

Energy Industry Jobs Plan Consultation Collie Power Station (2027) and Muja Power Station (2029)



Joint Union Submission

May 2026



Contents

- Executive summary - Collie and Muja Power Stations need an EIJP 1
- Introduction 3
- Premier Coal – an emerging crisis..... 5
- Collie – a region at risk..... 6
 - Population 6
 - Employment and Jobs 8
 - Unemployment 10
- Impacts of closure 12
 - Synergy 13
 - Worley Power Services 13
 - Yancoal Premier Coal..... 14
 - Monadelphous 14
 - Kaefer 15
 - Additional dependent contractors..... 15
 - Veolia Labour Hire 15
 - Tom Price and Sons 15
 - Mid Phones 15
 - Wilson’s Medic and Wilson’s Security 15
 - Adam’s Cleaning 15
- Impacts of disparate redundancy arrangements 15
- Maintenance contractors risk falling through the gaps..... 16
 - Synergy Maintenance Workers..... 17
 - UGL Maintenance Employees 18
- Existing support for workers..... 19
 - The Collie Just Transition Plan – WA Government 19
 - Worley Power Services – Collie Power Station 20
 - Synergy Transition Program 20

Premier Coal	21
UGL maintenance employees.....	23
Other Contractors	23
Additional support required	24
Views on the need for an EIJP for either closure	25
Opportunities for impacted employees	26
Decommissioning Works	27
Graphite Production	28
Battery Energy Storage Systems.....	28
Proposed geographic area	29
Participating Union blurbs	30
References	32

Definitions and abbreviations

Term	Meaning
Authority	The Net Zero Economy Authority established by the NZEA Act.
COI process	A Community of Interest process for the purpose of Part 5 of the NZEA Act.
COI Determination	A Community of Interest determination for the purpose of Part 5 of the NZEA Act.
Collie Power Station	Collie Power Station
EIJP	Energy Industry Jobs Plan for the purpose of Part 5 of the NZEA Act
Monadelphous	Monadelphous Group Limited
Muja Power Station	Muja Power Station
The Act	Net Zero Economy Authority Act, 2024
Premier Coal	Includes Premier Coal Pty Limited and Premier Coal Holdings Pty Limited
SPIE Global	SPIE Global Services Energy Pty Limited
Synergy	Electricity Generation and Retail Corporation trading as Synergy
UGL / UGL Power Services	UGL Operations and Maintenance (Services) Pty Ltd
Worley	Worley Power Services Pty Limited

Executive summary - Collie and Muja Power Stations need an EIJP

Unions representing workers at Collie Power Station and Muja Power Station view an EIJP covering Synergy, Worley (or SPIE Global – whichever applying) as operator of the Collie Power Station, Premier as the dependent coal mine together with the contractors and suppliers (including maintenance suppliers) detailed in this submission, as essential to facilitating a smooth, co-ordinated and just transition for the workers and community of Collie.

In both cases, the circumstances faced by directly employed, contractor and supply chain workers affected by the Power Stations' closures clearly support the legislative intent of Part 5 of the NZEA Act for an EIJP framework to be implemented.

An application by the Authority for a COI Determination which includes Synergy, Worley (or SPIE Global), Premier and the multiple contractor and supply chain businesses with employees whose livelihoods are at risk from the Power Stations closures, is justified and necessary.

For both closures, a majority of affected workers are not receiving the supports intended by the NZEA Act. In addition, inferior redundancy arrangements in place for Worley and Monadelphous employees—amongst others, means that the quality of general and other supports will be unreasonably less effective even if they were comparable—which they are not.

In the case of the **Collie Power Station**, operation of the power station is fully outsourced to Worley which has provided no transition support program to workers. Access to the Synergy transition program is not enforceable, has been delayed, and is extremely difficult for Collie PS workers to access. Collie PS's key supplier Premier is already experiencing significant job losses, with the remaining workforce dependent on state government-funded support which is not comprehensive and does not meet the requirements of the NZEA Act for employer-funded support. Multiple contractors and suppliers to Collie Power Station are receiving no transition support at all.

In the case of **Muja Power Station**, Synergy's transition program for direct employees and key contractors has been more effective. However, this support is not legally enforceable and is narrowly applied, excluding the broader network of contractors and suppliers' dependent on the power station for their livelihoods, including the captured coal mine owned and operated by Premier.

EIJPs including the power stations' owner Synergy and all affected contractors and suppliers would provide an important framework for creating enforceable, standardised transition support for Collie workers while ensuring the safe operation of energy assets through to closure.

This submission is supported by the following unions, representing directly employed and contractor workers at the Power Stations, the dependent Premier Coal mine and businesses in the Power Stations supply chain:

- Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union
- Electrical Trades Union, WA Branch
- Mining and Energy Union
- Australian Services Union, WA Branch

Introduction

“At the end of the day energy transition is a national responsibility and - communities like Collie - we've powered the State for so many years now.

So, it's important not to forget about us while we're going through a transition. We really need the federal government to step up, stand in and help us successfully transition our people.”

– Dan Graham, AMWU Member

Collie’s history and culture are long-standing and significant. Collie is located on Wilman Country, part of the traditional lands of the Ganeang, Pinjarup and Wilman peoples of the Noongar Nation. These communities have undergone their own transitions over time while maintaining a deep and sustained connection to Country, including significant cultural sites such as the Collie River (Bilya Boorigup), Minninup Pool where the Ngangungudditj Walgu (sacred spirit) rests, Jack Mears Spring, Brunswick Rive (Dyarlgarro) and the Preston River (Beeliargu), which still form a strong part of Collie’s current identity and landscape.

Coal was first discovered in the region in 1883, when stones from a campfire unexpectedly ignited, signifying a moment that would shape the town’s future. Since 1897, Collie has been the heart of Western Australia’s coal industry. Home to three major power stations, Collie has historically supplied the State’s coal and powered a significant portion of its energy requirements. As a result, the town’s economic strength and population growth have been closely intertwined with the fortunes of the coal and energy sectors. Collie’s dependence on Coal today makes it one of the sites most adversely affected by decarbonisation in WA (Weller 2024).

Present-day Collie is widely considered an economic hub of the South West region, contributing 13.5 per cent to the region’s Gross Regional Product. The Power Stations and their dependent coal mine, operated by Premier, employ nearly 1000 workers. This includes both insecure and permanently embedded contractors. Losing these major regional employers with no opening dates for new jobs will turn Collie and surrounds into a ghost town.

Directly employed and contractor workers at both Collie A and Muja Power Stations (**the Power Stations**) have specialist skills that will be required for the safe plant operation through to closure in October 2027 for Collie, and October 2029 for Muja. They will be

entering a complex jobs market in a regional economy facing significant disruption, including other major closures; the roll-out of multiple new government programs; and hopefully the expected development and construction of new projects and industries. A complexity that will be further exacerbated by the closure of Bluewaters Power Station.

Aligning these moving pieces to ensure these displaced workers find suitable and good quality jobs will be a complex task outside the scope of a single employer-run transition program. An EIJP is required to coordinate this work.

While some direct-hire and contractor employees at the Power Stations have access to transition support, there are significant shortfalls and exclusions that would be best addressed through application of the EIJP framework. There remains a two-tiered system for direct hire and permanently embedded contract workers at the Power Stations. And *no adequate transition structure* is available to workers at Synergy's dependent coal mine, Premier Coal.

Synergy, permanently embedded contract companies at the Power Stations, and Premier Coal can do better to support workers affected by energy transition and must be held to account to do so.

We submit that the circumstances faced by directly employed, contractor and supply chain workers affected by the Power Stations' closures clearly support the letter and intent of Part 5 of the Net Zero Economy Authority Act for an EIJP framework to be implemented. An application by the Net Zero Economy Authority (NZEa) for a Community of Interest Determination including Synergy, Premier Coal operator YanCoal, and the multiple contractor and supply chain businesses with employees whose livelihoods are at risk from the Power Stations closures, is justified and necessary.

