

ADDRESS-IN-REPLY

Motion

Resumed from 13 May on the following motion moved by Hon Pierre Yang —

That the following address be presented to His Excellency the Honourable Kim Beazley, Companion of the Order of Australia, Governor in and over the state of Western Australia and its dependencies in the Commonwealth of Australia —

May it please Your Excellency: We, the members of the Legislative Council of the Parliament of Western Australia in Parliament assembled, beg to express our loyalty to our most gracious sovereign and thank Your Excellency for the speech you have been pleased to deliver to Parliament.

The PRESIDENT: Before I give the call to Hon Dan Caddy, I note that this is the honourable member's inaugural speech to this place and the usual conventions apply, including listening to the honourable member in silence.

HON DAN CADDY (North Metropolitan) [5.03 pm]: It is important to me that the first words I utter in this place are to acknowledge the traditional owners of the land on which this place stands, the Whadjuk people of the proud Noongar nation. I pay my respects to their elders past, present and emerging. This land is Whadjuk boodja—always was and always will be.

I shared a flight to Canberra with the Governor nearly 15 years ago. We sat, just the two of us, at a table on the government jet. It was an incredible conversation. Then later that year, I was dropping something off at his office at Parliament House in Canberra and I asked him a simple question about his time in politics. He gave me 45 minutes of uninterrupted time, and it is a conversation I have never forgotten. His advice, wisdom and reflection gave me, as a younger staffer, an incredible insight into an incredible life. This was prior to his diplomatic career. He is not just an outstanding Governor; he is an outstanding human, and it is with great pleasure that I commence my remarks in the Address-in-Reply to His Excellency's speech.

President, allow me to congratulate you on your position. As a good friend and colleague in the great Australian Labor Party for some time, I know your position as President is indeed well deserved and I look forward to serving in your chamber. Let me also acknowledge someone I have known for a very long time and for whom I have immense respect: Hon Kate Doust. She was the first woman to preside over this place and has been an incredible contributor to Western Australia for many, many years. It is a truly humbling experience to be not only be in this place, but also alongside some incredible individuals on both sides of this chamber. I will probably repeat myself a bit during this speech, but it is an immense honour to stand in this place alongside many people who I have called friends and have known for many years—some very good friends of mine.

I joined the Labor Party as a 19-year-old in 1993. Given that I was the product of a western suburbs upbringing and a private school education, this was a little curious to some who knew me. I was working at the time as a casual at Brownes Dairy, which was over in North Perth, and I had the life-changing fortune to meet a man who a few members here may remember—certainly Hon Sue Ellery would—the late Stan Hardy. On that same evening in 1993, Stan signed me up to both the missos and the Mt Hawthorn branch of the Australian Labor Party. Over the ensuing few years, conversations with Stan shaped both my thinking and my sense of how this world should be. Following these interactions with Stan, something I have looked for all my life, through all my experiences, is what I can take out of this occasion—this moment in time, whatever this moment is—to educate myself on how the world should be. This has remained one of my guiding principles throughout my life. Stan's intersection with my life later led me to Hon Chris Evans and formed the basis of my first ever conversation with Carolyn Smith. These are two people who are also not insignificant in my journey to this place and to whom I owe a great deal. I will conclude this speech, as is custom, by thanking people, but Stan deserves a special thank you of his own and up front. Quite simply, if it were not for me meeting Stan Hardy some 28 years ago, I would not be standing in this place.

I spent the majority of my primary school years in Halls Head but only during the school term. The second the holidays hit, I was down to Kojaneerup, which is south east of the Stirling Range, and on the farm, Kareelah. My mother's family were sheep and wheat farmers and the happiest days of my childhood were spent miles from anywhere, with my grandparents, uncle and cousins at Kareelah. In my high school years, we lived in Nedlands, but the farm was still a staple, only by now we were old enough to be expected to work on the farm. By the age of 19, I had had the fortune to live on three continents, having spent a year in southern Philippines and a year in southern Belgium—two cultural changes that were poles apart from each other and completely unlike Perth. I attended Murdoch University and took far too many years completing what was eventually a degree in politics and international relations.

I have been fortunate enough to work for a senate leader and federal minister, a state minister and a Premier, and I have run a successful small business in between those times. I have also, over the course of my life, earned money as a footy umpire, lawnmower man, storeman and piano teacher. During my life, I have also been fortunate enough

to live in four different countries for significant enough amounts of time to truly experience and dwell in the different cultures. I am particularly influenced in my thinking by my time in Belgium and even more so by my time in Denmark. The Danish sense of the collective when it comes to all aspects of society needs to be lived to be fully appreciated.

Mr Deputy President, congratulations to you, too!

Earlier I touched briefly on having joined the missos, now the United Workers Union, at the age of 19. I was a member; however, unlike some of my colleagues in this place, I never worked for the union. I do not come to this place with a career as a union official behind me, like some of my esteemed colleagues, and it is very important, because of this history, for me to say that my belief in and commitment to the union movement, everything it provides and everything it has achieved over the centuries is as strong and unwavering as that of any member in this place.

I cannot speak further in this place without making reference to and thanking the most incredible institution I have ever known. No, Hon Darren West, I am not talking about the Fremantle Dockers! You may be surprised to hear I am talking about the great Australian Labor Party. It is indeed, as I have said, an honour to be elected to this place, but it is a special privilege to be standing here today as an elected member of the Australian Labor Party. We in Labor understand the value of hard work and teamwork, and the value of a cohesive group with a common goal. No Labor member in this place would disagree. However, something became evident to me as I was writing this speech. I am sure other members who have been here longer than me have realised this, but it was only when I contemplated standing in this place as an elected member that it crystallised for me that it could have been any of my former colleagues, any of a number of people in the broader Labor team standing in my place, and they would be just as deserving. Knowing this, as we all do on this side of the chamber, is one of the inherent strengths of the Labor Party. We—the fortunate few who have the privilege of standing in this place—do so only because of committed branch members, volunteers, campaigners and supporters and the legacy of those who have come before us. To paraphrase some words from one of my friends in the other place, I will always owe the party more than the party owes me.

Before I talk briefly on the policy areas that interest me, there are a number of people in this chamber I would like to acknowledge; however, I will limit it to just three: “Westy”—Hon Darren West—such a good friend over the years I have known him; Hon Martin Pritchard, whose advice I have sought many times on many different things over the years and whose advice has always been second to none; and Hon Pierre Yang. I still recall the day our friendship was cemented. We knew each other, but not well. Pierre had decided he was going to run for the Gosnells city council. He was extremely excited, he had prepared all his flyers and ads, and he asked me to come and check them for him in case there was anything that needed tweaking. At this point, I had done a few campaigns before. Deputy President, this was a parliamentarian in the making. His first ever political campaign was exceptional. He was elected convincingly and we have been great mates ever since. It is a privilege and it is exciting to sit alongside someone as capable as you, my friend.

It is important to acknowledge those not only on this side but also opposite. We are all equally elected to this place. I particularly wish to acknowledge Hon Tjorn Sibma, for whom I have immense respect. Ironically, he is not only in my opinion the hardest working member of his party during the previous government, but also the last remaining member of his party who is truly one of its new generation.

I make a final comment on the members in this place. I cannot give an inaugural speech in this place on this day without acknowledging and pointing out the amazing number of women who have once again been elected to this, the forty-first Parliament. Two incredible wins by Labor has meant two influxes of highly capable women into Parliament. This generation should not assume that there has been a gradual increase since the election of Edith Cowan some 100 years ago; this is very much a recent phenomenon. Yesterday, I watched my friend Hon Jackie Jarvis be sworn in as the 113th woman in state Parliament, and, shortly after her, Hon Sophia Moermond as the 114th and most recent woman in Parliament. To put into perspective how quickly this has changed, Hon Alannah MacTiernan, who would normally be sitting in this place but is away on urgent parliamentary business, was only the twenty-eighth woman sworn in to state Parliament. It has all happened very recently. The women of the Australian Labor Party are an incredible bunch. Yes, I am sure that the new members will point out their increased numbers when they speak; however, ironically, it is sadly often only when men acknowledge the importance of gender equity in this place and more broadly that other men listen.

As a man, I am immensely proud to be part of the only party that truly recognises the importance of genuine gender equity. This is a central tenet for Labor but it is also important to me on a personal level because I have been fortunate to have been influenced in my thinking throughout my life by a number of very strong and incredible women. My great-grandmother, Ruth Caddy—we called her “Oopie”—who was still alive when I was in my 20s, was a pioneer. Whenever I speak about her, I always say that she was the first female pharmacist in Western Australia, and up until a couple of weeks ago I believed she was the first qualified, but I did some research as I did not want to mislead Parliament in my very first speech. I checked it out and it appears she was the second female pharmacist to earn her qualification by just a few months, but she was the first female pharmacist in this state by some stretch to have

her own pharmacy. By any measure, she was a trailblazing woman. She was a member of the Karrakatta Club, which incidentally at the time was presided over by another of my great-grandmothers, whom I unfortunately did not get to meet. Oopie truly benefited from Edith Cowan's push for women to enter the professional workforce. Her legacy, Caddy's Pharmacy, still stood on the corner of Coghlan Road and Hay Street in Subiaco until 2015, some 117 years after she was born and nearly 20 years after her death. My great-grandmother was a remarkable woman. In addition to my great-grandmother on my father's father's side, my father's mother, my grandmother, Rosalie-Ann Battye, was also a very impressive woman and had a huge influence on my life. She was a lecturer at the University of Western Australia when there were very few women on the academic staff, and she was the granddaughter of James Sykes Battye, who was one of the founding team for Princess Margaret Hospital for Children, chancellor of the University of Western Australia, and after whom the J.S. Battye Library of West Australian History was named. My family has held a deep connection with and commitment to Western Australia over many generations, and the women in my family have very much been at the forefront.

Other strong female influences over my lifetime include Laurette, who has been like a second mother to me my entire adult life; Sharyn, who has raised with me the most amazing son anyone could hope to have and has instilled in him the values that only an incredible mother can; and Christina, who daily challenged my thinking on all aspects of life and society and what it means to be a good human. She is one of the most remarkable people, never mind women, I have ever met.

I look at the other side of this chamber, reflecting on what I have just said, and my advice to those opposite, if I may be so bold in my first speech, is not to be afraid to preselect and promote women. In a party strongly weighted to men—a “band of brothers”, as we heard in a valedictory speech just last week—women can only enhance your party, your diversity, and, most of all, your thinking.

It is customary for members in the other place to outline their connection to their electorate in their inaugural speech. I remember my great mate David Michael, the member for Balcatta, who is sitting at the back of the chamber here, waxing lyrical about all things Balcatta and his connections with it. He talked about the fact that he was born in Balcatta; that his very first day of school was at Tuart Hill Primary School, if I remember correctly; and about the very first time he opened the batting for the Tuart Hill Cricket Club. I will not embarrass him by saying what grade it was! His connection to his electorate is easily as strong as that of any member in that place. Obviously, the North Metropolitan Region by definition is significantly larger than the metropolitan lower house seats, and although a quick calculation tells me that I lived about half of my childhood in the North Metropolitan Region and, other than my time living overseas, I think most of my adult life in the North Metropolitan Region, the political junkie in me still thinks of it as just a series of seats, many of them with their own unique personalities. This got me thinking that in the 13 out of 14 seats held by the Labor Party in the North Metropolitan Region, we have some outstanding members. I intend to recognise every single one of them in this place today.

The member for Balcatta I have already mentioned. Now cabinet secretary, he will, no doubt, be a fantastic minister in the future. The member for Burns Beach is a former police officer and fierce advocate for his electorate. He is never short of ideas for helping his constituents. The member for Butler; I could go on ad nauseam about the member for Butler, but then I fear I would end up sounding a bit like him, so I will refrain. He is the man who helped save Western Australia from Clive Palmer and the man described last year by the Premier as the greatest Attorney General in the country. The member for Carine is a new, some may say, unexpected member, but a perennial servant of the party. In fact, his family has served the party for the three decades that I can recall and no doubt further beyond that. No-one is more deserving. The member for Churchlands is an outstanding Labor woman with a very impressive career in international logistics and diplomatic service. The member for Hillarys; there is no finer example I can think of than the member for Hillarys to illustrate the triumph of the power of hard work over lethargy and apathy.

