

‘Mr Speaker, I withdraw ...’: standards of (mis)behaviour in the Queensland, Western Australian and Commonwealth Parliaments compared via online *Hansard**

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Introduction

The question of parliamentary standards and parliamentarians’ behaviour wells up from time to time in the public eye, fuelled by sometimes exaggerated media coverage and by the theatrical posturing of certain members of parliament themselves. Whichever is the case, the public’s elected representatives are frequently portrayed overstepping the bounds of what is meant to pass for acceptable standards of behaviour in our nation’s parliaments.

In an air of affected contrition, those standards are periodically subject to review and reinforcement, as government attempts to restore some order and public faith in the rarefied institution that is parliament.¹ However, as far as much of the public is concerned, these efforts amount to little more than ‘quick fixes’ for the governments in question. Jim Fouras, former Labor MP and Speaker of the Queensland Parliament, put it this way:

People do not value the behaviour of their MPs. While the ‘battlefield’ atmosphere of parliamentary proceedings is seen by some as an inevitable part of parliament’s important role as a forum for policy debate, the majority see this as a distraction from the real issues, and parliamentarians’ behaviour as ‘tiresome’.²

It might seem to the casual observer that, regardless of political persuasion, the government of the day should shoulder much of the blame for perceived poor standards of behaviour in our parliaments. While it may be expedient for those

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members not in government to point the finger of blame, hurling across the chamber accusations of impropriety, Speaker-bias and an arrogant disregard for parliamentary convention, is it really the case that the governing party is more often the 'guilty party'? Surely it is too rash to assert that governing parties breach parliament's Standing Orders more often than their opponents, simply by virtue of being in government. As Harold Macmillan, then Britain's Prime Minister, said prior to the 1959 UK general election, 'it is bad enough having to behave like a government when one is in power. The whole point of being in opposition is that one can have fun and lend colour to what one says and does.'³ Is it incumbent upon the opposition, then, to push the accepted boundaries of parliamentary standards in holding the government to account? Or, as some might well suspect, is one side of politics more prone to lowering parliament's standards than another?

With the recent advent in the nation's federal, state and territory parliaments of electronic versions of the *Record of Proceedings* (known colloquially as *Hansard*), it is now a relatively straightforward task to gain an informed impression of the performance of our members of parliament without necessarily having to rely upon routine media coverage. It also makes the behaviour of our parliamentarians more immediately assessable.

That being the case, this paper highlights those many instances of un-parliamentary behaviour where a member of the Lower House is invited (or more usually compelled) by the Speaker to withdraw a statement or comment in debate that is regarded as offensive and not befitting the House's standards. Such adverse comments are recorded in various *Hansard* transcripts for all to see, and in contemporary cases are now readily searchable for anyone with access to the internet. The results of such targeted searches are quite revealing, sometimes surprising and occasionally amusing. Equally so, however, they underline the changes that digital technology has brought to parliamentary practices and reporting, and to the public's perceptions of parliament itself. Undertaking the research exercise in this manner, it is envisaged that a clearer impression emerges of just which side of the chamber — Coalition or Labor, government or opposition — more often lowers the tone of parliamentary debate.⁴

Hansard records

Besides being an illustrative exercise in online parliamentary research, the objective of this undertaking was to examine the misbehaviour and 'inappropriate' language of state and federal parliamentarians as faithfully recorded in their respective *Hansard* transcripts. To do so, the online *Hansard* records of the Queensland, Western Australian and Commonwealth parliaments' websites were accessed with a basic but obviously targeted search term: 'Mr Speaker, I withdraw'.

Given the variety of members' behaviours that routinely invite the Speaker's censure — such as talking out of turn, incessantly interjecting across the chamber or

even refusing to retract comments during parliamentary debate — focusing on withdrawals alone might seem to discount these other ‘misdemeanours’ in any reasonable assessment of parliamentary standards. Yet focusing expressly on the phrase, ‘I withdraw’, offered a simple and straightforward means of identifying ‘unbecoming’ behaviour, while highlighting the utility of the online *Hansard* search facilities in this endeavour. This approach has left unanswered additional questions regarding parliamentary misbehaviour (and different Speakers’ varying disciplinary tendencies) but for the sake of this deliberately limited research exercise it was not thought necessary to extend the research into so many other tangents of enquiry. Nor was it the intention of this exercise to suggest or identify likely solutions to the perceived problem of parliamentary misbehaviour. Such broader handling and analysis, while worthy of further investigation, has in this instance been left to another time or to other researchers.

