

Community Expectations and Coal Seam Gas Development

Rachel Williams and Andrea Walton
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Milestone Report to GISERA

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Executive summary

Rural communities in the Surat Basin in Southern Queensland are undergoing a new phase of significant change as a result of the extensive development of the coal seam gas (CSG) industry in the region. The changes present both opportunities and challenges to local residents and give rise to expectations about how the impacts of the change should be managed. This report explores the range of expectations expressed by different segments of a small community living in and around the town of Chinchilla about how the impacts of CSG development should be managed, compares and contrasts the expectations across the different community segments and summarises local perspectives on who needs to be involved in addressing the impacts. The different segments considered included:

- land owners
- longer term town residents
- local businesses
- social service providers
- small-holder land owners
- newer arrivals to the town.

The expectations of the pre-existing population in Chinchilla reflect a desire to maintain a good quality of life. Two dimensions can be identified. First, expectations related to the material aspects of their lives such as housing, roads, water, job opportunities, and the sustainability of their business and rural sectors. Second, expectations related to the spirit and social fabric of the community, ensuring that interactions within the community are based on respect and trust.

Expectations could also be differentiated in terms of the scale and complexity of the issues which they related to, how straightforward solutions to the issues appeared to be and the extent to which people were taking an active role in responding to the issues or felt that others needed to be addressing them.

While many of the changes and impacts have arisen as a result of CSG development, expectations about how the changes should be managed were not only addressed to the CSG companies but also to local, State, and Federal Government. This was particularly the case in relation to the more complex issues such as housing, water and town planning, where it was perceived that multiple actors needed to be involved to improve the current situation.

Where people have engaged in dealing with the challenges they are experiencing at the individual scale and have been able to improve their situation, it is evident that this has built their capacity to operate effectively in the new context. Examples include small local businesses that are now able to attract contracts for CSG related work.

In the longer term, the viability of the town will depend on whether people are able to and wish to live there. The attractiveness of Chinchilla as a place to live will be an ongoing interplay between residents' evolving expectations of how they want to live and the extent to which those expectations can be met through living in the area.

1 Introduction

Rural communities in areas where coal seam gas (CSG) development is occurring are experiencing a period of rapid and significant change. Managing the impacts of coal seam gas development and realising benefit for local communities is likely to be enhanced through having a clear understanding of the values, expectations and aspirations of different groups within these communities (Maguire and Cartwright, 2008). In this report, we present and explore the expectations of different segments of a small rural community about how the impacts of CSG development should be managed.

The research was conducted with residents in and around Chinchilla, a small rural town on the Western Downs in Southern Queensland. Chinchilla is on the edge of the Surat Basin coal seam gas fields, where three multi-national CSG companies are currently constructing the infrastructure to deliver gas to Gladstone for export with a fourth company in the approvals phase.

This research is part of a project called Understanding Community Aspirations. The project is designed to draw out the diverse values, interests and aspirations which underpin community expectations (Lockie et al., 2008) and to assist company and government representatives to understand community expectations.

2 Community expectations

There are both regulatory and non-regulatory factors that influence a company to act in ways to mitigate the environmental and social impacts of their activities. Gunningham (2003) identified *societal expectations* as one type of pressure that demands 'beyond compliance' behaviour from a company. Societal expectations include the expectations of society at large but also those of a company's shareholders and local communities directly affected by a company's operations. In the extractive industries context, community expectations are considered to be an important factor for a company's social licence to operate (Williams and Walton, 2013). Community expectations may revolve around expectations of behaviour of company employees, interactions of the company with the wider community, contributions of the industry to economic development, and impacts of the industry on the local environment and physical infrastructure (Australian Government, 2006). Community expectations demand that companies act in ways that are aligned to local values, delivering benefits that are important to that community. A licence to operate can be seen as a representation of the degree of match between a community's expectations of the company and the company's actual behaviour (Salzmann et al., 2006).

However, to understand what a community expects is a difficult process particularly when community can be viewed in many ways. A common way to view community is to see it as a community of place, identified through geographic boundaries (Flora and Flora, 2013). Yet, a community of place comprises a range of groups and individuals with diverse needs and aspirations each potentially reflected in their own set of expectations with respect to how a company or industry should operate within their community. Although some expectations may be common and span multiple segments, it is likely that different parts of the community will hold different types of expectations (Williams and Walton, 2013), which may even contradict each other (Salzmann et al., 2006).

In the CSG context in the Western Downs, many thousands of wells spaced approximately one kilometre apart crisscross intensively farmed land, with many additional wells planned, potentially affecting different types of landholders differently. In addition, extensive construction associated with the industry, for example building of pipelines, compressor stations, and worker's camps, provide a scenario for many local businesses to be directly or indirectly affected through increased economic activity and competition for labour. Finally, the workforce required to construct and operate the CSG industry results in an influx of thousands of workers usually housed in temporary camps or local housing stock. Together these changes create pressure on the local community, for example on housing, roads, and labour supply, while delivering

economic benefit to many within the wider community (Walton et al., 2013). These types of challenges and opportunities are common to rural communities that face rapid development from industry related activity (Flora and Flora, 2013). Emerging from this mix of affected individuals are multiple different sets of expectations held by different segments of the population, with no single set of expectations adequately able to reflect this diversity.

2.1 Factors that shape expectations

Expectations are shaped by personal factors, social influences and situational factors (Oliver, 2010; Zeithaml et al., 1993). Some expectations may be normative expectations of interpersonal behaviour and reflect local mores and ways of doing things. Some expectations may relate to widely held beliefs about corporate behaviour and reflect corporate social responsibility and sustainable development principles (Dashwood, 2013). Expectations may in turn be influenced and shaped by stories and reports circulating within the community via word of mouth or various media. Previous experiences, company reputation, government and industry forecasts and promises, both explicit and implicit, are also capable of shaping expectations within the community. Furthermore, expectations may change over time and vary within and between individuals and various segments of the community. Gunningham (2004) found that expectations and acceptance levels varied within and between communities, and that this depended largely on geographic location and the community's level of economic dependence on the industry.

In the resources sector, expectations may also change throughout the different phases of a project. In the context of CSG extraction expectations during the exploration phase may be different from the construction and operational phases. Expectations related to the exploration phase may include the impact of exploration, potential for future development, and opportunities for the community if the resource development proceeds; the construction phase expectations may relate to employment and economic opportunities (Australian Government, 2006). Interlinked to this are the changing impacts, resources and objectives of the company throughout the project cycle (IPIECA, 2008).

2.2 What happens if expectations aren't met

Expectations act as a comparator for evaluating actual experiences, and when expectations are unmet a range of negative responses may result (Oliver, 2010; Zeithaml et al., 1997). These responses can range from dissatisfaction to complaining behaviour, including negative word of mouth and formal complaints. Other negative responses may include emotional responses such as anger and disappointment, and behavioural responses such as uncooperative and resistance behaviours, and litigation. Based on this rationale expectations can be identified as those things that form the basis of dissatisfaction or negative responses. A community's expectations with respect to coal seam gas development may not be tacitly expressed or understood until expectations have been transgressed and some form of dissatisfaction is experienced.

Thus, one way of understanding community expectations is to identify those things that have resulted in either positive or negative responses within the community suggesting expectations have been either exceeded, or not been met. In some situations, even when behaviours are in line with expectations neutrality may result, where neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction is experienced. Furthermore, this neutral response may arise when behaviours or activities contravene expectations, but are of low importance to the individual or community group. Moreover, a tolerance for unmet expectations can exist when people realise their desired expectations aren't always possible. A lower level of expectation, shaped by what is known to be possible, can create a minimum threshold of what is 'adequate' or 'acceptable', and result in neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction, but is tolerated (Oliver, 2010).

3 Methods

3.1 Research focus and methodological rationale

The purpose of this phase of the research was to explore the nature of stakeholder expectations regarding CSG operations in Chinchilla and surrounds. A community's expectations may not be tacitly expressed or understood until expectations have been transgressed and some form of dissatisfaction is experienced, or expectations have been exceeded and some form of satisfaction is experienced. One way of understanding community expectations is to identify those things that have resulted in either positive or negative responses within the community suggesting expectations have been either exceeded or not met.

