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The Richmond-Tweed Region: An Economic Profile

by John Wilkinson

1. INTRODUCTION

The Richmond-Tweed region (also known as the Northern Rivers) has experienced substantial changes. During the nineteenth century the driving force in production and employment, throughout the region, was primary production. During the twentieth century, the region effectively divided into two: a relatively urbanised coastal strip growing faster in association with neighbouring Queensland, and an inland zone that retains more of the region's rural origins. In both portions of the region, nevertheless, the services sector has emerged as the predominant area of employment. This e-brief examines the region, looking at its administrative and productive structure and the influences that currently bear on it.

There are at least four outstanding features which define the region: the sub-tropical climate; the long length of coastline (around 120 kilometres); the significant tracts of rainforest (preserved in areas such as the Mount Warning, Nightcap and Border Ranges national parks); and its proximity to Queensland.

In this e-brief the name "Richmond-Tweed" is used primarily because that is the nomenclature adopted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in its new regional geography, which is relied on here for labour force data. Geographically, this region is very nearly identical to the Regional Development Australia (RDA) Northern Rivers region: with the exception that the RDA region includes the Clarence Valley LGA, which the ABS "Richmond-Tweed" SA4 does not.¹

2. THE RICHMOND-TWEED: REGIONAL PROFILES

2.1 Local Government Areas (LGAs)

The LGAs in the Richmond-Tweed, and their populations as a percentage of the region, are detailed below:

LGA Populations in the Richmond-Tweed: 2013 (est.) ²		
	Population	% of Region
Tweed	90,114	37.5%
Lismore	44,637	18.6%
Ballina	41,335	17.2%
Byron	31,612	13.2%
Richmond Valley	22,749	9.5%
Kyogle	9,538	4%

The Richmond-Tweed SA4³



2.3 Geographical and Commercial Features

The geographical and commercial features of the region’s LGAs are listed in descending population order, as follows:

Tweed LGA spans an area of 1,307 square kilometres.⁴ Major employers include the Tweed Heads Hospital (870 employees in 2008-09), Tweed Shire Council (650 employees in 2013) and Twin Towns Services Club (400 staff in 2013).⁵

Lismore LGA covers an area of 1,267 square kilometres.⁶ The bigger employers are Lismore Hospital (1,014 staff in 2008-09), Southern Cross University (SCU), Lismore Council (397 employees in 2012) and Norco (365 employees in 2012).⁷

Ballina LGA spans an area of 484 square kilometres.⁸ Major employers include Ballina Shire Council (284 employees in 2012-13) and the Ballina District Hospital (179 staff in 2008-09).⁹

Byron LGA occupies an area of 556 square kilometres.¹⁰ Among the more significant employers are the Byron Shire Council (244 staff in 2012) and Byron District Hospital (55 staff in 2008-09).¹¹

Richmond Valley LGA spans an area of 3,051 square kilometres. It was formed in 2000, with the Carr Government in office, through the amalgamation of the Casino Council and the Richmond River Council.¹² The largest employer is the Northern Co-operative Meat Company (1,000 employees in 2014).¹³

Kyogle LGA spans an area of 3,589 square kilometres.¹⁴ The major employers are IGA (approximately 100 employees), Kyogle Council (90 staff) and Brown and Hurley Trucks (approximately 50 employees).¹⁵

The 6 LGAs, in terms of their individual gross regional product (GRP), their number of businesses and their unemployment rates, are as follows:

	GRP	Businesses	Unemployment Rate (%)
Tweed	\$2.8 bn	6,966	5.7
Lismore	\$1.8 bn	4,150	5.6
Ballina	\$1.5bn	4,113	4.4
Byron	\$1.3bn	4,072	8.2
Richmond-Valley	\$664m	1,617	6.2
Kyogle	\$255m	1,101	6.8

3. ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE RICHMOND-TWEED

3.1 Nineteenth Century: Primary Production

Forestry and Agriculture. The initial forms of production, in the Richmond-Tweed, were rainforest timber felling (particularly for Australian Red Cedar) and beef cattle grazing. Australian Cedar was of the mahogany variety and highly prized for furniture, wall panelling and ship building (so much so that it was nicknamed “red gold”). Fyfe and Patricia Bygrave have written that, “The. . . Northern New South Wales. . . rainforest. . . [was] one of the largest cedar-bearing areas in the world”. Thomas Caffrey, a Sydney timber merchant who also operated in the Brisbane area, sent a party of loggers to the Tweed Valley in 1843. Trees felled in the valley were floated down the river and collected by ship. Small boat builders began operating alongside the Tweed River in the 1850s. Timber milling developed in the 1870s, and the Australian Forest History Society noted that, “river traffic increased at Lismore with its new sawmill in 1875 and timber poured down the Wilson,

Terania and Leycester Creeks, and in 1877 there were 45 steamers and 224 schooners visiting". By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the red cedar had been felled, but logging of other types of timber continued. During 1890s about 4,700 cubic metres of timber, each year, were exported from Byron Bay alone.¹⁷

Beef grazing, on lands that were squatted on ("stations"), was inaugurated in 1840 when Henry Clay and George Stapleton set up Cassino station (later abbreviated to Casino) on the Richmond River.¹⁸

Small-scale primary producers began to arrive once John Robertson (then Colonial Secretary) obtained passage of the *Crown Lands Alienation Act 1861*. In contrast to woolgrowers and cattle graziers (who paid a licence to lease large tracts of land), Robertson's legislation provided that "anyone over the age of eighteen could apply for the conditional purchase of a block of land from 40 acres up to a maximum of 65 acres. . .the price was set at one pound per acre."¹⁹ Various varieties of crops were tried by the new arrivals – in succession wheat, cotton and rice – but only one (at that time) was successful in the region's sub-tropical climate: sugar. Britain had pioneered plantation sugar production in the West Indies during the 1600s and Captain Arthur Phillip brought sugar to Australia in 1788. It was not until the 1860s, however, that sugar began to be successfully grown in NSW and Queensland. Many would-be (small-scale) primary producers looked to sugar to become wealthy. N. Bartley, in 1896, wrote that, "Nearly everyone was bitten with the sugar mania". In 1864 there were only 2 acres of land planted with sugar; by 1898 14,578 acres (6,626 hectares) were sown. In the late 1870s the Colonial Sugar Refining (CSR) Company (based in Sydney) bought over 2,000 acres in and around the site of the present-day Murwillumbah (in the Tweed Valley) and, in 1880, began operating a mill at nearby Condong. As CSR sold the same land, in the 1890s, Murwillumbah emerged as the administrative and commercial centre of the Tweed Valley. The sugar boom came to a temporary halt, however, during the depression of the 1890s. C.T Wood wrote that there was a "collapse in the world price of sugar. . .Sugar could be imported at a lower price than it could be economically produced in Australia."²⁰

A Developing Economy. Activity in what later became classified as the "services sector" emerged during the 1860s and 1870s. Travel from Sydney to the Richmond-Tweed, in the nineteenth century, was by ship. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the colonial government constructed the North Coast Road: from Hexham to Grafton and on to Murwillumbah.²¹ However, in 1894, the government completed a railway line from Lismore through Murwillumbah to Byron Bay.²² An agency of the Government Savings Bank of NSW opened in Tweed Junction in 1873. In 1888 the Australian Joint Stock Bank became the first bank to open in Murwillumbah. The English, Scottish and Australian Bank (the forerunner of ANZ) set up a branch in Murwillumbah in 1906.²³ Between the 1860s and the 1890s, just over 95 schools were established in the region.²⁴

