

UNDERSTANDING REGIONAL CITIES: COMBINING QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE METHODS IN CASE STUDIES OF ORANGE AND GOULBURN, NSW

Fiona McKenzie

Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 1 Spring Street,
Melbourne, Victoria, 3000, Australia.

Email: fiona.mckenzie@delwp.vic.gov.au

ABSTRACT: Decision-makers routinely use statistical data as evidence, however, the picture of ‘reality’ provided by such data remains incomplete. Measuring the number of small businesses in a town does not reveal the objectives of the owners who may be driven by: profit; lifestyle; prestige or innovation. Such factors may create differences in economic performance irrespective of inherent local competitive advantage. This paper uses a mixed-method approach in order to create an evidence base that goes beyond basic statistical description. The research uses two case study locations – the regional cities of Goulburn and Orange in New South Wales. By combining statistical analysis with in-depth interviews, the study aimed to better understand the factors that contribute to regional economic performance. Findings indicate that social and human capital factors are important in understanding future development pathways for each city, highlighting the importance of qualitative perspectives in regional economic analysis.

KEY WORDS: Regional cities; economic potential; qualitative analysis;
Orange; Goulburn

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: this research was undertaken with the support of the Regional Australia Institute (RAI) who provided in-kind support during the fieldwork phase of the project in October-November 2013.

DISCLAIMER: The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and should not be regarded as representing the views of the Victorian Government or the Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning.

1. INTRODUCTION

Quantitative measures are commonly used by government to understand trends and issues. Place-based ‘profiles’, using a range of statistical data, are seen as a starting point for planners and other policy makers seeking to understand communities and their characteristics. With access to extensive data sources, it is easy for analysts to feel they ‘know’ different places and different communities. Increasingly, communities themselves have access to this kind of data. Information portals, government data sharing protocols and web-enabled data products provide unprecedented access to information about places and populations.

Qualitative research is often misunderstood or mistrusted by decision makers. It usually gives a smaller scale, more complex picture of the world. It is rarely comprehensive or decisive in its messages. It is seen as expensive to gather and difficult to use. Yet it can be invaluable in building a more insightful view of ‘reality’ based on local-level perspectives. Moreover, it can be used to test assumptions or fill gaps that are directly relevant to those making decisions for or about communities.

2. THE RESEARCH STUDY

In 2013, the Victorian Government and Canberra-based Regional Australia Institute (RAI) partnered in a research study to understand how competitive advantage and growth can become more closely aligned. The RAI had already developed an index of comparative advantage (RAI, 2013) and they were interested to explore the potential disjunct between ‘competitiveness’ and actual growth (in terms of population growth or economic growth). Some regions with a high degree of inherent highly competitive advantage remain ‘below par’ in terms of economic performance or population growth, while others perform well despite a lower level of competitive advantage. This disparity is recognised in OECD analysis of regional growth which found that having a set of competitive assets did not guarantee high performance. For example, while large urban centres have agglomeration advantages in terms of market size and scale economies, not all large urban areas were found to be growing strongly in OECD regions (OECD, 2009, p. 21).

The study utilised qualitative research methods based on in-depth interviews in two case study locations. The two locations chosen for

analysis were Goulburn, one hour to the north east of Canberra, and Orange, approximately three and a half hours north of Canberra. Initial approaches for each city were made via Regional Development Australia agencies. Staff in these agencies had a broad knowledge of their local community and were in a position to identify potential interview subjects. Additional interviewees were identified through the snowball approach. The method involved at least two-entry points, usually through organizational structures such as peak bodies and local or state government agencies.

In each of the two case study locations, a series of semi-structured interviews was undertaken. A total of 21 interviews, involving 23 people were completed with approximately half in each location. Those interviewed included people from: the Local Council; local business groups; educational, cultural and social organisations. The sample comprised people holding public or professional roles who could provide insights based on their knowledge and experience of the local community. The study sought a similar profile of informants in each location to enable comparability in terms of their community function. Results of the study should therefore be viewed in this comparative context rather than providing an exhaustive profile of city character or socio-political processes.

Statistical information on population and economy was gained using ABS census data and various government sources. Additional publications and statistical summaries were provided by some of the interviewees and these were also used in the analysis.

3. QUANTITATIVE PERSPECTIVES

The city of Goulburn experienced a slow decline in population during the 1990s and early 2000s, largely because of structural adjustment and associated industry closures. Since 2007 the rate of population growth has been higher – around 1 per cent to 1.5 per cent per annum. While Orange has experienced a greater rate of growth than Goulburn over the past 2 decades, its growth rate has been more volatile (figure 1 and appendix 1). Like Goulburn, though, it entered a period of growth around 2007.