The Collie community and its workforce have been consistent and strong advocates for a planned approach to this shift. To support a Just Transition for Collie, representatives from the community, industry employers, unions, State and Local Governments came together in 2018 to form the Just Transition Working Group, which developed and agreed on principles to guide the town's transition.

The WA Government has supported this work to ensure those affected by changes in Collie's economy are provided with new opportunities as the transition continues to progress and evolve. While the transition is acknowledged as a 10–15-year process, in 2019 the WA Government committed to working in partnership with the Just Transition Working Group to develop a Just Transition Plan (the Plan) that outlined the priorities for 2021–25, with a new 5 year Plan released in February 2026.

To achieve that goal Collie's closures must be linked to guaranteed opening dates of new projects capable of delivering secure, well-paid employment.

As the first Western Australian coal-fired power station to face closure since the establishment of the NZEA this is an important opportunity to set the standards for transition support and assure affected workers and the community that every effort is being made to deliver on the NZEA's mission statement that no-one is left behind in our transition to net zero.

To date the businesses best placed to act as receiving employers for workers in Collie (the Collie Magnesium Refinery and the Collie Steel Mill) are both prospective projects. There are no other existing employers in the region capable of taking on a workforce of this size and skills. Both prospective businesses still require significant support from the NZEA and the Commonwealth to ensure they begin construction or operations by the time of the closures.

The lack of clarity around what the most promising sources of new work in the region will be, and whether they will be ready in time, is the central barrier for transitioning workers. Workers are motivated to develop their skillsets but consistently report that they do not know what industries or roles they should be retraining for.

Without that immediate intervention the town of Collie is at serious risk of imminent decline. The workers of Collie need a destination for their transition. And the goal of that transition should not just be replacement jobs; it should be regional growth.

Premier Coal – an emerging crisis

The NZEA will be aware of an emerging crisis at Premier Coal, which represents the need and urgency for co-ordinated workforce support in Collie. Premier Coal operates an open cut coal mine, exclusively supplying Synergy with coal for the operation of Muja and Collie A Power Stations. Premier is a captured coal mine and lacks the infrastructure to access local or international markets.

The entirety of Premier's labour hire production workforce and a number of directly-employed fixed term employees – over 100 workers – are in the process of being laid off due to decreasing demand for coal due to the changing energy mix in the South West Interconnected System.

According to our estimates, in a normal summer Muja and Collie A would burn 120,000 to 130,000 tons of Coal a month. This summer, they burnt just 30,000 tons across both power stations. This is, at least in part, attributable to changing energy needs in the region because of the battery turning on over the summer.

It's a very real fear that the current round of job cuts may just be the first of rolling cuts due to existing coal stockpiles and declining demand, noting Collie A's closure is scheduled for October 2027.

The supply contract with Premier Coal may not continue to the closure of Muja Power Station. The current job cuts and the potential early closure of Premier Coal pose an existential threat to smooth regional transition in Collie. Production operators and maintenance workers at the coal mine will require access to transition supports including access to training and financial planning, as soon as possible.

Collie – a region at risk

“This town has known where it's been for such a long time, it's known where it's going. It has relied on the same people for such a long time. And it worries me that without the certainty of long-term work and industry in this town, I can see that disappearing and disappearing fast.

So therefore, the things that I grew up with - the sporting clubs and the streets in the town, I can see that disappearing.”

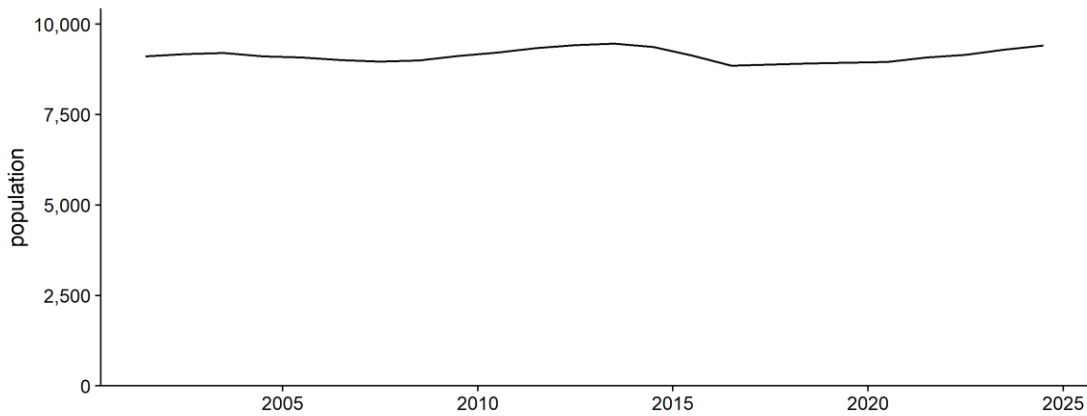
– Brad Strike, AMWU Member, Special Class Welder, Muja Power Station

The population, industry and employment data paints a picture of a town at serious risk of regional downturn.

Population

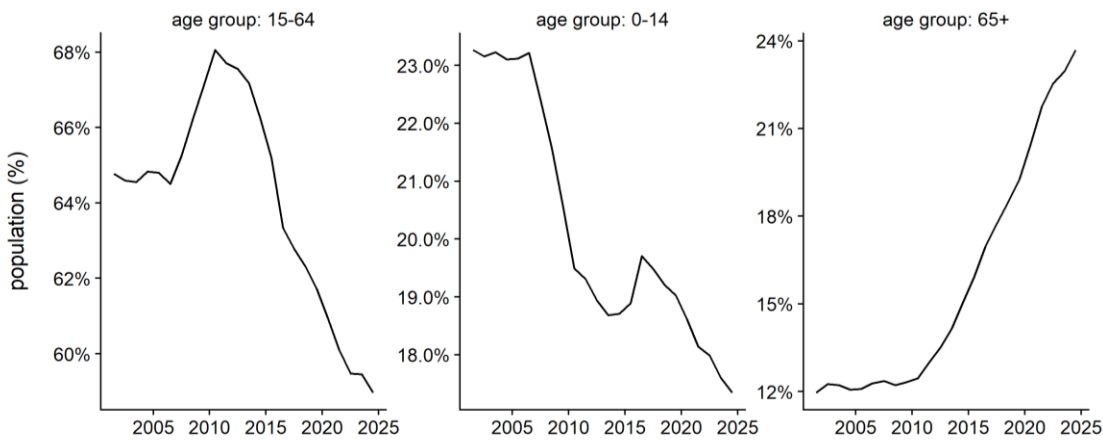
At first glance, Collie's (SA2) regional population has been relatively stable between 2001 and 2024 as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Estimated Resident Population, Collie (SA2)



However, this overall population stability masks the structural shift in the population. Over the same period, the working age population in Collie has fallen from 65% of the total population, to under 59% in 2024 and the population share that is at, or above, typical retirement age has doubled from 12% to 24%. At the same time, the youth population has declined from about 23% to less than 18%. The population of each age group is shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Estimated Resident Population, Collie (SA2), by age group.