3.2 Twentieth Century: From Agriculture to Services

Agriculture. Sugar production revived during the twentieth century. Whereas during the early 1900s the land under sugar fell to around 11,000 acres, by the end of the Great Depression (in the late 1930s) the area sown to cane had risen to 20,000 acres.²⁵ By the first half of the twentieth

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century, however, Queensland was already established as the leading centre of sugar production and remained the dominant producer:

Sugar Production: Queensland and NSW (1904 - 1995 est.)²⁶		
	Queensland	NSW
1904	147,339 tonnes	19,963 tonnes
1940	758,841 tonnes	46,977 tonnes
1950	893,921 tonnes	41,921 tonnes
1960	1,340,747 tonnes	64,721 tonnes
1970	2,375,426 tonnes	149,227 tonnes
1980	3,148,955 tonnes	181,049 tonnes
1990	3,353,300 tonnes	160,489 tonnes
1995	4,744,000 tonnes	244,350 tonnes

Queensland continues in the dominant position. In 2010, Queensland produced 3.4 million tonnes of sugar, whereas NSW produced just over 176,000 tonnes. Cane was grown over 34,000 hectares of land in northern NSW.²⁷

Banana growing also developed during the twentieth century. Banana experimentation had been undertaken in Britain during the 1830s (from specimens imported from Mauritius) by Joseph Paxton: gardener to the Duke of Devonshire (William Cavendish – after whom he named his variety). On a global level, bananas were mainly produced in Jamaica (by Fyffes) and in Costa Rica, Guatemala and Nicaragua (by the United Fruit Company). Amongst the British colonies in Australia, nearly all banana production, in the nineteenth century, had occurred in Queensland.²⁸ In 1891 a primary producer (Herman Reich) began growing bananas at Coffs Harbour, and production began to expand through northern NSW. However, as G.C. McFarlane wrote, “banana production on a commercial scale in New South Wales dates only from about 1912”. McFarlane also pointed out that, “Nearly all bananas grown in Australia are of the Cavendish type. . .being more easily grown. . .[and] more popular for commercial production.” The Coffs Harbour area (in the Mid-North Coast region) became the main banana producing zone, in NSW, with the Richmond-Tweed producing the remainder.²⁹ During the early 1920s the disease “bunchy-top” entered Australia: severely affecting production in both NSW and Queensland, but having a longer interim impact in the latter. As production declined in Queensland, by the early 1930s NSW became the foremost banana producing state and remained so during the first half of the twentieth century:

Banana Production: NSW and Queensland 1925-26/1949-50 (est.)³⁰		
	NSW	Queensland
1925-26	2,545 tonnes	49,382 tonnes
1949-50	69,745 tonnes	13,491 tonnes

NSW banana production, however, eventually became eclipsed by production in Queensland through improvements in disease management and refrigerated land transport. By 1998, Queensland accounted for 85% of the nation’s output of bananas (the Tully and Innisfail area, alone, accounting for 80% of all national production). In 2007, Queensland

produced 88% of national banana output while NSW accounted for 9% (the remaining 3% produced in Western Australia and the Northern Territory).³¹

Dairying emerged, momentarily, as a major form of primary production in northern NSW in the first half of the twentieth century. Maurice Ryan wrote that, in northern NSW, “Throughout the five counties of Rous, Richmond, Clarence, Fitzroy and Raleigh, millions of acres of land fell beneath the selector’s axe and the land was sown to pasture for the dairy cow.” Amongst the land cleared was a 75,000 area of rainforest between Ballina and Lismore known as the Big Scrub: until then the largest tract of lowland rainforest in Australia.³² In 1895 the North Coast Fresh Food and Cold Storage Co-operative was established at Byron Bay to trans-ship dairy output. In 1926 the co-op adopted the name Norco. The focus of the region’s dairy farmers was on butter production: particularly after the establishment of the Sydney Milk Zone (in 1931) restricted the sources of drinking milk to Sydney and to coastal areas as far north as Taree and as far south as Bateman’s Bay.³³ Butter was overwhelmingly produced for export. As Brett Stubbs has described:

Historically north coast dairy farmers have been orientated to the export butter market, particularly to the United Kingdom, the destination of more than 90% of Australian butter in the earliest decades of the twentieth century. . .³⁴

Butter production increased exponentially, as indicated below:

Butter Production (Quantity and % State Production): North Coast 1891 - 1921 (approx.)³⁵		
	1891	1921
North Coast (incl. Grafton)	743 tonnes (8.9%)	22,697 tonnes (49.6%)
NSW Total	8,347 tonnes	45,760 tonnes

Even in the early 1960s, as J.H. Holmes pointed out:

the Richmond-Tweed region, with just over one-third of the dairy cows in coastal New South Wales, still contains the greatest concentration of dairying in Australia.³⁶

The Kyogle area alone, in 1960, was the location of around 20% of all the region’s dairy cows (50,513 out of 237,849).³⁷ Despite the Askin Government extending the supply boundaries for the Sydney Milk Zone as far north as Lismore (in 1970),³⁸ dairy output in the Richmond-Tweed, during the second half of the twentieth century, was surpassed by production elsewhere in Australia – a development accelerated in 1973, as Brett Stubbs wrote, when the “export market for [Richmond-Tweed] dairy products was further depressed by the decision of Great Britain to join the European Economic Community.³⁹

Whereas, in the early years of the twentieth century, NSW had been the leading Australian state in milk production, by the middle of the century NSW became second to Victoria and has (increasingly) remained so ever since:

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Milk Production: Victoria and NSW 1912 – 2011/12 (est.)⁴⁰		
	NSW	Victoria
1912	1 billion litres	906,801 litres
1932-1933	1.4 billion litres	1.8 billion litres
1957-1958	1.3 billion litres	2.6 billion litres
1999-2000	1.4 billion litres	6.8 billion litres
2011-2012	1.1 billion litres	6.0 billion litres

In financial year 2011-12, Victoria accounted for 65% of Australia's milk production compared to 11% for NSW.⁴¹ Correspondingly the number of dairy NSW farms rapidly declined, as illustrated below:

Dairy Farms in NSW: 1932 – 2014⁴²	
1932	15,136
1959/60	13,595
1970	9,061
1976	4,626
1990	2,218
2014	727

Norco remains in operation (re-established in Lismore in 1962) but as a smaller-scale participant in the dairy industry. The company's milk collection area currently extends from Dungog (in the Hunter Valley) to Gympie (north of Brisbane) within which there are 177 supplying farms producing around 180 million litres of milk each year.⁴³

Dairy farmers, correspondingly, turned to beef production as dairy output became concentrated in Victoria. As T.J. Christiansen wrote, "Beef production is the predominant land use on farms which have gone out of dairying." In 2006-07 there were just over 270,800 beef cattle in the Richmond-Tweed (4.6% of a state total of around 5.9 million).⁴⁴

In recent years, beef cattle grazing has become (by far) the most valuable item of primary production in the Richmond-Tweed: followed by fruit and nut growing. In financial year 2010-11 the value of these commodities was as follows:

Richmond-Tweed: Main Forms of Primary Production by Value (2010-11)⁴⁵	
Cattle and Calves	\$93 million
Fruit and Nut Production	\$66 million

