

ADDRESS-IN-REPLY

Motion

Resumed from 12 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 ACTING PRESIDENT: Before I give the call to Hon Colin Tincknell, I inform members that this will be Hon Colin Tincknell's valedictory speech and remind them of the customs that apply to such.

HON COLIN TINCKNELL (South West) [12.27 pm]: I rise to give my farewell speech. Like Hon Simon O'Brien, this may not be my last speech, but it is certainly my farewell speech. I acknowledge the traditional owners of this land where we meet, the Whadjuk people of the Noongar nation, and I offer my respect to elders both past and present.

When I first stood as a member of this chamber four years ago, I was in equal measure humbled, daunted and honoured at having been chosen by people of the South West Region to be their voice in the Western Australian Parliament. I now know I was right to feel humbled, daunted and honoured. Any person elected to this place who is not all those things is unaware of the great responsibility that rests with them or the work that is expected of them.

In my maiden speech, I pledged to research and inform myself about all the relevant and important issues and debate each piece of legislation before making a decision that I believed would be in the best interests of the people I represented. Unlike most members in this house, my decisions over the past four years were not bound by a party room vote, caucus decisions, loyalty to powerbrokers or fear of preselection repercussions. I count myself lucky to have served in the chamber as the Leader of Pauline Hanson's One Nation in WA and a key member of the crossbench, who was able to hold this government to account over the legislation it brought to this Parliament. Sometimes that account was to insist on amendments to improve legislation; on other occasions, it meant blocking legislation. It was only because of my vote, and that of other crossbench members and my fellow One Nation colleague, that moves by this government to nationalise our crayfishing industry, increase the gold tax, close down the Schools of the Air and regional boarding colleges and fund many community resource centres were defeated in the Legislative Council. If not for the capacity of the Legislative Council to block these moves, regional communities and residents would have been severely affected and further disadvantaged. I want to say that again: if not for the capacity of the Legislative Council to block these moves, regional communities and residents would have been severely affected and further disadvantaged. Unfortunately, I believe that this city-centric government, with its new majority in the chamber, will systematically revive all, if not most, of these defeated policies over the coming four years. It will no doubt cite the old chestnut it is so fond of: "We have a mandate."

My constituents in the south west, and members of the public all over this state, face many ongoing issues that this government has simply turned a blind eye to for four years. Much must be done to improve regional and road safety. As you know, Mr Acting President (Hon Martin Aldridge), I have been a consistent speaker on this issue from the moment I first rose in this place. Roads in WA regions currently have the highest road toll per capita in Australia; and for the wheatbelt, it is the worst in the world. That is not something that I am proud of as a regional member. Although there has been much media focus over the past year on the state of our metropolitan health services, regional health services in WA have been neglected for decades by successive state governments. People living in WA, outside of Perth, have lesser health outcomes and a shorter life expectancy than their city cousins. This is not acceptable, especially considering that the overwhelming bulk of the state's economy is generated from the regions. Earlier today, we had a discussion about our system of voting. People forget that not only the state's economy but also the whole of Australia's economy is so much dependent on the regions of Western Australia.

During my maiden speech, I spoke about the drug and crime problems facing south west towns. It was quite clear to me as a non-politician before how bad it was. Sadly, little has changed. During its 2017 election campaign, the Labor Party pledged to build a standalone rehabilitation facility in the south west. Soon after the election, the McGowan government announced that it would not be building that facility. I hope that the incoming members of the South West Region will take up this fight, not only for the rehab centre, but also for an expanded facility that includes a training centre that engages with local businesses to get young people job ready once they have completed their rehabilitation program. We need to get them job ready so they can correct their previous behaviour and have a future in life.

The south west has many businesses that are not short of ambition, innovation or initiative but the big three hurdles they face are funding for infrastructure, red tape and a lack of accommodation in small towns for employees,

especially now. The state government must support, both financially and through the reduction of red tape, the development of value adding and downstream processing for existing primary industry and tourism operators in the region. Substantially increasing the threshold at which small businesses have to pay payroll tax, or even getting rid of it altogether, which would be better, would incentivise expansion in local businesses. Before the last election, I saw many parties talk about doing something about payroll tax. The member to my right, my colleague, raised this in a motion during non-government business, during the first year we were in this house, yet not much has been done and small business is still suffering from the repercussions of that lack of action.

Another big subject that is important to me—once again, I submitted plans to this government on many occasions in my first two years in Parliament—is homelessness. I noticed that a Housing First program is currently running in Geraldton. Two and a half years ago, the government announced that it would get involved in Housing First for homeless people. For people who do not know, Housing First is the only program in the world that has proven to be partially successful in helping homeless people. I acknowledge that it is a very tough issue. However, homelessness has to be tackled. We have record levels of homelessness when we have record income coming into this state but we are doing very little about it. We have made many announcements but we have not yet got on with the job of fixing it. Homelessness in the south west and throughout the state is at heartbreaking levels. This government has no concrete plan to seriously address the growing crisis. As I mentioned, it has made great announcements but we have seen poor delivery. That explains this government at the moment. I hope it improves in this area. Increasing housing stock for social housing in regional towns, stamp duty concessions for downsizing seniors, which this house overwhelmingly supported but the government has not taken action on, and increasing the first home owner grant for regional houses are all simple and easy measures that this state government, with its unexpected royalty bonanza, could well afford.

Water and security remain the biggest issues facing our rural producers. Poor maintenance of water infrastructure and insufficient growth in dam construction have added to water insecurity all over the state. Then we have the Water Corporation, a so-called not-for-profit entity making a surplus of millions of dollars, which is being returned to the general government revenue coffers. It is hard to believe that that goes on. How many desalinators and many other things could have been purchased for small regional communities with that money?

I also urge members to take the pathway to renewable energy—I say this with all seriousness—at a pace that will not disadvantage the state in the cost of reliability of electricity, for businesses and families, especially those in regional areas. It is a common mantra of many on the left side of politics that we might all have to learn to pay more for green energy. Many families in regions throughout the state cannot afford to pay what they have already been paying, let alone pay more.

As previously mentioned, I and other members of the crossbench and One Nation have had the freedom to vote on legislation in line with what we believe would be in the interests of our constituents. Today, as I look at government members, I would also especially like to remind incoming members of the responsibility they have to their constituents and the purpose of this house, which is to act as a place of review. I implore them to be brave enough—I really do mean that—to vote in the best interests not only of their own constituents, but also the wider community. Look at the big picture. Our state will be poorly served by an upper house that simply ticks the box on behalf of the Premier rather than properly interrogating the legislation before them. My fingers are crossed. Sadly, there is a precedent for what happens to members of the McGowan government who decide to put their conscience before politics. Labor Party retribution is swift for those who do not toe the party line. It is well documented that the first McGowan government was one of the most secretive in the history of this state, despite the constant pledges by Mark McGowan before the 2017 election to deliver a gold standard of transparency and accountability. There is little doubt that the second McGowan government, with a majority in both houses, will be even more secretive. This is something that is quite scary not for me, not for this house, not for the Parliament, but for the people of Western Australia.

I implore the media to step up to the plate, and I really hope it does because we need to hear from people who are brave enough to not only challenge the owners of their media outlets, but also say it the way it is. I recognise that the dominant media player in Western Australia has been acting virtually like a propaganda arm of the government for four years rather than a functional member of the fourth estate. This is very disappointing. Having had an almost two-decade career in the media, I fully understand the business pressures facing media today. Traditional media in this state, as it is around the world, is struggling with change. From a starting position of having a near market monopoly, traditional media failed to see change on the horizon and act as a global industry to innovate and protect its market share. It allowed others to do what it should have done itself. I worry when I see the McGowan government give a single exemption from the state's domestic gas reservation policy to media mogul Kerry Stokes' company Seven Group Holdings, which owns the biggest shareholding of Beach Energy. I have firsthand experience of just what advertising dollars can buy and it is not just column centimetres in a newspaper or advertisement spots on TV. Not only is the potential for abuse clear, but the capacity for scrutiny is very limited. This is a major issue for the people of WA.

Unlike many who come to this place, I am not a career politician. I did not set out to become a politician. I have had a few careers in my working life, including two decades in Aboriginal affairs and, obviously, two decades in the media. But, without doubt, this career as a member of the Legislative Council has been both the least expected and one of the most rewarding. I have many people to thank, and I would like to start with the party. It has been a journey. When I was asked to be the leader of the WA One Nation party four and a half years ago by my federal leader, Pauline Hanson, I said, “My God. What have I got myself into?” I had been involved in the 1998 federal election, which was a long time ago, and the party had been in the wilderness for 16 years. We all know the story of One Nation and Pauline Hanson and there was a good reason why we were in the wilderness. However, the reason I said yes and the reason I ran as a candidate was I had seen the growth in my federal leader. I had seen how she had matured as a politician and what I had seen was very pleasing.

I was also aware that if I took the leadership role for the party, it would mean pressure on my family and all my friends. It was documented in *The West Australian* that one of my best friends at work never realised that I had political beliefs that fell in line with the One Nation party. People thought that was controversial. It is controversial, but when someone really believes in something, they need to put their heart and soul into it and get stuck in. I have done that all my life, and I did it when I took the leadership role for One Nation all those years ago. I thank Pauline for having that trust in me and asking me to take on that role. Sometimes I may have cursed her for giving me that role, because it is tough. It is tough being in the wilderness for 16 years and trying to cobble together a party of a lot of different people. We have a broad church very similar to the Liberal Party, who have lots of different ideas and they do not always agree, but you have to get on with the job and do the best you can. We did that. We had three members elected to this house. I am very proud of that achievement. As I mentioned, 180 000 people voted for us at that time. I have had meetings with the Premier of the state and I keep reminding him that he is now the Premier for everyone in this state, not just the people who voted for him and his party.