The author’s customary observance of gender neutrality notwithstanding, it was also deemed unnecessary in this exercise to pursue search results for the term ‘Madam Speaker’, since only one woman has ever held this office in the parliaments in question — in Canberra, as it happens — and that before the period of time under review here (hence the sole reference to ‘Mr’ Speaker in this paper’s title). Equally, and more pertinently, the search phrase was not amended to incorporate results for ‘Acting’ or ‘Deputy Speaker’ (except in the case of the Commonwealth) since — owing to the restrictions imposed by the respective search facilities — these altered phrases effectively made no difference to the numbers of search results (as explained in more detail in the accounts following). This quite deliberate endeavour illustrates the relative ease of extracting ‘revealing’ information from the online versions of *Hansard*, as well as illuminating a relatively new path to the formation of public perceptions of our nation’s parliaments. In so doing, this modest research exercise achieves something more — it surely indicates that the behaviour of our parliamentarians, over time and separated by substantial distance, has in all probability altered very little (or has even worsened, much like the public’s perception of the same). Just as the new Speaker in Queensland’s first parliament lamented, despite hoping for ‘gentlemanly demeanour’ in parliamentary debates: ‘... most of the members of this House are ... liable in the heat of debate to make use of objectionable phrases.’⁵

The online repository of Queensland parliament’s *Hansard* covers the period from the first sitting of the first session of the 46th Parliament on 27 February 1990 (with Labor members on the government benches for the first time in over 32 years), up to the first session of the 53rd Parliament (last sitting prior to writing on 11 June 2010). This period in total covers 921 days of parliamentary sittings for the Legislative Assembly — the solitary body in the state’s unicameral legislature — in which 89 elected members sit. Each transcript of proceedings for every day of parliament’s sittings in that time is fully searchable online, and all are accessible in both html format or as downloadable pdf documents. There are also digitised transcripts of the very first Queensland parliament’s sittings throughout 1860,

including records for the state's original Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council (later abolished in 1922).⁶

The Western Australian parliament's online *Hansard* — divided into records for the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council — spans a briefer period, from the first sitting of the first session of the 35th Parliament on 6 March 1997 up to the first session of the 38th Parliament (last sitting on 24 June 2010). This period covers 831 days of parliamentary sittings for the state's Legislative Assembly, in which 59 elected members currently sit (there were 57 seats in the Assembly prior to the state election of 6 September 2008). There have been only three different Speakers in the state's Lower House in all this time (not counting Deputy Speakers and Acting Speakers), the incumbent being the Hon. Grant Woodhams MLA. Typically, all were elected to the office of Speaker from the ranks of the governing party. Each transcript of proceedings for all of parliament's sitting days in that time is fully searchable and accessible in both html format or as downloadable pdf documents. By comparison, the corresponding period in Queensland's state legislature — going back to parliament's first sitting date in 1997 (28 January) — covers only 596 days of sittings. In this time there have been five different Speakers in the state parliament, the incumbent being the Hon. John Mickel MP.

The Commonwealth parliament's *Hansard* — similarly divided into records for both Houses — has an online search facility that provides longer coverage of parliament's sittings from the first session of the 32nd Parliament on 24 February 1981, up to the first session of the 42nd Parliament (last sitting on 24 June 2010, prior to this year's winter recess and with a new Prime Minister installed on the government benches that very day). Going back to the first sitting date in 1997 (4 February), this period covers 897 days of parliamentary sittings for the House of Representatives — three hundred more days than the Queensland parliament — in which 150 elected members currently sit (there were 148 seats in the Assembly prior to the federal election of 10 November 2001). In this time there have been five different Speakers in the Commonwealth's Lower House, the incumbent being the Hon. Harry Jenkins, Jr. MP. Transcripts of the proceedings are accessible as pdf files from the most recent sitting date back to 30 April 1996; records going back to 1981 can be viewed only in html format. Full transcripts of proceedings for both the Queensland and Commonwealth *Hansards* are posted online by the evening of or morning after the previous day's sitting of parliament. In Western Australia, transcripts of *Hansard* are available online from the Friday (or following Monday at the latest) of each parliamentary sitting week. These unedited, or 'proof issue', transcripts of *Hansard* are later reproduced as a corrected *Weekly Hansard* (or *Official Hansard* in the Commonwealth's case), as well as being printed collectively in annual bound volumes.

