts.

Lenski, G 1994, ‘Societal Taxonomies: mapping the social universe’, *Annual Review of Sociology* vol. 20, pp. 1-26.

Lichterman, P 2015, ‘Interpretive reflexivity in ethnography’, *Ethnography*, vol. 0, no.00, pp. 1-11.

Long, AA (trans. and introd.) 2018, *How to be Free: An Ancient Guide to the Stoic Life. Epictetus:* Encheiridion *and Selections from* Discourses, Princeton University Press.

Lyon, N 2016, *Uprooted: on the trail of the green man*, Faber & Faber.

Lyons, K 2001, ‘From sandals to suits: green consumers and the institutionalization of organic agriculture’, in S Lockie & B Pritchard (eds.), *Consuming Foods, Sustaining Environments*, Australian Academic Press, Brisbane, pp. 82-93.

Macdonald, H 2014, *H is for Hawk*, Vintage Books, London.

Maffesoli, M 1996, *The Time of Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*, D Smith (trans.), Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Malinowski, B 1954, *Magic, Science and Religion: And Other Essays*, R Redfield (introd.), Doubleday Anchor Books, Garden City, New York.

Mantel, H 2017, ‘Resurrection: The Art And Craft’, *The Reith Lectures*, British Broadcasting Corporation, accessed 29 June 2017, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p04rkn39 >.

Marchant, A & Edmonds, P 2015. ‘The Aesthetic of Dark Mofo: Emotion, Darkness and the Tasmanian Gothic’, *Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History*

of Emotions Blog, Australia, 24 July 2015, <https://historiesofemotion.com/2015/07/26/the-aesthetic-of-dark-mofo-emotion-darkness-and-the-tasmanian-gothic/>.

Martin, S 2020, 'Scott Morrison to focus on 'resilience and adaptation' to address climate change', *The Guardian*, 14 January, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/jan/14/scott-morrison-to-focus-on-resilience-and-adaption-to-address-climate-change>.

Matlock, T 2012, 'Framing Political Messages with Grammar and Metaphor', *American Scientist*, vol. 100, pp. 478-483.

McAdam, M, McAdam, R, Dunn, A & McCall, C 2016, 'Regional Horizontal Networks within the SME Agri-Food Sector: An Innovation and Social Network Perspective', *Regional Studies*, vol. 50, no. 8, pp. 1317-1329.

McIntyre-Tamwoy, S 2011, 'Hunting Magic, Maintenance Ceremonies and Increase Sites Exploring Traditional Management Systems for Marine Resources in Northern Cape York Peninsula', *Historic Environment*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 19-25.

McKenna, M 2019, 'Scott Morrison's quiet Australians', *The Monthly*, July 2019, <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2019/july/1561989600/mark-mckenna/scott-morrison-s-quiet-australians>.

Medhora, S 2015, 'Remote communities are 'lifestyle choices', says Tony Abbott', *The Guardian*, Australian edition, 10 March, <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/mar/10/remote-communities-are-lifestyle-choices-says-tony-abbott>.

Medovoi, L 2010, 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Ecology: Sustainability as Disavowal', *New Formations*, vol. 69**,** pp. 129-143.

Menary, R 2008, 'Embodied Narratives', *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, vol. 15, no. 6, pp. 63-84.

Meyer, P 2002, 'Ethnic Solidarity As Risk Avoidance: an evolutionary view', in FK Salter (ed.), *Risky Transactions: trust, kinship, and ethnicity*, Berghahn Books, New York & Oxford.

Nadai, E & Maeder, C 2005, 'Fuzzy Fields: Multi-Sited Ethnography in Sociological Research', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 6, no. 3, article 28.

Nayeri, D 2017, ‘Yearning for the end of the world’, The *Guardian*, 25 August, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/aug/25/yearning-for-the-end-of-the-world>.

Naylor, R, Hamilton-Webb, A, Little, R & Maye, D 2016, ‘The ‘Good Farmer’: Farmer Identities and the Control of Exotic Livestock Disease in England’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 3-19.