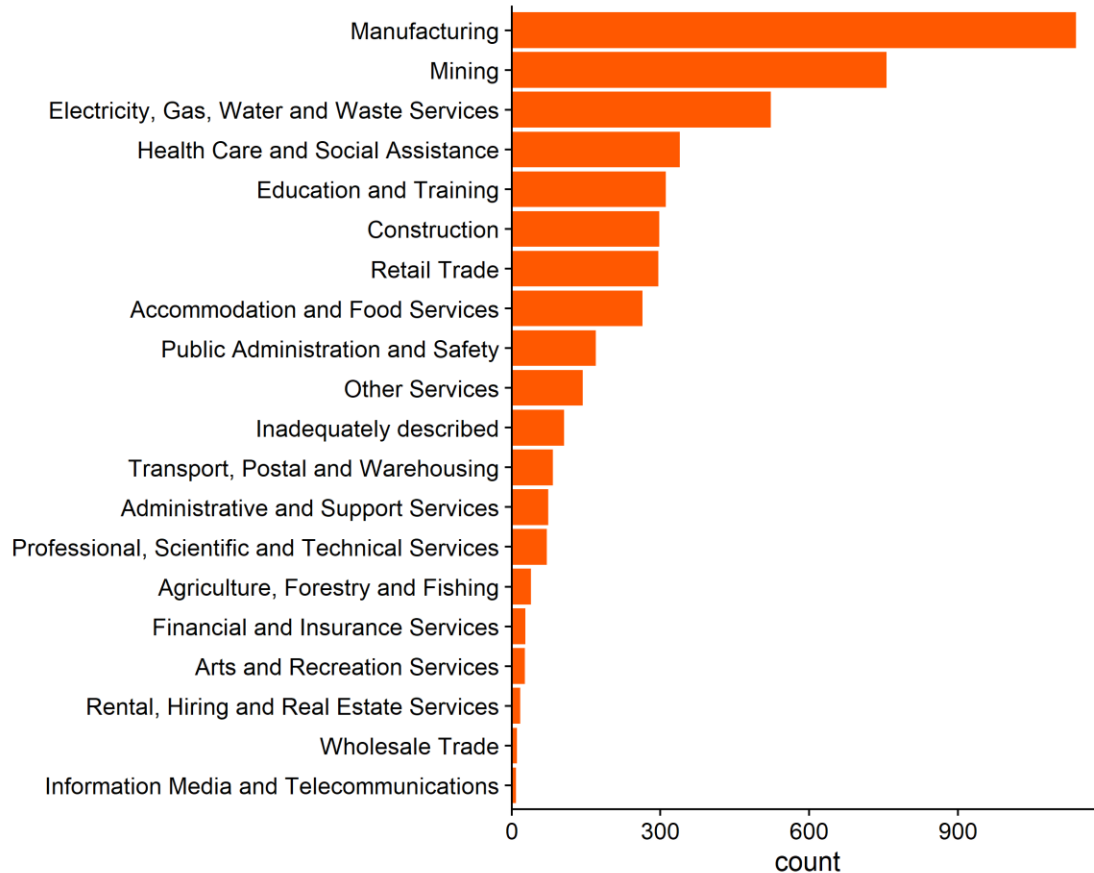


Essentially, the retirement age population has doubled at the expense of the working-age and youth populations. Collie is an ageing town, and these trends put it at serious risk of long-term decline if there is not urgent reindustrialization.

Employment and Jobs

Figure 3 shows that in 2021,¹ manufacturing was the largest employing industry in Collie, with over 1,100 employees, followed by mining which employed about 750 people. Together, these two industries represented 40% of the total workforce in Collie, with nearly 1/4 workers employed in the manufacturing industry alone.

Figure 3: Employment by industry, Collie (SA2), Census 2021



It is important to note that this is a significantly larger figure than the more recent jobs data in Figure 4, below, which indicated only 283 manufacturing jobs in 2022/23 – indicating the region is already experiencing a significant decline compared to the 2021 Census.

¹ Industry and occupation employment for SA2 regions contained in this section is only available through the Census, which was last conducted in 2021. As such, the figures below represent a snapshot of Collie at this point in time. The reality in 2026 may be substantially different and should be considered in conjunction with regional expertise.

Figure 4: Number of jobs, Collie (SA2), by industry, 2022/23

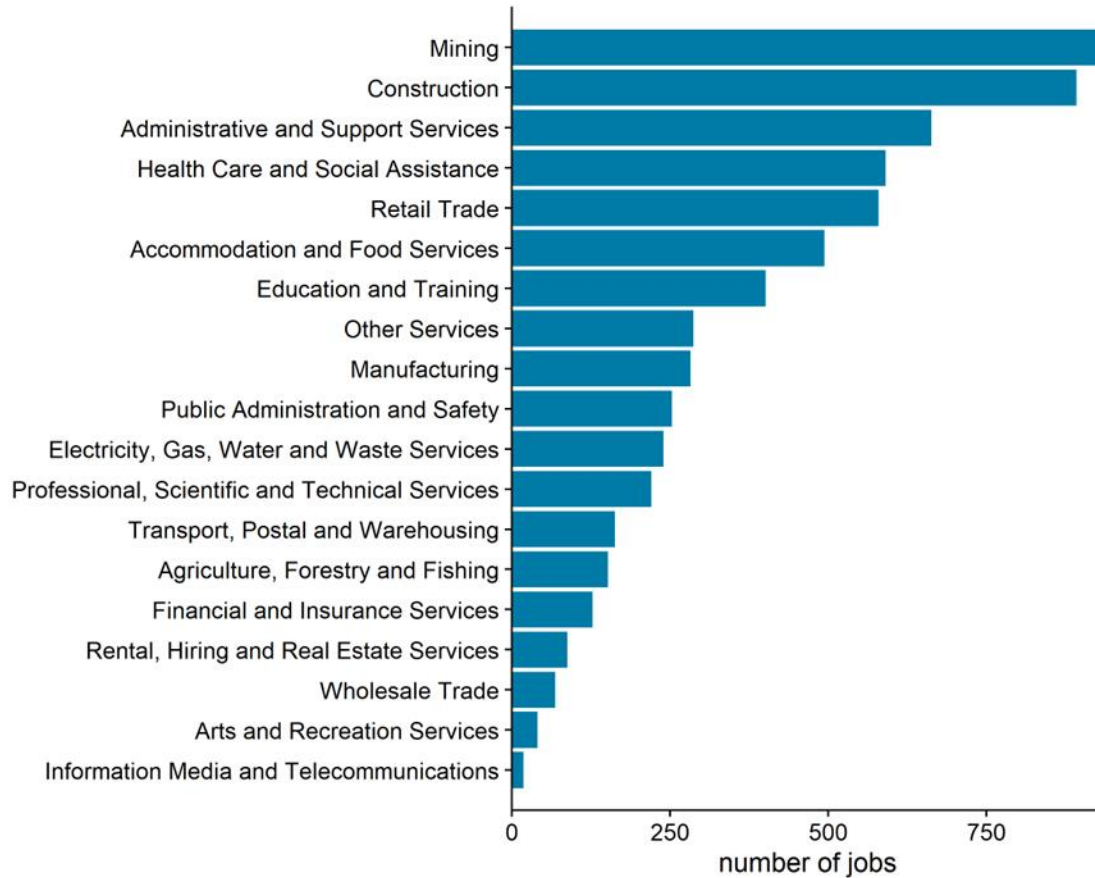
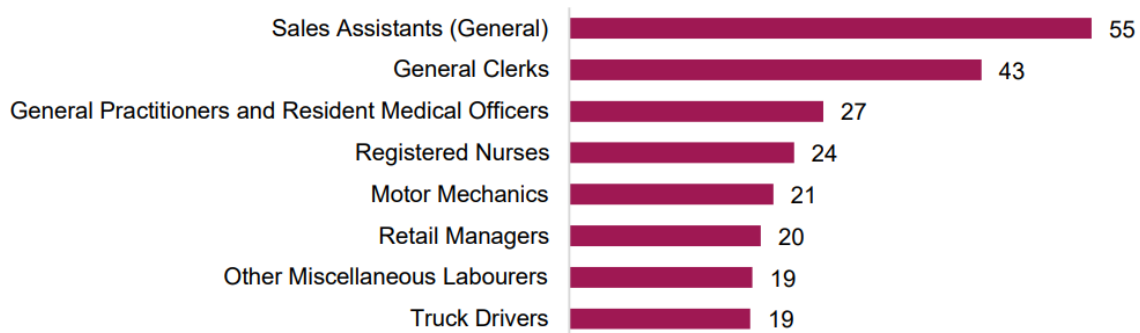


Figure 4 also shows that both mining and construction are the largest industries in terms of job supply in the region, contributing 936 and 892 jobs respectively in 2022/23.

The most recent vacancy data from Jobs and Skills Australia, Figure 5, detailing the top occupations being advertised in the region, shows *no overlap* with the skills profile of the impacted workers in Collie.

