

Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti;
Mr Peter Tinley; Mr Ben Wyatt; Ms Rita Saffioti; Mr Bill Johnston; Mr Peter Watson; Mr Paul Papalia; Mr
Shane Love; Mr Dave Kelly; Ms Lisa Baker; Ms Libby Mettam

PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Presentation

MR C.J. BARNETT (Cottesloe — Premier) [3.16 pm]: I rise to outline the Liberal–National government's legislative and policy agenda for 2016—the eighth year of the government and the final year of the thirty-ninth Parliament.

Bushfires: Unfortunately, once again I begin this Premier's Statement noting the tragic consequences of recent major bushfires across the state. In November, fires near Esperance claimed four lives and burned more than 260 000 hectares of farm and bushland. In January, a massive fire near Waroona claimed two lives and razed the town of Yarloop, destroying some 181 homes and businesses. The effects of such devastation are heartbreaking, not least for the family and friends of those who died but also for the people who lost homes, animals and treasured possessions. I acknowledge and thank the efforts of all who fought the fires and the many thousands who supported those firefighting efforts, including volunteers.

The government has appointed Euan Ferguson, former head of the Victorian Country Fire Authority and the South Australian Country Fire Service, to thoroughly investigate the response to the Waroona fire. The terms of reference for the investigation are wide enough to address issues relevant to the Esperance fire and other major events. Mr Ferguson's report is expected by the end of April. In parallel with this investigation, former Western Australian Governor Dr Ken Michael is overseeing the recovery process for the Waroona fire.

Elizabeth Quay: On a brighter note, Mr Speaker, the opening of Elizabeth Quay just over two weeks ago has seen thousands of Western Australians and tourists enjoy the Perth waterfront like never before. The 25 000 people there on the opening night and the 700 000 visits since are vindication of this government's decision to proceed with this project.

Other city projects: this year the city's transformation will continue. The underground busport at Perth City Link will open midyear—a key part of the massive project of sinking the rail line between Northbridge and Perth—reconnecting the city's business and entertainment areas for the first time in more than 100 years. At the heart of the link will be Yagan Square, a significant open space now under construction. It will be an important recognition of Aboriginal people in the centre of our city. City Link is on time and on budget and scheduled for completion mid-next year. Close by, at the rejuvenated Perth Cultural Centre, siteworks on the new world-class WA Museum will begin this year. The new Museum will be a major boost to our science and cultural standing. The city's reach has been extended eastward with the construction of Perth Stadium and the Riverside development. The stadium is already 35 per cent complete.

Perth is a different place because of the decisions made by this government to modernise the city and to get on and build infrastructure. We were being left behind. Today we have a vibrant, lively city that draws people in after hours to enjoy not only the restaurant and bar scene, but also festivals such as Fringe World and the Perth International Arts Festival. The passage of the City of Perth Bill this year will ensure that Perth has the status befitting one of the Asia-Pacific's most liveable and modern cities.

Regional development: The transformation has not just been in Perth. New hospitals, schools, sports grounds, recreational centres, roads and phone towers have improved the lives of people living in the regions. The government's royalties for regions program has allocated \$6.1 billion to more than 3 600 projects since 2008 to support growth and economic opportunities outside Perth. The government's bold infrastructure plan has not just rebuilt the state; it has created thousands of jobs. Major government projects have employed more than 87 000 people since 2008.

Economy: The creation of jobs from projects in both Perth and the regions has been important as the Western Australian economy comes off an unprecedented peak, with jobs in the mining and petroleum sector declining. This will be a difficult year for Western Australia's economy. The state faces the dual challenge of a dramatic decline in commodity prices and a drop in goods and services tax revenue to depths never before seen in Australia. Living in a commodity-based economy, Western Australians understand that we are export driven and tied to Asia and commodity prices. We are used to cycles. In my years in public life, we have seen the share crash of 1987, which had an impact into the 1990s; the Asian financial crisis in 1997; the global financial crisis in 2008; and, now, the downside of a "super cycle" of record high commodity prices followed by a dramatic fall, particularly in iron ore and oil, the extent of which was not predicted by anyone. Western Australia has shown it can manage these external shocks, but this one is different. We cannot survive an unprecedented resources downturn as well as receiving just 30c back for every GST dollar paid by Western Australians. No other state in Australia's history has had to put up with that.

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Several members interjected.

The SPEAKER: Members!

Mr C.J. BARNETT: Canberra and the Commonwealth Grants Commission are strangling Western Australia. If we were to get our per capita share of GST, we would be more than a billion dollars in surplus this year.

Mr D.J. Kelly interjected.

The SPEAKER: Member for Bassendean, I call you to order for the first time. You can have a general debate on this when the Premier has finished. Just hold on and listen to what the Premier has to say.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: It is one thing to borrow to fund capital works when there is an asset to back up the debt, but we are now in a situation in which we are borrowing to pay other states our GST share and borrowing to pay for recurrent services, such as running schools and hospitals.

Since 2008, an additional 400 000 people have made Western Australia their home. More than 90 per cent of the state's debt has gone to build roads and rail, poles and wires, water infrastructure, hospitals, schools and sports facilities to accommodate this growth. Projects such as Elizabeth Quay and Perth Stadium make up just 2.4 per cent of total debt.

We have also made decisions to increase funding to support the most vulnerable in our community: people with disabilities, those facing mental health challenges and children in state care. As Premier, I make no apologies for that at all.

The government continues to work hard to keep expenditure under control with savings measures such as containing public sector wages to the consumer price index, a recruitment freeze in the public service and agency expenditure reviews. But there is a limit to cost cutting, and the sale of government assets to stabilise and retire debt becomes the only alternative.

Asset sales: Last week, the sale of the Perth Market Authority to Perth Markets Limited for \$135 million was completed. This is a good result for the taxpayers of Western Australia and for the future growth of the fruit and vegetable industry.

The Pilbara Port Assets (Disposal) Bill to enable the sale of Utah Point in Port Hedland will be the first piece of legislation debated in this house this year. The sale should be completed later this year. We will continue with our program of selling surplus government land. More than 400 properties worth around \$460 million are earmarked for sale. The government has been investigating options for a partial divestment of Keystart's loan book, and consultation with the racing industry about the sale of the Totalisator Agency Board continues. This year, we will introduce a bill for the long-term lease of Fremantle port. We may also have to look at other assets, including Western Power.

The way forward: Every government in Australia is under financial stress—every government. Despite our own difficult financial situation, the fundamentals of the Western Australian economy are strong. We have the world's leading mining economy and two of the world's biggest LNG projects under construction. The \$55 billion Gorgon gas project will be completed this year and the \$30 billion Wheatstone project will come into production in 18 months. Within this decade, LNG production will have trebled to make Western Australia the world's second largest LNG producer, and iron ore production will have more than doubled. Western Australia will continue to dominate Australia's exports.

The mining and petroleum sector will continue to grow, just not at the pace of the past 10 years. Increasingly, more of our economic growth will come from sectors other than mining, such as agriculture, tourism, education and health services, and science and innovation. For us, the driving force is Asia, with its extraordinary population growth, rising incomes and urbanisation. The people of Asia want access to quality agricultural products and first-class education and health services, and to enjoy our unique and clean environment.

The growth of our own population also presents opportunities. A larger domestic economy can sustain growing and new industries and the jobs that go with that. As I have said before, this is the decade that matters in terms of broadening our economy, and the Liberal–National government has been doing just that. We have focused, and will continue to focus, on areas in which we have a competitive advantage by virtue of our natural resources, natural environment or reputation for quality products and services.

Agriculture: The first area is agriculture. In my first Premier's Statement, I noted that the priority was expanding agricultural production through the development of the second stage of the Ord River project. Now, additional irrigated land in the Ord is producing chia, sorghum and millet for export to Asia.

Mr P. Papalia interjected.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: Perhaps you should go and have a look.

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This Liberal–National government is seizing the opportunity presented by Asia’s demand for quality food.

Several members interjected.

The SPEAKER: Members!

Mr W.J. Johnston interjected.

The SPEAKER: Listen. Member for Cannington, this is a statement. Have the patience to listen to it. You can deal with whatever you want to later.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: With the assistance and support of the state government, many Western Australian food producers are making solid inroads into Asia, exporting products such as chilled, frozen and processed meat, live cattle and sheep and even honey. Last year, the government commissioned research to examine whether a brand for Western Australia could improve recognition of our agrifood and other sectors. The government will use this research to determine whether a brand should be used, and, if so, it will finalise its development this year.

The Water for Food program is assisting farmers to find and develop water sources so they can increase and diversify crops and increase animal production. It has been clear for some time that the Department of Agriculture and Food’s headquarters in South Perth have become outdated and run down. This year we will progress the establishment of a new state-of-the-art headquarters for Agriculture.

Aquaculture: Western Australia has more than 35 per cent of Australia’s coastline but we produce less than two per cent of Australia’s farmed seafood. This government is working hard to increase seafood production. We have established a 2 000-hectare aquaculture zone at Cone Bay in the Kimberley, which has the potential to produce 20 000 tonnes of fish a year. This year, we will establish the second zone in the midwest near the Abrolhos Islands, which presents an enormous opportunity for the commercial finfish industry.

Passage of the Aquatic Resources Management Bill this year will support the growth of aquaculture. The legislation will ensure the protection of our precious fish resources, while allowing commercial fishers to build viable operations and recreational fishers reasonable access to fishing spots along our coast.

Tourism: Western Australia’s coastline is a major part of its attractiveness as a tourist destination. Our diverse environment, from the spectacular forests of the south west to the rugged beauty of the Kimberley, gives us a unique advantage in the increasingly competitive fight for the tourist dollar. To capitalise on this and increase nature-based tourism, the Liberal–National government has expanded the state’s national parks network to 100. This year will see the establishment of new marine parks at Roebuck Bay and Horizontal Falls and in the North Kimberley. Work will continue to create the largest national park in Australia, which will include the entire Mitchell Plateau. These parks will help build the Kimberley’s reputation as a world-class holiday destination for travellers wanting to experience one of the last untouched environments on the planet.

These initiatives are underpinned by a new biodiversity bill introduced by this government last year. Passage of this bill will mean that, for the first time in Western Australia, the listing and protection of threatened and critical habitat will be recognised by law. The legislation will improve the government’s ability to conserve our unique plants and animals. To encourage families to enjoy our parks, further upgrades of nature-based campgrounds in shires throughout the state will be undertaken this year as part of the government’s \$40 million Parks for People program. Tenders for construction of the new Busselton–Margaret River airport will be sought this year. This will be a major boost to tourism in the region when it is completed in 2018. Obviously, Elizabeth Quay and the Perth Stadium will add enormously to the tourist potential of Perth as a vibrant city able to host world-class events and accommodate tourists. Construction of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel and the Far East Consortium apartments at Elizabeth Quay are expected to start in March. Tourism has and will continue to be crucial in the government’s plan to broaden our economy.

Other sectors: We are also concentrating on two other areas in which Western Australia already has a competitive advantage. The government is pushing hard to get a fair share of federal government contracts to build patrol boats and submarines, as well as maintenance contracts for frigates, patrol boats and submarines. We have the infrastructure, expertise and reputation to secure these contracts. Western Australia is also already recognised for world-class technology and innovation in mining, and our reputation as a centre for scientific research is growing. The Pawsey Supercomputing Centre provides the capacity to maximise the use of big data to aid scientific breakthroughs across a range of industries. Co-hosting the Square Kilometre Array—or SKA—radio telescope, which will generate data at a rate of more than 10 times today’s global internet traffic, will put us on the global big data map. Recognising the important link between science and technology, the Chief Scientist and the chief information officer are working together to progress innovation in technology and

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data, including in open data and data linkage. Providing access to government data allows business to develop new solutions to problems and stimulates new business opportunities.

Red tape and regulation: The best thing government can do to allow businesses to grow is to get out of the way. Over regulation impedes business and its efforts to innovate and improve productivity. Regulatory reform is critical to the growth of small business, which is the biggest employer in the state. During Repeal Week last year, we highlighted 36 examples from more than 100 initiatives across government that cut red tape, such as a new e-conveyancing system, making it easier for real estate and settlement agents to process land transactions faster; simplifying building and renovation approvals processes; and online facilities to simplify property valuation processes and cut time for property transfers. This month, the Minister for Commerce and I met building industry representatives to discuss more ways to improve approval processes so that the building industry, new home builders and home renovators can save more time and money. A plan to cut red tape in environmental planning approval processes in Perth and Peel has been released for public comment and will be submitted to the federal government this year. The strategic assessment will deliver greater certainty for future development while ensuring that the environment is protected as our population grows. This year we will continue to reform the Liquor Control Act to make the restaurant and small bar licensing process less cumbersome. Passage of amendments to the Retail Trading Hours Act will continue the government's incremental reform of trading hours. These amendments will allow all retail shops to open, if they wish to do so, from 7.00 am Monday to Saturday and until 6.00 pm on Saturdays.

Since 2008, the government's mining approvals reforms have reduced the backlog of mining tenement applications from a mammoth 17 000 to 4 000. Last quarter was the best ever for minerals title approval speeds. This year we will also continue to reduce red tape in the resources sector by amending mining legislation to further streamline approvals processes for prospectors and tenement holders. We will also repeal legislation introduced by Labor to ban genetically modified crops so that farmers can plant GM canola without the need for an exemption. The government has clearly signalled its intention to abolish the Potato Marketing Corporation and will continue to work with growers to ensure that the transition to a new operating environment is as smooth as possible.

Justice and law and order: The Liberal–National government is proud of its record of introducing laws that put victims of crime first and criminals last. The record speaks for itself. Since the introduction of hoon laws —

Mrs M.H. Roberts interjected.

The SPEAKER: Member for Midland, do you want me to call you for the third time.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: Sorry, Mr Speaker.

Mr C.J. BARNETT: Since the introduction of hoon laws in 2009, police have impounded more than 13 000 vehicles for hoon offences. High-speed chases have declined by almost 50 per cent since the introduction of minimum mandatory sentences for reckless driving during police pursuits. Graffiti was a blight on our communities eight years ago. As a result of tougher laws, graffiti offences have declined by 88 per cent. There are fewer out-of-control parties in suburban neighbourhoods since police have had increased powers to deal with them. Assaults against police officers have dropped by 40 per cent since mandatory sentencing laws were introduced in 2009.

Several members interjected.

The SPEAKER: Right; thank you!

Mr C.J. BARNETT: Mr Speaker, perhaps you did not hear that. Assaults against police officers have dropped by 40 per cent since mandatory sentencing laws were introduced in 2009. This year, Parliament will deal with some important legislation to make Western Australians safer. We will not let up on hoon drivers, with further legislation to give police the power to immediately confiscate a car if a driver is caught hooning in a 40 kilometre-an-hour school zone or built-up area. We will build on gains made in cleaning up graffiti with the passage of the Graffiti Vandalism Bill, which includes significant increases in fines and prison terms. We will introduce amendments to the Sentencing Act to provide for GPS tracking of serious domestic violence offenders, other serious violent offenders and serial arsonists. The Liberal–National government will also introduce amendments to legislation that will mean applications to release dangerous sexual offenders can be made only once every two years, instead of annually, and, if a decision is made to release them, there will be a 21-day delay on their release so that strict supervision arrangements can be put in place and the community notified.

Crime and drugs: There has been much debate in this place and in the wider community about recent crime rate statistics. It is important to note that, accounting for population growth, Western Australia's offence rates have

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actually decreased by 14 per cent in the past decade. Nevertheless, over the second half of last year we experienced an unseasonable spike in crime, primarily family violence, burglary, stolen vehicles and theft. The causes of crime are many and complex, but it is clear that one current cause is methamphetamine use in our community. The response requires action on three fronts: education about the risks, curtailing the supply of meth, and supporting addicts and their families. The Liberal–National government has funded a public ice prevention campaign that is targeting young people. Police have introduced specialised meth teams to tackle organised crime, which have had some significant results in stopping supply. Legislation will also be introduced this year to enhance the police’s ability to disrupt the supply and transport of methamphetamines into and around the state. The government provides \$66 million a year to fund treatment and support services for drug and alcohol abuse across the state. More specifically, the Mental Health Commission is currently working on a meth strategy aimed at further improving assessment, treatment and rehabilitation services for ice users and support for their families.

Transport: The extraordinary increase in Western Australia’s population has put pressure on roads and our public transport system, particularly in Perth. This year will see the continuation of the state government’s rollout of an integrated transport network to improve options for all commuters, whether they choose to travel by road, train, bus or ferry or to get on a bicycle. The eastern suburbs of Perth are benefiting from major transport projects that will reach significant milestones this year. The Gateway WA project, which has transformed access to the airport and the entry to our city, will be completed in the next few months; work will begin on the construction of the Forrestfield–airport rail before the end of the year, going through Belmont, the airport and Forrestfield; and work will begin on the southern section of the \$1.1 billion NorthLink WA road project. To the north, the Mitchell Freeway extension to Hester Avenue is ahead of schedule and will be completed early next year, and the multistorey car park at Edgewater train station is due for completion within the next 12 months. In the southern suburbs, the Kwinana Freeway widening will be finished in April, and construction of the new Aubin Grove train station and bridge duplication over Kwinana Freeway at Russell Road will begin.

The Liberal–National government remains committed to the Roe 8 project. This road project is essential for traffic management in the south and for the current and future freight needs of Fremantle port, as well as any outer harbour development. It will take 5 000 trucks a day off the suburban road network and will save lives.

Several members interjected.

The SPEAKER: Members!

Mr C.J. BARNETT: The government has also put in place a range of practical measures to reduce congestion, improve traffic flow and make roads safer, including traffic light timing and new merge lanes on freeways.

Responding to the increasing numbers of people on bikes, we have invested \$113 million in a network of bike paths across the city. To date, 320 kilometres of off-road shared paths and on-road cycle lanes have been laid, and the government has allocated a further \$75 million for more bike paths and lanes over the next four years.

In response to the emergence of the on-demand transport industry, this year the government will introduce a suite of reforms as a first step towards ensuring that taxi and on-demand drivers can operate on a more level playing field. The next step will involve a new, single act to implement further reforms for taxis and the on-demand transport industry.

In the regions, we will start work on the new \$52 million Mandurah traffic bridge in the next few weeks, with completion expected late next year; the contract for the \$30 million Great Northern Highway–New Norcia bypass will be awarded shortly; the \$58 million Margaret River perimeter road stage 2 will go to tender in October, with completion set for mid-2018; and work is expected to be completed on the \$12.6 million Marble Bar Road–Fortescue River Bridge in the next few months.

Health: The government has made investment in hospitals a priority over the past eight years. Our massive rebuilding program reaches another major milestone this year with the opening of the \$1.2 billion Perth Children’s Hospital, which will deliver world-class paediatric care for Western Australian children. Child health care will also be greatly enhanced by the completion of a new 37-bed paediatric ward at Joondalup Health Campus in April.

Mr P.B. Watson interjected.

The SPEAKER: Member for Albany!

Mr C.J. BARNETT: In May, construction begins on the new \$207 million Karratha Health Campus. Many other hospitals and clinics in regional Western Australia will benefit this year from upgrades.

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A health services bill will soon be introduced to Parliament to reform the way hospitals are governed, bringing down the cost of delivering health services in this state. The Western Australian Health Promotion Foundation Bill 2015 was passed in this place last year and will proceed this year in the Legislative Council. Its passage will provide a contemporary framework for Healthway and strengthen its governance arrangements. A new board and chief executive officer will be appointed as soon as possible.

Mental health: The Liberal–National government has done more to support those in our community dealing with mental health issues than any previous government. Work is underway to gradually close Graylands Hospital and replace it with more contemporary services, such as step-up, step-down facilities, which offer community-based subacute beds. The Liberal–National government will continue to move towards more community-based mental health care.

Several members interjected.

The SPEAKER: Members!

Mr C.J. BARNETT: Disabilities: The two state government National Disability Insurance Scheme trials in the lower south west and in Cockburn–Kwinana and the commonwealth government’s NDIS trial in the Perth hills conclude this year. We will talk to people with a disability and their carers to develop a model that is consistent with the principles of the NDIS and ensures that people with a disability have more choice and control over the support and services they require. Last year the Liberal–National government made a commitment to introduce a no-fault insurance scheme for people catastrophically injured in motor vehicle accidents. We will introduce legislation to that effect in this session of Parliament. This means that drivers, passengers, pedestrians, motorcyclists and cyclists who are catastrophically injured in a motor vehicle crash and cannot establish fault will be assured a lifetime of care. This will be funded by a \$99 increase to family vehicle registrations, and I think most Western Australians will support this increase.

Education: Once again, under the Liberal–National government, the school year got underway without a hitch. There was a teacher in front of every class and we opened four new primary schools and another five child and parent centres. Western Australia’s government school system continues to grow. We are the only state in which government school student numbers have consistently outgrown private school student numbers over the past four years. That is something to be proud of. It is also a resounding vindication of our innovative independent public schools program. We were the first state in Australia to give school communities more say over the way they run their schools. This year, another 50 schools will have the opportunity to be part of a development program to become an independent public school. It is testament to this government’s commitment to education that Western Australian government schools are by far the highest resourced in the nation and our teachers the best paid.

Training reform: Last year, the Liberal–National government examined the state’s training sector. The Minister for Training and Workforce Development will shortly announce the government’s reform package, which aims to ensure that training in Western Australia is accessible and of the highest quality, and focuses on getting people job-ready.

South west native title and Noongar recognition bills: Last year, a historic milestone for our state was achieved when the state government and the Noongar people reached the largest native title settlement in Australia. The south west native title settlement represents a significant step in self-determination by Aboriginal people. There are two bills that need to pass this Parliament this year as a precondition to the commencement of the settlement: the Land Administration (South West Native Title Settlement) Bill 2015 and the Noongar (Koorah, Nitja, Boordahwan) (Past, Present, Future) Recognition Bill 2015.

In conclusion, Western Australia has been transformed since 2008. This year, the tangible benefits of decisions taken by this government to invest in infrastructure that will serve Western Australians for generations to come will be realised. The Liberal–National government will continue to modernise the state. This means a continued focus on broadening our economy by deregulating to ensure that individuals, small businesses and communities can be entrepreneurial and innovative. I am proud of the Liberal–National government’s record since 2008; we have achieved in every area: economically, socially and environmentally. We have made bold decisions, we have reformed where it is needed, we have been innovative and we have supported the most vulnerable in our community. Quite simply, we have got things done. This year will be challenging from an economic perspective, but I believe we are at the bottom of the cycle and, as history has consistently shown, there is always an upswing.

I look forward to a year of constructive debate and inquiry conducted in a spirit of shared willingness to see the best for Western Australia and all Western Australians. I wish all members well for the coming year.

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[Applause.]

Consideration

The SPEAKER: The question is —

That the Premier's Statement be noted.

MR R.H. COOK (Kwinana — Deputy Leader of the Opposition) [3.49 pm]: Thank you for the opportunity to stand for the first time this year and reflect upon the Premier's Statement. I think it is interesting, in the context of Health, that the Premier would speak at length about the development of infrastructure and the construction of Fiona Stanley Hospital, which was, of course, paid for and designed by the previous Labor government. I also note that the Premier spoke about the phasing out of Graylands Hospital, which, as all members will know, is a facility that has long outlived its use-by date. It might come as some surprise that the Premier noted the phasing out of Graylands Hospital as one of the government's upcoming achievements because, of course, all the necessary funding for it, including the redevelopment of mental health facilities at Osborne Park Hospital, sat firmly and squarely in the forward estimates when this government came to power. I think the public has a right to ask: why are we still sending mental health patients to this outdated, decrepit and, quite frankly, Dickensian facility at Graylands Hospital when the opportunity was in front of this government, when it came to power, to phase it out there and then? I have asked the Minister for Health on many occasions when the government was going to get on with the redevelopment of mental health facilities at Osborne Park Hospital to make sure Graylands Hospital could be phased out, but the minister simply fudged his answer and said that it would not be this year, not the next year, but the next year. At that time, I put the question to the Minister for Mental Health, who said, "Yes, we'll be getting on to this. This is very important because we all agree that Graylands Hospital should be phased out and closed down." But none of that ever happened. It is extraordinary that the Premier should stand now and say, "We're all for phasing out Graylands Hospital", when, to date, he and his government have been the single biggest obstacle to that taking place. It is this government that has delayed that process because it wanted to pursue much more glamorous projects such as Elizabeth Quay and other city-based projects while mental health patients are suffering in substandard facilities.

Ms S.F. McGurk interjected.

Mr R.H. COOK: Thank you, member for Fremantle; we all know what the government has done for those poor patients in Graylands—nothing. I am sure if the member for Eyre was still in that ministerial place today, that redevelopment would certainly have taken place and we would have seen some action on that front. All the money sitting there ready to build up that mental health capacity at Osborne Park Hospital has been ripped out of the budget and there is no indication in sight of how, in the life of this government, it will ever phase out Graylands Hospital. I think it is extraordinary that the Premier should use the Premier's Statement at this time to laud his government's efforts on mental health and pick out this one ambition—the one ambition that he thwarted on coming to government.

As we know, there is more to health than building hospitals, cutting ribbons and simply throwing money at problems and coming up with political quick fixes. It is that long-term stewardship of one of the most difficult portfolios the government has to manage. It is about managing community expectation about ongoing expenditure and staff expectation about resources, balanced with the government's capacity to manage the finances within the context of the health budget. And so we begin 2016 with a health budget that is, quite frankly, in ruin. In this financial year alone the South Metropolitan Health Service's budget has cost overruns of more than \$200 million. That is just one of the regions. Patient services are suffering and this week we have heard doctors in full revolt about this government's management of the health portfolio. I know that the Premier is keen to write off all the doctors' concerns about Fiona Stanley Hospital as simply grizzling and whingeing. But all the problems at Fiona Stanley Hospital can be sheeted back to one thing and one thing only: this government's poor decisions and its mismanagement of the health system. Front and centre of those poor decisions is the imposition of a \$4.2 billion 20-year contract to a private organisation to provide services at Fiona Stanley Hospital, which has brought that poor hospital almost to paralysis in its capacity to provide innovative solutions for delivering health services—almost a state of paralysis. I notice that the member for Southern River finds that amusing. I wonder whether he will find it so amusing when he reads about some of the issues that patients have contacted us about due to the problems at that hospital. The member for Southern River should not forget that not for a moment will we be able to touch any of the costs associated with that private contract as this minister scrambles to try to recoup some of that \$200 million in cost overruns. Not for a moment will he be able to go to issues such as the cleaning, the catering and the other services provided by the private sector provider because they are now fixed costs attached to Fiona Stanley Hospital. The only place this minister can go to try to retrieve the debacle that is his mismanagement of the health finances is the clinicians themselves,

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the clinical staff who provide the services at that hospital. This government is keen to cut ribbons and throw money at infrastructure but it has forgotten about the most important aspect of our health system—the patients—who rely upon the staff having the resources and support of this government to receive the services they deserve.

I am reminded of a couple of patients who have raised their concerns this year about the way they receive the services at the hands of this government. Mr John Davis of Bullsbrook was referred in early 2014 to see a surgeon because of hip pain associated with a limp that he acquired. At the end of 2015, almost into 2016, Mr Davis still had not seen a surgeon. He was not even on the elective surgery waitlist. He had not even seen a surgeon at that point to be assessed for whether he would have pain relieving surgery to fix his hip.

Ms S.F. McGurk interjected.

Mr R.H. COOK: I wonder whether the Premier would regard Mr Davis as a grizzler. I wonder whether the Premier would regard Mr Davis' plight as a crowning achievement of this government. I am reminded also of Mrs Heather McCulloch, a constituent in my electorate, who waited almost three years to see an ear, nose and throat surgeon about her ongoing pain associated with her sinuses and other related issues. She waited almost three years just to see a surgeon. It was not even to have the surgery done; it was for the opportunity to be assessed to have the surgery undertaken. This minister made much when he was the shadow Minister for Health about the waiting to wait times in Western Australia. He made much of the fact that there was a waitlist for people simply waiting to get on the waitlist. At the time this government came to power, the medium waiting time for those patients on the waiting to waitlist was almost four months, which this minister, then the acting minister, said was a crisis, an absolute tragedy and something that needed to be remedied straightaway. It will surprise members to see that under this minister that situation has now deteriorated so that the waiting to waitlist in June 2015—the most recent figures available to us for the medium waiting time—has blown out to almost six months. This is something that this Minister for Health said would be a big focus of his government, but it has been a single failure of this government.

It is not just the waiting to waitlist that this minister has failed on. In December 2013—I could have gone back further, but I did not—16 000 people were on the elective surgery waitlist, waiting a median time of 1.87 months. Two years later, in December 2015, there were over 1 000 more patients on that elective surgery waitlist of 17 270 people. Those patients are now waiting over two months as the median waiting time. The situation is getting worse, not better. Through all this government's bluff and bluster about the work that it has done to improve health by building glamorous new hospitals, patient services are deteriorating. The situation is getting worse, not better.

I am reminded of a patient who recently approached my office. Following a mountain bike accident in Pemberton, she was ultimately referred to Fiona Stanley Hospital, having been to the Pemberton regional hospital, the Peel hospital, and Rockingham hospital for a particularly severe fracture of one of her legs. She was told to go to Fiona Stanley Hospital for an emergency operation because she had a very complex fracture. Having been told that she had to fast from the night before to receive the emergency surgery, she arrived at Fiona Stanley Hospital early in the morning. By 8.30 that night, still waiting to receive her emergency surgery, she was told that the surgery had been cancelled. This is not an infrequent experience for patients in our hospital system. It is not surprising that the very staff of our hospitals have taken matters into their own hands to complain about the situation. They are not complaining about their wages; they are not complaining about those things that the Premier would try to suggest makes them "grizzlers". They are complaining about the very dysfunction in our hospital system that this Minister for Health has put in place.

Going back to the middle of 2015, the Australian Medical Association undertook a survey of doctors that, in the words of *The West Australian* at the time —

... painted a damning picture of Perth's public hospital re-structure, revealing major concerns about patient care and staffing.

In that survey of more than 660 doctors across Perth —

More than 70 per cent of doctors who responded to the Australian Medical Association survey believed operational problems at FSH had been handled poorly.