Osbourne Images, 2016, viewed 12 February 2017, <www.osborneimages.com/product-huon-valley/>.

Owens, TJ, Robinson, DT & Smith-Lovin, L 2010, ‘Three Faces of Identity’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 36, pp. 477-499.

Philip, LJ & MacLeod, M 2016, ‘Tales from a Small Island: Applying the ‘Path-Dependency’ Thesis to Explore Migration to a Remote Rural Community’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 58, no. 1, pp. 1-44.

Pina-Cabral, Joao de 1992, ‘The gods of the Gentiles are demons: the problem of pagan survivals in European culture’, in K Hastrup (ed.), *Other Histories*, European Association of Social Anthropologists, Routledge, London & New York, pp. 45-61.

Plumwood, V 2012, *The Eye of the Crocodile*, L Shannon (ed.), ANU E Press.

Popkin, G 2018, ‘Einstein’s ‘spooky action at a distance’ spotted in objects almost big enough to see’, American Association of the Advancement of Science, viewed 12 July 2019, <www.sciencemag.org>.

Powell, JL & Steele, R 2011, ‘Revisiting Appadurai: Globalizing Scapes in a Global World – the Pervasiveness of Economic and Cultural Power’, *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research*, vol. 1, pp. 74-80.

Princen, T 2010, *Treading Softly: Paths to Ecological Order*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.

Riessman, CK 2008, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*, Sage Publications, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi & Singapore.

Riley, M 2014, ‘Still Being the ‘Good Farmer’: (Non-) retirement and the Preservation of Farming Identities in Older Age’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 96-115.

Risen, JL 2016, ‘Believing what we do not believe: Acquiescence to superstitious beliefs and other powerful intuitions’, *Psychological Review*, vol. 123, no. 2, pp. 182-207.

Rolls, M 2017, ‘Casuistry, commentary and killing cattle: Transgressing notional borders of belonging’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 41, no. 4, pp. 404-420.

Rose, DB 2013, ‘Val Plumwood’s Philosophical Animism: attentive interaction in the sentient world’ *Environmental Humanities*, vol. 3, pp. 93-109.

Roud, S 2008, *The English Year: A month-by-month guide to the nation’s customs and festivals from May Day to Mischief Night*, Penguin Books.

Ryan, GW & Bernard, HR 2003, ‘Techniques to Identify Themes’, *Field Methods*, vol. 15, pp. 85-109.

Schreiner, L, Levkoe, CZ & Schumilas, T 2018, ‘Categorizing practical training programs for new farmers: A North American scan’, *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 9-17.

Seligman, AB & Weller, RP 2012, *Rethinking Pluralism: Ritual, Experience and Ambiguity*, Oxford University Press.

Serres, M 1982, *The Parasite*, LR. Schehr (trans.), The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London.

Serres, M [2003] 2018, *The Incandescent*, R Burks (trans.), Bloomsbury Academic, London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney.

Shantz, J 2012, ‘Anarchy and autonomy: Contemporary social movements, theory, and practice’, *Philosophers for Change*, viewed 15 April 2018, <https://philosophersforchange.org/2012/06/12/anarchy-and-autonomy-contemporary-social-movements-theory-and-practice/>.

Sherval, M, Askland, MM, Askew, M, Hanley, J Farrugia, Threadgold, S & Coffey, J 2017, ‘Farmers as modern-day stewards and the rise of new rural citizenship in the battle over land use’, *Local Environment*, The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability, *DOI: 10.1080/13549839.2017.1389868.*

Smith, B 2018, ‘Faith without works: Why the Prime Minister’s call to pray for rain is offensive’, *Opinion*, Religion and Ethics, Australian Broadcasting Corporation,

<https://www.abc.net.au/religion/why-it-was-offensive-for-the-prime-minister-to-call-for-prayer/10245992>.

St Pierre, EA 2013, ‘The Appearance of Data’, *Cultural Studies ⇔ Critical Methodologies*, vol. XX, no. X, pp. 1-5.

Strangleman, T 2013, ‘“Smokestack Nostalgia,” “Ruin Porn” or Working-Class Obituary: The Role and Meaning of Deindustrial Representation’, *International Labor and Working-Class History,* no. 84**,** pp. 23-37.