Figure 5: Online job advertisements by occupation (Jobs and Skills Australia 2026)

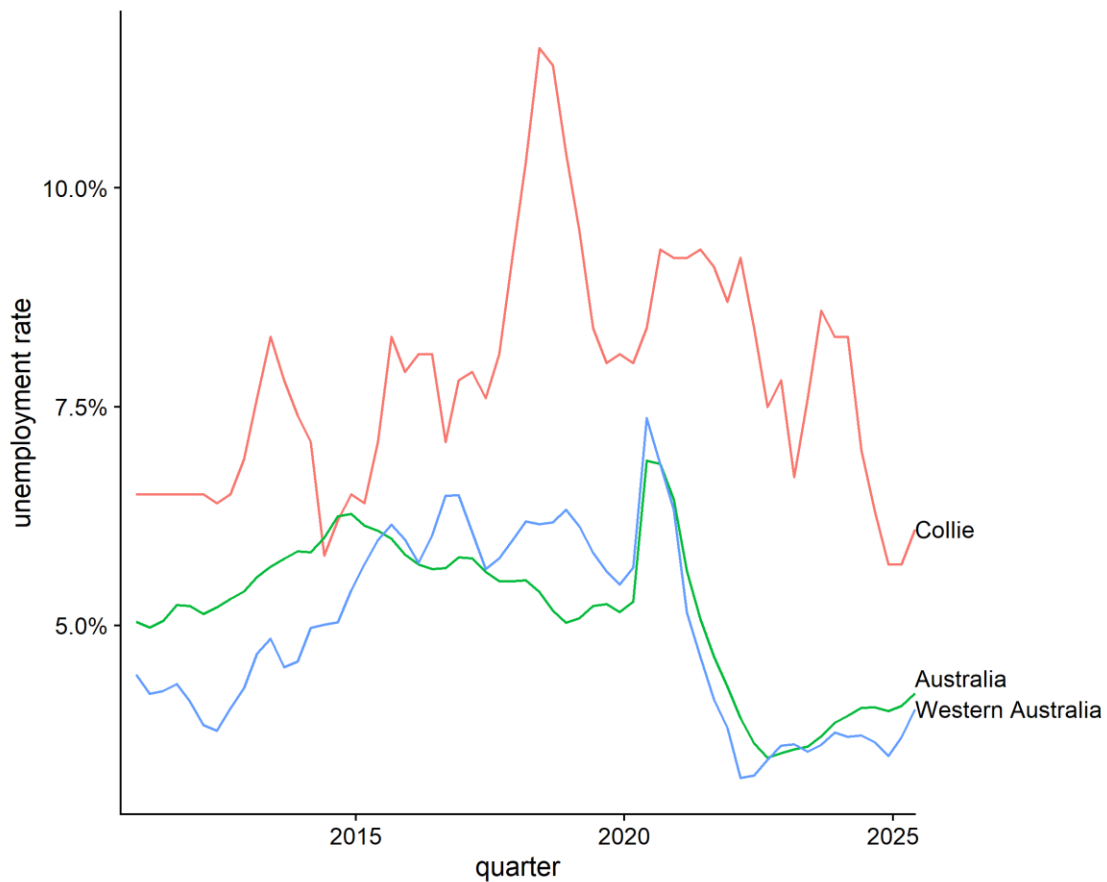


Job similarity analysis shows that it is difficult to transition to other industries in the region from jobs in the mining and energy industries. As the coal industry declines - reducing access to and increasing competition for - familiar and transferable employment, the region will decline.

Unemployment

The unemployment rate in Collie is higher than the Australian and the Western Australian average. Where there has been record low unemployment levels seen across Australia following the Covid-19 pandemic, the rate in Collie has remained stubbornly high, as shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Unemployment rate (%), Collie (SA2), Western Australia, Australia



In fact, Collie has the highest unemployment rate of all of the LGAs in South West WA.

LGAs with highest unemployment rates (%)		
Local Government Area (LGA)	Sep-25	Sep-24
Collie	5.6	6.3
Bunbury	4.8	5.4
Manjimup	3.2	3.5
Nannup*	2.9	3.0
Harvey	2.5	2.7

And the latest statistics show that between June 2023 and December 2025, the number of people in Collie receiving income support has increased. The number of people on the Aged Pension has increased from 1385 to 1450; rent assistance has increased from 430 to 465; Disability Support Pension is up from 425 to 460; and Jobseeker is up from 540 to 575 (Australian Government 2026).

This is reflected in conversations with members who are worried about the future and expect to face significant difficulties in finding suitable alternative employment in the local Collie region.

All of this is to say that if there is not an immediate government support for job creation in the region there will not be enough suitable work for the workers at Collie and Muja.

Given this insecurity an EIJP is vital for the directly employed and contract workforce at Collie and Muja Power Stations an EIJP is critical in ensuring as many workers as possible are redeployed into suitable opportunities.

Impacts of closure

Once families start leaving, then you haven't got the numbers in the schools, you lose your health care, you lose your age care, and then it just becomes a ghost town. So, we can't have that.

– Chad Mitchell, AMWU Member

The Power Stations and their dependent coal mine, Premier Coal (**PCL**), employ nearly 1000 workers. This includes both insecure and permanently embedded contractors. Losing these major regional employers will cause a major economic and cultural hit to the region. Without immediate job creation efforts there is a real risk of economic downturn and population outflow in the region, as those workers who can will be forced to leave town to find work.

In addition to the directly employed workers at Collie and Muja Power Stations, workers at dependent contractors will be adversely affected by these closures. Unions advocate for the following employers to be included a Community of Interest application, along with the power stations' owner Synergy:

Table 1: Collie Power Station

Dependent / closing employer	Relationship to closing power station
Synergy Collie Power Station	Owner
Worley / SPIE Power Services	Operator
Yancoal Premier Coal	Dependent coal supplier
Programmed	Labour hire contractor for Premier
Adam's Cleaning	Dependent contractor

Table 2: Muja Power Station

Dependent / closing employer	Relationship to closing power station
Synergy Muja Power Station	Owner and Operator
Yancoal Premier Coal	Dependent coal supplier
Programmed	Labour hire contractor for Premier
Monadelphous	Dependent contractor
UGL Power Services	Dependent contractor
Kaefer	Dependent contractor
Veolia Labour Hire	Dependent contractor

Tom Price and Sons	Dependent contractor
Mid phones	Dependent contractor
Wilson’s Medic and Wilson’s Security	Dependent contractor
PGSR	Dependent contractor – outage work. PGSR tends to use east coast workers.

In addition to the contractors listed above shutdown maintenance workers at Synergy, UGL and PGSR will also be impacted, as we detail below.

Synergy

Synergy is the Owner of Collie Power Station and the Owner and Operator of Muja Power Station as such it is essential that Synergy be included in an EIJP for both power stations. Under the Act both owners and operators are considered closing employers.

So far, the way in which the closing employers have attempted to meet their obligations (to the varying extents they have) has been through access to Synergy’s transition program. It is our view that the entity running the current support system needs to be captured by an EIJP to ensure smooth transition, equitable access and accountability. If Synergy is not included it would create a significant gap in enforceability.

Worley Power Services

Worley Power Services, soon to be SPIE Power Services after the completion of the acquisition by SPIE Global Services Energy (contracted operator of Collie Power Station). Worley Power Services operates and maintains the Collie Power Station.

The unions estimate there are about 70 workers on site at Collie including management, maintenance and operations. The Worley workforce at Collie includes 2 electricians, 8 fitters, and 20 operators, who are expected to face redundancy at closure of the power station in October 2027.

Unions expect that a much-reduced workforce will be required to decommission the power station for about a year after closure. It is not clear at this stage what the composition of that continuing workforce will be. It is understood that Worley has submitted a budget to Synergy to cover the continued employment of operations employees through 2028 for decommissioning, however that has not been approved, causing more uncertainty for workers.

Worley Power Services also holds a contract for maintenance of the CBESS, at which it engages about 7 electricians. As the CBESS is now commissioned and operating, with all

ongoing maintenance roles filled, opportunities to redeploy Worley employees from Collie to the CBESS are limited. Unions expect that most Worley employees will be made redundant at closure, with a smaller number made redundant about 12 months after closure at the conclusion of decommissioning.

