CHEAP LABOUR:
THE AUSTRALIAN WAY

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ABSTRACT
This paper examines new qualitative findings from a national study of low paid services employment in Australia, within the context of the new WorkChoices legislation. For many, low paid jobs entail financial hardship, unsocial hours, job insecurity, hidden subsidies to highly profitable industries through unpaid labour and out-of-pocket expenses, and less bargaining power. These workplace disadvantages have knock-on effects for personal health and well-being, household and family cohesion, community participation and active citizenship. For many low paid workers, the traditional notion of employment as an antidote to poverty and hardship has been the shattered. This paper questions the sustainability and justice of economic growth based on the growing exploitation of its most vulnerable employees.

1 INTRODUCTION
This paper focuses on sharing new empirical data on low pay in Australia; the scholarly literature in which this study is situated has been canvassed elsewhere (Masterman-Smith, Pocock, & May, 2006a, 2006b). The findings stem from semi-structured interviews about low paid employment across South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales in the cleaning, childcare and luxury hotel sectors. It draws on interview and focus group material with over 130 participants, including 84 low paid workers. Over half the fieldwork was conducted after the WorkChoices legislation was promulgated. Participants were recruited through newspaper and internet advertisements, requests through employers and community service organisations for participants and union membership lists. We also interviewed and conducted focus groups with community stakeholders providing a range of services to low paid workers, and interviewed employers in the cleaning and childcare industries.

In this study low pay is defined as two-thirds of median earnings at the commencement of fieldwork, which is $14 per hour, $533 per week or $27,716 per annum (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2004 10). The federal government estimated one in five working Australians over 21 years of age were low paid in 2003 (Commonwealth of Australia, 2005 48). More recently, Harding et al indicate that 1.93 million workers ‘representing about one-quarter of all employees’ are low waged (2006 31).

This paper commences with an examination of the effects of WorkChoices on the lives of the low paid. It provides a detailed consideration of how the new legislation is affecting life on the job with respect to wages, hours, leave, and family-friendly provisions. Secondly, it briefly examines the ways in which the new industrial relations landscape is combining with welfare-to-work legislation to complicate the ability of low paid workers to make work pay. Lastly, the realities of living on a low wage within this policy context are conveyed with respect to employee’s circumstances as parents, carers and citizens.
2 WORKCHOICES AND LOW PAY

The Australian industrial and workplace landscape has become more complex and diverse with the enactment of WorkChoices (Group of One Hundred and Fifty One Australian Industrial Relations Labour Market and Legal Academics, 2005). It has involved a shift away from minimum standards and collective bargaining towards the individualization of work contracts through the explicit encouragement of AWAs and an erosion of unfair dismissal protections (Fenwick, 2006; Peetz, 2006).

The first symptoms of these fundamental changes for low paid workers are explored below. As a qualitative study, the findings should not be assumed to be representative of the broader population; nonetheless it is noteworthy that all but four participants expressed negative views on the new laws. The issues conveyed below reflected the concerns most commonly raised by participants.

2.1 CLIMATE SHIFT AND SECURITY

The most striking aspect raised by low paid workers concerns the climate shift underway in workplaces since the introduction of WorkChoices. Interviewees reveal a deep sense of insecurity and concern based around the industrial relations reforms - most fundamentally on the issue of unfair dismissal rights. The removal of protections against unfair dismissal has forced some into a new world of arbitrary hiring and firing at the discretion of employers. Reflecting on her community service client base, Charlie observed ‘job security definitely is a thing of the past even if you are full [time] permanent ...what you’ve got today might not be there tomorrow’ (community service officer). Similar views were expressed by many individual interviewees irrespective of their job tenure or hours. May remarked that under the new laws: ‘... [It] doesn’t matter [if] ... you are permanent or not. If they don’t need you – ‘bye’. So I don’t feel secure’ (30s, luxury hotel worker). Rhonda describes a similar vulnerability: ‘I am really worried about it you know. ... if the employer wants to sack you they just can sack you like that. Give you the flick ... without any say’ (40s, luxury hotel worker). In essence, these workers feel that employers are no longer bound to a duty of care towards them, and that in the absence of such protections they are more at the mercy of management prerogatives and financial imperatives. Jim explained:

…I don’t think the workers should be intimidated by anyone. I think managers should be more accountable and act more responsible ... I think it’s their duty of care to look after their employees (20s, luxury hotel worker).

