

Temporary Migration: Economic Opportunity for Whom?

Some issues from the Catalyst forum on 6th May 2008.

On 6th May, 2008, Catalyst Australia held a public forum *Temporary Migrant Labour: Economic Opportunity for Whom?* Those attending included the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, the Hon Senator Chris Evans, leading academics, government and employer organizations, trade unions and community migrant groups.

Many participants asked Catalyst to try and encapsulate some of the issues or main themes in a paper.

This paper is a summary of key themes and presentations. In putting it together we are not suggesting it reflects a 'consensus' view from participants at the forum. The event did not aim to synthesise views into a common or agreed position. Rather it enabled a full and open discussion of migration policy from a number of different perspectives.

We invite feedback and input from Catalyst members or others with an interest in this policy debate. Individual presentations to the forum can be accessed on our website - www.catalyst.org.au.

Key principles

The election of Rudd Labor government in November 2007 has resulted in great activity and a number of important reviews across Australia's migration portfolio. This work will continue throughout the year. Arising from the discussion at the forum, we have identified three main principles to guide migration policy reform:

- > **Permanency, family and community must come first** in all migration programs. The Rudd government has taken a number of important steps to expand and humanise permanent and refugee migration programs. The expansion of these permanent programs must be an alternative to (and not in addition to) increases in temporary programs. If not, there will be a continuation of a **two tier policy**, whereby permanent migrants have their rights protected, while temporary workers are instead left to the vagaries of the free market.
- > Australia must **move beyond reliance on a global 'just in time' workforce** to meet demand for future labour. There are high levels of labour underutilization in our local economy (including among migrant groups). The real public policy challenge is to align local skill development initiatives and ensure targeted temporary migration programs occur within a clear industry workforce development framework. Migration programs must also be considered within the context of Australia's broader economic development and sustainability. We make suggestions on a model to improve the alignment between our skills and migration programs.
- > The **industrial, human and civil rights of temporary workers in Australia must be urgently improved and rigorously enforced**. The movement of people around the globe is a by-product of our global economic system. But people are not a by-product of an economy and their basic human rights should be upheld and respected. Supporting people's rights requires more than remedial protection in response to exploitation. It includes establishing a positive set of universal rights to support freedom, independent movement and access to services in the workplace and the community. These rights should be enshrined in a charter or treaty between nations.

1. Permanency, family and community come first

Migration has been a vital part of the Australian government's economic strategy for many decades. Historically our migration programs emphasised permanent residency as new settlers built their lives around hard work in secure employment. These lives were enriched by family reunion programs that kept kinship and communities intact.

Khoo, Hugo and McDonald summarise a number of shifts in migration policy over our post-war settlement period:¹

- > In the period 1947-1971 – our programs were extended from the United Kingdom and Ireland to Europe, drawing in unskilled and semi-skilled labour. The total focus was on *settlement migration*.
- > From 1971 to 1996 labour shortages were no longer the main reason for immigration, and Australia's programs emphasized family reunion and refugee and humanitarian principles. Significant migration from Asia occurred in this period. Skilled recruitment also featured in this period.²

This approach succeeded. Successive waves of migrants and their children have made an enormous contribution to Australia's economic development, its national identity and to the richness and diversity of its culture.

Since 1996 Australian migration policy has introduced temporary visa's targeting particular skilled occupations. Consequently Australia now administers a number of separate permanent and temporary migration programs.

While there continues to be increases in the permanent skilled entry programs there has been an inching up of temporary visas such as the 457 class visa which is up by 17% in the past year (see section 2).

At the same time the overall share of the family reunion program has diminished. Entry under the family reunion program increased by a mere 1.2% over the period 1998-99 to 2006-07 and now sits at 50,080 people, equal to a little over one third of those under permanent visas, and an even smaller share of the proportion of overall migrants.³

Organisations like Migrante Australia have called for better arrangements for families of skilled workers to join the worker in Australia at the earliest possible time.⁴

Temporary migration as a pathway to a better life

One fact that is unchanged over Australia's migration history is that people migrate to seek a better life for themselves and their families.