Yancoal Premier Coal

Premier Coal (operated by Yancoal) supplies coal to both Collie A and Muja Power Stations and is set to close in 2030. Premier Coal has until recently had about 450 workers; 200 directly employed production employees and an estimated 250 labour hire and embedded contract employees.

These workers perform the full range of mine production roles including operating machinery such as haul trucks, excavators, graders, loaders and dozers; shotfiring; cranes and lubricating; emergency services; operating the Coal Handling and Preparation Plant; training assessing and relief supervision.

Premier Coal is currently in the process of laying off the entirety of its labour hire workforce of over 115 production workers employed through Programmed (the main labour hire contractor at Premier Coal), in addition to a number of fixed term direct employees.

Monadelphous

Monadelphous is the contractor operating the Coal Handling and Preparation Plant at Muja Power Station. They hold a supply contract with Synergy for maintenance of coal transport infrastructure at Muja power station, including coal crushing plant and conveyors. These workers maintain the coal stockpile using scrapers and dozers and feed coal into the power station.

The relevant workers at Monadelphous were direct employees of Synergy until about 2017, when maintenance operations were contracted out. The Monadelphous workforce impacted by closure of the power station consists of approximately 31 workers including 4 full-time electricians, 4 fitters, and 18 operators. Some of those employees were only recently hired to replace three electricians who took up work maintaining the Collie Battery Energy Storage System (CBESS) and Neoen Collie BESS (NCBESS).

The maintenance contract covering Monadelphous employees at Muja is due for renewal, with only a three-month extension at this stage. Unions expect that most of the Monadelphous employees will face redundancy closer to the closure of the power station.

Kaefer

Kaefer employs an estimated 25 permanent embedded full-time workers at Muja Power Station. Kaefer is responsible for insulation, scaffolding, carpentry, access and specialized asbestos removal. Their work will cease with the closure of Muja Power station.

Additional dependent contractors

In addition to the larger contractors, we are also aware of the following smaller dependent contractors who will lose their contracts – and the employees their jobs - when the closures happen:

Veolia Labour Hire

Veolia labour hire is responsible for approximately 20 permanent embedded full-time workers at Muja Power Station.

Tom Price and Sons

Tom Price and Sons employs 4 permanent embedded full-time workers at Muja Power Station full time. They are responsible for rigging, testing and tagging equipment and crane operation.

Mid Phones

Mid Phones is a local contractor that employs approximately 3 permanent embedded full-time telecommunication specialists at Muja Power Station.

Wilson's Medic and Wilson's Security

We estimate 12 permanent embedded full-time Wilson's employees work across their Medic and Security teams at Muja Power Station.

Adam's Cleaning

Adam's cleaning employs approximately 3 permanent embedded full-time workers at Collie Power Station.

Impacts of disparate redundancy arrangements

Employees of contractors including Worley, Monadelphous and Kaefer have not had the same access to transition support as direct employees of Synergy. We note that Synergy's transition program was only made available to contractors after considerable union advocacy; and that it is significantly more challenging to access for workers not based at the power stations.

It is also noted that redundancy payments for contractors including Worley, Monadelphous and Kaefer employees are capped at 24 weeks, whereas Synergy direct employees can receive up to 87 weeks. The inferior redundancy arrangements being offered to contractors—a matter that in our submission can be taken into account by virtue of s59(1)(c) of the Act—must increase the scope and quality supports affected employees should reasonably be entitled to expect. This is particularly true of the qualitative aspects of the general and other obligations of supports (ss58 and 59 of the Act) such as information provision, accessibility, coordination, and flexibility because of the shorter adjustment timeframe available to them as a consequence of the inferior redundancy supports.

Redundancy and severance arrangements can significantly improve worker outcomes by improving the flexibility, scope and length of re-training pathways, and by permitting workers an option to start their own business in their local community (Christine Evans-Klock 1998). Additionally, reasonable redundancy and severance arrangements elevate personal choice. This can be particularly important where workers are balancing complex family, community and location considerations in more remote communities. However, rather than receive an elevated level of supports as a consequence of inferior redundancy arrangements, employees of key contractor firms have in general received reduced access to supports compared with direct employees.

Although Monadelphous CHPP employees were able to increase their redundancy provisions from 16 to 24 weeks in enterprise bargaining completed in early 2026 – efforts to increase it to 52 weeks were unsuccessful. The MoU signed between Synergy, the AMWU and CEPU links contractor severance pay to provisions in the Worley Power Services Collie Employee Collective Agreement 2023 (capped at 24 weeks) – less than one-third that available to direct employees. The MoU has been used by Synergy to limit embedded contractors from bargaining for improved outcomes in EA negotiations as they fall during the period to closure.

Maintenance contractors risk falling through the gaps

At both Collie and Muja power stations, notice of closure has been followed by a reduction in scheduled maintenance outages, in-housing of maintenance operations, and reductions in the overall maintenance workforce. Those changes have already resulted in redeployment and redundancy of some workers employed by maintenance contractors. More are expected to face redundancy in the latter half of 2026, with the final maintenance outage scheduled for Muja Power Station in winter of this year.

As we have argued in COI processes elsewhere, unions are also concerned that the exclusion of contractors as a result of business size, or rotating rosters (as in the case of shutdown workers) will mean these workers miss out on further training and upskilling vital to securing work in a net zero future. This is a national concern for the industry. If workers are excluded from every successive EIJP in their region on the basis that they have short-term contracts, it sets a precedent wherein shutdown and maintenance contractors fall through the gaps of national transition support as these closures progress.

Taking a whole-of-community approach, our submission is that the definition of dependent employer must include maintenance contractors in circumstances where there is a significantly reduced scope of contracts held by each maintenance contractor because of the closure and the reduced work available to workers who service those contracts – essentially, that this closure will impact workers employed by contracted companies who do not work on-site year-round.

Where any number of roles are expected to be impacted by the closure or by restructuring of the closing employer's operations in preparation for the closure, that should weigh in favour of naming the contractor as a dependent employer in a Section 56 application for a Community of Interest Determination.

Unions maintain that employees of maintenance contractors to the power station and supplying coal mine are transition employees notwithstanding that their work at the power station or supplying coal mine may be:

- of a casual, seasonal or part-time nature;
- shared among multiple employees according to a rotating roster; or
- provided on an as-needed basis.

Synergy Maintenance Workers

Synergy employs at least 58 employees across the electrical and mechanical maintenance operations. Synergy has informed unions that at least 42 of those workers will continue in their roles up to closure of the Muja D generators in 2029, including a minimum of 18 mechanical workers, 18 electricians, and 6 general trade assistants. This suggests the possibility of some 16 redundancies in the restructuring of maintenance operations approaching closure. That early reduction in the total maintenance workforce is consistent with a substantial reduction in major maintenance outages, and reduction in the intensity of routine maintenance in the final months and years before closure.

There is no indication that Synergy can redeploy all the maintenance employees remaining at closure of the Muja D generators. A failure to sequence the construction and

commissioning of new Synergy assets including the Kwinana Battery Energy Storage System (BESS) 1, Kwinana BESS 2, and Collie BESS with the closure of the power station has meant that there are limited opportunities for electrical maintenance workers from Muja to redeploy to local work with Synergy. Other projects held by Synergy as part of the WA Government’s DER roadmap are focused in urban areas outside the Collie basin.

UGL Maintenance Employees

UGL has held successive, long-term supply contracts with Synergy for maintenance operations at Muja Power Station. We estimate UGL has 25 workers based at Muja power station including a team of six tradespeople who are employed by UGL on a full-time and permanent basis to maintain the station, assisted by an electrical apprentice. Each of the tradespeople has substantial tenure working at the power station.

A long-term supply contract between UGL and Synergy expired in March 2026. That contract

“Collie is still waiting for major industries to develop in the town/area. It would be great if these businesses could visit site and present what their workforce requirements are and when they are likely need them so workers can plan for the future.”