More than half of the senior doctors surveyed who work at the hospital said there were not enough staff to meet patients' needs, and two-thirds believed new systems at the campus had compromised patient safety.

They are not criticising the great building. They are not criticising their colleagues' work. They are not criticising the fact that times are tough. They are criticising the decisions that the minister made and put in place

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at that hospital. This is in the middle of 2015. At the time, there was a crisis and at the beginning of 2016, that crisis remains.

There may be policy differences. Maybe they do have a particular view about Royal Perth Hospital that differs from views of the doctors at Royal Perth Hospital, obviously. Maybe they do have a different sense of reality about the situation with our medical research and oncology research at that hospital. Maybe they do have different views about some of the policy dimensions. However, the biggest problem that they have with the way that the minister is managing our hospital system is the dysfunction that he has brought in because he is not responding to their concerns.

Let us look at some of the things that doctors had to say in that desperate letter that they wrote to *The Sunday Times*. It states —

... over the last year many of us have become disillusioned with the poor management and political decisions that have stifled our ability to do a good job and led to many of the best doctors and nurses in the state leaving the hospital.

These guys are working their guts out, but they say that this government has tied one hand behind their backs. It continues —

At least two independent reviews of the commissioning of FSH have identified poor clinician engagement as a major flaw.

So, yes, they do have policy differences, but the biggest problem that they have with the minister is the way that he has managed and led the health portfolio. His single biggest failure was not responding to or working with people in the front line. That must surely be the biggest lesson that we have to learn from the situation at Fiona Stanley Hospital. For goodness sake, get down there into the hospitals! Get down there and work with the clinicians on the front line. This Minister for Health was at his best when he was engaging directly with the doctors working in our hospitals to improve the waiting times in our emergency departments. Hats off to him! That is where he had an element of success. But he has lost interest; he has lost that sense of engagement and that passion. As a result, we now see the disillusionment amongst our hospital staff.

[Member's time extended.]

Mr R.H. COOK: These doctors go on to state in the letter —

Clinicians have been completely disengaged from important decisions in delivering a gold service to the people of WA. Standards are dropping and this will result in poorer outcomes, complications and patient harm. Staff at all levels feel undervalued and impotent to make a positive difference.

The Health Minister and senior health managers have made a series of wasteful and poorly thought out decisions that have cost the state millions of dollars, which they are now desperately trying to recoup through ill thought-out cost cutting plans that threaten to make the situation worse.

Here we have the nub of the problem: the fact that we now have these cost overruns is entirely the fault of this health minister. We have warned him time and again that the difference between the weighted average unit cost for health services in Western Australia exceeded the national efficient price. This was ultimately recognised in our budget papers in which the Departments of Treasury and Finance stated that they had an arrangement with the Department of Health for a glide path so that Western Australian health services could meet the national efficient price. That glide path was originally to be converged in 2017–18. At the last budget, the minister conceded defeat and that glide path has now been pushed out to 2020–21 because this minister is incapable of making sure that our hospitals run better for WA patients.

The doctors' letter concludes —

At the end of 2014, there was a first class service in the south, run by the clinicians, where the patient came first, standards were high and waiting lists were short.

One year down the line after opening of Fiona Stanley Hospital—and \$2 billion poorer—despite the clinicians best efforts, the health service is worse.

We have less beds overall, longer waiting lists, poorer care and an unhappy working environment. If nothing is done, the standards will continue to deteriorate and patients will be put more and more at risk.

We do not blame the doctors and nurses working on the front line for the problems that they are confronting. We know that they are making a heroic effort to make sure that our health services, and the standard of those services, remain high. But they are shackled by this government's incompetent decision-making. They are shackled by this government's decisions to privatise health services, and they are shackled by the

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mismanagement of the health services so that we now have a situation whereby, in the words of Dr Michael Gannon, President of the AMA, we have from these doctors a “cry for help”. I do not expect government members in the chamber to necessarily believe me; they seldom do and they have continued to ignore my warnings and pleadings on this stuff, so I do not expect them to change their minds today.

I want to read a letter I received from a member of staff at Fiona Stanley Hospital. The minister will be familiar with it because he received the same letter. It reads —

I am a midwife at Fiona Stanley Hospital.

We are understaffed, stressed and in danger of giving insufficient and dangerous care. I cannot work with any degree of job satisfaction. Midwives are asked to work “double shifts” daily. This is dangerous, expensive and will never fix the problem. We should NEVER be asked to do this. People say yes because they feel for their colleagues. Agreeing to a double shift means the staff member(s) is/are not available for their next shift, or need a day off to recover. A double shift can be 0700–2130, or 1330–0730 etc.

I have never seen such a high rate “sickies” taken anywhere in my 37 year nursing history. I am resigning, along with several other midwives, and no one will be allowed to replace us due to your staff freeze.

Due to this government’s mismanagement of the budget, not only does it impose these clumsy, bureaucratic and Treasury-imposed restrictions around staff recruitment—which meant that the minister celebrated the appointment of four new anaesthetists this week because he had had some sort of victory over the Departments of Treasury and Finance, when really we know these are important front-line staff—but when a staff member resigns and the hospital is already under stress because of this government’s mismanagement, that staff member is not replaced, so the problem the hospital is confronting will be compounded and patient services will be put under further pressure. The staff member continues —

What will you be doing to help this crisis?

Today Colin Barnett was reported as saying, “The hospital is fantastic, it is terrific ... and I am getting tired of a small group of people carrying on and criticising what is arguably the best hospital in the southern hemisphere.”

That is a correct quote, if I am not mistaken. This letter continues —

Have you or Mr Barnett been to Fiona Stanley lately? Come and see us without any beds left, our job priority is to discharge, discharge, discharge

These women have not established breast feeding, have not even been shown how to change a nappy, or ever bathed their baby.

We are setting them up for disaster, and it is not right.

Again, it is a cry for help from staff who have been, as I said, shackled by the mismanagement of this government. As I said, the problems of Fiona Stanley Hospital go back to the fundamental decisions that this government made in its early days—its decision to privatise the services there, its decisions about the reconfiguration of services, its poor workforce planning and the fact that this government, quite frankly, after it met the four-hour rule, was a bit tired of reform and had lost the drive to bring innovation into our health system. Like so many other parts of this government, the health portfolio was tired, out of ideas and worn out, and who is paying the price? Patients are paying price, and it is the patients who have been forgotten. It is time we got down and worked with the clinicians on the front line, put them in charge of the decision-making, devolved the big bureaucracy of the health department and allowed people who are responsible for delivering those services to make those decisions about the best possible patient care. It is time that we worked with these doctors and nurses on the front line and it is time we put the patients first and at the centre of everything that we do. It is time that we brought new ideas to the health system, because we know they will not come from this health minister. We know this health minister has fascinations with other portfolios, we know that this health minister has one eye on retirement and we know that this health minister has run out of puff.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members—through the Chair, please.

Mr R.H. COOK: I could perhaps go through some of the press clippings that were around at the time that the Leader of the House was health minister. I look forward to familiarising members, because many would not have been here when he was such a disastrous health minister. I cannot wait for the day that he takes back on the health portfolio, because he might have learnt something from his mistakes in the past. I hope he does not learn

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any lessons from the current health minister, because Lord help the patients of Western Australia if we have another four years of this Barnett government, as it has so fundamentally failed the patients and staff of Western Australia's health system. The sole responsibility of the future government will be to make up for the disastrous mistakes of this government.

Mr J.H.D. Day: There are new hospitals everywhere.

Mr R.H. COOK: That is my point. The Leader of the House is so obsessed with cutting ribbons that he has forgotten about the patients. He is so busy driving us into debt that he has forgotten about services. Have you not been listening? Are you that useless that you cannot even listen to a single speech or were you out digging into afternoon tea? Yes, you were.

Mr J.H.D. Day interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Leader of the House!

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members!

Mr R.H. COOK: I want to spend just a short moment talking about the disastrous crime statistics in my electorate, particularly in the area of Baldivis. There has been an increase in a whole range of crimes in Baldivis, particularly assault. From 2014 to 2015, assault crime has increased by over 80 per cent. From 2013 to 2015, burglary has increased by almost 60 per cent. For total offences between 2013 and 2015, there has been an increase of 80 per cent in Baldivis in my electorate of Kwinana.

Amendment to Question

Mr R.H. COOK: I want to conclude by moving a motion to amend the question before the house. I move —

To insert after "noted" —

and this house notes that the Member for Scarborough as Minister for Police has promoted a policing model that has delivered unprecedented increases to crime rates and significantly lowered the bar on police response times

MRS M.H. ROBERTS (Midland) [4.19 pm]: I would like to support the amendment moved by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition. I think there has been practically no bigger failure of the Barnett government than its failure on community safety, but I understand that there is a lot of competition, having listened to the member for Kwinana on the government's record on health. I also anticipate hearing from the member for Victoria Park about the record on government finances, and I am sure there is a long list of people behind me. I want to talk on this particular amendment about the new policing model, a model that was lauded by the member for Scarborough in her role as Minister for Police. It is a model that the government claimed would reduce crime and improve response times when it was first introduced. Notably, now the police do not want to be judged by those criteria. It has become public knowledge that I actually attended the briefing at the Constitutional Centre.

Mr R.H. Cook: Truly? Did you? Someone said you didn't!

Mrs M.H. ROBERTS: That is right. At that briefing, we were told about the success of the model in the south east metropolitan district. In the past that district was based largely around Armadale, but it has now been expanded to include an even greater area. We were given statistics at that briefing about the success of that model and how the police were responding more quickly to crime and had reduced the rate of home burglaries and other categories of high-volume crimes. On the basis of the success of that trial in the south east metropolitan district, the police proposed to roll this same model out across, in the first place, the metropolitan area and then, ultimately, the state. It is interesting, though, that the very reasons the police used to roll out the model in the south east metropolitan district are now the reasons that they do not want to judge the new model on. Suddenly, statistics are not the driver for police. According to this morning's paper, driving crime down is not a key performance indicator of the Commissioner of Police. That might be news to the community. The community expects two things of the police commissioner: one is to do what he can to crack down on crime and reduce crime rates and to do what he can about crime prevention; the other is to improve clearance rates. Put simply, the community wants to see crooks caught and punished for the crimes that they do. Although this government is big on talking up tough penalties, it is not big on talking up clearance rates for crime.

I was very surprised in question time today that the Minister for Police was not across her portfolio and could not answer some basic questions. I am not surprised that she is not across every detail in her portfolio, but I would have thought that no issue in the police portfolio had received more media attention in recent months than the

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massively increasing rates of crime, particularly volume crimes. Home burglary is one area in which we have seen, as the minister herself has said, unprecedented increases in the rate of reported crime. Home burglaries have been reported at a much higher rate. Indeed, the Commissioner of Police admitted on radio that over the last eight months, a month-on-month comparison showed a 17 per cent increase in crime across the board. There has never been that kind of double digit increase in crime before, month after month. I have spoken to lots of police officers and community members about their reaction to this policing model. There were even police officers who had some hope for the model at the start; they have now lost all hope when it comes to this model that has been rolled out.

Questions were asked when the success of the trial in the south east metro district was raised. We saw some clever statistics, which the minister quoted in this house, on how the south east metro district was tracking with the rate of crime and the police response to crime compared with other policing districts over the last few months. I said at the time that I thought that was potentially an unfair comparison, because up to 50 additional police officers had been put into the south east metropolitan district. Basically, those officers had been pinched from other districts. I recall that Midland lost about four officers to that operation. As a result of that, the statistics based around Midland showed that crime rates were slightly higher than previously and response times were slightly higher and, therefore, compared less favourably with the south east metro district. With the rollout of this model we have seen a massive increase in crime rates in Midland.

Is the methamphetamine scourge in the last seven or eight months new? I have spoken to senior police officers and mid-ranking and junior police officers who say that the meth scourge has been a problem for years. Interestingly enough, the minister now says that the government has a plan to deal with it. The fact is that a summit looking at methamphetamine was held back in midyear 2007—maybe before this minister's interest in politics began. That summit was chaired by the same Commissioner of Police we have today, and the director general of Health. They developed a holistic plan to go forward across a whole range of portfolios. I wonder, really, how much the current plan varies from that plan that was developed back in 2007–08. Very little has happened over the last seven to eight years. That plan was shelved; nothing was done for years, and the government denied it was a problem. On many occasions, the government talked up the problem of alcohol, and I acknowledge that the excessive use of alcohol is a problem in the community, but the government sat on its hands in dealing with methamphetamine. I note the editorial in *The West Australian* today that says we have to deal with the demand side of methamphetamine, which is something I know that Chris Dawson, the head of the Australian Crime Commission in Canberra, has also raised continually.

The new policing model has been a disaster. Let us look at some of the more recent news headlines such as “Keep calm and lock your doors”. That is the government's response when it is confronted with the rising rate of crime. Police officers all say to me that only one thing has changed. It is not congestion; it is not PayPass; it is not meth. One thing in the last eight months that has really changed things is the policing model. The policing model is about trying to do more with less. The fact is that year after year this government has taken efficiency dividends out of WA Police. Of course, anyone can stand up and say that the police budget has increased from the year before. That is the nature of increasing costs and an increasing wages bill. Any government over the last 100 years could say that the dollar amount going into policing or the overall budget has gone up. Of course it goes up; it has to go up! There have been effective cuts in policing. On one level I have some empathy for the Commissioner of Police because effectively he has had to make do with fewer resources than he would have liked to have at his disposal. Metropolitan policing districts have been combined to make massive districts. Many police officers have said to me that these massive districts have essentially taken the “local” out of policing, because the districts are so large that police do not get the chance to familiarise themselves with a particular neighbourhood or a smaller number of suburbs where they get to know the environment and the people there. The government's response is to say, “It is your fault. Keep calm and lock your doors!” Most of the public have greeted this headline with despair.

I note that the 7 January edition of *The West Australian*, when we finally got November's crime figures, showed that domestic violence was up 32 per cent; assaults were up 24 per cent; theft was up 21 per cent; property damage was up 21 per cent, and home burglaries were up 14 per cent. These are massive creases in crime. They are unprecedented when we compare any single month with the same month last year. I also note Liam Bartlett's article “Thin blue line crossed” in *The Sunday Times* of 31 January. Part of what Mr Bartlett had to say reads —

Missing in action would be too kind an explanation. Mrs Harvey is paid top dollar in the ministry to ensure police deliver the right service to taxpayers.

Her first and last priority is to the people, not to the Commissioner and she would do well to remember her obligations fall in that order. Little wonder that some party members think she is not up to the job and have started the backroom machinations ...

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Unfortunately, the Premier has taken no notice of that article or of a wide variety of public comment. He has also taken no notice of the fact that the Minister for Police has been such an abysmal failure in the police portfolio. It cannot be called success on response times after the goalposts have been moved way out and the target still cannot be met. In 2008 the average response time for a priority 3 call was about 18 minutes; now, WA Police target attending that call in 60 minutes. I have received dozens and dozens of emails and calls from police officers, from spouses of police officers and people in close contact with police officers. Interestingly enough, whenever I heard, as started happening towards the end of last year, the Minister for Police being asked whether she was receiving complaints about the new model, whether police officers were unhappy and so forth, the minister said no-one had complained to her. I thought that beggared belief. Interestingly enough, some people who wrote to the minister to complain cc-ed their correspondence to me. I would like to refer to one email; I do not have time to go through them all, but one was, I thought, particularly instructive. This email was sent to the minister by a police officer. He wrote that he is a response officer stationed in the north west metro district, and clarified that that is part of the area that covers the Scarborough subdistrict in the minister's constituency. He wrote —

Prior to the new Metropolitan Policing Operating Model (MPOM) being introduced on December 1, 2014 I was stationed at Scarborough Police Station.

He went on to state that they —

... were extremely proud of the policing we provided to the Scarborough Subdistrict. Every shift we were able to provide at least 2 vehicles responding to incidents. At the same time Mirrabooka, Morley and Bayswater were able to get similar vehicle response availability. Since the introduction of the model on dayshift we are only able to provide between 1 and 5 vehicles to police the area from Mosman Park and Cottesloe to the south, Noranda and Morley to the east and Carine and Hamersley to the north. All response officers find this totally insufficient and extremely embarrassing for them. They arrive at incidents now and the first words out of their mouths is an apology for taking so long to get there.

That is someone who was in touch with the minister last November while she was standing in Parliament defending the model. He continues —

Under the old model Scarborough Police were able to provide staff for Operation Salman, Sets on the Beach Concerts and provide an overt presence in the beachfront car parks and licensed premises. This no longer occurs. One of the biggest losses in converting to this new model is that Response Staff are rapidly losing their local knowledge. I know many of these things are not measurable with statistics and hence anecdotal but they are a real concern. Centralised response as is demanded in the MPOM is creating no end of complaints.

Response Officers continually protest that the system is not working and have little faith that this system will ever work.

The officer wrote that he originally supported the new model, and provided some evidence of that. He wrote that the workforce is getting disgruntled with the political explanations provided. He further wrote —

Yes, Meth is a scourge and Tap and Go cards are a security nightmare but the community will not accept this explanation for the increases in crime ...

He then referred to grades of service statistics, known as "GoS", and refers to response times. He wrote that the target is 60 minutes for priority 3 matters and that he finds that embarrassing. He wrote —

A house burglary that has occurred in the last 5 minutes we colloquially call a Hot Burglary is listed as a 302 so becomes a P3 with an attendance GoS of 60 minutes. Response Officers feel there is little point attending this matter when it could then be an hour old and 25 minutes' drive away. To trick the statistics the WAPOL have an 'out clause' in calling the incident an 'anomaly' and its times are then removed from the statistics measure. This occurs for many of the statistics for varying reasons ...

He wrote —

The GoS for a P3 prior to the introduction of the model was 19 minutes.

It beggars belief, does it not? These are the true and accurate words of an officer, and they are echoed in dozens of emails I have received. It beggars belief, does it not, that the government has stood by a model that is delivering such poor results for so long. We were told this model would deliver faster response times, but it is delivering slower response times. The government moved the goalposts and said, "Let's not target 20 minutes, let's target an hour to respond to an average hot burglary", but still it cannot meet its targets.

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Turning to the crime statistics, we have seen the biggest increases in crime on record. As we know, compared Australia-wide we are failing on many fronts. The minister might say that crime has decreased in some areas over time; well, lots of factors result in a decrease in crime. For example, there has been a massive decrease in car theft right across the nation—indeed across the western world—because of things such as fuel immobilisers and the like, and criminals may be moving from one crime activity to another as a result. The government can pluck an individual figure and say it is doing better than a few years ago in a particular category of crime, but if it is doing only 10 or 20 per cent better and the rest of Australia is doing 50 per cent better, it has failed. The home burglary rate in this state is double the rate of New South Wales. That is plainly unacceptable, and we are the worst in Australia in many categories.

I could talk for a very long time on this, but the basic fact is that the model is not delivering. Up to 700 local policing team officers will be put back on the front line, and I hope that will make a very positive difference. But it cannot be called the Frontline 2020 model because that model failed and is, effectively, gone.

MR M. MCGOWAN (Rockingham — Leader of the Opposition) [4.38 pm]: The defining feature of 2016 for this government has been service delivery failure, and we have seen unprecedented increases in crime that have continued this year from last year. It has been going on for eight months. Eight months of massive increases in crime have impacted suburbs and communities across Western Australia. We have been drawing attention to that for a long time. The government has always denied any problem with its Frontline 2020 model. The shadow minister and I went to Inglewood a few weeks ago and called for the model to be abandoned. The minister and government came out and attacked us and said, “What an outrageous thing to say! What a shocking thing to say!” What has happened since? Two weeks later the model has been abandoned —

Mrs L.M. Harvey: It has not been abandoned; that is incorrect.

Mr M. McGOWAN: The model has been abandoned—there we go! It does not take long! The current Deputy Premier is like the last one; he bit all the time, too!

I will take members through the history of this sorry tale. In this house on 18 June 2014 the Minister for Police responded to a question from none other than you, Mr Acting Speaker (Peter Abetz). She said this about the model after it was put in place in Armadale —

As members in the house are aware, we ran a six-month trial in the south east metropolitan district on a new policing model, which was very successful in delivering significant outcomes for the communities in that district. ... All in all, we are so happy with the success of that model that we are now looking at rolling it out to all districts starting with the Peel metropolitan district and the south metropolitan district and progressing out to the rest of the metropolitan districts.

On 30 November 2014, the Minister for Police said —

During the trial of the new model in the southeast suburbs, local officers developed a stronger relationship with small business owners, residents, local community groups and government departments, working with them to target trouble spots, and the results were extremely promising ...

She also said that local police teams were “ready to strike when and where they are needed”. On 18 February 2015, the Minister for Police said —

The Frontline 2020 policing model was developed to address the increase in demand for policing services ...

...

Under this model, each team will be able to work more effectively and more efficiently and will have better focus on their specific tasks.

That was February 2015. Shortly thereafter, we started to see these massive increases in crime—20 per cent year on year—at the time the model was rolled out. Do you have to be Einstein to work out that maybe there is a connection between the two things and that the glowing and happy words rolled out earlier were not completely accurate? The language started to change because suddenly people worked it out: holy moly; there were massive increases in crime across the metropolitan area. The media reported “600 crimes each day, Top cop says he doesn’t have all the answers”. The minister then started to back away from the model. Rather than endorse the model, in January this year she said —

My job as Police Minister is to ensure police are well resourced to do their job.

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She did not endorse the model because she had worked out that the model was mistaken—and then the spin began. Mr Acting Speaker, do you remember the spin? Spin number one was going to the beach. I must say that this is great; the *Sunday Times* did a marvellous job with its article, which stated that the minister blamed —

...everyday West Australians who “head to the beach and occasionally forget to shut the window after letting the breeze in” for making their homes targets.

As though that was not happening in 2014. In 2014 people were not going to the beach; rather, it all started happening when the crime spikes started to occur! It started to happen with Frontline 2020 and when people started going to the beach. The next spin was about lazy drivers and homeowners who had been leaving their doors and windows unlocked or valuable items left in full view. The government’s argument is that that only just started happening. One of my favourites is the spin about “tap-and-go” cards. The government said that people break in to steal tap-and-go cards, but they were not breaking in to steal cash before the existence of tap-and-go cards. The argument that tap-and-go cards encourage theft is just so logical, but people are not stealing wallets for cash! As far as I can work out, that is the way the government’s argument worked.

The final spin is the methamphetamine scourge. I will give members opposite the news: the methamphetamine scourge has been around for the entire time they have been in government. Western Australia has double the national rates of use. The government’s excuse is that the methamphetamine scourge has been terrible on its watch and it should not be blamed for the increase in crime. That is the logical argument used by the government. The government is responsible for the worst methamphetamine usage in Australia and it uses that to justify high crime rates. To me, the meth scourge is just a sign of failure on the part of the government. Why does Victoria have half the rate of usage of that in Western Australia? The government has no excuse. Methamphetamine is not an excuse. All of this—lazy drivers, lazy homeowners, people going to the beach, tap-and-go cards, methamphetamine—is brilliant spin. Honestly, the government must have some pretty clever people working in its offices. Earlier this year, after seven months of massive increases in crime, the government realised that it had to come up with excuses. We went out there and said that the government’s model is faulty and we called for it to be abandoned. The government said no, that is absolutely outrageous. But on 11 February 2016, *The West Australian* featured a picture of the Commissioner of Police on its front page and ran an article entitled “New police tactics on crime spike”. The article states -

Under the changes, more than 700 officers attached to the LPTs will now come under a centralised command team, which will direct them daily on where to go and what to do to achieve the best outcomes.

That is 700 from a total of 5 000 officers; that is, between 15 and 20 per cent of the entire force will be redirected. The minister claims that the existing model works even after redirecting between 15 and 20 per cent of the entire force—or at least the force available after those sorts of rolls. The government took them away from what they were doing and redirected them. To me, that is a massive change in the model and an admission that the model did not work. There it is in black and white. It was on the front page of the paper. The model did not work. The motion is accurate in its reference to the government promoting a policing model that delivered an unprecedented increase in crime rates. The minister has admitted—the Commissioner of Police has admitted this, too, by his actions, if not his words—that the model did not work. The people of Western Australia, me included, have endured a crime wave that in the minister’s own words is “unprecedented”. It has been a defining feature of both this and last year. To its credit, the press has started to expose it. The other week *The West Australian* front page stated that the Western Australian crime performance is the worst in Australia. What did the Liberal Party do in response? The minister presided over this, the minister put in place a new model, the minister supported the new model and then the minister went to ground and let the commissioner handle the unravelling of the new model. What did the Liberal Party do next? I know—promote her!

Dr A.D. Buti: Reward!

Mr M. McGOWAN: Reward. I thought the Liberal Party philosophy was reward for effort and merit. Apparently it is not; rather, it is reward for failure. Congratulations to you, Minister for Police, on your promotion, which is a reward for failure. If the minister had been rewarded on performance, she would not have been rewarded. I will tell members who should be rewarded: it should be the member for Murray–Wellington for dealing with those fires. He was heroic. He took on the old Minister for Emergency Services. He took him on Ultimate Fighter Club–style and gave him one! Good on you, member for Murray–Wellington. If anyone should have been promoted, it was the member for Murray–Wellington. He is on the interchange bench and could very well come back in a few weeks. I can see it; he is the one coming back.

Mr M.J. Cowper: What does the TAB say about it?

Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti;
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Mr M. McGOWAN: We moved this motion advisedly because the people of Western Australia have suffered, and they have suffered because of the model this government put in place.

MRS L.M. HARVEY (Scarborough — Minister for Police) [4.50 pm]: I rise to speak against the amendment. Obviously, we have seen the best performance of the opposition on crime rates with a range of quotes from newspaper articles. It is very convenient that opposition members are managing to quote from journalists who are doing their research for them, but I go back to the figures.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr P. Abetz): Members!

Ms R. Saffioti: Speak about the notes.

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: The member for West Swan raises a good point. I have taken notes on what the members for Midland and Rockingham have said, and I would like to give bad comments due consideration and respond to them in a systematic fashion. If the member for West Swan objects to that, I guess she will have to get over it. It is standard practice in this place.

We have heard the criticism of the new model of policing. We have heard the members for Midland and Rockingham spruik about how the opposition is going to dump the model. They are calling for the Commissioner of Police to be sacked. The member for Midland, in the most disingenuous statement made to the media in recent times, said that if the opposition gets into government in March 2017, it will immediately go towards a selection process for a new commissioner. Guess what: any party that gets into government in March 2017 will need to go through that process because the commissioner's contract expires in August 2017. Any government in 2017 would need to do that. It was very clever of the member for Midland to make it sound as though she had something new to offer in this space, but we have heard from her ad nauseam and there is no new policy and no new initiative. What there is, however, is a complete denial of the chaos that reigned in this state when members opposite were in charge. They deregulated cannabis, allowing anybody to grow as many cannabis plants as they wanted in their backyard.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members!

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: What did we see as a result of those policies? Let us just go back to the stats; let us go back to the information that members opposite have put forward.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Thank you, members. The Minister for Police has the floor.

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: Let us go back to the results that police have achieved under the new model. There has been an 8.1 per cent increase in charges for the target offences of assault, burglary, damage, robbery and stealing a motor vehicle. The member for Midland is right in that when motor vehicle remote locking devices were introduced into all motor vehicles, we did see a decline in motor vehicle theft. What happened as a result of that is that those people who wanted to steal a motor vehicle changed the way they operate, so now they break into homes and steal the car keys, resulting in two offences—a home burglary offence and a motor vehicle theft offence. Often many offences follow after that, given the nature of the criminals who are involved in that sort of crime.

I will mention the other results, such as priority 1 and 2 response times. The member for Midland went to great lengths to try to present to this house and to the community that the government has changed the goalposts; it has not at all. The government has gone from an average of all the response times to priority 1, 2 and 3 offences to meeting a target of having 80 per cent of those priority 1 and 2 offences responded to within a certain time frame. The government has not actually met its KPIs yet. We are working on trying to move towards that KPI, but the results are good. In July 2015, 69.2 per cent of the priority 1 and 2 offences were attended to within 12 minutes. In January 2016, we were up to 77.1 per cent of priority 1 and 2 response calls achieved in 12 minutes. The KPI for priority 3 responses was that 80 per cent of them had to be attended within 60 minutes. The government has achieved that KPI. There has been a 7.7 per cent increase in this context—that is, a 7.7 per cent increase on urgent priority 2 tasks. The government has improved its response times for priority 1 and 2 offences in the context of an increase in demand for priority 1 and 2 call-outs. I think our police team deserves a pat on the back for that, and certainly not the criticism that has been directed from members on the other side.

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Out of the Frontline 2020 reform model has been a 9.5 per cent increase in the number of cars available for tasking and a 22 per cent increase in the availability of vehicles during peak times. That is more cars on the road than ever before.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members, you can have your turn later, but please desist from the ongoing interjections.

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: Let us go back a bit to the member for Midland's outrageous comment that she has some kind of empathy for the Commissioner of Police. The member has been gunning for the commissioner for quite some time. Let us just have a look at her history as Minister for Police, because it was pretty much remembered by massive fights with the police commissioner, and what did she achieve? There were nearly 3 000 home burglaries per 100 000 of the population. This government has the figure down to 957 burglaries per 100 000 of the population. Those figures are from the "Report on Government Services" that the member for Midland loves to trot out in here.

The member for Midland makes the assertion that the police budget will increase from year to year because there will be CPI increases in costs and yadda yadda yadda.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: There was a much bigger increase under us—you've cut it.

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: I am so happy the member for Midland has interjected on me. Let us have a look at the facts. When the member was in government in 2005, according to the RoGS —

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members!

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: Mr Acting Speaker, they are interjecting because they do not want to hear this. The spend on police per person in Western Australia is one of the measures of the commitment of a government to community safety. In 2005 the Labor government's spend, according to the RoGS, was \$294 per head of population.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: More than any other state in Australia.

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: I am so pleased the member for Midland has interjected because she is wrong, wrong, wrong. The Labor government was below the average national spend on policing; it was \$259 per head. When we look at where we are in 2016, the member says the government has fallen behind with its funding of the police service. Our spend, from the 2016 RoGS just released, is \$501 per person in our population.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: When you smoked, did you smoke a reefer or a bong?

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: The member for Midland has no credibility in this place.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: Did you grow your own or buy it?

