

instrumentalities just charge in and make these decisions unilaterally, leaving those who are affected to sort out the mess. That is what has happened in Narrogin with the decision to rationalise Westrail. That is what the town is now afraid will happen with the Department of Main Roads depot. One can only ask: What next?

If decisions such as these are to be made, some attempt must be made to look at all the effects of the decision, not just the immediate dollar and cents effect on a single Government department; if in fact that is the criterion on which these decisions are made. Surely it is not asking too much for those likely to be affected by a decision to be told what is being contemplated and given an opportunity to have an input to the decision. Surely it is sensible and reasonable to ask for some independent expert appraisal of the potential effects of the decision to be made before that decision is implemented. If it is good enough for the environment, surely it is good enough for a town and its people.

All these things should be done before Government sets out on a course which has the potential to cause major side effects on people and towns in the country; or has the ridiculous situation been reached where trees and birds and the environment, are more important than people and towns? That is the way it sometimes appears out in the country on the other side of the Darling Range.

I believe Government and its departments must determine all the potential effects of a decision. The effect on a country town of the withdrawal of Government services and employees must be known before the decision is made, and steps must be implemented to minimise the impact before the decision is acted upon. It is too late afterwards.

In concluding, I say that as I stand here for the first time I am very conscious that many great citizens of Western Australia have preceded me in this House. It is because of their vision, hard work and the far-sighted decisions which they made while in this House that Western Australia has developed from a struggling colony less than 100 years ago to the strong, thriving State which it is today. This State today has a potential and a future far greater than the most visionary of its founders could have imagined in their wildest dreams. This State has a strong mineral and primary production base on which a rich and varied secondary industry, capable of servicing the markets of the world, can be developed. However the greatest strength of this State is the people of

Western Australia themselves: Hard working, a go. They are all words which can be applied to us as Western Australians, and they are the very us as characteristics which made this State what it is today, and will make us an even greater State in the 21st century. I hope I can play my part, along with all the other members of this House, in helping to turn that vision of our great State into a reality.

[Applause.]

**MR DONOVAN** (Morley-Swan) [5.10 pm]: It is with great pleasure that I rise to offer my first speech in this House, and in so doing I congratulate my colleague the member for Perth and the new member for Narrogin on their election.

Like my colleague, I specifically ask that this speech be referred to as my first speech.

In opening, let me say that it was indeed a great privilege to be elected in the by-election of 9 May by an absolute majority of the voters in Morley-Swan. I am indebted to them for their confidence, which I will do my utmost to vindicate.

Also, I am indebted to my wife and son, whose support and care for me I treasure. As well as these, a tireless team of campaign workers, too many to enumerate, who worked hard in my support, to them my heartfelt thanks and appreciation.

Let me turn first to the electorate itself so that I might give members an overview of what this seat is all about. Held for the ALP by Mr Arthur Tonkin since 1971, the seat of Morley-Swan moved steadily eastward during the next 10 years as successive redistributions changed its electoral boundaries. Losing first Mirrabooka—after which the original seat had been named—and finally gaining parts of Guildford, Midland, and much else of the Swan—after which the seat is now named—eastern Morley has remained the geographical constant of this populous electoral district.

If the boundaries of Morley-Swan have been characterised by flexibility—until 1981 at least—its demography has been characterised by stability. Recently, of course, there has been a significant expansion of home building in the north between Noranda and Beechboro, experienced noticeably under the present Labor Government.

Within these present boundaries lie some strange industrial bedfellows. The production of timber, historically associated with Guildford since 1842, has largely given way to its modern brick equivalent produced in Middle Swan. On the other hand, this State's



equally historic dependence on rail transport looks to a new lease of life with the recently announced metropolitan electrification scheme. For Midland, not only a centre of strong support for the Labor Party, but also a steady source of skilled railway labour, electrification represents another milestone in the continuing history of Western Australian railway industries. Earlier reversals and political errors have at least been compensated by the present Government's approach to rail as an integral part of the total transport system in this State.

Quite apart from construction materials and transport industries, wine growing now makes an increasingly valuable contribution to the economic base and social character of the north-eastern part of my electorate.