– MEU Member

has now been extended for one year, to March 2027 for a reduced scope of work. As part of a broader restructuring of maintenance operations to closure, Synergy has indicated plans to inhouse part of the maintenance work currently performed by UGL - work traditionally performed by UGL employees will instead be performed by the existing Synergy workforce. As a result of those changes in the scope of its business at Muja, UGL has informed its employees that three of the six tradespeople in the Muja maintenance team will be made redundant by June 2026.²

There are currently 2 generating units operating at Muja, both of which are scheduled for major maintenance outages in the ‘shoulder’ period of winter 2026. That maintenance outage will see the generators through to closure. The remainder of the UGL employees at

² Synergy has indicated that it will take on the apprentice electrician from UGL, to allow the apprentice to finish their apprenticeship.

Muja are likely to be made redundant at the end of the current contract period, in March 2027, two years before the expected closure date.

Existing support for workers

Ultimately workers cannot retrain if they do not know what is coming. Challenges accessing training are exacerbated by confusion over what to train for. And workers have not received opportunities to hear from other employers or proponents of potential new projects in Collie.

That said, transition support for workers affected by the closure of Collie and Muja is highly variable and workers impacted by the closures report low levels of confidence in transitioning into suitable new employment after closure.

Direct Synergy employees and contractors at Muja Power Station have received access to training including paid time off. However, there remains a two-tiered system for direct hire and permanently embedded contract workers at the Power Stations and there is a clear inequity in the standards of support for workers depending on their employer and their worksite. And there is no adequate transition structure is available to workers at Synergy's dependent coal mine, Premier Coal.

Outside of direct Synergy employees, no affected workers have received transition supports from their direct employers and have instead relied on accessing the Synergy or WA Government-funded schemes, facing multiple barriers to access.

These are significant shortfalls and exclusions that would be best addressed through application of the EIJF framework.

The Collie Just Transition Plan – WA Government

“We were told at the start that long term Synergy contractors would be no worse off than the direct employees, but that didn't happen.”

– MEU member.

The Collie Just Transition Plan, funded by the Western Australian Government, includes the support of a Collie Jobs and Skills Centre, which provides information and advice about training options, skills gap analysis and career planning, as well as assessment for recognized prior learning (RPL). Although it is welcome - the Collie Just Transition Plan is not supported by a program of leave or paid time to develop a training plan with the Jobs and

Skills Centre, or to undertake training as part of a plan. This presents a significant barrier to access - especially for workers of dependent employers that have not instituted their own program of transition support.

Workers would benefit from the support of an EIJ, including entitlement to time off for the purpose of obtaining career advice and attending training.

Transition employees also have access to a selection of fee-free and reduced-fee training courses on the same terms as the general public. The VET Fees and Charges Policy 2026 establish eligibility rules for such fee-free and reduced-fee training. Not all transition employees would be eligible for fee-free training packages – yet another reason impacted workers would benefit from the formalised support of an EIJ.

Worley Power Services – Collie Power Station

MEU members at the Collie Power Station report having to access training in their own time, unremunerated; having time off for study rejected due to operational pressures; or having to access annual leave. Most said that workers had not been given fair opportunities to utilise available support. A common sentiment expressed by Worley workers was that support for contractor employees had been left too late, with Collie scheduled closure barely 18 months away, and that the employer actively made it difficult for workers to utilise retraining support due to very tight staffing and a concern about staff retention through to closure. While Synergy transition staff do visit Collie Power Station periodically, for shift workers it can mean considerable periods of time pass before they can access them due to shifts and operational pressures on the job. Although the MOU now extends to Worley employees at Collie, in practice proves difficult for workers to receive the benefits of the program.

Worley employees at Collie A express significantly lower levels of satisfaction with the transition support they have received, compared with workers at Muja. One MEU member described Collie Power Station’s treatment as akin to being the ‘poor cousin’ to Muja.

Synergy Transition Program

The Transition Program was initially established by Synergy to support the transition of its directly employed workforce. The program supports Synergy employees to develop individual transition plans, including training plans for employees seeking new work after the closure.

In late 2024, Synergy extended the program to employees of some contractors engaged by Synergy. Workers employed by dependent contractors are now developing training plans, however, they have significantly less time than direct employees of Synergy to complete retraining and upskilling as part of those plans. Employees of dependent employers will

require support from their direct employers, including leave, to access training and financial advice as part of an individual transition plan.

For the most part, workers based at Muja Power Station, including those at coal handling plant contractor Monadelphous, have benefitted from support from Synergy, including access to paid work time if retraining courses fell during a rostered shift.

Union members at Monadelphous felt that affected workers had been given fair opportunities to utilise the available training support and report reasonable satisfaction with the transition support they have received. However, this transition support does not translate into confidence moving into new employment due to the lack of new industries and employment opportunities for Muja workers.

While Muja workers benefit from on-site access to dedicated transition personnel, at Collie A engagement with transition support has been difficult. The extremely tight staff arrangements at Collie A, where operations are contracted out to Worley, has proven a significant barrier for workers wanting to utilise Synergy retraining supports.

A survey of Electrical workers employed by Synergy at the Muja Power Station D Unit reveals a significant cohort is concerned about a lack of alternative employers in the area (64%). Many expect they will need to relocate outside the region to find work (44%), transition into fly-in-fly-out (FIFO) work in offshore and or remote mining operations (24%) or accept unsuitable employment (20%). Despite access to the Muja Workforce Transition Program, workers consistently expressed uncertainty about new industries in their area to which they could target training, and concern about their ability to complete training before the closing date.

As one ETU member said, *“There will be no local roles available for me that will have comparable conditions or salary. Because of this I feel my only choice is to have a complete career change which I’m not ready to dive into yet... Even doing this, starting over means a substantial pay cut of at least 50 - 75%. I feel very stuck and not sure what my future holds.”*

Premier Coal

In addition to the crisis emerging at Premier Coal, workers there do not have sufficient support to prepare for and transition to new jobs. Despite this service being provided at the Power Stations, no proper transition structure exists at Premier Coal.

Workers at Premier coal mine (including both direct employees and Programmed workers) do not have access to the Synergy Program at all. Among MEU members at Premier (directly-employed and labour hire production workers), about one in five reported being offered no transition support to date, while fewer than one in five had developed an Individual

Transition Plan through the package. Of those who had proceeded to access retraining support, 90 per cent reported having to complete the training in their own time or use other

“I have found they are good for small trainings such as the forklift license but anything substantial that will help me get a job elsewhere that I want to do, is either a long waitlist or not funded.”

– MEU Member, Premier Coal

leave entitlements. As shift workers with rolling rosters, Premier Coal production workers expressed frustration at the challenge of finding courses that could fit in with their days off work – with some workers starting and then discontinuing courses for this reason.

The low awareness and uptake of support by mine workers at Premier is especially

“We have people trying to access training into new areas of expertise and they are being told that it's not covered by the Just Transition (program) but we can sign you up to a forklift course. What are we going to do with 1500 people all trained on how to drive a forklift? Everyone needs different types of training what they offer is basic stuff it needs to be more varied and more accessible.”

– MEU Member, Premier Coal

concerning, as they were the cohort most likely to hold site-specific competencies and tickets rather than nationally recognised qualifications.

Premier Coal is a participant in the WA Government’s Collie Just Transition Program but does not provide paid-time training or any other substantial transition support to its workers. And although the Government Just Transition package is equally available to labour hire and direct employees at Premier Coal, some MEU labour hire members reported that they were not aware the support applied to them and that they feared repercussions for taking time off to pursue training, due to operational requirements at the mine.

Additionally, MEU members at Premier Coal report significant limitations on the kinds of training that could be funded through this program, due to lack of local availability or

inclusion in the program. For example, MEU members who were interested in pursuing courses including paramedicine and healthcare have been knocked back and told it was not available for funding through the transition program.

The mine is entirely dependent on its coal supply contract with Synergy. When the Power Stations close, PCL will shut – if not before. In many respects, closure is more acute for workers at Premier because pre-stripping at the mine will end years before final closure and job losses are occurring much earlier than at the Power Stations. An EIJP would help ensure transition support consistency and clarity across this vulnerable cohort.