One member of Pauline’s national executive is James Ashby, who is a controversial person. I suppose someone cannot help avoid being controversial to some degree when they are involved in our party, because that is the way the media has painted it. However, James Ashby is a very knowledgeable guy and has helped me a great deal and given me some great advice on how to be a leader. He told me quite clearly that if it had been his decision, I would not have got the job. I love that honesty. We became friends instantly after that because I knew I could trust this man. He was honest. He believed that someone else should have got the job. None of those people were elected, so it would not have worked out anyway. I was elected and it did work out, I believe. But that is a one-sided story, as we know.

I also want to thank my colleague, Robin Scott. He has been a wonderful member for the Mining and Pastoral Region and continues to be a wonderful member right up until this last day. I am very proud of what he has achieved in working for the people of WA.

I want to say thank you to the unknown people out there who support One Nation: the party executive, president, treasurer, secretary and all the people who put aside many years of frustration and all the things that they hoped for the party. All of a sudden they found themselves with a few members in Parliament and they really wanted us to perform miracles. I reminded them on a few occasions that I was only the leader of the party, not the Premier of the state, and some of those things were unachievable—not that Robin or I ever gave up trying. To the party executive, thank you. It is a tough job for a small party to get paid-up members, supporters and volunteers. I thank those people. We would not have been here over these last four years without your work and I thank you dearly. I want to thank the parliamentary staff, committee staff and all other staff in this building. These people make it happen and make it work for us members in this house. As a person who never worked for a member before I came into politics or had any political background, it is very daunting to all of a sudden be sitting and standing and speaking in this house. I could not have done it without Nigel and his team and Paul and all the great help from the chamber staff. Their help has been enormous, as has the help from the committee staff.

I was fortunate to serve on some great committees. On the Standing Committee on Estimates and Financial Operations, I sat with four other people from four different parties and I am proud of what we achieved. I am proud of the way that we worked together in a bipartisan approach to hold the government to account, to try to ask the tough questions in the hearings and to achieve a result for the people of WA. I was also asked to be present at the Local Projects, Local Jobs program committee hearings, and I was very happy with the recommendations that we handed out. We need a parliamentary budget office for not only the government or opposition, but also the smaller parties to help us explain our policies before elections and get them costed and presented in the right manner. It would be a plus to this Parliament and would stop the pork-barrelling that has been going on for many years.

I obviously also want to give a big thankyou to my staff. They, like me, were brand new, and I imagine it was the same for Hon Robin Scott. I did not get ex-Liberal, ex-Labor or ex-National Party people to come and work for me. We decided to be true to ourselves, do the hard work and get behind the issues without having any slant. Over the years, an ex-Liberal did join my team, and she has been magnificent. That was thanks to the grace of the Premier, who gave us extra staff. As I know the Greens would also find, when you are on the crossbench, there is so much

work to do. Some members get tired of having responsibility for two or three portfolios; crossbenchers can have up to 40 or 50 portfolios! You get used to having to deal with everything and trying to get your head across everything, but those extra staff made the difference. I thank the Premier for that. That set a precedent, which I believe should continue forevermore when crossbenchers are in this house. For my staff in particular, it was a hectic time.

I live in Busselton but I chose to have my office just over the road. I would love to have been a member just for the South West Region, but I found myself to be a member for the Agricultural Region, North Metro, South Metro and East Metro. There was a great responsibility to look after the whole state. One Nation is not just a regional party; we have as many members, followers and voters in the metro area. That is our strength. That is why when things are going well for us, a lot of people, sometimes up to a quarter of a million in this state, vote for us in federal or state elections. We just need to get our act together as we get through this pandemic. I am sure the party will be around for many more years to come.

To my staff Rod and Anthony, who have been there virtually the whole time from day one, I thank you. It has been hectic. There was much to learn for all of us. Your patience, skill and dedication have been much appreciated. I have had many other staff come and go. They have been promoted; they are working for government departments and have gone up a level. I have really enjoyed seeing their development. I thank them all for their support as well.

I wrote in my notes “Madam President”, but every time I look up, the Acting President is still there! Mr Acting President, I also want to say thank you to Madam President, who is not in the chamber. To be President of this house is a great honour. It was an even greater honour when she found she had a whole bundle of crossbenchers who were new to the Parliament and she had to remind us of the rules of this place on a regular basis. That has not been easy. There have been many other challenges that have been spoken about in this house; I am not about to talk about them anymore as they have been well documented. I thank her for the fantastic job she has done and the evenness with which she has distributed chances and opportunities for members to speak. That is a great skill. I am sure she will have a long career in front of her, regardless of the difficulties she has encountered with her own party in recent years.

I also want to mention fellow members of this house. I thank you all. One thing I pride myself on is being fair and even to all people, regardless of whether I agree with them. From having discourse and discussions, you learn and become a better person. You sometimes even change your mind. I have been able to do that. That is the job of a politician—to go out and find the facts, and consult. Our party prides itself on being an expert consultant. We love talking to the people. That is the message that came from our federal leader: get out there and speak to industry, stakeholders, farmers and the public and find out straight from their mouths what they are saying and what needs to be done. We get a lot of requests, as all members do. Sometimes you cannot deliver on behalf of the public because it is not possible. I cannot change the UN from this house, as I have been asked to do many times!

I would also like to say a big thank you to my wonderful family. I have seven or eight more minutes before we break for lunch; I promised Hon Alison Xamon that I would finish my speech before lunch, as she will be the next speaker. I would like to spend a little time just talking about my wonderful family. My family has supported me. I have grown kids and they are now having children of their own. They are buying homes and achieving their career dreams and aspirations. I have always said to them, “Never ever take a backwards step. If you want something, work hard and you can achieve it. You need to educate yourself. You need to learn. Sometimes you just have to go out and do a job you don’t necessarily want to do to pay the bills, until you find the job that you want. You need to just get the job done.” They have done that. Every parent’s dream is to create children who are better role models and people than they are. I believe I have been able to achieve that. I look up to them. Some of them are taller than me, so that is easy to do! When I first came into this house, my youngest daughter had just had a baby, so I had a grandchild, whom I got very much involved with as they live in this state. Now I have another granddaughter and another grandchild on the way, so the family is rapidly growing. I am getting older. I am glad that the grey hair has gone to white. I hope I become a fantastic grandparent to those kids for many years to come. I know I will have a bit more time in the future.

All my life I have lived by one thing: I will not compromise when it comes to what I believe. Of course, those beliefs have built up over many years of learning things. I have conducted myself in a way that is respectful of people, whether or not I agree with them, and nothing will force me to change this approach or my beliefs. If I face criticism for not being politically correct, that does not worry me: I am proud that I stayed true to myself in this house.

I have been involved in many start-ups and ventures throughout my life. I am not afraid of failure. It brings the best out of me. I have faced many great challenges. I have launched newspapers, radio stations and a national sporting code, and virtually relaunched, along with my colleagues, a political party in this state. They have all been major challenges and they have all been tough, but they have brought the best out of me.

I have enjoyed the last four years. They have been easy to enjoy because of the help and assistance I have received from many members in this house. Working in this house on behalf of my constituents has been a privilege, and I am proud of the contribution I have made. I now look forward to new opportunities in the future. I do not know what they will be. I know the skillset I have, but I have had to retrain myself before. I am a believer in change. I am

a student of change and I am ready for the next challenge. If there are a whole bundle of things that I need to learn to do the next job or the next career well, that is what I will do. Thank you to everyone here. Mr Acting President, if you could pass on my best wishes to the President. I also thank my party for giving me the opportunity to represent the people of this state. Thank you.

[Applause.]

The ACTING PRESIDENT (Hon Martin Aldridge): Thank you, Hon Colin Tincknell, for your service to the Council, and all the best for your future endeavours.

Sitting suspended from 12.59 to 2.00 pm

HON ALISON XAMON (North Metropolitan) [2.02 pm]: Thank you, Mr Deputy President.

I want to begin my valedictory by paying my respects to the traditional owners of the land on which we are meeting, the Whadjuk Noongar people. I reflect on the positive decision that was made in this place during this term to ensure that this acknowledgement of country is automatically included every day when we open our proceedings. It was a change that was not made before time, and it is a sombre reflection, I think, that in 2021 we have so very far to go in achieving justice and reconciliation for the First Nations people of this land.

I want to share my gratitude with those First Nations people who over the two terms I have been in this place have worked with and guided me in trying to address so many of those issues that continue to remain unaddressed for our Aboriginal people, the failure of which too often results in tragic consequences; the record number of incarcerations, including our First Nations children in our prisons and the shocking number of resultant deaths in custody; the fact that we still have a horrendous gap in life expectancy for First Nations people compared with other Australians; disproportionate levels of homelessness, of poverty and of children taken into care; the number of Aboriginal people still denied appropriate disability supports; the lack of mental health services so desperately needed to address the effects of intergenerational trauma; and the devastatingly high rates of First Nations suicides. It is my fervent hope that I will see these injustices addressed in my lifetime and that we will finally achieve treaty.

It would have been my preference not to be giving a valedictory speech at this time. It had been my hope that I would be able to give it in four years' time, although as a Green, I have always gone into every election with my eyes open to the fact that electoral success is in no way guaranteed. On that note, it is simultaneously galling, yet strangely gratifying, to find specifically the loss of my seat, the Green in North Metro, being held out in the media and even by this government as an example of our broken electoral system. Of course it is broken, a fact from which I have never resiled. There are indeed people in this chamber who will continue their term but who achieved far fewer votes than I, and people will enter this chamber with embarrassingly low primaries. I am pleased that I achieved the highest Green vote. But this is the system we have, a system I have attempted to address, albeit unsuccessfully, but more on that in a moment. The one thing I can confirm is that no Green worth their salt enters this Parliament with the idea that they will be carving out a permanent career as a politician, partly because I do not think it is something positive for any Green to aspire to, partly because of the vicariousness of the electoral system as I have just said, but also because of the nature of it being a progressive party. By definition, to be a progressive party means to be consistently at the forefront of pushing for necessary change.