Forestry. Timber getting continued during the twentieth century. In 1944 there was an estimated 4.3 million cubic metres of timber within state forests in the Richmond-Tweed.⁴⁶ In 1979 there were around 1,250 people employed in forestry in the combined Richmond-Tweed and Mid North Coast regions. In response to mounting pressure to preserve rainforest from logging, the Wran Government obtained passage of the *Forestry Revocation and National Parks Preservation Act 1983* and (a year later) the *Forestry Revocation and National Parks Preservation Act 1984* under which 119,953 hectares of state forest were transferred to national parks. According to Diana Gibbs, this removed (state-wide) 85,300 cubic metres of "brushwood" (rainforest) timber, and 350,500 cubic meters of hardwood

(eucalypt) timber from production.⁴⁷ In particular, the legislation created the Nightcap National Park (4,277 hectares) from the Goonimbar State Forest and part of the Whian Whian State Forest.⁴⁸ In the mid-1990s there were further changes to the forestry industry. Brett Stubbs wrote that, following the election of the Carr Government:

a forest reform package [was] announced on 13 June 1995. . . logging would cease in all old growth forest areas, logging quotas would be reduced generally. . . a concerted effort would be made to increase the area of hardwood plantations, and twenty-four new national parks and nature reserves would be created around the state, many of these from areas of forest withdrawn from logging. One of these new national parks was Mount Jerusalem National Park (970 hectares) in the north-western part of [the then] Byron Shire.⁴⁹

In the opening years of the twenty-first century, throughout the region, there were 283,000 hectares of privately managed native forest and 37,600 hectares of (mainly hardwood) plantation timber.⁵⁰

Fishing. Commercial fishing had emerged during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and developed into a small-scale industry during the twentieth century. During the late 1940s, with the combined encouragement of the Chifley Government and the McKell Government, NSW fishing people formed co-operatives. In the Richmond-Tweed, co-operatives were formed in Brunswick Heads, Byron Bay, Ballina and Evans Head. Currently (with the Byron Bay and Brunswick Heads co-operatives merging in 1954) there are three remaining co-operatives in the region: Brunswick Heads, Ballina and Evans Head. The main types of catch are crabs and prawns. At the end of the twentieth century, the industry remained small. In the 1990s the NSW Independent Pricing and Regulatory Tribunal (IPART) estimated the annual value of the catch in the Richmond-Tweed to be around \$8.5 million: with 240 people fishing commercially. Despite the on-going rationalisation of the industry (since the Fahey Government obtained passage of the *Fisheries Management Act 1994*), the co-operatives continue as viable (if small-scale) concerns. In 2009, Ballina (the biggest of the Richmond-Tweed co-operatives) produced \$2.9 million in income and generated 75 FTE positions.⁵¹

Mining. Coal was discovered at Tyalgum (west of Murwillumbah) in 1907 and a mine opened soon afterwards. By the late 1920s production amounted to about 100 tonnes a week and was used by the Murwillumbah power station. The coal was of poor quality, however, and the mine was closed in the late 1930s.⁵²

Mineral sand mining (along the coast southwards from Tweed Heads) replaced coal production as the principal regional extractive industry from the 1950s to the 1970s. Zircon, ilmenite and rutile were extracted from the sands: rutile (used as a flux in welding rods) being particularly significant since, during the 1960s, Australia supplied over 90% of the world's requirements. By the 1970s, however, the rutile was exhausted.⁵³

Manufacturing. By the early 1970s there were around 200 small factories in the region. Ken Dundas and his colleagues wrote in 1977 that, in the combined regions of the Richmond-Tweed and the Mid North Coast:

Some 73% of . . . manufacturing is in the two ASIC [Australian Standard Industrial Classification] sub-divisions of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Products and Wood, Wood Products and Furniture. Furthermore, a large part of this employment is accounted for in three industry groups – (i) Meat Products; (ii) Milk Products, and (iii) Wood and Wood Products.⁵⁴

Wood related manufacturing remains significant. The Industry Skills Council for manufacturing (Manufacturing Skills Australia or MSA) recently reported that in:

The Richmond-Tweed region. . . Of the manufacturing sectors under MSA's coverage, furniture and other manufacturing had the most number of business locations (141) and employed 301 people in 2006-07.⁵⁵

Meat processing became a significant sub-sector of manufacturing in the region, in 1913, when the Byron Bay Co-operative Canning and Freezing Company Ltd began operations. In the late 1920s the co-op went into receivership and was acquired by A.W. Anderson. By the end of 1932, according to Brett Stubbs, "the meatworks was killing 1,000 calves, 400 cattle and 300 pigs per week." In 1933 the Northern Co-operative Meat Company (NCMC) was established in Casino. By the late 1960s the Byron Bay and Casino abattoirs collectively slaughtered around 10% of the state's beef cattle. The Byron Bay meatworks, alone, employed more than 200 staff. In 1968, however, Anderson's went into bankruptcy and was acquired by F.J. Walker. In 1983, Elders IXL acquired Walker's and, later in the year, closed the Byron Bay works. This left the Casino-based NCMC as the largest meat works in the Richmond-Tweed. In the early years of the twenty-first century, NCMC's annual throughput was around 40,000 estimated tonne carcass weight (ETCW). The Northern Co-operative Meat Company, in 2014, employs around 1,000 people.⁵⁶

Milk product processing also remains regionally significant. Norco currently employs around 600 staff in dairy processing at sites throughout northern New South Wales (principally Lismore) and Queensland.⁵⁷

Services.⁵⁸ In 1909 the first telephone exchange was opened in Tweed Heads.⁵⁹ Between the 1900s and the 1930s the North Coast railway was completed in sections: Grafton to Casino in 1905; Casino to Kyogle in 1910; with the entire line (Sydney to Brisbane) completed in 1932.⁶⁰ Between the 1920s and the end of the 1930s, the NSW Department of Main Roads extensively sealed the Pacific Highway so that, by 1939, two thirds of the length of the highway (between Sydney and the Tweed Heads) had a bitumen surface.⁶¹ By the 1940s there were around 200 government schools in the region (although only Lismore and Murwillumbah had high schools). There were also 8 hospitals (Lismore, Casino, Murwillumbah, Byron Bay, Ballina, Kyogle, Coraki and Bonalbo).⁶² Between the 1960s and 1970s the services sector emerged as the major employing area of activity in all LGAs in the region. This can be seen in comparative employment statistics by percentage – for the localities of Tweed, Lismore, Ballina, Byron, Casino and Kyogle - between 1961 and 1971:

Richmond-Tweed: Labour Force by Industry of Employment (1961)⁶³					
	Services	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Mining	Not Stated
Tweed	49.9%	33.7%	10.7%	3.6%	2.1%
Lismore	76.1%	4.3%	17.1%	0.2%	2.3%
Ballina	70.3%	14.4%	12.9%	0.2%	2.2%
Byron	36%	46.3%	12.7%	3.3%	1.7%
Casino	73.6%	5.4%	18.9%	0.3%	1.8%
Kyogle	39.8%	45.8%	11.9%	0.2%	2.3%