Contemporary research has shown that temporary migration is often a pathway to permanent settlement. Many skilled migrants, particularly people from less developed countries want to become permanent residents in their destination country *especially if they see a better future for themselves and their children there than in their home country*.⁵

Since its election in November 2007, the Rudd government has increased the number of permanent migrants announcing an additional intake of 6,000 people for the period March to June 2008. The Minister, Chris Evans, has stated that he '*favoured permanent migration as the first policy response in the migration program*'.⁶

Federal Labor has also taken a number of important steps to humanise aspects of Australia's migration policies. This has included the withdrawal of Temporary Protection Visas, the closure of the off-shore

detention centre in the Pacific island of Nauru and expressions of a more compassionate approach to refugees.

A number of important reviews to *restore the integrity* of temporary programs are underway. However the government has confirmed that temporary programs will remain central to addressing labour supply problems in the immediate term.⁷

Many contributors to the Catalyst forum felt that reform should focus on increasing permanent migration **as an alternative to** (and not in addition to) the expansion of temporary worker programs.

A policy that provides for **permanent settlement in the first instance** is sensible, efficient and humane. It alleviates the need for duplication in processing under different visa schemes, and gives people immediate status and rights as citizens.

It will also help to break the reliance on a global just in time workforce, which is discussed in the next section.

2. Moving beyond the 'just in time' workforce

A just in time workforce is one that is able to be sourced from any corner of the globe, with the costs of training and skill development usually met by other nations and employers. It is a flexible and low investment response to skill shortages.

Temporary overseas workers have become a crucial element in feeding the economic boom. In large part this has become necessary to compensate for the lack of investment in domestic training and skills over the past decade. In his paper to the forum, the CFMEU's John Sutton referred to the *moral bankruptcy of poaching the best and brightest skilled workers from developing nations, rather than training our own.*⁸

457 visa's are a cheap labour program

The 457 visa program is the main mechanism through which skilled temporary migrants enter Australia. Most individual views at the Catalyst forum supported at a minimum, improvements in the 457 visa program, or at most a complete overhaul.

As at April 2008, there were **39,940 temporary skilled** visas granted for the 2007-08 year, which is a 17% increase on the previous year.⁹

According to research by Bob Kinnaird released to the Catalyst forum, concerns about the 457 visa program being a cheap labour program are justified.¹⁰ This research covered a number of points including:

- > 457 visas are approved so long as the wage nominated by employers is the minimum salary level set by the Department. In signing off on the minimum salary level the wage specified in the "relevant industrial instrument" is not even checked, let alone the going market rate for the work.
- > This has resulted in significant underpayment to 457 visa workers when compared to earnings against relevant industrial instruments or market rates. In 2006-07, over 5,000 visas were approved at the 457 minimum salary level of \$41,900 or less. This is equal to 12% of all 457 visas approved excluding Information and Communications Technology (ICT) positions. Sixty four percent (or 3,200) of these visas approved at \$41,900 or less were in the trades.
- > Between 2003-04 and 2006-07, immigration department monitoring of 457 employer compliance has fallen. Employer site visits have fallen from 22% to only 14% of all 457 employers.

The Australian Industry Group (AiG) presentation to the Catalyst forum showed that 35% of all 457 visas are in NSW, with 22% in Victoria and 18% in the boom state of Western Australia with the biggest occupational concentration was in health and community services (at 16% of all 457 visas). Like many other employer organization, AiG consider temporary migration is necessary to tackle skills shortages in their member industries, while supporting improvements in monitoring and compliance under this program.¹¹

Rudd government reviews

The federal Minister has initiated a number of reviews of the 457 program. These reviews are aimed at addressing union, business and community concerns about the 457 visa programs. The Minister has commented that the 457 program has all the marketability of the former federal industrial relations regime, Workchoices. The Minister has nevertheless confirmed that *Labor is very committed to*

*continuing the scheme because it is meeting skill demands that are necessary for economic growth and the development of our country.*¹²

In February 2008 an External Reference Group made 16 recommendations to improve and re-brand the 457 visa program. Its report accepts the central place of future permanent and temporary migration programs in meeting demand for skilled labour. Thus its recommendations aim to improve accreditation, compliance and processing of visa applications.¹³ The Minister has announced that 14 of these recommendations will be implemented, including the ability for 'low risk' employers with proven compliance to have 457 visa applications fast tracked.¹⁴

In April 2008, the Rudd government announced a public Inquiry into the 457 visa program to be undertaken by federal Industrial Relations Commissioner Barbara Deegan. The Commissioner will report in October 2008.

Issues that should form part of this review were well covered at the Catalyst forum, and can be accessed through individual papers or submissions to the review.