UGL maintenance employees

UGL employees were denied access to the Muja Workforce Transition Program until about six months ago. Those who have since established an Individual Transition Plan have had no meaningful opportunity to engage in upskilling, training and development, and financial planning. The experience of those workers underscores the need for COI determinations to be made earlier, to better respond to substantial workforce reductions in maintenance teams months and years before final closure.

The NZEA's oversight of redeployment schemes through an EIJP, including the incentivizing of early retirement could improve the situation for workers seeking redeployment and ensure that suitable redeployment opportunities are identified quickly, coordinated fairly, and timed to align with the Power Stations operational needs up to closure.

Other Contractors

We note that Synergy's transition program was only made available to workers at contractors after considerable union advocacy; and that it is significantly more challenging to access for workers not based at Muja Power Station.

As we have consistently advocated through COI processes in other regions, the exclusion of the supply chain workforce is at odds with the objects of the NZEA as set out in the Act. Contractors have the same requirement for transition support as directly employed workers. Employees of dependent electrical and mechanical maintenance contractors who are working at the Power Station or Coal Mine have the same need for assistance to access employment opportunities with receiving employers as direct employees.

Given what we know about the quality of transition outcomes for supply chain workers historically, the inclusion of the identified contractors in a Community of Interest Determination would ensure reasonable access to support for these vulnerable workers. Recognising also that those employed by dependent employers are less likely to have

generous redundancy entitlements that they could rely on during a period of unemployment.

We have also consistently argued that the NZEA must cast a wide net when including dependent employers in its COI application. All dependent employers that cannot confirm that they will redeploy all affected employees to other roles in their business after the closure must be included in the NZEA's COI application. It is substantially preferable for the COI to capture some workers who may not end up requiring the EIJP supports than for it to exclude any workers who may meet the definition of 'transition employee' under the NZEA Act.

As we made clear in the opening sections of this submission Collie is a region at risk and the workers of Collie – especially those employed by dependent contractors need all the help they can get. The relative size and resources of the dependent employer should bear little weight on the NZEA's determination to name a contractor, nor should the size of any given workforce. Regardless of employer these workers will be entering the job market at the same time, and the impact of closure on those employees will be just as significant as for any directly employed worker. Many will face redundancy, some who are engaged seasonally to perform maintenance during scheduled shutdowns will experience a significant reduction in their annual income and pressure to transition into new work.

Naming these businesses as dependent employers is critical to ensure that direct, contractor, and subcontractor employees all receive the same high standard of enforceable transition support, and no worker is left behind or falls through the gaps.

Additional support required

The standards of support offered must be lifted so that all workers affected by the closures have access to the same levels of support, including individual transition planning, retraining, career guidance, paid time for training and connecting with potential alternative employers. There is also a question around the enforceability of support. Synergy's programs are underpinned by a Memorandum of Understanding, rather than industrial instruments. Workers at Premier have to rely on employer goodwill during shift time to speak with WA Government transition package representatives – or attend the Collie Jobs and Skills Centre in their own time - and have no enforceable rights to study leave. Unions are trying to address this lack of enforceability by including conditions in Enterprise Agreements as they come up for negotiation but that is not guaranteed.

The Collie community and its workforce have been consistent and strong advocates for a planned approach to this shift. In the Just Transition Working Group the Collie community,

unions, government, energy and coal-related industries, and new industries and emerging sectors have come together to drive this transition. And this transition will be driven locally and should be shaped by those it affects most. It is vital that any and all additional transition coordination work should support the existing Just Transition Working Group which has long running and genuine engagement with all of collie's community stakeholders. We do not support the creation of any additional transition bodies in the community.

Views on the need for an EIJP for either closure

An EIJP would improve the transition supports available to direct hires and contractors at both power stations and at Premier Coal. Ensuring every worker impacted by the closure receives the same high standard of enforceable support and fair treatment in accessing and using that support.

Unions also note that redundancy entitlements for workers employed by Synergy contractors are significantly inferior to the redundancy provisions in the Synergy enterprise agreement. Redundancy payments for Monadelphous and Worley workers are capped at 24 weeks, whereas Synergy direct employees receive can receive up to 87 weeks.

The fact of the disparity highlights that the immediate financial impacts of closure will be heightened for those at dependent employers. This discrepancy reduces the opportunity for a cohort of workers to consider early retirement on closure, makes retention of key skilled workers to closure more challenging for dependent employers and underscores the urgent need to put orderly redeployment pathways in place.

Mine workers employed by Premier Coal and Programmed have not had access to any employer-provided support. While Premier has allowed workers to take time on their shifts to have short conversations with representatives from TAFE and the WA just transition program, the level of uptake suggests that a structured transition program, such as that delivered through an EIJP, is urgently needed.

Workers expect to face significant difficulties in finding suitable alternative employment in the local Collie region. Within such a challenging context, the redeployment scheme that the NZEA can offer as part of an EIJP is critical in ensuring as many workers as possible are redeployed into suitable opportunities.

Union members consistently raise concerns about the impacts of closure timing on their ability to find new work. Some workers expressed frustration that 'retention' was being used an excuse to deny training and that the responsibility of safe operation of assets being put onto workers with the unfair expectation that they should not seek alternative opportunities.

The coordination work of the NZEA means that redeployments can be arranged to occur at mutually agreeable times, and workers do not have to worry about missing out on opportunities if they stay to safely operate their worksite until closure – or being perceived as ‘disloyal’ if they pursue alternative employment.

As one MEU member said: *“Retention is the government’s issue not my issue - but (employers are) using it to prevent individuals’ training.”*

Many workers in this cohort can be classified as mid-career (between mid-30s to mid-50s), which is a challenging period for workers affected by industry transition as they are too young to retire, many have family commitments to consider, and in many cases have limited experience with formal study or navigating the jobs market.

Among surveyed MEU members, ‘age’ was top 3 concern for workers when asked about challenges finding suitable employment – along with lack of alternative employers and competition for jobs. Fewer than one in five surveyed workers indicated they would retire if they could not find suitable alternative work, suggesting that a high proportion of affected workers will require assistance to successfully transition into new employment.

A strong majority (over eight in 10) of surveyed MEU members said co-ordinated federal support was important for them and that an EIJP at their workplace would be helpful.

Opportunities for impacted employees

The businesses that are best placed to act as receiving employers for workers in Collie are Magnium Australia’s proposed Collie Magnesium Refinery and Green Steel WA’s proposed Collie Steel Mill. There are no other existing employers in the region capable of taking on a workforce of this size and skills.

These businesses still require significant support from the NZEA and the Commonwealth to ensure they are in construction or operations by the time closure of the Power Stations and Premier Coal occur.

Without Federal intervention to support urgent reindustrialisation in Collies, these workers, their families and the broader community are in serious danger.

We acknowledge that the Collie Transition Package has included welcome support from the WA government for the development of new industry and an expansion of renewable energy in the Collie region. This includes \$230M allocated to finance new and emerging industries through the Collie Industrial Transition Fund, \$300M allocated to the decommissioning

works of Muja Power Station and Collie Power Station, \$2M in small grants to local businesses, and an additional \$4.4M allocated to the work of the Collie Delivery Unit.

However, the rollout of developments in the Collie region have not been sequenced with the power station closures, or the ramp-down of maintenance operations in the lead-up to closure.

It is possible Griffin Coal and Bluewaters Power Station may be able to provide employment for *some* transitioning workers – although we note significant financial and operational challenges at Griffin. There is also the possibility of rehabilitation work, in conjunction with the Magnesium Refiner and the Collie Steel Mill.

Further afield there may be opportunities at South 32 Worsley Alumina, Boddington Gold Mine and Greenbushes Lithium.

Decommissioning Works

Decommissioning works for the Collie and Muja power stations may provide future work opportunities for some of the transition employees. However, it is likely that at least the Muja D generating units (units 7 and 8) will remain operational for a significant period before decommissioning works commence, to be available for dispatch in an emergency. Workers taking up decommissioning works will have effectively deferred the impacts of closure and will require transition supports in the later stages of decommissioning.