The effects of insecurity and a new workplace climate are not confined to employees. Some employers are also aware of the general downward pressure on conditions (Stewart, 2006 53-55). One employer interviewed prior to WorkChoices taking effect feared for her employees’ wages and conditions; she acknowledged that the law would intensify competition and cost-cutting in the childcare sector:

There would be a lot more tension on the management group in terms of the temptation to put people on minimal conditions ... whereas now we are all protected by the award. (Alison, childcare employer)

As anticipated by Stewart (2006 46), a sense has emerged amongst workers in these service sector jobs that changes to unfair dismissal provisions have effectively casualised whole sections of the labour force, particularly in enterprises with less than 100 employees.

McCrystal’s (2006) argument that the new laws would reduce bargaining power was borne out by many interviewees shared a concern that job insecurity had the effect of reducing bargaining power. New employer scope to arbitrarily dismiss an employee is rendering them more easily replaceable, at least at the lower skilled end of the labour market. Vicky summed up the situation like this:
Everyone feels less secure, more vulnerable ... that the employers have a lot more strength than any unions ... God forbid if anyone went on strike now ... in our centre we’d just all be turfed and they’d just get a whole new lot of bunnies in (50s, childcare worker).

Jasmine believed her low skill status left her particularly defenceless in terms of bargaining power: ‘The other jobs ... I can think about. It’s all the low payment. It’s very hard for us to change’ (30s, luxury hotel worker). Despite low official unemployment and apparent labour shortages, many low paid workers perceive that they have few alternatives in the labour market.

Beyond these structural barriers to bargaining power, many workers had little information about how their pay and conditions are determined and what their entitlements are. English language skills were an obstacle for some workers. Insufficient time to keep abreast of legislative developments was an obstacle for others like Victoria, who explained ‘I was so busy with my life I never sitting down and listen what happens ... whatever that’s happened, they try to keep the workers quiet...’ (50s, cleaner). These factors suggest that the extent to which employees possess the time, skills and resources to negotiate individual agreements requires closer consideration. A recent poll reinforced this concern, stating that for employees generally ‘there is a lack of knowledge and understanding about what their contractual arrangements are’ (Roy Morgan Research, 2006). The task of industrial bargaining on an individual basis assumes a level of detailed and specialist knowledge (leaving aside the question of power) that many workers lack, especially if English is their second language and they are time-poor (also see Peetz, 2006).

An atmosphere of fear, vulnerability and confusion characterises the working lives of many low paid workers interviewed, affecting their morale, productivity and quality assurance at work. As one worker put it, ‘when the morale is down for a lot of people, then things like the wages and stuff is going to play on you even more’ (Sienna, 40s, childcare worker). Another explained that increased job insecurity meant she was now more hesitant to report regulation breaches in the childcare centre where she worked. Others noted that they would no longer raise quality issues for fear of dismissal. The erosion of workers’ wages and conditions affects quality of service and thus the service users, customers, clients and general public who depend upon them.

2.2 WORKCHOICES AND WAGES

Importantly, the new regulations do not need to directly affect many workers to have the indirect consequence of generating trepidation amongst the workforce more broadly. Through personal experience or social networks most employees we interviewed were aware of instances in which the new regulations had been used to cut pay rates or conditions.

Some participants recounted specific examples of pay cuts. For example, a childcare employee stated:

Where I’m from, there’s people on the vines down there in Coonawarra ... their wages have gone down and also in the meat industry down there... they’re trying to drop them about $4 an hour (Mandy, 30s, childcare worker).

Workers are also witnessing a more arbitrary and divisive use of individual contracts. For instance, a luxury hotel worker commented:

...my big boss is always come and try to reduce your hours without pay and you are award wage ... full-time. ... they talking about that they have to reduce the penalty rates ... probably they will give us the individual contract like at least you have a contract for two years and then you renew again after that. ... They are starting the individual contracts at the moment [for new staff]. ... whenever [management] don’t need them they send them home.
without pay. ... They’re very upset because they give them three hours sometimes [and] only sending home. And how about if you live far away? It’s very difficult. ... the work environment is a bit tense (Isabelle, 50s, luxury hotel worker).

AWAs are also having the effect of differentiating wages and conditions for workers doing the same job, undermining workplace morale in some instances.