The member for Joondalup is yet another incredible Labor woman who has taken the most marginal Labor seat in the state and, through diligence and hard work, has made it very much her own. The member for Kingsley, at the risk of sounding repetitive—she is a dear friend of mine—is also one of the hardest working members in that place. She won against the odds in 2017 and, earlier this year, comprehensively stared down one of the most expensive campaigns ever run in that seat by the other side. The member for Landsdale is a stalwart of WA Labor and of the WA Labor women's movement. The member for Nedlands; once again I could go on. I grew up in Nedlands, as I have mentioned. It has only ever been a blue seat—until now. She is already a good friend of mine, albeit a new one. The member for Nedlands will be an outstanding contributor in the other place. A long-time friend of mine, the member for Perth, is an outstanding political mind. He is now, deservedly, a member of cabinet and Minister for Local Government—a portfolio in which I have a keen interest. The member for Scarborough is a FIFO surfy sparky! It does not get much more Scarborough than that. Finally, I mention the member for Wanneroo, who has been recognised for her hard work and now finds herself Parliamentary Secretary to the Premier in just her second term.

Deputy President, the Labor members in the other place who find themselves in the North Metropolitan Region are a bunch who punch well above their weight. Never before has a Labor member in this place representing my

region been able to list off so many local members, nor been able to list off such a fine and accomplished group of new and returning members in the other place. Political commentators have often made the point, especially when in opposition, that WA Labor has in modern times formed government only when it wins the northern suburbs. That was the goal set and, over the last two elections, it has well and truly been achieved. The future does look bright for the people of the North Metropolitan Region with such a dynamic and hardworking team in Parliament.

Most new members come to this place with a will and desire to achieve something in their given areas of interest. Although my main driving force is, and always will be, to simply govern well and equitably for all Western Australians, there are a couple of areas in which I believe particular attention needs to be paid. The first is local government, the third tier. It will come as no surprise to those who know me, but it is my firm belief that the system of local government in this state is long overdue for a major overhaul. To put it bluntly, the system is broken and it has been for some time. Nowhere is this more evident than in the North Metropolitan Region that I now represent. Although I acknowledge that some local governments in my region are excellent—the Town of Claremont, for example, is a high-functioning and highly functional council with an outstanding mayor and chief executive officer—unfortunately, this is not always the case. Over the last four years we have witnessed the behaviour of certain members of the former City of Perth council, and of the Town of Cambridge, who genuinely believe they are a law unto themselves, at the real expense of their ratepayers, and other tragedies that I will not detail in this place. Finally, just a few months ago, the Mayor of Nedlands—an incredibly competent and capable woman—stood down as a result of constant pressure, bullying and factionalism from within her own council and administration. All of this, Deputy President, took place in less than one-third of the region that I represent in this place. I will say it again: the system is broken. The frequency at which issues are occurring, the factionalism and the concerning misbehaviour all contribute to undermining faith in the sector and the good work of those who are genuinely dedicated and professional staff and elected members.

Deputy President, fortunately for Western Australia, the minister is aware of what is happening in the sector and what needs to be done. I took great heart on the last sitting day when he said, in the other place —

We need to be acutely aware that reform is needed in the sector.

...

At the moment, under the Local Government Act, there are very limited opportunities when there is a dysfunctional council and, unfortunately, an inquiry, under the current provisions, is usually what occurs, even though a minister may not want to go down that route.

We need reform that will allow the department to be more proactive and able to intervene earlier when local government authorities show signs of dysfunction. I do not pretend to have all the solutions and there is no silver bullet. But I know that it is time the local government sector looked inwardly and decided itself that enough is enough and took ownership of the problems and decided to work—even reached out to work—with the state government to improve the sector for all. With an outstanding new Minister for Local Government, the time will never be better. We, collectively, as a Parliament have the wherewithal and resources to look at the local government system in Western Australia and improve it from both a governance and a delivery perspective. How much better would it be for all, though, if this were instigated by the sector itself?

Veterans Issues is another, probably less contentious, area of interest for me. Some of my colleagues in this chamber—Hon Tjorn Sibma and Hon Pierre Yang—would be aware of the interest I have in Veterans Issues in this state and the effort I put in as a ministerial staffer during the last term of government, with many others, to improving outcomes for veterans in Western Australia. It does not matter where you go in this world, veterans' welfare is a difficult and vexed issue. Our state is fortunate to have incredible people at the helm of our major veterans' organisations. They include John McCourt and Peter Aspinall, AM, at RSLWA and Major Viv Blycha and Shannon Hennessy at Legacy WA who are incredible individuals doing extraordinary things for our veterans and their families. I am immensely proud of what the McGowan government achieved in partnership with these organisations over the last term of government. The new Veteran Central model, housed in Anzac House in the Perth CBD, leads the nation in design and methodology for delivering services to our veterans. Veteran Central provides the ultimate one-stop shop for all veterans, whether they are looking for medical or employment advice or a range of other services. It is a model that I would love to see rolled out in regional areas as well during this term of government.

Over the past four years, the McGowan government has arguably done more for veterans in a single term than any other state government since the 1980s. The agenda was pushed fiercely by Hon Peter Tinley, AM, as Minister for Veterans Issues. Given Hon Tjorn Sibma is in this place, I also acknowledge his support as the shadow spokesperson. This was a truly bipartisan agenda. It represented the best of what can be achieved when people across government work together.

To another very important piece of the veterans' issues puzzle, the Anzac Day Trust, which was mentioned earlier in this place. The Anzac Day Trust funding, which had languished since the Court government at just \$300 000 per

year—in fact, it was significantly less than that for some time—has now finally been increased to \$1.3 million per year. In budgets of billions of dollars in other areas, this may not seem substantial; however, the trust is the lifeblood for many of the smaller ex-service organisations, all of which provide incredible services to our veterans, but many of which, without that support, would struggle to get by. Independent of government in its awarding of grants, the Anzac Day Trust is critical to the sector. It would be remiss of me not to acknowledge the chair of the trust, Mr Tony Carter, whose commitment to the functioning and accountability of the trust over the past five, possibly six, years has been total.

Deputy President, I have mentioned the great institution of the Labor Party. However, I must thank the people, the individuals, who directly helped me to arrive in this place. There are so many people to thank for being part of my journey.

By the means of our election, most people sitting on red leather today are here as a result of their party and the support that party has from the public. It is healthy, in this context, to remind our egos of the lack of below-the-line votes each of us received. Much has been made of WA Labor's incredible win in March. Analysts, psephologists and party hacks on all sides have tried to pinpoint both the reason for the win and the reason for the magnitude of the win. Often the two are erroneously conflated. Some have argued it was simply the result of external factors that favoured the Labor Party. I genuinely believe it was more the case that these factors simply focused the minds of the people of Western Australia on the political leaders of the day. It is my contention that the year 2020 focused Western Australians' gaze on our leaders like never before, and what the people of Western Australia saw was one leader and his team working hard every day of the week and another leader and their team not putting in the time nor the hard yards. The opposition was found out because the spotlight was on our politicians like never before and the WA public can tell who is working hard and who has not done their homework. Talking about hard work leads me to the other reason, and that reason is embodied in every individual who worked in both Labor Party HQ and on campaigns right across the state.

I ran into a friend of mine who just happens to be a political journalist on the Wednesday before the election. He asked me what it was like in the last week and suggested that we were simply coasting. They were perhaps not his exact words; I am paraphrasing somewhat. I looked at him—he knows that I have been around the party for nearly 30 years—and I said, "Actually, I have never seen a campaign HQ work as hard as we are. Every person in that operation is working like we are rank underdogs and fighting for every single vote." That is the truth, and so my overwhelming thanks go out to not only Tim Picton and Ellie Whiteaker, but to every single person who worked in campaign HQ and on every field campaign in the North Metropolitan Region and to every lower house member in the North Metropolitan Region, who all worked incredibly hard. Without your hard work, there is no way I would be standing in this place.

Equally, I am standing here today because of the hard work and success of the McGowan Labor government over the past four years. I am proud of my time over the last few years in the Premier's office and it would be remiss of me not to personally thank the Premier for both the opportunity to work in his office and the exceptional way in which he and his cabinet colleagues have managed the state of Western Australia over the last four years. Indeed, on reflection, I think I am the only new member in this place who still has the same boss they had six months ago! His efforts are in no small way a factor in me standing in this place. It is because of this that I am immensely proud, not just to be a part of the government, but to be part of this particular Labor government.

I want to reflect a little on what this government has achieved in the last four years. A couple of minutes ago, I spelled out my genuine belief about the way this global pandemic has focused the minds of Western Australians on their elected representatives. When people look at this Labor government, they see a government that has achieved and excelled in delivery across four years despite the global pandemic. This government has proudly passed the Western Australian Jobs Bill 2017, guaranteeing more local content; brought train manufacturing back to WA; delivered one of the biggest improvements to the state's work health and safety laws, including industrial manslaughter provisions; reversed the privatisation of prisons, hospitals and other essential services; cut TAFE fees, introduced free courses and delivered record investment in TAFE infrastructure; massively increased funding for mental health, social housing and homelessness while at the same time increasing funding for domestic violence prevention; and joined the National Disability Insurance Scheme. It seems that it could be done after all. Moreover, this government has passed laws to expunge historical homosexual convictions and, just as importantly, apologised for the hurt that had been caused; passed voluntary assisted dying laws; effectively ended the practice of imprisonment for fine defaulting and introduced custody notification services for Aboriginal Western Australians. It was this government that ended the statute of limitations on civil actions for the survivors of child sexual abuse. We saved Beeliar wetlands, and I look forward to the Beeliar wetlands bill being reintroduced into this house. Hon Stephen Dawson, we banned single-use plastic bags and delivered our container deposit scheme. We secured a better, fairer deal for WA on the GST, something that other states are already trying to roll back.

We are building Metronet, the single biggest expansion ever to our public transport network, with nine projects currently under construction. Alongside all this, we had a program of difficult and necessary reforms in the public

interest, including liquor reform, planning reform, strata reform, local government reform, on-demand transport reform, energy reform, the creation of Infrastructure WA, public sector reform, payroll tax cuts and a sensible wages policy and local procurement reform, including the Buy Local 2020 policy. All the while, we got the economy growing again. When I wrote my speech two weeks ago, we had created more than 70 000 new WA jobs but, in fact, in that couple of weeks it has gone up to 87 000 new jobs. We have also got the budget back to surplus. All of this, as I have said before, despite the global pandemic. It is a record that all members on this side of the house should be proud of, one that sees WA lead the nation and puts it in first place, a place that is safe, fair and strong.

Mr Deputy President, that is the story behind why I have been elected to this place. But I stand here the person I am today because of the people closest to me, people mostly outside this world of politics, some of whom I have mentioned already, but to all of whom I owe so very much. My parents, David and Kathleen, who are sitting in the gallery, brought me up in a very Liberal—that is a large L liberal in case anyone is wondering—home to believe in conservative values. It may not have worked out exactly as they had once envisaged, but I would not be the person I am today without your love and guidance. I owe you both more than you can possibly imagine and it means the world to me that you are sitting here today to share this incredible moment in my life.

I want to quickly acknowledge another family influence on my political thinking, and that is my maternal grandfather. Eric and I did not agree on much in politics; in fact, it would be fair to say that until Donald Trump came along, I do not think we had agreed on anything. Because of this, certainly in my time as an adult, we could not be in each other's company more than a few minutes before, as my son Patrick articulated at about the age of seven, he stormed out of the room and "It was on". Eric taught me that your beliefs and convictions are one thing, but defending, explaining and justifying them requires a unique skill set. Eric was an excellent teacher. He was knowledgeable on almost everything that had happened in Australia and beyond over the past 100 years. He respected that I was never going to agree with him, but in a way that formed the basis for his great power in influencing me. He never taught me what to think and he never tried to teach me what to think, but even as I approached 50 years of age and he approached 100, he never stopped teaching me how to think. Sadly, for our family, Eric died in early 2020 just before his ninety-seventh birthday. We lost him just before COVID-19 swept across the world, but I am thoroughly convinced that had he lived another six months, we would have argued about COVID, too. I am equally convinced that it would have been his unequivocal view that COVID was, in some way that I will never understand, the fault of the Whitlam Labor government!