One critical issue that came up is the sponsorship of temporary migrant workers by their employer. This has meant that where workers have raised concerns about pay and conditions, they can face the threat of having their sponsorship withdrawn. Improved employment models are important to alleviate this concern.

Breaking the reliance on short term skills

If you scratch the surface of Australia's national employment data you can see there is a gulfing inequality in participation rates across different groups and regions.

Young people as a group have failed to crack the full time employment boom of the last decade. Indeed, since 1995 there has been no growth in full time jobs for young Australians compared to older Australians.¹⁵ Among teenagers the full time unemployment rate fluctuates between a low of 11% in Perth to 27.7% in the Hunter region in NSW.¹⁶

Skills acquisition is also by-passing a number of young people. Year 12 completion rates for students in lower socio-economic areas are around 20% lower than completion rates for students from higher socio-economic backgrounds, and overall rates of school completion have *barely shifted* over the past 15 years.¹⁷

According to Dr Bob Birrell 47.7% of young Australians aged 18-20 are not engaged in any post school education and training. His research has shown that there has been no increase in domestic commencement and completion rates in higher education in the period 1996-2007. That is, all of the increase in the higher education sector is from full fee paying overseas students. In 2006, 29% of all commencements were overseas students.¹⁸

The issue of untapped potential is also affecting migrant communities. The Catalyst forum heard that women machinists aged in their 40s and 50s were often unemployed and can be overlooked by employers who instead rely on younger 457 visa workers to fill job vacancies.

This is reflected in the unemployment rate for overseas born people which has remained higher than the general unemployment rate since 1992.¹⁹ There is also high underemployment among mature aged men, and also among women with family responsibilities.

Speakers at the Catalyst forum also drew attention to the failure to harness the participation of our Indigenous populations. Indigenous students remain half as likely to complete Year 12 as non-Indigenous Australians.²⁰ It has been suggested that investing in opportunities in Indigenous communities should be preferred over Pacific guest worker schemes.

The place of migration in economic development

A big picture perspective at the Catalyst forum looked at how high immigration is driving high population growth. This view argues that continued immigration is not compatible with the Rudd government's 2050 climate change targets.

This is a fundamental point, made by Dr Bob Birrell. He pointed out the Rudd government's stated objective is a 60% reduction by 2050 in total greenhouse gas emissions from 2000 levels. Achieving that target will be hard enough even with a stable Australian population of around 21 million – annual per capita emissions will need to be reduced from around 27 tonnes currently to about 12 tonnes by 2050.

Continuing current high immigration levels (combined with natural increase) means Australia's population will increase from 21 million currently to around 32 million in 2050. To achieve the 60% total emissions reduction target by 2050 with this population will require per capita emissions to fall from 27 tonnes to only 7 tonnes.

That would be a huge challenge – and, according to Dr Birrell, provides compelling reasons for slower immigration and population growth combined with maximizing the efficient use of the Australian labour supply.

Much of the impact of the expansion of the government's immigration programs will be felt in cities, with Sydney absorbing around one-third of people who arrive in Australia. Dr Birrell has stated that the Rudd government was too reliant on federal Treasury advice that raising the intake of skilled migrant would prevent a wages breakout and help cap inflation. He has also highlighted the stresses on existing resources, such as transport, health, education and housing.²¹

The current laissez faire approach means that communities bear much of the additional resource costs of migration. This reinforces the need to look beyond the just in time workforce to fully utilize our existing human resources and to develop a long term vision for good work and skills

Establish a cohesive framework for workforce skills

Skill development and employment opportunity are too important to be left to the market. However, Australia lacks the kind of labour market and workforce analysis that drove our skills development in the 1980s. Although the federal Department of Employment and Workplace Relations reports on skills and occupational shortages, there is no attempt to co-ordinate investment in training into areas of high demand. This not only affects labour shortages, it affects employment outcomes, especially for long term unemployed.²²

Organisations like Migrante Australia have also drawn attention to the poor alignment between industry skills policy and our migration programs. They have called for improved labour market testing before temporary programs are approved.

These problems traverse federal and state bureaucracies and employers. One option is for industry training structures to be reinvigorated and engaged in a more strategic workforce skills planning process.

Alternatively a new tripartite framework could be established that overarches employment and migration policy. This could bring all aspects of skills and workforce planning within a single structure, including employer registrations and reporting on temporary migration visas. It could focus on strategic, rather than operational aspects of industry workforce development.