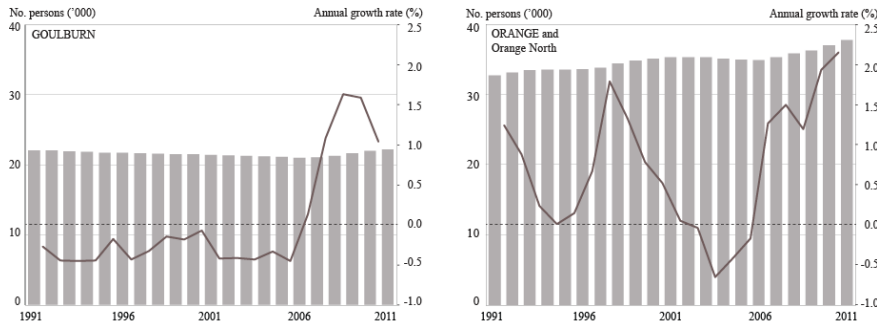


Figure 1. Population Change, Goulburn and Orange Statistical Level 2, 1991 to 2011. Source: ABS 2013, Regional Population Growth Australia, cat. no. 3218.0.

Goulburn and Orange provide high levels of employment in sectors such as retail trade, construction, health care and social services. Compared to Goulburn, Orange has a higher proportion employed in mining, education and manufacturing, but a lower proportion in public administration and safety. In terms of change in employment patterns over the decade 2001 to 2011, both centres have seen declines in agriculture and manufacturing, a trend common to many parts of Australia. Both Orange and Goulburn experienced manufacturing decline greater than the regional NSW average. Declining employment in wholesale trade was also evident in both locations with Goulburn experiencing the loss of 350 jobs in that sector between 2001 and 2011 (figure 2 and appendix 1). Much of this appears to have been due to modernisation within specific businesses such as the large Coles-Myer distribution centre, which has become increasingly mechanised over the period.

Both cities saw a strong increase in professional, scientific and technical services during the period. While such an increase may be in line with the image of Orange as a city attractive to professionals, the increase in this sector in Goulburn suggests a break with its traditional identity as a blue collar town. The impact of ‘treechangers’ and Canberra commuters living in the district (both within Goulburn and in its hinterland) is reflected in these trends.

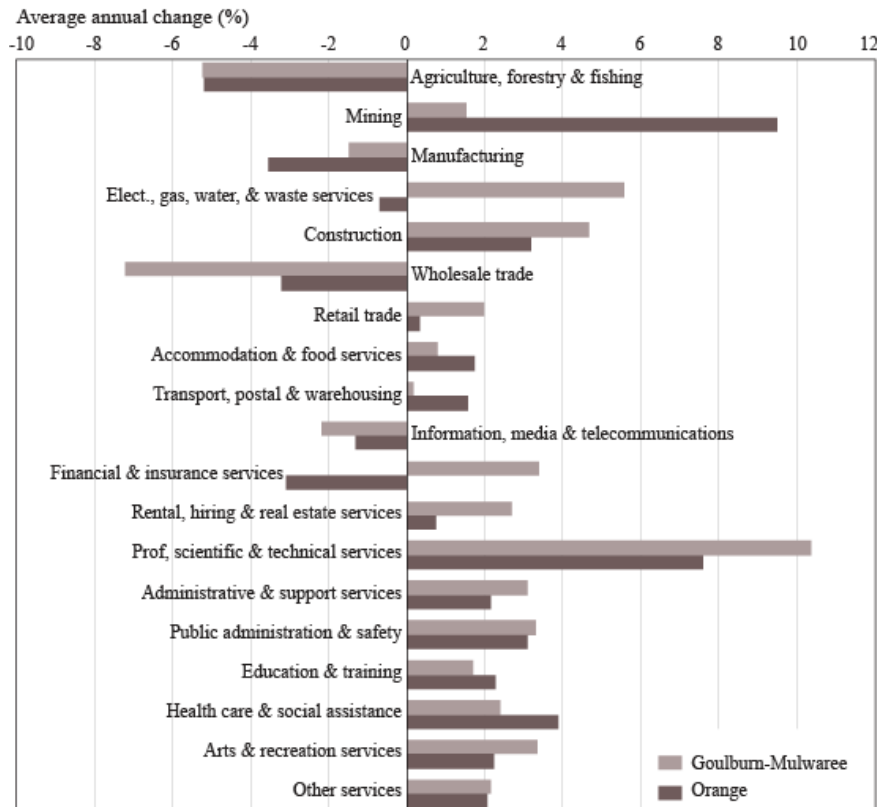


Figure 2. Change in Employment by Industry Between 2001 and 2011, Place of Usual Residence, Orange and Goulburn-Mulwaree LGAs.
 Source: ABS Census 2011 Time Series Profile, Table TSP33.