Further, workers believe that their industrial position had been weakened by the erosion of trade union rights under WorkChoices. Some lamented the loss of collective strength and representation and anticipated it would negatively impact on wages. Susan summed up this view: ‘I do feel that people have got more chance collectively to improve their wages and conditions than as an individual’ (Susan, 50s, childcare worker). Jasmine agreed: ‘It’s sad, like union rights have been cut off’ (30s, luxury hotel worker).

2.3 WORKCHOICES, WORKING TIME AND LEAVE
Many interviewees raised concerns about new ‘flexibilities’ around working time. The general picture is one of employers having gained greater power to control working hours, while employees have correspondingly less influence. The early data about the loss of penalty rates in AWAs makes these concerns well placed (Gahan, 2006). Anxieties around working time centred on four key issues: penalty rates for unsocial hours; predictability of hours; access to holidays and leave loadings and casualisation.

Some workers interviewed were not in receipt of any penalty rates despite regularly working extended hours or on weekends. For example, Susan, a private childcare worker in her 50s, receives $12 per hour gross and often works 10 hour days and occasionally on Saturday nights. May, a luxury hotel worker in her 30s, sees the denial of penalty rates at her workplace as a disturbing sign of things to come: ‘I’m really insecure because of that law and because we haven’t got penalty rates and sick leave. But, I don’t know in the future. I’m really afraid’ (30s, luxury hotel worker). For some workers, the loss of penalty rates means even longer hours at work and fewer hours for family and social engagement.

Others may be less inclined to work unsocial hours without extra compensation following the loss of penalty rates. As Simone observed of her co-workers and the prospect of losing penalty rates:

People said they’re not going to work weekends just to get the same money as they work Monday to Friday. Why give up time with your family if you’re going to earn the same money as you work Monday to Friday and the pay rate is not real good? [At present] most people work weekends so they can get a little bit extra (Simone, 50s, luxury hotel worker).

Of course this decision will depend on the level of job security workers have. Simone’s observations illustrate an important way in which WorkChoices is forcing workers to rethink how they juggle work and non-work commitments. The viability of a 24/7 consumer society depends on the willingness or compulsion of employees to work around the clock. Penalty rates have been a crucial mechanism for compensating working families caught up in enterprises that demand long and unsocial working hours and for preserving some semblance of common time for civic engagement.

While workers in industries experiencing labour shortages may resist the loss of penalty rates or try to refuse working at unsocial times, this is not always possible. In the childcare industry, for example, workers routinely reported performing substantial involuntary unpaid overtime. Vicky finds the long hours, paid and unpaid, exhausting:

On my day off, I’m often required to do things for work ... I find weekends I’m just so sort of stressed from working all week ... I try and maybe cook an extra meal to freeze to have for a night. I might have a staff meeting or be
required to be at work longer... I make lunches for the next day and I basically crawl into bed then. So not much fun, pretty boring and tired (Vicky, 50s, childcare worker).

Workers in private and corporate child care centres were just as likely as those in community-based centres to subsidise the enterprise through their unpaid labour or by purchasing supplies from their own pockets. The sacrifice of employees’ family time to the needs of industry has obvious ramifications for personal care commitments and family relationships.

The findings suggest an increasingly cavalier approach to working hours by employers in sectors with large pools of low paid and lower skilled workers available to them. This may partly explain the high levels of industrial complaints from such workers, especially unskilled and prime age workers (Gahan, 2006). Changes in dismissal regulations have also shifted the ground on control over working time. Vicky, for example, noted that the allocation of hours is used to discipline employees:

... if work rings up and wants you to work and you refuse... you’ll find you’re penalised when the next roster comes out ... you’ve got less hours ... anyone who sort of doesn’t toe the line, like it will be frowned on me doing this interview, and the consequences would be a sudden cut back [in hours] (50s, childcare worker)

Echoing Isabelle’s earlier comments, Simone illustrates the precariousness of working time for casual employees in the luxury hotel business:

Casual[s], they treat them terribly. ... people travel long distances ... They work them for 3 hours or 2 hours... and then send them home. It doesn’t even pay for their transport half the time. I’m in a little bit better position because I’m what they call a regular, full-time employment, but I was asked by the hotel manager not long ago, would I like to work four days a week. Well I went ‘are you going to pay me for five?’ And she just looked at me and walked away. ... they seem to be employing a lot more people on a casual basis (50s, childcare worker).