Search results

While the basic search option of the Queensland parliament's online search facility purports to look for the 'exact phrase' within *Hansard* transcripts, it is in fact less

precise than that. Rather, the search locates passages in transcripts where the keywords of a phrase appear either consecutively or closely following. As such, each identified ‘proper’ word of the search term — ‘Speaker’ or ‘withdraw’ in this case, and in that very order (irrespective of whatever precedes the word ‘Speaker’) — is regarded as a single ‘hit’ in any given number of separate ‘documents’. Each document represents a single parliamentary record for a particular date, in which more than one withdrawal might be recorded. According to state parliament’s digital transcripts, in that 13-plus-year timeframe since the first sitting date in 1997, *Hansard* returns 216 hits for the search term, ‘Mr Speaker I withdraw’, across 85 separate documents. These results actually represent 108 instances of withdrawals being made by the ‘offending parties’. These results, however, do not take into account all variations in a member’s verbal delivery of their withdrawal. To expand, in the same period *Hansard* records 338 more hits across another 82 documents for the variant search term, ‘I withdraw Mr Speaker’. In other words, the search keywords in either permutation are recorded a total of 554 times. When looking at the entire search phrase around these hits, this represents 277 instances of a member submitting to the Speaker’s directive to withdraw their remark on 167 separate sitting days. This total equates roughly to one withdrawal every two days of parliament’s sittings in that time, the most recent of these on 9 June of this year.

The Western Australian parliament’s online search facility presents a slightly more complex task in performing this same search, as it does not return any results whatsoever for the whole search term, ‘Mr Speaker I withdraw’. It does, however, offer results after narrowing that search down to the phrase, ‘I withdraw’. This, then, encompasses all instances in which a parliamentarian utters either variation of the search term as alluded to above: ‘Mr Speaker I withdraw’ or ‘I withdraw Mr Speaker’. Hence, the results for these same twin search terms have been included in the cases of both the Queensland and Commonwealth *Hansards*. It is worth noting that this approach in the Western Australian case incorporated the variations of the search term alluded to earlier (‘Madam Deputy Speaker’, for instance); it might also be noted that such variations added few returns to the overall results. Ultimately, the Western Australian Legislative Assembly’s *Hansard* records 501 ‘results’ for this briefer search term across as many separate documents. In this case a single date may produce more than one document, and a single document may include more than one search result. This in fact represents 556 instances of a member’s remark being withdrawn — examples of which *Hansard* helpfully denotes with the pre-emptive heading, ‘Withdrawal of Remark’ — on 333 separate sitting days. While this is twice as many instances and sitting days as results show for the Queensland parliament, it only equates roughly to one withdrawal every 1½ days of parliament’s sittings in that time, the most recent of these on 24 June of this year.

The federal parliament’s online search facility is, appropriately, rather more user-friendly in this exercise. For a start, it locates the exact search phrase in its digital transcripts, and offers more detail and opportunity to refine parameters in its advanced search mode. It was best in this case to bypass the basic search option and specify the House of Representatives *Hansard* as the sole search target; otherwise,

the results cover all available parliamentary records (including committee reports, Senate documents, Bills, publications and the like) and literally run into the thousands. For the period under consideration here, the Commonwealth House of Representatives' *Hansard* records only 151 'matches' across as many separate documents for those same variant search terms (including 'Deputy Speaker', which returned several results). Again, a certain date may produce more than one document or match, and each match might contain more than one search result; a result signifies a single instance of the exact search term. This represents 173 instances of withdrawn remarks — one hundred less than in Queensland — on 128 separate sitting days (or roughly one withdrawal every five days of parliament's sittings in that time), the most recent of these on 17 June of this year.