The Greens are not a middle-of-the-road party. We do not sit comfortably with the centrist status quo. Parties of the status quo are the parties that become the party of government. Instead, the Greens are a party that is always seeking to do things better—to seek progress to make the world a better place—because we recognise that it needs to be. It means that at any given time we find ourselves challenging majority views, whether it be recognising the science of climate change when the majority remained in denial; pushing for equal marriage, when the majority claimed that the very fabric of society would collapse if we allowed people who love each other to enter into lifelong union; or currently calling for the banning of greyhound racing, which will eventually happen, by the way—we just do not know how many dogs will suffer and die until it does—just to mention three very diverse examples. Every time the Greens push for progressive, albeit necessary, reform, we find ourselves derided, dismissed and even ridiculed, yet without fail, whether it be five, 10 or 15 years later, the majority end up adopting our positions, even claiming them as their own in a convenient reinvention of history.

I could choose to be frustrated by that or I could choose to feel how I do, which is pleased that the work I do makes a difference—a positive difference—even if at the time I may not see the immediate rewards or even get the recognition for having done the hard yards. My favourite saying is that the arc of history is long but it leans towards justice. That is how I view the work that I have done and I will continue to do over the decades of my life—this one very precious life that I get. I feel that I am on the right side of history and the Greens is the party that is leading that. It means that at any given time, the Greens will not receive the majority vote, even when the majority do end up agreeing with us years later. So as a Greens MP, I have been committed to making the most of the precious and limited time I get in Parliament.

Members, I believe I have made the most of my time here; one of only 36 people in Western Australia at any given time to get a chance to use the forum that is the Legislative Council. I have had the hefty workload to match this intent. In my first term and as the member for the East Metropolitan Region, I was the Greens spokesperson for water, urban bushland, mental health, disability, children and youth, women, the public service, the community sector, electoral affairs, veterans' affairs, volunteering, education and training. I sat on the Standing Committee on Legislation. In conjunction with the Australian Labor Party and the Nationals WA, we killed off the proposed stop-and-search laws. I note that the ALP is toying with the idea of reintroducing something similar now that it is in government.

In my second term, I was the Greens spokesperson for alcohol and other drugs, animal welfare, child protection, community services, consumer protection, corrective services, disability, education, electoral affairs, family and domestic violence, gambling, health, homelessness, industrial relations and worker safety, integrity of government, law and order, mental health, multicultural affairs, public sector, seniors and ageing, sexuality and gender diversity, suicide prevention, training and workforce development, veterans' affairs, volunteering, women and youth.

As people know, I also took on the role of the parliamentary leader, more akin to a Whip as we practise facilitative not directive leadership—it is a good model—and I sat on the Joint Standing Committee on the Corruption and Crime Commission, which oversees the Corruption and Crime Commission, a role I took on absolutely in good faith but it is not a role for the faint-hearted. I was periodically co-opted onto the Standing Committee on Procedure and Privileges; I was deputy chair of the Select Committee into Elder Abuse, which produced an excellent report; I sat on the Joint Select Committee on Palliative Care in Western Australia; and, of greatest importance to me, I chaired the Select Committee into Alternate Approaches to Reducing Illicit Drug Use and its Effects on the Community. I am very proud of the final report that that committee produced, and I again extend my thanks to those most excellent of committee members. Mark my words: that work is going to stand the test of time, and I urge members who are continuing in this place to ensure that that resource is utilised. We purport to follow the public health advice when dealing with a pandemic, so let us do the same to reduce the harm of illicit drug use to the community, to individuals and to their families.

In the last term of government I was also pleased to co-chair some parliamentary friends' groups, including the Parliamentary Friends for Children, which I co-chaired with Hon Donna Faragher; Lisa Baker, the member for Maylands; and the now Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, Mia Davies. I was particularly pleased to co-chair the Parliamentary Friends of Refugees with the former member for Mirrabooka, Janine Freeman, bringing the lived experience of refugees and asylum seekers directly into this place. I had been looking forward to establishing a parliamentary friends of the senses with Hon Martin Pritchard, combining his interest in working with the deaf community with my passion for working with the blind and vision impaired. I had also been looking forward to establishing the parliamentary friends of research into rare diseases with Hon Matthew Swinbourn for whom, like me, the issue is deeply personal. I am disappointed that I will not be able to proceed with that.

It has been fun hosting events here in Parliament and helping to turn it, very practically, into the people's house. Pride at Parliament is always a big deal and a great joy, although hosting the guide dogs here and giving Guide Dogs WA the opportunity to corner the Premier and present its proposed business case was also a distinct highlight. Knowing that I could assist numerous groups—Aboriginal groups, mental health groups, disability groups, justice reform groups and environmental groups—to access Parliament and to meet with interested members of Parliament on issues of importance always felt like a distinct privilege and opportunity.

I have been a member in this place for eight years, but in that time I have introduced several private members' bills and motions and delivered countless speeches, as members are well aware, and for which I make absolutely no apology. I have scrutinised countless bills, amended many, and have asked literally thousands of questions. A simple perusal of *Hansard* demonstrates that I have done more work than many in this place, even those who have been here for far longer than I have. I know that the Labor government has found me to be a thorn in its side, but I remind it that the previous Liberal–National government felt the same way when I attempted to hold it to account as well. The Greens are not beholden to either side of Parliament. We have our own important agenda to pursue. We have stakeholders to represent and a future to fight for.

As I say, over the course of eight years, I have introduced many bills. I inherited two bills from Greens predecessors. There was the Perth Hills Planning Bill 2010, which I inherited from Hon Giz Watson. That bill sought to establish a planning regime over our unique Perth Hills and would have protected precious ecosystems. I worked on that in conjunction with the group Save Perth Hills for four years. I note that, a decade later, the residents of Perth hills are still fighting to save the Perth hills from inappropriate developments and overdevelopment. I also inherited the Water Services Licensing (Water Conservation Target) Amendment Bill 2008 from Hon Paul Llewellyn, which would have ensured that targets for water conservation would be enshrined in statute. As climate change becomes more entrenched, who knows how helpful that bill would have proven to be?

I introduced the Occupational Safety and Health Amendment Bill 2010, which sought to introduce tougher penalties and responses to OSH breaches. It was this bill that also introduced the offence of industrial manslaughter. I note that at the time I was ridiculed and condemned by members from both sides of the chamber, as well as by industry bodies that felt it would be too great a burden to not have the flexibility to kill their workers. I was told that industrial manslaughter laws were a gross overreaction to workplace deaths. Nevertheless, when I was re-elected, I reintroduced the industrial manslaughter provisions in the form of the Criminal Code Amendment (Industrial Manslaughter) Bill 2017. I knew that harsh penalties for those willing to put profit above workers' lives was no overreaction, and I am pleased that this time the response was different. This time, the issue received the support it was due, and the government introduced its own bill. Too many people had died in the time since I had introduced the first bill, but at least it finally had its day. I put that down as a victory for progressive politics. On a personal level, it felt like important closure for me as a former union official who had been scarred by seeing the fallout for families devastated by completely avoidable workplace deaths, with no justice forthcoming.

The issue of the gender pay gap, on which Western Australia is consistently one of the worst performers in Australia, has burdened women for years. In response to this, in 2011, I introduced the Industrial Relations (Equal Remuneration) Amendment Bill 2011, which would have enabled pay equity cases to be heard by the Western Australian Industrial Relations Commission. Once again, with the issue still very much unresolved, I reintroduced the bill in 2018. To date, pay equity cases still cannot be heard, although undertakings have been given that a future bill to amend the Industrial Relations Act will finally include such provision. These are small victories, and I hope it happens.

The Criminal Code Amendment Bill (No. 2) 2011 sought to introduce a defence to mandatory sentencing for assault on a public officer in situations in which it could be demonstrated that a person was floridly psychotic at the time of committing an offence—in other words, too mentally unwell to even know what they were doing. Clearly, prison is not the appropriate place for such unwell people. My bill was not supported, but in response, prosecutorial guidelines were introduced, ostensibly to avoid such an unjust scenario. It is sad to continue to hear that, despite undertakings to the contrary, these guidelines periodically continue to be ignored and that we continue to simply lock up people who need medical help, not prison. My bill would have been a better solution to the problem.

The Equal Opportunity (LGBTIQ Anti-Discrimination) Amendment Bill 2018 sought to finally remove a number of religious exemptions from the act—exemptions that still allow teachers to be sacked, and children to be expelled, for being LGBTIQ. Other states have already undertaken these reforms—in some instances, more than two decades ago—but we here in WA have not had the political gumption to address this. Once again, I know that history will be on my side, but I am sad for those within our community whose rights will continue to be trammelled until we get there. I thank those many churches who indicated their support for such changes; by no means do all churches want these laws retained.

I am particularly adamant about the need for reforms along the lines of my Electoral Amendment (Access to Ministers) Bill, first introduced in 2012 and then again in 2017. Paying for access to ministers simply should not be allowed, and I only hope that one day it will become illegal. The average punter finds it unbelievable that such practices can legally continue.

I have wryly observed the fallout following this election and the outrage about the need to reform ticket voting. Well, people, this is where I remind the government that the Electoral Amendment (Ticket Voting and Associated Reforms) Bill 2019 had been sitting there for 18 months. It could have been passed at any time before the election. It looks like it might actually come to pass now. I am wondering: do I chalk that up as another win? It is too late for those who lost their seats due to the ticket voting, but maybe post-2025 it will finally be addressed.

Finally, I want to mention a bill I drafted in my first term and that I attempted to garner support for from the Barnett government of the day, but that ended up not being introduced: my party status bill. It had long been a source of disquiet that a political party could receive party status only if it had a minimum of five elected members in the Legislative Assembly. This has historically been a problem for the Greens who, whilst having had representation in the Assembly in the past, have historically achieved the minimum five representatives primarily through our representation in the Council—such is the nature of parties whose support is spread throughout Western Australia rather than limited to smaller location-based populations. We are, still, the third largest party by overall vote. I garnered in-principle support from the Leader of the National Party at the time, but it never progressed beyond the Premier, who was uninterested.

I reflect now on the challenges that both the Liberal and National Parties have faced following this election, whereby the arbitrary focus on the Assembly as opposed to entire state representation has posed such a challenge in gaining party status. My point is that the evidence from Western democracies around the world shows that elections are becoming more volatile, not less, and that electoral success comes in swings and roundabouts. The Greens have always understood this. I hope that this ALP government also has the humility to keep this in mind, because electoral tsunamis have the potential to go both ways.