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: We are geographically the largest policing jurisdiction in the world, and the Labor government was spending under the national average. We are spending well over it. Blind Freddy can tell you that if you have —

Withdrawal of Remark

Mr C.J. BARNETT: Mr Acting Speaker, it is clearly unparliamentary to imply that a member of Parliament produced it or grew their own.

Mrs M.H. Roberts: She's admitted it!

Mr C.J. BARNETT: That is unparliamentary.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr P. Abetz): Member for Girrawheen, we hear points of order in silence, thank you. Who made that remark?

Mrs M.H. ROBERTS: I am happy to respond, Mr Acting Speaker. I am more than happy to withdraw if the minister clarifies that she did not grow —

The ACTING SPEAKER: Member for Midland, when you are asked to withdraw, it is not an opportunity to make a speech—you either withdraw or you do not.

Extract from *Hansard*

[ASSEMBLY — Tuesday, 16 February 2016]

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Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti; Mr Peter Tinley; Mr Ben Wyatt; Ms Rita Saffioti; Mr Bill Johnston; Mr Peter Watson; Mr Paul Papalia; Mr Shane Love; Mr Dave Kelly; Ms Lisa Baker; Ms Libby Mettam

Mrs M.H. ROBERTS: Mr Acting Speaker, are you asking me to withdraw? If so, what are you asking me to withdraw and what have I said that is unparliamentary?

The ACTING SPEAKER: You rose to your feet in response to the Premier's withdrawal of remark and you said you were prepared to withdraw —

Mrs M.H. Roberts: I said I'd be happy to.

The ACTING SPEAKER: — or happy to withdraw; you then withdraw, but it is not an opportunity for a speech. Thank you.

Mr P.B. Watson interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Member for Albany, we do not need your comments, thank you very much.

Mrs M.H. ROBERTS: Mr Acting Speaker, I would like to make it quite clear that I have not withdrawn. What I have said is that if the minister would like to clarify the fact that she obtained the dope that she smoked from somewhere else and that she did not grow it herself, I would be more than happy to withdraw. If the minister clarifies that, I will be in a position to withdraw.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Member for Midland, resume your seat; that is totally out of order. Minister for Police, you have the floor. I implore members on my left to allow the minister to speak so that Hansard can actually record what she is saying. Thank you.

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: I am seeking clarification. Are you saying that it is unparliamentary to tell the chamber what has been reported in the media—that the minister has admitted to smoking dope?

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr P. Abetz): That is not a point of order. Please resume your seat.

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: No, I am trying to seek clarification. Are you saying that is out of order?

The ACTING SPEAKER: That is not a point of order. The call is with the Minister for Police, thank you.

Debate Resumed

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: Thank you, Mr Acting Speaker. They get very sensitive when I start talking about our commitment to community safety, and this is what we get.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members! I am going to start calling people. This is not acceptable conduct in this chamber, and you all know it. The minister has the floor.

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: Thank you, Mr Acting Speaker. Just to go back to those figures again, in 2005 the national average spend per capita on policing was \$259 per head, and in 2016 the national average was \$430 per head of population. We are spending \$501 per head of population and that is because, as a government, we understand that when you are the largest policing jurisdiction in the world, trying to police remote towns and communities and many thousands of kilometres of highways and national routes, you need to spend more per head of population; we make no apology for that.

I want to go back to some of the reviews that we have done in response to the implementation of the Frontline 2020 model. Public satisfaction with police is at 84 per cent; that is a distinction, I believe. Public confidence in police is at 89 per cent; at the very least, we are getting an A in respect of public confidence in police. When we compare our figures of 2015 with those of 2013, we have had a 34.2 per cent increase in charges and a 24 per cent increase in the number of persons charged with an offence.

The member for Midland mentioned the email from the response officer in the north metropolitan team who was previously stationed at Scarborough, and I was in receipt of that email. That email pre-dated —

Mrs M.H. Roberts interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Ms L.L. Baker): Member for Midland!

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: That email pre-dated the review of the Frontline 2020 model. Out of the review that was conducted with the cooperation of local policing team members and response team members, we have initiated some changes to the response model. Obviously the feedback we were getting, which was also articulated quite well in that email, was that the response teams were suffering from fatigue because there was a higher demand on their services than had been allocated to them. Out of that, we have looked at the rostering practices of the response teams and the Commissioner of Police has made a commitment to put an additional 10 officers into each of the district response teams. That will occur in the near future and will provide some relief. In the interim, to assist with that until we can place those 10 officers in the response teams, the commissioner has announced

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that he will redirect the focus of the local policing teams more to the drivers of volume crime, which are domestic violence, home burglary, motor vehicle theft and theft. That is a logical response to increases in crime and that is what police do year in, year out. They see changes in criminal offending and they respond accordingly. We should not walk away from the fact that the commissioner has the ability to implement these changes because of our growth program and the additional resourcing we have provided him with.

I would like to address some of the comments made by the Leader of the Opposition, who is not in the house at the moment. He talked about our “only response”; I think his accusation was that our only response was to blame the increase in crime figures on the community and a range of other factors. He clearly was not listening to what we are saying. If we go back and have a look over the past 10 years, we will find that police, from time to time, run advertising campaigns reminding the community of our requirement for them to be in partnership with police in order to get the best results with respect to crime. Those television advertisements, which are still running, were basically in response to what we were seeing as increases in easy-target crime. That includes the beaches, such as Scarborough Beach. I know that the local policing team at Scarborough Beach did a survey and had a look at the cars parked at the beach. People had gone down to the beach and had left their mobile phones and their iPads in clear view, and that is an invitation to criminals, who tend to be quite lazy, to break into a vehicle and steal an item.

I wish that that were not so, but we are a big city and the fact remains that criminals target car parks, particularly car parks where they know that people are going to be away from their vehicles and where there is little public surveillance. They will target those areas because it is easy to break into a car when there is no surveillance and it is especially easy when they can see the reward sitting right in front of them on the seat of the motor vehicle. They can see the handbag that has been tucked inappropriately under a seat; a handbag usually means that there is going to be a credit card or something else in there.

There was also the police commissioner’s reference to tap-and-go cards. Yes, people still break into homes for cash, but the reality is that most people have cards now. With tap-and-go cards, a criminal can get their hands on one of those cards, go to several different retail outlets, buy a range of vouchers, and they then have vouchers to either sell on eBay or exchange for drugs or whatever it might be. That is different; it is new. We are not saying that that is the cause of rises in crime; we are alerting the community to the fact that if you have tap-and-go, you need to make sure your credit card is secure, that it is in your purse, and that you certainly do not leave it lying in a car in clear view when you are parked at the beach. It is just a reminder.

When we interview offenders who come into police custody, two-thirds of them say that they will target an open door or an open window because it is easier to get in. It is not rocket science. We put the advertising campaign together to remind the community that during the hot months of summer, if you need to sleep with the windows and doors open, make sure they are securely locked. We want a partnership with the community and the best way to have —

Mr P.B. Watson interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Member for Albany!

Mrs L.M. HARVEY: That advertising campaign was designed to inform the community of when they might be at risk and where they might be making themselves an easy target or a soft target for criminals, and to invite them to enter into a partnership with us not only to help us inform them, but also to help them target-harden. We are not a small country town anymore; we have criminals living amongst us, and we need to secure our valuables. You do not find very many people in Sydney or Melbourne who sleep with their doors and windows open if they are not secured.

That is what that advertising campaign was about. It is not our only response. It is absolutely ridiculous and highly offensive for the member for Rockingham to say it is the only response we have to crime. That is complete nonsense. Our response is to fund police appropriately, introduce legislation to support their efforts, and support the commissioner in whatever operational model he believes is going to work to drive down crime.

There is a slight nuance in the conversation around explanations for increases in crime; there are lots of reasons for crime increases. We all know it is methamphetamine. The member for Midland rightly pointed out that methamphetamine has been around since 2007; what has changed in that time is the disposable income of Western Australians. Western Australia is a very cashed-up society and people have more access to money to actually spend on methamphetamines. We are not proud of those figures with respect to methamphetamine use in the community, and that is why we are responding. We have a methamphetamine team in police, we have the Joint Organised Crime Taskforce working on the supply end and the transit routes, and the Minister for Mental Health has put unprecedented effort into looking at the demand drivers of methamphetamine use in our community. That is what we should do. Yes, we have—as the member for Midland likes to put it—a holistic

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approach to crime. We are trialling crime prevention initiatives such as the Turning Point program, working with first-time offenders. We are looking at police targeting the recidivist traffic offenders that we know are represented in crime and also our road stats, to remind them that police are watching and to try to turn around some of their behaviours and encourage them to think about reoffending in the traffic space.

We have many, many initiatives on the go. I cannot emphasise how emphatically I oppose this amendment. It is incumbent on all of us here to reflect on where we have come in the past 10 years. Overall crime has been trending down for 10 years. Although the graphs are lumpy, the trend is in the right direction with nearly 3 000 burglaries per 100 000 back in 2005, now down to 957. The percentage of population who are satisfied or very satisfied with police services has shifted from 66.2 per cent in 2005 up to 74.1 per cent in 2016. This is an important one: in 2005, 75 per cent of our population felt safe after dark. That is now up to 88.1 per cent of those people surveyed, which has gone into the “Report on Government Services” that the member for Midland likes to selectively quote from. We are heading in the right direction, we are resourcing police appropriately and we have put the right legislative instruments in place to ensure that there are consequences for people who offend in this state, notwithstanding the filibustering and the nonsense that came from the opposition when we were trying to bring those initiatives through, and we will continue to keep the pressure on. We remain committed. I believe that our results speak for themselves, and notwithstanding there has been an increase in the last year, the trending is down and we will continue to keep the pressure on to keep our community safe.

DR A.D. BUTI (Armadale) [5.12 pm]: I rise to speak on the motion before the house. What really annoys me about crime in Western Australia is that for a number of years this side of the house and I have tried to point out to the Minister for Police the shortcomings of the Frontline 2020 model. Although it may superficially have some attractions and it could actually work if we had the resources available for the police to make it work, the government has not provided the services. This 2020 model is a response to the inadequate resources provided by this government to the police force. Speak to the police and they will tell you that is the situation. What do we hear from the Minister for Police? She will not admit that it has been a failure. She keeps referring to ancient history. My residents are concerned about 2016; they are living today. They are not concerned about what happened in 2003, 2004 and 2005. On that point, I will read from the report that the minister referred to in trying to criticise the member for Midland, the 2005 “Report on Government Services”. I will read a paragraph of that. It states —

Implementation of the WA Government’s Burglary Reduction Strategy has contributed to a 14.9 per cent decrease in the number of burglary offences recorded in 2003-04 compared with the previous year. WA also recorded decreases in sexual assault, threatening behaviour, non-aggravated robbery, motor vehicle theft, theft, arson, property damage and drug possession offences. In addition, the rate of offences cleared improved for homicide, threatening behaviour, deprivation of liberty, non-aggravated robbery, burglary, motor vehicle theft, receiving/illegal use and property damage.

The minister did not refer to that, did she? Why not? Would the minister like to respond by interjection by any chance? Back in 2003–04 we actually did a very good job.

Mrs L.M. Harvey: If you had any courage you would have got up earlier, and that would have given me an opportunity to respond.

Dr A.D. BUTI: Minister, you do not know your brief. You do not know your brief today and you do not know your history, you are an incompetent minister—an absolutely incompetent minister.

The minister said earlier in an answer to my question without notice that she had been to Armadale and had spoken to people. How many times has she been to Armadale in the last two years? I would think only two or three times. If the minister has been more, she has not been following protocol in letting the local member know. The Premier and the Minister for Education always notify me when they come into the electorate of Armadale. If the minister had been there as many times as she said she has been, she has not been following protocol. I dare the minister to go to Jull Street tomorrow and see whether people are happy with what is happening in the electorate of Armadale as far as crime is concerned. Go to Jull Street tomorrow and ask, “Are you happy with the Frontline 2020 model? Are you feeling safer than you were three, four or five years ago or back in 2003-04?” The minister knows what the answer will be. The problem is, as the minister and any parent would know when they speak to their children, that unless the child can admit they have made a mistake, they will not correct that mistake and improve. The Minister for Police is in denial. The way she operates as a minister is denial, denial, denial. Then she attacks the other side and goes back to history. As I showed the minister, her history is wrong as well. Her history is wrong and she is incompetent as a minister today.

Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti;
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Mrs L.M. Harvey: My history wasn't wrong, I quoted absolutely accurately.

Dr A.D. BUTI: The minister said that during our time crime was increasing. I just showed the great 2003-04 figures. The minister would die to have those figures and those performances today. The minister would love to have that and she does not have that. She is incompetent.

The Mayor of Armadale, Henry Zelones, who I think would also know a little bit about the City of Armadale, is pleading for more police in Armadale. The minister keeps refuting the idea of the 24/7 public access police station—which the Labor opposition has promised if we are elected next year—saying that it is not necessary. If the 24/7 public access police station is not necessary, why do we have any of them? Why don't we just get rid of all of them? If they are not necessary, why don't we just get rid of them all, and why does the south east metropolitan policing district, which has the highest rate of crime, have only one 24/7 public access police station and all of the other metro policing districts have two? It just does not make sense. The minister keeps referring to people behind a desk. Concerning the constituent of mine who was sexually assaulted and who went to Armadale Police Station at 4.10 on a weeknight, and who could not get access and her father then had to drive her to Cannington, I would dare the minister to ask her if she wants a 24/7 public access police station. People in Armadale are looking for an enhanced service from a police station. That should be one of the major police stations in the south east metro area. Gosnells, Byford and Armadale have some of the highest crime rates in Perth. The minister has not given us a 24/7 public access police station. The nearest is Cannington. That is absolutely absurd.

In an article from *The West Australian* Henry Zelones states —

“Enough is enough ... we need more cars, more patrols and more resources ...”

Even under the Minister for Police's model, she keeps saying, “The 2020 Frontline model, what it does is put police out there on the beat.” The mayor, who knows a bit about Armadale, stated —

“Enough is enough ... we need more cars, more patrols and more resources,” Mr Zelones said. “They (police) constantly reassure us that the numbers are right, but the statistics don't back them up.”

That is correct, the statistics do not back up the minister's continual assertions that the Frontline 2020 model is working. It is not working; I can assure members it is not working in Armadale.

The Police Union president, George Tilbury, has constantly said that the 2020 model has caused an increase in fatigue and that police officers cannot cope with the level of crime, because they just do not have the resources. A *Sunday Times* article states —

“Our systems are broken and morale is plummeting. It's a perfect storm. There are too few doing too much. I expect this crime trend of double digit increases to continue all year ...”

The minister's answer is to deny it and to go back to 2004–05. That will not solve the problem that we face today. The Leader of the Opposition spoke about what the Liberal Party did. It promoted the Minister for Police to Deputy Premier, which reminds me of the Peter principle. The Peter principle is that a person gets promoted to their level of incompetence, and when they reach that level of incompetence they do not get promoted anymore. Basically, an organisation will be full of people who reach their level of incompetence, a bit like the state cabinet. They have reached a level of incompetence. Here, we have a minister who is incompetent as the Minister for Police, but she still got promoted.

The minister has got around the Peter principle. She is incompetent as a police minister and the Liberal Party has promoted her to Deputy Premier, one step away from being Premier. However, what really, really disappoints me is the minister's continual refusal to accept that there is a crisis in Western Australia, and definitely in Armadale, for police fighting crime. The statistics tell us that there has been an incredible spike in crime in Western Australia and in the south east metropolitan region, particularly in Armadale. The minister continues to ignore Armadale residents' safety concerns. We do not live in the western suburbs in Armadale. We do not get the sea breeze. One of the minister's justifications for the crime increase was that we leave the doors open to get a cool breeze and that we go to the beach. I can tell the minister that a lot of the seniors in Armadale do not go to the beach and a lot of them do not leave their doors or windows open because it is pretty hard for the Fremantle doctor to get to Armadale. That excuse is not going to work in Armadale. The government will not increase resources for Armadale, but it is prepared to spend millions and millions of dollars on vanity projects. I wonder whether protecting the citizens of WA and Perth is part of the government's big picture; I do not think it is. The minister stands condemned, not only for her performance, but also for her continued refusal to accept the reality that this model has not worked under her watch. Citizens of Western Australia feel unsafe.

MR P.C. TINLEY (Willagee) [5.22 pm]: I would like to make a short contribution to this debate. It is unfortunate that the first time I address the chamber in this new year we are talking about the competence of the

Extract from Hansard

[ASSEMBLY — Tuesday, 16 February 2016]

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Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti; Mr Peter Tinley; Mr Ben Wyatt; Ms Rita Saffioti; Mr Bill Johnston; Mr Peter Watson; Mr Paul Papalia; Mr Shane Love; Mr Dave Kelly; Ms Lisa Baker; Ms Libby Mettam

minister who has newly been promoted. It is a complete and utter sham from the Barnett government to assume that we will cop an incompetent police minister overseeing yet another year of this government's incompetence in attention to crime, law and order, and community safety. The minister can come in here and dictate all the statistics that she likes. She can talk about the proportional spend per citizen. She can do whatever she likes with the fluff and bubble that she wants to put around what she thinks she is achieving for community safety. Until the minister comes out to the suburbs, and until she talks to the people who have been the victims of the crimes that are occurring due to this failed 2020 policing model that she will not admit to, she is absolutely bereft of any leadership abilities.

Since 2012, Willagee has seen a 120 per cent increase in assaults. What would the minister say to the young pharmacist working at the Willagee pharmacy who was dragged from her car and bashed by a drug addict who lived across the road? He had been reported to the police, and by myself, on that many occasions that we got blue in the face from telling people about the problem in that particular house, in that street, and about the particular level of activity. The house was raided three times, yet the police were still unable to provide the resources required to put surveillance on the particular dwelling to ensure that they secured a conviction out of it. I might add that a proper, joined-up government that cares about comprehensive responses to community safety would work with the Department of Housing to ensure that the persons in that house lost the right to their tenancy. I am sick and tired of taking up antisocial behaviour issues with the department and finding out subsequent to the fact that there had been a police raid and the department had not been told. The minister might be spending money on a good headline and she might be spending money on recruiting, but she is not spending the appropriate amount of money on operations to make a difference in the suburbs, and the suburbs of my seat.

The intelligence of a joined-up government, which is joined up between the departments, is severely lacking. The Department of Housing's antisocial behaviour team in the Fremantle district amounts to three people for 6 000 dwellings, from Fremantle to Rockingham. It is like putting your mouth up to a fire hydrant. It is like trying to take that much on to oversee and provide any level of quiet enjoyment for the residents in Willagee.

The minister's model is flawed and the best thing that she can do is front up and put her eyes to the horizon and come up with a proper, comprehensive solution for what is required. It is not just about recruitment; it is about resourcing the police officers at the coalface. I have lost count of how many times I have been approached by police officers who tell me that when they arrive for their night shift, they find that their partner who they were to go out with has called in sick—an entirely understandable arrangement—and there is no overtime in the district. There is no overtime for them to bring in a relief officer or hold somebody else on extra time to go out so that we can have another patrol on the road. This is the sort of thing that is happening. It is 1 000 cuts and the death of 1 000 cuts! The minister needs to attend to what is happening inside the police service and how it links with the rest of government to ensure that we get the exact level of community safety that the people of Western Australia deserve. In a state as rich as Western Australia, with a Premier who has squandered the benefits of the boom, the people of Willagee are being assaulted day in, day out by people who the minister is neglecting.

Other things that the minister is affecting by not attending to the operational capacity of the police service include its leadership, morale and professionalism. The Premier and others have been very quick to call us un-Australian, by inference or by fact, in relation to commenting on police. I would contend that the minister's very contribution to leadership of the police service in this state, and her leadership of community safety for people in Western Australia, is exactly that. The minister has let down the people of Western Australia; she has let down the police service. The minister is also missing in action when it comes to accepting blame. I have never, ever heard the minister say in this chamber, out in the fern garden, or in front of a camera with a public microphone: "I take full responsibility for what is happening in safety in our community." The minister has been completely absent—missing in action—in stepping up to her leadership responsibilities. The minister has blame-shifted, which is part of the Barnett Liberal government's DNA to blame anybody else rather than accept any level of personal responsibility to show that she is muscling up to provide the strong leadership that the police service needs, and the people of Western Australia expect. We are probably just lucky; the minister is probably really, really disappointed—I know the Premier will be very disappointed—that there is no federal involvement in policing. I will bet London to a brick that if there was one dollar of federal funding for Western Australia's police service, the minister would be right out the front blaming the government and blaming Canberra, making the easiest grab for attention to say that it is not them—to blame-shift. The minister is really sad that there is not even a vertical criminal equalisation model that she can blame, so she could somehow wave it off and live in a parallel universe where she thinks she can abrogate her responsibility as a leader in the community safety field. The first responsibility of any public leadership—state or federal—is the security of its own citizens. The minister has been found wanting. I am looking forward to seeing evidence of that fact when the Premier does his

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much-vaunted reshuffle and the minister is relieved of command to make sure that she gets something more appropriate to her intellectual capacity.

Division

Amendment put and a division taken, the Acting Speaker (Ms L.L. Baker) casting her vote with the ayes, with the following result —

Ayes (20)

Ms L.L. Baker	Mr W.J. Johnston	Mr M.P. Murray	Mr C.J. Tallentire
Dr A.D. Buti	Mr D.J. Kelly	Mr P. Papalia	Mr P.C. Tinley
Mr R.H. Cook	Mr F.M. Logan	Ms M.M. Quirk	Mr P.B. Watson
Ms J. Farrer	Mr M. McGowan	Mrs M.H. Roberts	Mr B.S. Wyatt
Ms J.M. Freeman	Ms S.F. McGurk	Ms R. Saffioti	Mr D.A. Templeman (<i>Teller</i>)

Noes (35)

Mr P. Abetz	Mr J.H.D. Day	Dr G.G. Jacobs	Dr M.D. Nahan
Mr F.A. Alban	Ms W.M. Duncan	Mr S.K. L'Estrange	Mr D.C. Nalder
Mr C.J. Barnett	Ms E. Evangel	Mr R.S. Love	Mr J. Norberger
Mr I.C. Blayney	Mrs G.J. Godfrey	Mr W.R. Marmion	Mr D.T. Redman
Mr I.M. Britza	Mr B.J. Grylls	Mr J.E. McGrath	Mr A.J. Simpson
Mr G.M. Castrilli	Dr K.D. Hames	Ms L. Mettam	Mr M.H. Taylor
Mr V.A. Catania	Mrs L.M. Harvey	Mr P.T. Miles	Mr T.K. Waldron
Mr M.J. Cowper	Mr C.D. Hatton	Ms A.R. Mitchell	Mr A. Krsticevic (<i>Teller</i>)
Ms M.J. Davies	Mr A.P. Jacob	Mr N.W. Morton	

Pair

Mr J.R. Quigley

Mr J.M. Francis

Amendment thus negatived.

“Report on Government Services” — Minister for Police — Personal Explanation

MRS M.H. ROBERTS (Midland) [5.34 pm]: I rise under standing order 148 to give a personal explanation. During debate on the amendment to the question, the Minister for Police claimed that while I was police minister, expenditure on police per head of population was less than the Australian average. I would like to quote from the 2006 “Report on Government Services” that the minister claimed she was quoting from. I will quote figures from table 5A.11 in the 2006 report. I have also reviewed the 2005 RoGS that shows nothing different. Real recurrent expenditure on police services per head of population in 2000–01 was \$269 in Western Australia compared with an Australian average of \$249. In 2001–02 it was \$290 in WA compared with an Australian average of \$253, in 2002–03 it was \$297 compared with an Australian average of \$265, in 2003–04 it was \$306 compared with an Australian average of \$270 and in 2004–05 it was \$319 rather than the Australian average of \$280. I want to place that on the record by way of personal explanation because in each of those years expenditure on policing services in WA per head of population was significantly higher than the Australian average and higher than the average in every other state in Australia.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Ms L.L. Baker): Member, before you sit down, can you put on the record in relation to your clarification how that has affected you personally.

Mrs M.H. ROBERTS: Madam Acting Speaker —

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER: Members!

Mrs M.H. ROBERTS: I am proud of my record as police minister in this state and I am proud of the fact that we had the highest expenditure per capita on policing services of any of the states during my tenure. I was offended that the police minister would attempt to mislead the house and cast aspersions on my record as police minister in this state. Perhaps the minister would like to apologise for misleading the house again.

Consideration Resumed

Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti;
Mr Peter Tinley; Mr Ben Wyatt; Ms Rita Saffioti; Mr Bill Johnston; Mr Peter Watson; Mr Paul Papalia; Mr
Shane Love; Mr Dave Kelly; Ms Lisa Baker; Ms Libby Mettam

MR B.S. WYATT (Victoria Park) [5.37 pm]: I rise to speak to the Premier's Statement today. Before I get to that hotchpotch of media statements released over the last two years that the Premier read out earlier, I want to note one thing that happened before we got to the Premier's Statement—that is, the Speaker's statement that a bunch of government bills had fallen off the notice paper due to lack of debate. I was curious because I thought that normally applies to notices of opposition business that have not been debated for 12 months, which then fall off. I cocked an ear when I heard that and I went and got the Speaker's statement. I find it interesting that a number of bills have not been debated over the last 12 months that the government said were important, one being the Aboriginal Heritage Amendment Bill, which I hope the government does not reintroduce or give notice of again because it is a diabolically bad piece of legislation. Of more interest is that two appropriation bills fell from the notice paper for lack of debate—the Appropriation (Capital 2010–11 to 2013–14) Supplementary Bill and the 2014 Appropriation (Recurrent 2010–11 to 2013–14) Supplementary Bill. For those members who may not be aware, that means that money is effectively authorised to be spent during that time for unforeseen and extraordinary circumstances, which under this government has become a very wideranging term. This is not just a small amount of money, colleagues, because we are talking about the financial years from 2010–11 to 2013–14. The capital bill refers to nearly \$160 million and the recurrent bill refers to \$1.5 billion. This is taxpayers' money that has been spent outside the budget process that has to be authorised, admittedly retrospectively, and the government introduced these bills and in 12 months did not see fit to debate them, so they have fallen off the notice paper.

I asked the Clerk how long this process had been in place and whether it was unusual, because I did not recall it. The process of legislation falling off the notice paper after 12 months has only been around since 2003. I asked which government bills had fallen off for lack of debate or been prorogued due to an election since 2003. The member for Kwinana will like this. The Royal Perth Hospital Protection Bill fell off a couple of times, but then came back in—there was a complete lack of interest. The Professional Combats Sport Amendment Bill 2009 fell off and the Prostitution Bill fell off in November 2012. These bills included the Aboriginal Heritage Amendment Bill 2014 and the Land Acquisition Legislation Amendment (Compensation) Bill 2014, which might actually be the member for Murray–Wellington's bill—I am not entirely sure. They also include two appropriation bills that, as I reply to the Premier's Statement, reflect everything about the Barnett government's financial management. It has spent \$1.5 billion recurrently and \$160 million on capital spend outside of the budget process during those years and the fact it has not bothered to debate this in 12 months says it all. I hope that the Leader of the House, my good friend the member for Kalamunda, now that I have embarrassed him in this way, will come in here and move a motion to put that back on for debate. We cannot limp through this year through to the election having that sort of money spent but not transparently dealt with in Parliament. I would be surprised if any Liberal member of Parliament would support that proposition. The fact is that the government has not seen fit in the last year to debate those bills. Members should bear in mind the last day of the parliamentary session last year, and will remember the success of that, when no-one on the government side turned up and we adjourned. Do members remember that? This is the reality. I hope the government sees this as an opportunity to quietly let the Aboriginal Heritage Amendment Bill die and that it goes back to the drawing board. I want to note that, because it is not unusual and it has not happened before with appropriation legislation.

Dr K.D. Hames: It is unusual.

Mr B.S. WYATT: The member for Dawesville interjected and said it is unusual.

Dr K.D. Hames: No; you said it's not unusual; you meant that it is unusual.

Mr B.S. WYATT: It is unusual; of course, it is.

Ms R. Saffioti: Thanks for picking it up!

Mr B.S. WYATT: It is all right. *Hansard* will make me sound as though I am across this!

Dr K.D. Hames interjected.

Mr B.S. WYATT: I will come to the Minister for Health. I do have a section of my speech set aside for the minister.

Either way, before I get into some of the issues I want to deal with, now that I have vented my spleen on that piece of government incompetence, I want to note the Fringe World Festival. I always enjoy when we come back after summer when we are all fresh from attending Fringe events. Last year I said the best Fringe show in town was the government of Western Australia, the Barnett government! I note as well, because we are entering into that part of the electoral cycle, that Fringe shows take on a more financial component. I was intrigued to be invited over the summer break to a very interesting Fringe event. It was not cheap. This was a Fringe event with the state member for Wanneroo, Paul Miles, MLA, and Hon John Day, MLA. For \$1 000 I could listen to Mr Miles and Hon John Day speak. I thought this was a very interesting Fringe event. I went to a few Fringe

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events. I wondered whether it was cabaret, burlesque, comedy or circus? I know a few names because I have gone to a few events, including “*Arrr is for Adventure*. I thought maybe that was the member for Kalamunda, if ever there was a pirate! This is an interesting one, *Circus Freak Show*. I do not think this event is *Circus Freak Show*, and for \$1 000 a head I would want something more than a circus freak show and, also, participants would be dining at the WA Club. The more appropriate name would be along the lines of *Fawly Towers: The Dining Experience*. I hope that the minister, being the good minister of the Crown that he is, will perhaps attend a dinner with me. I look forward to the minister offering me the opportunity to sit down with the Minister for Planning and future Minister for Health for \$1 000 a head to talk about the issues that face us. Perhaps we could bounce off each other. I could talk about how much the minister has spent and what he has spent it on. We would not talk about how he would pay for it! I think it would be quite a successful night.

Mr J.H.D. Day: For you, there won't be any charge.

Mr B.S. WYATT: I like it already. Thank you, minister. I look forward to that. I hope the member for Wanneroo, since he is parliamentary secretary for commerce —

Mr P.T. Miles interjected.

Mr B.S. WYATT: I apologise.

Mr P.T. Miles interjected.