Findings

The raw numbers of withdrawals from the search results outlined above seem to indicate that Queensland's parliamentarians are almost twice as badly behaved (at least in their choice of parliamentary language) as their counterparts in Canberra. Even clearer is the impression that members of Western Australia's Lower House (or should it be relabelled the 'Lowest' House?) are twice as likely again to flout parliamentary standards as their Queensland peers. But such claims are not really so conclusive. When considering that the Western Australian Parliament sat on 235 more days than was the case in Queensland during the whole search timeframe, one can appreciate that there were simply more opportunities for its members to engage in un-parliamentary language and, resultantly, to make withdrawals. Of course, this does not account for the fact that the Commonwealth's House of Representatives sat on a further 66 days again, and yet its total recorded withdrawals came to less than one-third of Western Australia's. Given the much smaller number of elected members in their Legislative Assembly, it does not seem presumptuous to infer from these figures that parliamentarians in the West really do 'punch above their weight'. Of course, it should still be acknowledged that other factors are at play here. As stated already, the search results of identified withdrawals alone cannot take into account the variations in each parliament's Standing Orders, or the likely effect on these results of how various Speakers have applied the Standing Orders and disciplined members over this time. Those obviously valid considerations, however, are better left for more extensive treatment than has been undertaken in this case. In comparative terms, then, the raw results of this research exercise played out in the following fashion.

In the Queensland parliament, whose recorded withdrawals totalled 277 in the search period, incidences of un-parliamentary behaviour varied from year to year but remained relatively constant over that time. From 25 cases of withdrawn remarks in 1997, *Hansard* shows an identical number in 2008 before a peak of 46 in the following year. For the half-year to June 2010, there have been only three incidences; the only other times that withdrawals were in the single figures came in 2001 (8), 2002 (7) and 2003 (9). It is no coincidence, surely, that these years

correspond to the term of the second Beattie government, which notably won an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Assembly (taking 66 out of 89 seats) at the state election of 17 February 2001.⁷ Evidently, the key to banishing opprobrium in the House and improving standards of parliamentary conduct is to reduce the opposition to a tiny minority! As for Western Australia, whose withdrawals totalled 556, the spread of numbers was again varied but even more irregular. Besides the half-year to June 2010 (showing 11 withdrawals), the least was recorded in 2000 (20), the last full year of the Court coalition government. Incidences of withdrawals progressed from 44 in 1997 to 56 in 2009, after peaking at 73 in 2007 — the year in which political fallout from the Corruption and Crime Commission inquiry undermined the government of Premier Alan Carpenter. At the other end of the scale, the Commonwealth House of Representatives totalled only 173 withdrawals in the same period, but its record similarly shows a generally upwards (albeit variable) trajectory of incidences over these years. From only ten cases in 1997, numbers remained close to this level or in single figures for each year that the Howard administrations were in power, including 2004 when there were no recorded withdrawals whatsoever (going by the search parameters outlined previously). Perversely, perhaps, these numbers by comparison have skyrocketed since Labor won office in November 2007, with a peak of 31 in 2009 coming between 2008 (23) and the half-year to June 2010 (24). What this says about the conduct of members from either side of the House, or in fact about the performance of Speakers from either party in ‘controlling’ the behaviour of members over this time is, indeed, open to interpretation.