Erratic shifts and rosters, with sudden changes in working time or very short shifts, are affecting many interviewees. This unreliable and somewhat capricious organisation of working time has many repercussions for Australian workers and their families in an environment of weak redress against unfair dismissal and more individualised contracts

These developments jeopardise the capacity of workers on low wages to supplement their incomes through a second job. Teresa explained:

All my friends, they have children going to school and they really have two jobs. Like, after they finish from our hotel they have to go to another hotel to work the night time for their children’s education (50s, luxury hotel worker).

This fragmentation of working time frustrates workers’ efforts to pull themselves and their families out of financial difficulty and to care for their families. As Susan states, from her point of view: ‘It’s not a very flexible job ... I’ve got an elderly mother who needs to go to the doctors nearly every other Wednesday but I can’t do that anymore’ (Susan, 50s, childcare worker).

2.4 WORKCHOICES AND FAMILY FRIENDLY WORK

The evidence from these interviews, in the context of other data, suggests that while many working families are only beginning to feel the effects of WorkChoices on their lives, many of these impacts are significant and negative. The majority of our low paid interviewees were apprehensive about two issues in particular: first, the implications for their pay and financial circumstances and, second, their control over time.
The prospect that *WorkChoices* could exacerbate family poverty was a prime concern. It was anticipated that families and children would suffer a decline in their quality of life as a consequence. For example, Jenny states:

... poverty's going to be rife and the family can’t afford to take their kids to the show or go out for dinner ... It's just going to cut everything right back. And that’s the sad part. Family life has gone out the window (40s, cleaner).

The notion that workers’ children might inherit worse workplace conditions, less life opportunities and a reduced standard of living also generated some distress amongst participants. One worker commented:

I worry about my children ... I don’t understand how these people are going to be able to get houses for their families ... when they just want people with permanent full-time jobs to give loans to. ... that’s a bit of worry as far as when you're looking into the future for them (Charmaine, 40s, cleaner)

There was a sense of disbelief and injustice amongst some workers that their government and employers could have such disregard not only for adult workers, but for their families and communities. According to Henry and other hotel workers, *WorkChoices* 'takes away the flexibility' working families need to juggle their work and care commitments (20s, luxury hotel worker). For example, changed regulations around annualised average hours of work mean that some employers are forcing workers to take annual leave at times that do not suit their families:

They seem to think if regular hours are too high you’ve got to take annual leave. ...It’s terrible ... they seem to think that the new laws ...[mean] they can force people to take annual leave when they don’t want it – if the hotel is quiet. All they seem to be worrying about is their budget... (Simone, 50s, luxury hotel worker).

Many of the employees interviewed felt their responsibilities as working parents and carers were of no concern to management and that they were casualties of business schedules and the push to widen working hours. Some workers also felt common family time was being lost:

...just managing time and having a work life balance... it’s especially hard now because my husbands got a full-time job, 9 to 5 Monday to Friday, whereas mine is ... all over the place. Sometimes I’ll be working weekends and it’s very hard for us to actually have a day together. (Dawn, 30s, luxury hotel worker).

Such comments illustrate the importance of predictable working time and more worker say over working time and its organisation. *WorkChoices* reduces workplace citizenship and voice; for example, the right to request to work part-time or take extended parental leave. The changes in unfair dismissal arrangements in particular, mean many workers interviewed now hesitate to express a working time preference to their employer.

Some of the most indignant interview responses emerged around the rights and needs of working carers. For example, resentment at the unfairness of being penalised or threatened for caring for dependents was expressed by Penny:

...people getting the sack or their families not being given priority, if the child is sick you get the sack... I think that’s pretty crap. You work to have a family and a life you don’t live to work (Penny, 20s, luxury hotel worker).

Diana was similarly outraged by the treatment her daughter received after years of loyalty to her employer:

...one of my daughters, ... she's in retail ... and worked there for four years. She's got two kids. She juggled them to suit the job... In that four years she only took two days off. She was brought up to the management and they told her ...unless you go down to [the other side of the city] you have to hand in your resignation ... And if she didn't take [it], well it was bad luck, you're out of job, and now she's out of job (Diana, 50s, cleaner).
The evidence registers an effective loss of power of employees on the job; control over when and how they work increasingly lies with employers and their scope to act in the interests of their families has contracted.