Finally, to the mainstays of my life, my son Patrick, and the amazing other half of my life, Penny, and her incredible kids Nate, George and Bif. You all teach me something every day. I continue to learn from every interaction we have. You are the reason I do what I do. You inspire me and you are the people who keep it real.

Patrick, no father could be more proud of his son than I am of you. I know you decided not to do politics in years 11 and 12 and I struggled with this in silence for about 18 months, but then earlier this year you joined the WA Labor Party. So you will be pleased to know that I built a bridge and I got over it! In all seriousness, you have more connection to this Parliament than anyone else in the family. You see, your mum's great uncle Arthur Moir was elected 70 years ago this year to the other place as the member for Boulder. He was, paradoxically, a wheat farmer at Bencubbin and also a trade unionist. He served 20 years in the other place, including as Minister for Mines in Bert Hawke's government, still considered one of the best governments this state has ever seen. I love you, son, and that will never change.

Penny, you put up with me or, probably more accurately, without me during the campaign and I acknowledge that during the time we did get together, I was either tired or irritable or probably both. You are truly wonderful. You are also one of the strongest women I have ever known. I am incredibly fortunate to have you as the other half of my life and I could not imagine sharing my life with a more amazing or compatible person.

Deputy President, once again it is incredibly humbling to be standing in this place. It is also an incredible honour to serve alongside all of you as my colleagues.

[Applause.]

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Hon Daniel Caddy, congratulations on your first speech in the Council and I wish you well for the remainder of your term.

HON DR SALLY TALBOT (South West) [5.41 pm]: I feel as though it is a case of: follow that! That was a very, very fine speech for us all to start the forty-first Parliament and I congratulate my colleague Hon Dan—Daniel—

Hon Dan Caddy: Dan.

Hon Dr SALLY TALBOT: I have been given official permission to call him by his real name—Hon Dan Caddy. It was a very, very fine speech. I want to remark that I felt coming from behind me a growing feeling of, "Gosh, I wish I had put my hand up to go first because at least it gets it over with." Hon Dan Caddy has set an extraordinarily high bar for everyone else to rise to. I have worked for several years with some of the new members of the Legislative Council

who have now joined us while others I have only just met. I have to say that the depth of experience, knowledge and their profound commitment to our shared Labor values really take my breath away. This really will be one of the most wonderful four years of working with this team that we have put together in this place, and I am very, very excited to be part of it.

In starting my remarks on the Address-in-Reply, I will say just a few words of not exactly advice; I will share a bit of experience from my first few moments in this place 16 years ago. I got through the first couple of weeks and I was still standing and I said to a friend of mine who was a very, very experienced parliamentarian, “How long is it until we feel that we know what’s going on?” And he had a good think about it and he said, “Four or five”—I thought he was going to say weeks and I thought, “I’m nearly there”, or months, but he said, “Four or five years; you’ll be fine.” So, do not rush it. It is not easy. It is a challenging place to function in and all I can say to you is that I am sure if you just take it slowly, watch and listen, there will come a time very soon when you walk in here and feel that it is your place and you will know what contribution you have to make. It will be a very, very exciting few days as we listen to the contributions from our new members.

I want to pay tribute to a lot of people, because we have reached this position in which we are starting the forty-first Parliament and the second term of the Mark McGowan Labor government with the economy in the state in which it is in, which is quite extraordinary. People in other parts of the country look to Western Australia and truly marvel at what we have been able to do and the fact that we have kept our resources sector going strongly through all the COVID lockdowns. No-one wants to speak too soon so we inevitably touch wood when we say these things because we are not out of the woods yet. So far so good. We have done it steadily; we have done it consistently. I think from watching the reaction to the latest COVID outbreaks in Victoria, we see that there is a calmness and an assuredness; people are surefooted now about how we handle things, and that is the result of so much hard work in that first 12 months of the pandemic. We do not get there by magic. We do not get there by keeping our fingers crossed and squinting at the future and hoping that things will be all right. We get there with a lot of hard work.

I want to acknowledge some of that work that has got us to where we are today and has led to such a really inspiring speech by our Governor. Those members who know a little about my history will know that I spent some time working with Hon Kim Beazley when he was the federal Leader of the Opposition. That was an extraordinary couple of years in my political and professional development. I was watching him back in April when he opened the forty-first Parliament and then yesterday. Hon Kim Beazley always manages to say something that is truly meaningful and in the moment. I thought that yesterday when he looked around this place and seemed to make a connection with every single one of us as an individual; it felt as though he was speaking to us all individually when he reminded us what a serious job we have taken on and the weight of responsibility that lies on our shoulders. He has had a lot of experience in public life. If anybody had a reason to be sounding and looking tired and perhaps a bit cynical, people could say it would be our Governor. He did not end up in politics where I and many other people, not only on my side of the political fence, believe he should have ended up. But instead of that, we see from our Governor enormous energy, and it is the same kind of drive and commitment to those Labor values that I heard just now in the speech of Hon Dan Caddy and I know that we are going to hear over the next few days as members make their first speeches. In the spirit of the motion—not only the spirit, but the letter of the motion—I sincerely thank His Excellency for the speech that he delivered to us back in April.

I take members back to the words that he opened with. As we all know, the standard format of the representative of the sovereign’s address to a new Parliament is to outline the agenda for the ensuing term, but I was struck by His Excellency’s references to the fact that we have the responsibility in the forty-first Parliament, every single one of us—it does not matter whether we are the member of a big party. For one member in particular, I am not even sure if he has a party, but he has an issue. All of us, from members of the big old parties to people who come into this place on a mission, have a responsibility to show people that the democratic process can deliver for them. I think that there is one thing we should do every day before we start work; we should think about what it means to live in a democracy such as ours and then do an assessment at the end of every working day.

New members would have seen this afternoon the very beginnings of what we might call the robust debate, or rough and tumble, of the chamber. We can come into this place and argue ferociously with each other. There will be times over the next few years when members will see other members pushed quite close to the edge because they are standing up for what they believe in. It may not always be what you believe in, but the fundamentals of our democracy, and along with that the rule of law, is that we allow people to say things, and we listen to them. We try to understand what they are saying so that we can reach a point at which we can work with them. That is what we try to do in this place. That is what Hon Kim Beazley reminded us is our obligation. Yesterday, we all swore or affirmed our allegiance to what we consider to be our priorities, largely, for everybody—that is, the people of Western Australia. The obligation to be a living demonstration of the fact that democracy in this state delivers good outcomes to ordinary people is something that I think we ought to assess twice daily. First, when we wake up in the morning, we should ask, “What am I going to do today to make life better for the people of this state?” Second, at the end

of the day, when we assess our day, we should ask ourselves, “What did I do? What could I have done better? What can I celebrate?”

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Deputy President, on your election to that position. You will, I know, work very constructively and collaboratively with all members of this house. You have become an experienced legislator in your time in this place. I have done a little of that work with you, perhaps not as much as I have with others, but I have enjoyed your company and contribution when we have worked together. I hope that you have a successful four years in that position. I also pay tribute to your predecessor in that role, Hon Simon O’Brien, who gave a fine valedictory address to us the other day in his inimitable fashion. He will be sorely missed. I remember being taken to the gym on my induction tour of Parliament House 16 years ago. I did not actually know at that time that there was a gym in this place, although I have used it many times since. However, I was put off going there for several years because when I walked into the gym in 2005, there was Hon Simon O’Brien looking very much like one of those—I know that he will forgive me for saying this—old-fashioned circus characters, because in those days he had a big, curly moustache that was quite pronounced. We will have to find a picture of him from that time. I do not think that he was wearing a one-piece suit, but that was my impression of him, and that has never left me, even until the day that he gave his valedictory speech.

Hon Samantha Rowe: It sounds terrifying!

Hon Dr SALLY TALBOT: I would not say that it was terrifying, but it pulled me up a bit!

Obviously, I also want to congratulate our new President on getting that role. As she said, few people are chosen to fulfil that role, and I know that Hon Alanna Clohesy will be a truly marvellous President. She has already made her mark on the role by requesting us to consider the way that we refer to people’s gender when we address them by their honorific. I am very fortunate in that respect because my honorific—it is not really an honorific; it is a qualification—is doctor. The only moments I was reminded that there is a gendered implication to all honorifics was in the old days when I was still teaching and people would knock on the door looking for the doctor and they presumed that because I was a girl, it could not possibly be me and that maybe I was there to clean up the coffee cups or something. That happens much less these days, I am happy to say. I pay tribute to Hon Alanna Clohesy, our new President, for having already made her mark on the role. I very much look forward with enormous anticipation to see how her presidency unfolds over the next four years.

I also pay tribute to her predecessor Hon Kate Doust, who, sadly, is away from the chamber on urgent parliamentary business. Hon Kate Doust did not have an easy time in the position, but she always acquitted herself with dignity and grace, and I pay tribute to that.

As those who took the Governor’s address to heart will know, we have an enormous program to unfold over the next four years. I want to acknowledge some of the people who will be working with the government and as part of the government to make sure that we get the best possible outcome for everybody in this state. I speak in particular for the electors of the South West Region, which I represent. In that regard, I want to start by saying that I was particularly happy when Hon Alannah MacTiernan decided to swap regions and come and join us in the south west. Hon Alannah MacTiernan is already a very well known and widely respected figure in the south west because of her role over the last four years as Minister for Agriculture and Food and Minister for Regional Development, but she is also truly a powerhouse of political change in this state. She has shown us that in almost every political forum that this state has to offer. I am very, very pleased that she has now landed in the south west. It has been very rewarding for me to spend some time with the minister over the last four years. We now know that she has a house in Albany and is very much a local in Albany. I am delighted that she will become a true 100 per cent local, as are most of the rest of us, as she moves to represent the south west.

I also want to give a very, very warm welcome to our new colleague Hon Jackie Jarvis, who will make her inaugural speech later tonight. Hon Jackie Jarvis brings an immense amount of experience to this role. I have already talked to her about how she has seamlessly picked up some of the things that we have been able to give momentum to over our first four years of the McGowan Labor government, and I have to say that she has not flinched once. I know that she will be a very, very hard worker and will deliver in spades for the electors of the south west. It will be a marvellous four years and I am thoroughly looking forward to it.

I also want to mention the other three members of the south west. I will start with Hon Sophia Moermond. I welcome her to our team. I have read a little of her biography, which I find very interesting. I am quite sure that over the next four years we will find lots of things on which we can work cooperatively with each other. Traditionally, that is very much the spirit of how we have worked in the south west, at least for the 16 years that I have been here. I had a long association before that with various members of Parliament in the region at both the state and federal level. I extend the same welcome to Hon James Hayward, who is taking up his position today. It is his first day on the job. I am looking forward to hearing Hon James Hayward share his credentials with us when he gives his inaugural speech. Again, I am sure that throughout the region there will be issues that we can work together on, and I look forward to doing that. I congratulate my colleague of some standing for some time now, Hon Dr Steve Thomas,

on his new position in this house. He certainly brings a lot of experience and energy to the role. Again, I have always enjoyed working with Hon Dr Steve Thomas. We have done a lot of work together on committees over the years, and I have always enjoyed listening to his ideas. Although I do not always agree with them, he is always good for a barney!

It might surprise some people that I have gone to some trouble to acknowledge my colleagues from the other parties. When I am asked to talk to high school or tertiary students about my role as a parliamentarian, I often point out—members who have not done it before will also find this—that the first question the students always ask is, “What about your relationships with the people in the other parties? Do you really hate them as much as it seems during question time?”

Several members interjected.

Hon Dr SALLY TALBOT: That was called a strategic pause to welcome interjections. However, I know that the Deputy President will not tolerate too many interjections, so I will not formally acknowledge any of them.