Richmond-Tweed: Labour Force by Industry of Employment (1971)⁶⁴					
	Services	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Mining	Not Stated
Tweed	59.0%	23.9%	9.8%	2.9%	4.4%
Lismore	80.7%	3.0%	12.3%	0.3%	3.7%
Ballina	73.6%	8.1%	13.7%	0.7%	3.9%
Byron	46.6%	29.5%	17.3%	2.7%	3.9%
Casino	71.3%	5.7%	19.3%	0.2%	3.5%
Kyogle	44.0%	39.1%	12.7%	0.5%	3.7%

In the second half of the twentieth century, as agriculture declined, the region repositioned itself. The change was heralded by the Greenbank Island Reclamation Scheme on the Tweed River, between 1964 and 1968, in which 486,000 cubic metres of sand was dredged to create 250 acres of land.⁶⁵ Once this was finished, according to Johanna Kijas:

building development accelerated with shops, flats, units and up-market homes. Construction of the Tweed Hospital began in 1971. Twin Towns Services Club, the Tweed Heads Civic and Cultural Centre, Tweed Heads Bowls Club, commercial buildings and more housing developments mushroomed over the coming decade.⁶⁶

A steady shift of population from Sydney to the Richmond-Tweed grew during the 1970s and 1980s (accelerated by the 1973 Aquarius Festival at Nimbin): so much so that, according to Chris Duncan, and his colleagues (writing in 1995), in regard to population, “The North Coast of New South Wales [the combined Richmond-Tweed and Mid North Coast] has been the fastest growing part of the state since the late 1960s.” Duncan and his colleagues produced the following figures for population growth in the Richmond-Tweed between 1961-66 and 1986-91:

Population Growth in the Richmond-Tweed: 1961/66 – 1986/91⁶⁷	
1961-66	-0.7%
1966-71	2.6%
1971-76	9.6%
1976-81	28.0%
1981-86	12.6%
1986-91	17.5%

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There was, understandably, a pronounced shift in population growth in the coastal LGAs that constitute the Richmond-Tweed, as demonstrated in the five years 1986 - 1991:

LGA Populations in the Richmond-Tweed: 1986 – 1991 (approx.)⁶⁸			
	1986	1991	% Increase
Tweed	43,542	55,869	28%
Ballina	23,578	30,168	28%
Byron	17,723	22,831	28%
Lismore	36,801	41,393	12%
Richmond Valley	18,073	19,937	10%
Kyogle	9,231	9,750	5%

A feature of the population shift to the north coast of NSW was a significant presence of people on low incomes. This feature persists to the present. North Coast Community Housing recently provided the following figures for household income in the Richmond-Tweed (from the 2011 Census):

Household Income: Richmond-Tweed (R-T) - NSW (2011)⁶⁹		
	Incomes Under \$600/week (%)	Median Household Income (\$)
R-T	33.3%	\$865 per week
NSW	24.2%	\$1,237 per week

Within the individual LGAs, the number of people in poverty (and estimated rates of poverty) were as follows in 2011:

People in Poverty/Rates of Poverty: Richmond-Tweed LGAs (2011)⁷⁰		
LGA	People in Poverty	Rate of Poverty
Tweed	14,247	17.3%
Lismore	7,053	17.1%
Ballina	5,574	14.7%
Byron	5,252	18.7%
Richmond Valley	4,115	19.1%
Kyogle	2,099	23.4%

The growth in population developed in tandem with a service industry suited to the region's climate: tourism. Tourism, in the Tweed area, was inaugurated in 1903 when the Queensland government extended the south coast railway line from Nerang to Tweed Heads.⁷¹ Growth in tourism was progressed by Heffron Government which, in the early 1960s, provided for the building of a road between Tweed Heads and Kingscliff.⁷² Tourism was also accelerated by the Cahill Government's legalisation of poker machines in services clubs in NSW (in 1956) while their prohibition in clubs was maintained in Queensland until the early 1990s.⁷³ Twin Towns Services Club opened in 1957 and, by the 1980s, there were 7 clubs in Tweed Heads (alone) with a combined 1,300 poker machines. These same 7 clubs had a total of 98,000 members – 80,000 of whom were estimated to be from Queensland.⁷⁴

In 1985 the Wran Government established the Tourism Commission of New South Wales with the particular aim of expanding tourism within the state.⁷⁵ A year later an airport was opened in Ballina. In 1987, under the

succeeding Unsworth Government, the Tourism Commission produced its first regional strategy: focused jointly on the Richmond-Tweed and the Mid-North Coast regions (the *North Coast Region Tourism Development Strategy*). At that time it was estimated that, in the combined regions, income from tourism amounted to \$661 million and that the industry was responsible for around 12,280 jobs. By the end of the 1980s around 1 million domestic visitors, and nearly 58,000 international visitors, were journeying to the Richmond-Tweed.⁷⁶

Accompanying the development of tourism, there was an expansion of unit building in the region:

Unit Building: Tweed Shire – Ballina/Byron Shires 1975/76 – 1982/83 (est.)⁷⁷		
	Tweed	Ballina/Byron
1975-76	100	40
1976-77	20	60
1977-78	60	50
1978-79	200	200
1979-80	380	300
1980-81	500	380
1981-82	500	360
1982-83	250	200

The overall outcome of the above developments was that, while during the first half of the twentieth century agriculture remained the dominant form of employment, during the second half of the twentieth century it was overwhelmingly replaced by the services sector:

Richmond-Tweed: % of Main Forms of Employment (1976 – 1996 estimated average)⁷⁸		
	1976	1996
Services	60%	78%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	25%	12%
Manufacturing	15%	10%

3.3 Government Assistance

A year after gaining office, the Askin state government obtained passage of the *State Development and Country Industries Assistance Fund Act 1966* and the *Country Industry Payroll Tax Rebate Act 1966*. Under this legislation, amongst the costs necessary for a firm to relocate to a regional centre, the state government would lend 60% and the relevant local government would lend 30%. Qualified rebates, on payroll tax, were also available to firms relocating to regional areas. The amounts of money lent were modest. In 1965-66 the Country Industries Assistance Fund (CIAF) lent \$1.7 million; in financial year 1970-71 the fund lent \$5 million. In the late 1970s, Neville Wran's government obtained passage of the *Country Industries (Payroll Tax Rebate) Act 1977* which provided for payroll tax rebates for manufacturing or processing firms outside Sydney.⁷⁹

Initially there was a small, but significant degree of assistance for firms in the combined Richmond-Tweed and Mid North Coast regions. However this

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amount shrank during the 1970s. Ken Dundas and his colleagues observed that:

Between 1965 and 1972, 10.4% of all [CIAF] expenditure went to the [combined Richmond-Tweed and Mid North Coast regions]. . . This figure climbed to 16.9% in 1975-76. However the figure declined dramatically to 6.0% in 1976-77.⁸⁰

Of this combined assistance, the Richmond-Tweed received only a relatively small proportion:

**Shares of North Coast (Combined) Industry Assistance: 1965/66 – 1976/77
(approx.)⁸¹**

Hastings	\$5 million (50%)
Clarence	\$3 million (30%)
Richmond-Tweed	\$2 million (20%)

The amounts of money provided by the CIAF to firms in the Richmond-Tweed – by individual town – was as follows:

CIAF Loans to Firms in the Richmond-Tweed (by Town): 1965/66 – 1976/77⁸²

Lismore	\$645,326
Casino	\$384,880
Kyogle	\$383,997
Tweed Heads	\$268,806
Ballina	\$114,625
Murwillumbah	\$113,029
Coombell	\$68,000
Bexhill	\$43,787
Alstonville	\$20,620
Dunoon	\$2,000