3.2 Community segmentation

The community engagement literature notes that communities are not homogeneous in their interests (Maguire and Cartwright, 2008; Owen and Kemp, 2013). Different community segments are likely to experience resource development in different ways and have different expectations about how it should be managed. Therefore, we wished to understand not only the range of expectations across the community but also how those expectations might vary between different subsections of the population. The researchers undertook desktop research to gain an overview of the issues affecting people in Chinchilla and surrounds and to identify an initial set of segments within the population, based on factors such as occupation, socio-economic circumstances, length of residence in the area, gender and age, which were considered likely to influence people's perception of CSG development. At the same time, we identified key individuals of potentially different stakeholder groups as initial points of contact in the area, with whom we could check our preliminary understanding from the desktop research and who might be able to assist us in assembling focus groups, via their networks.

The community segments initially considered include: local government; local businesses, with differentiation between those with services in demand by the CSG companies and non-CSG related businesses; community service providers, in the areas of health, sport and recreation, policing, education and welfare; landholders (agricultural); small-holders; and town residents, distinguishing between homeowners and renters, longer term residents and newer arrivals employed in the CSG industry and their partners. Fly-in fly-out (FIFO) and drive-in drive-out (DIDO) workers were not included as part of this work.

3.3 Data gathering

Questionnaires were designed for both a series of interviews with the key individuals identified earlier and for a series of focus groups. Each focus group comprised individuals in roughly similar social roles in the community, distinct from the other groups. A set of communication materials was prepared to advertise the research in the local area, call for participation and to provide to individuals actually participating in the research. The interview questionnaire was designed to gather information about the interviewee's role in the local area, their experience of CSG development and linkages between different stakeholder groups in the region. The focus group process was designed to focus more specifically on what the group members valued about living in the area, the experiences of the group in relation to CSG development and how they thought that should be managed, and their thoughts about how the region might be in the future. We also sought to understand who people thought should be responding to their expectations about CSG development, as this varied for different issues and was not always seen to be the responsibility of the CSG companies.

Two five-day field trips to Chinchilla and surrounds were conducted in October and November 2012, with a final trip in June 2013. On the October trip, we conducted twelve interviews with key individuals identified in the desktop research, whom we had contacted beforehand, from local government, social services, the education sector, local retail and hospitality businesses, CSG companies, sports and recreation groups, the Origin Regional Consultative Committee and several self-organised community groups.

In November, we conducted four focus groups and a further set of interviews with people we had been unable to meet with in October. The focus groups were (i) a group of mostly farming women, (ii) small business owners (iii) representatives of public service organisations, and (iv) social services providers.

In June, we conducted three focus groups and further interviews to fill in gaps identified in the data previously gathered; people working in the CSG industry, some of whom were new arrivals in town; their partners; local businesses that could potentially service the CSG industry; and education.

The interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed.

3.4 Data analysis

We identified participants' expectations from the transcripts in several different ways:

- where there was a clearly articulated expectation of the form 'x should, must, ought or needs to do (or not do) y'
- where there was a positive statement about what 'x' was doing, indicating that expectations were being met or exceeded
- where a concern was raised with an indication that something should be done to address it. We differentiated these examples from instances where people raised concerns but did not indicate that they felt something could be done to address them. For example, people expressed frustration with the increased volume of traffic on the roads without suggesting ways of addressing it. However, they did have expectations that the impacts of the increased traffic, such as deterioration in road quality and road safety, would be addressed.

Recurring themes were identified from an initial review of the interviews and the transcripts. Text searches were then conducted on the transcripts to extract comments relating to the themes, noting which themes were discussed by different community segments and how those themes were discussed in each segment.

4 Results

4.1 What people value and like about Chinchilla

All participants were asked to identify the things about Chinchilla that they value; what made their town and surrounds *a good place to live*. These factors represent the things that are of value to the local community, and for some embody future aspirations. The factors were similar across all community segments and expressed by both long-term residents and relative newcomers. Results indicated that prior to CSG development, many people had moved to Chinchilla or chosen to stay living in Chinchilla because they saw it as a family oriented place; *a good place to bring up kids*. It was viewed as a place that was affordable, with great schools and sporting opportunities, and a vibrant community. The people were friendly and the locals pulled together with a great sense of community spirit. People saw the community as made up of people *who are prepared to get off their butts and do something* holding regular events such as the melon festival and the one long-table event. Many of the longer term residents had longstanding friendships and family within the community and very much liked that CSG offered opportunity for Chinchilla to retain its young adults with job prospects for both school leavers and university graduates. Increased job opportunities to *keep the young ones* was seen as a good thing.

Many participants remarked that Chinchilla had always been a hub for the region, and was attractive because it was well-positioned geographically, being two hours from Toowoomba and four hours from Brisbane. People described the town as traditionally known as a *place where you could get everything you needed*. Participants had always been proud of how tidy and clean Chinchilla had been and that it had a

country way of life about it, where you knew most people when you walked down the street. These aspects are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1 What people liked and valued about Chinchilla

Types of social interactions	Physical aspects of the town	The community spirit	Economic sufficiency
<p>A friendly place; great for families <i>It was a good place to raise the children.</i> <i>Oh, family-friendly ... friendly and inclusive</i></p>	<p>Good schools and sport <i>...good sporting facilities, even cultural facilities, opportunities for children with dancing and music programs and stuff like that through the schools and outside of the schools.</i> <i>Lots of sports for kids. Every sport that you can think of, we play, right through from soccer right through to polo-cross.</i></p>	<p>A strong sense of community spirit <i>[the people] They care, they're passionate</i> <i>people are prepared to get off their butts and do something. ... like the Melon Festival, the Chinchilla Technology Centre, the Chamber of Commerce got rebooted ..., people will support service clubs, and support - any public function</i></p>	<p>A strong and diverse local economy <i>It was magnificent – of all the rural areas that I'd lived in ... it had a real good grain growing industry... melon growing and the diversification in rural industries amazed me</i></p>
<p>A country way of life <i>.. it was a small country town with that great, you know [feel], you walk down the street and even if you didn't know people you'd recognise them, you'd seen them before</i></p>	<p>A clean and tidy town the town was a very clean town with lovely gardens and things around it</p>	<p>People who help each other out <i>we've seen some pretty nasty disasters in the last few years and the way the town's pulled together I think has been terrific and the help that everyone gives is really good</i></p>	<p>An affordable place to live <i>...there was good housing, comfortable prices within affordable limits</i> <i>It used to be a very affordable place to live. You used to be able to get through on a very low disposable income</i></p>
<p>Surrounded by people you know and trust <i>They're not people who come and go. They're sort of solid people</i> <i>You could trust people easily</i></p>	<p>It felt safe <i>you could walk down the street, never a car locked, windows down, houses open</i></p>	<p>Everyone was made to feel welcome <i>they're supportive, they get involved. They want you to be involved. When we first come out here, people would want you to go round for a barbecue and have drinks</i></p>	<p>A hub for the region with a strong retail sector <i>You could go down town and you could buy anything</i></p>

For many people these aspects of what they liked and valued about Chinchilla were under threat, and cause for frustration, disappointment, and worry. It was uncertain whether such community qualities would be able to be recaptured, or if the *old Chinchilla way of life was gone forever*. Although the future seemed unclear and unpredictable, *rebuilding a strong community again* was an aspiration for the medium term, something envisaged for the post-construction phase. Fundamental to a strong community spirit in the future was an increased level of involvement of CSG workers with the community activities. However, participants also felt that this would be difficult to achieve, perceiving that many of the newcomers had different lifestyle expectations.

4.2 Community Expectations

The expectations expressed by project participants related to several broad themes:

- **Infrastructure**, including roads, sporting facilities, medical facilities, schools, commercial buildings and town planning
- The **local economy**, including local employment and local business and enterprise sustainability

- **Social aspects**, including housing, local employment, personal safety, volunteering; driver and neighbourly behaviour; human capital (skills, knowledge, wisdom), cultural capital (volunteering for cultural and sporting institutions and events)
- **Natural resource sustainability**, primarily water quantity and quality; retaining high value soils; and preventing the spread of weeds and soil pathogens
- **Physical environment**, including noise, traffic, busyness, maintaining a tidy town
- **Governance**, including leadership, accessibility of information and having input to town planning and other planning activities. Ideas about which bodies should be addressing particular issues were also included under this theme.