I always say to people who ask me what it is like to be a member of Parliament and about my relationship with other members that they have to understand that we all agree on 85 per cent of the legislation that comes before us. I have not tested this number in recent years, but that is the number I have always used. We are all chasing the best outcome for our electors—the people who live in our regions. Eighty-five per cent of the time when we have an idea that we develop into a piece of legislation, which is done through consultation by involving other people and talking about it, it goes through without much discussion. Of the remaining 15 per cent, we come to an agreement on 85 per cent of it. Members can see that that leaves a very, very small number of bills, motions and ideas that we will actually fight about. It is very important for members to remember that when they embark on their parliamentary careers. A lot of this job is about collaboration and building relationships with the people around us.

On that note, Deputy President, and on the nod from you, I seek leave to continue my remarks at a later stage of this day’s sitting.

[Leave granted for the member’s speech to be continued at a later stage of the sitting.]

Sitting suspended from 6.00 to 7.30 pm

The PRESIDENT: I remind members that the Address-in-Reply is the procedural framework for first speeches—inaugural speeches. I give the call to Hon Shelley Payne.

HON SHELLEY PAYNE (Agricultural) [7.32 pm]: I would like to acknowledge the traditional owners of the land on which we meet, the Whadjuk people of the Noongar nation, and their elders past, present and emerging. Thank you, President, and congratulations on your new appointment. I would also like to congratulate all members here on their win, especially Labor members on our historic election win.

I would like to start by first giving a big thanks to the Western Australian Labor government and, in particular, our Premier, Mark McGowan, for keeping us safe through this coronavirus pandemic. I would also like to thank the Minister for Health, Roger Cook, for all his hard work. I am very thankful to be living in Western Australia now, enjoying our freedom and strong economy. We, as citizens, had to endure a lockdown in our homes but one might say that Premier Mark McGowan and Minister Roger Cook endured a more gruelling lockdown in front of the media nearly every day for a year.

We do not have the privilege of being in this place without some help and support. I would like to give a big thanks to Hon Darren West for all his support and the trust he put in me, and his help to get me here today. Hon Darren West has put in a massive effort across regional Western Australia since his election in 2013, as the lone Labor member for Agricultural Region, an area covering nearly 300 000 square kilometres. If I can quote from his first speech —

The Agricultural Region is rather large ... and I look forward to the enormous challenge ...

His hard work during his first term helped to achieve the election of two Labor members in the Agricultural Region for the first time, with Hon Laurie Graham being elected alongside him in 2017. Four more years of hard work and 2021 saw the lower house seat of Geraldton being won and the first woman to ever hold the seat, with the election of Lara Dalton. It also saw for the first time three Labor members elected in the Agricultural Region, with the election of Hon Darren West, myself and Hon Sandra Carr. As witnessed yesterday, with Hon Darren West being the first member to be sworn into this house, he even managed to get himself elected first in the Agricultural Region. Well done.

I would also like to acknowledge Laurie Graham’s effort over the past four years. It is his seat that I have now taken. He put in a huge effort in Geraldton throughout the recent election campaign, helping to get Lara Dalton elected, and has provided me valuable guidance and advice. I would also like to thank him for his hard work throughout his term, supporting the Esperance community, where I live; the review into the Esperance port; tabling petitions on behalf of our community; and generally supporting our community when we were going through a difficult time.

Hon Darren West organised a farewell dinner for Laurie Graham in Northam. I know that Laurie, who is not here today, would have liked to thank Minister Ellery, Minister Dawson, Minister MacTiernan and Hon Pierre Yang for attending his farewell dinner. For those of us living in the regions, it means a lot when ministers make a big effort to support us. I would particularly like to thank Minister MacTiernan for her commitment and hard work in her role as Minister for Regional Development; Agriculture and Food. Minister MacTiernan is highly regarded across the Agricultural Region in areas that could probably not be called Labor heartland. Thank you for your many trips to Esperance, remembering the farmers there, and ensuring that they are included in programs such as the recent digital farm grants program.

I would like to thank everyone who worked on a campaign in the Agricultural Region. The lower house candidates had a tough job in very challenging electorates. I thank Brad Willis in Roe, Michelle Nelson in Central Wheatbelt and Barni Norton in Moore. Donna Plummer and Jodi Ingram put in a huge effort supporting these regional campaigns. I acknowledge the support from campaign central, headed up by Tim Picton, Ellie Whiteaker and David Cann, along with the team up in Geraldton working with Lara Dalton, Hon Sandra Carr and Laurie Graham, and all those helping out at our 102 polling booths across the Agricultural Region.

Finally, I thank my faithful Labor supporters in Esperance: Kevin and Colleen O'Dwyer, Wayne and Sue Batchelor, and Dale Piercey. I would like to make a special mention of Dale Piercey, who has been a great inspiration to me over the last five years. Dale is a longstanding Labor supporter. She was number two on the Agricultural Region ticket 20 years ago today, a time when number two was thought to be unwinnable. Twenty years later today, we have had three elected. Thank you, Dale, for bringing me into the Labor family.

I would like to thank my family for their support, especially my family who cannot travel to be here today. My parents were both born in London. They met at Imperial College when my dad was studying there and my mum worked there. After my dad finished his PhD at Cambridge University, he took on a postdoctoral fellowship in Canada for one year. My parents never left. When we asked as kids why they stayed, apparently it was much quicker to get a telephone installed than with British Telecom! My parents stayed in Canada and went on to have four children. My siblings and I grew up in the capital city of Ottawa in Canada. My dad travelled a lot, having been a geophysicist, working with the Canadian government, helping developing countries around the world with their airborne mapping for mineral exploration. He instilled a love of travel in us all. Our family has benefited greatly from being part of the commonwealth. In fact, my siblings and I used to compete with the number of passports that we could collect. Based on my experiences, I believe we are fortunate to have this bond with other countries strategically located around the globe to call on for support.

I studied engineering at university, with a minor in environmental engineering, as I had always been passionate about the environment. Being a traveller, I soon discovered exchange programs. I studied for a year in England, making new bonds with cousins and aunts, had a couple of summer work placements at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland, and then later participated in another exchange program at the University of Queensland in Brisbane. It is a sore spot for my dad: for all the countries he had travelled to around the world, I beat him to Australia! But he has made up for it by travelling here with my mum more than 20 times in the past 20 years, even managing to secure work contracts with the Australian Geological Survey Organisation.

I then went to London to attend Imperial College, where my parents had met, to study my master's in business and the environment. Following this, I was accepted for a leadership development program, which involved a yearlong placement at the Thailand Development Research Institute in Bangkok, conducting policy research and writing research papers on a variety of environmental issues, and here I qualified as an environmental auditor. Heading back to Canada at the age of 27, I recall thinking perhaps it was time to settle down, get a real job and maybe go to a few Sunday night family dinners. I remember thinking at the time that I just wanted to do something that made a difference.

When I arrived home, it was about the time my dad took retirement from a long career with the Canadian government and he was looking for something to keep himself busy. Also about that time there was a lot of community concern about our nuclear power stations and whether the surrounding communities were being exposed to radiation emanating from the nuclear reactors. Being a geophysicist and having worked with natural radiation through his career, this was something my dad thought that he could help with, so I convinced him to start his own company and solicit his skills to the nuclear power companies. My radiation knowledge was rather lacking so my job was making the logos, helping prepare the tender documents and generally trying to make us look a bit professional and like we knew what we were doing! We were quite successful. One of our first projects was monitoring the shoreline along the edge of a nuclear power plant with a handheld radiation detector. My dad set up his old purple and green backpack with a wooden garden stake sticking out the top to tape his GPS to. I suggested that perhaps instead of his 20-year-old backpack, we should maybe get a new one and perhaps we should paint the garden stake black so it did not look like a wooden garden stake. I also suggested that we stick a couple of magnetic stickers with our logo on the side of our rusted out Subaru Outback. Then they asked for a risk management plan, at which we looked at each other and wondered what exactly we should put in a risk management plan for servicing a nuclear plant. We put together a few words and formatted it nicely, bought a first-aid kit for the boot of the car and off we

went. I never managed to get him to part with his old purple and green backpack, which, in his view, still functioned fine, but I think we did paint the garden stake.

After the survey, my job was to read the report my dad had written and spend a significant amount of time trying to understand it and then write it in layman's terms, as I figured the people we sent it to would then understand it. I also used that fancy equation editor in Microsoft Word to make the hugely complicated radiation decay equations look nice in the report. Things were going well and we had done a few interesting projects, and then with time between contracts, my dad announced that our family would be heading to Perth for Christmas to meet up with cousins from the UK who were studying at the University of Western Australia. At our age, then spanning between 25 and 30 years, my siblings and I still travelled as a family on holidays, provided they entailed three flights across the globe, usually to a ski resort. But this time, it was to Perth. Perth was somewhere that seemed just so far away and somewhere I never thought I would get to. The east coast of Australia seemed manageable, but Perth was just that bit too far—the furthest airport in the world from my home town of Ottawa. You can fly either way around to get back or even straight over the top of the North Pole, I was shocked to discover one time while looking at the flight path on board. You can even circumnavigate the planet just to visit family, such as when the first of the five flights it takes you to get home is cancelled due to a snowstorm and the flight desk tells you, "Unfortunately, Mrs Payne, you will miss your connection through Los Angeles. Would you like us to route you through Hong Kong or London?" But it is not all that bad. I have had some great holiday stopovers in London and got to experience the Qantas direct flight from London to Perth twice, and I never even booked to go anywhere near London.

Being the travellers we were, my sister and I devised a plan during that Christmas in Perth to travel overland to Sydney and Tasmania and head home from there. Luckily, I was working with dad and we had no pressing projects, so I was able to go. We bought a \$7 book on free camping in Western Australia, picked up a \$2 000 car and off we went. A chance stop at a little place called Masons Bay, chosen from our \$7 book, led me to meet my husband, Marc, an abalone diver who was fishing for abalone from the shore using a four-wheel motorbike rigged up with a shucking tray on the front and an air compressor and a dive hose on the back. I did not even know what an abalone was. This was the start of what would be my new life in Australia. My sister and I finished the trip to Tasmania and my sister headed home and I headed back to Esperance. Maybe it was that Esperance crayfish that Marc flew to Tasmania with that caught me! My sister arrived home and my parents asked, "Where's Shelley? What do you mean she's still in Australia?" This started a multitude of across-the-planet journeys in both directions, mine with an ever-expanding number of kids in tow. We used to cringe at the dollars spent on travel, and carried on my dad's tradition of remortgaging the house every year for a holiday. The thing with having overseas family is that your money gets spent on going back to the same place all the time, but now with this pandemic, we are thankful for the travel we did do.

I continued helping my dad for a while with his reports and tender documents. The 12-hour time difference actually worked out quite well, as he would work all day on something and pass it to me and then I would work on it all day too. Eventually, however, our lives started slowly drifting apart, with me having one child then another and getting more involved with my new life in Esperance. We managed to pretty well standardise everything so I could mostly do myself out of a job. However, I am very thankful to have had that fun time with him. I carried on raising my three kids, helping my husband run his fishing business and doing a bit of consulting here and there when I could fit it in, but I was generally preoccupied with what after-school activities my kids had that day, when my next overseas holiday would be and when my husband's new shark cage would be finished so he would not get eaten when he went to work.