In 1989 the Greiner Government established the Regional Business Development Scheme (RBDS). The NSW Audit Office, in a report prepared in 1998, noted that RBDS assistance was provided to the following firms in the Richmond-Tweed between financial years 1995-96 and 1997-98:

Richmond-Tweed: Firms Assisted by the RBDS (1995/96 – 1997/98)⁸³

<u>Firm</u>	<u>Location</u>
Aluminium and Steel Boats	Harwood
Ant Packaging	Bangalow
Australian Beef Company	Tweed Heads
Bundjalung Training and Development	Byron Bay
Fair Dinkum Foods Marketing	Murwillumbah
Kymat Pty Ltd	Tweed Heads
Langley's Timber Sales	Lismore
Lynks Pty Ltd	Alstonville
Macadamia Plantations of Australia	Lismore
Miller Metal Imaging	Byron Bay
North Coast Plywood Products	Kyogle

Northern Co-operative Meat Company (Casino)	Casino
Optimus Creative Manufacturing	Byron Bay
Pro Timber	Casino
Quickshade Australia	Lismore
Rico Pty Ltd	Tweed Heads
Sax Investments	Byron Bay
Wrightway Eco Products	Lismore

In 2000 the Carr Government transferred the Firearms Licensing Branch of the NSW Police (50 staff) to Murwillumbah.⁸⁴ Assistance to small firms, in the Richmond-Tweed, also continued. In 2006 the Lemmings Government announced payroll tax concessions for companies relocating to regional NSW. According to Neville Newell (then MP for the Tweed), Allan Taylor (a subsidiary of Boral) took advantage of the initiative to relocate operations to Murwillumbah. Ross Brims Transport, and Tower Builders, also took advantage of the concessions to relocate to Tweed Heads.⁸⁵

In 2011, just under three years after the onset of the global financial crisis (GFC), the Gillard Government launched the Regional Development Australia Fund (RDAF): providing approximately \$200 million a year, over 5 years, for projects (nominated by RDA committees) which would contribute to the economic development of a region. Already established projects (or projects in planning), assisted by the RDAF, include Lismore City Hall (\$4.9 million), the Arkinstall Park Regional Sports Centre in Tweed Heads (\$4.9 million) and the Ballina Biochar and Waste-to-Energy Project (\$4.2 million).⁸⁶

In 2012 the O'Farrell Government launched the Northern Rivers Jobs Plan. The Minister for Trade and Investment (Andrew Stoner) declared that, "The Gods of Wheat Street Pty. Ltd., a Lismore based film and TV production company, will receive funding under the first round of the Northern Rivers Jobs Plan." This year, advisers from the NSW Department of Trade and Investment assisted Norco to ship 4,500 bottles of milk to China: the first export of fresh milk to China from NSW dairy farms.⁸⁷

3.4 Cross Border Relations: New South Wales and Queensland

It is self-evident, that from the expansion of the Queensland railway line to Tweed Heads in 1903 to the growth in Queensland visitors travelling to Tweed Heads service clubs in the 1980s, there has been a complementarity between Queensland and NSW in the northern zone of the Richmond-Tweed. This continues to be manifested in ongoing commercial relationships between Queensland and northern NSW. In 2009 the Northern Co-operative Meat Company, for instance, was sending 35 container loads of meat each week from Casino to Brisbane. In 2010, Southern Cross University opened a campus adjacent to the Gold Coast Airport in Coolangatta.⁸⁸

On a broad level, there is joint collaboration on planning between New South Wales and Queensland in regard to the Richmond-Tweed. The *Southeast Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031* states that:

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The [Queensland] Department of Infrastructure and Planning consults with the New South Wales Department of Planning and the Tweed Shire Council to co-ordinate planning across the two regions.⁸⁹

In August 2011 the newly elected O'Farrell Government and the Bligh Government in Queensland concluded a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on Cross-Border Collaboration. Regarding the implementation of the MOU, the agreement stated that:

The Premiers' departments will serve as the key contacts and respective secretariats. . .[and] will co-operate in the development of agendas for the Premiers' and Senior Officials' meetings. . . meetings of the Premiers will be held each year. . .State Government Ministers. . .may refer matters to the Premiers' departments where they have identified a cross-border issue that they are unable to resolve within their own area of responsibility and after discussions with their cross-border counterparts.⁹⁰

The priority areas, agreed on by the O'Farrell and Bligh Governments, consisted of: health; transport; energy; primary industries; water resources; emergency management; policing; social services; business services; cross-jurisdictional administrative and regulatory matters.⁹¹

At present, the main aspect of the cross-border relationship appears to be the amount of employment that the Gold Coast provides for Tweed Heads residents (and, to a lesser extent, vice versa). In 2014, according to Chris Sainsbury of the Department of Employment:

22% (6,300) of employed people living in Tweed [Heads] work in the Gold Coast. 16% (3,700) of those employed in Tweed [Heads] live in the Gold Coast.⁹²

4. KEY FACTS AND FIGURES

4.1 Value of Gross Regional Product

In 2011/12 the value of the Richmond-Tweed gross regional product (the combined GRPs of the region's 6 LGAs) was \$8.6 billion: approximately 1.8% of the state's gross state product (GSP).⁹³

4.2 Businesses (including) Entries and Exits

In 2011 there were 22,368 businesses in the Richmond-Tweed. The number of firms, in each LGA, was as follows:

Businesses in the Richmond-Tweed (by LGA): 2011⁹⁴	
Tweed	7,065
Lismore	4,209
Ballina	4,176
Byron	4,134
Richmond Valley	1,710
Kyogle	1,074
TOTAL	22,368

There is a high prevalence of owner-operated firms, in the Richmond-Tweed, as highlighted in the table below:

Businesses in the Richmond-Tweed (by Size): 2011⁹⁵	
Owner-Operated	14,444 (65%)
Small Businesses (1-4 Employees)	4,861 (22%)
Medium/Large Businesses (5 or More Employees)	3,063 (13%)

Comparing 2008 with 2011, the number of business exits has exceeded the number of business entries:

Business Entries in the Richmond-Tweed: 2008 – 2011⁹⁶		
	2008	2011
Owner-Operated	2,280	1,726
Small Businesses	714	620
Medium/Large Businesses	186	173
TOTAL	3,180	2,519

Business Exits in the Richmond-Tweed: 2008 – 2011⁹⁷		
	2008	2011
Owner-Operated	2,533	2,200
Small Businesses	527	463
Medium/Large Businesses	252	192
TOTAL	3,312	2,855

4.3 Employment and Unemployment

During 2011 the following numbers of people, on a 12-month average, were employed and unemployed in the Richmond-Tweed:

Employed/Unemployed: Richmond-Tweed (Average from Census 2011)⁹⁸

Employed	99,822
Unemployed	7,937

As shown in the table below, the unemployment rate in the Richmond-Tweed has steadily increased since the onset of the Global Financial Crisis. The average unemployment rate in the region has been higher than corresponding rates in both the state and across the nation:

Unemployment Rate (%): Richmond-Tweed/NSW/Australia: 2008-2013⁹⁹

Month/Year	Richmond-Tweed	NSW	Australia
September 2008	6.5%	4.9%	4.3%
September 2009	6.7%	5.4%	5.7%
September 2010	6.6%	5.2%	5.0%
September 2011	6.5%	5.4%	5.2%
September 2012	5.7%	5.9%	5.7%
September 2013	7.5%	5.6%	5.7%