There is an urgent need to align the commencement of decommissioning works as closely as possible with the closure, if that short term employment is to bridge the period between closure of the power stations and development of new industry in the Collie region. It is not clear at what stage in the planning and approval process the decommissioning of Collie and Muja power stations currently sits. If planning and approvals for those works are not well advanced by the close of 2026, it is difficult to envisage decommissioning work providing a meaningful bridge to the transition of a significant number of impacted workers.

The closure of Eraring Power Station in NSW provides an indication of the worst-case scenario for sequencing of decommissioning works with closure of a coal power station. Origin Energy only commenced development of a project planning and scoping report for the decommissioning of Eraring in 2025 and has not concluded that report. Origin Energy currently projects submission of a final EIS and RTS report for the decommissioning work in mid-2028, for works commencing in 2031 (Origin Energy 2025). Assuming there are no additional delays in the timeline, decommissioning work will not be available to transition workers at Eraring until at least 19 months after closure.

It should not be assumed that decommissioning work can provide an ongoing pipeline of local work without close coordination around the closure timeframes. Decommissioning is a limited project and transition employees who take up that work will have the same need for career planning and training for future work as those who face redundancy in the lead-up to closure. The availability of decommissioning work should be a neutral factor in the CEO's consideration of whether a closing employer is able to offer redeployment to its transition employees.

Graphite Production

International Graphite began production at a pilot graphite micronising plant in Collie in February 2024. The WA government has announced a series of grants to International Graphite to support the development of a commercial scale graphite micronizing facility at Collie, culminating in a financial assistance agreement signed in January 2025 (International Graphite 2025). Land was purchased for the plant development in November 2025 (International Graphite 2025). If progressed, there is a risk that construction is complete, and permanent full-time operational roles filled, before the closure of Collie and Muja power stations.

Battery Energy Storage Systems

Three major Battery Energy Storage Systems (BESS) were constructed and commissioned over three years at Kwinana and Collie, with the last entering operation in July 2025. A small number of workers from the Collie and Muja Power Stations have already transferred to maintenance work on those BESS, and those assets are unlikely to provide a redeployment pathway for any remaining transition workers.

Palmer Renewable Energy Pty Ltd has received WA development approval and has applied for EPBC approval for development of an additional 66MW solar PV and 600MW BESS installation in Collie (Palmer Renewable Energy 2025).^[6] If approved, the development may support a substantial number of jobs for trade-qualified workers through the construction phase and a significantly smaller number of full-time, permanent jobs in ongoing maintenance and operation.

The current estimated start date for the development is October 2026, for delivery in March 2028. If those dates prove correct, the project may provide work for transition employees impacted by the closure of Collie Power Station in 2027, but would be less likely to support the transition of workers from Muja Power Station when it closes in 2029.

Proposed geographic area

The proposed geographic area broadly captures the expected labour market impacts of the Power Station closures, based on the location of dependent employers and the areas where workers reside.

A high proportion of workers affected by these closures live locally and would prefer to stay in the region after closure, despite a lack of confidence in finding suitable alternative employment. Of surveyed MEU members, about three in 10 said they would consider relocating to find work if they could not find suitable local employment. However, workers expressed the sentiment that ‘if the work isn’t there, we have to make difficult choices.’

Participating Union blurbs

The Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union (AMWU) is the primary union representing Australian manufacturing workers. We are 60,000 members strong, and we live and work in every region and city of the country. The Western Australian branch of the AMWU has been a central committed member of development of Collie's transition agenda and the Collie Just Transition Plan. We represent workers across the region, and we are especially concerned about the pace of intervention and support in the region. The workers of Collie need a destination for their transition, and we have long advocated that to achieve a just transition closure dates must be linked to guaranteed opening dates of new, unionised manufacturing plants in the regions, as a matter of urgency.

The Electrical Trades Union of Australia (ETU)³ is the principal union for electrical and electrotechnology tradespeople and apprentices in Australia, representing well over seventy-thousand workers around the country. ETU members are engaged in work that is integral to the electrical maintenance of plant and equipment, instrumentation, fire alarm and fire-retardant systems, electrical supply, and electrical isolation and safety at the Collie and the Muja Power stations and supplying coal mines. Electrical workers engaged in maintenance of power station, coal mine, and coal conveying assets will be among the first adversely impacted by the closure, as maintenance outages are deferred and maintenance supply contracts cancelled in the lead-up to closure. Local retention of that workforce, supported by an EIJP is critical to the development of new industry and renewable energy in the Collie region. The ETU advocated for the creation of the NZEA, to ensure that our members in fossil fuel industries, who have powered our country to become what it is today, have certainty of a career to continue or pursue in the region and the support necessary to plan for their futures.

About the ETU member survey

The ETU conducted a survey of members at Muja Power Station between 17 April and 4 May 2026. Participants were informed that deidentified information from the survey would be utilised in a public submission to the NZEA.

The Mining and Energy Union (MEU) is the principal union in the coal industry, including mines, power stations and ports. The MEU has a long history representing coal mine and power station workers in Collie, representing coal mine production workers at Premier Coal, Coal Handling and Preparation Plant operators at Muja Power Station and power station

³ Being a division of the CEPU, a trade union registered under the *Fair Work (Registered Organisations) Act 2009* (Cth).

operators at Collie Power Station. The MEU also covers workers in metalliferous mining including iron ore train drivers, oil, gas, electricity and the coke industry, with over 25,000 members nationally. MEU members are significantly impacted by decarbonisation and highly represented among workers displaced by coal closures. The MEU has played an active role in Just Transition planning for Collie and has long advocated for co-ordinated national support for workers displaced by emissions reduction policies, to ensure workers and communities don't pay an unfair price for action to address climate change.

About the MEU member survey

The MEU conducted a survey of members at Muja Power Station, Collie A Power Station and Premier Coal between 23 March and 2 April 2026. Participants were informed that deidentified information from the survey would be utilised in a public submission to the NZEA.

The Australian Services Union (ASU) is the principal union for salaried energy workers in Australia. With over 135,000 members nationwide, ASU is the union for workers in community services, local government, energy, transport, admin, call centers and more. After Muja Power Station Delegates at the 2016 ASU National Conference heard first-hand the devastation and heartbreak that the La Trobe Valley closures caused for workers and their communities, they were motivated to ensure a Just Transition Plan was in place ahead of coal-fired generation closures. The Use Your Power campaign resulted in a Labor win in 2017 and stopped the privatisation of Western Australia's energy assets.

References

Australian Government. 2026. *DSS Payments by 2021 SA2 - June 2023 to December 2025*.

Christine Evans-Klock, Peggy Kelly, Peter Richards, Corinne Vargha. 1998. *Worker Displacement: Public Policy and labour-management initiative in selected OECD Countries*. Employment and Training Department, Geneva: ILO.

International Graphite. 2025. *Industrial land purchased for Collie plant development*. 27 November. https://www.internationalgraphite.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2026/02/20251023-Collie-development-site-secured_FINAL.pdf.

—. 2025. *New \$4.0M WA Government grant*. 15 January. https://internationalgraphite.mymedia.delivery/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/20250114-WA-IAF-funding-grant_FIN-JTSI-ASX-Approved-1.pdf.

Jobs and Skills Australia. 2026. *Internet Vacancy Index, seasonally adjusted data*. February.

Origin Energy. 2025. *Eraring Site Closure and Transition*. <https://www.originenergy.com.au/about/who-we-are/what-we-do/generation/eraring-site-closure-and-transition/>.

Palmer Renewable Energy. 2025. *Application: Collie Solar Photovoltaic and Battery Energy Storage System*. 6 November. https://epbcpublicportal.environment.gov.au/_entity/sharepointdocumentlocation/cc4dd313-e7f4-f011-8406-7ced8d33dc82/2ab10dab-d681-4911-b881-cc99413f07b6?file=00-2025-10394%20Referral.pdf.

Weller, Sally. 2024. "Collie: Planning for a Just Transition." In *Transforming Carbon Regions in Australia: A Geographic Political Economy*, by Sally Weller, 91-108. Victoria: Vurnn Press.