Mr B.S. WYATT: I do not know; they have been and gone. It was held on 9 March. It was the hottest ticket in town. I can tell members that for any tickets sold from here on in, I want 20 per cent! I know that the member for Wanneroo will be generous in that way.

Coming back to the Premier's Statement—the Premier will not be surprised to know I am going to be unkind—it was a hotchpotch. I read the media statements on it. I went through it and I thought, “Yes, I've seen that media statement. I've read that media statement. I've seen that one as well.” I like the focus on red tape reduction to allow businesses to grow. The statements do not mention three rounds of land tax increases. I like that. I like the fact that the Premier has been particular, although this statement of his causes me some concern. The Premier said in September last year that we were at the bottom of the cycle, but three weeks later iron ore dropped off a cliff. I hope that does not happen again, for the sake of our iron ore miners and our state's finances. Certainly, I have enjoyed reading this combination of media statements over the last few years and I hope the government can find itself a little more mojo than it has presented in this Premier's Statement.

One of the key problems of this government that incredibly did not find its way into the Premier's Statement is the centrepiece of the 2012 budget. Do any members remember what that was?

Ms J.M. Freeman: MAX!

Mr B.S. WYATT: No, it was not. The centrepiece of the 2012 budget was the Western Australian Future Fund. Do my colleagues remember that? I remember it because it was the budget that the former Treasurer Christian Porter presented and then quit. Members may recall that he quit before the budget made its way through the chamber. He looked into the future and thought, “The future does not lie here. I'm off.”

Ms R. Saffioti interjected.

Mr B.S. WYATT: That is right, member. This is not the future he was looking for! So, he left and we had the debate about the future fund with Troy Buswell, who was the next Treasurer. It was an interesting debate because everyone on this side made the point that it was a stupid piece of public policy. When members opposite came to government, they effectively had a future fund of \$3.6 billion, but the Barnett government created this future fund anyway. I think that in the Premier's heart of hearts, it was to stop these little fellows here from regional WA spending all the royalties money; that is where he was going. What I like now is that the future fund is borrowing money to put in a fund to buy WA debt that has already been issued to fund past spending. That is financial policy in the Barnett government: it is buying its own debt with borrowed money. What a ridiculous thing to do.

Mr C.J. Barnett: So is the commonwealth.

Mr B.S. WYATT: The Premier said, “So is the commonwealth”, but the problem is all about capture. I am not sure if the Premier was in the chamber when we debated the Western Australian Future Fund Bill 2012. The then member for Belmont made the point that it is jam-jar economics. That is what has killed this government's financial management. It always focuses on individual components of state revenue without standing back and asking: what is the total revenue and how does it all interact? In our fiscal federation, they all relate to each other. The government cannot just look at royalties, which is what it has done. It cannot just look at GST, which is what it has done. It cannot just look at one royalty rate and change that, and not expect an impact on another source of revenue. I remind members that when we had the debate on the future fund, Troy Buswell said that

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70 per cent of our royalties were redistributed with a three to five-year lag time. Members will remember that the legislation requires us to put 25 per cent of projected royalties into a bank account, so on 1 July we borrow that projected amount and stick it in the National Party's account. That is what we do. We borrow that money. Now, because the government is looking only at year-on-year independent parts, it is forgetting what is coming for redistribution.

After that 70 per cent is redistributed, of the 30 per cent we have left, we put 25 per cent in that account, leaving us with five per cent. The government is taking one per cent, or 20 per cent of what we get, and sticking it in the Western Australian Future Fund with that borrowed money. Remember the redistribution? Depending on the Treasurer of the day and year, some Treasurers say we lose 90 per cent, but I will go with 70 per cent because that is what it was at the time of debate on the future fund. This government is focused on jam jar economics and we put that to Mr Buswell, and he knew it. I am sure if he was sitting in the public gallery, he would nod his head in furious agreement. He knew it. He said, "It doesn't matter what happens later, all I know"—with a smile on his face—"is that if I get \$1 billion of royalties this year, I get \$1 billion to spend this year." And the government wonders why its debt increased so dramatically! Although it was okay on the way up when the goods and services tax lag was not kicking in, the government's debt problem occurred when the GST redistribution kicked in. The same thing happened with fines royalties. The government simply focused on the sugar rush of that three-year period when revenue increased. The government was not interested in anything beyond three years because it was desperate for money and had things to spend it on. Even Wayne Swan, federal Treasurer at the time, said, "You've lost your mind! Do this and you'll lose more in redistribution of GST than you'll gain in revenue from those first few years." What happened? As the Commonwealth Grants Commission review of last year found, that is exactly what happened. But it did not matter because the government was focused on that one year, that one budget and that one source of revenue. That is what the government did.

Mr C.J. Barnett: So you think we should have sold iron ore at half price, do you?

Mr B.S. WYATT: No, but —

Mr C.J. Barnett: Because that's what was happening.

Mr B.S. WYATT: This is the problem. The Premier touts himself as this great economist: "I was an economist for the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Western Australia" or whatever it was called back then; it was a while ago. "I was this great economist; I understand economics", but the Premier does not understand the way the state finances run. I have sat here and thought: the Premier must understand.

Mr M. McGowan: He has been Treasurer three times!

Mr B.S. WYATT: He has spent more time as Treasurer than his Treasurers have. He must understand. But the decisions the Premier makes around the WA Future Fund and around not taking an overall analysis of what our finances are doing mean we end up in this situation—I saw it again—of saying the GST is the problem. However, in the same speech the Premier gushed about the fact that our teachers are the highest paid in the nation. Good on the teachers, good on the nurses and good on the police for negotiating whatever they negotiated with the government, but the Premier must understand that those things do not happen magically. They happen because the Premier made that decision. At no point during this Premier's term in government or the previous government have we ever not understood what our revenue was going to be in any particular financial year. We always know exactly. I have printed all the articles. It has been GST front page after GST front page about how the Premier will fix it all up. The print media have been very generous to the Premier over many, many years: "Give some GST to WA" and "\$664 million question". That was when the Premier made the smart decision about fines and lost all that money. Another headline was "GST Help", and now we have Senator Dean Smith with another idea. I like this comment from the senator in *The West Australian* of 11 January —

... Dean Smith said it was essential the debate over GST distribution reform was separated from "debates about the financial performance of the WA Government".

Too right he said that! He does not want to get caught up in the fact that every government in the nation now understands what a mess this mob has made of the finances! We have had five different positions on the GST from the government—five! I understand the Treasurer is heading off to Canberra on Thursday to speak with the federal Treasurer about the latest one, but I am not covered in confidence because the Premier made the point that, "We're comforted now; we have a Treasurer who understands." The last time the Premier said exactly the same words was when Joe Hockey wrote to the Commonwealth Grants Commission for advice on how to fix it up, which led to nothing. But if the government does not have a consistent idea of what it wants from the GST, it will get picked off. There have been five different positions, and I am still not quite sure what the position is now other than that the government wants more. We all want more, but I do not understand the position of the government.

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Mr C.J. Barnett: It's not complicated—per capita distribution across all states.

Mr B.S. WYATT: No, the Premier has just changed the position back to an old position he once held about per capita. I understand, because the Premier says that if it was per capita, we would get an extra \$X billion; I get all that. I was pleasantly surprised that Gareth Parker nailed the Premier during this week or last on the revenue the Premier has had. Despite all that and despite what the Premier tells us about the GST, has there been healthy revenue growth? There is silence opposite, and that worries me. Western Australia has had the highest revenue per capita—the Premier says per capita—of all the states in the commonwealth over the last decade. In 2014, the Grattan Institute's research made the point that Western Australia had over \$2 000 a person more in revenue than any other state in the commonwealth, although we also had an extra \$1 200 a person in expenses. We could say—the Premier will say—“Oh, it's because we're a large state and there are extra costs in that.” I understand that. That is true. The Commonwealth Grants Commission goes through that process.

[Member's time extended.]

Mr B.S. WYATT: The problem is that we do not make the case. I explained last year that when it came to the cost of delivering services in Western Australia, the Commonwealth Grants Commission said that WA did not make the case. All the state provided to the commission was a list of royalties for regions spend. That is what the government did to make its case that it is more expensive to provide services in Western Australia, and we wonder why the Commonwealth Grants Commission is not convinced by the government's argument.

It is jam jar economics from the way the Premier views royalties, the way he views the GST, and now this policy position on the Western Australian Future Fund of borrowing to buy your own debt—just to confirm to everybody. The best yielding debt going around is ours and we have the worst credit rating in the nation, so the mob down there at the future fund has no doubt been instructed to ignore every other part of the balance sheet and just focus on the future fund and they are piling in the WA state debt. They are piling it in. It will not be long before the future fund is holding nothing but WA debt because that is the best way to get its rate of return. The government will be working furiously to make sure that yield increases. If there was another credit rating downgrade, imagine what the future fund could get then. Just keep going! Get it down to junk and that future fund would be providing a wonderful return for the government. That is how this government is focusing on its finances: “That little bit is doing well!”

Until the Liberal Party takes a step back with its National Party coalition partners and has an understanding of what it is doing with the finances as a whole, not on a jam jar basis, we will continue to have these problems. It is not a problem with GST; the revenue has always increased. It has come off now, but it has come off six per cent and we have been plunged into the biggest deficit we have seen. I still remember the deal the Premier did with the nurses during the election campaign of 2013. As I always say, the nurses cleaned you guys up!

Mr P. Papalia: Folded like a cheap suit!

Mr B.S. WYATT: Folded like a cheap suit!

They cleaned you guys up! Fourteen per cent over three years! I did not see it coming. I remember the briefing because the government was in caretaker mode. Remember that? I asked for a briefing on how much it would cost, and dutifully the little fella came down from the Department of the Premier and Cabinet, I think—I will have to look at my notebook of the time. I said, “Thank you for briefing us. How much is it going to cost?” He said, “I don't know.” I asked, “When does it start?” He said, “I don't know.” I asked, “Who did the deal?” He said, “I don't know.” I said, “Thank you for the briefing; it has been thorough and comprehensive. I now have a great understanding of what 14 per cent over three years means!” Liam Bartlett worked it out, Minister for Health, on, I think, 7 February when he nailed the government on the increase in health spending. Government ministers all stand and say, “We've spent ever-increasing amounts on health, education and law and order”, but the health system shows that the minister was lazy. He threw money at health—I will give him that—but while royalties were surging and GST was high, he got away with it because he could spend ever more without a consequence. The minister was not looking at where the revenue was heading. It was, “Right there; ooh, look at that money. Spend more.” Do members remember this document that came out just before Christmas? I want to say it was a Christmas present, but I did not particularly like the *Government Mid-year Financial Projections Statement*. Remember that? I went to the statement of risks straightaway, and under health spending it reads —

There is currently a significant differential between the cost of delivering public hospital services in Western Australia and the PAC, —

The projected average cost —

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as determined by the Independent Hospital Pricing Authority, with Western Australia's cost of delivering services estimated to be around 13% higher than the national average per weighted unit of activity in 2014–15.

Thirteen per cent higher!

Sitting suspended from 6.00 to 7.00 pm

Mr B.S. WYATT: The Premier commented during question time today that the Minister for Health—the current one, not the future one, member for Kalamunda—was the best Minister for Health in the state's history. Before the dinner break I was making the point that it is very easy to throw money at an issue, particularly health. A government can spend and spend, but spending efficiently is always the problem. I had just finished quoting the midyear review for 2015–16 on spending risks, where it stated —

...Western Australia's cost of delivering services estimated to be around 13% higher than the national average per weighted unit of activity in 2014–15.

I want to make this point: just six months before that, the figure was 10.3 per cent, and just a year before that, it was eight per cent. The problem is that in the 2014–15 budget, WA was eight per cent more expensive than the national average per weighted unit of activity, by 2015–16 that had increased to 10.3 per cent and by the midyear review of 2015–16, it was 13 per cent. The Minister for Health is on his way out, but the reality is that he has created a structural spending problem in the health budget. Why that riles me, as was pointed out by Liam Bartlett in that piece that nailed the minister a couple of weeks ago, is that the minister is now looking for savings in areas that he said would never have to close down. Bentley Hospital in my electorate is perhaps a prime example. On 7 March 2012 both the Minister for Health and the federal member for Swan, Steve Irons, were quoted in my local paper as saying, "Guess what? We're going to keep obstetric services at Bentley Hospital. They are staying." I will quote what the Minister for Health, the member for Dawesville, said —

"As we moved forward we talked a lot to the local community, particularly to Steve Irons, as the federal member and the mayor and there was strong support for continuing to retain that hospital in the future," he said.

"I have said that if they continue to support the Bentley obstetric service and if the number is getting close to the 1000 that are needed —

That is, 1 000 births per year —

we will reconsider and re-invest whatever dollars are required to bring that up to a high-quality obstetric service.

That is what the Minister for Health said in 2012 in the lead-up to the fully funded, fully costed election campaign of 2013, yet now, because he has been able to spend but has not spent efficiently, he is looking at closing hospital services like the Bentley maternity services, which are incredibly efficient and very well supported—births are now around 1 200 a year and have been for a couple of years. Indeed, the obstetric services at Fiona Stanley Hospital cannot meet the demand, so Bentley Hospital is getting mums delivering on bypass from Fiona Stanley, yet the government wants to close Bentley down. That is simply because the slippery words used by Kim Hames, the Minister for Health, and Steve Irons, the local federal member, are now abandoned. Bentley Hospital services not just the people of Bentley but also people from a vast array of suburbs in the south eastern corridor of Perth. The government is pulling that out and saying that they can all go off to Fiona Stanley. I want to make this point: there are a couple of tremendous doctors at Bentley Hospital who have made deep and abiding connections with the multicultural community, which is a significant part of the electorates of Cannington, Victoria Park, Belmont and surrounds. There is a strong flow of high trust from those families who are going to Bentley's maternity services to deliver their babies. With this campaign, I will be holding to account not just Kim Hames but also Steve Irons, who campaigned very strongly about how he saved maternity services at Bentley Hospital. That is why when I look at Kim Hames and I hear the Premier say that he is the best health minister we have ever had, I agree that it is easy to throw money at a problem, but in the end I know that it is the minister who created the structural problem in the health budget. The health minister presided over the spending increases without any worry about efficiencies because in that first term, when the problem was created, the government was awash with money.

I will conclude with where I started. The jam jar economics of the Barnett government meant that it focused on one year and on individual revenue sources so that it never knew or was never interested in the fact that the redistribution of royalties was ultimately going to kick in, as it has worked for decades and decades. The government has created the problem we now face in the state's finances. It is looking at the health system now because it is on an unsustainable trajectory, as we have shown over the last 18 months. That is a direct result of

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a minister who was lazy with the way in which he spent money and who made promises that he could not financially afford to keep. That is the reality. That is why the people of Bentley and surrounding suburbs are now suffering.

I note that the Premier's Statement today, that hotchpotch of media statements, was not a vision for the future; it was a combination of media statements that do not outline how we are genuinely going to get through the next decade in a sustainable way, other than through the potential sale of Western Power. That is going back on something I have heard the Premier tell me time and again is a bad economic decision for the state. I am interested to hear why the Premier has reversed that position.

[Quorum formed.]

MS R. SAFFIOTI (West Swan) [7.07 pm]: I am not quite sure why we called a quorum, but we did. My response today is going to outline some of the key priorities for the West Swan community, but first I just want to take up some issues that the member for Victoria Park raised. What we were looking for today from this government was a vision for the future—an economic and fiscal plan for the future. We were looking for any sort of plan for the future, but what we got was a list of media dot points. That is all we got. It is clear that this is a tired government that has run out of ideas. It is focused on some sideshows. I am so glad that the Minister for Culture and the Arts; Planning is here because I want to talk about some of those projects in a minute. We can go across all the portfolio areas. I will start with public transport. There is no plan. This government has been in power for seven and a half years and there is still no plan for the future. The government is jumping from issue to issue. It has no plan for solving congestion in our cities. We can look at health. I do not normally stand up and compliment journalists because I know it can turn on you very quickly, but the article and comment piece by Liam Bartlett a couple of Sundays ago outlined what has happened. I have made the point here before: the government has picked all the good stuff from the Reid review, all the easy things, such as building stuff like hospitals, but it does not actually implement the reform that will allow the health budget to be sustainable into the future. This was our criticism year upon year. The government cannot just go and build buildings without reflecting on how to run our hospitals and how they will be sustainable into the future. As a result, the government is now cash strapped and making ad hoc cuts to our hospitals, which is impacting on services. In education, the government has not kept up with demand in the suburbs despite the fact that it believes building schools is an achievement. Building schools is the bread and butter of governments and the fact is that schools have not been built to keep up with the population growth in our outer suburbs.

I will touch upon law and order. As we saw today, the policy embarked on by the government has failed—it is as simple as that. I remember the spin and propaganda. The government held forums. I did not go to the one in my electorate. Do members know why? I did not go because I thought it was a stupid model. I stand by that. Nothing replaces police on the beat in the suburbs; the government's model failed to provide it. Places such as Armadale cannot be without 24-hour access. The idea that access to a police station does not provide a sense of security is false. If people are in danger or want someone to turn to, why can't they present at a police station? It is a basic security measure that people want in their community. As was witnessed today, quite frankly the Minister for Police does not get it. She has allowed the model to be destructive in the community and the community has lost a lot of faith in it.

I will briefly talk about finances. Members opposite like to talk about 100 years; in the past 100 years, no government has been more financially reckless than the present government.

Mr J.H.D. Day: Such as spending money on what?

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: The government has structurally destroyed the budget. Does the Minister for Planning understand that? The government inherited a set of books—this is the point—with a strong operating balance. I have gone through this before. The government drove down the balance and we are now in the negative for the first time since the member was last in cabinet. The government structurally changed the budget and as a result it has increased debt to astronomical levels. Honestly, the government's priorities are wrong. I know that the minister is a safe pair of hands in cabinet and that he is likely to become the Minister for Health. Indeed, who else could they give it too?

Mr D.A. Templeman: The member for Belmont. She is very, very tough.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: She probably would be the —

Mr D.A. Templeman: She was tough on me today.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: She was tough. She nailed the member for Mandurah today.

Mr J.H.D. Day: I gave you a couple of suggestions earlier.

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Ms R. SAFFIOTI: I think the minister suggested the member for Jandakot and, as I said, we will all run to the hills if that happens. The minister is the only one who could be considered a possibility. Frankly, it is a complex area and I do not think anyone else could get across it. I know that the minister does not want to give up being the minister for good times, which is what he is at the moment.

Mr J.H.D. Day: There's a lot more to planning than just good times, I can assure you.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: That is what I have seen. Did you table the amended Metropolitan Redevelopment Authority report with all the numbers today?

Mr J.H.D. Day: The operational plan is a forecast about the future year.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: I know that the operational plan is a forecast for the future year.

Mr J.H.D. Day: What is most important is the annual report.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: No, no. The minister introduced legislation into this place. He lauded it and said that it would create a new operational plan. The point of the operational plan was to set targets across a number of key criteria, such as how many new developments are within a walking distance of a train station or customer satisfaction with finished developments. The minister created the operational plan and lauded it as a great new measure in transparency, but then he came into the house with a copy of the plan in which every number is blacked out. I was surprised he left in the page numbers!

Mr J.H.D. Day: The MRA was overenthusiastic.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Overenthusiastic is one way of saying it. The minister did not do it today. Tomorrow he should table not only this year's full plan, but also previous years' full plans. That is what he said he would do. He said on radio that the department was overenthusiastic. Seriously, I cannot believe I did not pick it up last year, to tell you the truth. I am angry with myself for not picking it up last year. The minister has been getting away with it for a couple of years. I have said this before and I will say it again tonight: the government has let off the leash. Everyone else is experiencing cuts. I know the government wants its projects to look like a success—all governments do. If we had a circus at the opening of every train station along the Mandurah line, you guys would have chased us down. We would have been criticised about wasting money. I will make a commitment and use the minister's model. Should we win the election in March 2017 and we go and build Metronet, at the opening of every train station I will have Cirque du Soleil. I will have every pulled pork van I can find this side of the Nullarbor.

Mr P. Papalia: Fire-eaters and jugglers!

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Fire-eaters, jugglers, trapeze artists—you name it, that is what I will do! I will copy the minister and then I will say, "Geez, isn't this popular? There's a lot of people coming."

Mr S.K. L'Estrange: So Metronet is on.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: What? Sorry? What was that? I cannot hear the member. The member can interject when he is a minister.

I will go through public transport.

Mr S.K. L'Estrange: It's a bit arrogant; you won't listen to the backbench, only to ministers.

Several members interjected.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr I.M. Britza): Order, members!

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: As I said, we will use the minister for good times' model. We will apply it to every new project and I will wait for the criticism when we have Cirque du Soleil at the new train station.

I will touch on a point made by the member for Victoria Park about the future fund. It is disastrous. That we have to borrow to fund the future fund is just incredible —

Mr W.J. Johnston: To buy our own debt.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Yes, to buy our own debt. As the member for Victoria Park said, we are getting a better return on it because the government has driven us down the credit rating ladder. That is yet another example of the economic and fiscal recklessness of this government. Again, it is absolutely all over the place.

I will move on to law and order because that was one of the key issues that we debated today. There is no better description of the government's chaotic failed law and order policy than the debate about Ballajura police station. Remember that little gem? The Barnett government closed Ballajura police station. At the time I raised real concerns about removing a police presence from the community. I said that such a physical presence should

Extract from Hansard

[ASSEMBLY — Tuesday, 16 February 2016]

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not be removed from the community because it was needed to help with crime prevention. I remember going to a forum—it is one forum that I did go to—at which the Commissioner of Police said —

‘I’m not going to go to government and say: ‘I want a police station in Ballajura’, because you will not get a better service,’ he said.

Speaking at length about modern policing in 2011, the commissioner ruled out the return of a Ballajura police station but had a valuable dialogue with the community. Good on him! He ruled out the return of a Ballajura police station because he said it would not provide a better service to the community.

We all know how that debate happened. I fought for a Ballajura police station. Many members on my side of the chamber will remember each speech I gave on that issue. For 1 352 days I said that Ballajura deserves a police station and that removing the police station from that suburb was a bad decision and the government ignored me. We had forums and I had letters sent to me stating we would have an improved police presence because the police station had gone. They told me about modern policing; that every car is a mobile police station and that we do not need to have police on the beat. No, no, no! The government walked away from police in the suburbs with their model. The Ballajura police station debate is an example of that movement away from police in the suburbs. Of course, during the 2013 election—we know the story—the Liberal Party wanted to win my seat. They did a robopoll of everyone in the community and asked them what they thought was the biggest issue in Ballajura. Do members know what the number one issue was? It was the removal of the Ballajura police station. Twenty-five days before the election, the Liberal Party committed to a Ballajura police station. I am glad that the police station is under construction. In fact, I was at the sod turning for that police station. I was very, very pleased to be at the sod turning with some of my colleagues from the council.

Mr W.J. Johnston: There’s even a blue sign in that photo. Is that a Liberal Party blue sign?

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: There’s a blue sign. It was an official sod turning and the construction is now underway. I am very, very happy about that, but I was surprised when I read some of the minister at the time’s media statements. Remember, for 1 352 days the government had said that police stations were unnecessary and people do not want the inconvenience of police stations and that old-fashioned policing is dead. In 2012, in an answer to a question, the minister said —

... the specific location of the station that the officers operate from does not always significantly affect service delivery.

So, no Ballajura police station. Then the election came and we were promised a police station, and what did the minister say? After saying to us that a police station was not needed to improve policing, the minister released a media statement on 19 January 2016. It was the day before the official sod turning that I attended; it was an unofficial one that she attended. She knew I was doing mine and pre-empted it by a day. The media release states —

“With this new station, the Ballajura Local Policing Teams will have a greater presence in the community ...”

Go figure!

Mr B.S. Wyatt: I don’t understand how that works with what the police commissioner said.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: I know. The Commissioner of Police told me that a physical presence and a station are not needed to improve policing, yet the minister has come out in 2016 and said —

“With this new station, the Ballajura Local Policing Teams will have a greater presence in the community ...”

I do not understand that.

Mr W.J. Johnston: She’s undermining the independence of the police commissioner.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Do you think she is undermining the independence of the police commissioner? I think you are probably right. The minister and the police commissioner told me again and again that a police station does not improve police presence, but now she says that it does. I am very confused about the program now. The minister seemed confused again today. She said that the model is working but they are absolutely gutting and changing it and they are taking police and putting them on the beat. The Frontline 2020 model did not actually have police on the front line. It is another massive failure. All members know that, and it is best just to accept it and move on.

Another key issue in my electorate is transport. The member for Churchlands raised Metronet. Of course, we are committed to Metronet.

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Mr M.J. Cowper: You said you wouldn't talk to that.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: I said that I was going to get to it under the transport item.

Mr S.K. L'Estrange: I appreciate that, member.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Thank you.

Of course we are committed to Metronet. We are still waiting to see what you guys are committed to, because we know that whatever you commit to will only last for the election, as I recall.

Mr B.S. Wyatt: Only until election day.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Election day and then it is like, "Oh well, it was sort of a good idea."

[Member's time extended.]

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Let us pass our minds back to 2008. In 2008, we committed to a rail line to Ellenbrook. What did the Premier say? He said, "We'll do that too. We will start in 2015." There is no rail line to Ellenbrook. In the lead-up to the 2013 election the government committed to an Ellenbrook bus rapid transit system. When they knew that they did not need to commit to that to win the seat of Swan Hills, the Liberal Party made the decision to build the police station, because they are driven by polling. They do good polling; I respect the Liberal Party's polling. The Liberal Party makes decisions according to polling. The Liberal Party wanted to win my seat and it thought it would win my seat on the police station, and when it knew it had Swan Hills, it gutted the commitment for a bus rapid transit system. That is my absolute strong belief on that issue.

Mr J.H.D. Day: You never would have built the train line to Ellenbrook if you got elected, because it never stacked up.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Minister for Planning, why is there a rail corridor to Ellenbrook? Why has land been set aside for a rail line?

Mr J.H.D. Day: I didn't say never.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: No; I want to make this point because you are the Minister for Planning. I cannot believe the government's complete head-in-the-sand approach to this issue. I have watched public policy debates for a number of years, and I do not understand why the government so violently objects to the Ellenbrook rail line. The rail line stacks up. The government has funded things that do not stack up all over the place. You are the Minister for Planning and you signed off on suburbs like Brabham and Dayton that have a rail corridor. When you signed off on Brabham —

Mr J.H.D. Day: It's called long-term planning.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Those houses are being built now, minister. They are not being built in 20 years' time; they are being built now. Suburbs like Dayton and Brabham are growing every week, and Ellenbrook is nearly built out. The whole Ellenbrook town centre is built around a rail corridor and it is waiting for a train line. As Minister for Planning, you should be aware of this. I heard the Minister for Transport say that he wants to get away from retrofitting suburbs with rail lines. Honestly, for eight years these suburbs have grown exponentially. You guys keep talking about population growth. Yes, there has been significant population growth in the south east corridor to Byford, in the north west corridor to Yanchep, in the north east corridor to Ellenbrook and in the south east inner corridor around Canning Vale. I fully understand that there has been enormous growth. The government has built eight kilometres of track. In the previous eight years, we built 80 kilometres of rail track. While you have been talking about not wanting to retrofit transport, suburbs have grown exponentially and are waiting for train lines.

Mr J.H.D. Day: That's why you should allow corridor reserves for when they are appropriate.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: When is it appropriate?

Mr J.H.D. Day interjected.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: I do not understand. Minister for Planning, remember your rail line through Kenwick? What was the advice that you got on that? It was that you could not build it over the freeway. Your former Premier Richard Court gave you guys good advice, from the same agency, that a rail line could not be built up the freeway into the city centre. That is the advice that you received. We did some work on that and we realised that that advice was wrong, and we rerouted the rail line to go up the freeway and we built two stunning underground stations that have completely changed the face of Perth. That is what we did. The then government was working on advice that a rail line could not be built up the freeway past Cockburn. So do not come into this place and tell me about advice from these agencies. If a rail line is not built to Ellenbrook now, when will it be built?

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Ellenbrook is nearly built out. I cannot comprehend that there is a town centre waiting to be finished and waiting for that rail line. The idea that there is no-one living there is ludicrous, and government members cannot get over that because of the Premier's stubbornness. The corridor is there. The population is there. Ellenbrook is nearly built out; the last village is being built now. The town centre is quite high density, which is exactly what the government has been wanting, but the government has to build public transport to it. What the government is wanting is density with no public transport.

Mr J.H.D. Day: There needs be to good public transport, I agree.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Of course there does, but due to the government's stubbornness we are now getting to the point at which you guys cannot be taken seriously on public transport, because you cannot comprehend or deal with the facts. On any population projection, I will justify and have a debate on the need for the Ellenbrook rail line with anyone in this house, any day of the week. As I said, there is Yanchep in the north west and there is Byford in the south.

Mr J.H.D. Day: Would you do it before the Yanchep extension or not?

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: We will release all our details, but for someone who is the Minister for Planning and who has allowed our urban suburbs to grow exponentially with no proper public transport, do not question me, minister, because you have allowed urban growth to occur without proper public transport. He and the revolving doors of ministers for transport have not been able to provide a plan to properly serve our community. They have demanded higher density from our suburbs but have not matched them with quality public transport. That is the problem.

I note that the member for Mirrabooka has popped into the chamber, but we should all reflect on the Metro Area Express.

Ms J.M. Freeman: Yes, we will reflect on how horrible it is.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Yes, because, honestly, has anyone stood up and apologised for what the government has done?

Mr P. Papalia: The Premier advised people to buy property based on that project.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: He told people to buy property. Let us go through it. We know they came out —

Mr J.H.D. Day: Who actively advised people to buy property?

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: The Premier did.

Mr P. Papalia: He said, "I would advise people to buy property in this corridor."

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: He said it on TV. Was it a good decision? No, it was not.

Mrs G.J. Godfrey: It's a long-term investment.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: People have now got stuck with the land tax because you guys increased land tax three times in a row. If people had bought property, they are now paying three times the amount in land tax. A Liberal Party media statement states —

A Liberal Government, if re-elected, will maintain its nation-leading infrastructure program by building the Metro Area Express ... a new light rail system connecting Mirrabooka with the CBD and across to Nedlands and Victoria Park, with commuters able to use the new rail by 2018.