Expectations about these issues are reported for the following six different community segments:

- landholders
- longer term town residents
- businesses
- community service providers
- small landholders
- newcomers.

Although there were expectations in common across the segments only the salient expectations for each segment are presented.

The nature of the expectations articulated by different segments of the community is briefly outlined below, with quotes included to provide more specific examples.

4.2.1 LANDHOLDERS

The information on landholder perspectives is drawn from several interviews with landholders and farming services providers, as well as input from one of the focus groups which included current and past landholders. We also drew on the insights from another GISERA project, Shared Space, where the researchers are working directly with landholders, looking for ways in which CSG development on their land can effectively co-exist with farming.

Landholder expectations focused on the following main areas: maintenance of natural resources (water and soil); minimising impact to farm operations; roads and traffic; and housing.

Maintenance of natural resources

Water

The perceived risk to groundwater is a primary concern for landholders, exacerbated by the uncertainty about the risk. Landholders were worried that the quality and the quantity of the groundwater would be affected by CSG drilling, and that this will have an impact on the viability of their current farming practices. Some farmers were also concerned about the long-term impact on the value of their farm: *'they have come and stolen the water, removed our asset'*. In addition, landholders were concerned with the wider impact of CSG drilling and potential to affect the Great Artesian Basin. Most landholders viewed damage to the groundwater system as long-term and possibly irreparable, thus representing a considerable risk.

As a result, there was a strong desire for more information to be available about potential impacts on groundwater from CSG extraction before decisions are made to install CSG wells. Landholders expected this type of research to be undertaken by an independent body such as the CSIRO or the 'DPI' equivalent.

I think all the parties, the landholders, the exploration/mining company and the Government with these sort of people [CSIRO, DPI], have got to agree on what would be the best outcome – not outcome, what would be the best piece of information that we need [about groundwater] and how do we get it, and then it should be got. I don't think it's right for exploration companies saying, well we're going to do this work [the research] because we think you need to know that.

If that can't be solved or that came out that you're going to – you potentially, or can, harm this aquifer and that one, well that's probably enough grounds to stop it. But if you could do that research and say, no, this is how it's going to work and we're not going to impact on that, well then the next step is, okay, that's fine, where are you allowed to do it.

Even though the State Government has conducted an impact study on the groundwater in the Surat Basin few landholders appeared to be aware of the outcomes of the study. Those that were aware of the study still felt uncertain about the terms of 'make good' arrangements feeling that the landholder was left to bear most of the risk.

In a context where landholders have experienced significant reductions in their access to water in recent years, there is also a strong expectation that industry water access and use should be governed by the same rationales.

How come companies can build ring tanks to store cleaned up water from CSG extraction when farmers aren't allowed to do that anymore because of restrictions? Water should be put back where came from or cleaned up and going back into the communities.

Soil

Preventing the spread of weeds and soil pathogens between affected and unaffected farms via CSG vehicles and equipment was also an area of concern. Landholders expected that practices that promote good farm hygiene would be adopted and followed by those working in connection with CSG. However, some farmers were doubtful that good practices could be adhered to because of the difficulty of using sub-contractor employees.

Well I think that they need to be aware of each individual area or farm, because not every farm has diseases, that would be a fair comment. But where they do, they need to operate differently and say, right'o, well we're not going to take that vehicle, dirty, onto this farm that doesn't have disease. So they need to be told that and, I suppose, the landholders and the agronomists need to help or work with them.

If you drive through a grass paddock and it's got weed seeds in there, you've got to blow it down before you go somewhere.

Minimising the impact to farm operations

There is an expectation from landholders that CSG infrastructure and the actions of CSG construction and operations workers on and in the vicinity of their farms will not impede their farm operations. Examples include driving with care on local roads and closing paddock gates after passing through them, to prevent stock wandering from a paddock. Wells, access roads and other CSG infrastructure were expected to be positioned where they will have least impact on the movement of farm machinery across a paddock, farm productivity, or on irrigation flows.

The other day we were taking cattle down the road and just as I went down to put my sign one came down so I pulled him up, I stood in the middle of the road, pulled him up. I said we're going to have cattle coming down the road, get on the two-way and tell all your other drivers and he did and they did come through slowly. A couple more came through afterward so they will do that, so you've just got to let them know that, yeah. He would have roared off and ...

How set are they on doing their 800 metre grids? I don't know, but maybe some of them they need to be 12 to 1400 metres and keep out of the land and put them on roads. Well, it'd still be inconvenient because you're carrying big – most farming operations are done with a machine that's attached to the tractor on the linkage, so manoeuvrability and all that.

Farmers expect that they can run their farm autonomously and be able to change their farm layout and land use as they wish, over time. CSG infrastructure is not readily moved once in place and may reduce flexibility for farmers to adapt to changing growing conditions and markets.

Timing of on farm CSG construction and maintenance activity is also important, so that it doesn't interfere with seasonal farm operations that need to be done at specific times. There is an expectation among landholders that they will be contacted before CSG workers come onto their properties, to arrange a time that fits in with farm operations and so that the landholders are aware that CSG workers are on the property.

Well, a farm is just basically a big housing block and no one likes people running around – no one likes to wake up and see someone running around in your block that hasn't asked you and got permission.

I think in most cases they do go about and they know now that they should get their permissions and try and respect that,

A concern that was frequently expressed was that, while gas company employees might behave in accordance with landholder expectations, it was much more difficult for those behavioural standards to be enforced with contractors, who are often several levels removed from the CSG company. This creates a sense of losing control over things that they believe are important to their farm management.

The coal seam gas companies will tell you, when you get to talk to them, that they feel like they've got a pretty good responsibility within their company, but then the second and third level contractors come along, they feel like they've got no control at all.

There are varying mechanisms within the different CSG companies to manage contractor behaviour on individual properties and in the farming areas. For example:

So there are very specific rules. We had one the other day where the (Liaison Officer) wasn't happy and told the contractor – who actually stood them down... So you know that's what they've got to do, that's their job to control that process. Because the relationship is not worth anything if they don't... The Liaison Officer is our own employee, so that's different. (Company X) have got a contract whereas they contract their (Liaison Officers) ...

[Company X] are more approachable and [Company X] are more open to listen to you. There is someone you can talk to. They make people available. The people come and see you. There isn't this arrogance.

The higher salaries available to tradespeople through CSG industry work have a negative flow-on effect for farmers, who are also being charged industry prices for services that they would previously have been able to access at much lower rates.

The farmers now are being asked to pay a lot more for that service [e.g. fixing a pump] because that guy is able to do work with the coal seam gas companies and they will pay that much.

Roads and traffic

Deterioration of roads due to the increased traffic, particularly heavy vehicle loads, coupled with the resultant delays due to road works has been an ongoing source of frustration. There was a general expectation in October–November 2012 that this needed to be addressed. Certainly the roads had improved considerably by June 2013, with few road works. Much of the funding for the work had come through flood relief following extensive flooding earlier in the year.

Housing

While respondents from the farming sector were not directly experiencing the effects of housing shortages and increased housing costs, there was an awareness of the impacts that these were having for people such as new teachers and others on non-mining wages.

Our family farms have got bigger and they often will have spare houses now. I don't know that they're all that good but I've heard of that. Otherwise, I guess they do it tough, because not everyone can do that. If you've got kids, you don't want to be out there, so I think they do it tough.

It was perceived that Government intervention was what was needed rather than from Council.

There was a sense also that, of the new housing that had been built, there were *a couple of the housing estates that were done pretty poorly.*

4.2.2 LONGER TERM TOWN RESIDENTS

Comments reflecting the views of town residents were drawn primarily from the focus group specifically targeted at local residents, most of whom were older, retired residents, as well as the group comprising partners of Origin staff members, as many of them were also longer term residents. Expectations apparent from the discussions with these groups related primarily to the physical environment, social aspects and infrastructure. The overall sense that came from these participants was the experience of significant and rapid change in their physical and social environment and to their familiar way of life.