Unemployment rates in Goulburn and Orange have remained similar to, or lower than, the NSW average. Orange has seen a very strong drop in unemployment rates, falling from 7.3 per cent to 4.5 per cent, representing a decrease of 388 persons in the decade from 2001. Expansion of employment opportunities in the mining sector (an increase of 692 employed) is likely to have been a contributing factor.

4. QUALITATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Qualitative information is valuable to consider alongside the quantitative picture. In particular, it can provide a sense of dynamic

aspects of otherwise static descriptors of a place. Even seemingly immutable factors, like location or climate, become dynamic elements in terms of attitudes to them or the way they are perceived or promoted by a community. Many themes which emerged from the interviews were around: social capital; cooperation; conflict resolution, and the interplay between people and institutional structures. These factors, while difficult to quantify, are nevertheless recognised as critical to economic development (Woolcock, 1998, 2001) and innovation (Capello and Faggian, 2005). Qualitative insights are therefore a critical element in understanding economic development potential (Starr, 2014).

Leadership

The role of leadership in regional development has gained increasing academic attention in recent years. Effective leadership is seen as a key factor in explaining why some locations are able to recognize and adapt to change better than others and, in so doing, are able to capture the benefits of emerging economic opportunities (Stimson *et al.*, 2009; Collinge *et al.*, 2010; Beer and Clower, 2014; Sotarauta and Beer, 2015).

The communities of Goulburn and Orange have each generated energetic and enthusiastic leaders who have displayed the ability to deal with, and respond to, unexpected change. Most of those interviewed in each city held public roles – in State or local government or as the key spokesperson for a particular interest group such as a chamber of commerce. Interviews also invoked references to other people in the community who displayed leadership in business (through innovative practices, national reach, financial success and benefit to the local economy through direct employment, training or philanthropic activities). In Goulburn, there was also mention of the ‘quiet achievers’ of the city, suggesting informal leadership, often in areas of social welfare which reflected a theme of inclusion often referred to as part of Goulburn’s set of community values.

In Goulburn, most of those interviewed were ‘home-grown’ leaders, although there is a growing voice emerging from newer populations such as ‘treechangers’. In Orange, many leaders are also home-grown although there appears to be a tendency for people in leadership positions to have had education or experience elsewhere, notably Sydney, but in the case of two of those interviewed, overseas as well. Several interviewees in Orange highlighted the importance of young adults leaving the town and then returning with a wider range of experience and ideas to contribute to the city.

The late 2000s in Goulburn was a critical time for local leadership. Pressures from drought and structural adjustment led to a crisis of confidence in long-standing institutions like Council and the local Chamber of Commerce. This led to splinter groups and fragmentation but it also led to several people ‘stepping up’ to leadership positions in the face of what they saw as poor performance of key organisations. In turn, these institutions have been forced to review their own role and to relate to the new groups which formed around them. Goulburn has reached a size where old patterns of governance may no longer be adequate or appropriate. One response has been to change the local government committee structure with broader community representation and greater discipline and focus on strategic projects being instituted. These challenges and responses are indicative of a system facing external pressures – in this case both environmental (drought and water shortage) as well as cultural (diverse groups demanding a voice). Points of crisis are, in fact, important factors in discussions on leadership.

“... contingency theory sees crisis as critical: the onset of a crisis or economic shock highlights the need to change processes and mindsets at the local or regional scale, which in turn energizes existing leaders and creates conditions that see new leaders emerge. Crisis may also generate new models or ways of growing within the region and encourage a shift away from stagnant or declining industries. In this instance, crisis can be seen to force communities and regions to learn new – more productive – approaches to development.” (Beer and Clower, 2014, p. 4)

External challenges have been faced in Orange, including some similar to those experienced by Goulburn, namely drought and structural adjustment. However, council processes appear to be more controlled and controversies contained. There is a strong air of professionalism, although institutional structures can be difficult to penetrate for the newcomer seeking to be a part of established organisations. This has the positive effect of fewer ‘bun fights’ but may also reflect a structure that is more closed to outsiders. Knowing the right person or the right protocols to engage with Council appears important in Orange where there is a formality to proceedings rather than the informality and accessibility apparent in some other Local

Councils in the region. The style of leadership is more managerial and coherent than that of Goulburn, although the genuine passion that many Goulburn leaders have for their city is very apparent. In fact everything is more apparent in Goulburn – debates are carried out in public rather than managed and controlled. This can create a rather chaotic and contradictory set of processes, but the fact that key leaders are now able to work together in Goulburn (in 2008, the arguments were too strong and raw for such cooperation to be viable), says something about the city's ability to come together in spite of itself.