Strathern, M 1996, ‘Cutting the Network’, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 517-535.

Stuart, D, Schewe, RL & Gunderson, R 2013, ‘Extending Social Theory to Farm Animals: Addressing Alienation in the Dairy Sector’, *Sociologia Ruralis*, vol. 53**,** no. 2, pp. 201-222.

TAC 2004, ‘putalina (Oyster Cove Aboriginal Land) 2004-2009 Action Plan’, unpublished report, *Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre*, Hobart.

Taylor, K & Lennon, J (eds.) 2012, *Managing cultural landscapes*, Routledge, London.

Thoreau, HD [1854] 2014, *Walden; or, Life in the Woods and Civil Disobedience*, First Vintage Classics, New York & Toronto.

Thornton, E 2018, ‘Two’s a crowd’, viewed 6 June 2019, <https://aeon.co/essays/a-creative-multiplicity-the-philosophy-of-deleuze-and-guattari>.

Tsing, A 2016, ‘Earth Stalked by Man’, *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 2-16.

UNCTAD 2013, ‘Wake Up Before It Is Too Late: make agriculture truly sustainable now for food security in a changing climate’, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Trade and Environment Review 2013*, United Nations Publication.

UTAS 2006, *The Companion to Tasmanian History*, Centre for Historical Studies, the University of Tasmania, accessed 11 October 2018, <http://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/T/Tas%20acc%20socies.htm>.

Vandenberghe, F 2014, ‘Globalisation and individualisation in late modernity: a theoretical introduction to the sociology of youth’, *Idéias*, vol. 5, no. 1 (9), pp. 115-172.

Wallis, R 2017, ‘Myths and imaginaries: depictions of lifestyle migration in Country Style magazine’, *Rural Society*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 18-29.

Watson, D 2014, *The Bush*, Penguin Books, Australia.

Whitehouse, A 2017, ‘Loudly sing cuckoo: More-than-human seasonalities in Britain’, *The Sociological Review Monographs*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 171-187.

Zerubavel, E 2003, *Time Maps: collective memory and the social shape of the past*, Chicago, London, University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX 1: HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

OFFICE OF RESEARCH
Human Research Ethics Committee
PHONE +61 7 4687 5703| FAX +61 7 4631 5555
EMAIL human.ethics@usq.edu.au

29 March 2017

Ms Jennifer Smith

Dear Jennifer

The USQ Human Research Ethics Committee has recently reviewed your responses to the conditions placed upon the ethical approval for the project outlined below. Your proposal is now deemed to meet the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)* and full ethical approval has been granted.

Approval No.	**H17REA042**
Project Title	Agricultural transformations: the anthropology of new farmers
Approval date	29 March 2017
Expiry date	29 March 2020
HREC Decision	**Approved**

The standard conditions of this approval are:

(a) Conduct the project strictly in accordance with the proposal submitted and granted ethics approval, including any amendments made to the proposal required by the HREC
(b) Advise (email: human.ethics@usq.edu.au) immediately of any complaints or other issues in relation to the project which may warrant review of the ethical approval of the project
(c) Make submission for approval of amendments to the approved project before implementing such changes
(d) Provide a 'progress report' for every year of approval
(e) Provide a 'final report' when the project is complete
(f) Advise in writing if the project has been discontinued, using a 'final report'

For (c) to (f) forms are available on the USQ ethics website:
http://www.usq.edu.au/research/support-development/research-services/research-integrity-ethics/human/forms

Samantha Davis
Ethics Officer

APPENDIX 2: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

University of Southern Queensland

Participant Information for USQ Research Project Interviews & Observations

Project Details

Title of Project:	**Agricultural Transformations: The Anthropology of NEW FARMERS**
Human Research Ethics Approval Number:	H17REA042

Research Team Contact Details

Principal Investigator Details
Ms. Jennifer Smith (Tasmania)
Email: u1081955@umail.usq.edu.au
Telephone: (03) 6234 9338
Mobile: 0416 668 340