I think ultimately some good will come out of it... But in the meantime, there's going to be heartache.

Roads and Traffic

The increased volume of traffic in the town and on the highway was a key issue for longer term town residents, reflected in their concerns about traffic delays and road safety. The road safety concerns were for themselves as drivers and, more frequently, for children crossing roads, near the schools, to and from the new McDonalds on the highway and to meet a parent at their workplace after school. There were repeated statements of the need for traffic control measures to be implemented in the town, including speed limits, traffic lights, traffic diversion around the town and railway boom gates.

If the town actually doubles in size, you imagine how many people just using the internal road structures. It's going to need to be looked at because there will be lives lost.

There needs to be more infrastructure put in and crossings, especially here in town, because you can sit for 20 minutes on this overhead bridge here trying to get across the highway at five o'clock in the evening.

We need traffic lights in Chinchilla at this stage, we've got nothing and... a boom gate at the railway crossing. That's going to kill someone.

How many lives have been lost; the carnage on the road is quite shocking. You should have a dual carriageway all the way to Roma.

Neighbourly Behaviour

A significant change for people who've grown up in a country town is the lack of engagement from the new arrivals. Participants felt that the representation of Chinchilla as a vital, friendly town, as shown on a road sign until a couple of years ago, was no longer valid. The particular behaviour that focus group participants drew upon to illustrate this is the lack of a casual wave when driving past someone on the street.

You drive around and you don't get waves off contractors, put it that way. They're not waving to you, but generally small towns, everyone waves to you.

In fact, a month ago a young fellow in a little ute with a stripe and bubble on the top waved to me and I didn't wave back. I looked at him and I waved like all hell because he acknowledged me. You know what I mean? I got used to them going past.

Tidy Town

Two other aspects of the changed physical and behavioural environment that frustrated older residents were the increased amount of rubbish on the roads and in the town, and trucks parked on urban streets.

There's a lot of rubbish thrown out of windows, especially on my way out to mines and stuff. There's a lot of bottles and rubbish thrown out.

So she's got a spare – she's kept a spare allotment between her house and their – the fence. They just throw their rubbish over her fence, on her property.

Trucks parked in the town streets also conflict with their sense of the urban environment in which the longer term residents prefer to live. Their expectations were that town residents don't litter and that the Council would keep the town tidy.

But can Council stop – as far as liveability goes, I drive five k's to work and four of those k's I pass dozens of trucks parked in residential areas and I think that that destroys the liveability of the town.

Housing

Lack of availability of affordable rental housing for low income families was the main focus in discussions about housing pressure from these respondents. There were strong expectations that there should have been better preparation for the population influx. Suggestions for what should have been done included building affordable accommodation before the companies commenced operations and mandating that all FIFO and DIDO workers be housed in camps rather than having access to accommodation in the town.

Both the gas companies and Council were seen to be responsible for undertaking these actions in the first instance, with one suggestion that the Federal Government should have been putting pressure on the companies to address the housing issue as part of the companies' local accountability to communities.

Before Queensland Gas, Origin, ConocoPhillips, whoever, Arrow Energy, before they set foot about mining, or doing any mining, they should have had accommodation here. Low rental accommodation and even if they'd have left it to the council to look after, but they retained ownership, and the council collected the rent.

Then your town people would have been sorted out and your families on low income out on these places ... there would have been housing here for them. They could have sold the housing off when they got the industry stabilised out here.

See the council really need to think about if they really do want the local community, move some more affordable housing in.

The only way you can change it is to put pressure on the gas companies to remove – to put as much out of town as possible, but use the town as a service base, but not populate the place. To my mind, that's the only answer.

Poor quality of the new housing that was being constructed was also raised as an issue, with the implied expectation that it shouldn't have been allowed.

There just isn't the housing here. Even at the rapid rate they're building and what they're building is shocking.

Town Planning

The existing town layout of Chinchilla was seen as inadequate to cope with the current growth of the town however it was also perceived that there were constraints on how it could be improved.

...it's probably too late now but it would have been good to see the town centre just get bigger and get bigger, but it's got nowhere to go. The whole town's been mapped out so wrong but they never [] that this was going to happen.

Good town planning was seen as critical to managing the growth in a way that also addressed the existing problems with flooding in particular areas of the town.

As the community grows, they need some good town planning because Chinchilla has flooded for three consecutive years, with a major flooding event. Without good town planning these properties will continue to be inundated with water.

Town planning is generally a Council responsibility. However, there was a perception that the community might need to moderate their expectations about how they wanted the town to be laid out, given the constraints posed by the existing plan and the flood risk.

The town has got to be spread a bit better... It's got to get onto some of the higher ground. Everybody wants everything jam smack bang here in the middle of town.

There was also some discussion about how the bigger, more complex issues arising from CSG development such as traffic, town planning, housing, drought planning, school capacity, could be addressed more quickly and effectively. Suggestions included the need for *a task force, a specialised group who's very approachable, very open to ideas that people can put forward and actually get stuff done*. A list of qualities desired for such a group (or individual) were suggested. It should have *an external perspective who's going to listen to what the people do*. It would *need someone that understands government funding, how to apply for government funding. With local input. Local knowledge, like if you're doing your town planning. They might not tell you that it actually floods there. Someone that actually cares about what's happening and not just trying to build their own position up or their own bank account*. It was suggested that this body could also advise the CSG companies where best to allocate their community funding and that the companies could pool funds to have an external assessment done to get recommendations on how things should be done. It was seen that the assessment would need to be independent of the company or there would be a community perception that it was only the company's view.

Water

While there were only a few comments relating to water, there was some concern expressed about the sustainability of water supply to the town, particularly in times of drought, if the town's water supply is now also required to provide water to the population of the workers' camps.

A couple of times in the last couple of – before the floods in 2011 – we were getting very, very close to running out of water. Then nothing's been done about that – plumbing or any of that – upgrades to the town.

That was the capacity of our water supply for Chinchilla town. Since then it [the weir] has silted up to – we don't know how much. So that 9000 to 10,000, round figures, is probably only 7000 round figures now. We have got millions of litres per week going out of our town supply to out-of-town work camps to supply them with drinking water and toilet water.

It was expected that the gas companies should be paying for any water they were using from the town supply. If the town infrastructure also had to manage an increased volume of sewage as a result of the increased population from the industry then the companies should also be paying for infrastructure upgrades needed to manage the increased load.

The likes of CSG, they are going to have to help pay for our water and sewerage, yeah.

4.2.3 BUSINESSES

Expectations from the business community revolved around four main issues: information, town planning, local job content, and employment conditions for workers including wages and housing. Although these expectations were common to a number of different business sectors, some differences emerged between those businesses that were more directly involved with the CSG industry, such as trades, and those businesses indirectly involved, such as the retail sector. The type of involvement seemed to vary depending on whether the relationship was a business-to-business relationship or a business-to-consumer relationship, for example, the CSG employee using the goods or services of the business, such as food, recreation and retail.

Information

Business expected reliable information about the future of the region to be available and wanted this to be accessible to all businesses. Specifically, they wanted to know population forecasts so that they could plan their businesses accordingly. They felt this type of information was necessary to plan in ways that could maximise opportunities if CSG production continued to grow or mitigate negative impacts if CSG related activity plateaued or reduced. If the population was anticipated to increase by a certain amount this would

enable them to make quantum changes to their business investment and activities, including increasing staff levels and financial outlays 'to the next level'. These sorts of changes required time to implement and information was fundamental to this process, for example, getting loans from banks, or increasing investment from shareholders or private equity partners. Understanding the extent of growth planned for the region would help decision making in terms of the degree of investment and change that they would make. One example was *do we spend \$2 million or \$5 million*. Equally, if the projected future was less than initially thought then they could plan for the downturn and manage any reduction in growth in an ordered manner.

... at the moment it's very hard ... it's bad enough in your own business, but when you're committing other people's funds, as we are doing ... you just want to make sure that it's not going to come back and bite you later on.

Information from CSG companies both as individual companies and as a group of CSG companies was viewed as very important. Also, information from council on their development initiatives and plans for the town and region were seen as central to enable adequate business planning of their own enterprises.