It is interesting that, in both locations, consensus was seen as a desirable outcome. In the present world, technological innovation and changes in global economics are demanding more flexible and nimble approaches in responding to change. In this context, conflict and complexity are likely to be an integral part of transformative change and the 're-shaping' of place (Collinge *et al.*, 2010; Bailey *et al.*, 2010). Yet, in Goulburn and Orange, it appears that the desire for calm and stable outcomes is stronger than ever. This is hardly surprising when viewed from the local perspective – at a very basic human level, the cost of Goulburn's public disagreements was keenly felt by those interviewed, and a tangible result was the 'burnout' of individual leaders who had tried to make a positive difference.

Curiously, the 'rough and tumble' of Goulburn's political life has not led to lasting grievances. In fact the various groups and factions appear to be moving steadily towards a level of respect and cooperation. Few of the interviewees were able to explain why things had improved in recent years. Some suggested that the new structure of Council with representative committees and a limited number of projects being focused on was part of the reason for improved relations. From an external perspective, the breaking of the drought and concomitant resolution of the water supply pipeline may have created a greater sense of hope. Another reason for improved relationships may actually lie in one of the few projects in Goulburn which seems to have won almost unanimous support – the local wetlands project. The wetlands project involved reclaiming waste land and restoring it to natural wetlands. On the face of it, this was an environmental project. Yet it also fulfilled a number of other objectives. These were stated as being:

- a way to negate the image of Goulburn as a 'city without water';
- a way to improve the civic amenity of the city; and,
- redeveloping a former waste dump site.

The ultimate value of the wetlands project may be less about any environmental or economic benefit than an example of ‘Strategic Doing’ – a process, developed by Ed Morrison and others, which focuses on harnessing the collaborative energies of communities in order to achieve outcomes.

“Strategic doing is a set of principles, practices and disciplines for implementing strategy in a network. Old models of strategic planning were designed for hierarchical organizations, and they do not work well. Strategic doing is different. It guides strategy across organizational and political boundaries with a discipline to build collaborations quickly” (Morrison, 2010, p. 2).

The ‘Strategic Doing’ process has been used to change the fortunes of places through a networked approach to regional development rather than a ‘top-down’ model. While an outcome of the model is economic development, the community benefits that it delivers are significant as it harnesses the latent talent and energy existing in a community. While many in Goulburn bemoan the lack of a single direction, those sitting around the council committee tables do in fact have something very important in common – a commitment to the city. Such passion for one’s city provides the focus for Peter Kageyama’s book, *For the Love of Cities*.

“The mutual love affair between people and their place is one of the most powerful influences in our lives, yet we rarely think of it in terms of a relationship...If cities begin thinking of themselves as engaged in a relationship with their citizens, and if we as citizens begin to consider our emotional connections with our places, we open up new possibilities in community, social and economic development by including the most powerful of motivators – the human heart – in our toolkit of city-making” (Kageyama, 2011, pp.vii-viii).

In Orange, emotional connection with the city is also evident. There is an acceptance that those in leadership positions are aiming to make Orange a great place to live – economically, socially and culturally.

Education

The benefits of completing school and undertaking further study or training are well documented and extend beyond the simple outcome of a higher-paying or higher status job. Lack of education has a range of health and social consequences as well as economic. Gaining education is partly driven by access to educational opportunities and, in the case of Goulburn and Orange, this access is made possible through the variety of secondary, tertiary and vocational training institutions within the cities and in nearby centres such as Bathurst or Canberra. More recently, however, attention has been drawn to the matter of educational aspirations. These are defined as “how far a student hopes to progress in school, and the degree of education they seek to achieve” (RPAC, 2013, p. 26).

An education deficit may play itself out in insularity – a potential lack of knowledge about the wider world. Education in a formal sense, that is the curriculum of study, is by no means the key to overcoming the limitations of knowledge about the wider world, however, the process of acquiring an education (usually involving moving to another location or gathering experience from a variety of circumstances, sectors or locations) is significant in understanding how the world works. Learning about or experiencing new ways of doing things can lead to a wider range of options and greater ability to respond to negative trends or unexpected events. A notable feature of the way those in Orange responded to events such as industry closure was simply a sense of *knowing* how things might be fixed – who should be contacted and how support could be harnessed.