Moving westward to the more densely populated suburban localities, manufacturing and related light industries are alive in the southern reaches, whilst limited commercial, professional, and retail activities are carried out in the middle areas, thinning out towards the northern, almost exclusively residential suburbs.

By far the greatest and most important "industry" of suburban Morley-Swan is the unpaid production and maintenance of human resources. In our rapidly ageing population the procreation, socialisation, education, and training of new young Australians is critical both to our society and to our country. In 1981, according to Australian Bureau of Statistics' census of population and housing, 9 778 household units of men, women, and children were undertaking this invaluable task in Morley-Swan. These units accommodated 33 057 people, of whom 23 466 adults cared for 9 571 children under 15, plus a further 1 182 full-time students aged 15 years and over. Of the adults, ABS assigns only 13 665 to the 11 occupational categories and 13 industry types used to describe the productive status of Morley-Swan residents. The remaining 9 800 adults mostly were at home caring for families of breadwinners and/or children and were awarded no productive status.

The real value of this most important productive enterprise of all, namely the provision, care, and maintenance of our human resources, still seems to escape us when it comes to assessing the worth, capacities, problems, and needs of people. That statement will give members an introduction to my political conscious-

ness, a part of me that will become more evident as I proceed today and further in this place.

Suffice it to say here that by comparative analysis of ABS 1981 data, primary caregiving is not only the largest "growth" industry in Morley-Swan, but it also accounts for the greatest number of workers. This group is followed in descending numerical order by tradespeople and associated workers, with 4 600; clerical workers, with 2 500; and service workers, with 1 500 in round figures. I should add that, paralleling these occupational categories, community services is also the fourth largest growth industry in the region's economy, when caregiving is included as an industry.

There are several other demographic features of my electorate that should be accounted for in order to understand the needs of its residents.

West of Bennett Brook, the electorate embraces the high-density residential suburbs accommodating housing from the federation period and all other periods through to the most modern at Beechboro and Noranda. East of the brook, on the other hand, lies a semirural environment serviced by Midland which has retained more in common with a rural regional centre than with an outer metropolitan suburb. Guildford to the south of this unique environment now functions increasingly as a protective cradle of European settlement, history, and heritage.

The unique feature of Morley-Swan's demography is its high ethnic mix. In few suburban regions is the rich hue of multicultural tapestry woven more diversely than in my electorate.

One-third of the population of Morley-Swan was born overseas, according to ABS 1981 data. This, of course, provides only the most general basis for estimating the number of second-generation Australians in the region. Of those born overseas, 43.9 per cent were from the UK and Ireland, and most of the balance were non-English speaking immigrants and refugees from around the globe. Italians were the next largest group with 12.8 per cent, followed by Asians with 6.4 per cent, Indians 6.3 per cent, and Yugoslavic peoples six per cent. Members can imagine my outrage, and that of many of my electors, at the recent poster campaign by the extremist so-called Australian Nationalist Movement. I remind members that since the imperialist colourisation of this



country, and the ruthless suppression and dispossession by force of its indigenous Aboriginal population, our history of economic, social, and political development as a nation has been a history of Australian born and overseas born, Caucasian and Asian alike. It is to our long-term advantage that our economy, our culture, and our society has been so richly furnished by multicultural and ethnic contributors. It is also our obligation as a mature and responsible society to meet the special needs and to address the additional problems confronting our Australian ethnic cohabitants and fellow caretakers of this land.

I turn now to some other critical problems posed by the demography of the electorate of Morley-Swan. With a total population greater than 33 000, seven per cent were aged 65 years and over in 1981. The proportion may well have increased since and will be evidenced by the 1986 census data due out in July. It is worth noting that 36 per cent of this group is over 57 years of age and living either independently or in one of several private or public nursing homes.

Another high-need group is the 10 300 children under 16 years who account for 31 per cent of the resident population. In the youth category, Morley-Swan has the third highest proportion of five to 14-year-olds and 15 to 25-year-olds respectively in the metropolitan region.