We invite further consultation and feedback on this or similar models.

3. Rights require more than remedial protection

The movement of temporary workers around the world has been encouraged by western economies as they grapple with declining birth rates, smaller populations and shortages in skills and labour. In these economies the expansion of highly skilled knowledge jobs has increased demand for the type of service sector jobs that are typically filled by migrant labour.

The global labour market relies on people to move for short periods, often with a minimal set of guaranteed rights and protections to support them. For highly skilled professionals, remuneration and other benefits can mitigate any risk associated with temporary status. This is not the case for many other vulnerable migrant workers.

Australia now competes with many other countries in attracting skilled workers especially in occupations with high global demand, such as engineering and medical professions. Around one third of doctors in Ireland, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are foreign trained, as are 20% of nurses in Australia, Switzerland and New Zealand. Recruitment of skilled medical staff by wealthy countries creates a 'brain drain' that threatens the viability of health programs in poor countries, and raises many ethical issues of concern.²³ Developing countries constitute the main source of nurses around the world. In the Philippines large numbers of nurses are trained to migrate and feed back around \$4 billion dollars a year in remittances to the domestic economy.²⁴

Despite the reliance of western (and developing) economies on temporary workers, few nations have taken any action to protect their rights.

Fear and Exploitation in Australia

Bob Kinnaird's research outlined in section 2 shows that financial exploitation of temporary migrants is real when their pay is compared to local workers.

Along with pay, there have been many other cases of exploitation and abuse of temporary migrant workers in Australia. A number of these stories are on the public record²⁵ while many others are not.

Drs Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham's work presented to the Catalyst forum looks at the impact of Indian migration on Australian society and culture. It has concluded that Indian temporary migrants are in a vulnerable and alienating situation while in Australia. Wise and Velayutham's research is based on interviews and quantitative research of Indian nationals in Australia. That is, it gets beyond the statistics and program analysis that typically occupies migration analysis and outcomes.²⁶

The Anti-Slavery Project at Sydney's University of Technology (UTS) reports that the Australian Federal Police (AFP) has opened 112 investigations into slavery and human trafficking. Twenty-two people have been charged. Many of these cases relate to sex trafficking.²⁷

Many trade unions like the Construction, Forestry, Energy and Mining Union (CFMEU) and the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU) have continued to agitate for reform of migration policy. The Meat Industry Employees Association (AMIEU) has secured rights for temporary workers through labour agreements that operate in the meat industry.

Community migrant organizations – often with the support of trade unions – have been active in advocating on behalf of exploited temporary workers. The caseloads of these organisations have increased over the past decade - at the same time as their federal funding has been reduced. They point out that many migrants prefer to seek advice from within their communities, a point confirmed by migrant union organizers who often work beyond their union constituency.

Attempts to restore integrity or compliance arising from the Rudd government reviews of the 457 visa program must include grassroots funding and support to community and union organizations so they can represent temporary migrant workers.

Grappling with global labour markets

The creation of the transnational labour force is a by-product of our global economic system. But people are not a by-product of an economy. Their human, industrial and civil rights must be protected.

Nation states, and – with some notable exceptions - trade unions have been slow to respond to the challenges of organizing temporary workers. This has led academics such as Dr Michele Ford to call on unions to more fully engage with trans-nationalism and citizenship issues that confront temporary migrant workers. Her work has shown that it is non-Government organisations (NGOs) that have mostly advocated on behalf of temporary workers in the south East Asian region.²⁸ Dr Ford considers that one of the barriers to advocating on behalf of workers in Australia is the policy confusion that arises from people entering under the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal Department of Immigration and Citizenship with no recourse to state based laws in industrial relations, or to civil laws which protect civil and human rights.

Drs Wise and Velayutham referred to the ‘life path’ of migration in India – a path that is encouraged by the Indian home state.²⁹ Thus, migration is a right of passage for many of Australia’s neighbouring people.

Similar paths to Australia are well trodden in the migration experience of people from the Philippines and other nations.

Pacific Island guest workers or aid?

One of the important topics of discussion at the forum was the proposed Pacific guest worker scheme. This has operated in New Zealand, and the Rudd government has announced a similar pilot scheme in Australia. It signals a shift to rely on temporary workers to fill jobs that are semi and unskilled jobs. Peak employer organisations in the agriculture and hospitality industries have been vocal supporters of such a scheme.