Supervisor Details
Dr. Celmara Pocock (Queensland)
Email: Celmara.Pocock@usq.edu.au
Telephone: (07) 4631 1008
Mobile: 0418 290 716

Description

The purpose of Jenny Smith's PhD project is to explore **what motivates people to enter agriculture for the first time**. These 'new farmers'[1] are people going against the national trend of rural depopulation, and are taking up farming as a new occupation on a full- or part-time basis. Often, the new farmers have had very different careers in cities and towns. This research will be based on interviews with new farmers, and observations of the work they do. Using new farmers in Tasmania as case studies, this project asks:

- Why did you take up farming?
- In what ways has this changed how you see yourself?
- What kinds of agricultural practices have you trialled?
- How have you learnt to farm and to become a farmer?
- What personal and professional relationships have you formed along the way?
- Where do you see yourself in the next few years?

Your assistance will help to gather much-needed information about new farmers, and your story will contribute positively to debates around rural diversity and resilience in the face of social and environmental change.

[1] In this study, 'new farmer' can be someone who has taken up farming very recently or in the last couple of decades. The 'new' refers to the fact that farming was new to them at that time – that they pursued other careers before they started farming and that this new lifestyle required a mental and physical movement. A new farmer, therefore, could be someone attempting a large commercial venture or a small 'hobby' farm.

Participation

Initial participation will involve a conversation with you where you feel comfortable, of around 1 hour in length. This may be all that is necessary. However, if you are comfortable to proceed, there may be follow-up conversations and Jenny may visit your property to observe some of your farming activities and even to participate in them where this is practicable.
Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. If you do not wish to take part, you are not obliged to. If you decide to take part and later change your mind, you are free to withdraw from the project at any stage. You may also request that any data collected about you be destroyed.
If you do wish to withdraw from this project or withdraw data collected about you, please contact the researcher (Jenny Smith) or her supervisor (Celmara Pocock) (contact details at the top of this form).
Your decision to take part, not to take part, or to take part and then withdraw, will in no way impact your current or future relationship with the University of Southern Queensland and the researcher.

Expected Benefits

This project aims to benefit the broader community by raising awareness regarding your shared stories and the connections between varying groups in regional areas. It will also raise awareness amongst policy-makers regarding new farmers and their potential needs. This project will highlight new opportunities in the rural sector with examples of how people are achieving their goals.

Risks

There are no risks beyond normal day-to-day living. However, one practical constraint is that of a time imposition – Jenny will be guided by you regarding appropriate times and places for interviews and observations. Interviews should not go longer than 1 hour, except by negotiation. Any work Jenny participates in with you will be when and where you consider beneficial.

Privacy and Confidentiality

All comments and responses will be treated confidentially (unless required by law). Any data collected as a part of this project will be stored securely as per University of Southern Queensland's Research Data Management policy. Jenny Smith will guarantee that:

- Transcribed sections of interviews/observations will be sent to you (via email, post or hand-delivered) to verify your comments and responses prior to final inclusion. You will also have the opportunity to add more information.
- You will have two weeks to review transcripts and then Jenny will ensure that she will get back in touch with you at the end of this review period. You can, however, contact Jenny at any time.
- Transcribed notes, audio and visual data will be stored on a private password-protected computer and on a closed-system cloud storage operated by Australia's Academic Research Network (approved by the Australian Research Council).
- All participants can be involved with this research anonymously.
- Information from interviews/observations will be used in the final research thesis, in journal articles and conference papers – any identifiable names and images will be used if prior consent is gained.
- Copies of relevant articles will be sent to participants.
- All participants can request not to be recorded in any way other than via written note-taking.

Consent to Participate

Please sign a written consent form (enclosed) to confirm your agreement to participate in this project, and return your signed consent form to Jenny Smith prior to participating in your interview.

Questions or Further Information about the Project

Please refer to the Research Team Contact Details at the top of the form to have any questions answered or to request further information about this project.