At the same time, my electorate has one of the highest concentrations of mortgagees in the metropolitan region. To meet these mortgage commitments and to care for a high proportion of family units, my electorate has the highest number of households in which both parents work in the paid labour force. Most of these child-rearing family units live in the high density residential suburbs west of Bennett Brook, which include Noranda—the Hampton Park of Morley—Embleton, Bayswater, Bassendean, Eden Hill, Lockridge, and Beechboro.

While local efforts to promote and/or provide childcare, family day care, and occasional care facilities have met the best responses available from the Government, important work in this field remains to be done.

It is in that high mortgage, high pressure, and high cost of living suburban world that otherwise less important events like the recent fire at the Boans retail store in Morley take on a major significance. For hard-pressed families in this region previously serviced by Boans, the loss of the department store shopping facility

was serious, and it is in that general region of high density suburbia that ordinary people attempt to care for their families, bring up their children, and equip them to meet the increasing demands of living in a complex and competitive world.

In response to the sorts of problems and issues that I have just canvassed, important progress has been made, or is underway, as a result of this Government's policies on youth, community services, and housing, in particular. Support for youth "drop-in" centres, employment training projects and supportive services are in hand. The Beechboro Neighbourhood House, with its associated facilities for childcare and programmes for parents' support has been a successful achievement. Provision of low-cost housing has increased and improvements to the Homeswest system and properties are currently in progress.

I am happy to announce that a new community health centre is to be constructed in Lockridge. It is anticipated that the University of Western Australia family medicine programme will be integrated in the centre with a modern and comprehensive plan to meet the pressing needs of the Lockridge, Beechboro, and Eden Hill areas.

It is an exciting time indeed to have been elected by the people of Morley-Swan. I take this opportunity to thank them sincerely for the solid and absolute majority by which they chose me and expressed continued support for the Labor Government of this State and the programmes it offers.

It is my clear agenda to contribute to those areas of progress made already or which are underway and to further progress towards meeting the growing needs and rights of the many thousands of waged and unwaged people of Morley-Swan.

The tradition of service and representation established by my predecessor, Mr Tonkin, in his earlier tenure of the seat, will be one to which I will aspire. I take this opportunity to pay my respects to him and to thank him for the helpful advice he has given me freely.

As well as my agenda for Morley-Swan, I shall also seek with my colleagues to have some impact on the direction of social policy within this State. Hence, I need to let members know something about me, more particularly, and about my political "world view" developed over the years by learning and experience of people in diverse situations.



Some members will be aware that I am a qualified and experienced social worker and a critical sociologist. I gained my degree in 1980 after four years, full-time study at the Western Australian Institute of Technology, now known as Curtin University of Technology. Prior to that, I gained three years of full-time experience in fields of youth and community development in the north west of the State.

I started out in life as a cabinet-maker, a profession which was interrupted with some time spent in the Australian Army, including service in Vietnam. During that time I also gained experience in areas related to social welfare and social issues.

On resettlement in Albany, I returned to my trade and also worked on a number of voluntary community projects in the region. For the benefit of members opposite, in the context of the debates in this place this week, I have been self-employed and have worked in partnerships in small business operations. As a testimony to this, my name still appears on the title of an Albany cabinet-maker's shop, doubtless known to the member for Albany.

Since graduation in 1980, I have worked exclusively in my own professional field, both in clinical areas and in community development areas. Post-graduate work has taken me to the eastern goldfields, Esperance and many areas in the metropolitan region of Perth. That little mud map of my working life should give members some idea of the diversity of my experience.

Before all of that, one of the most important lessons I learnt about people was that learnt in my own childhood of dependency on the welfare State. The lesson was that people generally attempt to do the best they can for themselves and their families, with the internal and external resources available to them.

The problem in our society is that most of us tend to make judgments about social problems based on moral values or opinions about competence and legality. Indeed, if the current debate about unemployment, supporting parenthood, poverty, mental illness, and other social problems continue as they have, we may find ourselves back in the sociological dark ages before much longer.

An adequate and useful assessment of the sorts of social problems that confront modern industrialised societies will not be found in these judgments about morality, legality, and competence. Instead, it has been my developed view and that of most of my colleagues that we

need to look at the institutional structuring of resource distribution in our society. Basically we are talking about an issue of power and powerlessness. When I see poverty and degradation among semi-urban Aboriginal communities in the north, I see a problem of powerlessness. On the other hand, when I see major Australian entrepreneurs threatening to take important capital and industry overseas in order to have their way, I see the importance of power.