This scheme is controversial. On the one hand it is argued that such schemes are important to the development opportunities of failing Pacific economies, as guest workers can send remittances home. Such remittances are now overtaking aid as the main source of economic support for many Pacific countries.³⁰

On the other hand, it is argued that Australia’s responsibility to in the Pacific is in lifting levels of economic aid, particularly to develop sustainable industry models rather than locking Pacific societies into an *unstable migrant remittances dependency*.³¹

Nic Maclellan who contributed to the Catalyst forum has just published a important report on the New Zealand Pacific guest worker scheme. He has outlined several recommendations for its improvement both in New Zealand and abroad. Central in this analysis is the importance of human rights and pastoral support for guest workers. Maclellan reminds us that

*There are significant dangers in regarding seasonal workers as commodities to be traded between countries, and the heritage of the blackbirding era should be warning enough for policy makers ...*³²

As well as focusing attention on international aid for developing nations, this debate presents us with an opportunity to properly consider the role of such programs and how they align with domestic training and employment participation policies for local and overseas born workers.

Such programs can’t be a way to side step employment conditions in Australia. Louise Tarrant, from the Liquor Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union (LHMU) has called on employers in the hospitality industry to *provide decent jobs with decent salaries and conditions first, then see if there are labour shortages*.³³

Temporary migration schemes and trade agreements

Dr Patricia Ranald from the Australian Fair Trade and Investment Network (AFTINET)³⁴ spoke about the dangers of the growing trend to include temporary migrant worker arrangements in trade agreements. Currently trade agreements do not include any legally binding commitments in these areas. She referred to the current World Trade Organisation (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which is creating pressure to include movement of temporary semiskilled and unskilled workers without any labour rights protections.

The Howard government made an offer to include the then current visa 457 arrangements in Australia's 2005 offer in the GATS negotiations. These and other WTO negotiations have stalled so no agreement has yet been reached. However, there is pressure to include similar arrangements in current bilateral free trade agreement negotiations with China and in the forthcoming Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) with Pacific Island countries.

Until recently trade agreements only included arrangements for executives, senior management, and highly skilled and educated professionals. These groups often speak the relevant language and are in a strong bargaining position to negotiate their terms of employment and to find another position if they are dissatisfied with their employment conditions. These arrangements were included in the WTO GATS, but like most other trade agreements GATS has no legally binding mechanisms to protect the rights of workers and prevent them from being exploited.

Dr Ranald emphasised that the strong bargaining position of highly skilled managers and professionals contrasts with the weak bargaining position of semiskilled and unskilled temporary workers, who often lack the relevant language skills and information about the host country. She stated that workers are particularly vulnerable if their visa applies to employment with a single employer.

Making sure policy is guided by common interest

Contemporary debates about migration can present the interests of overseas and local workers as competitive. This is not the case. All rights are equal and people who contribute their labour to the Australian economy should receive equal treatment before Australian law.

- > 'Work' should provide the same set of minimum rights, the same market rate of pay and the same employment standards irrespective of who is performing it and whether they live here, have migrated permanently or are here temporarily. This – and only this guarantee - will prevent the continued use of 457 visas as cheap labour tools.
- > Migration programs that draw in skills to the local economy should compensate poorer nations for the real costs of training (and replacing) skills in developing economies. Relying on remittances home is not good enough and does not necessarily target the cost of skills replacement.
- > International labour standards apply to many areas of employment policy. It's time to ramp up these standards for global labour. Many countries that provide workers to Australia have an interest in policy that protects their citizens while overseas. Australia is in a strong position to lead other nations on the development of minimum standards for migration in the south-East Asia region. Greater collaboration between global trade unions, NGOs and governments is critical to establish common rights and protections.

Earlier in the paper we highlighted the following issues

- > Harnessing the skills of overseas workers should be part of an integrated model that plans long term and short term skill needs in an industry. Australia needs to urgently address the collapse of labour markets within its home communities, particularly the Indigenous population. To do this, there must be more investment in education, skills and employment. The costs of

investment will be offset by the productivity savings of having a fully utilized labour force to draw upon as well as the reduced costs of welfare transfers and increased taxation. It will also help to tackle the costs of poverty and social disadvantage, and contribute to sustainable population and employment outcomes.

- > Australia's system of 'hosting' temporary migrants needs review. Tying workers to a single employer limits workers options if wages and conditions are sub-standard. There are other models that should be explored, including multi-employer or group training type employment arrangements. Whatever model is applied, there must be independent trade union and community involvement and reporting of visa applications under any new scheme.