### 2.5 MAKING WORK PAY

Alongside fundamental industrial relations changes, the federal government has introduced a raft of reforms to social security legislation including new activity requirements and more severe compliance and penalty regimes (Andrews, 2006; Barbato, Concannon, & Leppert, 2006 35). New welfare-to-work provisions place pressure on pension recipients to accept any kind of work under mutual obligation requirements. These laws compel already vulnerable members of the workforce and community into the often hostile, intimidating and low paid industrial landscape demonstrated above.

While it is claimed that the state provides a safety net for low paid employees, many of the workers interviewed in this study indicate that it is failing to protect them from hardship (Australian Fair Pay Commission, 2006 9). According to Harding et al (2006 32) low paid workers are slightly more likely to face high effective tax rates (that is more than 50 per cent) than other employees. While unemployed workers moving to low paid jobs may improve their financial circumstances, the Australian Fair Pay Commission notes (2006 12):

> The incentives for lower-paid employees in part-time work to move to full-time work are not as strong. ... this is essentially the consequence of changes that have been made over time to income tests in order to improve the attractiveness of part-time work. The trade-off for these improvements has been some diminution of the relative incentive once in part-time work to take the further step to moving to full-time work.

Low paid workers make careful financial calculations about whether, and how much, they will work. For example, Bianca remarked: ... the more money I earn, I lose money from Centrelink and sometimes I look at it and think is it worth working? ... there's not enough money to go round some fortnights’ (30s, cleaner). Diana gives some insight into how the hidden costs of low paid work act as financial disincentives to paid work: 'I had to borrow money off me daughter to register the car ... without the car I couldn't have gone to work’ (50s, cleaner). Similarly, Simone explains:

> ... it’s the extra like transport and health and teeth. ...they’d prefer to work, but if it’s only twenty dollars difference ... why travel and hour and a half to try and get to work? (50s, luxury hotel worker)

Recent research indicates that minimum wage working parents are particularly protective of the benefits they receive, especially childcare benefits, health care cards and parenting payments (Colmar Brunton Social Research, 2006 5).

The evidence testifies to the careful juggling act that low-paid working carers perform to make ends meet. Lena, a childcare worker in her 40s stated: ‘all the Centrelink benefit would go on the rent. What was left ... like $50 after that to buy food and ... petrol.’ Many of the workers we interviewed lived on a razor’s edge, yet paid employment did not necessarily provide a route out of poverty; in some cases it exacerbated financial difficulties. Jackie, a community service worker on the coal-face, observed that some low paid workers are ‘actually going backwards by working and that’s a huge problem.’ These findings support anecdotal information from welfare agencies and senate inquiries on poverty (Senate Community Affairs Reference Committee, 2004; Barbato et al., 2006). They indicate that the WorkChoices package fails to address the longstanding social and economic dilemma of making work pay at the bottom end of the labour market; indeed it is likely to become a more entrenched problem (Gregory, 2000 14).
2.6 LIFE ON A LOW WAGE

Hardship and a deep sense of struggle and deprivation was a pervasive undercurrent within the empirical data. As noted elsewhere, low paid workers in Australia have no assurances of obtaining the essentials of life – decent food, shelter, clothing and communication with family and friends (Wynhausen, 2005; Masterman-Smith & Pocock, 2006; Masterman-Smith et al., 2006a, 2006b). Ebony buys

... home brand or the bargain of the week...it's not ...the leanest chicken or the leanest meat to actually promote good health. And also being running around heaps ...often I have to get [the kids] lunch order ...so sometimes it becomes a bit of an unorganised household which also becomes a bit more expensive which also creates not eating healthy and ... not taking time out for yourself (20s, childcare worker)

Bianca’s children offer ‘their money tins to help out with bills and food’ (30s, cleaner). The unrelenting pressure of surviving on a low wage inevitably puts strains on household relations and social networks as well. Cathy confided that:

[After rent] I’ve only got enough for petrol and milk and bread ... nothing left after that. ... my cupboard’s very empty before I go shopping. ... I’ve been really stressed out... Kids couldn't even look at me ...I can't cope any more. (40s, cleaner).