Resource distribution is indeed problematic. Therefore, the greater the power one has, the more one accrues. Conversely, the less power one has, the less one accrues. It is axiomatic, of course, that this problem not only presents itself in the extremes of wealth and poverty, but it also affects our ability to distribute resources generally, for example, in housing, health care, education, jobs, social assets, and the like.

The question of power and powerlessness is central to my political agenda, as it spells out my commitment to the process of positive social change, social justice, and human worth. That commitment, of course, implies the notion of collective responsibility and obligation to contribute both towards the production and conservation of our collective resources, including the natural resource upon which present and future life depends.

The paradox, of course, is that the more unequal the distribution of resources in a society, the less equipped become the least resourced people to contribute to that society. Hence, while that problem of unequal resource distribution has always been on the political agendas of Labor Governments and parties in this country, attempts to effect progressive change have always been constrained by the social and political institutions designed, built, and preserved by our conservative opponents.

It is to the credit of this State Government and its Federal Labor counterpart that in spite of hostile upper Houses, so much progress has been made in so many economic, social and political areas.

This problem of power and powerlessness, as I see it, is visible not only in the institutional processes of resource distribution, but also in the crippling processes of dependency and alienation we see in urban societies today. By dependency, I do not mean simply the dependence that the infant has on its parents. I mean the dependence experienced by people without resources upon those people who have and hold them. By alienation, I mean that distancing,



that experience of being cut off, from any control over the processes that affect our daily lives.

Dependency is also understood as an expression of subordination. Aboriginal society in Australia has a well-informed history of this experience. Originally dispossessed by force there followed a long period of imposed and then learnt dependency upon mission, station and State. It is encouraging that through their own political movements, Aboriginal people are at last starting to win some of the resources and some of the autonomy necessary to reduce the yoke of dependency.

Women, children, the poor, certain ethnic groups, the disabled and the mentally ill, all know well from their own histories and experience the ways in which dependency cripples life's chances and reinforces their respective social conditions. They know equally well that the only way out is through assertive and affirmative action.

The process of alienation on the other hand is most often written off, mistakenly, as apathy—another way we have of blaming the victim for his or her disempowerment by others. On the contrary, alienation is a readily identifiable and structured process by which people find themselves cut off from their ability to interact effectively with or participate assertively in the events that shape their lives.

Alienation in the workplace was always traditionally enforced by the clear separation of management and worker, responsibilities and duties. It was conventional wisdom that the organisation of the workplace, as well as its safety and health issues, rested exclusively with management. In recent times, of course, they learnt that that level of alienation is not only dangerous to industrial relations and work force safety, but also an obstacle to cost-effective productivity. The union movement and Labor Governments are, therefore, to be congratulated for the positive improvement in industry that has been seen and acclaimed on both sides of the industrial arena. The occupational health, safety and welfare legislation before this Parliament is a fine example of progressive industrial policy.

For all the reasons advanced in the debate I heard this week on industrial relations legislation and occupational health, safety and welfare legislation, I support moves to increase and institutionalise good practices of worker participation and industrial democracy. These

sorts of measures are exactly those that are needed to overcome the problem of alienation in the workplace.

Alienation in this State at the electoral level is of the more overt kind. The Electoral Act of this State has been preserved as it is precisely to empower some voters over the majority of others and thereby to secure conservative domination of the upper House in this Parliament. The effect of that Act is to reduce the effective participatory value of the majority, to reduce the power of the majority and to override therefore its democratic will. A sad day it will be for this State if even the modified Bill currently before Parliament ends up bloodied and broken on the altar of conservative privilege.