I arrived back from another holiday to visit family, in which my kids had completed a school year in Canada with their cousins; my parents were getting older and I had wanted to spend some time with them, and my kids had grown up not having a chance to regularly see their grandparents. No sooner had I arrived home when I had a knock on the door with a request to please help as the local shire wanted to knock down our heritage jetty. I was told, "You're an engineer; you can help." I recall thinking not much more than, "Well, that's a stupid idea to demolish that jetty", but not perceiving that I could actually do anything about it. Esperance's state heritage-registered timber jetty was highly valued by the Esperance community. It was one of only three heritage timber jetties remaining in the state. Our country was built on jetties. Jetties came before roads. Even as recently as the 1960s, the Premier travelled to Esperance by sea and off-loaded his car onto a jetty. I have to be honest; at the time a lot of my friends were coaching netball or basketball and I was not good at that sort of thing. I did not know much about netball and I had always felt a little bit guilty that I was not doing as much as them to help out around the community, so I thought, "Wow, this is something I can actually help with by doing the research." So I proceeded to dive in with gusto, do my research and present it to the group. Yes, there are over 100 jetties in South Australia; yes, there are contractors that fix them; yes, Albany sawmills can give you all the timber you need et cetera et cetera, but they still said the shire was not listening. We decided to go in and talk to them. These meetings made me come to the realisation that there was a serious problem with our local government and its ability to listen, problem solve, engage with their community and work collaboratively towards solutions. My observation has been that many small regional

local governments lack the capacity to adequately address some of their more technical issues and would benefit from being able to access more support from the state government to ensure that they achieve the best outcomes for their communities.

About this time, we had the state election in 2017. Esperance had moved into the Agricultural Region and we began to have Labor members come to our jetty meetings, which we all felt at the time was rather strange—after all, the last time a Labor office was open in Esperance was 1989. They provided support and made suggestions and encouraged us to run for council. This was how we could effect change—from the inside. I was horrified. Did it mean putting my face out in public? Up until then, I had preferred to help out people in the background. A few of us who were passionate for change ran as a block, which made it easier to hide my face among the few others. My kids had to endure weeks of Snapchat selfies from their friends making faces with my signs. Dale Piercey and I were successful, and the two of us sat in a room with seven other hostile people who did not quite like the trouble we were causing for them. We quickly completed our diploma in local government to ensure we would know what we were doing. We never did manage to save the jetty, but the new jetty is open now and highly used and valued by the community. I still cringe at the process but I learnt a lot and it actually brought me here today.

It was the jetty process that got me wondering just how decisions get made, who actually made them and how, and how we could effect change. How could our community get listened to? How could the mentality change from “We know what’s good for you and what you need” to “Tell us about your issues and how you think we can help you solve them”? I could sense that this Labor government was on the right track. Until that time, I would always shake my head and think, “Oh, my God; why are these people running the country?” But this Labor government was something that I was keen to get involved with.

When it came time for the federal election in 2019, I asked Hon Darren West, whom Labor had to run in our federal seat of O’Connor, because I needed someone to vote for. People like me wanted someone to vote for. It did not matter to us that the seat was said to be unwinnable; we still wanted someone we could give our vote to. No matter where you live, you still want to be able to vote for someone who is standing up for your values and your community. So, as nobody had yet lined up to do it, I decided to have a go. It did not worry me that the electorate covered a third of the state, spanning from Esperance to Kalgoorlie, Albany and Collie; I was used to regional travel, having lived in Esperance for the last 20 years. But I kind of felt like the lone woman out there, on the ballot paper with eight men. Peter Watson was in Albany, Mick Murray in Collie, and there was a male member for Kalgoorlie. Hon Darren West and Hon Laurie Graham were in the Agricultural Region, and Minister Dawson and Hon Kyle McGinn were in the Mining and Pastoral Region. They were all very supportive and very helpful, but still, all men.

It is amazing the change we achieved for the regions in this state election, with Rebecca Stephens elected to Albany, Jodie Hanns to Collie–Preston and Ali Kent to Kalgoorlie. We now have two women representing the Agricultural Region—me and Hon Sandra Carr. We also have the lovely Hon Rosie Sahanna representing the Mining and Pastoral Region, and we cannot forget Lara Dalton’s historic win in Geraldton. Do you know that wherever you live in Western Australia, you can now call a female representative? Labor, in this Parliament and this house, now has a female representing every single square inch of Western Australia.

With regard to the federal election, I want to give a special shout-out to Hon Kyle McGinn and his Labor team in Kalgoorlie, including George Foulkes-Taylor and Bobby-Lee Field, who helped me in that election. The team worked so hard and were so keen for Labor representation. I am so pleased now that all their hard work over the past four years has paid off, and they have Ali Kent elected as their member.

Hon Kyle McGinn has been an amazing and much-needed force in Kalgoorlie—a place that had been neglected and was lacking attention, maybe as a result of too much fly-in fly-out creating a slow disintegration of the city’s community core. After Hon Kyle McGinn’s election in 2017, he set up his office there and stood up for the people of Kalgoorlie. This Labor win in Kalgoorlie is a credit to him and all the people he inspired to make positive change.

After the federal election, we calculated that with the itsy-bitsy swing to Labor that we achieved in O’Connor, it would take 100 years to win the seat. Frankly, I just did not have time for that! But I felt that there must be some way I could help bring our regional voice to the table, so I began to think about the upcoming state election and how I might be able to get involved. I feel fortunate to have had the support to run in the Agricultural Region in this last election after the retirement of Hon Laurie Graham, and to be a part of this historic election win, with the Labor government being rewarded by the people of Western Australia for all its hard work in keeping our state safe throughout the coronavirus pandemic.

With a quarter of all Australians born overseas and nearly half with at least one parent born overseas, we can take a minute to reflect on how hard this pandemic has been on a lot of Australians, being away from their families. I joke to my kids, “Remember when there were big planes that could take us over big oceans to other lands?” They miss travelling to visit family, too. I guess we took for granted our air travel. I know we cherish our memories and are grateful for the travel we did, but many like me wonder: will we get to see our ageing parents again?

With regard to the number of new Australians like me, I also want to touch on how hard it is being away from family and living in a different culture from the one you were brought up with. Not everyone you meet is cheery and welcoming of your colour or your accent. I guess I can count myself lucky, coming to this country with English as my first language. I remember my overseas placements to Thailand, where our pre-departure training was focused on not only explaining the culture shock upon arrival in a new country, but also the culture shock we would experience when we travelled back to our home countries again after being used to a new way of life, and not quite really fitting in anywhere anymore.

Although, for the most part, people have been very accepting of my accent, some are not, and I do feel it takes a little longer for people to trust and accept me. I still regularly get asked, “Where are you travelling from?” That gets a little bit tiring after 20 years of hearing it! It sounds weird to say it, but interestingly, what I am grateful for is the opportunity to have been able to experience how awful racism makes you feel when you hardly get an opportunity to open your mouth, yet you are already judged as someone to disregard. At first I was really confused and my brain could not really work out what was going on. I have met bullies and people who did not like me, but this was different.

I remember hearing Tony Burke being interviewed a while ago and saying that, as a white male, he would never experience racism in this country, but he could imagine how awful it would be. Experiencing it firsthand gave me a new perspective on how hard it must sometimes be for our Indigenous Australians and our new Australians to feel comfortable and accepted in the communities in which they live, particularly in our regions. Growing up, we often had international visitors to our home, so I always had a lot of respect for those from other countries, but this gave me a deeper empathy for our Indigenous Australians and our new Australians, knowing at firsthand how awful it feels.

When I was first elected to Esperance council in 2017, I had to listen to not only criticisms of Labor’s target for 50 per cent women, but also negative talk about our first Australians. It made me passionate to work hard. It took three motions to council over two years, but we now proudly fly the Aboriginal flag outside our council offices. We have a fantastic progressive council now in Esperance, which I am sad to leave. It is working hard for the people of Esperance, and I would like to say a big thankyou to our fellow councillors, particularly our amazing shire president, Ian Mickel, for standing up for our town and working hard every day for the best for our community.

I am so very grateful that we have a Labor government elected in Western Australia that is committed to standing up for not only equality for women but also diversity in the party to represent the diverse community we have here in Western Australia. I feel we are very fortunate in Australia. This country has a long history of immigration, and I strongly believe that gives us a competitive advantage by having so many diverse views. A range of knowledge is brought into this country, which gives us the ability for us to tap into ideas from around the world and put them together for better solutions.

I would also like to acknowledge the wisdom we have amongst the traditional owners of our land, and how long it has gone undervalued. I am honoured to be part of this government with all it is doing for our traditional owners, with initiatives such as the move towards joint management. I feel privileged to be part of this forty-first Parliament where, for the first time, we had a welcome to country performed right here in this house to open our Parliament. With us all working together, we can continue to ensure we will remain a successful, globally competitive, leading country.

Esperance has been a fantastic place to raise our children: toddlers roaming free in the grocery store, helping to shop, with little worry for their safety; spectacularly white sandy beaches with turquoise water all to yourself; amazing, Instagram-able bike rides to school every day, with a stop to watch dolphins and whales; and weekend boat trips to our secret lagoon, where the Easter egg hunts were throwing Easter eggs overboard, and handing out a mask and snorkel. Free-range kids they were called, by those visiting from the city.

If I could fault it at all, it is that they are sun-damaged kids. No matter how hard you try, that Esperance sun will get you. Stress over your son, who hits the surf before 6.00 am and is sometimes still out there after dark, with way too many white shark sightings and brutal, aggressive attacks off Esperance. There are dangerous regional roads, where you know you risk your family’s life each time you get in the car for the seven-hour drive to Perth. That is really the only option with a family of five and airfares to Perth that cost more than going to Sydney.

I am thankful for a government that is investing in our regional roads. It is funny, but after 20 years of travel, it was really only within the last term of government that we started to think that we should perhaps leave extra time for roadworks. This government’s recent commitment to reasonably priced airfares has been welcomed by our regional towns.

I have spent much time over the past 20 years travelling throughout the Agricultural Region and one thing that upsets me is the continual degradation of our natural environment. With so much clearing already for our food production, there is less than half the natural vegetation remaining, with most of that fragmented, and the decline is still continuing. A large portion of our natural vegetation that remains is not within our conservation estate but

along our many road reserves, which are getting eaten up at an alarming rate, especially by all the regional roadworks. They are in a shocking state. In some cases, the road reserves provide the only wildlife corridors that link these fragmented pockets of vegetation. Not only does a healthy, diverse road reserve provide great visual amenity to tourists, it is also important habitat for our native species. Perhaps we get too used to our current baseline—what we are used to, driving along, looking at vegetation in very poor condition—rather than considering what it could be and acknowledging just how much damage we have done. This land has been managed by Indigenous Australians for tens of thousands of years, and it must be terribly upsetting for them to accept what we have done to our environment in such a short time.

I would like to recognise the fabulous work of Minister Dawson in his last term as Minister for Environment. We have all heard about his great initiatives such as Containers for Change and the plastic bag ban; the work being done under Plan for Our Parks to increase the conservation estate is commendable; and we now have ministers responsible for climate action and the hydrogen industry. But I really hope that we can do more this term to focus on areas outside the conservation estate and stopping the decline there. If we want to secure our biodiversity for future generations, we need a plan to get there. It will be a challenge, particularly with the added issue of climate change we now face. It is great to hear that this government is currently developing a draft vegetation policy to be released for community consultation in the coming months.

My speech would not be complete if I did not raise the important issue of great white sharks on behalf of my community in Esperance. When I first met Marc, an abalone diver, 20 years ago, shortly after white sharks became protected in 1999, we never gave much of a thought to sharks. Marc had dived with no protection for years, but since I met him, he has had over a dozen encounters with white sharks while diving and has dived using the protection of a hydraulic shark cage for almost a decade now. At least he can drive his metal cage at the sharks to move them on.

Esperance has had the most fatal white shark attacks in the last five years of anywhere in Australia, with two last year alone. Two highly respected locals have been lost and we cannot forget the devastating loss of Laetitia Brouwer in 2017 while holidaying in Esperance with her family. That attack followed the brutal attack on Sean Pollard in 2014. These attacks have significantly impacted our community and, in particular, our surfing community. Grown men no longer have the courage to undertake the sport they so enjoy, and in this hectic, modern world, that is so important for their mental health.

The community has been lobbying hard since 2017 to be heard for support and for action following white shark sightings and attacks to provide confidence to not only those in our community, but also those across our state thinking of coming to Esperance that action has been taken to make it safe to get back in the water. I look forward to working with the new Minister for Fisheries, Don Punch, to continue to address this important issue for my community. We must have an evidence and science-based approach to reducing the risk of shark attacks.