Workers interviewed felt that care commitments had become harder to maintain on their low wage. Diana, for example, cannot provide her visiting grandchildren with ‘cakes and lollies and take them to places and that's where I get really upset... (50s, cleaner). Another worker, Susan, had graver concerns. She regularly works long hours to keep on good terms with her employer and to compensate for the $12 per hour flat rate she earns. The pressure to take any and all work that comes her way makes for inflexible working arrangements that prevent her caring for her elderly mother; she must rely instead on neighbours to take up her ‘care deficit’ (Hochschild, 2005; Pocock, 2006 8-9). Self-care is also jeopardized, with employees feeling that they must be forever ‘on call’ in case extra work becomes available:

Because it’s a poor pay rate, you feel you need to work as much as you possibly can so you never want to make appointments, even on your day off, for medical, ... breast screening ... cervical cancer screening ... pap smears (Vicky, 50s, childcare worker)

The majority of workers we interviewed experienced financial and time poverty, which resulted in a diminished sense of well being and a reduced capacity to give care to others.

Most commentary on the effects of WorkChoices has remained within the confines of industrial relations and employment issues. Preliminary evidence from this study suggests that low pay, and its likely expansion under the new legislation, stands to have farther reaching effects for Australian society. Workers interviewed for this study spoke of the myriad ways in which the meaningfulness of their status as citizens in a democratic society was being eroded. Some reported feeling like second class citizens. Others discussed the paradox of having to suppress their sense of autonomy and self-determination once they entered the workplace, wherein often authoritarian and paternalist rules of behaviour were dictated. The implications of low pay for democracy at large were also raised. The time and financial poverty plaguing most of the low paid workers we interviewed was a major roadblock for civic engagement and political participation. Few participants had the time to keep abreast of their own workplace pay setting procedures let alone larger social issues and few could afford trade union membership or involvement in organised community life. For many low paid workers the corollary of social exclusion is political disenfranchisement. The Senate’s inquiry on poverty concluded that ‘if the processes that have given rise to a new class of poverty-stricken working people are allowed to continue, then Australia may never regain its
egalitarian tradition’ (Senate Community Affairs Reference Committee, 2004 xix). The disconnect between economic inequality and political equality is well recognized (Marshall, 1950; Yencken & Porter, 2001; Hearn & Lansbury, 2005; Briggs, Buchanan, & Watson, 2006). The initial findings on this theme suggest there is much to learn from low paid workers on the strength and character of democratic citizenship more broadly in the Australian context.

3 CONCLUSION

The rising tide of home-grown cheap labour in Australia has been buoyed by a distinctive and radically conservative industrial relations agenda. The early indications of the new regime are of a ground shift in the sense of insecurity and vulnerability that low paid workers experience – that is, an intensification of the commodification and immiseration of labour and consequently, social reproduction (Cowling, LaJeunesse, Mitchell, & Watts, 2006).

The effects of WorkChoices reach beyond low paid workers to their families and households. Many employees we interviewed found it difficult to balance their work and non-work commitments. Their low incomes meant that they were often both time and income poor. Many had traditionally relied upon penalty rates to get their weekly pay rate up to a liveable level. Of particular concern, following WorkChoices, was the loss of such pay premiums as well as the erosion of control over working time, which jeopardised or diminished the giving and receiving of care between fellow household and community members. According to some workers, working hours were being manipulated by employers to cut wages, meaning their hours were now less predictable. Greater employer controls were also being exercised on the amount and timing of leave entitlements. The combined effect of these processes has been the undermining of already weak family friendly work practices and consequently the quality of family and household life.

The growing unease is harnessing more of workers’ time and energy to waged labour and the prerogatives of the market economy with crucial ramifications for social reproduction (Pocock, Prosser, & Bridge, 2005). Living low paid is a treacherous and demeaning experience for most of the workers we interviewed. Many endure a stunted capacity to sustain themselves and their families, to give and receive care, and to be active citizens. Should low pay grow under the new industrial relations and welfare laws, at stake will be the wellbeing of working families and the health of society and democracy in Australia (Levin-Waldman, 2003). Moreover, the growth in industry-subsidizing low paid jobs in a time of national economic prosperity raises urgent questions about what kind of country Australia might become. To date, working poverty has been a concept popularly associated with the American labour force (Ehrenreich, 2001); it may well be a window onto what awaits future generations of Australians?

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5 REFERENCES