In my first term, amongst my many portfolios I held the water portfolio. This constituted a huge amount of my work, with endless work in what was happening in the Gnangara mound, pushing for improved licensing and the monitoring

of sustainable extraction regimes. The health of the Swan River was a big focus, including our drainage systems, nutrient loads and dolphin health, and what was then the emerging industry of fracking within WA. My office became ground zero for the campaign to try to get the detail around what was being proposed and the woefully inadequate regulations surrounding the industry. I moved a motion calling for a moratorium on coal seam gas extraction, which was opposed by both sides. Again, the Greens led the charge and I copped the flack at the time, and I got a fair bit of it. I also moved motions that called for better regulation of the insidious uranium industry and genuine protection of our Bush Forever sites.

There is no question that one of my principal passions remained around the need for improved mental health and suicide prevention services. I have been very public about my personal history, and that of my family, and the life-defining, tragic impact that my father's decision to take his life has had on us. We all bring our personal experiences to some degree to this place and to our work, and I am glad that out of something truly terrible, hopefully my lived experience helped bring a voice to this chamber for so many others. I have always wondered whether my dad would have been proud that I became a member of Parliament; I will never know.

Early on, I called for the establishment of a mental health court, which we now have. I have consistently called for regulation of the mental health sector for counsellors, psychotherapists and social workers. People should simply not be allowed to hold themselves out as mental health professionals without oversight and regulation. I went down the rabbit hole of calling for reform of the way that we deal with those vulnerable people who are mentally impaired accused. The case of Marlon Noble was instrumental in leading me there and from that I continued to meet more and more families who had loved ones with various cognitive and intellectual impairments who were continually failed by the justice system. I note that over the course of the past term, even members in this place, from other parties and including government members, would refer these families through to my office for assistance. I have to say that this was not inappropriate; after all, my office was well across the complexities of the issues these families faced and we had a clear systemic view of the range of issues. But I note that there are no votes in this sort of work. We did it because it remains a huge human rights issue that needs to be addressed. I remain deeply disappointed that I never got to see the desperately needed reform of the Criminal Law (Mentally Impaired Accused) Act. On a related issue, I remain a huge supporter of the establishment of the Disability Justice Centre. I condemn those who ran fear campaigns against its establishment, and I want to be on the record saying that entirely the wrong people are currently running it. I have seen for myself the chasm in reporting between the clinical professionals working with the residents of the centre and the management reports that ultimately end up with the minister. The reports are like chalk and cheese. Simply, it will never succeed as intended until the right people are running the show. But I digress.

I have been consistent in my call for an increase in funding of community-based mental health services, supporting people in the community before they get to a crisis point, ensuring that we are funding our suicide prevention services and that they are also fit for purpose. Members know how much work I have done in this space, as does the sector. I do not think it is any coincidence that after I lost my seat in 2013 I was asked to be president of the Western Australian Association for Mental Health and the inaugural co-lead for the Department of Health's statewide Mental Health Network. I remind members that the 10-year *Western Australian mental health, alcohol and other drug services plan 2015–2025* was borne out of that time. It is devastating that the necessary investment in prevention, early intervention and community-based mental health services that was so carefully quantified has not been realised. The result is the crisis that we now see in our hospitals and emergency departments, which was completely foreseeable. How many lives have been unnecessarily lost in this time? Where is the desperately needed investment in our forensic mental health services as prescribed in the plan, or specialised services for identified population groups such as the culturally and linguistically diverse community, or specialised services for those living with personality disorders, or sufficient funding for eating disorders, or consultant liaison psychiatrists—or pretty much most of the plan?

Being appointed to the Ministerial Council for Suicide Prevention was an enormous privilege and, amongst so many things, enabled me to finally have established the Australian-first suicide postvention program for children bereaved by suicide, based on the research that I was able to provide and that I had carefully collated over 20 years. I note that independent evaluations of this service have proven it to be highly successful. As I have said before in this place, it needs to be expanded. It currently has waiting lists. It needs to be available for regional Western Australians. It needs to be tailored to Aboriginal communities and developed with those communities. Make sure it keeps getting funded, members. You will be hearing from me if there are any attempts to downgrade this critical and lifesaving service.

I want to acknowledge those brave but heartbroken families who have reached out to me for support, whether it be desperately seeking help for loved ones in crisis, or, after the worst has happened, desperately seeking answers about how their lives have been irreversibly shattered through the suicide of someone who never should have died: people who have battled our health, child protection and education systems; returned veterans who never received the assistance they needed; and elderly people who have given up hope. I have also worked closely with families who have loved ones in prison; sometimes loved ones who have died in prison. I have called for reform of the Coroner's Court and of course we need a massive overhaul of our prison system. Corrective Services has no

place trying to deliver health, mental health, or alcohol and other drugs services. I think it is a travesty that this government abandoned the justice health project that began under the previous government, as it was such necessary reform. We need to address the social determinants that lead people to end up in our justice system in the first place. Social reinvestment is a real and demonstrated solution. Yes, I know that it flies in the face of populist and cynical politics, but it transforms communities and individual lives and it is the future approach that we need to address offending behaviours.

One of the extraordinary experiences of being in this role has been the exposure to so many people's complex lives and personal histories. Working with David Templeman, the member for Mandurah, who coordinated the Assembly response while I coordinated the Council response to formally apologise to those women who were forced to adopt their children, was one of the most powerful times of my life—working with people who tried to navigate the gutted Redress WA scheme and the resultant fallout, and working with our forgotten Australians in their quest for justice and closure. In June 2012, through a motion on notice, I formally called for a royal commission into alleged abuse in state institutions. I note that at the time I was accused of overreacting, yet some months later the federal government finally called a royal commission of its own, and the rest is history.

The early days of the call for the National Disability Insurance Scheme were powerful, and by my second term the issue had become whether to join the federal scheme, and then how successful or otherwise the transition would be. I had not known of course just how personal that issue would become, and unfortunately as a parent who has had to navigate the system, I can personally testify about how problematic it has become for so many people, despite being such a hard-fought-for reform. One could almost be left to believe that it has been deliberately set up to deny people the supports they so desperately need. My husband and I are both lawyers. I am a member of Parliament and a spokesperson for disability. In the early days, I was involved in trying to ensure the appropriate incorporation of psychosocial disability support into the system. I have been helping others for years to get outcomes with the NDIS. In short, it is hard to see someone I believe who would be better placed to navigate that system, yet despite having a child with a definitive diagnosis and a serious prognosis, I struggled to make sure my son got the supports that he needs. If that was what it was like for me, I ask members: how must it be for everybody else? We have to fix that. It is not good enough! While we are at it, independent assessments need to be immediately abandoned.

Homelessness has always remained chronically unaddressed, but never more so than now. I have taken a particular interest in addressing the social determinants that are more likely to lead to homelessness—mental health, disability, and family and domestic violence. I am devastated at the unhelpful role that Child Protection too often plays in the process, but at the end of the day we need places for people to live. The fact that there is less social housing than we had four years ago is a disgrace. Housing is a fundamental human right. The need for shelter is not optional; we must do better. Certainly, I have tried to play my part in shining a spotlight on the problem.

I remain an ardent and passionate supporter for a fully funded and free education and training system. I know that for many people private school can feel like the only option when faced with an underfunded and crowded public system. That, members, does not represent real choice, but it means that not all of our children are getting what they need. In particular, I note the needs of students at educational risk, particularly those with autism and students living with mental distress whose needs are so often left unmet. Having said that, I want to acknowledge the hardworking teachers who are doing their absolute best and I want to specifically note the School of Special Educational Needs: Sensory, which does such a terrific job in caring for its students.

I have also, over my two terms, continued to raise issues of animal welfare. If people think we have to choose between advocating for people or advocating for animals, they simply lack ambition. I have most certainly felt capable of doing both. Whether it be calling for essential changes to our farming practices, such as banning sow stalls, ending live animal exports, or banning cruel so-called “entertainment” industries such as greyhound racing, I am happy to be at the forefront of calling for reforms for these sentient creatures. Again, this is an area that I have been very active in for a very long time, starting as a 15-year-old when I first got involved in the anti-vivisection movement, then considered a radical movement, but now completely mainstream. I will never understand how people can turn a blind eye to, yet alone perpetuate, animal cruelty.

Of course underpinning my work throughout this whole time has been the need to address the existential threat that is climate change. It has always been an issue out there. When I first joined the Greens over three decades ago, it was referred to as global warming, and I endured years of being scoffed at and ridiculed, and people telling me that it was not real and just conspiracy thinking. Then in 2007, it apparently became the moral issue of our time—that was correct, by the way—and here we are now, in 2021, when only the most foolish would deny its existence, and yet Australia still has no clear plan to fully address it. We see some progress, such as the expansion of clean energies, albeit far too slowly, but we continue to knock down our forests, our carbon sinks, at record rates, we continue to render entire species extinct, and our emissions continue to skyrocket as we point the finger at anyone other than ourselves to find the solutions.

I am really glad that at least I am in a party that has never asked me to resile from the fight to address climate change. Indeed, it was only a few years ago that my children came to me to thank me for the work the Greens have done to try to address climate change. I had not realised that they had not realised that their mum was on the right side of history on this. It turns out that they had no idea what I did for a job. Although it is personally gratifying to have my work appreciated by my kids, I am devastated that I could not do more to safeguard their futures. I think this is something that the community is now going to take up, and, believe me, it will. Corporate Australia cannot run the show forever.

I am pleased at the work I did in calling for electoral donations reform. My office did much work trying to chase the dollars: the discrepancies between state and federal reporting regimes, thresholds that enable moneys to be hidden, third-party donations and the use of shelf companies to obfuscate trails of donations. It is all there, and it is worthy of a Corruption and Crime Commission-level investigation, but I will not be holding my breath that that will be a priority. The call for the banning of corporate donations will continue. Fossil fuel and mining interests already enjoy disproportionately too much power in this state, as does the gambling industry, and as do developers. At a minimum, we need to follow the lead of other states and ban developer donations. If they can do it, we can do it, too. When I think of the sort of electoral work, as opposed to portfolio work, that dominated much of my time in representing the community, I note that at times there was significant overlap.