I have been involved with the Esperance Ocean Safety and Support group since its inception in 2017 after the devastating fatal white shark attack on Laetitia. The ocean safety group has worked hard to drive real and relevant research on white sharks with a view to helping improve beach safety. The group has installed a network of shark receivers around Esperance Bay that track white shark movements to learn more about their behaviour. I would like to thank former fisheries minister Peter Tinley for his commitment to assisting the group with our data analysis and working closely with the group to address our issues. I look forward to continuing this work with Minister Punch. The group also has a new research project underway that will map in detail the near-shore areas along our coastline with a view to better understanding how the underwater topography may contribute to shark visitation. There is always more to do when it comes to sharks, but it is easy to forget the huge progress made during the last term of government. We have a great SharkSmart app, with over 60 000 users, whereby we are alerted instantly to shark detections and sightings. We have a network of real-time satellite receivers linked to alarms around our coastline, centred on popular surf beaches. We have extended helicopter patrols over the summer season. I commend the work done by our fisheries research team, but we can do more, and I am confident we will continue to work with affected communities like Esperance to address these important issues. I welcome the recent announcement by Minister Punch for a \$5 million boost to shark hazard mitigation measures.

Speaking of sharks, I would like to talk for a few minutes about an amazing wild place off Esperance called Salisbury Island, which is home to the rare and endangered black-flanked rock-wallaby surviving out on this small island, home to our endangered Australian sea lions, and houses the biggest colony of long-nosed fur seals in the state. It is a wild island sitting out near the continental shelf—an amazing place. My husband came across Salisbury Island during his thousands of hours of diving underwater off our southern coast and discovered the fact that it was a white shark hotspot. We set up a non-profit organisation called Finding Salisbury to work to protect this amazing place and keep it wild. We knew with it being a white shark hotspot that it would eventually draw international attention, as it has, so we knew the importance of getting on the front foot to ensure its protection for all Australians. We feel privileged to have an organisation that is protecting a wild location, when often our land care and environmental groups are about rehabilitation and trying to put things back like they once were. We have received global recognition, with Salisbury Island designated a hope spot by Mission Blue, an organisation seeking to protect the diversity of the

world's oceans. We have worked hard to drive world-leading non-invasive research here. We are fortunate to have a wild place where we can learn about natural white shark behaviour, particularly in light of the issues we face with shark attacks in Australia, but I believe we need to tread carefully to limit our impacts.

But, alas, Esperance is just one regional community fighting to be heard in the corridors of state Parliament, and I have been elected to represent the Agricultural Region, where there are many more regional communities, all with their own issues and needs and all wanting to be heard. The Agricultural Region has over 60 local governments, with over 50 community resource centres dotted across the nearly 300 000 square kilometres. As we now head into a discussion about electoral reform, we need to think carefully about what it means to be able to properly represent those living regionally across our vast state. I am hoping we will continue to address the many issues facing regional Western Australia, and it is pleasing to know that this government, in its last term, invested more money in the regions than any other government in history. We are seeing the results on the ground, with important roadworks across our state, improvements in the facilities for our emergency services, the school maintenance program, investment in school STEM facilities and hospital upgrades across our state. Particularly, I would like to note the great job our emergency services are doing to help develop practical, tailored fire-response vehicles for the regions. But there is more to do with regard to encouraging people to live and work in regions—making our regions a place everybody can feel welcome, from our Indigenous to our new Australians, ensuring that we are supporting our towns to be individual and unique and to develop in the way they want to develop, and achieving the same level of services we have in our cities and perhaps considering how we can make these services more streamlined and easier to access.

The past year has been positive for visitation for our regions with respect to border closures and the stop to international travel, but there is still more to do to stop the decline in our small towns. There are many historic country pubs and hotels in many of our regional towns, highly valued by their local communities, in disrepair and in need of a new injection of life, yet the money is never going to be there to help refurbish these iconic places without our help. Dumbleyung and Tambellup spring to mind. It would be great to have a program to help revive these old historic pubs and hotels for these communities and for tourism. They make uniquely Western Australian stopping points to break a long drive and would help achieve more visitation to these regional communities, injecting much-needed money into the local economies.

I was very pleased to see the recent significant state government commitment towards the historic Carnarvon timber jetty. I know that commitment means so much to that community, so thank you. It has been heartbreaking to see firsthand the impact that demolition of highly valued heritage assets has on our longstanding community members, particularly those older members who have contributed so much to the development of Western Australia throughout their lifetime.

It has been 32 years since there has been a Labor office in Esperance, and for long-time Labor supporters like my friend Dale Piercey, who helped pack up the Esperance Labor office back in 1989, these are exciting times. I am excited for the day I can open the doors down there and we will again be better able to serve the people in the far reaches of the Agricultural Region.

I have realised that I am different from some people in Esperance, not because I was born Canadian, but because I have Labor values—fairness, equality, compassion and equal opportunity—and I am thankful to my family for instilling these values in me. I sometimes wonder why I have the privilege to be here when there are over 100 000 voters in the Agricultural Region, many just as worthy as I am. But maybe I am lucky to have sensed that this government was on the right track, and there was an opportunity and I grabbed it. I feel it is an important lesson for my children: do not follow the herd; follow your heart. You never know where it might lead you.

It was not easy at first, standing up publicly as Labor in Esperance, somewhere you generally would not admit to anyone that you voted Labor. But I am happy to say that at the recent election, we won all three booths in Esperance. Now, I cannot take all the credit for that, as we all know the amazing job done by Premier Mark McGowan and his Labor team in keeping us all safe, but it sure is great to be out in the regions, open and proud to be Labor and inspiring other people to embrace our Labor values.

In closing, I am honoured to be a part of this team of positive, hardworking people committed to building a better Western Australia for our children and their future and I look forward to the next four years.

[Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Congratulations, honourable member, and thank you for your contribution. I wish you all the best for your term.

HON JACKIE JARVIS (South West) [8.10 pm]: I start by acknowledging the traditional custodians of this land on which we meet tonight, the Whadjuk people of the Noongar nation. I also acknowledge and recognise the strength, resilience and capacity of Noongar people across my south west electorate. I pay my respects to their elders past and present.

President, I congratulate you on your election as President of the forty-first Parliament.

I am incredibly proud to stand here today representing the communities of the South West Region where I have lived for almost 25 years. It is in this region that I married Matt and where our daughters Caitlin, Madison and Ashlee were born and raised. My journey to this place, however, started in the English town of Bletchley, north west of London, where my parents moved in the late 1960s with the dream of buying their first home. That was a big dream for my father who had grown up in relative poverty on the west coast of Ireland and my English mother raised in war-torn south London. Unfortunately, that dream of home ownership in the United Kingdom was short lived. My father, as an unskilled builder's labourer, was part of a casualised migrant workforce and his ability to support his family was impacted by severe winters, snow and even floods shutting down construction projects in that part of England. By 1969, my parents, facing repossession of their home, sought a better life for their two young children.

My migrant story is similar to many Western Australians, and perhaps similar to some in this place. I arrived in Fremantle in April 1970 as a toddler, with an older brother, my parents and not much more. My parents lived and breathed the idea of Australia as the Lucky Country, and worked hard to make their own luck. Dad spent decades helping to build this state. From grain receival bins across the wheatbelt to mine sites in the goldfields and the north west, there are few places in WA my dad has not worked. While dad was working away for weeks on end, my mum raised two children in suburban Wanneroo, working as a cleaner and a farmhand. My mum and dad both worked in physically demanding jobs into their 60s but I never once remember them complaining about the work they did or the life they had. When they retired to Busselton in their 70s, they had enough money to buy a modest house, a late model car and to take overseas holidays every few years. They considered themselves the luckiest people in the world for being welcomed to Western Australia. This is the sad bit, and then I am going to get better! Sadly, my mum died five years ago. This week is National Palliative Care Week, so it is an apt time to acknowledge the care given to her by the staff and volunteers at Busselton Hospice Care. These days my dad lives with dementia at a Busselton aged-care facility, where he receives support and care from the hardworking and dedicated staff. Although it breaks my heart that my parents are not here to see me today, I am grateful to have my much-loved big brother, Terence, here. Growing up half a world away from any extended family, he is an important part of who I am. That's it; I am not going to cry after this.

Growing up in 1970s Wanneroo was very much like living in a country town. My mum would do cleaning jobs in the morning and then work on a local vegetable farm in the afternoons. My teenage years saw me working alongside her after school and on weekends, planting cauliflowers, packing celery and harvesting lettuce. The farm was owned by an Italian family who had arrived in WA as postwar migrants and we worked alongside Vietnamese refugees who had been engineers and doctors before fleeing their homeland. Swearing never to work in agriculture again, I started work as a bank trainee when I was 16 and built a career in the finance industry. I met my husband, Matt, along the way, and although we had both grown up in Perth, our banking careers led us to the beautiful south west. After stints in Manjimup, Bunbury, Busselton and then back to Perth, Matt was offered a bank manager job in Margaret River in 1996. Newly engaged, I joined Matt in Margaret River, but the international bank I was then working for in Perth did not have any country branches for me to transfer to. Instead, I took on the contract to be the cleaner of the bank where Matt was working. Twelve years after leaving school, I left a job as a home loan officer to become a cleaner like my mum. It was the first of many casual and seasonal jobs I had in Margaret River, reflecting the difficulty in finding full-time, permanent work in a regional town dominated by seasonal industries such as agriculture and tourism.

In 1997, Matt and I embarked on a crazy plan to plant a vineyard. We sold the home in Perth we had been paying off, substantially increased our mortgage and bought a 50-acre paddock that had been part of a cattle farm just north of Margaret River. Our daughter Caitlin was born in early 1998, and we pushed her along in a pram as we hand planted the first grapevines that spring. By July 1999, Caitlin had been joined by her sister, Madison, and then, in 2004, another sister, Ashlee. While our daughters were young, Matt continued to work full time and establish a commercial-sized vineyard, while I managed the farm administration and bookkeeping. By 2010, Matt was self-employed and I took the opportunity to return to off-farm employment. I went back to banking as a small business adviser. It was a job I came to loathe, as the pushy sales culture, the off-shoring of critical credit assessment jobs and the automatic increasing of overdrafts saw operators of failing businesses encouraged to take on more debt without consideration as to how they would repay it. Of course, it took a banking royal commission many years later to finally shine a light on the practices of Australian banks.

In 2012, I moved into the not-for-profit sector as the WA state manager of Harvest Trail Services. The service was started in the late 1990s, with the commonwealth government paying job service providers to place unemployed Australians in fruit picking and other seasonal horticultural work. The service was originally introduced around 25 years ago to appease those who declared that "Australians are too lazy to do this type of work" or "would prefer to remain on the dole". The reality is that much of the work on offer is in sparsely populated regional locations, is highly seasonal and can be unpredictable, as the weather dictates employment start dates, hours of work available on any given day and even periods of being stood down without pay at short notice. The widespread use of piece

rates adds to the uncertainty for potential employees considering relocating for this type of work. By the time I joined in 2012, the Harvest Trail was being used almost exclusively by backpackers, as young people in Australia on working holiday visas were offered visa extensions to do seasonal farm work. I saw, however, that many agricultural businesses were relying on backpackers to do what should have been full-time, year-round jobs—as the mining boom and low unemployment rates saw farm businesses struggle to find local workers.

Reflecting on my time working alongside Vietnamese refugees in the 1980s, I designed and delivered a regional migrant employment program in 2013 thanks to a \$50 000 grant from the WA Office of Multicultural Interests.