I mean, we don't know where the councils are planning, where the gas companies are planning, so how can we get our business plan heading in the right direction?

Access to information was also described as essential. Participants explained that the only way that they could keep abreast of what was happening was to talk with as many people that came into their shop/business as possible, but they were aware that this type of information was only 'hearsay'. Some businesses felt disadvantaged compared to others because they were aware that the larger businesses were able to dedicate an employee to this type of information gathering, whereas the smaller businesses were less resourced for this type of activity.

the only way I can seem to get information is on hearsay evidence of talking to the people that I believe are in the know ...[when] someone walks into my shop that I think is in the know, I have a conversation with him and try and source some information.

there's businesses in town that nearly have sole employees constantly attending meetings, forums, everything ... information sourcing, [I can't afford that] ...

One insight from the group at the end of the session was that they could be taking a lead themselves in both fostering information sharing and support among businesses in the town,

as a group of people who own some of the businesses in town, we probably need to be a bit of a leader and say well come on you other [guys], come and have a beer at the RSL on Thursday at 5 o'clock and let's have a bit of a chit chat.

and in providing information to the CSG companies about themselves.

So it's a two way street in a way. I think we've gone that circle where we first started saying look we need to know this and I suppose we've all realised that maybe we also need to be putting out information about ourselves there...

Town planning

Growing a strong retail centre and planning the town for future growth were key expectations for local businesses. A vibrant retail hub was seen as a way of offering a lifestyle to newcomers that would encourage them to stay and be involved with the community. Businesses expected that they may need to offer extended shopping hours but to do so would need increased staff, and training, which they were prepared to undertake if they felt more certain about the growth forecast of the town.

I think we're going to have to have a [strong] retail sector, otherwise we're going to become like a dirty mining town. If we're just solely based on resources...

You need retail to attract the families. We've already got good schools and sporting facilities, although they need an upgrade ... but they need to get the families here. You need somewhere for mum to you know, cut the hair, buy the shoes, that type of thing. Because they're used to those facilities wherever they come from, so to keep them here, keep a family base... [we need a strong retail centre] ...

Okay, we're going to double our population - so which direction is the town expanding? Where's the new CBD going, because the current CBD cannot just stand double the current population.

Labour market issues

Differences emerged between those businesses that were directly involved with the CSG industry and those that weren't. Businesses that weren't involved with the industry realised they would have to recruit and train new staff for any business expansion. Recruitment of staff had improved and they saw increased opportunity with a wider pool of potential employees to choose from now that spouses had arrived in the area to accompany CSG workers. In addition, young people were moving back to the region because they had family still living there. However, for businesses working in the industry things were much harder in terms of attracting and keeping staff

There's an untapped partner base, spouse base of skills in the area. If it's a non-related gas job, the skills are available in this town. If it's a gas-related job, like mechanics for example, impossible.

I advertised for an admin position too and I got what I would have thought would have been five very suitable applicants. Very suitable applicants. So the non-related gas skills are there, the gas-related skills are impossible.

If I see someone that I've never met before I usually say oh what brought you to town? We probably ask that question 50 times a week. It's amazing how now, they say – oh my parents are here, or my partner's moved here...

Housing

Housing and accommodation shortages affect businesses in that their staff have difficulty finding a place to live or a place that they can afford. Local businesses have taken on a variety of initiatives to deal with this issue. Some examples included building cheap accommodation for their staff, buying houses so that they can secure housing for employees, and subsidising rents. Although participants expected that things would eventually improve in housing they saw it as an ongoing issue for the foreseeable future and something that they would have to continue to support

We're building another temporary accommodation facility on the other side of the property to house another staff member ... by the time we build that ... there's 100 grand that we could have been putting in the business, that we're having to put into accommodation just so we keep staff.

We're looking at ways like ... subsidising staff's rents and all sorts of avenues, to try and keep and retain.

For key staff ... we're paying them now more than we've ever paid them before, because you've got to put in a loading ... to help them ... \$10,000 more ... so they can then come and afford to live here.

There's supposed to be some movement on accommodation, I see that now, where that's getting closer and closer, but it's been a long time coming.

In some instances, housing and labour shortages become a circular problem where potential employees seeking work in the area are unable to stay because they cannot get housing.

I had two of them the other week that just had got off the bus and thought they'd pick up a job in Chinchilla, and I said well yeah mate have you got anywhere to live? Oh no, we'll just go down to real estate and rent a house. I said I don't think so. Just not going to happen. You feel sorry for them, but that's their own stupid fault, they haven't done the research before they get here.

Increased involvement of newcomers to the town

People felt that for the community to function really well long-term that there needed to be increased involvement and integration of newcomers into the local community. Business felt that this was a longer term aspiration that would be hard to achieve but necessary if the town was to prosper and to embody some of the things that had made Chinchilla a great place to live.

their involvement for example in service clubs ...

if they're happy here, they're going to tell their mates, they're going to bring their partners out, [to live in the town] ...

4.2.4 COMMUNITY SERVICE PROVIDERS

While we identified a range of community service providers within this segment, we have focused here mainly on the responses from the social services focus group, which reflect a distinct set of issues. Responses from individuals in the other community service areas mostly reflected their perspectives as either long-term residents or newer arrivals, rather than reflecting concerns specific to their professional contexts. Therefore their perspectives are picked up in the sections discussing these segments. The exception was a concern about falling rates of volunteering among local sporting groups and community organisations such as Rotary and Lions. While there was a desire for more involvement from CSG workers in this regard, it was recognised that their shift-work arrangements made this difficult.

The main areas respondents in the social services sector discussed were housing, where they felt CSG input should be targeted, employment and the need for different groups to work together. There was more focus on accessing funding among these respondents than for other groups, presumably because their services are reliant on direct funding from various levels of government. State Government funding was also cut from a range of services following the last State election.

Expectations from individuals in the social services sector tended to be framed differently than those of other groups throughout the study. They were expressed as hopes rather than 'shoulds' and were moderated by their experience of how government, CSG companies etc. operated. They usually followed up expressions of what frustrated them and what they would like to happen with a comment about what they felt they were realistically able to achieve in that context.

Housing

Lack of affordable housing was seen to be a key issue that underpinned many other social issues in the town.

I had one of the big mining company people ask me what is the biggest issues you're seeing here. I said – what can fix it – I said housing. Because families can't have a go at being families, they can't have a go at tackling some of those big issues, if they've got nowhere to actually start – where we can come in and do the work that we do. They can't do it if they don't have a home.

In this context, there was frustration that there were houses available that remained unoccupied, both in town where it was perceived that they were vacant were because the owner was *hold(ing) out for somebody who's on a really good wage*, or on farm properties bought by the CSG companies.

A few of us approached the [Company X, Y] about the houses that are on the properties that they've bought. They've got perfect - they were perfectly inhabitable houses... Now they're falling apart. They have been trashed, they have got holes in the walls, and we went and physically looked at them to try and find housing for some that we knew in the family lines that desperately needed houses. Like they were living in God knows what. They won't even look at it.

Respondents attributed house vacancies in the town to greed on the part of the owners. In these cases, the expectations about behaviour were directed towards the local owners or interstate investors rather than the gas companies. The dollar focus in the development industry was also seen to have contributed to the issues with housing.

But I do find that the developers also, too, have much to answer for, because they were moving things along a lot quicker than to me [unclear] it's all free enterprise.

Use of Resources

There was quite a lot of discussion among the social services group about the ways in which the CSG companies approached providing local financial support and that it didn't fit very well with what was most effective. Sometimes it's not funding that's needed at all.

But the biggest thing - like I had a lot of money thrown at me to do activities - and the one thing I kept on saying is, do you know what these kids need? They need to see your face down here. Even if it's only five minutes out of the whole year, they will remember it. They'll remember that you actually took the time and you care. Then those g'days started happening down the street. Like that person [a town resident] walked down the street, and these kids that are usually little ruffians and it's all like g'day mister so-and-so.

They'd report it back and say oh my God, the kids said hello. I said yeah, what's that. It's that sort of stuff ... whereas before it'd be smashing the window and things like that.