City identity - Perception Versus Reality

Perceptions can be powerful. Orange prides itself on its civic culture – it is known for cultural activities such as theatre and music. Yet Goulburn also has a conservatorium, it has the longest-running theatre group in Australia and the local gallery hosts the Archibald Prize every second year. Orange has Banjo Patterson, Goulburn has Miles Franklin. The two cities may have different emphases and they differ in the proportions with high incomes but they have similarities as well.

One of the curiosities of Goulburn is that its local narratives are often at odds with reality. For example, it is often seen as a social security town, a point recognised, but also rebutted, by some of those

interviewed.

“I think Goulburn is unique in a lot of ways because of the belief that it's a social security town and even if you talk to the Chamber of Commerce they will say to you that they believe it's a social security town. They're in fear all the time of the town going broke” (Goulburn Interview 9).

Statistical analysis did not support the premise that Goulburn was suffering above-average levels of poverty or welfare dependency (figure 3). Nevertheless there was some evidence of lower profitability of local businesses. This may be partly due to the type of businesses in Goulburn – small retail and tourism-related. However, the qualitative work also highlighted examples where aspirations for expansion were limited, an issue highlighted in a local Business Survey commissioned by Goulburn-Mulwaree Council in 2012, which found that a majority of the 174 businesses surveyed did not plan to expand their business or increase staff in the coming 2 years. This was in spite of a finding from the same survey that more than 60 per cent expected demand and turnover to increase over that time (CGC, 2012, p. 27).

The popular image of Goulburn and Orange respectively would suggest a greater divergence in the types of indicators presented above. Even where there are factors that might explain Goulburn's more negative image, notably the prison, this does not hold for other regional centres that also have such facilities, for example Bathurst. Another factor noted in Goulburn's negative image, its cold winter weather, seems odd when considered against the fact that Orange too has very cold winters. Yet, at the end of the day, such explanations do not provide a solution to the problem of overcoming a negative narrative. Kagayama addresses the issue of cities with an 'image problem' such as Detroit or New Orleans and begins to tackle the challenge of changing entrenched narratives.

“Every place has a narrative. It is the story, legend or stereotype we use as shorthand to define and categorize a place. It is a useful device, but very often such narratives limit our vision of a place – and they can drown out important elements that don't seem to fit within that agreed upon narrative” (Kagayama, 2011, p. 129).

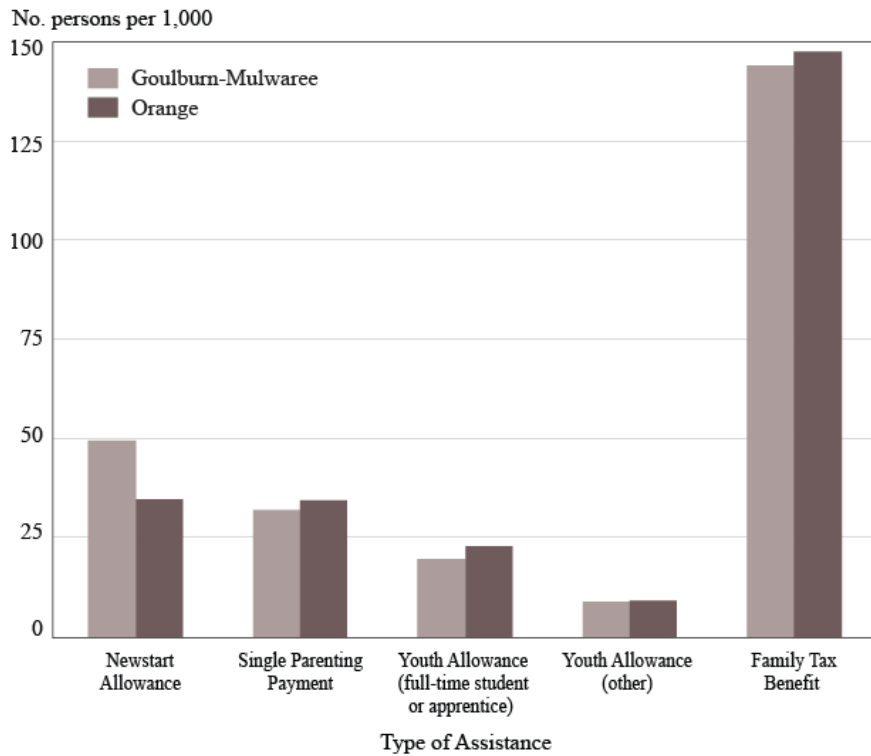


Figure 3. Number of recipients of selected Government Assistance Payments per 1 000 Population, Goulburn-Mulwaree and Orange LGAs, 2011. *Source: ABS 2013, National Regional Profile*

There are no easy solutions presented by Kagayama, although there are examples of cities that have made important changes in their image. For Australian regional cities which appear held back by a negative image, a fruitful way forward may be to examine in some detail the regional cities which have managed to turn themselves and their image around. This may include cities like Wollongong and Newcastle which have had to reinvent themselves after the decline of heavy industry.