The pilot program identified employment opportunities in regional WA and I worked with refugee support organisations to find willing workers. There were a number of short-term and seasonal placements, but some became permanent jobs. When I revisited the farms 18 months later, there were still six young men working in full-time farming jobs across Western Australia. All of these young men had been receiving government benefits prior to joining the pilot program. A \$50 000 grant from the WA government in 2013 had saved the commonwealth over \$100 000 in welfare payments in the first year alone. As a result of the program, I was honoured to be named as WA's 2014 Rural Woman of the Year and as national runner-up that same year. What a great pilot program. Was it expanded? In a word, no. I simply ran out of available workers. At the time, both major political parties had "Stop the Boats" policies at a federal level—policies that saw many refugees allowed to stay in Australia, but refused the right to work. I remember a visit to a share house of six Afghan men. I found that only one had a work visa. Their individual work rights had been determined by what date they had arrived in Australia and which immigration policy has applied at that time. Although I appreciated and understood the reasoning behind these policy changes, and I reflect on the at-sea tragedies we saw at that time, I was still left dismayed by people wanting to work but unable to. We do, of course, have commonwealth-funded refugee settlement programs that bring new families into Western Australia but in my experience Western Australia's small regional population makes it difficult for smaller rural and regional communities to deliver or access the services needed for successful migration programs.

My parents arrived in Australia in 1970 as unskilled migrants. They made a valuable contribution to Australia, working in critical construction and food production jobs. My brother and I were in full-time work from the age of 16. We, too, have made worthwhile contributions to this country as taxpayers, small business owners, employers, and community members. Our adult children, the first-born Australians in our family, carry on the migrant work ethic of their grandparents, all working in professional careers or trades. Despite this, a family like mine would not have been able to migrate to Australia in later decades. Since the 1980s, Australia's immigration policies have moved towards skilled migration on the basis that this would lead to better labour market outcomes and see new migrants able to gain employment and achieve economic independence sooner. Although all this is true, I am concerned that an increasing focus on skilled migration over many decades has created a two-tiered migration system, with skilled migrants afforded some level of industrial relations protection that comes from being part of a sanctioned migration program, and a more vulnerable cohort of unskilled or low-skilled workers who are in Australia as backpackers or international students. In theory, all workers in Australia are protected by industrial relations law, but in practice people on working holiday and student visas are often more vulnerable to underpayment or exploitation. Backpackers and international students have become the mainstay of seasonal agricultural, hospitality and tourism jobs in the regions, and of gig economy workers in our cities. The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the flaw in building an economy that relies too heavily on having a revolving pool of international workers on short-term visas.

We have an amazing education system in Western Australia, with pathways to training, trades and tertiary education. I am proud to be part of a re-elected McGowan government that has a jobs plan and a commitment to diversify WA's economy. Local companies and workers will be prioritised when it comes to state government infrastructure and services, and the WA Buy Local policy will prioritise regional businesses like those in my electorate.

One of the things I love most about the south west is the willingness of local businesses to take on young local workers. All of my daughters and most of their friends worked part time while still at school for various cafes and tourism businesses, but to ensure that regional employers can utilise Western Australia's most important resource—our people—we need to break down the conventional wisdom that all roads lead to Perth for country kids. Only around half of the year 12 students who graduate in Western Australia every year have chosen a university entrance pathway. The other half have completed vocational certificate and general education courses. No matter what pathway these school leavers are on, we need to engage, encourage and provide opportunities for more young people to take up trade apprenticeships, skills-based traineeships and graduate roles in the south west, and, indeed, across all our regions. We need employers to recognise that not all young people want to leave their region. I mean, why would anyone want to leave the south west?

Despite the work ethic of the young people I see every day, I have been told many times over the years that young Australians do not want to work in particular industries. A friend recently told me about her father, an older broadacre farmer who often cited the unwillingness of young Australians to work in agriculture. For many years he would recruit workers from New Zealand for the annual grain harvest, citing their skill and work ethic. When this farmer

went on a trip to New Zealand and spoke to local farmers, he was amazed to hear his New Zealand hosts say that they only ever employed Australians for the New Zealand harvest because the local New Zealanders were just too lazy to do farming work! It is all about perspective.

I reflect now on my journey into politics. My parents were Labor voters and members of a union, but not actively involved in these organisations. As a young woman, I greatly admired our local member of Parliament, Jackie Watkins, the member for Joondalup and then Wanneroo. Despite sharing a name and a common background as an English migrant, it never occurred to me that I, too, could be a member of Parliament. My parents had arrived in Australia under an assisted passage scheme, or, to use the common vernacular, as ten-pound Poms. Although my mum was English, my dad was born in Ireland, but before the establishment of the Republic of Ireland, so he was classified as a British subject. As a result, both my parents could vote in Australian elections from the day they arrived. In 1984, the law changed and only Australian citizens could be enrolled to vote, but an exception was made for British subjects already on the electoral roll. I did not turn 18 years of age until 1986, and although we had lived in Australia since 1970, we had not become Australian citizens because my father refused to swear allegiance to an English monarch. Although the Australian and British governments considered my dad a British subject, he certainly did not.

I had been a permanent resident of Australia since I was 18 months old. I was born in England and held a British passport, but I would still need to swear allegiance to the Queen to become an Australian citizen. With mum and dad's blessing, I became an Australian citizen in 1989 and enrolled to vote immediately. In February 1993, I went to a polling booth in Como to vote in the WA state election, only to find that no Labor candidate was running in the South Perth electorate. I was disappointed, after all my efforts to enrol to vote, that in the place where I lived, my Labor vote did not seem to count for anything. Just five weeks later, I was back at that polling booth to vote in the 1993 federal election. This time I had the opportunity to vote for my local Labor member of Parliament, Hon Kim Beazley, member for Swan, a man whom I met for the first time yesterday, now as His Excellency the Governor of Western Australia. That election returned the Keating Labor government, despite polls predicting it would lose. I still vividly remember Keating's "True Believers" speech later that night and was proud to know I had played my part. My parents became Australian citizens in 1994 when the Keating government replaced the oath to the Queen with a pledge of commitment to Australia.

My move to the south west in 1996 meant that I was seemingly destined to vote in safe conservative-held seats at every election. I still cannot remember the exact reason why, but in 2005 I decided to join the local branch of the Labor Party. I had three young children, and I suspect I simply wanted to get out of the house! I was welcomed to the Vasse branch by local Labor stalwarts Ross Bromell and Rod Clark, and South West MLC Hon Adele Farina. There was also an entertaining collective of much older gentlemen who called each other comrade and told wonderful stories from their decades of involvement in the Labor Party. Within weeks, I was asked to be the vice-president of the branch, and I declined, only to be told that I had to be! The Labor Party had a very clear affirmative action policy that meant, as one of the few female members of the branch, and from memory the only one to attend the annual general meeting, I needed to take on an executive role in the branch. I was certainly capable of taking on the role, but as a mother of three young children and having been out of a professional work environment for a number of years, I doubt that I would have had the confidence to do so unless pushed. At the time, I was unsure how I felt about gender quotas, but as I looked around the Labor caucus room today, I am indeed a true believer in Labor's affirmative action policies. In 2010, I was the Labor candidate for the federal seat of Forrest. I was never expected to win, but remembering the 1993 state election in which there was no Labor candidate, I was determined to work hard for local voters. Hon Adele Farina was my equally hardworking campaign manager and WA Labor's then assistant state secretary, Cassie Roe, now member for Belmont, made regular trips south to assist. Adele and Cassie taught me different but equally valuable lessons in political campaigning.

My children were still in primary school at the time, and I remember telling them that although I did not win the election, I did come second. I decided that although I enjoyed input into public policy formation, I was not destined to be a politician. I was a Labor Party supporter but not interested in leaving the Margaret River region and, clearly, the state electorates of Warren-Blackwood and Vasse could never be winnable seats for Labor! Instead, I got a career in public policy. I joined the public sector and even had a stint in a minister's office. I made lifelong friends who taught me what it means to be a public policy professional and who gave me a small insight into how this place works.

Hon Alannah MacTiernan also taught me much, and although I doubt that I will ever be able to match her intelligence or her intensity, I am so proud to have her as a colleague in this place. I am also thrilled to be joining her and Hon Dr Sally Talbot in representing the south west. To have not one but two experienced and dedicated members by my side is more than I could have hoped for.

I also want to take this opportunity to acknowledge retiring MLC Hon Adele Farina, who served the South West Region for over 20 years. Her recent valedictory speech outlined a fraction of the things that she achieved in the region, and I want to thank her for her service.

Over the last couple of years, I returned to grassroots policy work, first, as the CEO of WA's Rural, Regional and Remote Women's Network and then back to the Department of Primary Industries and Regional Development. When the opportunity arose late last year to be a candidate in the 2021 election, I did not expect to be elected. But, again, I made a commitment to work hard and give the voters of the South West Region a viable alternative to the status quo. All candidates in the South West Region worked incredibly hard, but I had agreed that I would focus on the electorates of Vasse and Warren–Blackwood. For the record, I live in the electorate of Vasse but within about two kilometres of the electorate of Warren–Blackwood. I am pretty well smack bang in the middle of them.

I could not be prouder of the campaign that we ran in those electorates. Chris Hossen was an outstanding candidate for Vasse. He ran an intense campaign, putting his life and career on hold to contest the seat. Chris, together with his parents, Steve and Barb Hossen, were able to rally dozens of volunteers. That is no easy task in an electorate that has never been held by the Labor Party—and when I say “never”, I mean since WA's first election in 1890. Their hard work ensured early polling centres in Busselton and Dunsborough had Labor representatives present every day for the two and a half weeks of pre-polling for not only local voters, but also the many absentee voters holidaying down south. Although a swing of 10 per cent would have seen a Labor victory in many seats, it was not enough to get Chris over the line. I want to thank and acknowledge him and the team of volunteers in Vasse for this amazing effort.

Then there is the seat of Warren–Blackwood. Jane Kelsbie proved to be another outstanding candidate. We had a two-term strategy and never in our wildest dreams did we think WA Labor would win in 2021. Jane's hard work and natural affinity for grassroots campaigning paid off, resulting in her being just 22 votes behind the sitting member after counting of first preference votes and then winning the seat by 637 votes after the distribution of preferences. I echo Jane's words in her recent first speech in acknowledging and thanking the hardworking volunteers across the Warren–Blackwood electorate.

Thank you to Ellie Whiteaker from the WA Labor Party office and the campaign team at WA Labor for their support and guidance. Special thanks to WA Labor Party state president, Carolyn Smith, for her faith in me.

I will end tonight with the most important acknowledgements. My husband, Matt, worked hard to build a vision of the future he wanted for our family. He worked hard to become a successful farmer and the winemaker he is today. I am grateful to have been part of building that vision. We shared parenting duties equally over the years, swapping primary carer roles as we needed to. I am grateful to be able to share my career successes with him. Our three daughters are, of course, our greatest achievement—Caitlin, Madison and Ashlee. Thank you for your help on polling day, for not being too embarrassed by me and for just being wonderful human beings.

I close tonight by thanking all of you, my new colleagues—some are old friends and some are new friends. I also want to acknowledge the newly elected members of the south west who have come from a very diverse background. I look forward to working with you all. President, thank you.

[Applause.]

HON LORNA HARPER (East Metropolitan) [8.36 pm]: I would like to begin by acknowledging the traditional custodians of the land on which we meet, the Whadjuk people of the Noongar nation. I pay my respects to elders past, present and emerging.

Congratulations President and Deputy President on your election. Congratulations, also, to my Labor comrades here and in the other place. It is truly an honour and privilege to be here today as a representative of the East Metropolitan Region. It is an area of Perth I have lived in since coming to Australia. I have lived in Bayswater, Bassendean and Maylands, and now reside in Avey. What a place to live! The Swan Valley, the hills, the culture and the people—an amazing eclectic group.

As you may gather, I was not born in Australia. I come from a small town with a big history called Largs. It is situated on the Ayrshire coast, overlooking the River Clyde, “doon the watter” from Glasgow.

In October 1263, the army of King Alexander III of Scotland fought and defeated the Vikings at Largs. It was a battle that changed the history of Scotland and led to the signing of the Treaty of Perth in 1266. Largs was also the birthplace of Sir Thomas Brisbane, after whom the city of Brisbane is named. It was at a school named after him that I had my first real act of collective action. Brisbane Primary School was opened in the late 1970s at the foot of the hills. It was not uncommon for sheep to wander onto our playground. The school had a large red blaise pitch that the boys played football on. The girls—well, we were not allowed on it during our playtime or lunch. To me, this was unfair and unjust. We played football as well, but all we had was a small concrete area to play on, so we went on strike. We got some of the boys to support us and refused to return to class until it was resolved. We won! To be honest, I did not like playing on the pitch after all, but that was not the point.