Attracting support for social services requires an evidence base to justify the commitment of resources. However, accessing data on social issues among socially disadvantaged groups can be very difficult as they are often quite disconnected from the mainstream avenues of communication that other members of the community participate in. Data gathering in this context needs to be done face to face, through trusted relationships, which is labour intensive.

That's where from a service community perspective, that's the challenge in itself. You can't get the data, the evidence, the hard data, to show the companies that need to go to their board of management to approve the spending on something. So when you can't get that information in an official capacity, you can't get the big guys to move on a big solution.

You're not going to get it unless you've got someone like X who people trust...

There was a frustration about the lack of understanding of the difference that social interventions could make with relatively small amounts of money.

Nobody wants to fund wages. Really I think when I see the sort of outcomes that we get from here, we're certainly saving the state a lot of money... Yes, that's what they don't get, how much - these sorts of services cost so little for the huge difference.

There was quite a bit of discussion about the various social services looking to coordinate their efforts so as to be more sustainable in their delivery. They were hoping for support from a CSG company to *share issues like up-skilling the staff within the centres and [backfill] to bring workshops out here so we don't have to travel too far, to get this sort of education, to ...* State government funding was announced for a building for combined services prior to the last State election but this has not eventuated.

Our program has actually lost its funding with the government, with the new state government. So we're hoping to get some funding elsewhere to keep the role going. Well we're hoping somebody – Mr QGC or Arrow or somebody might – they might get together or they might be able to help fund a [youth support] position.

Governance

The governance issues that arise in terms of who should be responsible for addressing the major impacts of the changes that are occurring in the area were summed up neatly by one respondent in relation to housing:

Social housing or Housing Commission – oh, that's a Government problem, the Government go oh, that's a market problem – and the developers go, well I'm not doing it. Why would I do that when I've got a limited resource of land? Why would I build something cheap on it? To rent out cheap? When I can maximise my profits?

A desire for more coordination of effort came up quite frequently in the discussions with these respondents, in reference to both the service providers and the gas companies.

To really move forward, everybody needs to work together... I think because we're all so busy and small in our own areas that the collaboration hasn't happened as quickly as it should have.

I'd like to see the churches interact a little bit better than what they do.

I would have liked to have presented to both of them [CSG companies] at the same time. I don't understand why we're going to one and then the next one, because to me that almost puts people offside. There's a whole lot of issues around doing that.

Council was not seen as an effective partner at present due to high staff turnover and therefore difficulty in retaining ongoing relationships. The preference was to retain and work through what was seen as an effective regional-scale partnership with the State Government.

Western Downs Regional Council in their present form are having difficulties in keeping staff because of the resource industry? They're losing staff. So people don't really know what their position is and what they're doing, so therefore that slows processes down... We all work together in the South West area network, so it's been a very long and – to me – very fruitful sort of collaboration in that respect in dealing with the department. So we feel that we could probably have services that we can share without too much of that upper level or another level coming into it.

Overall, there was an expectation that things should have been managed differently at the Government level, given all the past experience of resource development in Australia.

I just find it astounding that in the past, Australia has been built on mining towns and all that sort of thing and why is there not a strategy in place or something ... Government should have had steps in place before they allowed them to even come in ... Lots, lots more community consultation, I think, ...

Jobs

There were contrasting perspectives on whether the CSG companies were providing sufficient job opportunities for local people. Some respondents perceived that people would need to acquire extra skills to access industry jobs and that the industry was certainly providing opportunities for young people to develop those skills. Others felt that overall the availability of local employment was not as high as it should be.

They were supposed to be employing all these locals and they're not.

They [CSG companies] fully support school based traineeships and apprenticeships. They're really behind that, which is really – it's great ... I've not seen them try and draw kids out. They, in fact, try

to keep them at school and keep them 'til year 12. ... as far as vocational stuff goes, they're really, really good.

I can think of people who aren't working because they don't want to work at the bakery because it doesn't pay enough. They want to get a job out there but they haven't got the skills to work out there, so that's a bit of a problem as well. But that's their mindset and they need to learn that you've got to start at the bottom.

4.2.5 SMALL-HOLDERS

'Small-holders' refers to residents living around Tara, near Chinchilla, who have been strongly resistant to CSG development. These individuals are convinced that CSG operations shouldn't be happening at all. Their overriding expectation is that people should be able to say no to CSG development and that companies should not have a legal right to enter their properties to explore for gas. Housing and traffic issues were not raised.

Concerns about CSG development were expressed in terms of the perceived risk of irreversible groundwater contamination, which was considered to be too high, the impacts on wildlife from removing vegetation, potential health risks, and a desire just to be left alone.

A lot of people work on this assumption, that the gas and oil industry has a legitimate right to be here. I don't. I do not believe that anyone has a legitimate right to poison your water, destroy the land.

These properties are within an area of scrubby bushland, which is part of the appeal for the residents. Construction of CSG wells and pipelines involves knocking down trees, which is a further unwelcome impact for these individuals.

This is not real estate, this is the very essence of our beings. We came here to live amongst the trees, to be close – somewhere for our children to be and just cruise along. So it's pretty absurd when someone walks in the gate and says, excuse me, I'm going to knock all this down, take over your life and take control of everything here because we can make lots of money, and we really don't care about you.

Despite the overall resistance to CSG development, respondents did have expectations about how the companies should interact with them and provided examples of what they saw as appropriate and inappropriate behaviour.

They come to us and said okay, what can we do? We said, no more drilling overnight. You can't do that. We've got kids, they've got to sleep. So they've done that and every step of the way, he [CSG representative] comes in and he sets up a meeting, like, even over a traffic route ...

I thought, okay, the information session they will be on the stage and explain what you're going to do. No they don't. ... they actually use tables like this and have little consultants, so they divide and conquer, split people up, take names and sitting there with their pads and ask their little questions and everything else. ... But if you ask the question they would say, oh no, I can't answer that one. Such and such will have to, but he's busy with that group, so they weren't answering questions.

CSG development was seen to be a product of greed and self interest on the part of mining companies and society in general. As such, there was not a sense that it was a government 'problem'. However, there was an expectation that government should be investigating claims of soil contamination in the area.

4.2.6 NEWCOMERS

Newer arrivals to the town were among both the individuals we interviewed as well as some members of the focus groups of CSG employees and their partners. Some had lived in other rural areas whereas others were from larger urban centres. This difference was reflected in their perspectives on the town and the changes occurring since CSG development began.

For those individuals who'd experienced mining development in other rural areas, what was happening in Chinchilla was familiar. Some were pragmatic in their assessment of the changes, anticipating that it would be a different place in the future and accepting that, while also expecting that it would be hard on the longer term residents. Others focused on the negative impacts and were critical of the way they were being managed, foreseeing risks of poor outcomes for Chinchilla similar to those they had experienced in other places.

For those used to a more urban lifestyle, they felt there wasn't much to do in Chinchilla, in relation to things such as shopping, eating out and choice of movies. Some chose to go back to homes at the coast on the weekends.

Neighbourly behaviour

Urban newcomers also found it difficult to break into the longer term community and tended to socialise more with other newer arrivals.

I've tried to – gone to the [local community group meeting]. Next thing, they're having a meeting and I didn't know about it. Yeah, really hard.

There was some awareness, however, of the ladies nights being run by the Chamber of Commerce to help women meet others in the town.

One respondent who'd come from another rural town observed

This is a very typical rural community in that people – if you want to come here and have someone entertain you that will never happen. If you want to come and make your own space and help entertain yourself then you'll get along.

Roads and Traffic

For those people from non-rural areas, the volume of traffic was not an issue compared with the traffic that they had experienced elsewhere. However, , having to pull off the road unexpectedly when encountering huge transport vehicles conveying mining equipment was still quite unnerving.

Housing

Housing and rental prices and availability were issues for all these respondents, most of whom were renting. They were concerned about both rental cost for themselves and about the wider impact for people on lower incomes. They also perceived the flow-on risk to attracting and retaining people working in the services sectors. There was a perception that the newer housing being built was of poor quality and targeted towards industry workers, including providing houses with lockable rooms, each with an en-suite, *mini-motels*, which can then be shared by FIFO workers.