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On a long term-term basis, however, it appears that there has been a gradual decline in unemployment in the Richmond-Tweed:

1986	19.1%
1991	17.8%
1996	15.1%
2001	12.4%
2006	8.4%

The Brotherhood of St. Laurence, in a report issued this year, has estimated the current unemployment rate amongst youth (15-24 year olds), in the Richmond-Tweed at 11.3%.¹⁰¹

4.4 Employment by Sector

Set out in the table below is the breakdown of employment by industry for the Richmond-Tweed. The figures are from the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Census:

Employment by Industry: % Richmond-Tweed (R-T) and % NSW Employment (2011)¹⁰²

	Number	% R-T	% NSW
Health Care and Social Assistance	13,927	15.2	11.6
Retail	11,820	12.9	10.4
Education and Training	8,602	9.4	7.9
Accommodation and Food Services	8,398	9.1	6.7
Building and Construction	8,148	8.9	7.3
Manufacturing	6,446	7.0	8.4
Public Administration and Safety	4,640	5.1	6.1
Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	4,333	4.7	7.9
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	4,129	4.5	2.2
Other Services	3,339	3.6	3.8
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	3,229	3.5	4.9
Administrative and Support Services	2,929	3.2	3.3
Wholesale	2,762	3.0	4.4
Financial and Insurance Services	1,739	1.9	5.1
Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services	1,610	1.8	1.6
Arts and Recreation Services	1,410	1.5	1.5
Information Media and Telecommunications	1,191	1.3	2.3
Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services	799	0.9	1.1
Mining	392	0.4	1.0
<i>Inadequately Described/Not Stated</i>	1,696	2.3	2.5

4.6 Employment Growth Sectors

For comparison purposes, the source of figures employed in this e-brief is the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) *2011 Census of Population and Housing: NSW Richmond-Tweed* (Table 33 Industry of Employment by Sex). Table 33 contains figures for industry of employment in 2001 as well as in 2011, thus allowing for a 10-year comparison.

Ranked in terms of absolute increase in employment, the seven biggest growth sectors, in the decade from 2001 to 2011 – along with the sector with the greatest decline in employment - are set out below. Growth in employment is also expressed as a percentage – as with the sector that has the biggest decline in employment. As well as identifying the areas of employment growth over the last decade, this section points to the key players and developments in several industries.

Health Care and Social Assistance. Between 2001 and 2011, health care and social assistance experienced the biggest numerical increase of any industry in the Richmond-Tweed:

Employment in Health Care and Social Assistance: 2001 - 2011 ¹⁰³	
2001	8,793
2011	13,927
Increase	+5,134 (59%)

Public hospital services in the Richmond-Tweed are provided by the Northern NSW Local Health District (LHD). Within the LHD there are hospital facilities at Ballina; Bonalbo; Byron Bay; Casino; Coraki; Kyogle; Lismore; Mullumbimby; Murwillumbah; Nimbin; Tweed Heads; and Urbenville. There is a major private hospital in Lismore (St. Vincent's) with 196 beds and is, according to the website Australian Health Directory, the largest private hospital in rural New South Wales.¹⁰⁴

In 2006 there were 5,584 people working in the health sector in the Richmond-Tweed.¹⁰⁵ During 2008-09 (the last year of publication of the *NSW Health Services Comparison Data Book*) there were the following numbers of FTE staff at public hospital facilities in the following locations in the region: 1,014 at Lismore; 870 at Tweed Heads; 211 at Murwillumbah; 179 at Ballina; 97 at Casino; 65 at Kyogle; 56 at Mullumbimby; 55 at Byron Bay; 26 at Urbenville; 25 at Nimbin; 22 at Coraki; and 16 at Bonalbo.¹⁰⁶

In 2001, 27% of the population in the Region-Tweed was aged over 55.¹⁰⁷ There are approximately 75 aged care centres in the region: including Lismore (14); Tweed Heads (13); Ballina (12); Banora Point (9); Casino (4); Alstonville (4); Pottsville (4); Murwillumbah (3); Byron Bay (3); Kyogle (3); Kingscliff (2); Mullumbimby (1); Nimbin (1); Coraki (1); Bonalbo (1); and Bangalow (1).¹⁰⁸

Building and Construction. Between 2001 and 2011, the second highest increase in employment occurred in building and construction:

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Employment in Building and Construction: 2001 – 2011¹⁰⁹	
2001	5,336
2011	8,148
Increase	+2,812 (53%)

House building and office/industrial construction accelerated at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Between 2001 and 2006, 22% of all new jobs in the region were in building and construction.¹¹⁰ There were 3,638 building and construction firms in the Richmond-Tweed in 2012.¹¹¹ The advent of the global financial crisis (GFC) appears to have had a significant impact on building approvals in the region:

Building Approvals in the Richmond-Tweed (Selected Years): 2006/07 – 2012/13¹¹²	
	Number of Houses/Flats
2006-07	1,349
2008-09	825
2012-13	637

Retail. Between 2001 and 2011, retail recorded the third-highest increase in employment:

Employment in Retail: 2001 – 2011¹¹³	
2001	9,803
2011	11,820
Increase	+2,017 (21%)

Education and Training. Between 2001 and 2011, education and training experienced the fourth-highest increase of any industry in the Richmond-Tweed:

Employment in Education and Training: 2001 – 2011¹¹⁴	
2001	6,664
2011	8,602
Increase	+1,938 (29%)

The region hosts 1 university (Southern Cross University or SCU) which, in 2009, had 15,000 students. Amongst the 3 campuses of SCU, the largest is in Lismore. There are 6 campuses of the Northern Institute of TAFE. There are 95 government primary schools and 14 government high schools.¹¹⁵ In 2006 the main sub-divisions of employment, in education, were as follows:

Job Numbers in Education (Selected Sectors): Richmond-Tweed (2006)¹¹⁶	
School Education	4,595
Tertiary Education	1,364
Adult, Community and Other Education	599
Preschool Education	358

Accommodation and Food Services. Between 2001 and 2011, accommodation and food services recorded the fifth-highest increase in employment:

Employment in Accommodation and Food Services: 2001 - 2011¹¹⁷	
2001	6,796
2011	8,398
Increase	+1,602 (23%)

Despite its individual significance to the region, tourism activity in the Richmond-Tweed is only a small proportion of the state's total. In the year 2012-13 the Northern Rivers Tropical (NTR) Region (which includes Grafton) attracted only 6.4% of domestic/international visitors to the state as a whole:

Visitors to the Northern Rivers Tropical Region (incl. Grafton and Adjacent Coast)/NSW: 2012-13¹¹⁸	
Visitors (Domestic and International)	
Northern Rivers Tropical	5,063,000
New South Wales	79,512,000

On a long-term level, the number of domestic visitors to the NTR region has only slightly increased (although the number of international visitors has significantly increased):

Visitors to the Northern Rivers Tropical Region (incl. Grafton and Adjacent Coast): 2012-13¹¹⁹		
	Domestic	International
1998	1,873,000	167,000
2012/13	1,881,000	192,000

In recent years there have been over 50 festivals and events held annually in the Richmond-Tweed region. Figures for the year 2005 are as follows:

Festivals and Events in the Richmond-Tweed (by Number): 2005¹²⁰	
Tweed	27
Byron	10
Lismore	8
Ballina	4
Kyogle	3
Richmond Valley	2

In 2006 the main sub-divisions of employment, in accommodation and food services, were as follows:

Job Numbers in Accommodation and Food Services (Selected Sectors): Richmond-Tweed (2006)¹²¹	
Cafes, Restaurants and Takeaway Food Services	3,196
Accommodation	1,532
Clubs (Hospitality)	1,098
Pubs, Taverns and Bars	805

Professional, Scientific and Technical Services. Between 2001 and 2011, professional, scientific and technical services recorded the sixth-highest increase in employment:

Employment in Professional, Scientific and Technical Services: 2001 - 2011¹²²	
2001	3,049
2011	4,333
Increase	+1,284 (42%)

In 2006, jobs in the main sub-divisions of employment – in professional, scientific and technical services - were as follows:

Job Numbers in Professional, Scientific and Technical Services (Selected Sectors): Richmond-Tweed (2006)¹²³	
Legal and Accounting Services	1,311
Architectural, Engineering and Technical Services	1,364
Management and Related Consultancy Services	337
Computer System Design and Related Services	284

Public Administration and Safety. Between 2001 and 2011, public administration and safety experienced the seventh-highest increase in employment:

Employment in Public Administration and Safety: 2001– 2011¹²⁴	
2001	3,367
2013/14	4,640
Increase	+1,273 (38%)

There are a significant number of federal and state government departments which are represented in the region. Examples are as follows:

Federal. Veterans Affairs has an office in Tweed Heads and Centrelink has offices in Tweed Heads and Murwillumbah.

State. The Department of School Education has its North Coast regional office in Murwillumbah. The Tweed-Byron police local area command is located at Tweed Heads and there are police stations at Kingscliff and Murwillumbah. The NSW Firearms Registry is located in Murwillumbah and the Office of Gaming and Racing is represented in Tweed Heads.¹²⁵

4.6 Sectors of Declining Employment

The three industries manifesting losses in employment, between 2001 and 2011, are agriculture, forestry and fishing; wholesale; and information media and telecommunications. Information media and telecommunications lost the smallest number of positions (50) followed by wholesale (387).¹²⁶ Between 2001 and 2011, agriculture, forestry and fishing recorded the highest loss in employment:

Employment in Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing: 2001 - 2011¹²⁷	
2001	5,566
2011	4,129
Increase	-1,437 (-26%)

5. CONCLUSION

The imperative for the region to reposition itself, in the aftermath of the decline of primary production, has seen the emergence of a divergence between the coastal zone of the Richmond-Tweed and its inland sector. Furthermore the development of the coastal strip has clearly occurred through its association with the Gold Coast. Brian Styman, former editor of the *Tweed Daily News*, remarked to Joanna Kijas that, “Murwillumbah. . . was [once] the core town [in the region]. . . Tweed Heads was a minnow by comparison.”¹²⁸ Through its connection with the Gold Coast, Tweed Heads is now predominant. In 2009 the NSW Roads and Traffic Authority noted that:

The Far North Coast region of NSW is increasingly influenced by South East Queensland and especially by its very rapid population growth, as economic and social linkages between NSW and Queensland grow.¹²⁹

As outlined above, there have already been a number of steps taken to further relations between the Richmond-Tweed and its northern neighbour. This process is set to continue. In the first half of this year, under the aegis of the COAG arrangements, the Baird Government introduced the *Mutual Recognition (Automatic Licensed Occupations Recognition) Bill* making provision for NSW to recognise a licence issued by another state. As Matthew Mason-Cox (Minister for Fair Trading) declared, “This. . . supports our tradespeople. . . especially those who live near a State. . . border.”¹³⁰ Further collaboration with South East Queensland appears to be a core element of the region’s future development.

¹ According to the University of Sydney’s Workplace Research Centre, in a report produced for the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) Standing Committee on Tertiary Education, Skills and Employment, “For the purposes of workplace analysis and planning, regions are predominantly defined according to the [new] ABS Statistical Area Level 4 regions for New South Wales. This is because the SA4 level regions are used across a vast range of statistical publications (including labour force data publications)”. See Workplace Research Centre, University of Sydney, [National Regional Workforce Planning and Development Report](#) (2013), p.64. For the SA4s in New South Wales see ABS, [Australian Statistical Geography Standard \(ASGS\): Volume 1 – Main Structure and Capital City Statistical Areas](#). ABS Catalogue 1270.0.55.001. For the Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the Richmond-Tweed SA4 see ABS, [Australian Statistical Geography Standard \(ASGS\): Correspondences](#), Catalogue No. 1270.0.55.006 (Table 3: Correspondence). In July 2009 the Rudd Government launched a network of 55 Regional Development Australia (RDA) Committees. The committee dealing with the area covering the Richmond-Tweed has adopted the name “RDA Northern Rivers”. See NSW Department of State and Regional Development, [Annual Report 2008-09](#), p.7.

² ABS, [Regional Population Growth: Australia](#), ABS Catalogue 3218.0. Data Cube: [Population Estimates by Local Government Area \(ASGS 2013\), 2003 to 2013](#). Table 1. Estimated Resident Population, Local Government Areas, New South Wales.

³ NSW Department of Planning, [Far North Coast Regional Strategy](#), 2006, [Map](#). Note that, while this has been taken from a 2006 publication which was published prior to the development of the ABS ASGS in 2011, the Richmond-Tweed SA4 is equivalent to the six LGAs: Tweed, Lismore, Ballina, Byron, Richmond Valley and Kyogle. See: ABS, [Australian Statistical Geography Standard \(ASGS\): Correspondences, July 2011](#), Cat. No. 1270.0.55.006, June 2012

⁴ NSW Treasury Corporation (TCorp), [Tweed Shire Council: Financial Assessment and Benchmarking Report](#) (2012), p.8; SGS Economics and Planning, [Research Report for the NSW Independent Local Government Review Panel](#), volume II, part 2, [Supporting Information](#) (Sydney, 2012), p.419.