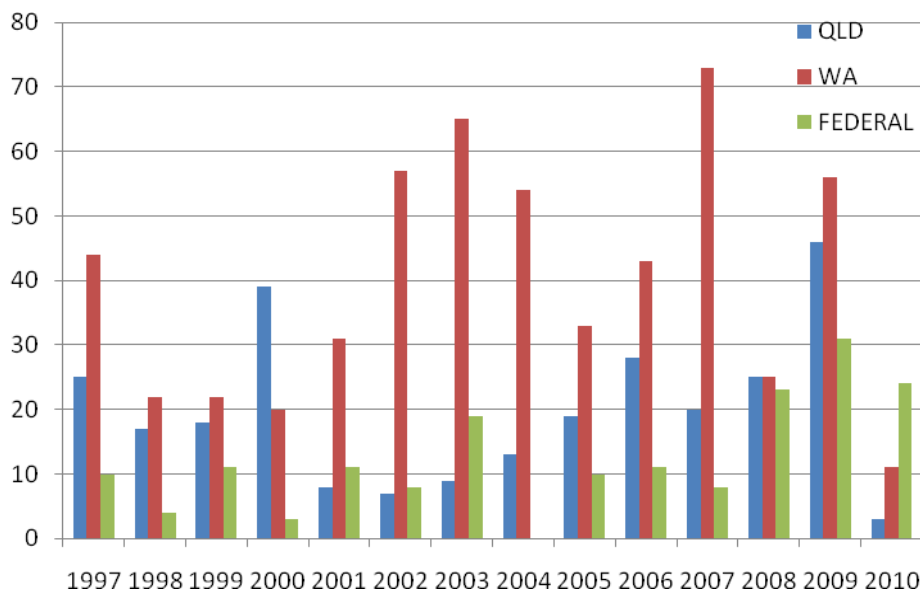


Figure 1: Number of withdrawals per year by parliament

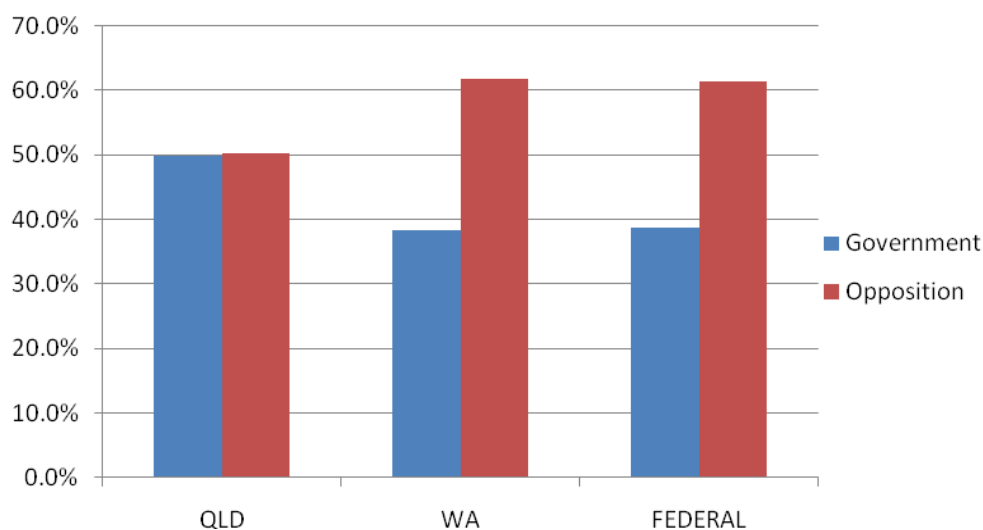


Figure 2: Percentage of total withdrawals by parliamentary status

Comparing instead the incidences of withdrawals by government as opposed to opposition members, the total numbers reflect a different and, indeed, more surprising story. Varying opinions would have it that either an 'arrogant' incumbent government or a feisty, disgruntled opposition would show many more recorded withdrawals than their counterparts. However, in Queensland's case this obviously was not so, where the number of withdrawn remarks was split almost evenly at 138 for government members and 139 for opposition members. Federally, it was a more uneven 'contest' (and the results perhaps more true to 'type') with government members being responsible for 67 withdrawals (or roughly 39%) compared to opposition members responsible for 106. In Western Australia the difference was equally clear, with 213 withdrawals (roughly 38%) attributed to government members compared to the opposition's 343. It is worth noting that in Western Australia, unlike in both Queensland and Canberra where one party governed for a great majority of the period under review, government has been held by both sides of politics for roughly an equal number of years. Ostensibly, WA's opposition — whatever its political persuasion — appears most ill-spoken.

The search results become slightly more closely matched yet, arguably, more informative when comparing incidences of withdrawals by party. In Queensland, ALP members were made to withdraw remarks on 137 occasions, while the Coalition parties withdrew 131 times (this comprised 88 for the Nationals, 15 for the Liberals and 28 for the recently merged entity, the LNP). Nine withdrawals were attributed to Independents or to members of small minority parties, all of whom it could be argued are cut from the 'conservative' cloth (being mostly One Nation members or ex-members), thereby making the 'two-party preferred' totals if

you like closer yet at 137 versus 140. The Commonwealth figures were, however, much less close than this. The ALP — which was in opposition for most of the review period — recorded 96 withdrawals (or roughly 56%) compared to 73 for the Coalition (72 by Liberals and a solitary withdrawal by a National member); there were also four withdrawals by two ex-National Independents. In Western Australia, too, the difference in numbers was clearer, with the ALP responsible for 302 withdrawals (roughly 54%) compared to 236 for the Coalition parties (225 for the Liberals and only 11 for the Nationals). A further 17 withdrawals were made by Independents, with a solitary withdrawal made by the former Greens' member for Fremantle (now an Independent following revelations of a cross-benches 'alliance' of sorts).