4.3 Expectations across segments: Commonalities and contrasts

4.3.1 HOUSING

Housing presents as a highly complex, multi-faceted problem and interlinks with many other effects of CSG development. The central aspects experienced locally are an affordable housing shortage and escalation in house prices and rents. Several people spoke of increased house sharing among those people who were already struggling financially and some are moving away to more affordable areas, such as Toowoomba , or other small rural towns in the region such as Pittsworth. It was suggested that shared housing tends to be more prevalent among indigenous families in rural towns generally but it is unclear whether this has increased further since the CSG development began. High rental prices are also perceived to be a barrier to attracting and retaining people to work in the services and retail sectors. For some retiree home owners, the increased house prices have been seen as an opportunity to sell up and retire to the coast or to Toowoomba, an option that they would not have had otherwise.

There are some perceptions that developers are restricting the housing design to the high end of the market, targeting those on CSG wages. This would exacerbate the lack of access to affordable housing for those on non-CSG incomes. It was also perceived that much of the rented housing is owned by investors from interstate so that the current situation is partly a manifestation of external interests benefiting at the cost of local interests.

There are also concerns that house prices will crash, as the construction work moves north, with expectations that the local residential population will decrease significantly. This creates a strong disincentive to buy, which again constrains people to continue to rent.

Expectations relating to housing were raised across all segments except the small-holder respondents. The concerns were high rental costs and lack of affordable housing. In discussing the lack of affordable housing, responses from the business segment focused on the implications for their own employees; older townfolk and community services respondents focused on low income families; and responses from the landholder and newcomer segments focused on low income families and employees in the services sector. Responses from both the landholder and older townfolk segments reflected concerns for the impacts on others who were affected by the high rental prices, rather than for themselves. High housing prices were also mentioned across groups but in the context of being able to retire elsewhere if the owner wished to, rather than as causing hardship.

Issues with the quality of the new housing that had been built were raised by the landholder, townfolk and newcomer segments, but not by business or community services respondents.

Concerns about housing that remained vacant, despite the need, were raised only by the social services respondents while the development of housing specifically designed for sharing by FIFO workers, was raised only within the newcomer segment.

Respondents expected that solutions to housing would have begun earlier and there was considerable frustration that the housing construction had taken so long. This was directed at the CSG companies for not being prepared to invest before they had their approvals and for not providing estimates of future workforce requirements to aid population projections. It was also expected that they should have been working together on this to provide collective figures. The lack of data provision and collaboration was attributed to companies keeping their plans secret so as to retain market competitiveness against each other. There was also a feeling from some that the CSG companies could have been contributing more financial support to providing housing; if such initiatives were occurring they were unaware of them. Council was seen to be slow in providing development approvals and there was an expectation that Council could be taking a higher profile in finding solutions. Some suggested that Council could even build some affordable housing stock, but that it was too risk averse to consider such an initiative. State government intervention was seen as necessary to address the limited availability of affordable and social housing.

Another suggestion that was made for preventing the housing issues that have arisen is for it to be mandatory for all FIFO and DIDO workers to live in workers camps. Roma was cited as an example where this had happened, immediately creating available housing in town and reducing housing prices. Given that would also have some negative flow-on effects if instigated now, if such a strategy were undertaken it would probably be preferable to initiate it from the beginning.

4.3.2 ROADS AND TRAFFIC

While there was plenty of discussion about roads and traffic among respondents, expectations about roads and traffic were mainly raised by respondents in the landholder and town resident segments. For landholders, the key issues were road quality and traffic delays and for the town resident respondents, the key issue was safety, for both drivers and pedestrians, and the need for traffic control measures such as traffic lights, speed limits and traffic diversion. In each case, the concerns reflect the daily experiences of the respondents in their local environments. For landholders, their most frequent road travel is on the country roads and the Warrego Highway while town residents more regularly experience the town traffic environment.

For new residents who've lived in larger urban areas such as Brisbane, the traffic is still relatively light compared with what they've been used to.

For respondents in the business and community services sectors, the conversations were more focused on issues specific to their work roles so presumably roads and traffic were not seen as critical in that context.

Road quality was mainly seen as an issue that government should be addressing, particularly in relation to the Warrego Highway, which was seen as a Federal responsibility. Suggested funding sources were Royalties for Regions and also from the CSG companies. Responsibility for addressing town traffic management issues was not specifically identified but it was an issue that could be part of a wider town planning initiative undertaken by an independent group.

4.3.3 WATER

Expectations in relation to water were raised by respondents in the landholder, town resident and small-holder segments and not by those in the business, community services and newcomer segments. This is not to say that respondents in the latter segments had no views about water but only that they did not raise them in the discussions. Landholder segment comments focused on both water quality and availability while those from town residents reflected concerns about ongoing water availability and small-holder concerns related to perceived risks to water quality.

The value of water was discussed in two different ways, both of which reflect its value primarily as a resource for people, for irrigation and for human consumption, rather than in the context of the natural environment. The landholder comments reflected perceived threats to groundwater quality in the context of the flow-on consequences for water availability for agriculture. Even when reference was made to the gas bubbling out of the Condamine river, the focus was the gas itself and how that might affect the local population, rather than in relation to the condition of the river.

When issues of water availability arose, the local position was clear. If the availability of domestic water was limited, as can occur in times of drought, the town would have priority over the CSG camps.

Both landholders and town residents are subject to water restrictions. There was a clear expectation that the gas companies should not be any better off in relation to water availability and use than existing residents as "*it's not fair*". Water generated through CSG extraction should be put back or shared. CSG companies should be paying as much for town water as the town residents.

Uncertainty around how gas extraction might affect groundwater quality and availability was central to landholder and small-holder concerns. Responses to this uncertainty ranged from seeing the risk as too high and that CSG extraction should not proceed, to a desire for more information to be available as a basis for deciding whether or not CSG extraction should occur.

Where more information was desired, it was perceived that collective agreement is needed among landholders, companies, government and scientists on what information is required.

I think all the parties, the landholders, the exploration/mining company and the Government with these sort of people [CSIRO, DPI], have got to agree on what would be the best outcome - not outcome, what would be the best piece of information that we need [about groundwater] and how do we get it, and then it should be got. I don't think it's right for exploration companies saying, well we're going to do this work [the research] because we think you need to know that.

4.3.4 INFORMATION

Landholders were not the only people seeking more information. Information was also central to some of the concerns of businesses segment respondents. These individuals wanted information that would help them access work from the CSG companies, such as when and where contracts and tenders are advertised and what skills and regulatory requirements they would need to meet to qualify as well as population and town planning projections, to allow them to plan for the future.

Uncertainty was an underlying driver for both the landholders' desire for information about potential risks to water and for business owners' need for more information about the future population and layout of the town. In relation to water, there was a sense that sufficient information about the potential risks is not yet available which, for some, was an argument for not proceeding with CSG development. In the case of the population projections, it was felt that this information did exist and should have been shared by the gas companies collectively, much earlier, to allow for local business and town planning.

The need for more information to help access and win contracts from the CSG companies could be addressed in future instances, through early interactions between companies and local businesses to identify information and capacity gaps and develop approaches to addressing them. Current experiences would suggest some clear areas that could be targeted to discuss initially, such as OHSE knowledge requirements for contractors, vehicle and equipment OHSE compliance and formal and informal processes which companies use to access service providers and the principles which are used to award contracts.

4.3.5 ENVIRONMENT

There was a notable absence of concerns being framed as environmental issues among the people we spoke with. Concerns raised about issues which are often framed as environmental issues such as water quality and the spread of weeds and soil pathogens were mostly discussed as risks to agricultural productivity and human health. Impacts on the wider environment were raised in only two instances, in relation to clearing trees in the small-holding area, by someone who lived there, and in relation to clearing scrub for pipelines and powerlines. Almost all of the concerns relating to impacts on natural resources related to the immediate environment in which people in that region spend most of their daily lives, which for most is an agricultural landscape and a small town.

4.3.6 THE RURAL WAY OF LIFE

The theme of changes to the rural way of life and rural values was evident throughout the discussions, both from locals relating their personal experiences and reflecting on those and from newcomers to the area, some of whom had chosen to live here because they preferred the rural existence to living in larger urban centres.