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- ⁵ See [NSW Health Services Comparison Data Book: 2008-09](#) (2010), p.54; “About Tweed Shire Council” on the website of [Tweed Shire Council](#); “Careers with Twin Towns” on the website of [Twin Towns Clubs and Resorts](#).
- ⁶ NSW TCorp, [Lismore City Council: Financial Assessment, Sustainability and Benchmarking Report](#) (2013), p.8.
- ⁷ See [NSW Health Services Comparison Data Book: 2008-09](#) (2010), p.51; [Lismore City Council: Financial Assessment, Sustainability and Benchmarking Report](#), p.8; Norco, *Annual Report: 2012*, p.23. The *Southern Cross University Annual Report: 2013* does not appear to provide FTE staff figures for individual campuses. It does state that, in 2013, there were 364 FTE academic staff and 575 professional staff at the 3 campuses of SCU. Lismore is the largest campus.
- ⁸ NSW TCorp, [Ballina Shire Council: Financial Assessment and Benchmarking Report](#) (2012), p.8.
- ⁹ See Ballina Shire Council, *Annual Report: 2012-13*, p.13; [NSW Health Services Comparison Data Book: 2008-09](#) (2010), p.62.
- ¹⁰ NSW TCorp, [Byron Shire Council: Financial Assessment, Sustainability and Benchmarking Report](#) (2013), p.8.
- ¹¹ See Byron Shire Council, *Annual Report: 2012-13*, p.35; [NSW Health Services Comparison Data Book: 2008-09](#) (2010), p. 105.
- ¹² NSW TCorp, [Richmond Valley Council: Financial Assessment, Sustainability and Benchmarking Report](#) (2013), p.9.
- ¹³ RDA Northern Rivers, *Submission to the Agricultural Competitiveness White Paper* (2014), p.2.
- ¹⁴ NSW TCorp, [Kyogle Council: Financial Assessment, Sustainability and Benchmarking Report](#) (2013), p.8.
- ¹⁵ For details on Kyogle Council employees see [Kyogle Council: Financial Assessment, Sustainability and Benchmarking Report](#), p.8. Other details provided by Kyogle Council.
- ¹⁶ See “National Economic Indicator Services (NSW)” on the website of [.id.](#)
- ¹⁷ Joanna Boileau, *Tweed Shire Council Community Based Heritage Study: Thematic History* (2004), p.91; Fyfe and Patricia Bygrave, *Growing Australian Red Cedar* (Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation, Canberra, 2005), p.4; Brett Stubbs, *Byron Shire: Thematic History*, volume 2 (NSW Department of the Environment, 2006), pp.8, 26; Australian Forest History Society, newsletter no.55, May 2010.
- ¹⁸ NSW Roads and Maritime Services (RMS), *Upgrading the Pacific Highway (Woolgoolga to Ballina Upgrade): Historical (Non-Aboriginal) Heritage Assessment* (2012), p.37.
- ¹⁹ Boileau, n.17, p.48.
- ²⁰ A.C. Barnes, *Agriculture of the Sugar-Cane* (Leonard Hill, London. 1953), p.4; C.T. Wood, *Sugar Country: A Short History of the Raw Sugar Industry of Australia 1864-1964* (Queensland Cane Growers Council, Brisbane, 1965), p.38; David Smith, *Sweet Beginnings: A History of Sugar Cane Growing on the Richmond River of New South Wales* (1991), pp.3,5,8; Boileau, n.17, pp.54, 106.
- ²¹ NSW Department of Main Roads, *The Roadmakers: A History of Main Roads in New South Wales* (1976), p.49; Boileau, n.17, pp.56, 88-89.
- ²² Boileau, n.17, p.117.
- ²³ Boileau, n.17, pp.159-160.
- ²⁴ See “[List of Schools in Northern Rivers and Mid North Coast](#)” on the website of Wikipedia.
- ²⁵ Wood, n.20, p.48.
- ²⁶ Peter Griggs, *Global Industry, Local Innovation: The History of Cane Sugar Production in Australia 1820 – 1995* (Peter Lang, Bern 2011), pp.108, 291, 298-332.
- ²⁷ AEC Group, [An Appetising Investment Destination](#) (Sydney, 2011), p.9;
- ²⁸ See William Fawcett, *The Banana: its Cultivation, Distribution and Commercial Uses*, second edition (Duckworth, London, 1921), pp.157, 192, 197.
- ²⁹ G.C. McFarlane, “Marketing New South Wales Bananas” in the *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, vol.19, no.1, March 1951, pp.5-6; Connell Wagner, *Coffs Harbour Highway Planning Sapphire to Woolgoolga Section: Environmental Assessment* (Sydney, 2007), p.15-2.
- ³⁰ McFarlane, n.29, p.11.
- ³¹ Ali Abdalla and Terry Sheales, “[Approximating Supply Response of a Commodity with Limited Input Date: The Case of Australian Bananas](#)”, paper presented to the 49th Annual Conference of the Australian Agricultural and Resource Economics Society, Coffs Harbour, 8-11 February 2005, p.8; Peter Deuter, David Putland and Neil White, [Critical](#)

- [Temperature Thresholds Case Study: Banana](#) (AgriScience Queensland, Brisbane, 2008), p.3; "History of Banana Growing in Australia" on the website of [Wadda Plantation](#).
- ³² Maurice Ryan, *Norco 100: A Centenary History of Norco 1895-1995* (Norco Co-operative Limited, Lismore, 1995), p.65; R.S. Brodie, M. Graham and R. Green, *Mapping Groundwater-Dependent Ecosystems: A Case Study in the Fractured Basalt Aquifers of the Alstonville Plateau, New South Wales, Australia* (Bureau of Rural Sciences, Canberra, 2001).
- ³³ William Murphy, *The Milk Board of New South Wales: An Outline of its Origin and Development* (1949), p.71.
- ³⁴ Stubbs, n.17, p.49.
- ³⁵ Bruce Davidson, "Rum Corps to IXL: Services to Pastoralists and Farmers in New South Wales" in the *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, vol.60, no.3, December 1992, p.315.
- ³⁶ J.H. Holmes, "The Distribution of Dairying in Coastal New South Wales" in *The Australian Geographer*, vol.VIII, no.5, 1962, p.209.
- ³⁷ J.G. Bird, "The Dairy Industry on the Far North Coast of New South Wales" in the *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, vol.30, no.1, March 1962, p.23.
- ³⁸ D.R. Mackay and H.I. Toft, "An Application of Spatial Equilibrium Analysis to the Transport and Processing of Wholemilk in NSW" in the *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, vol.46, no.1, April 1978, p.14.
- ³⁹ Stubbs, n.17, p.50.
- ⁴⁰ *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Australian Dairy Industry* (Melbourne, 1960), p.130; Dairy Australia, *Australian Dairy in Focus: 2013* (Melbourne), p.13.
- ⁴¹ Dairy Australia, n.40, p.12.
- ⁴² Ambrose Pratt, *The National Handbook of Australia's Industries* (Specialty Press, Melbourne, 1934), p.100; *Year Book of NSW: 1961*, p.918; *Year Book of NSW: 1969*, p.771; NSW Department of Primary Industries, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Dairy Industry* (Sydney, 1978), p.8; Industry Commission, *Australian Dairy Industry* (Canberra, 1991), p.168; Dairy Australia, n.40, p.13.
- ⁴³ Kerry Kempton, *Overview of the NSW Dairy Industry: May 2014* (NSW Department of Primary Industry Industries, Orange, 2014), p.1; Norco, [Submission to the Agricultural Competitiveness White Paper](#) (2014), p.14.
- ⁴⁴ T.J. Christiansen, "Adjustments to Resources Formerly Used for Dairying on the Far North Coast of NSW" in the *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, vol.39, no.2, June 1971, p.129; Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, [Australian Agriculture and Food Stocktake](#) (Canberra, 2005), p.27; ABS, [Agricultural State Profile: New South Wales 2006-07](#), Catalogue No. 7123.1.55.001 (Table 10. Agricultural Census: Meat Cattle NSW); "History" on the website of the [Northern Co-operative Meat Company](#).
- ⁴⁵ Bill Binks, Kristen Corrie, Ian Frakes, Peter Martin and Kasia Mazur, [Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry in the Richmond-Tweed Region of New South Wales: 2013](#) (Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Sciences, Canberra, 2013), p.3. According to AEC Group, "The majority of macadamia nuts, blueberries and guavas that are produced in Australia are sourced from the Northern Rivers region. See AEC Group, n.27, p.7.
- ⁴⁶ NSW Premier's Department, *The Richmond-Tweed Region: A Preliminary Survey of Resources* (1945), p.31.
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