Probably the most familiar and, at the same time, most destructive forms of alienation we have experienced recently in our society is that which is often being practised by conservative Governments when in power. In political vocabulary it is often referred to as the art of disinformation. In the sociological vocabulary it is most often referred to as the practice of reality distortion or misconstruction. One of the most infamous applications of this strategy in recent times and one, of course, which had long-lasting personal ramifications for me was the misinformation and reality distortion practised by the then Federal Government to whip up Australian support, or should I say, the image of Australian support, for the committal of troops to service in Vietnam. The objective and temporary success of this strategy was the achievement of an image of national endorsement for what turned out to be an act of national betrayal. At 19 I was conned, along with 40 000 other young men and women who served in that theatre. The cost is well remembered by us all. Looking at the positive side that strategy failed in the end because of the Australian Labor Party, the trade union movement and the determination of the Australian people who, once fully informed, participated in their masses in the act of terminating our involvement in that war.

That popular campaign of participation by active Australians will stand forever as a contrast to the conservatively inspired alienative strategy that plunged us into that tragically irresponsible and unjustifiable war.

To this day the Australian Labor Party stands committed by its platform to peace and nuclear disarmament. For my part, that survival ideal should be actively pursued at home by an informed and participating public. A



nuclear free Indian Ocean cannot be achieved without freedom from the nuclear-armed warships in our own west coast ports and waters.

When I speak of resource distribution, I refer not only to questions of wealth and material resources, but also quite specifically to the equally important resources of information about, and access to, processes of decision-making that affect our everyday lives and futures.

In summary, I have tried to present to members a profile both of my electorate and me and how the two somehow fit together. Morley-Swan is above all a district that is about real people and their needs. It is very much a district whose residents are concerned mostly about the pressing social issues that affect them daily. For my part, my life and career have been about social issues, social problems and people's needs. I see those issues, problems and needs through the lenses of resource distribution, human independence and active participation in life. The frame for those lenses is the structure of power and powerlessness institutionalised in our economic, social and political order. Therefore, I am committed to the ideal of positive change in these arrangements; in that sense I am very much an idealist.

I am also a practical person with valuable and diverse experience to bring to this place and to my electorate. I trust my ideals will always nurture my practice and my practice always inform my ideals—as has been the case to date. Between the two, I hope my electors, this Parliament, my party and this State will gain something from whatever contribution I may be privileged to make to the political process and progress of this State.

[Applause.]

Debate adjourned, on motion by Mr Pearce (Leader of the House).

## SESSIONAL ORDERS SUSPENSION

### *Motion*

On motion without notice by Mr Pearce (Leader of the House), resolved—

That so much of the Sessional Orders be suspended as would be necessary to permit immediate consideration of Order of the Day No. 4, followed by a period of 30 minutes of questions without motion.

## ROAD TRAFFIC AMENDMENT BILL No. 2

### *Second Reading*

**MR GORDON HILL** (Helena—Minister for Police and Emergency Services) [5.41 pm]: I move—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

An amendment to section 66 of the Act will facilitate the introduction of an efficient form of random breath testing in this State.

Under the existing section 66(1) of the Road Traffic Act 1974-1982, police are empowered to require a motorist to submit a sample of breath for analysis if a member of the Police Force believes on reasonable grounds that—

- (a) a person was the driver or person in charge of a motor vehicle the presence of which occasioned, or of which the use was an immediate or proximate cause of, personal injury or damage to property;
- (b) a person has, while driving a motor vehicle, committed an offence against this Act of which the driving of a motor vehicle is an element; or
- (c) a person, while driving or attempting to drive a motor vehicle had alcohol, or alcohol or drugs, in his body.

The existing power is very extensive. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a driving incident of interest to police which is not covered.

Police in this State have practised what may be described as a *de facto* form of random testing of motorists by relying on a power to stop motorists for motor driver's licence checks and then lawfully requiring certain motorists to provide a sample of breath for preliminary analysis. It is the view of the Commissioner of Police that this approach to enforcement of drink-driving laws is effective.

The amendment will have the effect of empowering police to stop any motorist for the express purpose of requiring a sample of breath for analysis, without qualification, and it facilitates the efficient use by police of the roadblock technique. Under the proposed amendment, motorists can be stopped at random at a roadblock. However, to minimise inconvenience to the general public and to economise on the use of resources, not all motorists stopped will be tested. The system will maximise the number of motorists whose condition when driving can come under close police scrutiny.