That was in February 2013. In August 2013, light rail was delayed by a year, with completion now by 2019. In the midyear review of December 2013 it was pushed back to 2022. MAX-on-wheels emerged in March 2015. "Why do we need light rail when we can have buses," the minister asked. Nalder commissioned a study to replace light rail with buses. In July 2015 Nalder said buses are the way to go for MAX. The transport minister returned from a light rail fact-finding mission and said that he could deliver a bus route for half the cost of MAX light rail. At that time he was quoted in *The West Australian* as stating —

"We will still deliver MAX, we will deliver something that is exactly the same experience, albeit the vehicle we use will be powered by something else, other than overhead wires," he said.

In July 2015, the Premier went on to add that light rail has not been a success.

Mr R.F. Johnson: He told all the Premiers: do not do it.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: We remember that; yes. The same article states —

... Premier Colin Barnett last week told Seven West Media light rail "hasn't been an overwhelming success in Australia at all".

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“The project for example recently completed on the Gold Coast in Queensland really has not been successful ... so there’s a bit of rethink about light rail,” he said.

“Rethink”—ever since he made that statement I think every other state has committed to a light rail system. It is a rethink, all right—everyone is rushing to light rail.

Then in September 2015, Nalder and Barnett said that they are committed to MAX light rail. It was deferred for three years and then Nalder explained that MAX could be a combination of light rail and buses. Then, in October, Barnett called for funding for light rail, but we heard in Senate estimates last week that the state government has not actually put in a submission asking for funding for light rail. Then the tunnel emerged out of nowhere. The minister was questioned, interrogated, on his way to cabinet, and he said, “I’m thinking of building a tunnel now.” Even though he thought light rail was the way to go, and even though the Liberal Party committed to it and then said it could be cheaper on buses, it is now going to do a tunnel. That is the planning of this government. We do not even have time to go into the Perth Freight Link and Roe stage 8, the other debacle. We are waiting to see the government’s plan. As I said, we are totally committed to ours. We are running forums, talking to the community, consulting. So far we have made very, very good progress and we will continue to do so.

I want to finish off with other key transport priorities in my area. Of course, a rail line is a transport priority. The first stage of Gngangara Road is finished and the second stage is underway, but Lord Street is a major issue for all residents in Ellenbrook and along that corridor in Dayton and Brabham. NorthLink WA is being built, but it seems that the government has forgotten to consult the people in Orchid Park. While those people will have a major highway built right next to them, they will not be able to access it. They will have to drive a fair distance to access a highway that will be built basically on top of them. Again that is an outcome that does not really benefit the local community.

Mr W.J. Johnston: What? They are next to a freeway but they can’t get to it?

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Yes, because basically the interchanges will be overpasses and so the people living there will not be able to access either Tonkin or Reid highways, so they will have to head far west, far south or far north to get onto a road that they currently can just pull out onto. That is a major issue that I intend to raise with the minister more rigorously later.

As I said, we have a government with no transport plan and that thinks it has done everything. I cannot believe that it is sitting there thinking that it has done everything.

Mr J.H.D. Day: We do not think that at all. There’s lots more to do. That’s why we should get re-elected so we can do it competently.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: What else does the government have to do?

Mr J.H.D. DAY: I agree public transport is a major need. I have said that for about three years.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Minister, the problem is that your government has been there for seven and a half years and it has not thought that public transport was a major need. It was there when the revenue was gushing through the door and it did not think public transport was a major need, so do not try to pretend, because no-one is fooled. Even the government’s strongest supporters in the community will not be fooled that any of the government’s public transport commitments are worth trusting because it has failed again and again. The government has had the opportunity to revolutionise —

Mr J.H.D. Day: The rail line to Forrestfield is about to start, for example; the extension to Butler.

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: The minister can say whatever he wants; the government had the opportunity and it failed. It did not make it a priority when the suburbs were growing exponentially. We know that; all the figures show it. Public transport patronage is falling under his government. The government has not made it a priority, so do not think that anyone will believe that. It does not matter how much animation the government uses—you guys are good at animation; I will give you that. It loves its animation and its spin buses. I have not even talked about the spin bus.

Ms M.M. Quirk: Where is the spin bus?

Ms R. SAFFIOTI: Currently it has been parked. It is like the Liberal Party—running through the streets searching for a purpose.

MR W.J. JOHNSTON (Cannington) [7.38 pm]: As always I am pleased to follow in the debate on the Premier’s Statement the quality member for West Swan, whose contribution to the Parliament is enormous. Every time she contributes to debate in this chamber she demonstrates the reason that the Labor Party has

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preselected her, because she is an outstanding candidate for the Labor Party. I want to congratulate her and every other MLA of the Labor Party who have all been endorsed for the next election, unlike our friends on other side of the chamber who are still fighting with each other about which seats they are going to take.

Mr J.H.D. Day: And how many union hacks have you got in that?

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: I love this “union hack” rubbish. The member for Jandakot is a former staffer. Hon Peter Katsambanis is a former staffer. We cannot trip over a Liberal and not find somebody who used to work for another Liberal. That is the way it is.

Mr S.K. L’Estrange: I didn’t.

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: That, of course, is why the member for Churchlands was rejected by the Premier. That is why the Premier did not want the member for Churchlands in the chamber. He wanted that other woman with the long association with the Liberal Party. However, I do not want to talk about that tonight; I want to talk about something that really impacts on my community. I want to talk about the fact that our visa and immigration system in Australia is completely and utterly broken. Our visa system continues to be racist, sexist and unfair; the entire system is simply broken. I want to highlight some issues. I make the point that 45 per cent of people in my electorate were born overseas. It is probably slightly higher than that given the number of people who do not answer that question. With all due respect to the member for Mirrabooka, whilst there might be a large number of refugees and special humanitarian placements in the northern suburbs and fewer in the south eastern suburbs, the City of Canning is the most ethnically diverse part of the city and my electorate is the most ethnically diverse part of the City of Canning, and of course the couple of suburbs that I have with the City of Gosnells are also very ethnically diverse.

I just challenge people—I did this last night—to log on to the website of the Department of Immigration and Border Protection and go through the procedures to apply for a tourist visa as though they were citizens of Indonesia. It is ridiculous. It is so complex. What the hell does “Visa subclass 600” mean? What does “Visitor (class FA)” mean? This is ridiculous, meaningless, bureaucratic nonsense that is discouraging tourists from visiting Australia. Indonesians have to pay \$134 to apply for a visa and they can be rejected. After they lodge the application for a visa, it can be rejected. The department does not refund that money to them. Why in the heck would they bother coming to Australia when they can now go to Japan without a visa? This is a major impediment to Australia’s economic interests. I completely accept that proper security and checks have to be done on people coming into Australia. But the ridiculously complex system that we have invented, which is based on the White Australia policy, has outlived its usefulness.

I want to make a point. Like the member for Girrawheen, I worked in the bureaucracy dealing with immigration when I was a federal public servant. I was the executive officer in the medical clearances section of the Department of Health in the mid-1980s. Basically, the section consisted of four clerical assistants, me and two very highly specialised doctors who were providing the medical clearances. Back then we had an even more complex policy. Even in the mid-1980s, the rules, procedures and practice for people coming from non-European countries were different. The actual process that was used to clear the visas was different for people from “non-white” countries. That is still the basis of our immigration system. A person coming from the United Kingdom can fill in all this stuff online in a very simple fashion, effectively visa-free—a visa waiver effectively, like when we go to the United States—but people from other countries have to go through this incredible rigmarole.

I want to give some examples that have occurred with constituents in my electorate. The first woman I refer to is a migrant from Burma. I think she is 67. She is still working. She raised two children, who are now both adults and making their contribution to society. She and her husband worked hard and bought a house in one of the suburbs in my electorate—the usual successful story that we all know from our own electorates. She is, of course, an Australian citizen. Sadly, a couple of years ago she lost her husband. It was a very sad circumstance. I will not go into it at this stage because it is not relevant to what I am talking about here. It did lead her to think that it was time she caught up with her sister, whom she had not seen for nearly 20 years. She applied for her sister, who is also in her 60s, to come to Australia. Of course her sister did not want to travel, given it would have been her first overseas trip, without her daughter. An application was made for the 60-year-old woman and her daughter. After they paid their visa application fees, their visas were refused. I want to read part of the rejection letter. I will start with the letter relating to my constituent’s niece. It states —

Having regard to the applicant’s previous visa history, in accordance with subclause 600.211(a), Departmental records show that the applicant has not previously travelled to Australia ...

For crying out loud, that is not a history! This was the first time the person had ever applied. The letter also states —

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No specific travel dates have been indicated by the applicant.

Of course not. My constituent was paying the airfares for her niece and sister. She could not pay for the airfares until the family had the visas. The department is adversely commenting upon the lack of specific travel dates when they could not get specific travel dates until they had the visas. That is just ridiculous. I will read the sister's rejection letter. It states —

Consideration has been given to the applicant's family ties in Myanmar the fact that she has no employment to return to and a home that she shares with one son and one daughter. These are relevant matters, to which I give significant weight.

The niece's rejection letter states —

Consideration has been given to the applicant's family ties in Myanmar, the fact that she is unemployed and living in a home which is shared with her mother and brother.

They were not actually unemployed; they worked in what is called in technical terms "the informal economy". The sister of my constituent had run a shop her entire life. How else would she have survived? The idea of unemployment in a country with no welfare system is ridiculous. It is a racist approach to dealing with these matters. The department is trying to impose our values on their lives and it cannot do that. I again quote the sister's rejection letter, which states —

Given the applicant's current circumstances, I do not consider that the compassionate reasons associated with this visit demonstrate that the applicant intends a genuine visit only and has a genuine commitment to abide by the conditions of the visa.

The letter relating to the niece states —

Whilst the compassionate reason for this visit have been considered, and while I sympathise with the situation, the reason given for travel does not outweigh the factors I have already discussed above.

In other words, despite the fact that the sponsor is a dedicated citizen of Australia, the department is saying that because these women come from Myanmar, they might overstay their visa. That is a racist approach. There is no other way of putting it.

I want to give another example. A Vietnamese gentleman runs a small business in my electorate. He has previously had family members visit. In fact, he pointed out that one of the family members overstayed their visitor visa but was never deported. He acknowledges that. When they made their application, four people applied for a visa, including the father and mother of my constituent's wife, the wife's sister and her two-year-old son. I will not go through all the circumstances but I will read out my letter to the department, which states —

Subsequently, a decision was made to grant visas to his wife's father but not his wife's mother. Additionally, a visa was granted to his wife's sister's two year old son, but not his wife's sister.

Let us get this straight. My constituent's father-in-law was approved to come to Australia but not his mother-in-law, and his nephew was approved to come to Australia but not the child's mother. How the department could think that that was a satisfactory outcome for four visa applications is quite frankly beyond me.

I have another example of a gentleman of Philippine extraction and his wife. He is a computer programmer and his wife is a physiotherapist. Both are professional people. They have come to see me a number of times. Again, I will quote the rejection letter sent to them by the department regarding the wife's sister. It states —

The applicant lodged a Visitor (class FA) Visitor (Sponsored Family) (subclass 600) visa on 15 July 2013, in which she requested a period of stay of period of time. At item 22 of form 1418 the applicant stated the reason for travel as "I would like to visit my brother and stay with his young family for a reasonable amount of time. My brother has asked me for temporary help in looking after their 3 kids all below 6 years of age. Both my brother and my sister in law are working. He is sometimes required to work long hrs due to project commitments. My sister in law is a physiotherapist, she has started her own practice and still in the process of establishing it. While they are busy with the things that they do for a living, it would be great if someone, helps them for a year or so especially with the youngest child who is only 4 months old. It would be my moter who could help them the mst -

There are a few typos; I assume that is how it was written originally —

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if only she is still livin. In he absence, I feel that it is my responsibilit to help whenever I can. Also I would love to visit the other places in Western Australia that I did not get to see when I was there few months ago. I have a close friend in Sydney and I wish that I could visit her too”.

The department then states —

I acknowledge that the purpose of the applicant’s intended travel is to provide childcare to her sister while she continues to work, in particular her 4 month old and I have noted the circumstances that have motivated the applicant to lodge an application for an Australian visa.

That is simply wrong. Any proper understanding of the visa application would have made it clear that it was a genuine visit. Of course they are visiting family and friends. Of course they will engage in caring and working with the family. The idea, as the letter from the Department of Immigration and Border Protection goes on to state, that somehow or another this is seeking employment in Australia is just ridiculous.

On the other hand I know a person in the Fremantle area whose family friend from Indonesia has been granted multiple visas and the family friend effectively is working as domestic help for that family, yet there is no familial relationship to that applicant. What the hell is happening with our visa system when a visitor visa can be rejected on the basis of supposedly being engaged in employment when they are talking about looking after their own nephew? These are ridiculous decisions.

I give members another case, quoting again from the department’s decision regarding an application by an Indian student who has been in Australia for a number of years and who met an Australian woman and married in 2012. Two years later the husband’s visa was rejected. One of the reasons the department rejected his application was that the bills for the household came in the names of the individuals and not in joint names. On that basis, my wife and I would also have our visa applications rejected because although the, I think, power bill comes in the name of Bill Johnston, the water bill or the telephone bill or whatever it is, comes in the name of Kate Doust. That is just the way it is. Whoever happens to make the phone call to fix it up has their name on the bill. The couple even have a joint bank account. What the department says in this rejection letter is interesting. I read again from the rejection letter —

You and your sponsor have provided photos taken of yourselves with each other and friends during marriage registration ceremony. While the photos indicate that you and your sponsor are legally married, they do not constitute convincing evidence of a committed spouse relationship and I give them little weight. You and your sponsor have also provided statutory declarations from friends and the landlord of the property you are renting. The declarations confirm that they have met you both. However, the statements to not give any convincing reason as to why they believe the relationship is genuine and continuing therefore I give them little weight. In addition, you and your sponsor have provided no evidence that you attend family events or parties together.

For crying out loud, what are we doing here? These comments are ridiculous. I must say that in my view, if it had been a male applicant with a female spouse, the visa would have been granted. A number of times women from Eritrea and Sudan and a woman recently from Libya have had applications for spouses’ visas rejected on the basis that the department was not convinced. The woman from Libya gave up a Homeswest house and flew back to Lebanon to live with her husband for a few years to get pregnant and have a child—she is an Australian citizen—because she wanted to provide evidence to the department that she was genuinely married. I will comment about that one. Members need to see her decisions based on her cultural background. I would not encourage my daughters to feel like this but her view is that without a marriage partnership, her life is not complete. I would certainly say to my daughters that they should feel complete as people based on their own achievements. Because of this woman’s cultural background she felt strongly about that.

[Member’s time extended.]

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: The Eritrean woman I mentioned came to Australia as a refugee with her husband. Of course, when she arrived in Australia she found that she did not have to put up with stuff. The sort of cultural attitudes to women that she might have experienced when she was in Eritrea, Sudan or Kenya in a refugee camp, were not what she needed to follow in Australia. The exact same thing happened to the woman from Somalia whom I mention. She was able to be more assertive in the relationship she had created in Africa so the circumstances in Australia ceased to be relevant to her and she moved on. That is a decision she had every right to make. In both those cases, those women then decided they wanted to return to their home country and find somebody and they did that and then the agency said “These are not genuine relationships”. One of the reasons the Eritrean woman in particular, after getting married and living with her new husband in her parents’ home in Eritrea—a country that had been at war while still in difficult circumstances but is now in relative peace—her

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own family had been put back together so her husband lived with her parents in her home in Eritrea. After six or eight months she came back to Australia because she had a job and the department said that because she was here and he was there, they were not really married. Many of the agency's decisions are simply wrong.

I will read from another rejection letter. Again, this is from a Filipino family in my electorate who were seeking to have a relative visit. It states —

In assessing the application I am guided by policy which states —

In assessing this application, the applicant's intentions and the evidence provided, I am guided by policy which states:

The applicant does not need to have their own funds (that is, the funds could be those provided by relatives or friends in Australia). Nevertheless, an applicant's financial situation may be relevant to an applicant's ability to meet the genuine visitor requirement and consideration of whether they have significant incentives to return to their home country.

The officer making the decision has underlined that second sentence. Both sentences are part of the policy. Then the decision-maker writes —

As such, whilst the financial support of the sponsor has been considered, the onus is still on applicant to adequately satisfy all criteria in order for an application to achieve a successful outcome.

I pause at the moment to say that, actually, the decision-maker is wrong. The policy needs to be read as a whole, not in part. The fact that they looked only at the second part does not invalidate the first part. It continues —

As such, I find the financial circumstance of the applicant a relevant matter to the applicant's ability to satisfy the genuine visitor requirement and if they have significant incentives to return within the validity of the visa.

The department is saying that even though the sponsoring family member has said they will carry the visitor's costs, that is true but they will look at other issues because they want to make a different decision. The decision-maker goes on —

Concerns are raised as a result of a combination of factors.

The applicant has claimed to be employed for a period 7.5 years.

They comment on that. It continues —

In this instance, the applicant's employment claims are not doubted. However, the applicant's intention appears to indicate her being absent from her only stated source of income, for a period of 3 months.

Lots of us have done that. When I was a young bloke I used to go off to Asia backpacking for three months at a time.

Mr P.B. Watson: You were a wild boy in those days!

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: I was a wild boy back in those days. It is not particularly unusual if we go to the expense of going from one country to another, particularly if our income is a lot lower than the income in Australia because the airfare is the highest cost we need to amortise for our holiday, so of course we will try to stay as long as possible. The decision-maker goes on —

I recognise the applicant has family remaining in the Philippines during the period of their intended stay. However, the applicant has provided insufficient evidence of any other insignificant ties to the Philippines that would induce them to return home within the validity of their visa. Therefore I give no weight to asset ownership, business ties or cultural ties as evidence that the applicant intends to visit Australia and cannot consider these ties as factors that will induce the applicant to depart Australia within the validity of the visa.

Well, what the heck did they have to provide? Again, a person from Singapore, Japan, the United Kingdom or the United States would not have to provide the evidence. This policy is badly based, and we need to deal with it.

I want to deal also with what we do to New Zealanders. Prior to 1984, New Zealanders could come to Australia without a passport, and they could be placed on the electoral roll and vote. In 1984, we introduced the policy that New Zealanders could come to Australia without a visa, but they needed to have a passport. Indeed, in June 1984, I made my first ever trip to New Zealand. Although I needed to have a passport to leave Australia, I did not have to show it to anybody when I got to New Zealand, because there was no immigration procedure in New Zealand to deal with Australians. In 1984, the arrangement was changed, and Kiwis no longer needed to have a visa to come into Australia, and they could be permanent residents of Australia, but they could not be

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placed on the electoral roll and vote. At the same time, a special category of visa was introduced that was a permanent visa and had a pathway to citizenship if that is what the visa holder wanted.

Between 1984 and 1994, a New Zealander who wanted to come to Australia needed to have a passport, not a visa. In 1994, the federal government introduced what was known as a special condition visa, which applied to all the Kiwis in Australia at the time who were not Australian citizens. However, in 1994, an SCV still led a New Zealander to citizenship. Further changes were made in 2001. A Kiwi who turned up in Australia only had to fill in the card and hand over their passport and they were deemed to have applied for an SCV. However, since 2001, an SCV for a Kiwi has not been deemed to be a permanent visa. That effectively puts New Zealand nationals who are living in Australia in limbo. They have no pathway to permanent residency, and that means that they have no pathway to citizenship. Therefore, we are creating an underclass of people in Australia who do not have access to the services that are otherwise provided to taxpayers in this country.

There have been plenty of examples in the media of New Zealanders who are in this situation. Recently, there was an article about a family from New Zealand who have a child with a disability. Their child was born in Australia. However, they are unable to access the National Disability Insurance Scheme for their child. I want to make a point about that. This family is in Australia legally. However, even though their child was born in Australia, their child is not an Australian citizen. Up until 2001, with the exception of children born to airline crew and other categories, such as diplomats, any child who was born in Australia was deemed to be an Australian citizen if their parents were in Australia lawfully. However, since 2001, at least one of the parents has had to be either a permanent citizen or permanent resident in order for their child to be deemed an Australian citizen. The trap for New Zealanders is that they do not have a pathway to citizenship, because they are trapped in an SCV.

People who are on an SCV can get permanent residency. However, in order to get a permanent visa, they have to compete with every other applicant. Australia issues only a limited number of permanent visas. There are hundreds of thousands of Kiwis in Australia who could apply for a permanent visa, and, if they are under the age of 45, they may well be successful in getting one. However, most Kiwis have no reason to apply for a permanent visa unless something goes wrong. Australia and New Zealand have a reciprocal Medicare agreement. That means that New Zealanders who live in Australia are covered by Medicare. However, they are not covered for other entitlements in Australia.

Kiwis are the fourth or fifth largest community in my electorate. Obviously they are not on the electoral roll, and they cannot vote for me, so that is not my motivation. It is just wrong that they are trapped in this situation. We need to take action to overcome this serious problem. These are the Anzacs. The Australians fought together with the New Zealanders at Gallipoli.

Ms M.M. Quirk interjected.

Mr W.J. JOHNSTON: Yes, it is un-Australian. On 25 April, at the same time as we celebrate Anzac Day and raise the New Zealand flag and sing *God Defend New Zealand*, these people are being treated as second-class citizens in Australia. That is wrong. We need to overcome that.

In my last three minutes I want to reflect on retirement visas to Australia. This is an important issue. Obviously we do not want people to come to Australia to retire and then become a burden on our society. However, there are a lot of people among our near neighbours who could retire to Australia and make a contribution to this country. I want to read from a letter that I wrote to Hon Chris Bowen, the federal Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, a number of years ago about the circumstances of a retired couple. I am obviously not going to use their name. The letter states in part —

Mr and Mrs ... entered Australia on what I understand is a “Retired (Temporary) Visa” in 1991, when they were both aged 63 years from Hong Kong.

In accordance with their visa class, they self-fund all expenses, including health care. ...

In summary, they purchased a respectable family home in a modest Perth suburb, and lived off a \$500,000 savings account.

It is interesting to note that, as I am told, prior to coming to Australia, the Australian Vice-Consul advised them that they would not be repatriated to Hong Kong from Australia unless they committed a criminal offence. As you would understand, they have not been involved in any such issue.

As you will see ... they have five children. Two are Australian citizens, although one lives in Hong Kong. One more lives in Canada and another in China.

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The issue for Mr and Mrs ... is that having actively contributed to our community for 18 years, playing an active part in our local churches and senior citizen groups, they are running out of financial resources.

It may well be that in 1991, when their visa was granted, officials may have expected Mr and Mrs ... visa status in 2010 to be only a 'moot' issue. However, as you can see it is a very live issue.

The letter goes on to state —

... At 81 years of age, I hope that there is some way that can be found to allow Mr and Mrs ... to be granted permanent residence so that they can receive financial support into the future.

Alternatively, we need to come up with a better system. It is possible for people to buy an annuity that will carry them through to death. An annuity is a common financial instrument. I believe retirement visas are a great opportunity for Australia. Hundreds of thousands of dollars, and probably millions of dollars, could be available from couples who retire to Australia. Billions of dollars could be available if Australia was made a desired location for retirement. It should not be that difficult to create a situation in which a retired person who arrived in Australia would be required to buy an annuity that would secure their income until death.

MR P.B. WATSON (Albany) [8.07 pm]: It gives me great pleasure to reply to the Premier's Statement tonight and to talk on behalf of my electorate of Albany. I come from a country electorate. We have all heard about bushfires and how they affect people who live in regional areas. I want to mention some of the local volunteer fire brigade members who did out-of-area deployments during this summer fire season. The people who went to the Esperance fire were Andy Roberts, Gary Duncan, Shane Duncan, Kevin Bransby, Chris Myson, Thomas Warner, Graeme Poole, Gerritt Ballast, John Bocian, Brian Carman, Ethan Anderson, Rowan Hardey and Brian Hart. The people who went to the Mt Cooke fire were Darren Prior, Heidi Mostert, Andy Roberts, Gary Duncan, Bohdan Van Der Wal, Rowan Hardey, Chris Myson and Brian Hart. The people whom went to the Waroona fire were Andy Roberts, Darren Little, Brian Hart, Tom Warner, Jack Spandermann, Leigh Parnell, Gray Hodgson and Geoff Pears. These people often do not get the recognition that they deserve. We often talk about the people who come from overseas and interstate to help fight fires. These local guys give their time and effort to help not only their community but also other communities throughout the state.

One of the sad things about the fire at Albany is that one of our top firefighters, Ross Fenwick, passed away. They were on the beach and trying to get a truck out of the sand, and unfortunately he had a stroke. Later in the week, during members' 90-second statements, I will talk about what Ross did for Albany and for the community.

I was lucky enough to go to the Australian Red Cross recognition event the week before last and I was honoured to present Laurie Carter and Denise Elphick with 20-year service awards. Unfortunately, Laurie could not make it on the night so I gave her the award in hospital. Unfortunately, Laurie passed away the next night, but at least she knew that she got the award. Laurie gave so much to our community. She did 20 years with the Red Cross, but she also worked with Meals on Wheels Australia and other community groups over a long time. She always gave and never took. The Red Cross ladies who spoke at the funeral said that she always brightened everything up. She would put on the Red Cross clothes and dance with all the people who came in. She was a real blessing to our community.

Young Denise got a 20-year certificate. We gave out a 50-year volunteer certificate to Grace Graham. Fifty years of volunteering is sensational. She did not want to come to the event so we had to surprise her to get her there. She gave me a bit of cheek for not letting her know that we were going to do it. These people are pearls of the community. Our Red Cross service in Albany is probably one of the best in Australia. It is very well led by Francine Seymour and all the great people down there who also give their time to the community.

I thank the Minister for Health for allowing me to have a look at the hospital the other day. There was an article in the newspaper that reported that I said that we do not have enough specialists.

Dr K.D. Hames: I think you used the words "any specialists".

Mr P.B. WATSON: Yes. When people do interviews on the phone and they get a young journalist, they have to cop it if it is in their name. In future, I will write everything down.

The specialists probably are not all that busy, because I got a whole lot of emails that night. The hospital visit was organised through the minister so that I could see what happens there. They do a tremendous job. I was shown right around the hospital. They showed me all the work they do. I think we have 24 specialists in Albany. We still need some more, and I will mention in a moment some of the ones we need. It is a great hospital and a great system. We have surgeons who also do telehealth. I did not listen to what was going on, but one of the surgeons was dealing with five people who would have had to come to Albany. One of our doctors flies in and a surgeon goes with him to Esperance to do clinics. There is still a need for more surgeons, but what we really

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need is a paediatrician. Apparently, only a 0.5 paediatrician has been allocated for Albany, but we do not have one at the moment.

Where does the health system start? It starts at the start. Young people are coming through. I have an email from a principal. It contains some information about the government-funded paediatric service. This is the one that flies in and out. The email states —

- Over a number of years access to a Paediatrician has gone from 2 days per month to now 2 days every 6 weeks. We haven't had a great deal of stability in this role either with in recent times a succession of people involved.
- The change of airline servicing Albany —

The service will start on 28 February and the planes will fly out of Albany, so instead of leaving Perth at 6.15 am, they will leave Albany at 6.30 am and get to Perth at 7.45 am and probably leave at 8.15 am and get to Albany close to 10.00 am. The email continues —

... means that the Paediatrician arrives after 10.00am—this cuts considerably into the 2 day visit.

- At the moment the patients are prioritised, waiting lists are as follows; Priority 1—3 months, Priority 2—9 months, Priority 3—12 months, Priority 4—18 months. To my knowledge we have not been able to list any of our students in the Priority 1 or 2 category. This means that all students will wait 12 to 18 months.

There is a move towards a weekly video conference taking in 4 clients, but to a large extent this provides limited scope for a clinician working in this field.

... a child with suspected Autism, with parents on a low income will wait up to 18 months to see a Paediatrician and then a further 12 to 18 months for the assessment if this is recommended by the Paediatrician—so much for the focus on early intervention ...

That is a real concern, minister. I am on the board of two special education schools in Albany and they have the same issues. I go to the P&C associations and I know that a lot of parents on the P&Cs have children with difficulties and they are trying to get it done. It is okay for the minister or me or other people who can afford to go to Perth. But if people who live in an area like Albany have to go to Perth, it takes one day for travel, the child is seen on another day and then it takes another day to come back to Albany—so that is three days. It is just not good enough in this day and age.

The argument is that the local specialists bring benefits to the community as a whole, because if we get more specialists in Albany, their money stays in the community four to six times over. There is loss of income and therefore prosperity to the city when people have to take at least a day off to get to Perth and back to Albany for an appointment. I have been advised that they need a paediatric service that is sustainable, an upper limb orthopaedic surgeon and a second anaesthetist. Similar hospitals in regional areas, such as in Port Hedland or Broome, have two to three paediatricians. I know it is a little different in Broome, where there are a lot of young kids with problems, but we have a lot of young kids with problems in our Indigenous and wetjala communities in Albany.

As I say, we have a great hospital. I have spoken to some of the surgeons and they say that they are losing money by living in Albany, but they like the lifestyle. However, once their kids leave school, they will go back to Perth, because there is nothing to keep them in Albany. There is a 30 per cent loading in the north and I can understand that because the accommodation is pretty expensive. If we are to get doctors or specialists to stay in a regional area, we have to give them a bit of a carrot to stay there. When we were in government, I knew two surgeons very well through sport and I asked them why they were going to Perth, and they said that they worked five days a week in both the public and private systems but not on weekends and they could have a drink on the weekends, whereas the surgeons in Albany cannot do that. I know people are trying to get a private hospital in Albany and the community should be trying to encourage them to do it.

Other doctors are trained at the hospital. A whole lot of people were shown emergency surgery. People in the regions came in so that people could be prepared and they could do it through telehealth. They are doing a tremendous job there. I was shown through the wards and Dr Lindsey said to me, "After your comments, I'm quite willing to do a colonoscopy on you! We haven't got an anaesthetist today, but I'm sure I can do it for you!" Dr Lindsey has retired more times than Nellie Melba, but he will probably retire at the end of the year, so one of the other senior surgeons will do it. It is a big issue.