The Greens support well-planned density in our suburbs, density which respects green spaces and existing mature trees, heritage, and people's sense of community. We believe it is possible for density to be done well and done in ways that ensure that not only everyone has a place in which to live, but people can age in place and communities can flourish. But with increasing regularity, we see development applications being approved that are wildly out of kilter with this good planning. I note that the new COVID planning laws seem to have exacerbated this flurry, as has the inexplicable and intractable position of Western Australia in being the only state that refuses to have third-party right of appeal laws in our planning system.

Much of my work during my two terms has been attempting to ensure the preservation of our Bush Forever sites. I have dealt with not only the Urban Bushland Council at a systemic level, but also numerous individual Friends groups, those people who spend their weekends weeding, planting and preserving these precious ecosystems that remain on the Swan coastal plain. I want to thank those people for their tireless efforts.

Finally, my work in this place has had a significant focus on the importance of maintaining the rule of law, the need for the separation of powers, access to justice, and challenging the abuse of power. The rule of law, the separation of powers and procedural fairness is, dangerously, being increasingly treated as an obstacle to a short-term, often politicised outcome, rather than what it is—a cornerstone of our democratic system of government and a critical safeguard to address the potential tyranny of power. Mandatory sentencing is an abomination, and removing the capacity for judicial discretion is something that should be vehemently resisted. The possibility of receiving judgement without the capacity for justice should terrify everyone. People should always have the right to a fair trial, the right to have an impartial decision-maker, the right to be heard, the right to know the allegations against them, and the right to be able to respond. The punishment, if any, should be proportionate. Those who are not legally responsible for their actions, through mental, cognitive or intellectual impairment, or senility, should be treated with their human rights upheld. Access to justice should not be reserved for only the wealthy. We need to fund Legal Aid and our community legal centres appropriately. We need to expand our diversionary courts. We need model litigant guidelines so that the state cannot inappropriately wield the extraordinary power and endless resources that it holds in order to crush the average citizen and deny them justice.

We need structures that can speak to the abuse of extraordinary powers. Ensuring the centuries-long tradition of the separation of powers must be vigorously upheld, yet recent events have demonstrated how deeply under threat these safeguards are. We need to ensure that the CCC is subject to fearless and apolitical oversight, and that centuries-old principles such as parliamentary privilege, which has ensured that individual citizens can take their concerns to the Parliament without fear of retribution, can be maintained. We need to ensure that our police are both supported when they are doing the right thing, and oversighted and held to account when they are not.

I have no interest in living in a state of fear. I want to live in a state in which I know that when I do the right thing, and when I behave honestly—and I do—I will not be subject to the victimisation of the state and to political retribution, be unfairly maligned, and be denied justice and the right to a peaceful life and personal privacy. When our systems are devoid of the rule of law, and the protections of procedural fairness and the separation of powers are dismantled, it is no longer possible to take comfort in the adage that “As long as you don't do anything wrong, you will have nothing to fear.” I am an honest citizen, and I live my life with integrity.

I also maintain the right to undertake nonviolent protests and to speak out against wrongdoing when I see it, a right that every citizen should have. I have the right to do that with so many fellow travellers by my side as we continue to call for the progressive change that is needed in this world to ensure our planet and its ecosystems are protected,

that our governments are accountable, and that those in our community who are the most vulnerable are protected and supported.

It is with enormous gratitude that I acknowledge and thank the thousands of Greens who have stood with me to achieve those exact outcomes. As I said, I joined the Greens in 1990 as a very young woman. In my time in the party, I have held many of the most senior roles, including being national convenor of the Australian Greens and state co-convenor of the Greens WA, and have run statewide election campaigns—all for free, all without expectation of payment, and all for the cause.

I have not been alone, with volunteers who have built the party and kept it running—building membership, fundraising and undertaking community campaigns, and, of course, the all-critical election activity. It is our culture of volunteerism that has been the backbone of our party, and I count many Greens members as being amongst my dearest friends. I thank those Greens members who put their names forward to assist me personally in the campaigns in East Metropolitan Region and then North Metropolitan Region and who put their lives on hold completely unpaid.

In terms of the most recent election, I want to thank those who put themselves out there publicly: Benedict, Louis, Elizabeth, Nicholas, Mark, Theresa, Katrina, Greg, Angelo, Isabella, Tamara, Francesca, SP, Matt, Daniel and Sarah as part of “Team North Metro”, and an enormous thankyou for the tireless efforts of Laurel and Steve, who never rested, even when they were stuck in quarantine. You all put your lives on hold and worked your butts off for nothing more than your belief in the party and the hope that we would retain North Metro.

I thank the literally hundreds, if not thousands, of members who have handed out how-to-vote cards, including on the interminable pre-poll, and leafleted, doorknocked, phone-banked, organised forums and staffed stalls. We are very lucky to be such a large party of volunteers. To be clear, a broken electoral system may have denied us our rightful representation, but the party is as strong as ever.

I want to acknowledge my colleagues Hon Robin Chapple, Hon Tim Clifford and Hon Diane Evers. There are only four of us but we well and truly punch above our weight. I want to acknowledge the decades of inspiration and support that I have received from former Senator Jo Vallentine, the practical support I received on being inducted into this place from Hon Giz Watson, and the ongoing friendship and camaraderie I enjoy with my colleague Senator Rachel Siewert. Special thanks to my comrades Hon Tammy Franks in South Australia and Hon David Shoebridge in New South Wales for always being there.

A shout-out to my friend Dr Brad Pettitt, who will have the unenviable job of being the only Greens representative in the forty-first Parliament. Brad and I have known each other since we met as young activists in Friends of East Timor back in 1993. Over the years, we have continued to cross over in numerous campaigns and community groups. Brad was even on the ticket as a support candidate in my successful tilt for Murdoch University guild president over two decades ago! I am sorry that we will not get to be in the chamber together, Brad, but as you know, I am always here to support you.

Like so many others here, I want to pay tribute to my staff, the loyalty, friendship and sheer competence of which is beyond compare. I have been fortunate to have a number of wonderful staff over the years, noting in particular my current electoral staff of Kirsten, Jocasta, Piper and Arran. But I also want to acknowledge Raveen, Tom and especially the lovely Leigh for their work this term. An enormous thankyou also to Tonia, my whips clerk, for her diligence and intelligence, who has kept the long and unfriendly hours of this place along with the parliamentary team as well as having to track the daily shenanigans of the other place. I particularly need to single out Kirsten and Jocasta who first joined me on 22 May 2009 as my electorate and research officers respectively. They are two people whom I trust completely and totally, a special and so essential part of being able to do this role effectively. I was honoured when, after having lost their jobs when I lost my seat in 2013, both left permanent employment to come back and work with me again when I was re-elected to Parliament in 2017. Jocasta left a permanent public sector job that she was extremely good at. Kirsten, who had moved to NSW and also had a permanent job in the public service, packed up and came back to WA to work with me again. I feel incredibly honoured to be the recipient of such loyalty from two of the finest and most astute minds in the business. Words cannot convey my gratitude to you both for the way that you have both supported and protected me. Thank you.

Over the years, my office has also had an enormous contribution from volunteers, numerous interns and people who have come in to do the hard yards and undertake forensic research into things like donations and mining licences. But a special acknowledgement must be made of the stalwart of our volunteer team Margo Beilby, who many of you will know, and who, even this week, just as she did from the very beginning of the thirty-eighth Parliament, continued to volunteer in my office. Thank you, Mabo—yes, I mean Mabo.

Madam President, I want to acknowledge the courage and integrity that you have demonstrated as the President of this chamber and the deep respect I hold you in. Very simply, you are an excellent President and history will treat you kindly. Thank you for the outstanding job you have undertaken in the face of extraordinarily difficult and trying circumstances. Thank you to the Clerk, Nigel Pratt, and the rest of the team in the chamber for valiantly trying to uphold the important traditions of this place and for all your support. These traditions were originally designed to

ensure members of Parliament could best represent their constituencies, and you have been tireless in trying to ensure they are upheld. Thank you to Hansard who have had their work cut out for them in terms of the sheer volume of contributions that I have made in this place—no regrets! Thank you to all the parliamentary staff who do such a superb job and a particular shout-out to Rob Hunter and Tony Paterson. Thank you to the committee staff who frankly, we know, are always the smartest people in the room.

I want to thank those of you here, from across the chamber and the political divide, whom I count as friends—not all of you, I might add, but certainly many of you. Although we may come to this place with different world views, aspirations and experiences, I have been grateful for the considered and thoughtful way in which so many of you have been prepared to engage in genuine debate, to give me a hearing and to allow me to change your mind on a matter, and vice versa; such has been the strength of this chamber to date. I thank those of you who assisted me during some challenging times and empathised with me when I shared some of my personal sadness-es. Most of us work long hours and we are away from our loved ones. It makes a difference when you work alongside people you respect even when we may disagree.

I want to thank my dearest of friends Ali, Taryn and Ramona and those friends who help keep it real—Amanda, Sarah and Heather. I want to thank the Social.Justice.Church crew: Geoff, Alex, Mark, Nathaniel, Kate, Reuben and Daniel. I am eternally grateful for the ongoing love and support I receive from my many friends in the Uniting Church, specifically those from the Uniting Church in the City congregation. I have always been deeply respectful of the Greens as a secular organisation, and I also respect Parliament as a secular institution. But my personal faith and the support that I receive from my church has been a significant source of my personal strength and the conviction to do my work. Caring for creation, challenging corrupt and abusive power structures, caring for those who are deemed lesser or are marginalised and othered is important lifelong work to which I am committed until the day I die.