Attitudes

Confidence is a trait usually assigned to people rather than places, yet one of the key impressions given by those interviewed in Orange was that of confidence in overcoming challenges.

“[People in Orange] are not ‘woe is me’ type of guys, they’ll have a crack at stuff.” (Orange Interview 7)

Although those interviewed in Goulburn expressed passion about their city and its future, there was a sense of under-confidence in many of their assessments.

“I think it’s an anxious community, by anxious I mean anxious about its future, anxious about its identity, and that plays itself out in politics and the ways in which people relate to one another, the confidence with which they will try new things” (Goulburn Interview 7).

Perhaps the strongest indicator of Goulburn’s lack of confidence related to the ambiguity felt about its location. One of the key advantages of Goulburn is its location between Sydney and Canberra. This advantage was recognised by all of the Goulburn interviewees although, curiously, most referred to the advantage as “location but...”. The ambiguity of whether location posed an advantage or threat was explained in terms of the competitive pressures felt by the growing importance of these other centres and the lack of confidence in what the outcomes of such competition might be for Goulburn’s economy.

This ambivalence seems to reflect a lack of confidence in dealing with the changing position of Goulburn in relation to other centres in the region. When asked about the strengths of their city, Orange respondents had a great deal in common with those from Goulburn, yet there was almost no ambivalence in the way these strengths were expressed. Even its location, three and a half hours from Sydney, was seen as an advantage in terms of proximity. Whether three and a half hours is seen as close or distant seems to be a question of perspective – a glass half full rather than half empty. In Goulburn, proximity to Canberra or Sydney was just as likely to be seen as a problem than an asset.

5. DISCUSSION

On a range of descriptive statistical indicators, Goulburn and Orange appear very similar. In the general perception of many, however, these two cities are worlds apart and attract very different characterisations. The qualitative research confirmed the different cultures, self-image and

awareness of how the rest of the world often saw them.

How then do these similarities and differences affect the realisation of a regional city's potential? What factors drive the economic and social success of a region and what factors hold them back? One reason why this question is so difficult to answer is that there is no single way to define economic success or the appropriate pathway towards it. In many ways the pathway has to make sense within the context of the culture and values of the community. In many cases these elements are contested. What may be an obvious competitive advantage to some will not be for others. For example, the Goulburn Correctional Centre was cited as a significant contributor to the Goulburn economy through jobs and income and also because it was deemed unlikely to close down in the foreseeable future. Yet the prison was also perceived as giving the town a negative image which may lessen the willingness of people to invest in, or live in, the city. So the issue of whether Goulburn should capitalise on the fact it has the prison and the police academy to actively promote itself as having a speciality in security-related services is a highly contested one.

Another challenge for regional cities is that different industries will have a different type of impact on the local economy – some will bring income, others jobs, others skills or innovative practices. Choosing between jobs, wealth, or skills may not be possible, however, knowing exactly what type of economic benefit different businesses might offer can be important and may enable a better balance between different economic objectives. The competitive advantage of Goulburn's location has made transport, logistics and storage an obvious area of focus for targeting new investment. However, such industries may not provide large numbers of jobs. The large decline in employment in the wholesale sector in Goulburn during the 2000s reflects the mechanisation of many processes within the sector. Again, determining the benefit to the town in terms of jobs, wealth creation or community skills development is important before pursuing such development, so that expectations are well-grounded in reality.

Regional areas are rightly proud of the lifestyle advantages they have over their city counterparts – less congestion, friendly community-minded residents, a relaxed atmosphere and attractive physical settings. Yet there is a potential downside in terms of the likelihood that comfort can easily become complacency. Both the retail and accommodation sector of Goulburn were reported as suffering from this. In the case of accommodation, business is going well and this was seen by some as having led to an unwillingness to

change or innovate. Examples of businesses being run for lifestyle reasons rather than profit also highlighted the potential issue of limited economic expansion ambitions.