A facility was put into the hospital for the babies but it cannot be used, so a lot of the babies who are born at King Edward Memorial Hospital for Women in Perth cannot be brought to Albany because the hospital does not

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have the staff or the area for them. Those are some of the things that I found out when I went to the hospital. I am very up to date with all the surgery. We have tremendous facilities. I congratulate the minister on building the hospital. Between us, minister, we built Albany Hospital. It has turned out really well. We are very lucky. Dr Mahesh Reddy is in charge and he showed me around. He gave me a thorough look at it. Congratulations.

The patient assisted travel scheme is still an issue. One thing about PATS that really bothers me is when my constituents are halfway to Perth and their surgeon's office in Perth rings to say, "We can't do you today, we'll do you tomorrow", they do not take into account that Albany is 450 kilometres away. They might not be told anything, but when they get there they are told, "We can't do it for two days." They have given up one or two days' work.

Dr K.D. Hames: The same thing happens with Kalgoorlie and Geraldton. It is very difficult to stop them doing that.

Mr P.B. WATSON: It is a real issue.

I am pleased with the progress at the Centennial Park sporting precinct. It has been undertaken by state and local governments. I am pleased that the state government found an extra \$3 million. I look forward to seeing the balance of \$5.75 million in the May budget. I hope that the minister does not make it into a political game. The City of Albany let contracts to the value of \$8.75 million but it has received only \$3 million.

[Member's time extended.]

Mr P.B. WATSON: The contracts were let on the proviso that would happen. It cannot be run like that. The government has to put up the money. It is obvious it is there somewhere, otherwise the government is hanging out to announce it just before the election. The redevelopment has always had my support. It will give Albany the best sporting facilities in the great southern.

Congratulations to citizen of the year winner, Tony Harrison, at the Premier's Australia Day Active Citizenship Awards. Tony was recognised for his involvement with Albany Boardriders, Albany Surf Life Saving Club, Granny Grommets, South Coast Progress Association, and also for his work as an environmentalist and active representative on numerous advisory groups. He has his own chair in my office. Tony has acted as lifeguard and instructor for the Granny Grommets for more than 16 years and is credited with keeping more than 100 women mentally fit and healthy as part of the program. My wife also wrote a book about it, too. I thought I would throw that in! Tony has also been a mentor to younger generations through his business Due South Surfing Academy and has supported new marine-based businesses in Albany. Tony's passion for the protection of our oceans and environment knows no bounds and he is always ready to share his lifelong knowledge of the sea with others.

Winner of the under 25-year-old category was Heidi Mostert. Heidi was recognised for her involvement with the Highway Volunteer Bushfire Brigade, St John Ambulance and Albany PCYC, where she is a dedicated employee as well as a volunteer. As a firefighter, Heidi also regularly volunteers to be deployed outside of Albany to help other communities affected by fire. Most recently, she attended the bushfire at Mt Cooke which was sparked by lightning. Heidi's nominator noted, "Heidi demonstrates on a daily basis her pride in being an active and productive citizen through her commitment to the community."

The community group or event winner was the Gilcreek camp site run by Scouts WA. The camp has provided a valuable service to the Albany and wider WA community with low cost, affordable accommodation, giving groups a venue to run meetings, conferences and workshops as well as a base from which to explore Albany and the pristine coastline surrounding it. Its ongoing maintenance and improvement program has also ensured that the camp site is inclusive for people of all abilities.

Congratulations also to Becki Shaver and Maggie van Santen from HideAway Haven for winning silver in the hosted accommodation category at the 2015 Qantas Australian Tourism Awards. Becki and Maggie run a fantastic luxury five-star accommodation business in Bayonet Head and continue to win awards because they are so focused and committed to providing the best customer service they can for their guests.

Congratulations to Tanja Colby and her team at the National Anzac Centre for winning silver in the new tourism business category at the 2015 Qantas Australian Tourism Awards. The centre has had over 100 000 visitors since it opened in November 2014 and has been an amazing tourism drawcard for Albany. The National Anzac Centre was also the winner of the heritage tourism project at the 2015 WA Heritage Awards and new tourism business at the 2015 WA Tourism Awards. Lonely Planet also listed the National Anzac Centre as one of the top 26 new experiences in the world in 2015.

Congratulations to City of Albany manager of day care services, Letitia Stone, and her staff at Albany Regional Day Care Centre on being awarded a rating of "exceeding" by the Australian Children's Education and Care Quality Authority. It is one of the highest ratings a service can achieve under the national quality framework.

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A rating of “exceeding” is achieved when the day care provider meets the expectations of the national quality framework’s seven quality areas: educational program and practice; children’s health and safety; physical environment; staffing arrangements; relationships with children; collaborative partnerships with families and community; and leadership and service management. Working parents are very fortunate to have access to such a great day care centre in Albany.

Congratulations to Albany trainer Paul Hunter and his stable on Dream Lifter winning the premier sprint race in the great southern, the Mungrup Stud Sprint, and then backing it up with the horse’s first listed race win at Ascot on Saturday, the Cyril Flower Stakes. Apparently John McGrath presented the trophy, which must have made their day. Dream Lifter is owned by Gary Cummins from Albany and Neville Matthews from Kojonup. The horse was bred by Gray Williamson at Mungrup Stud, so it really was an all-in great southern affair.

The City of Albany recently commenced a pilot program for its Connected Communities strategy in the suburb of Lockyer. The strategy is to build neighbourhood hubs, focused on community activities to build the hub rather than it being built around community buildings, as has been the model in the past. Through that process, it identified a community group that wanted to look after Weerlara Lake and to increase the sense of community in Lockyer. Weerlara Lake was a significant site and gathering area for Aboriginal people. It is classified as an Aboriginal heritage site, with the surrounding area now being a family park.

The City of Albany then set about providing the support and direction needed to get the Loving Lockyer Action Network up and running and to put on its first event, the Lockyer Community Family Fun Day. That proved to be a great success and showed how highly motivated this new community group is. Congratulations to City of Albany senior community development officer, Tammy Flett, for her hard work on helping the group get up and running. Also, congratulations to Loving Lockyer Action Network members: chair Shaun Welch, vice-chair Holly, secretary Marion Herd, Treasurer Denise Fisher, and Andrea Totten, Mitchell Monaghan, Dianne Love, Lin Ewen, Trish Walsh, Adrian Herd and Ester Steer.

Homeswest rent increases: assessable income is now defined as any payment that is regular and continuous in nature and provided to meet the cost of living. PATS needs to be increased.

I recently spoke with a mother of two young children, who earns just over \$20 000 a year, and who has been told her rent will be going up because the clean energy supplement, the pharmaceutical allowance and the family tax benefit supplement that she receives will now be deemed as income. This is on top of her regular annual rent increase of \$12 a week. Her seven-year-old daughter has health problems, which means she has to spend over \$60 a month on pharmaceuticals as well as making at least one trip to Perth, sometimes two, every month for her daughter to see a neurologist, a urologist, a paediatrician and a physiotherapist at Princess Margaret Hospital for Children. She faces a grim outlook. Because she receives payments from the commonwealth government to assist her with costs of living and that is now deemed as income, her rent jumps up. In real terms, her disposable income is getting cut thanks to this new mean and heartless policy of the government which is making those doing it the toughest in our community pay for its wrong priorities and reckless spending.

I would like to talk now about the Ice Breakers program in Albany. Everyone is talking about ice, and how we have to do it, and we have all these million-dollar projects. We have something happening in Albany that was just done locally, by Margaret Gordon and her grandson Jamie Coyne, who was an addict for a long time. The Albany Police and Community Youth Centre has this Ice Breakers program. It ran for 307 days between March 2015 and January 2016. In that time, 52 people attended 207 group sessions, which is phase 1, the education phase of the program; 55 people had individual counselling; and 704 received Facebook support—just over 2.5 people a day. There have been 150 phone inquiries about the program, and 21 people are attending family support. Fourteen people from Kojonup attended a one-day Ice Breakers workshop, and now Kojonup shire wants to set up Ice Breakers in its community. We see all these headlines about what we are going to do about ice, but this is a program that should be supported. I will be writing to the federal minister, because I know that millions of dollars were thrown around, and I heard what they are going to do. I am sure that bureaucrats will be there, and money will be splashed everywhere, but we should be looking at programs like this. This is a program that we want to get out to all PCYCs in the state. It should be reported, and I once again congratulate Margaret Gordon, who has worked as a social worker in the prison system for a long time, and especially Jamie, who has overcome all his problems and now all he wants to do is give back to the community.

The Australian Football League is coming to Mt Barker. I would like to have a crack at them. This is a community—when they come to town, they fly in and they fly straight out again. They will take our money, and we will see the footballers, but there will be no training programs for our kids. We had organised an under-16 Claremont team to come down and play against the great southern Storm, and what happens? They told us that they could not be on the ground before the game. People will come early to get a seat, and they will be sitting there for three hours and nothing will be on. They said that we could play afterwards. That is great,

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because then the kids have to return to Perth, and will only get back at one or two in the morning. But the AFL has to look after its players. Where do the players come from? Regional areas. The great southern has produced the seventh highest number of players to be drafted to AFL clubs. The AFL comes in, takes the money for the entrance fees and goes on its way. I can understand the Adelaide team wanting to fly back, but the Dockers —

Mr J.E. McGrath: They pay everything. They pay to fly Richmond over, and pay all the expenses.

Mr P.B. WATSON: Richmond is not coming; I do not know why they are flying the team over. The AFL does this in regional areas supposedly to develop the game, but we are not allowed to go near the players. They are a protected species. They will not do any clinics or anything like that, and I suppose they will have gloves on afterwards before they sign autographs! It is not good enough. The Great Southern Football Commission, with which I am involved, has received no correspondence. The West Australian Football Commission does not know anything about it. The AFL teams just come in and take over. I do not care who they are—Gillon McLachlan or whoever it is gets paid \$2 million a year—they neglect their grassroots at their own peril.

That gets me to the state government not looking after the grassroots people. We have a new stadium, and I do not know how many times I have asked the minister about how he is going to look after grassroots football. I was told that it would get a stream from the new stadium. Lots of people are going to be taking a stream out of that stadium, and the football commission will be last. If the river is not flowing faster, the football commission will miss out. I was really disappointed with the football commission. I do not know why it rolled over, but one day it was going to do everything in the world and the next day said it was quite happy with the Premier. Do not trust the Premier. This is a man who has broken every promise in the book, and he is saying, “Trust me, trust me.” I would not trust him, and I think the football commission has made a huge mistake.

The state government has put out this little DVD, and it has produced these stickers. I asked for this to happen when we were in government, and it did not happen. These stickers warn people who fish off the rocks anywhere on the south coast. They are done in four languages, so that people cannot say that they could not read the sign and did not know what was happening. I congratulate the government for that.

The Perth International Arts Festival is happening in Albany. The skating event, *The Snake Run Project*, was held at the weekend, and it was tremendous.

In the three minutes I have left I want to talk about the Albany Sinfonia. I went to the concert on Saturday night, and I have not seen a better concert anywhere in the world. Neville Talbot, the new artistic director, is tremendous. Alannah Woods, a local girl, was singing songs in a way that anyone listening, if they closed their eyes, could feel they were anywhere in the world. She did a tremendous job. She is a local girl from Great Southern Grammar School. She graduated from the Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts with a Bachelor of Music, majoring in classical voice, and recently graduated from the APO Arts Academy in Melbourne with a diploma of musical theatre and dance. The other singers were Simon Woodward, James Turner, Mike Staude, Bonnie Staude, Josie Staude, Jessica Turner, Tim Jefferies, Steve Poole, Lily-Rose Hill, Annie-Rose McConnell and Charlotte Yeung. These young people got up on stage in front of 500 people and just nailed it. Some of them were only seven or eight years old. I am really disappointed that I have run out of time because I was going to mention every member of the Albany Sinfonia. One person I have to mention is Patrick Elms. He played the tuba, percussion and piano. I reckon he ran around behind the curtains all night. It was just a tremendous thing. We are so lucky in Albany to have the Entertainment Centre. I would like to thank Alannah MacTiernan, who, along with me, got it done, even though the ex-mayor was down there, who, in the headline, said that he did not want it, and then when we got it, he claimed it. He was there the other night. We are so lucky in Albany to have such a tremendous artistic community, and we are lucky to have an entertainment centre that can cater for it.

I would like to say some good things about the government, but I cannot when my seniors cannot afford to have their lights on at night because that is what the government has done to them.

DR A.D. BUTI (Armadale) [8.38 pm]: Albany is very lucky to have such a great local member. I am sure that is the main thing in favour of Albany. The member for Cannington was talking about the hardship that some New Zealand families had to endure due to the restrictions on their ability to be citizens. When I was doorknocking for the last election I found that a woman whose house I doorknocked was not on the electoral roll. When I asked her about it, she told me to come in so that she could relay the story. She had a son with special needs who was born in Australia, but as she and her husband were New Zealanders, they were unable to get citizenship at that time. She could not work, because she was looking after her son, but her husband was working and paying taxes. They were unable to access any government services to assist their child with special needs, which I thought was incredibly unjust.

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It was interesting that today we did not talk about the terrible fires and destruction that occurred in Yarloop over the break. I want to make special mention of Yarloop because it is my mother's home town. Nothing is worse than losing one's life, which happened to two people in Yarloop, or if one's house is destroyed. All of my mother's memories—the school she went to, the church where she was married, and the hospital my elder sister was born in—have all been destroyed. I remember going to Yarloop as a young child to visit my grandmother. The house that my mother grew up in, on the South Western Highway, survived the fires. I have fond memories of my early childhood going for holidays to see my nonna—my nanna—in Yarloop. For my mother and her friends, such as Mrs Williams and my constituent Geoff Landwehr, who went to school with my mother and who has served as a volunteer firefighter for many years, the destruction of Yarloop is something quite momentous, and it is very, very sad. The people I met in Yarloop of my mother's generation are really salt-of-the-earth people. They are fantastic people. It just shows us the destruction caused by fire. We can talk about floods, which can be very, very bad and people can die, but, generally, unless the flood comes by surprise, the chances of dying are greater in a fire. My father grew up in Libya when Italy had control of the country during the Second World War, and he lost his mother and sister to a fire at their house when he was only two years old. My family has grown up knowing about the damage that fire can cause. Of course, outside my electorate, on 6 February 2011, we had the disastrous bushfires that destroyed 70-odd homes in the Kelmscott hills, which, until Yarloop, was the single-worst damage caused by any fire in Western Australia. I pay my respects to the families who lost loved ones in the Yarloop fire and the people who lost their homes, and to the community of Yarloop and the people who have lived there for many years who have lost much of their history.

Today we spent a considerable amount of time talking about crime in Western Australia and the surge in crime figures under the ministerial control of the now Deputy Premier. It is hard to believe that the Minister for Police is actually the Deputy Premier. I am surprised that Liberal Party members did not at least put up a contest in their party room meeting yesterday. We all know that there is limited talent on the other side of the chamber—that is obvious—but surely there was someone else, at least one or two or three other people who have a much greater claim to be Deputy Premier than the Minister for Police.

Mr R.F. Johnson: I was very tempted to nominate, but I thought I would have a job finding a seconder.

Dr A.D. BUTI: I think that may be correct.

Let us look at the performance of the Minister for Police. She often gets her answers wrong in Parliament. Last year she was unable to understand the domestic violence issue, which is part of her portfolio responsibility; she kept changing her mind on the definition of family violence. She seemed not to know the definition and then, as usual, she tried to argue that she had received advice that had led her to make those statements. She should come back to this house and tell us who gave her that advice. I am pretty confident that none of her advisers gave her incorrect advice on the quite simple issue of how the police determine or define family violence. It shows the Minister for Police's lack of ability to get on top of her portfolio, yet she has been rewarded with the penultimate prize in Western Australian politics of being the Deputy Premier. It is just quite amazing.

On the more serious issue of crime, particularly in my electorate, it is very unfortunate that the Armadale area is considered the hotspot in the metropolitan region for the crimes of burglary, assault and car theft if the Perth CBD is excluded because it has a different makeup and context. I have been telling the minister about policing problems in Armadale for years. Today, she said again that she has been out there and asked people whether they would prefer a 24/7 police station or police out on the beat, and that they told her that they want police out on the beat. They want both. She knows that. She came to a community meeting a couple of years ago, where she tried to stop me putting a question to her and was howled down by the audience. I think she regretted opening her mouth on that occasion. She knows from that time that the people of Armadale want a 24/7 public access police station. We had a rally in Armadale in 2013, not long after the last state election, and it was quite clear that people wanted a 24/7 public access police station. As the member for West Swan said, it is much more than being able to go in and see someone behind a desk. I told the minister about the case of a young woman in Roleystone who was sexually assaulted and went with her father to the police station just after four o'clock on a weekday and no-one answered the buzzer that people can press for assistance. Her father had to drive her to Cannington Police Station. On another occasion, a boy was coming home from school and was attacked by a gang of youths. His mother went to the police station just after four o'clock, and, again, no-one responded. The Minister for Police may not believe this, but people in Armadale feel that they have much more of a connection to their police force if they can go to the police station at any time.

There has been trouble in the Armadale CBD on occasions. There was a major altercation at a fast-food outlet; I think it was on a Friday or a Saturday night. It might have been a weeknight; I cannot remember now. I think it was on a weeknight and the police station was literally 50 metres away at most, but there was no ability for

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anyone under the threat of violence to receive sanctuary at that police station. Yes, people could go and press the buzzer; however, there was no guarantee that there would be anyone in the police station, because they may all be out on patrol. I have asked the police whether there could be occasions when there is no-one in a police station, because the minister often says that people can always get help by pressing the buzzer and that someone will come out and attend to their queries. That is not necessarily correct, because all the police at a station on roster may be out on the beat. People can be close to a police station and under attack, but they cannot obtain sanctuary at that police station.

The government has talked about extending trading hours and having a 24/7 economy, but police stations close at four o'clock on weeknights and are not even open on Friday nights or at all on Saturdays or Sundays. That is absurd. We want to allow people to have longer hours to go to Woolies and Coles, but we do not want to have longer hours for people to be able to go to a police station. I think it may be a little bit more important for people to access a police station than to shop at Coles or Woolies at nine o'clock on a Sunday morning—shopping at Woolies at nine o'clock vis-a-vis having a police station open. The Minister for Police is wrong, wrong, wrong, and I really do not believe that she has been to Armadale all the times that she alleges that she has, as she implied earlier today during question time. I do not know why the Minister for Police is being so stubborn about this 24/7 public access police station. As I said earlier today, if there is no need for a 24/7 public access police station why do we have any of them? Why not get rid of all of them? Under the Minister for Police's logic, all police should be on the beat; we should not have police in police stations because it wastes resources. I cannot understand why we have some 24/7 public access police stations—all the metropolitan policing districts have two—but the south east metro policing district, which has two or three of the highest police hotspots, only has one.

Under the Frontline 2020 model, the geographical coverage of the south east metropolitan policing district has increased. It now goes down to Mundijong. I think, member for Mandurah, Mundijong used to be under Peel.

Mr D.A. Templeman interjected.

Dr A.D. BUTI: That is right, but it now comes under the south east policing district, which goes from Mundijong to Kensington and there is one 24/7 police station open, and that is in Cannington. That policing area includes Roleystone. If the people of Armadale have it hard in regard to the police, the poor people who live in Roleystone often do not even worry about it. However, I have to say that things could be a lot worse if it were not for the dedication of police officers. We have some fantastic police officers in Armadale. I do not have any criticism of police officers, and the senior sergeants who have been stationed there over the years have been fantastic individuals. The current senior sergeant, Mark Tobiasen, is also a fantastic individual. When the member for Hillarys was the police minister, he kindly allowed police officers to see me regularly and I was nothing but impressed with their dedication and professionalism. But, of course, they can only do so much. As the secretary of the WA Police Union of Workers has stated, they are working under extreme fatigue.

[Member's time extended.]

Dr A.D. BUTI: *The Sunday Times* on 31 January stated —

Police Union president George Tilbury said double the response team numbers were needed in each metropolitan district to meet demand. It comes as some rank and file officers say they will look for new jobs if the Frontline 2020 model is not resourced to levels they believe are required.

How can the police minister stand today and say that everything is okay? It is not okay. We know that from the changes the police commissioner announced last week; we know that from the concerns voiced by the president of the police union. It is just absurd, as I said earlier today. The police union president also stated —

“Our systems are broken and morale is plummeting. It's a perfect storm. There are too few doing too much. I expect this crime trend of double digit increases to continue all year,” ...

“Nobody is listening to operational officers,” another post said. Union president George Tilbury said more officers were needed.

“Officers in response teams are telling us they constantly have to apologise to the public for arriving late at jobs or for not being able to attend at all,” ...

This is appalling. The usual trick of the Premier and the police minister is to say that we are criticising the police and that that is un-Australian. It is a police officer, the president of the police union, who is saying what the problem is. The problem is with the system and not with the police officers. The minister should hang her head in shame for presiding over such a broken system and, more so, she should hang her head in shame because she denies there is a problem. Until she admits that there is a problem, there will be no way to resolve that problem.

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I could go on and on about policing issues in Western Australia, and in Armadale in particular; it is an incredibly depressing issue to have to talk about. But I think there are a couple more things that are germane to the debate that go to the inability of the minister to grasp her portfolio. The police portfolio is complex, but she has shown an inability to master it. On 18 November last year she said —

We are driving more efficiencies and, as a result ... we have returned a value to the taxpayer of around \$28 million in effective policing from desk jobs out to the front line, where the community wants them.

It has not been overly effective. The crime rate has surged. Every day in the past 12 months there have been 600 crimes against people and property. Domestic assaults are up 22 per cent; homicides are up nine per cent in 12 months. It is absurd for the minister to say that the government has achieved effective policing. It has not been very effective and it definitely has not been effective in the Armadale region.

Then, on 12 August 2015, in an answer to a question from the member for Midland, the police minister stated —

I am confident that Operation Sweep that the commissioner and the senior executive of Police have put together will crack the back of this volume crime. I am also confident that as we look at the quarterly trends for the first quarter of this financial year, we will start to see a dramatic improvement in those statistics.

Wrong, wrong, wrong! Of course we do not have a police minister who can admit that. Then, on 23 September 2015, the member for Midland in a supplementary question asked —

Noting that Operation Sweep does not provide for even one single hour of extra police time, has the minister asked the Premier or Treasurer for more money for overtime for police to get on top of her crime problem?

The police minister replied —

The member for Midland really needs to get with the program and understand what has been happening with our policing team and the reform project. The way that we are dealing with crime in the community —

The government and the police minister are dealing with crime in the community by allowing the rates to increase, so she had better get with the program. The problem is that the police minister does not understand the program. It is no good saying that the member for Midland should get with the program; the police minister should get with the program. Of course, her colleagues must think she is doing a great job because yesterday they elected her unopposed as Deputy Premier.

I would like to move to the Perth Stadium issue that the member for Albany mentioned briefly. The football stadium is going to be a fantastic stadium. When people go past now, they will see all the cranes up. It will be a great stadium. I do not think it has ever been questioned that it will not be a great stadium, but what will be the cost? We may all want to live in a three-storey house, but we may have the money for only a one-storey house; we cannot always have what we want. Let us look at the alternatives for the Burswood site. It is a shame that the Leader of the House is not here because I am confident that when this matter was under discussion a number of years ago he was not in favour of the Premier's pick, the captain's pick. The Public Accounts Committee's twenty-first report, presided over by Hon John Kobelke, and laid on the table of the Legislative Assembly on 15 November 2012, titled "Review of Selected Infrastructure Projects", basically compared the sites for the stadium. The Langoulant report looked at the various sites and Burswood was the most expensive location with an estimated total development cost of completion at \$1.147 billion. We know it is much more than that. It is going to exceed \$1.5 billion, but we cannot work out the actual figures because the government keeps using its commercial-in-confidence trick; everything is commercial-in-confidence. We know it is in excess of \$1.5 billion but at the time of this report it was stated that it would cost at least \$1.147 billion. It was estimated that to redevelop Subiaco Oval it would cost between \$959 million and just over \$1 billion. That is quite expensive, but I will get back to that. Kitchener Park was going to cost \$849 million and East Perth was going to cost \$821 million. The report also stated —

It would take 5.5 years to deliver the asset at Burswood compared to 5 years at WAFC Subiaco and Kitchener Park and 4 years at East Perth.

The fact is that if we had redeveloped Subiaco Oval, the West Australian Football Commission would still have had a 77-year lease to run. As we know, a couple of weeks ago the government made a decision on who would have the management rights to the stadium. It will not be the company that was established by the West Australian Football Commission. That stream of income is now lost to the West Australian Football Commission. The National Party member should be very concerned about this because money that came through

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as a result of the Dockers and the Eagles playing at Subiaco Oval, which were both owned by the West Australian Football Commission, found its way into grassroots football, including country football and football in the outer suburbs of the metropolitan area. That has been calculated at something like \$10 million a year now. To put the West Australian Football Commission back into the position it would have been in if AFL football remained at Subiaco Oval, the state would have to compensate the West Australian Football Commission to the tune of at least \$10 million a year.

Mr J.R. Quigley: It won't happen.

Dr A.D. BUTI: But if it did happen, it is taxpayers' money. Not only has the government chosen the most expensive site at the whim of the Premier, which is costing the taxpayer a phenomenal amount—we do not know the real cost—but also the loss of revenue to the West Australian Football Commission, and therefore grassroots community football, is enormous. To compensate for the loss of that income, the government would have to compensate football in Western Australia to the tune of at least \$10 million a year.

Today I congratulated the Premier on his well celebrated loss of weight. He has lost over 21 kilos over three years but it has become more prominent in the last month or so. That is fantastic. He should be applauded for that effort. It is a shame that the budget seems to go the other way. The Premier has lost weight but the budget has expanded. That is because he has not shown the same degree of fiscal discipline as he has shown with his personal regime. His personal regime was very disciplined when it came to reducing his weight, which is fantastic. Hopefully, he is a bit of a role model for middle-aged men. But he has not shown the same degree of physical restraint and discipline. As a result of that, we all pay.

Ms L.L. Baker: You lack credibility on the weight issue.

Dr A.D. BUTI: He's lost 21 kilos!

Ms L.L. Baker: No; you lack credibility, talking about that.

Dr A.D. BUTI: Oh, yes.

I do not know whether the government has reached any agreement with the Australian Football League about any money that it will be putting into the football stadium and any income stream. The state government is in an incredibly weak position. It is building the stadium before reaching any agreement with the AFL. The AFL can basically determine whatever agreement it wants because the stadium will be built regardless of what the AFL contributes, if anything.

I move on to the issue of education. Not enough attention is placed on attendance rates in Western Australian schools. That is an incredibly important issue. If children do not attend school, obviously, they cannot learn. The average attendance rate in Western Australian public schools is about 92 per cent. In some schools it is down to 70, 75 or 80 per cent for certain years, especially in high school. In the United Kingdom, the average attendance rate is around 95 to 96 per cent. I visited a couple of schools in the UK recently. If their attendance rates get below 95 per cent, the alarm bells go off and they do whatever they can to ensure the students attend school. We do not seem to have the same degree of urgency or attention paid to attendance rates in Western Australian schools. I know that individual schools do but, as a whole, we do not. In certain years in some schools, especially high schools, the attendance rate falls well below 90 per cent and it is even down to 80 per cent.

The Clontarf football program has been a great model to try to ensure that Aboriginal children attend school. At one of the schools in my area, the attendance rate for Indigenous kids who come under the Clontarf football program is up to something like 90 per cent. The Indigenous students who are not part of the Clontarf football program at the same school maybe have an average attendance rate of 75 per cent. It is alarming that we are not trying to improve that. It is also alarming that the Department for Child Protection and Family Support does not seem to get involved. If a student is missing for two or three days a fortnight, the Department for Child Protection and Family Support does not become involved. That is a major concern. If a child does not attend school, they are set up for failure in society.

It is a shame that I have only two minutes left because there was so much more that I wanted to say. In the last two minutes, I want to briefly make a comment or two about domestic or family violence. We heard today that the government will finally introduce GPS tracking for some serious family violence offenders—something that it promised at the 2013 election. The member for Murray–Wellington, who was the Minister for Corrective Services at the time, was part of that announcement. To his credit, he raised the issue in the term of this Parliament. We will wait and see but we had a commitment today that the government will finally instigate its election promise to ensure GPS tracking occurred for certain family violence offenders.

In my last minute, I wish to say that the Minister for Police made a grave mistake being part of the decision to get rid of the specialised police units that were reducing the rate of domestic violence. The police

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commissioner's announcement the other day that local policing teams will now concentrate on high-volume crimes such as domestic violence reflects the poor judgement of the minister. What annoys me time and again is the inability of the Minister for Police to accept that she has made a mistake and that she should correct it. From what I can understand, the Commissioner of Police has made his decision. I am sure that if it was left to the police minister, she would never admit there was anything wrong. As far as she is concerned, the Frontline 2020 system is perfect, even though the WA Police Union and the residents of Armadale criticised it.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Member for Wanneroo.

MR P. PAPALIA (Warnbro) [9.09 pm]: Wanneroo?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Sorry. Member for Warnbro. Apologies, member.

Mr P. PAPALIA: Demotion!

Mr P.T. Miles: Defamation; calling him the member for Wanneroo—that's defamation.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: We are off to an excellent start for 2016.

Mr A.P. Jacob interjected.

Mr P. PAPALIA: Minister, I do not wish that. Even he would think that would be a ridiculous proposition. There is no envy at all of the member for Wanneroo and his position.

I intend to focus a fair bit of my contribution in response to the Premier's fairly flimsy speech today on a particular impact on the budget made by the corrective services portfolio. Before I get to that, I refer to the shadow Treasurer's contribution earlier today when he spoke about an enticing invitation that was distributed far and wide for a meal in the company of the member for Wanneroo and that exciting, dynamic and entertaining speaker, the Minister for Planning, at the Western Australian Club. Where was it going to be?

Mr P.T. Miles: That is right—at the Western Australian Club.

Mr P. PAPALIA: That reminded me of something that happened over the break. The member might have heard about it; it was a fundraising event. During the break, it was brought to my attention that some of our colleagues in this place had planned another fundraising event. It was an interesting one because it was one which I had never seen the likes of. I was fortunate to have come into my possession a copy of an invitation that was from the Western Australian National Party.

Mr D.T. Redman: I didn't get one.