Thanks to my Mum, Uncle Brian and Aunty Nada for all your love. I also want to thank my gorgeous children. As members of Parliament we work long hours and we work every day. We have evening and weekend functions. Breakfast meetings suck and I try to avoid them, but sometimes we have to do them as well. We are public figures and this can impact on our children. But my gorgeous daughter, Miette, and my beautiful sons, Jackson and Blake, are the absolute lights of my life. It has not been easy juggling motherhood and this job, but they have adapted to the demands amazingly. Blake, my youngest, was only three years of age when I first got elected. All three children have only ever known me being politically active in one way or another. They are fine human beings and I am so proud of them.

Finally, the most enormous thankyou, the biggest thankyou, goes to my husband Luke Edmonds, who is always by my side, has my back, is full of advice—most of it good—and is both emotionally as well as very practically supportive. This is a difficult job to do when you have kids if you do not have a supportive partner. Luke has been politically active by my side since we first met in student politics, a true fellow traveller in progressive politics and my best friend in the whole wide world. Luke, I love you with all my heart, and it must be true because I am saying it in Parliament and I am not allowed to mislead the chamber.

Thank you everyone for what has been an extraordinary experience. I have no intention of coming back but hopefully I made the most of it while I was here and I hope that the world is just that little bit better for my contribution. Thank you.

[Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Hon Alison Xamon, on behalf of the chamber, we wish you, Luke and your children a wonderful time ahead of you. You have certainly contributed to this chamber and we will miss your regular evening contribution to members' statements. We look forward to finding out who will step up to the plate to replace you for that activity. Good luck to you and thank you very much. Members, we are continuing on with the Address-in-Reply. I remind members that this is the final speech of Hon Adele Farina and we will listen in silence.

HON ADELE FARINA (South West) [2.48 pm]: I wish to begin my valedictory remarks by congratulating the Premier and the entire Labor movement on the 2021 election victory. It is the largest ever win by a single political party in percentage of votes received and in the number of seats gained in each house of Parliament. This unprecedented win brings with it great responsibility for the government and the way government is done. Equally, it represents challenges for Parliament as the principal body of accountability for governments. Parliamentary scrutiny leads to better governance, a factor that helps governments in the long run as much as it helps oppositions.

It is almost 20 years ago that I stood in this place to make my inaugural speech to the Legislative Council. Back then, I was young, enthusiastic and determined to make a difference, not only for the people I represent in the South West Region, but to Parliament itself. In those intervening years I have served five terms, having been re-elected four times, and have served in both government and opposition.

I was first elected in 2001 as part of the Gallop government on a policy to stop logging in old-growth forests. This policy, although generally popular, was very unpopular with the timber communities in the south west that were heavily reliant on the timber industry. It was a time of great uncertainty for timber industry workers, their families

and the timber communities. Understandably, they were angry and fearful. In those first few years, I attended many public meetings at which those impacted made their views heard. It was a difficult time. Often, I was the only government member present, which made it very, very tough. Although it would have been easier not to attend, as some suggested, it was my view that the very least I could do was to front up and listen to their concerns. I confess, however, to being grateful to take second chair to the then Minister for Forestry, the late Hon Kim Chance, at the meetings he was able to attend, such was the level of angst at those meetings. I worked together with the minister and in consultation with industry, the Forest Industries Federation of Western Australia, the Australian Workers' Union and impacted communities to deliver packages to assist those impacted by the policy through that very difficult transition period. This work made a significant difference and was the right thing to do.

In another key environmental area, I was pleased a provoking question I posed was instrumental in Premier Gallop's decision not to tap the south west's Yarragadee aquifer to provide water to Perth, which led to the preservation of this most precious resource for the people of the south west.

In government I served as a parliamentary secretary for several ministers over a wide range of portfolios too numerous to list on an occasion such as this. As parliamentary secretary, I managed the passage through this place of a number of government bills. The Gallop and Carpenter governments did not have the majority in this place. The passage of bills required extensive consultation and negotiation with the opposition and the crossbench behind the chair in order to achieve the majority needed to pass the bill. Although at times challenging, participating at this level in the legislative process was a rewarding experience. The process invariably necessitated compromise and amendments to bills. It is my view that the greater level of scrutiny and accommodation required to facilitate passage of a bill when the government does not hold a majority in this place, although very frustrating to governments, generally speaking results in better legislation. It is more reflective of the different views held by the community and competing stakeholder interests. I acknowledge that not everyone will agree with me. I also held the positions of Deputy Chair of Committees and Chair of the Standing Committee on Uniform Legislation and General Purposes. I was a member of the Standing Committee on Procedure and Privileges and, for a time, the Standing Committee on Legislation, as well as two select committees.

I would like to take a few minutes to comment on my experience on the Select Committee of Privilege on a Matter Arising in the Standing Committee on Estimates and Financial Operations. The weight of responsibility on members asked to serve on a committee inquiry into a possible contempt of Parliament by another member, a colleague, is considerable. A finding of contempt of Parliament is a very serious matter. The select committee comprising two opposition members and one government member, namely me, was tasked with investigating several members of the Standing Committee on Estimates and Financial Operations for making unauthorised disclosures to lobbyists about confidential committee deliberations. The attempt by lobbyists to use the proceedings of the standing committee for an improper purpose had significant implications for the Legislative Council committee system. As noted in the select committee report, the members of the select committee understood that inquiry to be one of the most important and challenging inquiries in the history of the Legislative Council. The inquiry broke new ground in a number of respects, and I encourage members who have not read the report to do so. Of interest, and in stark contrast to the current tensions between the Corruption and Crime Commission and the Legislative Council, is that in that instance the Legislative Council and the CCC, having regard to and respect for the law and primacy of parliamentary privilege, were able to work together effectively. The CCC provided access under strict agreed protocols to extensive audio intercept and surveillance evidence it had gathered. This exceptionally rare circumstance, although presenting a number of challenges for the select committee, provided it with clear evidence of each unauthorised disclosure. In that instance, the CCC accepted that public interest was best served by assisting the Parliament with its privilege inquiry. It did not use its non-disclosure provisions to refuse Parliament access to audio intercepts and surveillance evidence. It did not seek to interfere with or frustrate parliamentary privilege, nor did it claim that the Parliament had frustrated a CCC investigation. For its part, Parliament showed it could securely manage sensitive evidence, undertake complex investigations and, when warranted by the evidence, find members and others in contempt. This inquiry and all that followed the tabling of the select committee's report was perhaps the most challenging period of my time in this place.

Matters of privilege in this place are now dealt with by the Standing Committee on Procedure and Privileges, which in my view is preferred to the establishment of a three-member select committee. Also, if I may offer a word of advice at this point: unless you have had to inquire into a matter of privilege, especially in relation to a possible breach by a colleague, you cannot really understand the weight of responsibility on members undertaking such an inquiry. Privilege committee reports attract great interest and invariably everyone has an opinion on the inquiry and recommendations. It is important to remember that members of privilege committees serve to the best of their abilities and have the will of the house. They should not become victims for doing the job asked of them. Each member of Parliament in this place and in the other place has a duty to uphold the law of parliamentary privilege and its primacy. Without parliamentary privilege, in particular the immunities and powers it provides members, members would not be able to carry out their duties effectively and without fear of intervention or proceedings of the Parliament being impugned in another place. Any erosion of parliamentary privilege would have a chilling effect on the work of the Parliament and should be resisted.

It is important to note that our democratic system of government comprises three separate independent branches, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, each with its own distinct role and responsibilities. By providing checks and balances, this system of separation of powers is critical to prevent concentration of power. The ethic of mutual respect requires each branch to be cognisant of the powers and responsibilities of the other branches and to act respectfully so as not to traverse or come into conflict with each other. Overreach by one branch risks this delicate balance of power and has the potential to diminish our democratic system of government.

Returning to the opportunities granted to me as a member for the South West Region, I am again grateful to the late Hon Kim Chance, then Minister for Forestry, for appointing me to chair the statutory review of the Forest Products Act. It is a rare opportunity for members to be appointed to lead a statutory review. It was a very interesting process through which I gained significant experience. It also reinforced for me the value of such provisions and legislation, and I went to move a number of those provisions when in opposition. In government, I also chaired a number of committees and working groups for government, including the Busselton Jetty and foreshore refurbishment working group, the Port Geographe working group, the south west freight on rail working group, the Gracetown reference group and the tourism planning task force. All were instrumental in guiding government policy development. As a result of my strong advocacy, the Gallop government committed funding that saw the Busselton Jetty Underwater Observatory realised. Now this is a significant tourist attraction for Busselton and the south west and will be well into the future. Upon learning of the state of repair of the Busselton Jetty, which was so poor that it would need to be closed, I successfully advocated, and against some very strong opposition, for the state government to step up, develop a plan and help fund the refurbishment of the Busselton Jetty foreshore. The Busselton Jetty is the heart of Busselton, and after so much hard work by so many of the community to save the jetty from demolition and their fund-raising efforts over many years, I could not stand by and watch the jetty be lost. Through the working group we developed the 50-years-of-life plan for the jetty that provided a rolling maintenance plan for it to be refurbished in sections over the 50-year period. I persuaded the state government and the then Shire of Busselton to commit funds raised from certain leases on the foreshore, which, together with the Busselton jetty committee contribution of \$1 million a year from its profits, would fund the jetty maintenance plan. At the time the LandCorp plan for redevelopment of the foreshore, which incorporated medium-density residential use, was understandably not well received by the community. Nevertheless, it triggered community discussions and was the catalyst for a new plan which has delivered a superb redevelopment of the foreshore, drawing locals and visitors alike to this beautiful part of our coastline.

Although the credit for funding the first and most significant stage of the Busselton jetty refurbishment rests with the Barnett government, the work of the working group I chaired underpins it and provides for the continued maintenance of the Busselton jetty. Each time I look out at the jetty, I take heart in the knowledge of the small part I played in ensuring the jetty continues as the heart of Busselton well into the future. I also take heart in knowing that the work that led to the reconfiguration of the Port Geographe groyne is underpinned by the work of the Port Geographe working group I chaired. Failure to fill the trap with sand as part of the reconfiguration works means mechanical intervention is needed annually to enable the first winter storms to wash the seagrass caught in the trap out to sea, thus enabling the trap to fill with sand over time. Agreement by the Department of Transport to undertake these mechanical intervention works earlier each year, before the first winter storm, would go a long way to resolving ongoing community angst, and I commend that to the government. Once the trap is filled with sand, such ongoing intervention should no longer be required.