It is from my parents that my brother Graham and I got our sense of justice, fairness and community. My mum, Liz, was the eleventh of 12 children and the youngest girl. Her brothers fought in World War II. Her father was a steelworker. Her mother got a break once a year by travelling back to Ireland to spend time with relatives. My

mum grew up babysitting many of her numerous nieces and nephews. My father's first job was as a butcher boy at the tender age of nine. You see, my pop was injured somehow during the war and they needed the money. Both my parents come from proud working-class backgrounds. My mum, in particular, encouraged us to ask questions; my father, to call out injustice. We lived in an end terrace, two up and two down house, which had a communal backyard. We shared the back garden with 14 other children. We had some wonderful adventures. I remember climbing up onto the roof of a hut with Tricia and jumping off, shouting "Geronimo". Our mothers did not think it was as good an idea as we did, since we were four at the time. As kids, we had the freedom to play and roam before the lights came on, being told off by whichever adult was nearest. It was such a sense of community. We truly were being raised by a village.

I have vague memories of the general strikes in the 1970s. I recall one winter when we had regular electricity blackouts. We were okay, as we still cooked with gas and had a coal fire. Some of our neighbours were not so fortunate. I remember nights when we were squashed into our living room to keep warm. Our parents did not have much, but neither did the other families. We shared what we could. I do not feel that I had a deprived childhood. My parents worked hard and went without to support us. They encouraged my brother and me to go on to further education. I was only 17 when I packed my bags and headed to Edinburgh to attend college. The idea that we know what we want to be at that age is now absurd to me. College life was not for me. I wanted to have fun, to explore and to live life, not be stuck in a classroom.

I first came to Australia in 1989. Perth looked very, very different back then. What a momentous year that was: Tiananmen Square, the fall of the Berlin Wall and Thatcher's introduction of the poll tax in Scotland.

I was an active member of the Scottish Labour Party back then. I doorknocked, letterboxed and stuffed many an envelope during my time. Of course, I was fundamentally opposed to this Tory tax. It was a tax that targeted the working class. It was meant to replace housing rates but it was not based as much on how big your house was or what it was worth but rather on how many people over the age of 18 lived there. It tripled what my parents had previously paid. They still lived in a two up, two down end terrace. So, on a cool but dry day, on 1 April 1989, I joined 45 000 other concerned Scottish citizens to peacefully march and voice our concerns about how unfair this tax was, from the top of Leith Walk to the Meadows in Edinburgh. Of course, Thatcher ignored this. The Conservative government ruling from London had already decimated the shipyards, the steelworks, coalmines and car factories in Scotland. Again and again, they have tried to bring the Scots to their knees. Again and again, they have been unsuccessful. We are a feisty, belligerent and stoic race. As we say in Scotland, "Here's tae us! Wha's like us? Gey few, and they're a' died."

I spent six months here in 1989. That first summer was an experience. My mum and I would open the windows to let the breeze in and only used the aircon at night to cool the house. We learned fast.

When I returned to Scotland, I lived in Glasgow—a city of contrasts, a city of culture, history and architecture within a city of grit, determination and justice. My granny was born in the Gorbals. I lived in the West End. Physically, we were miles apart but, in reality, worlds apart.

I travelled back and forward between Scotland and Australia over the next few years. I worked in a hotel in Largs for many years. The views from the hotel over the River Clyde to the Islands of Cumbrae and Arran, over the Kyles of Bute and to the mountains beyond are breathtaking. It was at this hotel that I met actors, celebrities, lords, ladies, dukes and travellers from across the world. I learned that people are just people regardless of class, wealth or fame. I returned to studying whilst there. I studied full time, travelled two hours a day back and forth to college and continued to work over 35 hours a week. It took its toll on me mentally and physically.

My mum got me to come back out to Australia in 1996. It was then that I met my daughter's father. The relationship did not work out. I became a single parent. Jess is truly my daughter. She is intelligent, caring, loving and as fierce as hell. She also suffers from mental health issues. She has given me permission to speak about them. It is close to 10 years now since she was first diagnosed with anxiety and depression. Teenagers attempting suicide is most definitely not attention seeking; it is the act of those who are in crisis, and have lost hope and meaning. Jess was also diagnosed with borderline personality disorder. Jess wants more people to be open about mental health and the struggles that she and others deal with every day. It is from experience that we know an emergency department is an awful place for someone in crisis to be. The noises, the lights, the suffering of others and the general chaotic atmosphere intensifies the feelings and emotions. The McGowan Labor government has been working steadily on how to improve mental health services here in WA but there is still a long way to go.

It is really hard being a single parent but I was luckier than most. I had the support of my mum and my stepfather, Stan. They were the ones who encouraged me and helped me to go out and attend Swan TAFE in Midland to gain further qualifications.

My stepfather is one of the reasons I stand here today. In April 2005, he was diagnosed with mesothelioma. He died in September 2005. It sounds quick but it was not. He endured months and months of terrible pain. He spent

the last six weeks or so of his life in Sir Charles Gairdner Hospital. My mum visited him every day bar one during that time. At the end, the pain was so bad that he asked the doctors to up the morphine. They did and continued to do so until he died in the early hours of the morning. This is not a way to die. It is not fast nor peaceful. I was enraged when so many obstacles of personal beliefs were put up to slow down the assisted dying legislation. I respect those who do not believe it is for them. However, I do not respect their attempts to stop others being able to make that choice. That and the delay of the industrial manslaughter laws were beyond belief. If companies are doing the right thing, they have nothing to worry about. If they are not, they should be held accountable. Why would anyone want to delay this type of legislation? I was angry, and have always said there should be more women in Parliament. I could not sit back any longer, so I put myself forward for number four on the ticket for East Metropolitan, not expecting to be here but expecting to help others who thought like I did.

I became a member of the Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Union, or missos, in 2005. I had completed my diploma in children's services and had begun working as a room leader at a community-based childcare centre. Whilst I was there, I stood with my union colleagues protesting against the local council handing over a public-owned facility to a profit-making company.

Working with children is one of the most rewarding but completely underrated and underpaid professions. Is this because it is seen as women's work or because it is seen as a profit-making business by investment companies? I continued to work in community centres, eventually becoming a director. It was there that I experienced firsthand what it was like to be bullied by senior management. You see, I asked questions and was not always satisfied with the response, so I would ask some more. It ended with me being excluded from meetings, ignored and undermined at every step. So I quit and took them to the Fair Work Commission. I was successful.

I then worked as a director for a few companies that were profit making until I just could not do it anymore. When was it decided as a community that it was okay to make huge profits from our children's education and care? I began working at United Voice in 2012. Dave Kelly was its secretary and Carolyn Smith, Pat O'Donnell and Amber-Jade Sanderson were the assistant secretaries. I was part of the Big Steps campaign seeking recognition, both professionally and financially, of early childhood education and care. The campaign was doing well and achieving forward steps until Abbott and the Liberals were elected.

I then moved to the education team. I also have a certificate III as a teacher's assistant and have worked in classrooms. I witnessed firsthand as an education assistant, and then as a union organiser visiting schools, the essential role of the assistants. Whether it be in kindy or pre-primary, a special needs assistant, a CALD—culturally and linguistically diverse—assistant or an AIEO—Aboriginal and Islander education officer—I saw the damage that was done when their numbers were reduced by the Barnett government. Thankfully, our Minister for Education in the McGowan Labor government has restored hundreds of assistants to WA public schools.

I then moved within the union to the manufacturing and property services team, what I refer to as the heart of the "missos". Manufacturing and property services was sure an eye opener for me. It was in this team that I first came across Wilson Security. Yes, the same company that profits immensely from the parking at Charlie's and the Perth Children's Hospital, thanks again to contracts signed by the Barnett government. Wilson was operating on a 2009 workplace agreement. Their employees were working over a 100 hours a fortnight with below award conditions and penalties. Our brave union delegates took them to Fair Work to have the 2009 work choice-style agreement cancelled and the staff moved on to the award. Wilson was so opposed to this they flew in a barrister from over east to fight it; they lost. They referred to me as belligerent and I have no idea how.

My last three and a half years at the union has been as the health team lead organiser. Public health is a hot topic at the moment. I have my own views on this. I believe that the Barnett government created these separate health service providers to enable future public-private partnerships. Public-private partnership—what is that? Think of Midland Public Hospital, a public hospital being run without a full range of services because of the beliefs of St John of God, or Fiona Stanley Hospital where all support services were signed over to Serco, a multinational corporation making a profit out of our public system. There is also Ramsay Health Care, which runs Joondalup and Peel Health Campuses. These are public hospitals, yet companies are making profits from them or using them as a cover for charitable kudos. The health service providers are run by boards and chief executives. To me it is as though our health system was broken into many small pieces by the Barnett government.

Since the election of the McGowan Labor government in 2017 our Minister for Health has been working to put our health system back together. In August this year, staff employed at Fiona Stanley Hospital by Serco in catering, cleaning and logistics will return to the public sector. In 2023, the Peel Health Campus public hospital will return to the public sector. I look forward to the day we see the other services brought back in. It is also my belief that the current health service provider system needs to be reviewed. Every system can be improved and Health is no exception.

For the last five or so years, I have been president of the Bassendean branch. If only all Labor branches could fundraise like Bassendean. Over the last couple of years over \$15 000 has been raised and donated to both state and federal campaigns. The members of the Bassendean branch are amazing. They have supported me, mentored me and guided

me on my decision to run. Being a politician was not an aspiration I held for myself. It seemed others held those aspirations for me. As Robert Burns wrote “O wad some Pow’r the giftie gie us. To see oursels as ithers see us!”

It is to my branch that I would like to begin my thanks. To Anne Giles, Carol Seidel, Anthea Matthews, Dorothy Griggs and Pam Day, and oh, if you have any doubts about voluntary assisted dying go and talk to Pam; she will set you right. Give this group some wine and they could organise the world!

I would like to thank my mum, Liz, and my daughter, Jess. I would not be standing here today without your encouragement and support. My husband, David—we found each other again after nearly 30 years apart. You are my love, my rock and my safe haven. My brother, Graham: arguing with you growing up has helped me be the mouthy, opinionated person I am today.

My Australian family: Sarah, John, Mateo and Maia. The help you are receiving in your hour of need from relative strangers has strengthened my faith in our sense of community. Our John has been receiving excellent care from the staff at both Charlie’s and now at Bethesda palliative care. You see, Sarah and John were also born overseas, and daily they express their thanks and appreciation at the level of care from these hospitals and in particular the staff. It is National Palliative Care Week and a campaign has begun to raise awareness of this incredible service. Palliative Care—it is more than you think.

To the women in leadership roles who have directly or indirectly led me to here. To Virginia Aden, my mentor for many a year. To Carolyn Smith, Amber-Jade Sanderson and Dr Anne Aly—they are strong female leaders. I admire your strength and determination.

To all of the other Labor women who have come before me, it is because of the work you have done in paving the way, that there are so many women sitting on this side of the house today. We are Labor women; you will hear us roar!

To Pat O’Donnell and the United Workers Union health team for your support and patience. To my union family, the United Workers Union members and staff: once a misso, always a misso—always union proud.

A special thanks to Dom Rose for his patience and support over the years, even though I would go out of my way to wind him up. To Dave Kelly, Matthew Hughes, Luke and the Kalamunda campaign. It is like a different world up in the hills. Go there.

This is part of the story of my journey here. It covers some of my beliefs and my hopes—my hopes of creating a better place for all of the community and my belief that investing in education, the public sector, health, mental health and our communities will sow the seeds of hope for the future. The people of Western Australia have entrusted us to be their representatives and we cannot let them down.

In this age of the pandemic let us be bold and make the changes necessary for our state’s future. Thank you.

[Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Thank you and congratulations, honourable member, and all the best for your term.

Debate adjourned, on motion by **Hon Colin de Grussa**.