Mr P. PAPALIA: I can tell members that it was distributed widely enough for it to come into the hands of the WA Labor Party, so it must have been distributed fairly widely. Interestingly, the top of the invitation was entitled "All aboard!", indicating that there was a bit of a nautical theme to the fundraising event. It carried a pretty hefty price tag—the same as the member for Wanneroo's event. I reckon the member for Wanneroo's event would have been more attractive.

Mr P.T. Miles: Mine hasn't happened yet.

Mr P. PAPALIA: Let us hope the member gets some takers.

Mr P.T. Miles: The member for Victoria Park got the price wrong; it is \$1 500, not \$1 000.

Mr P. PAPALIA: The member has put a hefty price tag on himself and the exciting, dynamic Minister for Planning. The event I am referring to was relatively cheap at \$1 000 a plate. The interesting thing about that invitation was that, as part of its attraction, it drew upon defence assets. The whole idea of the invitation was to invite people to go along and spend \$1 000 to join, as I understand it, another 20 or so people to attend a National Party fundraiser on board a naval frigate alongside —

Mr D.T. Redman: It didn't happen.

Mr P. PAPALIA: There is a picture of the Leader of the Nationals. I have not said it happened. I am referring to the incredible audacity demonstrated by the WA National Party, including the minister, his fellow minister and his state director, in allowing this even to be considered in the first place and going to the point of distributing invitations to the public.

Mr D.T. Redman interjected.

Mr P. PAPALIA: The minister's processes need a lot more work. They are very, very interesting. When I drew this invitation to the attention of the media, his processes kicked in immediately after the press conference.

Mr D.T. Redman: Our processes were in place well before that.

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Mr P. PAPALIA: His processes kicked in immediately after the press conference and the event was then cancelled.

Mr D.T. Redman: The decisions were made before that.

Mr P. PAPALIA: The audacity of the WA Nationals, and ignorance I might add, to assume that they were able to hold a political fundraising event on board a naval ship alongside a naval base in the company of defence personnel is incredible. It was breathtaking. Not only that, it became evident after the event had been cancelled due to the internal processes kicking in once I had done the press conference and the media reports suggested that the member who was to be the beneficiary of the fundraiser at \$1 000 a head for 20 people had purchased this event for a relatively small sum. Like some shonky shyster outside the front of Dome Stadium, he had bought a ticket and was going to sell it for 20 times that price.

Mr D.J. Kelly: It's scalping.

Mr P. PAPALIA: He was scalping. The WA National Party was going to scalp the ticket it had bought for about \$2 500 and turn it into \$20 000. That is extraordinary audacity. What an affront to the democratic process. Mostly, how disdainful and arrogant to assume he could get away with that.

Mr D.T. Redman interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, minister; the member for Warnbro has the call!

Mr P. PAPALIA: Yes, he made a relatively small donation to the Royal Flying Doctor Service and he intended to turn it into a profit-making enterprise. Normally when politicians—we all do it—make donations to organisations such as the Royal Flying Doctor Service, we do not try to flip it and turn it into a money-making exercise. That is not the whole point. The point is that it is a donation; it is a contribution to the Royal Flying Doctor Service, it is not about buying a fundraising opportunity. It reminded me of those days, not in the far distant past, when the WA National Party used to benefit from Clive Palmer flying them around in his labelled private jet. The then Leader of the National Party and, doubtless, the current Leader of the Nationals, sat in those leather chairs in the private jet with Clive sipping a few champers as they rolled down the runway and flew up.

Mr D.T. Redman interjected.

Mr P. PAPALIA: I remember that he flew the minister down to his National Party state conference in Albany.

Mr D.T. Redman interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, members!

Mr P. PAPALIA: I remember; the member for Albany was there. He told me how the minister got there.

Mr P.B. Watson interjected.

Mr P. PAPALIA: Has the member for Pilbara been on Clive's private jet?

Mr D.T. Redman interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Minister.

Mr D.T. Redman: I have no idea.

Mr P. PAPALIA: He has because Clive told everyone. The Nationals have a long history.

Mr D.T. Redman interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order members! Member for Warnbro, we are talking about the Premier's Statement. Minister, will you please desist from interjecting. Thank you.

Mr P. PAPALIA: I have to reflect a little upon how ironic it is to watch what is happening to Clive Palmer and how appallingly he has treated people in his employ on the east coast and how close he was to the Western Australian National Party. That seems to have been forgotten too rapidly in my mind; it seems to have been dismissed way too rapidly. I recall that there was a proximity there when prior to the 2013 state election Clive Palmer was offering to fly 200 people in his private jet to campaign for the member for North West. I recall also, as part of his campaign, the offer to fly other members of the National Party around the state in his private jet. Perhaps a few questions should be asked about the nature and the extent of that relationship.

Dr A.D. Buti: The member for North West had his birthday party in Albany.

Mr P. PAPALIA: That is right.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, member for Armadale; the member for Warnbro has the floor.

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Mr P.B. Watson interjected.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Member for Albany, I can do this job without your assistance, thank you.

Mr P. PAPALIA: The shocking revelation that the Nationals were going to try to turn a donation to the Royal Flying Doctor Service into a fundraising event on board a naval vessel, using naval people in uniform, piqued my interest. It reminded me of the time that the Nationals were very proud of their relationship with Clive Palmer and the billionaire's largesse they benefitted from during that election. I felt it was probably worthy of reminding them and the people of Western Australia prior to making my contribution.

Having said that, I will push on because I do not have much time. I am very interested in making a few comments about the Premier's address. I felt in particular that he skimmed over a lot of things. As the shadow Treasurer and others have indicated, it was effectively a glad-bag collection of press statements and one-liners that had been used over recent years. What I was most disappointed with was his very flimsy contribution on crime and drugs, noting the attention those subjects have drawn in the public eye in recent times and, noting, in the words of the police minister, the unprecedented crime wave we are suffering at the moment. I thought it was extraordinary that the only section of the Premier's Statement that addressed that claimed that offence rates had effectively decreased in the past decade. That completely ignored the fact that in the last eight months now—it was seven, but we are now into the eighth straight month—year on year, we have had double-digit growth in crime rates. That is unprecedented and extraordinary and it demands much more rigorous attention from the government and much more transparent response to questions about statistics and strategies for dealing with the problem.

In the Premier's contribution, however, all we got was a few throwaway lines about crime. It is interesting that the Liberal-National government has finally discovered that the causes of crime are complex. It is not as simple as reeling out a one-liner about law and order. The government is not going to solve the problem of crime with the burglary law. It is not going to solve it with mandatory sentencing for assaults on police officers. It is not going to solve it with the stop-and-search law. None of those things will have any impact at all—unless it is a negative impact. Finally, the government has discovered, after seven and a half years in office, after eight straight months of increasing crime rates, and after everyone in Western Australia has been calling the government's attention to the fact that they feel far less safe under this government than they ever have in the history of the state, that the causes of crime are complex. Congratulations! That is an interesting observation coming from the government.

The Premier claims that the government's response to crime is multifaceted. He lauds a publicly-funded police ice prevention campaign targeting young people. How is that going? If the government has any data that indicates that what it is doing is likely to work, I would appreciate it if the government would table it. If the government has any benchmarking of the rate of methamphetamine use among young people in Western Australia prior to its campaign, it would be interesting to know about that, because we would then be able to measure the government's success. At the end of the campaign, we would be able to determine whether the campaign had worked, or whether the government has wasted that money and all it had achieved was the visual illusion that it was actually doing something about crime. I suspect that last point is the intent of that whole campaign. I think it has been dreamed up by Dixie, and advised by Robert Taylor, at great expense—\$150 000 every six months; it keeps getting renewed—and a legion of other advisers who are employed across all portfolios, but particularly in the Department of the Premier and Cabinet and the Premier's office. They are all about trying to find the right language that can be employed to suggest to people that things are not quite as bad as they think they are. The problem is that people's lived experience does not accord with what the government is trying to sell them. People go to the cinema and see a campaign telling young people not to use ice. That is all about the government trying to give the public the message that it is trying to do something. It is not about the what the government is actually doing to deal with the ice epidemic.

We are told by the Premier that the police have introduced specialised meth teams to tackle organised crime, and that is achieving significant results in stopping supply. It is true that every time the Commissioner of Police or the Minister for Police get in trouble and some appalling statistic is revealed, they roll out a front-page exclusive in *The West Australian* with Grant Taylor, showing police with weapons and in body armour, bashing down the door of a meth laboratory. That is their standard response. Of course, they find some meth—go figure. They try to divert the attention of the public from the fact that this month, again, there has been a double-digit increase in crime, by allowing the television cameras to be there for a police raid, and consistently the police find meth. There is no surprise there.

The other night I listened to an amazing program on Radio National about meth. The same thing is happening across the country. Last week, the feds ran the biggest methamphetamine bust in history in Sydney, when they

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found liquid meth that had been hidden in gel bra inserts. It was suggested on this radio show that the problem with these busts is that the price of meth is now lower than it has ever been before. That tells us that despite all these busts, we are not taking enough meth out of the market to increase the price. It is supply and demand. If ice becomes scarce, it will be worth more. If ice becomes more freely available, it will be worth less. I was told on this radio program that now that Opal fuel has been rolled out and it is difficult for kids to get hold of petrol that they can sniff, the kids in Darwin in the Northern Territory have changed to using ice, because that is cheaper and easier to get. Think about that. That is a concern. That is an indication of the extent of this challenge. It is also something that has not happened just now.

The final point that the Premier made in the very flimsy contribution to crime and drugs component of his statement is that the government provides \$66 million a year to fund treatment and support services for drug and alcohol abuse across the state. This year, the budget of the Department of Corrective Services will top \$1 billion. The government is spending more than \$1 billion on punishment that will not work—on locking people up and giving them no intervention and no treatment—and it is spending \$66 million on treatment plans. It is no wonder people are flying to Thailand or Malaysia to get drug intervention. The government is spending \$1 billion in recurrent costs for corrective services on a system that is an abject failure. It is patently failing to deal with the ice epidemic, and failing to change people's behaviour. It does not focus on any offender who is given a sentence of less than six months. An offender who goes into our prison system gets no intervention if they are given a sentence of less than six months. A lot of the people who go to prison for drug-related offences are sentenced for less than six months.

[Member's time extended.]

Mr P. PAPALIA: After the Canning by-election and the ridiculous slogan that was on the Liberal Party paraphernalia and corflute signs promising to deliver, as a solution to the ice epidemic, mandatory sentencing of one year for dealers who deal to children, I asked a few questions. During that campaign, not one single journalist bothered to ask the idiots who had written that slogan on their corflutes how many people currently go to prison for less than one year for dealing ice to kids. In fact, no-one asked how many people in Western Australia are charged and convicted for dealing ice to kids. I suspect the answer is none. The reason I asked that question is that no journalist could be bothered. The fluffy treatment of a former Special Air Service Regiment soldier who was running in that campaign was pretty spectacular. I admire him. I respect his career. He is clearly a good officer. I met him on election day, and he seemed to be a nice bloke. However, I witnessed during that campaign a phenomenon that I had often seen in the military. Having served in the Special Air Service Regiment, I am not necessarily in awe of people who wear a sandy beret. I have spent a lot of time around them and have completed the same selection and training as they have, and I respect them incredibly and admire and laud them for what they do. However, that does not mean that when I meet someone like him, I go weak at the knees. Nevertheless, while I was in the Navy, I often met senior officers who, the moment they met a special forces' operator, lost all concept of reality. They became credulous—they were willing to believe anything the person would say. They would even attribute them with a degree of knowledge about a field of endeavour that they might not have had. The same thing occurred during that campaign. He was a wonderful candidate, a good young man, a brilliant officer, and a brilliant soldier, and he is now a fine member of Parliament. However, he is worthy of being asked questions nevertheless, and he should have been subjected to a bit more scrutiny, particularly about the ice epidemic.

What had happened, obviously, is that the focus groups had told the Liberal Party that ice was a serious issue in Western Australia. It was certainly a serious concern in the electorate of Canning. Therefore, the Liberal Party said, "We have to do something about ice. Let us roll out a slogan on mandatory sentencing, as we always do." However, the Liberal Party put no detail behind it, no depth of knowledge, and no investigation. I noticed that, immediately after the election, once the member for Canning had had a bit of time and got his feet under the table, he came out with some much more conciliatory and reasoned responses about ice. He realised, once he had done some research and learnt a little about the ice challenge, that mandatory sentencing is irrational and silly, besides which, if a person deals drugs to kids, they will go to jail for a lot longer than one year. It was just a stupid thing to have on his campaign material and I am sure he is backing away from it as fast as he can.

The other thing to acknowledge is that the federal government has very little to do with providing the real interventions and the real changes, which can be delivered only by state governments. All it can do at the federal level is provide intervention at the borders and try to prevent drugs being brought into the country. It can provide us with intelligence and, hopefully, assistance and funding for the services that we provide, but the state is the service provider. The state has to provide the interventions that will work, and I think the member for Canning knows that now.

Extract from Hansard

[ASSEMBLY — Tuesday, 16 February 2016]

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Mr Colin Barnett; Mr Roger Cook; Mrs Michelle Roberts; Mr Mark McGowan; Mrs Liza Harvey; Dr Tony Buti; Mr Peter Tinley; Mr Ben Wyatt; Ms Rita Saffioti; Mr Bill Johnston; Mr Peter Watson; Mr Paul Papalia; Mr Shane Love; Mr Dave Kelly; Ms Lisa Baker; Ms Libby Mettam

I asked how many adults were convicted of an offence or offences involving drug use, drug possession, dealing or trafficking in 2014 and, for each of those categories, how many were sentenced for between 12 and 24 months—I knew in all likelihood that a fair number would have been sentenced for more than a year—how many were sentenced for between 24 and 36 months and how many were sentenced for between 36 and 48 months. I got the answers, which indicate that a substantial number were sentenced for drug use, and 909 people were convicted in 2014 of dealing and trafficking, and about one-third of those people were sentenced for longer than a year. A lot of drug users deal, so they might have been minor offences and two-thirds of those people probably got less than a year, but one-third were sentenced for between one year and two years, between two years and three years and between three years and four years, so they were more significant. What I found most interesting were the answers to the last questions I asked, which were how many offenders for each of those categories had crystal methamphetamine use, possession or dealing, as a component of their offence and how many offenders for each of those categories had crystal methamphetamine dealing to a child as a component of their offence. I was interested. Clearly, the Liberal Party was promising something significant at the Canning by-election: if a person deals crystal meth to a child, they will go into the slammer for a year at least—mandatory sentencing. That must have been a significant challenge. There must have been a lot of people out there dealing to kids.

Do you know what was most interesting in the response that I received, Madam Deputy Speaker? The most interesting answer I got to the last two questions about the number of offenders who had crystal meth possession or dealing as a component of their offence and the number of offenders who had crystal meth dealing to a child as a component of their offence was that the type of drug is not recorded in the electronic data system. The Department of the Attorney General does not record in its database the type of drug that someone has been convicted for. When these guys opposite tell us that they have a plan for dealing with crystal meth, I am a little sceptical, because the Attorney General's department—the department in the middle of the pipe that flows from the police to the Attorney General's department and then to the Department of Corrective Services—does not record what type of drug the person has been convicted for. How do we solve a problem if we know so little about it that it is not even recorded in the database to enable the data to be extracted? We do not even record the type of drug that they are convicted of selling. It just replicates the paucity of data management, data gathering and statistical analysis across all the critical portfolios in this field of endeavour.

I am scathing in my criticism of the police and their data management, not of what they do on a daily basis, because they do a great job. The people responsible for accruing data and providing it in a fashion that can be analysed and worked with to determine ways forward in combating this scourge have done nothing for a decade as far as I can see. For seven and a half years, I have asked a number of questions of the police ministers, seeking a breakdown of the number of mentally ill people who encounter the police and end up being charged with offences that result in mandatory sentences. In answer to those questions and other types of questions in which I have asked for a breakdown of data, I have been told that the police have multiple databases that do not talk to each other. There is a database that manages the call-outs for police who respond to a call by the family of a person who is mentally ill and is having a psychotic episode, because they need help. That database does not talk to the database that records the details of the person who got a mandatory sentence for assaulting a police officer, so we do not know how many mentally ill people assaulted a police officer after their parents called the police because their lives were being threatened. I do not know whether it has happened or the extent of it. No-one does, because the databases do not talk to each other and nobody has bothered to make a move towards making databases more compatible and user friendly so that we can extract data.

The answer to the problem of methamphetamines, the problem of crime and the problem of the growing prison budget is information and evidence. We have to get the data into a useable form and then get some smart people who are independent of the police department, the Attorney General's department and the corrective services department and who do not have agendas in defending past legacies to analyse the information and make it transparent and open and allow everyone to see the results. We will find that there will be hotspots right across the states—there is no great insight—and that some individuals and families are disproportionately responsible for a lot of what is going on. They will be disproportionately represented in the prison system and disproportionately costing taxpayers. They are obviously the place we should go to first to solve the problem. If resources are thrown in a concentrated way at a small number of targets, we will get a far more effective outcome, instead of sitting back in the dark and assuming that it is too difficult and letting people who are paid hundreds of thousands of dollars a year to do their job shrug when someone asks them what the problem is: "I don't know; I've only been in charge for the better part of a decade but I still don't know." If someone has been in charge for a decade or more as part of the government, they are part of the problem, not part of the solution. What they are doing when they are defending their legacy by denying or hiding the facts is making matters worse. It is disgraceful and people should be condemned for that. Billions of dollars of taxpayers' money

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is being poured down the drain. It is not being used in an effective fashion and we cannot afford it. Thanks to what this government has done, we cannot afford to waste our money anywhere, least of all in a place that turns minor offenders into serious offenders and lets them loose back in the community. It is crazy.

MR R.S. LOVE (Moore — Parliamentary Secretary) [9.38 pm]: In speaking to the Premier's Statement, I want to briefly touch on a couple of matters that pertain to my electorate of Moore and a couple of other matters. First of all, I will note something that is very important to recognise. Last year was the 100th anniversary of the theory of general relativity written by Professor Albert Einstein. On 14 September last year, unbeknownst to many people until very recently, for the first time gravitational waves were detected in America, and that went some way to further reinforcing the good professor's theory of general relativity. It is a great achievement for science. The part that was played by the observatory at Gingin should be acknowledged in this house. Gingin scientists, including Professor David Blair, accurately predicted that the advanced Laser Interferometer Gravitational-wave Observatory—LIGO—detection device that the Americans built would have in-built instability, which would be problematic. They predicted that and they were also a very big part of the solution. Just after they brought it online, they detected the first of these gravitational waves. It was a very fitting 100th anniversary of the theory of general relativity.

Speaking briefly on other matters in my electorate, I would like to point out to the house that royalties for regions is very much alive and well. It is active in the regional areas. It is contributing to areas such as my electorate in very important ways. First of all, it supports agriculture. Back in 2013, the National Party went to the election with the idea that the mining boom was a very important driver for economic growth in Western Australia, but that we needed to use that boom period to provide permanent prosperity for Western Australia. One industry that would provide that was agriculture. I am very pleased that, along with our Liberal partners in government, we have developed a \$300 million support package for agriculture that, in my electorate, supports grower groups, biodiversity and the Water for Food program. They are all very important things in the area between Gingin and Dongara in my electorate—an area of great prospectivity for horticulture and other forms of irrigated agriculture. It is already very important in the Shire of Gingin, further to the south.

Royalties for regions has supported the tourism industry. For instance, on top of the \$15 million that was spent in Kalbarri National Park to seal parts of the road out to The Loop and Z Bend, and also providing better visitor services, I am very pleased that last year a \$20 million package was announced to further the tourism industry in Kalbarri. Tourism is another industry that will continue to provide permanent prosperity to Western Australia going forward. It is great that royalties for regions is able to support that industry as well. The work in Kalbarri will see a complete sealing of the road out to The Loop and Z Bend in the national park, which has long been asked for by the Kalbarri community. It will also see the development of an innovative and spectacular skywalk at the park. That has caused a great deal of excitement in Kalbarri. I was in Kalbarri yesterday. People up there are very excited about the development taking place. I am very glad that royalties for regions has been part of it.

One problem experienced in Kalbarri in recent times has been the insecurity of its power supply. A town that is very dependent on tourism certainly needs to give tourists a good experience when they are in town. Being in a town with no power during a period of 40-degree heat means that swimming pools and air conditioners cannot be used and that there are no cool drinks in the pub. That does not help greatly. Businesses are acting to reinforce their own power supply. Yesterday, I attended a workshop with the Mid West Development Commission, which is working towards developing an energy package and solution, along with Western Power and other government organisations, for Kalbarri and the midwest generally. I look forward very much to the results of that package being announced at some point. I know we will see the reinforcement of power in Kalbarri and an improvement in that situation.

Another matter that is hugely important in my electorate is telecommunications. Royalties for regions has already delivered 113 mobile phone towers to Western Australia along with another 20 towers in a subsequent program under the regional telecommunications program. That is now aligned with the federal government's mobile blackspot funding. It will deliver a further 130 towers into regional Western Australia. All in all, well over 200 mobile phone towers are reinforcing the telecommunications network throughout the state. That is being done with the aid of \$85 million of royalties for regions money.

Other critical areas in my electorate are human services such as health and aged care. My electorate is no stranger to an ageing population. There are very large areas of unmet need in aged care. Recently, the Wheatbelt Development Commission undertook work on providing better aged care for residents throughout the wheatbelt region, especially the eastern wheatbelt. I believe that was commissioned by the Regional Development Council to develop a statewide package to assist the state's aged-care needs. I look

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forward to that package being developed and released in good time. I am sure that over the coming years that package will greatly improve outcomes for aged people within the regional communities of Western Australia.

Another area of great need in any community is education. Royalties for regions has also been doing very good work in providing better regional hostels throughout the state, as witnessed in places such as Merredin. It is my hope that educational facilities in the town of Moora will soon benefit from royalties for regions expenditure because, sadly, the hostel there is no longer up to scratch and certainly needs an upgrade. I am very confident that we will be able to do something with that in the near future so that parents will be happy and proud to send their children to that facility. Education, aged care and health are very essential services to the fabric of the community. I am very pleased that royalties for regions, as the Premier said today, has contributed \$6.1 billion thus far and counting, and will continue to provide great benefits to the region. I look forward to those programs being developed over the next year and over the coming years. I thank the house for its time.

MR D.J. KELLY (Bassendean) [9.43 pm]: Some earlier speakers dealt pretty comprehensively with the mismanagement that this government has dealt to the state's budget. I might say a bit more about that later, but for now I will say a couple of things about health—but I see the minister is running out the door! The government says that one of its achievements is the new Midland hospital. This hospital was planned, and half of it was funded, under the previous Labor government. The only major decision made by this state government was the decision to privatise it—to have St John of God Health Care come in and run it. One of the complications of St John of God Health Care running the campus is that it will not provide a whole range of reproductive services for both men and women. That resulted in the government initially wanting to put a separate clinic on the site to provide those services, but when that became impractical, because the hospital would not cooperate, the government upgraded a separate clinic in Midland to provide those services. That is simply not acceptable. That has created a focus in the Midland area on people who are opposed to these sorts of reproductive services being provided to anyone by anyone. We have already heard reports that anti-abortion activists will protest outside the centre in the coming weeks. That has provoked plans by people who support those services being available in the community. It has provoked those people who support those services to organise counter-protests. In all likelihood there will be an unpleasant scenario in which people who want to use those services will have to navigate their way through people who are for and against those services being provided to the community. That should never have happened. People, mainly women, who want to access those services, should be able to access them at the new Midland hospital. But this government, through its decision to privatise it knowing that the operator would not provide those services, has created a situation in which there will be conflict and competing protests at the Midland clinic. That is a completely unsatisfactory circumstance for those people who have a legitimate right to access those services. I want to hear from the Premier and the health minister, before he retires, what they are going to do about that situation.

Dr A.D. Buti: Member, the health minister has really already retired!

Mr D.J. KELLY: That is right; the health minister, to all intents and purposes, has already retired. It has been suggested that the current Minister for Planning will take over; he made a bit of a hash of the portfolio last time, but maybe this problem will land on his desk. It is completely intolerable that people who want to legitimately access those public services will be in a situation, because those services are provided through a separate, easily identifiable clinic, of having to run the gauntlet of protesters opposed to those services. The Premier is fond of saying, "Look what we have done: we have built Fiona Stanley, we have built Midland. What wonderful assets they are." Both hospitals were planned and largely funded by previous Labor governments, and the only substantial contribution that this Liberal-National government has made is, firstly, in the case of Fiona Stanley, to privatise many of the services under a contract to Serco, which has been a disaster; and, secondly, at Midland to privatise the whole hospital by giving the management contract to St John of God Health Care. That has, by its very nature, created the problems I talked about earlier. I do not think the Premier or current health minister have much to be proud of in the area of health.

I turn to transport as there are a couple of issues in my electorate. The NorthLink project is essentially an upgrade in the Bassendean-Morley area, and is an upgrade of Tonkin Highway. It will see a number of intersections replaced with overpasses, which is a good thing. It is unfortunate that at the same time the upgrade is being put in place we are not also building a train line up Tonkin Highway. That is what would have happened had the Metronet plan from the last election been successful. Nevertheless, under the NorthLink project some of those intersections at Collier Road, Morley Drive and Benara Road will be replaced by flyovers. That is all well and good, but the transport minister, in the chaotic way he plans things, forgot to look at the implications for Hampton Park Primary School, which is on the western side of Tonkin Highway in the seat of Morley. A significant number of students live on the eastern side of Tonkin Highway in my electorate, and they currently access the school via an underpass under Tonkin Highway. The plans released for NorthLink did not include an

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underpass. Students would have either had to walk through a massive interchange to get to the school, or their parents, more than likely, would have driven to the school. Instead of being able to park on the eastern side of Tonkin Highway in a car park and then have a short walk through the underpass, they were presented with a whole bunch of students having to drive through the new intersection to get to their school. The school was not consulted during that planning, not consulted at all, and it has been a complete debacle. The P&C only found out about what was planned because of contacts that people at the P&C had in the Department of Transport. Had they not had those contacts, they would never have found out the implications for their school. Once the school got involved and I became aware of the situation, we started to agitate for a solution. I also give credit to Amber-Jade Sanderson, an upper house member for East Metropolitan Region, who did a fantastic job working with, especially, the P&C at the school. As a result of that, a committee has been set up and one of the outcomes is that there will be a new underpass under the upgraded NorthLink. It will be a much longer underpass and the planners are going to have to think very carefully about how they design it so that there are not issues with antisocial behaviour in the longer underpass. But the problem that the transport minister still has not resolved is the car park on the eastern side of Tonkin Highway. Currently there are 80 car bays. At pick-up and drop-off, parents come in, park, go through the underpass, and then leave. The plan is that there will be up to only 20 car bays on the eastern side of Tonkin Highway. That will simply not be enough to replace the car park that currently has a capacity of 80 bays. I have written to the Minister for Transport. I wrote to him on several occasions last year. I wrote to him most recently on 20 October 2015 and made it clear to him in that letter that the 12 or 20-car bay plan was simply not enough to replace the current approximately 80 car bays. The minister replied and completely ignored the issue of the car park. He did not refer to that at all; he talked only about the underpass. There will be immense disruption in the local area if that car park is replaced with a much smaller one.

They are also cutting off a couple of streets. Abbey Street in particular will be closed off as part of this proposal. That is adjacent to the existing car park. I say to the Minister for Transport that he should look at the practical impacts of the project he is working on. He has a very poor record of doing so. The community in Morley are very unhappy with his performance. They are not particularly impressed by the member for Morley, Ian Britza, either, who has shown precious little interest in this issue. The minister needs to address this issue or else he will have a lovely new highway but there will be chaos around Hilton Primary School.

The other transport issue I refer to is one that I have raised with the minister before. The lifts at the Bassendean train station continually break down. There are central lifts that take people down onto the platform. There is a lift on the north side and a lift on the south side of the platforms, so people have to go up one and then come down the central lifts to get to the platform. The lifts at Bassendean train station break down about once every two weeks, so since January 2013, they have broken down more than 80 times. When a mother with a child in a pram or a disabled person or an elderly person—one of my constituents who uses those lifts frequently is a visually impaired man with a seeing-eye dog—come to the station and have planned their journey and find the lifts out of action, it is an immense inconvenience. If one of the lifts is out, the alternative route to the central platform involves a 200-metre walk down the train line to an underpass, to cross Guildford Road and to then a walk all the way back to the station. It is completely intolerable. If a person with a disability, for example, is going to a job interview and they have organised their travel and they get to the Bassendean train station and find that the lifts are broken down, they could miss their job interview. People could be late for work. People want two things: they want the lifts to be upgraded so that they work rather than breaking down on average once a fortnight and they want an alternative route with immediate access to the platform in the event that the lifts do, on what we hope would be a rare occasion, break down. There are plenty other train stations with alternative access even if that alternative access is made available only when the lifts have broken down. That arrangement would be acceptable. But I have written to the Minister for Transport about this on numerous occasions. In my latest letter I have invited him to come to look at the train station to see the level of disruption caused when the lifts break down. I am yet to get a positive response from the minister. I particularly raise the issue because when I got to Parliament this morning, I got a message that the lifts were broken down again today, so today the lift on the northern side of the line is broken. I am told that it was back in service later this afternoon, but honestly it is not good enough. It was broken for five days in January and now here we are, not even at the end of February, and it is broken down again. There are two issues I would like the Minister for Transport to get on with.

I cannot have this time without again raising issues around the disability justice centre in Lockridge—the one centre that has been built. On New Year's Eve, two residents from the centre on Lord Street escaped. There were only three residents in the centre and two of them literally decided that they would rather be somewhere else enjoying New Year's Eve than being locked in the centre, so they just climbed the fences and got out—as simple as that. There were helicopters in the air on New Year's Eve and police scouring the suburbs, so it became very obvious that something was going on, but there was no public announcement from anyone to let the community

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know what had gone on. I found out about it pretty much first thing New Year's Day. I made a phone call to the Midland Police Station and was told that there had been an escape the day before and that the people who had escaped had not been located. The community found out that there had been an escape because I told them. The minister did not make any statement and the police did not make any statement. I understand that the minister did not authorise any information to be given because she is of the view that those people do not pose a threat to the community. That shows no respect to the people in the community—none whatsoever. We had the ludicrous situation of choppers in the air and police scouring the suburbs, but people were not given any information. One resident said that police officers approached them and asked if they had seen anyone in the suburb who looked a bit mental. What sort of description is that? Another resident was asked by a police officer whether they had seen two people in the suburb, one of them dark and the other darker. What sort of information is that to be given to the community? Because of the attention that this escape on New Year's Eve received—I think that is the only reason the minister did this—she agreed to meet with representatives of the community in a couple of days' time.