Figure 3: Percentage of total withdrawals by party

Finally, the search results threw up the names of several members of the respective federal and state parliaments, some of whom it became apparent could be termed 'serial offenders' in making un-parliamentary remarks — they stood out more clearly and much more often than others in the offenders 'hit list'. Certain names so singled out would probably come as no surprise to many; others were conspicuous perhaps by their absence. It appeared, generally speaking, that party leadership brought with it something of an expectation to 'lead the way' in terms of intolerable language in parliament. However, long-serving former Prime Minister, John Howard, proved an exception to this rule, having made only a solitary withdrawal within the search timeframe. Again, very generally speaking, female members — for so long under-represented in all the nation's parliaments — were similarly under-represented in the search results (with the notable exception of one 'robust' member in the West). But these are merely glib assessments of the overall results of the search exercise, which (as stated at the outset) was not meant to be exhaustive or wholly representative, merely indicative and illuminating.

Having said that, though, there is undoubtedly interest and some worth in highlighting those members most represented in the 'hit list' of search results. To begin, in Queensland former Leader of the Opposition and National (now LNP) member, Jeff Seeney, topped the list with 24 withdrawals, followed from his own ranks by another former party leader, Lawrence Springborg, with 16. On the 'other side', former Premier, Peter Beattie, accumulated 23 withdrawals over this period, followed by current Minister, Rob Swarten, with 18 (although current Premier, Anna Bligh, was not to be left out of the running with 10 withdrawals). In Canberra, the Liberals' Christopher Pyne is clearly most prone to unseemly comments, having made 16 withdrawals. His closest 'rival' is current Leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott, with 10 withdrawals to his name. On the Labor side, current Deputy Prime Minister, Wayne Swan, was attributed with 12 withdrawals, while his Ministerial colleague Martin Ferguson contributed 11. Even the former and current Prime Ministers scored highly in this regard, with Kevin Rudd making 7 and Julia Gillard 6 withdrawals respectively. But we have to move further west to find the serious offenders. From Labor's ranks, former Minister, Alannah MacTiernan, leads the pack after making 37 withdrawals over a parliamentary career covering the whole search timeframe (and having resigned just prior to writing to run as a candidate at the 21 August federal election). Behind her were placed former party leader, Jim McGinty, with 31 and former Premier, Dr Geoff Gallop, with 21 withdrawals. This number was matched from the Liberals' ranks by former party leader and State Treasurer, Troy Buswell, with 21, who is bettered by another former party leader, Paul Omodei, with 36 withdrawals. However, the current Premier of Western Australia takes first prize in this 'shame file' of members to whom most withdrawals can be attributed: the long-time Liberal leader, Colin Barnett, recorded a grand total of 73 withdrawn remarks over the 13½-year duration of the search timeframe. Premier Barnett might do well to 'withdraw' to consider those numbers over the coming parliamentary recess....

Conclusion

This research exercise, besides highlighting the rich repository of the online *Hansard* public record, has established a number of inferences which can be safely drawn from the search results. Chief among them is that, over the time period under review here, there have been copious instances of parliamentarians making and withdrawing crude or improper remarks, and that generally this trend is increasing. This recorded behaviour would more than likely fit the public's perception of members 'behaving badly'. What might also fit some perceptions is that Labor members and/or opposition members have been more likely to offend than their counterparts on the other side of the chamber. This, though, discounts the clear exception in Queensland, where either party is just as likely to transgress irrespective of whether they are in government or opposition. This could mean that, despite popular opinion, Queensland's politicians of whatever stripe are (comparatively speaking) not so badly behaved after all — or that, as the popular adage has it, they are all just as bad as each other. Perhaps it could also be inferred

that, over the last decade and a half especially, an increase in media coverage of parliament and its proceedings means a greater likelihood that parliamentarians will overstep the bounds of behaviour, so as to ensure greater media exposure for a certain member or for a particular issue.⁸ This congruence of the media and perceived parliamentary standards, while only being touched on here, is doubtless worth further scrutiny in light of this exercise.