Rural values were particularly discussed in terms of people's behaviour towards one another: saying g'day to people you meet in the street; waving to someone outside their house as you drive along a neighbourhood street; not throwing rubbish onto someone else's property; liaising with a farmer beforehand about the timing and nature of non-farming activities on their property in order to minimise impacts to farming operations. Respect was a strong underlying theme.

There's still those traditional values in place. Those country values - which is nice because the behaviour here of the kids, it's a hell of a lot better than some schools that I've taught at. ... I think it comes down to respect. It comes down to the fact that their parents have taught them those values and stuff, I suppose.

country policing fosters respect. It always has because it's probably fairer. It's probably more [that] it's perceived as being fairer, from the community's perspective, because it's more personal, ..., as opposed to going out in Fortitude Valley. ... Here, you know the police, the police know you, but we're losing that. That's why the respect is being perceived as changing, and it is, absolutely.

Many of the issues raised about the behaviour of newcomers associated with the CSG industry could be understood in terms of local expectations about behaviour based on respect for others not being met.

5 Discussion

The expectations of the pre-existing population in Chinchilla reflect a desire to maintain a good quality of life as they defined it, both at the individual level and as a community. Two dimensions can be identified. First, expectations related to the material aspects of their lives such as housing, roads, water, job opportunities, and the sustainability of their business and rural sectors. Second, expectations related to the spirit and social fabric of the community, ensuring that interactions within the community are based on respect and trust.

Some expectations were shaped by their pre-existing values and norms, those aspects that made Chinchilla a good place to live. Keeping the town clean and tidy, keeping the quintessential elements of a rural lifestyle, and the country way of doing things were all reflected in their expectations. The implicit promise that the CSG industry would be an economic boon to the region brought expectations that the material aspects of their lives would be maintained or maybe extended. The context in which people live also affects what is important to them and shapes their expectations. For example, land owners focused on the availability and quality of water for irrigation while town residents focused on the ongoing availability of the domestic water supply. The people who were concerned about tree clearing were primarily those who lived in areas of remaining scrubland.

The extent to which people feel their expectations can be or have been met varies considerably. For example, there appear to have been considerable improvements in the way that CSG company employees and contractors behave on agricultural properties, since CSG development began. Some businesses have also been successful in adapting to the requirements of the CSG companies and have been winning contracts to work for them. These changes have come about through both individual and collective effort and have also been a means for those involved to build their capacity and the relationships necessary to operate effectively in this new context.

There are other instances where people do not feel they are able to directly bring about a change but can identify relatively straightforward solutions to an issue. Traffic control in the town is one such example, where suggestions were made for bringing in traffic lights and a boom gate at the railway crossing. It is not really clear in this instance however, who should be responsible for making these changes happen.

Finally, where the issues underlying people's expectations are much more complex and multi-faceted, such as housing, town planning and water, while respondents had strong views that something needed to be done, in most cases, it was seen that CSG companies and/or governments needed to be addressing these issues, potentially with input from an external independent body.

It was also felt that where input was needed from the companies towards addressing these issues, companies should be working together. Examples included pooling information on population projections to assist with planning and pooling of resources contributed, rather than having separate programs.

The expectations of Council's capacity to deliver are fairly low at the moment. There are expectations that they should be contributing to addressing issues such as town planning, housing availability and keeping the town tidy but there is not much expectation that they have the capacity to be particularly effective in doing so. People related this to the relatively recent Council amalgamations, lack of human and financial resources, and to the speed with which change has occurred in the region.

Changes to the rural way of life and contrasting cultures

In a small community, many of the people that individuals encounter on a daily basis are familiar faces. The influx of people associated with the CSG industry has been a significant and sudden change in local residents' experience of the place in which they live, as they suddenly encounter many people whom they do not know. This contrasts with the experience of people who have lived primarily in an urban environment, where encountering many unfamiliar people is a perfectly normal everyday occurrence.

Not surprisingly, the newcomers associated with the CSG industry are seen as different from the local community and viewed by many as a separate population. The high-vis clothing worn by CSG company employees and contractors was often referred to as a means of identifying the CSG industry workforce as a different group, despite the fact that some of the local population are among that workforce and that high-vis clothing is also worn by others, such as road workers and even farmers.

Many respondents reflected on the limited extent of interaction between longer term residents and newcomers to the area. Longer term residents and the small business owners perceived that the newcomers didn't engage, although there was some acknowledgement that they themselves could be more welcoming. Newcomers perceived that it was difficult to break in. There were also examples from newcomers and observations from longer term residents that those who have come from more urbanised environments have lifestyle expectations that are not readily met in Chinchilla at the moment. Collectively, these comments reflected a sense of two distinct populations, each seeing the other as different, but also dissatisfaction with that situation, a sense that there should be more interconnection. Two examples which facilitated better interaction among women were often mentioned. The Chinchilla Chamber of Commerce hosts a monthly ladies' night and there is a Facebook group called Chinchilla Mummies, initiated by one of the women newer to the area, which is seen to be a very effective means for bringing together mothers from both populations and providing a strong support network for them.

Moving Forward

Responding to the complex issues such as housing, town planning and water will require coordinated effort within and across sectors and across scales of government (Schandl and Darbas, 2008).

There is already an example of collective capacity developing in the business sector around Dalby and Toowoomba. Toowoomba and Surat Basin Enterprise (TSBE) is a business network facilitating information sharing and support among local businesses in the region. There could be opportunities for small businesses in Chinchilla to engage more widely with this network both as participants and from the perspective of extending this network across Chinchilla and other nearby towns.

Social services based in the local towns are also starting to identify ways in which they can share knowledge and work together to deliver services across the local region.

Both sectors would have an important contribution to make in developing strategies for improving the availability of affordable housing, which would also require the involvement of all levels of government and the CSG sector.

There were numerous suggestions that the current town plan needed to be redeveloped to cater effectively for the population growth it is experiencing. Town planning has a future focus. It needs to encompass the anticipated future needs of the town which requires input from those who live, work and spend time in it. It also has to respond to statutory requirements and so requires the involvement of State Government, in addition to the local Council.

It is notable that all the networks that were mentioned positively by respondents were locally initiated; Chinchilla Mummies; the Chamber of Commerce women's evenings; TSBE; and the social services network. It may be that for CSG companies (and State Government) to be effective in contributing to addressing the challenges communities experience from CSG development, they adopt a role more of supporter/enabler or even partner than of initiator or coordinator.

6 Conclusion

Community expectations in Chinchilla relating to CSG development revolved around the material aspects of their lives, such as housing, roads, water, job opportunities, and the sustainability of their business and rural sectors, and aspects relating to the spirit and social fabric of the community, ensuring that interactions within the community are based on respect and trust. The expectations of different segments

of the community reflected the different local physical, social and economic environments in which they live and work and the ways in which these environments are changing.

Expectations could also be differentiated in terms of the scale and complexity of the issues which they related to, how straightforward solutions to the issues appeared to be and the extent to which people were taking an active role in responding to the issues or felt that others needed to be addressing them.

While many of the changes and impacts have arisen as a result of CSG development, expectations about how the changes should be managed were not only addressed to the CSG companies but also to State and Federal Government. This was particularly the case in relation to the more complex issues such as housing, water and town planning, where it was perceived that multiple actors needed to be involved improve the current situation.

Where people have engaged in dealing with the challenges they are experiencing at the individual scale and have been able to improve their situation, it is evident that this has built their capacity to operate effectively in the new context. Examples include small local businesses that are now able to attract contracts from the CSG companies.

In the longer term, the viability of the town will depend on whether people are able to and wish to live there. The attractiveness of Chinchilla as a place to live will be an ongoing interplay between residents' evolving expectations of how they want to live and the extent to which those expectations can be met through living in the area.

Glossary

CSG	Coal seam gas
DIDO	Drive-in, drive-out
FIFO	Fly-in, fly-out
SLO	Social Licence to Operate
TSBE	Toowoomba and Surat Basin Enterprise

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CONTACT US

t 1300 363 400
+61 3 9545 2176
e enquiries@csiro.au
w www.csiro.au

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

CSIRO Ecosystem Sciences
Tsuey Cham
t +61 7 3833 5673
e gisera@gisera.org.au
w www.gisera.org.au