[Member's time extended.]

Mr D.J. KELLY: She met with representatives from the P&Cs of Eden Hill and Lockridge Primary Schools. One thing we asked the minister to do, notwithstanding whether the centre should be there or not, was that if there is an escape, they should at least tell the primary schools nearby so that they can go into lockdown and be immediately confident that the children are safe. The schools could then make a decision, in consultation with the disability justice centre, about the level of threat, and if there is no threat or the threat is low, they could resume normal activities. Unless the schools know this, parents will not feel confident that their children are safe. The minister said that she would take that on-board and would meet with them in a couple of weeks' time. The minister's response after considering that request from the P&Cs of both those schools was that if it is the choppers and the police searching in the suburbs that is causing the distress, they should simply tell the police that the escapees do not pose any threat and the police will not look for them, and that should alleviate concern in the community. That is the most ridiculous proposition I have ever heard. We have the school saying that if there is an escape from a school facility, it should at least be told so it can put the children first, go into lockdown and then make its own assessment as to the level of any risk. What response do we get from the minister? The minister says, "Well, if it's the police presence that's upsetting you, we will not ask the police to look for these people because we do not think they are a risk." The minister has flatly refused to say to the parent communities at Lockridge Primary School and Eden Hill Primary School that if there is an escape from the disability justice centre, they will be notified. That to me is just an example of this minister being completely pig-headed in dealing with this issue. Putting aside where the centre is and whether it met the criteria that the government established for these centres, the community is just asking for some basic protections while the centre is there. The parents want to be comforted by the fact that if there is an escape, at least the two schools will be notified. The minister has rejected that.

I might just move on to an issue relating to my portfolio as shadow Minister for Water. I noticed that the Minister for Environment has come back into the chamber, so I will turn to an issue that affects his portfolio. Today the Minister for Water made a ministerial statement about the incident at the Minnivale Reservoir. When that reservoir was refurbished, 138 members of the public and staff were exposed to asbestos because of the poor practices that the Water Corporation had in place when it carried out that refurbishment. Despite the asbestos being clearly on the work plans, the Water Corporation did not tell the contractors who were doing the work that asbestos was present, so staff on the site were exposed. The local contractor who was used to transport the waste was also told that there was no asbestos. He transported the waste to the Northam tip in bins that were not designed for asbestos. The asbestos was simply dumped in the general waste section at the Northam tip. Clearly, on the face of it, that breaches the regulations for the disposal of asbestos—that is, the Environmental Protection (Controlled Waste) Regulations 2004. What concerned me today in the Minister for Water's statement, amongst other things, is that she said —

The Water Corporation has been notified by the Department of Environment Regulation that it will take no further action in relation to its regulatory powers under the Environmental Protection (Controlled Waste) Regulations 2004.

I take that to mean that the Department of Environment Regulation is not intending to prosecute the Water Corporation for its breach of regulations in the way that it transported and disposed of the asbestos waste resulting from the refurbishment of the Minnivale Reservoir. I say to the Minister for Environment that I cannot understand how that possibly could be the case. The Water Corporation and the minister have admitted that the waste was transported not in a way consistent with those regulations and it was dumped in the general waste section of the Northam tip. It has not been recovered from the Northam tip and disposed of in accordance with those regulations. For whatever reason—perhaps it has been determined too difficult—that asbestos waste remains in the place at which it was originally dumped in the tip. On the face of it, it would appear that the

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Water Corporation was in breach of those regulations. I cannot for the life of me understand why the department of the Minister for Environment will not prosecute. We in Western Australia know how dangerous asbestos is; indeed, the problem of people dumping asbestos is enormous, yet this government utility, by its own admission, has failed in asbestos management and, on the face of it, it appears as though it has contravened the regulations. I ask the Minister for Environment to explain whether it is the case that the Water Corp will be prosecuted; and, if not, why not? Will he make the details of the department's investigation available so that we learn the reasons that led him to what I think was a great travesty? People's lives have been irreversibly affected by their exposure to asbestos as a result of negligence on the part of the Water Corporation. They expect people to be accountable. I hope that WorkSafe Western Australia is still investigating. Perhaps WorkSafe will prosecute the Water Corporation. Perhaps, too, individual employees, contractors or the companies that did the work will take civil action. Perhaps all that will happen but that is no reason why the minister's department should not take a very firm view about this incident. If there is basis for prosecution, I urge the minister to ensure that that happens. To do otherwise will send a message to those people who have been exposed to asbestos that their lives simply do not matter.

I will also raise some issues about Fisheries. Over summer a few people noted the various events marking various anniversaries in the No WA Shark Cull campaign, the campaign against the government's ill-thought-out, poorly designed, ridiculously expensive and ultimately ineffectual shark cull program that the Premier embarked on a few years ago. I again congratulate people such as Natalie Banks for all the work she did for that campaign. She had a lot of support from people, particularly those on the Conservation Council of Western Australia and from Sea Shepherd Australia. As people remember the anniversaries of those rallies and various events, I again acknowledge the work they did. I raise it today for a particular reason. In the last couple of days there was an ABC media report that the UN has urged the Western Australian government not to go ahead with its anti-protest laws. The media report reads —

The UN said it would “result in criminalising lawful protests and silencing environmentalists and human rights defenders”.

“If the bill passes, it would go against Australia's international obligations under international human rights law, including the rights to freedom of opinion and expression as well as peaceful assembly and association”, the UN Human Rights Office said in a statement.

The report continues —

“The bill would criminalise a wide range of legitimate conduct by creating criminal offences for the acts of physically preventing a lawful activity and possessing an object for the purpose of preventing a lawful activity.

“For example, peaceful civil disobedience and any non-violent direct action could be characterised as ‘physically preventing a lawful activity’.”

The report goes on to say —

UN special rapporteur on freedom of expression David Kaye said legitimate protest actions would disproportionately criminalise under the legislation, which “would have the chilling effect of silencing dissenters and punishing expression protected by international human rights law”.

Predictably, the Premier has just dismissed all that by saying that Australia is no despotic African country and basically telling the United Nations to mind its own business. Can I just say to those opposite that we live in a world where, over decades, Australia has very strongly supported organisations such as the UN as a way of peacefully resolving international conflicts. We often criticise other countries for not abiding by UN resolutions or determinations. I just ask those opposite to reconsider because every time we thumb our nose at the UN and other bodies that criticise our human rights record, we weaken those organisations.

I celebrate the success of the No WA Shark Cull campaign and I thank those people for their work. I urge people opposite, based among other things, on the views expressed by the United Nations to reconsider the protest laws that the government is about to bring in. They are unfair; they are undemocratic and will unreasonably limit people's rights.

MS L.L. BAKER (Maylands) [10.16 pm]: One of my shadow portfolios is parliamentary secretary for small business and I have been discussing with my upper house colleague shadow minister Hon Kate Doust some more innovative ways of approaching the small business sector. I have also been talking about it with my dear friend Liz Lennon, and it is to her that I owe most of my speech tonight. She is an avid researcher and a very intelligent woman and she took herself off and did some extensive research into what I want to talk about tonight.

We live in a world in which financial wealth and ownership is focused in the hands of a few to the detriment of many. The international economy, the Australian economy and the Western Australian economy are all under

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pressure at the moment. Globally, propped-up banks are still failing while people are being evicted from their homes, unemployment rates are rising, industries are closing or they are letting workers go and communities are fragmenting. Old economic definitions, structures and systems are not working and we need to have some courage to imagine, experiment and take new risks to explore different economic models.

What if profit was not defined as just something that has to grow and grow to the detriment of communities and countries? What if profit was not about just the bottom line that ignores the impact of the business on communities and the environment? What if we expand our vision to include profit making that has a sustainable social benefit return on investment? I will quote from *The Guardian* of July last year —

Current statistics, such as gross domestic product and stock market indices, reinforce short-termism and separate “the economy” from the rest of society.

...

Total-cost accounting, including full environmental and social costs, is essential to identify businesses that are adding to the economy vis-a-vis those accumulating income at the expense of society, as is the case with most fossil fuel industries.

...

While global governance in the 20th century was led by nations and companies championing the classical model of industrialisation with high social and environmental costs, the 21st century system needs to be driven by those who are able to marry economic dynamism with a high quality of life and the promotion of human and ecosystem wellbeing.

What if definitions and assessments of return on investment and other key economic terms are expanded to reflect broader economic social, cultural and community impacts? What if there are more expansive economic approaches for businesses and communities to use things that do not worship economic profit and growth to the exclusion of the community and environmental being? What if politicians and governments had the courage to learn about, explore and support more diverse economic, ownership and profit models?

If members cannot imagine any of this, it is their failure. Hundreds of thousands of enterprises around the world, employing millions of people, are pioneering this model of economic architecture and making it work. There are places around the world where businesses run enterprises that are driven by values and impacts beyond profit maximising and detached ownership. Businesses that create products and services that employ people impact positively on their community and have a range of economic, social and cultural forms of profit. If we as members of Parliament want to stay truly relevant to our constituents and communities, we need to have the courage to take the imaginative risks that are required to support enterprises that are ready and willing to embrace new ways of doing business.

When we think about profit maximising and what business does and how countries thrive, we would start to ask questions about the catastrophic 2008 global banking crisis, which left countries on their knees and deeply disenfranchised their citizens. That should be sufficient evidence of how profit maximisation and distanced ownership cannot any longer be the *raison d'être* of business and governments. Extracting the last drop of profit regardless of the impact is not feasible. Extracting the lowest possible wages for workers should not be sanctioned. Extracting people from their homes and livelihoods is just not fair.

We need to move from a narrow, constrained view to an expansive view of the world that values more than profit growth at the expense of people and community health and wellbeing. What if businesses thrived and were part of an integrated and more purposeful system that included different models of ownership, with positive impacts? As Marjorie Kelly said in her book *Owning Our Future: The Emerging Ownership Revolution*, ownership is the underlying architecture of our economy. It is a journey into the territory of the possible. It is about deep change, hope, and a permanent shift in the underlying architecture of economic power. She talks also about building an economic and ownership architecture that is generative rather than extractive and creates beneficial rather than harmful results. The extractive model has as its core purpose the maximum extraction of wealth in the shortest time. It is about maximising profit for owners, who are often disconnected or absent from the life of the business and have no real regard for the impact of the activities of the business on the local community and the environment. Control and governance is by capital markets that are on autopilot and funded by what is generally referred to as casino finance. Everything is seen as a commodity. That can be compared with the generative model. The generative model has as its core purpose the need to create economic pathways that enable everyone to flourish across generations, and ownership is held in human hands that are connected to the life of the enterprise. Governance is focused on profit making, not maximising, linked to social mission, and funded through stakeholder finance.

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Why are governments not educating, supporting and funding these types of enterprises? I think it is because there is a lack of will, probably also a lack of skill, and possibly a lack of imagination. There are alternatives, and we should be fostering them. How a government chooses to define and assess its economic architecture and impact will ultimately focus where its resources are allocated. If economic indicators are defined and assessed on a narrow spectrum that has profit maximisation at its centre, it is no wonder that alternative ownership and investment architecture are invisible to the public. There is a need to expand what we define as value and benefit in an economy and how it is assessed. Benefit and values that include social, cultural, environmental and economic indices are not soft options. If we continue to reinforce the old extractive models of ownership and economies, we will end up with what Marjorie Kelly calls a fortress world, in which, to quote from her book, “The wealthy few retreat to enclaves of luxury and security while most struggle in fear and want”. The unspoken rule is that we take care of ourselves and ignore the harm to others.

If the current economic rules of the game reward aggressive behaviour in order to maximise profits regardless of negative impacts, we need to look elsewhere, beyond old ways of thinking. What we should be doing is encouraging and supporting enterprises that have a broader purpose beyond maximisation of profit and have ownership and governance structures closely connected to the enterprise, so that everyone gets to see their own responsibility for the consequences of their actions and how they impact on the world around them. New investment and financing models must be used. We are still seeing the consequences of the old model as countries are bankrupted to pay unsecured bondholders who have essentially been rewarded for gambling. It is like a punter on a horserace going back to the TAB with their ticket and saying that their horse lost and they want their money back with interest. Ninety-five per cent of what goes by the name of investing is really secondary market activity. The holders of paper investments become more and more remote from the real enterprise and the reality is that that a profit-maximising-at-all-costs model is ruining our world. Unless we can explore new ways of doing business, we are all responsible for the legacy that we leave.

Many businesses have an expanded value approach to their enterprise that goes beyond just extracting profit. Let us look at a few examples. A range of financial institutions operate under rules that include profit making as a fair return to stakeholders and shareholders, so it is more about profit sufficiency, and purpose making that focuses on customers and community so that the wealth is spent rather than put in the hands of a few. Credit unions, community banks and cooperative banks are examples of financial institutions with that multifaceted purpose. A fair economy that benefits more people is less prone to break down and is more resilient in crisis, because it defines fair dealing and decency. Extractive economies, however, have no limits like this and will eventually break down, and that is what we saw in the 2008 crisis. During and after the 2008 crisis, community-owned banks like Bendigo Bank, for instance, had fewer defaults and were quicker to recover, with a one per cent default from customers with low incomes and from minority groups. While the banks that worked to the extractive profit-maximising model were failing and bailing, financial institutions that worked to a generative model stayed relatively stable, with the result that investors still received income and people stayed in their homes. When crisis occurs, we see the models that have been on the margins become more mainstream and visible. Generative purpose-driven financial institutions work to the service of customers and communities, whereas extractive financial institutions ignore the harm they do to others.

Hundreds of thousands of enterprises globally are maximising their mission rather than their profits. They manage profit to include fair wages, fair working conditions and fair social, cultural and environmental impacts. Benefit corporations in the United States, for instance, are built around an expanded purpose that have a range of social and environmental performance standards built into their legal documentation of governance. They redefine success in business. Although a B corporation is a full profit business, it has social and/or environmental outcomes as part of its mission. A B corporation is certified by B Lab to meet rigorous standards of social and environmental performance measurement and transparency. The organisation has to score over a certain level in an impact assessment and provide all the supporting documentation in order to be accepted as a B corp. Some of the examples include Ben and Jerry’s, the ice-cream makers; Seventh Generation; Hub Australia; Snakk Media; five:am; TOM Organic; Greyston Bakery; Cabot from New York and New England; Etsy, Plum Organics; Patagonia; King Arthur Flour; Australian Ethical Investment Ltd; Pro Bono Australia; the School of Life; and Whole Kids. They are some of the corporations that have successfully taken on these kinds of philosophies. There are many kinds of ownership structures and governance models that have this expanded view. Social enterprises, fair trade companies, community-owned businesses, cooperative–community banks, employee-owned businesses and cooperative models have been around for a long time. These are all ethical businesses that have become even more relevant as the movement for conscious consumerism grows. Many consumers are looking beyond their own profit to the greater good and are making conscious decisions about whom they bank with, whom they buy goods and services from or whom they are investing their superannuation funds with.

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Cooperative and community banks in the European Union hold 21 per cent of all deposits. In the Netherlands, Rabobank holds 43 per cent of that country's deposits. Triodos Bank saw an increase of 40 per cent in deposits after the banking crisis in 2008. Bendigo Bank in Australia is a community bank that returns a reasonable profit to its stakeholders while working to a broad purpose. It invests in communities and supports customers. I hope that many of the members in this place who have Bendigo Banks in their electorates have been to their annual funding nights at which they award grants to many of the not-for-profits, schools and the like, and to people who live and work in our neighbourhoods, and that includes Constable Care in my electorate. Bendigo Bank has just put a big amount of money into my electorate to see Constable Care develop a traffic awareness centre for young children to improve their safety. These corporations have community at heart, front and centre.

The International Monetary Fund does not even have a cooperative and community business model as a statistical element in its data collection. This is a very good example of the need to expand the way in which governments and economists look at and define the things that are important in our world.

John Lewis Partnership in the United Kingdom has been an employee-owned business for nearly a century. Its mission is simple: support the happiness of all its members. It must be working as they have over 75 000 employees, and staff turnover is exceptionally low.

[Member's time extended.]

Ms L.L. BAKER: Generations of families have worked there, Profits are shared every year and workers have a voice in company governance. The business is doing well with 2014 gross revenue of £4.5 billion. The United States has over 11 000 employee-owned firms, with 14 million participants, and in the European Union large companies have nearly 10 million employee owners. There are many kinds of cooperatives operating around the world. There are 50 in Western Australia, and many members will know the iconic company Co-operative Bulk Handling Ltd, which is one of the top earners around Australia with \$2.8 billion in gross earnings in 2013. Cooperatives work to an ownership and governance structure that provides a fair price to suppliers, fair wages to workers and fair profit to owners. Imagine shareholders accepting a lower return so that workers could get fairer wages or a percentage of the profit going back to the community or to ensure environmental fairness.

Although government funding and bank loans have been avenues of investment for ethical businesses, they are often hampered by red tape and lack of understanding by governments about how their mission drives their enterprise. Over the last decade and particularly the last five years a number of different forms of capital investment have thrived—things such as microfinancing, which supports hundreds of thousands of tiny enterprises globally, and impact investment, which is a growing area in Australia as investors want their money to have an impact beyond profit maximisation. More people are asking for investment opportunities that provide more diverse outcomes. Their investments set out to achieve a positive social and environmental impact alongside a reasonable financial return. Impact Investing Australia funds initiatives in aged care, the arts, community development, health, employment, housing, renewable energy, sustainable agriculture and international development.

One of the most interesting new areas of financing is crowdfunding. Crowdfunding is a form of financing in which an entrepreneur can present an idea in an online platform and attract money globally. Investors can access rewards depending on their contribution. Crowdfunding platforms have grown with the increasing growth of information technology tools and social media. There are hundreds of crowdfunding sites. One very visible one is Kickstarter. Some examples of successful capital raising on Kickstarter included Pebble Smartwatch's target to raise \$500 000 to continue development. That was in March 2015. It raised \$20 million. In August 2014, a guy designed something he called the Coolest Cooler and had a target of \$50 000. He raised \$13 million. In April 2015, Flow Hive, a new type of beehive with a valve to extract honey without disturbing the bees, had a modest target of \$70 000 and raised \$12 million. Closer to home, a Northbridge restaurant became the first restaurant in Australia to crowdfund its business. In August 2015, the small town of Buchan in Victoria, with a population of 400, raised its target of \$600 000 to rebuild the town pub, which had been destroyed by fire. Over 1 700 people contributed to the crowdfund project on the crowdfunding site Pozible. This pub is not just the centre of the town's activity; its profit is invested back into the community—to the primary school, the nurses' centre and to other community groups. Another Australian crowdfunding site provided funding for start-up businesses. One business, Naked Crackers, received 138 per cent of its target. In a display of initiative, a young man called Batcho raised \$3 550 from 39 backers so he could buy a barber shop.

These diverse financing opportunities need to be made more visible to small and medium-sized enterprises who want to have a more expanded purpose and impact. They want to do well and they want to do good. When all that gets measured by governments, banks and economists as narrow definitions of profit and return on

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investment, we lose opportunities to support businesses that are working towards a more expansive purpose. What we define and assess as important is what people will focus their attention on. A lot of work is being done globally on definitions and assessments of social returns on investment that go beyond the narrow profit bottom line. These include increased living standards, improved neighbourhoods, safer places, better health and wellbeing, and the impact on the environment. The social return on investment looks at these kinds of values. It seeks investments that go beyond output to outcomes.

In assessing and expanding impact, we need to understand the consequences of actions and that growth is not infinite. Everything is connected. We need to support businesses that want an impact that is broader than profit extraction. There is a need to take a longer generational view that is about improving wellbeing for many, not just a few. Many businesses are working to new models that have an expanded purpose, different kinds of ownership and governance structures, creative financing and broad impact, despite the current constraints and lack of support or recognition for their enterprises.

At the 2010 G20 SME conference, the director of the OECD Centre for Entrepreneurship, Small and Medium-sized Enterprises and Local Development stated that 99 per cent of all businesses globally are small to medium. He went on to identify the key constraints for SMEs; namely, compliance costs being 10 to 30 times greater than for large firms; they pay six times more tax than large companies; and red tape. He also said that big corporations within finance and banking sectors had the ear of government, and the voice and presence of small-to-medium enterprises becomes lost. They are simply not visible on the international or national stage. In WA, 99.8 per cent of businesses are SMEs and they face the same constraints that I have just outlined. Members of Parliament and government can be partners in supporting businesses that want to have an expanded impact on the world beyond profit maximising. We need to open our minds and imaginations to more creative ways of doing business and to look at where alternatives can grow. We can be part of this generative and expansive economy by reviewing compliance costs and tax regimes and providing equal parity with large corporations; creating more channels of conversations on and offline to talk about SMEs' ownership, governance and investment; researching and sharing information on new enterprise ownership structures, governance, financing and expanded purpose; and reviewing definitions and assessment of economic indicators to include social and environmental impacts—social returns on investment. Perhaps we could do this by creating a department, or a division in a department, responsible for pushing the boundaries, for imagining expansive generative enterprising approaches, and creating information and education portals for new and existing SMEs to build their skills and knowledge about how they can improve and use this expansive business model.

Citizens see politicians as often lacking moral courage, often lacking vision and leadership. Too often they see us failing to adapt to changes that are affecting us globally, nationally and locally. If we are to remain relevant, we must have the courage to explore different ways of doing business. We need to show leadership by working in partnership with others to fund and support businesses that choose to have a more expansive purpose than just a profit bottom line. We need to create a vision that is not blinkered or narrowly focused on an old or failing economic model. If we have the courage and the will as politicians and governments to support enterprises that are more expansive than extractive, there is potential to create a sustainable and shared prosperity that benefits the many not just the few.

There are alternatives that are fairer, that benefit communities and that care for the environment and future generations. We must accept our responsibility as stewards of the planet for future generations, and understand that everything, including business decisions and actions, is connected and has real consequences.

In finishing, I would like to read from *The Monthly* of July 2015. The article is called “Of Clowns and Treasurers”, and reads —

While markets are real, it is absurd to suggest that they have feelings, need or demands. A market is a place where buyers and sellers of a product come together. It might be a physical place, like the fish markets, or a virtual place, like eBay ... But markets never have feelings.

Rich people have feelings. Rich people who own billions of dollars' worth of shares in a company often have very strong feelings, especially when it comes to government policy and tax rates ... Both of the following statements are describing the same proposal: —

But from a different set of eyes. The first proposal reads —

Markets reacted angrily today to news that the government is considering tightening thin capitalisation provisions that have provided foreign investors with strong incentives to expand their Australian operations.

The second version of that same situation reads —

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Rich people overseas reacted angrily today to news that they might have to pay tax on the profits they earned in Australia. After the government announced that it was considering clamping down on some of the most lucrative forms of multinational profit shifting, some very wealthy Americans threatened to take their bat and ball and go home if they were forced to pay tax.

The article continues —

The ASX, the Hang Seng, the Nikkei and the Dow are on the nightly news to remind us that “the markets” are watching and judging us, and there is much that we don’t understand about them. Greater minds than ours have puzzled over these things.

Of course, in reality the market doesn’t want anything. It is a metaphor, and it can no more judge our actions than Zeus or Apollo.

I think the trick for members of Parliament is to find ways of nurturing and strengthening the small business sector and to look outside the paradigm that we have all brought with us to the old-fashioned way of doing things. We need to understand that a different way of viewing the world is needed if we are going to see positive changes for the benefit of the whole community. We should remember that markets do not have feelings; rich people have feelings. When we start developing strategies that address the growth of small business and SMEs across the board, we have to understand that we are breaking new ground in some areas. It is well and truly time that we actually did that and that we actually looked outside the way we have been supporting business and find different and creative ways that are more about the twenty-first century and the environment that we are trying to operate that helps small business into our future.

MS L. METTAM (Vasse) [10.42 pm]: I am pleased to provide a response to the Premier’s Statement at a transformational time in the state and more specifically in the Vasse electorate, an electorate which has benefited from successive Liberal representation and Liberal–National governments. According to the federal government’s Department of Infrastructure and Regional Development report titled “State of Regional Australia 2015” Busselton is the eighth fastest growing regional city in Australia and is the fastest growing regional centre in WA, with a population growth that has exceeded 48 per cent since 2001. In addition to being one of the most interstate and international tourism destinations in WA, due to its top quality wine and food, international surfing and Iron Man events, as well as the major film festival the CinefestOZ, the Vasse region is also home and is the gateway to our most lucrative and agricultural food exports. That is why I will briefly outline the support that the government has provided for tourism, agriculture and the growth of this region, which is instrumental in delivering great outcomes for the Vasse electorate. Tourism supports 92 000 jobs across Western Australia, and in the Vasse electorate most businesses are either directly or indirectly affected by this sector. The biggest barrier for this region to take the next step into the future is its relative isolation from the rest of the world and the challenges that are faced by a developing region. Last year those opportunities took a significant leap forward when the Premier visited the Vasse electorate and announced funding of \$55.9 million dollars to help pave the way for the expansion of the Busselton regional airport so that interstate visitors will be able to travel directly to the region by 2018. That will represent a significant boost to tourism and small businesses in the region. It is certainly an exciting prospect and it paves the way for international air freight in the future as well. Recently I spoke with Peter Walsh of V&V Walsh Meat Processors and Exporters. For those who are not aware, he is one of the most respected meat processors and importers in WA and he has recently been granted a licence to export chilled beef and lamb products directly into China. According to Peter Walsh, once the airport is expanded and is providing future international air freight capacity, he will be able to commit at least 95 tonnes of lamb and beef from Busselton directly into China per week into the future, which is an exciting prospect. This is in addition to other products from the region, which include marron, cut flowers, abalone and the dairy industry. This Liberal–National government has already supported this pathway into the future with a significant commitment to tourism, but also has paved the way in supporting our valuable agricultural industry. In agriculture, the Premier has already spelt out a commitment to the deregulation of the ware potato industry in WA. As one of the leading agricultural states in Australia, it is imperative that we support farmers and keep them growing. Our state can ill-afford for our third or fourth generation farming families to abandon some of the most productive agricultural land in the nation, which is why it is imperative that an orderly transition to deregulation is supported by the Liberal–National government going forward.

Busselton is the events capital of Western Australia—some would say of the world, but for now it is Western Australia—with the towns of Dunsborough, Yallingup and Cowaramup doing their bit to support this tourism hotspot. The Barnett government has supported these strengths and some of our beautiful natural qualities as well. Key to this is supporting our infrastructure. I have talked about the airport expansion, but it is also about supporting transport corridors. The Minister for Transport was recently in Busselton to announce the

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opening of the \$12.8 million Vasse bypass, which is key to supporting growth and getting trucks off a main stretch of road surrounded by a community area. It is really important that these corridors and these stretches of road enable the safe passage of tourists and the growth of this community.

I was also part of the opening of the Busselton skate park—a \$2.1 million project that goes another step forward to completing the Busselton foreshore makeover, which is a significant tourism playground for people visiting the Vasse electorate and which sits along Geographe Bay. Supporting regional events is also critical for the ongoing support and growth of local businesses. Last weekend alone three major events were held in the area—the SunSmart jetty swim, which had 2 100 competitors; the Busselton half-marathon with 1 300 competitors; and the Geographe Bay race week, which kicked off with another record of 500 competitors sailing in 100 yachts in WA's premier yachting regatta. The Liberal–National government has been supporting 250 events like these since the regional events scheme started in 2008, which is a program that has delivered \$80 million over this time but also plenty more through the significant economic and social benefits that it has provided to communities. If members were in the region on the weekend, they would have seen just that—not only the visitors in town but also the significant community camaraderie that happens when people get together to engage in and support a community event.

I will close by talking about the Waroona and districts fire. This tragic and devastating bushfire was admirably supported by firefighters from Busselton, Dunsborough, Yallingup and Cowaramup. I take this opportunity, on behalf of the community, to extend our gratitude to these volunteers for their brave work and the extensive hours they provided to another community. They left their own safe areas to go and help others. This is another timely reminder of the value of investing in reducing fuel loads to prevent or reduce the impact of fire. I was therefore pleased that an additional \$20 million was provided in last year's budget through the royalties for regions program to assist with the Department of Parks and Wildlife effort to meet the prescribed burn targets. Prior to last year's strategic burn, the Minister for Environment, Albert Jacob, the director general of the Department of Parks and Wildlife and local bushfire volunteers visited the Leeuwin–Naturaliste Ridge regarding further burns in this area to reduce the fuel loads for this year. As many people will tell us, prescribed burning in high-growth forests is a significant and expensive job but it is also essential. It is essential that private owners also lessen the threat on their properties by installing firebreaks and having well-maintained gardens. Having prescribed burns delayed by community concerns over the amount of smoke in the air is unacceptable in today's environment, as is having local councils fine landowners for clearing regrowth or installing larger fire breaks. Many lessons need to be learned from the tragic fires at Waroona to ensure that such a devastating event does not occur again. One of the most important is changing our attitudes to prescribed burning.

Following the Keelty report, the state government also invested \$7 million over four years in the cape enhancement program, which included an additional eight appliances for the region. The Vasse volunteer bush fire brigade is the most recent unit to be taking delivery of a brand-new light tanker fire appliance, which will again greatly enhance the level of emergency services in the Vasse electorate. Thanks to a further \$30 million invested by the Liberal–National government, the capes region is now also covered by a second rescue helicopter. I was pleased to attend this event recently with the Premier, the Minister for Emergency Services and the member for Bunbury, who has advocated strongly for this project.

That is just a highlight of some of the projects and the work that has been going on in the Vasse electorate and supported by the Liberal–National government. It is about not only delivering for the current set of circumstances and for our small businesses and jobs into the future, but also paving the way for future growth, supporting our tourism and agricultural sectors, protecting our families from fire and supporting business growth into the future.

Debate adjourned, pursuant to standing orders.

House adjourned at 10.57 pm