While neither Orange nor Goulburn are places where cutthroat competition is necessary for success, an inattention to changing economic environments can create vulnerabilities. One anecdote provided in the Goulburn interviews may illustrate this:

“I always see this little car driving around town called the Floral Image, and I looked it up one day to find out what it was, and they do corporate flower arrangements, and all of the real estates have this Floral Image in it. ... Canberra-based they are, but we have five or six florists here” (Goulburn Interview 6).

While the interviewee was highlighting the type of local opportunities available to Goulburn businesses, the fact that a competitor from out of town had taken the initiative points to a potential issue for the local economy. The florists of Goulburn have many potential markets locally as well as in Canberra – not taking advantage of these opportunities may be an active choice by businesses. However, not taking advantage of the opportunity has, in this case, led to a competitor from Canberra making the most of Goulburn’s local market. The loss of business to outside providers may place greater pressure on the viability of local enterprises into the future. The speed at which online businesses are developing provides an additional point of competitive pressure for many regional businesses who have been slow to take advantage of such technologies.

6. CONCLUSION

Statistical indicators highlight some common factors between Goulburn and Orange – they both have relatively diverse economies and have experienced population growth. Nevertheless, qualitative analysis highlights the different characters of each city, providing insights into the strengths, barriers and ultimate potential of each city.

Goulburn and Orange have been cities in transition over the past two decades. Both have been subject to changes in the economic arena with structural adjustment playing out in the decline of agricultural employment and closure of manufacturing businesses.

One of the most notable differences between the two cities is the level of confidence expressed by key leaders in each city. In the past decade, Orange has emerged with a strong profile in tourism, generally aimed at a wealthier, metropolitan-based market, but utilising local advantages in wine making and food-growing enterprises. The coordination of effort in promoting 'Taste Orange' has been notable.

Historically, Goulburn was the key regional centre for its hinterland. It now finds itself competing with Canberra, Yass, and even the coast. For example, State government offices for the region have been located in Queanbeyan and Ulladulla in recent times and these locational choices have been seen as symbols of government favour to places other than Goulburn. While many of its residents love their city, there appears a level of anxiety now that its place in the world is contested. The combined pressure of environmental and economic change in the late 2000s created conflict and there was fragmentation of business groups within the city. While on the one hand this created problems – dissipation of energies, duplication of effort and conflicting views of the future, it can be viewed as having been a necessary process of creative destruction. A number of people have stepped forward into leadership positions and this spurring of local involvement was significant in developing better ways of dealing with economic change and structural inertia.

The case studies of Goulburn and Orange highlight the need for an understanding of what success should look like. The success of Orange does not offer a pathway for Goulburn, nor does the success of Goulburn offer a pathway for Orange because, despite some statistical similarities, the two cities have different histories, cultures and geographies. Having different pathways does not mean that no lessons can be learned from each other but it may mean that the definition of 'success' is different in each location. Having the confidence to pursue one's own unique potential is therefore a critical factor.

It is also important to understand the consequences of both action and inaction. Encouraging new businesses to locate in a city is commonly undertaken and developing the skills to promote and attract investment is important in achieving this, however, it is also important to understanding the type of benefit being sought – jobs, skills, wellbeing, environmental benefit, and so forth. Costs of *inaction* are harder to identify in situations where business is good and profits are adequate to support a particular lifestyle. Comfortable circumstances can lead to complacency and external pressures then become a greater threat to economic viability. This is as true for Orange as it is for Goulburn.

One of the most difficult, yet important, factors in achieving regional potential is aspiration. This is partly related to the issue of comfort/lifestyle outlined above. In a situation of comfort, striving for new goals may seem superfluous and hence aspirations remain static. The issue then becomes one of potential risk – can the present lifestyle be maintained given economic realities. Another, more difficult, aspect relates to sectors of the community who may feel deprived of any aspirations. The disengagement of those who feel unable to share in economic success can result in lower educational attainment, lower potential incomes and lower employment prospects. In both Goulburn and Orange, concerns were voiced about some sections of the community who appear not to be benefiting, even where the city's fortunes overall are quite positive. This issue is one that requires further investigation and discussion.