Concerns or Complaints Regarding the Conduct of the Project

If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project, you may contact the University of Southern Queensland Ethics Coordinator on (07) 4631 2690 or email ethics@usq.edu.au. The Ethics Coordinator is not connected with the research project and can facilitate a resolution to your concern in an unbiased manner.

Thank you for taking the time to help with this research project.
Please keep these notes for your information.

EMERGENCY CONTACTS:
Ambulance: 000
Lifeline: 13 11 14

APPENDIX 3: FIELD RECORDING FORM

ETHNOGRAPHIC CHECK SHEET 2017-2018 Jennifer Smith University of Southern Queensland

DATE: **TIME:** **WEATHER:** **FILE Nº:**

PERSONAL DETAILS:

NAME: PHONE:

ADDRESS:

APPEARANCE:

INTERVIEW: **RECORDED:** Y/N

Audio Visual

LOCATION (*describe – atmosphere, look, smell, sound, props?*):

OTHERS PRESENT:

GROUP 1 QUESTIONS:

- **BACKGROUND HISTORY OF YOU FARMING?**
- **CHANGES IN YOURSELF?**
- **AG PRACTICES?**
- **HOW LEARN?**
- **RELATIONSHIPS?**
- **FUTURE?**

GROUP 2 QUESTIONS:

- How do you know [Group 1 individual/s]?
- How have you helped [Group 1 individual/s]?

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: **RECORDED:** Y/N

Audio Visual

LOCATION (*describe – atmosphere, look, smells, sounds*):

OTHERS PRESENT:

DETAILS OF:

- Activities (‘work’/non-work) they undertake
- How they teach me
- Tools
- Techniques (chemical use, mulches, manures etc.)
- Important places
- Non-humans (domestic animals, ‘wild’ animals, insects)
- Crops, weeds, ‘bush’
- Props (memorabilia, ‘non-functional’ items, etc.)

REFLECTIONS (themes):

FUTURE ACTION/S:

NETWORK CONTACTS:

MUDMAP:

PHOTOS: Y/N

APPENDIX 4: WORD CLOUDS

WORD CLOUDS PRODUCED THROUGH *NVIVO 11*: DISPLAYING DIFFERENCES IN THE ONLINE PRESENCE BETWEEN ESTABLISHED AND NEW FARMERS

Word Cloud 1: established large-scale agriculturalists

Word Cloud 2: new farmers

Online webpage analysis: this has been occurring during the literature review stage of research. Webpages for large-scale agricultural businesses and small-scale newer farmers (largely using the *Fork To Fork* website operated by *Sprout Tasmania*) have been 'captured' using the *NVivo* 11 qualitative analysis tool. The examples of Word Clouds generated from the first 50 most common words used on these websites indicate that there is a **real difference** in the way in which the larger-scale established agriculturalists (Word Cloud 1) and smaller-scale new farmers (Word Cloud 2) are presenting themselves.

The larger-scale established agriculturalists concentrate upon the noun 'farm', mention 'land' and 'property'; the smaller-scale new farmers concentrate on the verb 'farming' and mention emotions like 'love' and 'enjoy'. The larger-scale established agriculturalists promote 'business' and 'operations' with scientific concepts such as 'breeding' and 'genetics'; the smaller-scale new farmers present 'produce[10]', 'varieties', 'food' and 'flavour' – things are an 'experience' rather than being part of a scientific 'development'.

For smaller-scale new farmers the words 'sustainable' – the frame co-opted from environmental movements into politics and economics (Medevoi 2010; Thompson 2007) – and 'family' – the politically manipulated frame connected with sloganeering when linked to 'hard-working families' and 'the family farm' – do not appear, as they do in the large-scale established agriculturalists' Word Cloud.

These Word Clouds are suggestive of 'what people say they do', as opposed to 'what they do' as advised by Leach (1982), and both groups are in control of their message at this point.

[10] While both groups use the word 'products', the emphasis on 'produce' by the small-scale new farmers could be significant. The Oxford English Dictionary (1983) shows little difference between the two words as nouns, yet more recent differences in usage are discussed online. A 'product' is thought of as a countable manufactured item; 'produce' as a collective term for things from a farm.

APPENDIX 5: MAP