There are many other complex issues that have not been covered in this paper. Hopefully it captures the flavour of the contributions to the Catalyst forum on temporary migration, and will contribute to the debate and discussion about future policy.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Siew-Ean Khoo, Graeme Hugo and Peter McDonald, *Which Skilled Temporary Migrants Become Permanent Residents and Why*, *International Migration Review*, 2008 Vol. 42 (1)
- ² Khoo et al, op cit.
- ³ There are a total of 4.2 million entrants. This includes 162,310 people coming under permanent programs (family, skills and other), and 3,637,800 visitors (tourists and other visitors). See Department of Immigration and Citizenship
- ⁴ *Migrante Australia, Submission to Australian Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Migration Inquiry into temporary* ⁴ Siew-Ean Khoo, Graeme Hugo and Peter McDonald, *Which Skilled Temporary Migrants Become Permanent Residents and Why*, *International Migration Review*, 2008 Vol. 42 (1)
- ⁵ Siew-Ean Khoo, Graeme Hugo and Peter McDonald, op cit.
- ⁶ Minister Chris Evans, Address to Catalyst Australia forum, 6th May 2008.
- ⁷ *ibid*
- ⁸ See John Sutton *Asia Pacific Labour Mobility and the Two Track Labour Market*, Paper to the Catalyst forum www.catalyst.org.au
- ⁹ Workplace Express *Federal Government to open specialist 457 visa centres, clear backlog*, 6 May 2008
- ¹⁰ Bob Kinnaird *title* www.catalyst.org.au
- ¹¹ Jim Barrett, Australian Industry Group, *Skill Migration and 457 Visas – an Employer Perspective*, Presentation to Catalyst forum 6th May, www.catalyst.org.au
- ¹² *ibid*
- ¹³ Final Report to the Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, *Visa Subclass 457 External Reference Group* April 2008
- ¹⁴ Workplace Express, op cit.
- ¹⁵ See Dusseldorp Skills Forum *How Young People are Faring 2007* www.dsf.org.au
- ¹⁶ See www.workplace.gov.au *Labour market information portal*.
- ¹⁷ *ibid*
- ¹⁸ Dr Bob Birrell, Address to the Catalyst forum on temporary migration, 6th May 2008. See also Dr Bob Birrell and Daniel Edwards (2008) *Half of Australian Youth Aged 18-20 are not in training* Centre for Population and Urban Research, Monash University www.arts.monash.edu.au/cpur/publications/training.php
- ¹⁹ Department of Immigration and Citizenship, op cit, p 87
- ²⁰ See Productivity Commission Report *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* www.pc.gov.au
- ²¹ *City to grow by a million people*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 2008
- ²² Assistance programs that do exist are targeted towards individual job-matching and not aligned with training or industry skills assistance. See David Hetherington (2008) *Unlocking the value of a Job: Market design in employment services*, PerCapita www.percapita.org.au
- ²³ Mark L Scott, Anna Whelan et al, *Brain Drain or ethical recruitment?* eMJA www.mja.com.au, May 2004
- ²⁴ Australian Nursing Journal, *Report of the 2004 Asia Pacific Nursing Congress*, Volume 12(6), January 2005.
- ²⁵ See Sydney Morning Herald, 27 August 2007. This reported on the death of two Filipino workers.
- ²⁶ See Dr Amanda Wise and Dr Selvaraj Velayutham Centre for Research on Social Inclusion, Macquarie University, www.crsi.mq.edu.au
- ²⁷ For more information about these cases and the Anti-Slavery Project see www.humantrafficking.org.au.
- ²⁸ Dr Michele Ford at Catalyst forum. See www.arts.usyd.edu.au
- ²⁹ Dr Amanda Wise and Dr Selvaraj Velayutham, op cit.
- ³⁰ Nic Maclellan *Workers for all seasons? Issues from New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer program* Institute for Social Research, Swinburne University. Also available at www.catalyst.org.au
- ³¹ John Sutton, op cit
- ³² Maclellan, op cit.
- ³³ Australian Financial Review, *Growers want help to bring in workers* 11th June 2008
- ³⁴ AFTINET is a national network of 90 unions and community organisations supporting fair regulation of trade, consistent with human rights, labour rights and environmental protection. See www.aftinet.org.au