REFERENCES

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2013). *National Regional Profile*, cat. 1379.0.55.001;
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) *Census of Population and Housing 2011*
- Bailey, D., Bellandi, M., Caloffi, A. and De Propris, L. (2010). Place-Renewing Leadership: Trajectories of Change for Mature Manufacturing Regions in Europe. *Policy Studies*, 31(4), pp. 457-474.
- Beer, A. and Clower, T. (2014). Mobilizing Leadership in Cities and Regions. *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, 1(1), pp. 5-20. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21681376.2013.86928>
- Capello, R. and Faggian, A. (2005). Collective Learning and Relational Capital in Local Innovation Processes. *Regional Studies*, 39(1) pp. 75-87.
- Collinge, C., Gibney, J. and Mabey, C. (2010). Leadership and place. *Policy Studies*, 31(4), pp. 367-378.
- Creating Growth Consultants (CGC) (2012). *Goulburn Business Retention and Expansion Project Report*. prepared for the Goulburn Mulwaree Council with assistance from the NSW Department of Trade and Investment, Newcastle, NSW.
- Kageyama, P. (2011). *For the Love of Cities. The Love Affair between People and their Places*. Creative Cities Productions.
- Morrison, E. (2010). *Strategic Doing: the Art and Practice of Strategic Action in Open Networks*, Purdue University, Indiana.
- NATSEM (2013). *Poverty, Social Exclusion and Disadvantage in Australia*, Canberra.
- OECD (2009). *How Regions Grow: Trends and Analysis*. OECD, Paris.
- Regional Australia Institute (RAI) (2013). *Insight. Australia's Regional Competitiveness Index, Results Guide*. Online version accessed November 2015, www.regionalaustralia.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Regional-Australia-Institute-Results-Guide.pdf
- Regional Policy Advisory Committee (RPAC) (2013). *Research into Education Aspiration for Regional Victoria*. Report prepared by KPMG, Melbourne.

- Sotarauta, M. and Beer, A. (2015). Government, Agency and Place Leadership: Lessons from a Cross National Perspective. Paper presented at the Global Growth Agendas: Regions Institutions and Sustainability, Regional Studies Association Annual Conference 201, Piacenza, Italy.
- Starr, A. (2014). Qualitative and Mixed-Methods Research in Economics: Surprising Growth, Promising Future. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 28(2), pp. 238-264, DOI: 10.1111/joes.12004.
- Stimson, R., Stough, R, and Salazar, M. (2009). *Leadership and Institutions in Regional Endogenous Development*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham
- Woolcock, M. (1998). Social Capital and Economic Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework. *Theory and Society*, 27, pp. 151-208.
- Woolcock, M. (2001). The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes. Online version accessed 20 October 2014, www.oecd.org/innovation/research/1824913.pdf

Appendix 1. Comparative Data on Goulburn and Orange.

	Goulburn ¹	Orange ¹	Non-metro NSW
Population (ERP)			
2001	26 401	36 701	2 427 845
2006	26 695	36 374	2 486 608
2011	28,363	39,419	2 609 655
Average annual growth rate (%)			
2001-2006	0.2	-0.2	0.48
2006-2011	1.2	1.6	0.97
Age Structure 2011 (%)			
Aged less than 10 years	12.2	14.8	12.7
Aged 75 years and over	7.8	7.0	8.4
Proportion employed 2011 (%)			
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	3.2	1.96	5.82
Manufacturing	7.0	8.9	8.53
Professional, Scientific & Technical Services	4.0	4.6	4.71
Public Administration & Safety	12.5	6.8	7.32
Health Care & Social Assistance	14.9	16.3	13.25
Change in employment 2001-2011 (%)			
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	-5.3	-5.2	-2.79
Manufacturing	-1.5	-3.5	-0.47
Professional, Scientific & Technical Services	10.4	7.6	7.97
Public Administration & Safety	3.3	3.1	3.24
Health Care & Social Assistance	2.4	3.9	3.94
Individual weekly income² (%)			
Income earners in lowest income quartile (\$1 to \$328)	25.1	24.0	25.0
Income earners in highest income quartile (more than \$1,166)	17.4	22.6	25.0
Unemployment rate (%)			
2001	6.8	7.3	9.3
2006	6.2	5.9	7.0
2011	5.7	4.5	6.2
Poverty rate 2011³ (%)	14.0	12.7	14.8
Recipients of selected government benefits 2011 (per 1,000 population)⁴	253.5	248.2	187.3

Notes: 1. All data relate to the LGAs of Goulburn Mulwaree and Orange, except for Income which is based on Urban Centre. 2. Ranges (\$) for Quartiles based on NSW State averages. 3. Proportion of households in poverty as determined by after-tax income being less than half the median of all households in Australia. The measure is equalised to account for differences in household size and structure. 4. Includes: Newstart; Parenting Payment - Single; Youth Allowance, and Family Tax Benefit.

Sources: NATSEM 2013, Poverty, Social Exclusion and Disadvantage in Australia; ABS Census 2011, Time Series Profile, Table 32; ABS 2013, National Regional Profile, cat. 1379.0.55.001; ABS Census of Population and Housing 2011