Even given such likely perceptions, it seems from the search results that parliamentarians are becoming harder to supervise for Speakers (of whatever reputation). Overall, the visible trend is that un-parliamentary behaviour — if the making of withdrawals is anything to go by — is increasing, instead of getting better over time. Despite well publicised efforts to impose better codes of conduct and standards of behaviour in the nation's parliaments, the unseemly language is anything but improved from days past. The lion's share of withdrawn remarks would, at best, be considered name-calling — going by the *Hansard* transcripts, 'hypocrite' rates as the derogatory term of choice across all parliaments, followed closely by 'fool' and 'moron'. Similarly, the Speaker of the Western Australian Parliament had to rule more than once on the permissibility of referring to opposing members as creatures of the four-legged, flying or marine variety. Perhaps, as has been suggested elsewhere, geography really does play a large part in human development (politicians included), and that distant, western state operates under its own peculiar set of standards.⁹ At any rate, despite the poor perception all this likely engenders in the outside observer, the final question this exercise poses is this: does the public really care? Or would most people in fact be disappointed — and presumably Harold MacMillan among them — if our parliaments were not home to the 'colourful repartee' which we seemingly value in so many of our public figures? Your ruling, Mr Speaker? ▲

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Endnotes

- ¹ In the last dozen years, all federal, state and territory parliaments have introduced variations of a Members' code of conduct, or at the least a Ministerial code, either in force or pending legislation. See Deirdre McKeown, 2009, 'A survey of codes of conduct in Australian and selected overseas parliaments' (Background Note), Parliamentary Library, Parliament of Australia, 26 November, updated 17 December, www.aph.gov.au/Library/pubs/BN/pol/CodesOfConduct.htm. Accessed 2 July 2010.
- ² Jim Fouras, 2009, 'Bad habits mock our rights', *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 20 May. See also Georgie Oakeshott, 2008, 'En garde!: Question Time in the House of Representatives is the most popular part of any parliamentary sitting day, but do MPs take it seriously?', *About the House* 35 (December), pp. 46–7.
- ³ Harold MacMillan, in Richard Rose, 1974, *The problem of party government* (London: Macmillan), p. 289.
- ⁴ There are, of course, other ways in which Members transgress parliamentary rules of behaviour, and other means by which Speakers discipline these 'wayward' parliamentarians. For instance, the *Hansard* transcripts indicate that the Speaker of the federal Parliament resorts to ejecting Members from that Chamber or barring them from the parliamentary precinct more regularly than in either of the State Assemblies. This also calls into question the predilections and approaches to parliamentary discipline of different Speakers. For an overview of the varying parliamentary Standing Orders and their application, See Philip Laundy, 1984, *The office of Speaker in the parliaments of the Commonwealth* (London: Quiller), Ch. 5, 'The Speakership in Australia', pp. 143–63.
- ⁵ Gilbert Elliott, Esq., quoted from the Queensland Parliament website, *Record of the proceedings of the Queensland Parliament*, 22 May 1860, p. 5, www.parliament.qld.gov.au/view/legislativeAssembly/hansard/documents/1860/Asm/1860_05_22_A.pdf. [Accessed 2 July 2010].
- ⁶ See Queensland Parliament, 2010, *Order in the House: the story of the Queensland Parliament* (Brisbane: Queensland Parliamentary Service), pp. 13–16.
- ⁷ It might also reflect the amended parliamentary practices introduced through the Premier's 'Parliament of Queensland' Act, including the instigation of the Members' Ethics and Parliamentary Privileges Committee. See McKeown, 'A survey of codes of conduct'.
- ⁸ See Oakeshott, 'En garde!', pp. 47–48.
- ⁹ See Jeremy Moon and Campbell Sharman, eds, 2003, *Australian politics and government: the Commonwealth, the states and the territories* (New York: Cambridge University Press), Ch. 8, 'Western Australia', pp. 183–208.