In those early years a personal highlight for me was facilitating the first-ever Labor regional cabinet meeting in Busselton under the Gallop government, especially as the visit was so well received by the community.

In opposition, I served as shadow parliamentary secretary to the Attorney General and Minister for Environment. This provided me with the opportunity to experience the passage of bills through this place from the opposition perspective.

I have been a member of the Standing Committee on Procedure and Privileges, the Joint Standing Committee on the Corruption and Crime Commission, a Deputy Chair of Committees, and I also held the position of Chair of the Standing Committee on Uniform Legislation and Statutes Review and Chair of the Standing Committee on Public Administration. In the thirty-eighth Parliament, under my chairmanship, the Standing Committee on Uniform Legislation and Statutes Review completed scrutiny of 40 bills referred to the committee, in addition to a review of its treaty functions. By any standard, this was a mammoth workload. I am proud of the two substantial reports delivered by the Standing Committee on Public Administration into WorkSafe and private property rights and our oversight of statutory office holders.

Serving on the Joint Standing Committee on the Corruption and Crime Commission was an interesting experience, not only because of its terms of reference but also because it operates under the distinctly different standing orders of the other place. The committee, under the chairmanship of Hon Nick Goiran, did not hold back inquiring into difficult issues. It was forensic in its approach and always able to deliver a consensus report. I learnt a lot during that period.

I would like to take this opportunity to emphasise the importance of the committee system to the Parliament scrutiny role. It provides a last opportunity for the community to be heard on matters that are the subject of committee inquiries and also through the petitions process. Importantly, the examination of bills by scrutiny committees facilitates

a higher level of more detailed scrutiny of bills than is possible in Committee of the Whole and in my view results in better legislation. History however shows that when governments control the Legislative Council, fewer bills are referred to scrutiny committees. In furtherance of good governance and better legislation, it has always been my view that all bills should be referred to scrutiny committees before being considered by Committee of the Whole. Now, governments of both political persuasions in Western Australia, however, have resisted such an approach, despite this practice being adopted with positive outcomes in other jurisdictions around the world. Although I hold no expectation this position will change any time soon, I remain hopeful that a future Parliament will see the merit of adopting such a system.

Members may recall that, as a result of the last major review of standing orders, the scrutiny function of the Standing Committee on Uniform Legislation and Statutes Review was restricted. At the time, I, as did others, argued that restriction of the committee's scrutiny function, so that the committee is prevented from bringing errors it identifies in a bill to the attention of the Parliament, would not serve the best interest of the Parliament or the public. At the time it was suggested by some that this restriction would in time be reviewed. This has not occurred to date. I put out the suggestion that with fewer bills likely to be referred, perhaps there is merit in combining the Standing Committee on Legislation and the Standing Committee on Uniform Legislation and Statutes Review into one standing committee, as was the situation in 2001 when I first came to this place.

Perhaps the greatest highlight for me was the honour bestowed on me by members of this place by their endorsement to the position of Chair of Committees/Deputy President in the thirty-ninth Parliament. I thank members for the opportunity to have served them in this capacity. Each of those responsibilities in government and in opposition brought its own special challenges, but each was an opportunity to grow in my understanding of the nature and complexity of serving in this state on behalf of the people of Western Australia.

As many members will be aware, my electorate office was first established in Busselton in 2001, as I strongly believed upper house members should locate their offices in long-held seats. This was not a view shared by all in the Labor Party, with some holding the view that I should have located my office in Bunbury. After Labor lost the seat of Bunbury and at the request of then Premier Carpenter, I relocated my electorate office to Bunbury to raise Labor's profile to enable Labor to reclaim the seat of Bunbury. My office and I worked tirelessly to this end and I am pleased that through our efforts in a range of areas we were able to provide a strong foundation for Labor to reclaim Bunbury at the 2017 state election by a resounding margin.

It is usual in valedictory speeches for members to list their achievements. Over my 20 years representing the South West Region I have strongly advocated on a wide range of issues and there have been many achievements. While not possible to list them all, there are a few noteworthy highlights. My advocacy for people struggling with alcohol and other drug-related problems and their families, including the need for a residential alcohol and drug rehabilitation centre in the south west was critical in delivery funding for Doors Wide Open, additional funding for the South West Community Alcohol and Drug Service and 33 rehabilitation beds in the south west.

My advocacy for people with mental health problems and the need for more funding for mental health and suicide prevention delivered increased resources; however, much more needs to be done in this space, especially in the area of child and adolescent mental health and prevention. My advocacy for improved health services throughout the south west has delivered a number of improvements, including the new Busselton Hospital, the new Manjimup Hospital, and upgrades to a number of hospitals throughout the south west, including an intensive care unit at the Bunbury Regional Hospital. My advocacy with St John of God when it received government funding for six additional dialysis chairs resulted in these much-needed dialysis chairs being placed in Busselton, instead of being added to the existing dialysis chairs in Bunbury. As a result, people living further south have benefited from shorter travel times to access this vital health service.

My advocacy in support of Jess Bevan, a victim of discrimination for breastfeeding her baby in public, resulted in changes being made to the Equal Opportunity Act, to provide legislative protection for a mother to breastfeed her child in public. My advocacy in support of Jessica Turner enabled her young daughter to get the medical treatment she needed at Bunbury regional hospital, instead of Perth, and subsequently the support needed so she could be cared for at home and the family united. My advocacy for the people of Withers resulted in funding towards improvement of the parks within Withers, an increased investment by the City of Bunbury towards maintenance in Withers and the development of a Withers strategy. My strong advocacy raised public awareness of suicides by St John Ambulance paramedics and volunteers, along with the strain the volunteer-dependent country service was placing on volunteers and country paramedics. This helped to secure a number of inquiries into St John Ambulance, which resulted in the first-ever WA strategy for country ambulance services. This work is very much ongoing and I regret that I will not be in Parliament to see it completed.

Having advocated for most of the last 20 years for Bussell Highway to be upgraded to a dual-lane highway between Bunbury and Busselton, I am pleased that with the assistance of the federal government, this is now on its way to being delivered.

When I was first elected, leavers week was a free-for-all. Local police and local residents expressed concern about property damage, leavers travelling down to Busselton and Dunsborough with car boots full of alcohol, drug use, assaults and all sorts of antisocial behaviour. The stories of harm experienced by some young people during leavers were shocking. It was clear to me that we needed to act to make leavers safer. My advocacy within government and the Office of Crime Prevention resulted in significant work being done to reduce the harm to young people participating in leavers. This included the introduction of wristbands, the establishment of an alcohol-free entertainment area, a bus service to and from the entertainment area and accommodation sites and the liquor outlets in these towns entering into accords not to sell liquor to under-age leavers. As a result of this effort, leavers week today is very different and much safer than it was back in 2001.

There are many other achievements, but I do not have time to raise them all today. As members will know, it is the many small wins for individual constituents that are often the most satisfying.

As other members have noted, we leave this place with unfinished business. I wish to touch on a few of these matters, as this will be my last opportunity to do so. On 3 November last year, I tabled a letter in this place from Kim Taylor detailing flaws with the Department of Water and Environmental Regulation modelling for the southern forests irrigation scheme. I did so following a long sustained debate with local farmers seeking to bring their concerns to the attention of relevant ministers. As members know, Kim Taylor is well respected in the field of water resources management, having worked in senior positions within the WA Water Authority and the Department of Water and for seven years as general manager of the Environmental Protection Authority. On 11 March this year, it was reported in the *Manjimup–Bridgetown Times* that the Minister for Regional Development had announced the engagement of the CSIRO to undertake an independent assessment of the Department of Water and Environmental Regulation's modelling for the southern forests irrigation scheme. The minister was reported as saying that the announcement of an independent review was long overdue, and I agree with the minister and welcome the decision to proceed with that independent review.

Water management issues in the Warren–Donnelly area, however, are not restricted to the southern forests irrigation scheme. If, as expected, the CSIRO confirms the modelling for the southern forests irrigation scheme is flawed, it will be essential that the CSIRO be engaged to review the *Warren–Donnelly surface water allocation plan*, which is reliant on similar flawed modelling. Also, the allocation plan is being enforced by the department, even though the statutory requirements for its endorsement have not been followed.

Further, the inconsistent decisions by the Department of Water and Environmental Regulation on the question of spring rights are not a thing of the past, as the department indicated to the Standing Committee on Public Affairs, as has been reported in its thirty-third report. In a drying climate where competition for water is high, the department's lack of consistency is causing significant angst in Warren–Donnelly. An independent review of the department and its decisions is needed to restore community confidence in the department.

On the issue of spring rights, the department maintains that a watercourse may not be immediately apparent as it does not require a bed or bank, and flow may be intermittent or occasional. This has resulted in some farmers being told that there is a watercourse on their property when clearly there is no visible bed and banks and no visible flow of water at any time of the year. An assessment of the legal authorities in this area does not support the department's position. Understanding the value of a second opinion, I engaged as a consultant a law professor from the University of Western Australia, Professor Alex Gardner, co-author of the book titled *Water Resources Law*, to provide a legal opinion on the question of what constitutes a watercourse under the Rights in Water and Irrigation Act. Having regard to the legal decisions and the amendments to the legislation since those decisions, Professor Alex Gardner concluded that "watercourse" under the Rights in Water and Irrigation Act does require a channel or a bed and banks. The department's interpretation is clearly incorrect and leaves the government exposed to costly legal action in the event that the department's decisions are challenged in the courts. I implore the government to undertake a review of the department's decisions and the *Warren–Donnelly surface water allocation plan*.

Members will be aware of my disappointment with two recent government decisions. The first being the government's decision to provide less financial assistance to regional taxi operators than was provided to metropolitan taxi operators, which has financially disadvantaged regional taxi operators. Legislation facilitating the financial assistance package for regional taxi operators was considered by the Parliament as a time-limited COVID bill last year, which restricted scrutiny of the bill. I urge the government to review its decision and extend to regional taxi operators the same financial package provided to metropolitan taxi operators. It is fair and it is the right thing to do.

The second is the government's decision on the alignment of the southern section of the Bunbury Outer Ring Road. The government approved modifications of the route for the northern and middle sections, while refusing to consider a different alignment of the southern section, which dissects the small community of Gelorup. There is much I could say on this matter; however, I will restrict myself to noting that there are sound economic, planning and environmental grounds for realignment of the southern section of the Bunbury Outer Ring Road and it is not too late for the government to reverse its decision. I again ask the government to reconsider its decision on this issue as it is impacting a lot of people who live in Gelorup.

On the issue of disappointments, in my inaugural speech, I talked about my commitment to advocate for a fast train between Perth and Bunbury, and my hope that it would eventually extend further south. It is with great disappointment that despite my best efforts over the last 20 years, a Perth–Bunbury fast train and the benefits it would bring to the south west, has not been realised. Due to its design, the construction of the Bunbury Outer Ring Road will now require the undergrounding of the rail line at the northern interchange between the Bunbury Outer Ring Road and Forrest Highway, thereby significantly increasing construction costs and making the realisation of this project during my lifetime highly unlikely.

In many ways, serving in this place has been my life, but it would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of family and close friends, who were understanding on the many occasions when duty meant I was absent or not as attentive as I should have been. As I said in my inaugural speech, none of this would have been possible without the sacrifices my parents made on my behalf. Never did my parents entertain the idea that one of their children would go to university, much less be elected to Parliament. I would like to thank my parents, whose guidance and support not only helped to make me the person that I am today, but whose support and understanding enabled me to devote so much of my time to Parliament and my constituents. They instilled in me a strong moral compass that has guided me when making tough decisions.

Over the last 20 years, my sister, Paola, has travelled to the south west for almost every election to work all day on a polling booth and on one occasion roped in her eldest son, Michael, to assist. In more recent years, she has been joined by her other sons, Daniel and Christopher, who have worked all day on polling booths. Daniel has also helped me to put together polling booth kits, including cutting metres and metres of bunting. Daniel and Christopher, together with their older brother, Michael, were great sounding boards and often put me straight on what was and was not important to young people and shared their perspectives on a range of current issues. Most importantly, they reminded me to laugh and to, at least occasionally, stop to smell the roses. Their support has been greatly appreciated, as was the fun we had along the way, and I give you a heartfelt thankyou.

Understandably, my nephews, like other members of my family, are disappointed for me that my parliamentary career has been cut short by the decision of others. However, I must put on the record that my nephews are also disappointed to learn that Hon Aaron Stonehouse is leaving Parliament and that his private member's bill to legalise airsoft in Western Australia has lapsed with the prorogation of Parliament! A sentiment shared by all airsoft enthusiasts, I am sure.

Throughout my parliamentary career I have been ably supported by electorate staff, some who were with me for years and others who gained valuable experience and went on to bigger and better opportunities. I thank each one of them for their support and hard work. Some, however, need special mention. Lesley Morris, an experienced electorate officer who worked for Hon Tom Stephens before me and for a number of other members in the north of the state in more recent times, was a critical support in my early years. I had the good fortune of Lesley returning to live in Busselton at about the time I was establishing my electorate office. Lesley ensured everything ran smoothly and played a key role in establishing office procedures. Her knowledge of local issues, electorate experience and interpersonal skills were invaluable, and I owe her a great debt. If Lesley had not returned to live in Broome, I am sure she would have remained my electorate officer through to the end. We remain good friends and catch up whenever she comes home to Busselton.

Ross Bromell, my research officer, together with Rod Clark, my former electorate officer, were a formidable team. This was a particularly busy time, and knowing that Ross and Rod were in the electorate office and more than capable of handling constituent inquiries made it possible for me to get out to other areas of the electorate and to perform my parliamentary secretary duties. I would not have been able to achieve all that I did during those very busy years without their support, and I thank them.

To my current staff, Emily Montgomery and Sophie Elliott: they have been a terrific team. Their concern and attention to resolving constituent inquiries has been exceptional, and I am grateful for their support and hard work. They and their partners have become family. What is not understood by those outside politics is that the party's decision not to preselect me meant that they, too, lost their jobs. The last 12 months have been difficult for all three of us as we have contemplated what next. Decommissioning the office and sorting 20 years of paperwork is a soul-destroying task. We have supported each other through it, and I am deeply thankful to both Emily and Sophie for all their support. I am disappointed, however, that our team has had to part ways sooner than we would have liked. Emily is expecting her first child, and I wish Emily and her husband Hayden the very best for the impending birth of baby Monty. They will be terrific parents. Sophie has secured a job with Jackie Jarvis and I wish her well. Both Emily and Sophie have bright futures ahead of them and I look forward to seeing where the future takes them.

A special thanks also to Dennekka Sullivan, who has done relief work in my office for many years. Dennekka has been an invaluable support, always willing to do whatever is asked of her. She has also assisted with campaign activities and on polling booths. Dennekka: my sincere thanks for your friendship and support. Since Emily took maternity leave, Jeni Henderson has joined my relief staff. It has been a joy to have Jeni in the office. Jeni and her husband Gus have been good friends and a strong support for many years. A heartfelt thanks to you both.

On an occasion such as this, I must also thank Labor branch members in the South West Region who have given so much of their time to help in a range of campaign activities, and for their support over the last 20 years. I especially thank David Smith and Phil Smith, on whom I have always been able to rely to help me with doorknocking. Your support and advice over the years has been most appreciated, and I thank you both. A special thanks to the Progressive Labor members of Young Labor for the many times they travelled to the south west to assist with various campaign activities and to lower the average age of those of us working on those campaign activities!

I also wish to extend a heartfelt thanks to Wes Hartley and Beverley Biggs for their friendship, support and counsel over the years. They have always been there for me, through the highs and, importantly, the lows. They have worked on polling booths all day, letterboxed, helped on Labor stalls at south west festivals, assisted with large mail-outs to constituents and anything else asked of them. They have also done relief work in the office. Wes and Beverley have always made time to listen and to provide advice over a cup of tea. I could not have done it without you. Thank you.

A special thanks to Hon Bob Pearce, who has mentored me throughout my time as a member of Parliament, and earlier. I am sure he would have preferred someone easier to mentor; I am sorry for that! He was always available at the other end of the phone whenever I needed advice or to vent. I thank you for your good counsel and support.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Clerk and all the Legislative Council staff, past and present. You work tirelessly in the background, ensuring that this place runs efficiently and effectively. I thank you for the support and assistance you have provided to me over my time in this place; and to dear Deb, for everything she does and especially her caring nature. My thanks to the talented staff of the Legislative Council committee office and the Legislative Assembly committee office. Your work in ensuring that committee inquiries run smoothly and drafting reports is exceptional. Indeed, I extend my thanks to all the staff of the Parliament, past and present. Each of you, no matter your position, make an important contribution to the operation of the Parliament, and I thank you.

To the members of this place, past and current, it has been a pleasure to serve with each of you. You have listened to me and you have respected my decisions, even when disagreeing with me. Most importantly, you have challenged me. Through this exchange you have helped me to grow as a person and as a member of this place, and I offer you my heartfelt thanks. To those who will continue to serve in the forty-first Parliament, I wish you all the best with the challenges you will face in the years ahead as you continue to serve the people of Western Australia. To those who, like me, have come to the end of their parliamentary careers, you leave this place knowing you have made an important contribution to the governance of our state, and I wish you well in your future endeavours.

Perhaps it is appropriate at this point to express my disappointment that my party leadership chose to deny me preselection and an ability to continue to represent the people of the South West Region, for whom I have worked tirelessly. That task is now to be assumed by others, and I wish them well.

To the government, now with such a significant and overwhelming majority in both houses, the challenge in this historic period will be to stay humble, to stay focused, and to govern with astute wisdom. This new parliamentary term can be a time of significant legislative achievement, hopefully for the betterment of the people of this great state, that will last long after we all are gone.

The task of being a member of Parliament is a heavy responsibility. As I stated in my inaugural speech, the strength of our democracy lies in the capacity of its elected members to project thoroughly and effectively the views, wishes and aspirations of the people they are elected to represent. I have sought faithfully to acquit this task even when I have, at times, had to challenge my own party colleagues that we could do better.

As I prepare to leave this place, I am reminded that it is 100 years since the first woman was elected to not only this Parliament, but any Parliament in Australia—namely, Dame Edith Cowan. To say that she was unpopular in what was then a male bastion of privilege would be an understatement. Despite being in this place for just a single term, Edith Cowan used her time in Parliament, as one should, to constantly push for change in things that truly mattered. Her efforts made a significant difference, especially for women. I have often drawn strength from Edith Cowan as I have sought to faithfully bring before my colleagues and this Parliament matters of importance to the people of the South West Region and that I believed to be for the good of the people of Western Australia. Such a stance has not always made me popular, but popularity does not in itself result in good governance.

Over the last 20 years throughout the South West Region, I have had the good fortune of meeting many, many truly amazing people who, either through their work, their volunteering, or both, have made the region a better place to live. They have truly enriched my life and helped me remain focused on what really matters. My only hope is that I have given as much to them and the region as they have given. Many of these people have become good friends, and I look forward to our continuing friendships.

In closing, I wish once more to acknowledge my mother and my late father. Despite arriving with nothing other than a suitcase and a willingness to work hard in order to realise their dreams and aspirations, it was their courage and self-sacrifice that made it possible for me to not only dare to aspire, but also realise my own aspiration to serve the people of Western Australia.

It has been an honour to be a member for the South West Region for these past 20 years. I thank the Labor Party for the opportunity and the electors of the South West Region for the trust they have placed in me. I have always endeavoured to champion the things of importance to you, and I trust I have acquitted that task to your satisfaction. Thank you.

[Applause.]

The PRESIDENT: Hon Adele Farina, my old roommate, I thank you very much for your service to this chamber, your community and the Labor Party.

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