



In 1986, Senator Janine Haines became the first woman to lead any Australian political party. After a distinguished career in the Senate, Senator Haines resigned to contest the seat of Kingston in South Australia for the House of Representatives in the 1988 federal election, and was defeated.

Senator Haines was succeeded by Senator Ivan Powell, who remained leader until 1991.

The Australian Democrats describe itself as a progressive reformist party. Amongst its eight members in the Federal Parliament, all of whom are in the Senate, three are currently (see senators-Senators Vicki Baerens, Cheryl Karpyn, May Leung, Ivan Powell and Kerri Swenda.



Senator Janine Haines in the Senate chamber of the government Parliament House, in 1982, when she held the position of Acting Deputy President. Senator Haines was elected Leader of the Australian Democrats in 1986.

Photograph due to Janine Haines

## *Janine Haines*

*8 May 1945 - 20 November 2004*

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**[www.democrats.org.au/campaigns/tribute\\_to\\_janine\\_haines/](http://www.democrats.org.au/campaigns/tribute_to_janine_haines/)**



THE PARLIAMENT OF THE  
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA  
THE SENATE HANSARD  
29 November 2004

**CONDOLENCES:**

***Haines AM - Former Senator Janine***

**The PRESIDENT**—It is with deep regret that I inform the Senate of the death on 20 November 2004 of Janine Haines AM, a senator for the State of South Australia from 1977 to 1978, and from 1981 to 1990, and Leader of the Australian Democrats from 1986 to 1990.

**Senator BARTLETT** (Queensland—Leader of the Australian Democrats) (3.49 p.m.)—The passing of Janine Haines is a very sad occasion for all Democrats and, to quote the Democrats' founder, Don Chipp, Janine Haines was the best leader in our party's history. She is widely acknowledged as the first woman to lead a political party in federal parliament. However, perhaps the most positive aspect of her legacy is not that she was the first woman to get there but that she blazed a trail that allowed and, indeed, encouraged so many to follow her.

One quote from Janine Haines that I think is quite appropriate comes from not long before she finished up here, when she was speaking in a debate on a piece of legislation. She said:

Talk is cheap practically anywhere, but it is particularly cheap in this place, where it is the actions that count.

There is no doubt that the actions of Janine Haines in this parliament—in this Senate—did count and continue to count. Nearly 15 years after she moved out of parliament, the actions and decisions she took continue to have their impact on the lives of many people in a positive way. I think for all of us that is the most we could look for at the end of our time, however long or short it might be, in this chamber—that

our actions have counted in a way that has led to an improvement in people's lives. Janine Haines's actions have led to a quite enormous improvement in so many people's lives.

Janine Haines was a key reason that I decided to join the Democrats back in 1989. I do not quote myself very often, but in my own first speech in this place, back in 1997, I said:

If I had to pick a single Democrat out of the pack, I would probably go to one of my original inspirations, Janine Haines, whose insightfulness and originality I found very inspiring and nearly as appealing as her sense of irreverence which she managed to maintain.

The fact of her impact on so many Democrats is revealed by how many times she continued to be referred to by Democrat senators in this place many years after she had departed. She was noted as having a similarly major impact by former Democrat senator Dr Karin Sowada in her first speech, and she is frequently cited by another of my colleagues, Senator Natasha Stott Despoja, as a key reason that she was inspired to join the Democrats.

Janine Haines seemed to embody the reality that moving away from a two-party system would make our democracy more vibrant and dynamic. Many people appreciated her irreverence and her willingness to make comments that were what is frequently called courageous and outside the safe clichés which dominate political discussion. The first time I met Janine Haines was at the Democrats launch of our Queensland candidates for the 1990 federal election when she was party leader. Despite making her ultimately unsuccessful and very difficult run for a lower house seat in the electorate of Kingston, she also had to campaign around the country to help our candidates, particularly our Senate candidates, at that election. I was standing on the edge of the function and Janine specifically came over to say hello and speak to me. Rather than the usual sorts of questions—how long I had been a member, why I had joined and those sorts of things—Janine started talking to me about how boring these sorts of events often were and how often she could think of a lot of better things to do with her time but that they were really important because they were a good morale boost for people. Then she pretty much

walked over and gave one of those rousing speeches that was a big morale boost for a whole lot of people—and, of course, the campaign was successful for us in Queensland, with the election of Cheryl Kernot for the first time.

The only other time I met her was in 1992 when she was visiting Brisbane. I was keen to talk with her at length and ask her all her ideas about what we should be doing now as a party and where we should be going. But as she repeatedly did upon moving out of the parliamentary arena, she was quite reluctant to be making pronouncements or providing extensive advice about what we should be doing as a party. Unlike perhaps a few other former Democrat senators after they had moved out of this place, she actually refrained from providing regular gratuitous advice to us about what we should be doing and how we always did things better back in her day. She very much played the role of saying that she had served her time and was leaving it up to those who followed on to do it as they saw fit. In some ways it is a great shame that clearly in many respects we have not been able to do that as a party as successfully as she did in her time in this Senate.

In 2002 the Democrats marked the 25th anniversary of Janine Haines's entry into the Senate by establishing an annual Janine Haines lecture. The first lecture that was given at the time by Professor Marion Simms examined the changing role of women in politics, and of course Janine Haines played a key role in the improvements and the continuing positive development of the role of women in politics. Just this year, with the third lecture in that series, Lowitja O'Donoghue, giving a very important speech in Adelaide, continued to build on some of those important issues. It certainly is a positive sign and, again, recognition by our party of the important role that we believe Janine Haines played and the important legacy that she leaves not just for our party but for politics in Australia more broadly. As Janine herself said in her first speech in this place, she was not going to stick just to so-called women's issues or women's opinions. While she remained strongly committed to encouraging women across all walks of life to not just get involved in politics but to seek opportunity in all

areas they chose to pursue, she did speak and act on a whole range of other issues.

The achievements and actions of Janine Haines in the Senate and, indeed, in her time beyond the Senate are too many to list in a short speech. In looking through her vast contributions, one is struck by how many issues she fought for then that still continue to be relevant decades later. As has been mentioned, in her first speech in this place in 1978 she spoke on the rights of Aboriginal people and the continuing disadvantage that they faced. As we heard in this chamber just a short time ago, that sadly continues to remain a blight on our nation. She spoke about the rights of women. Interestingly, this included a strong criticism of the availability of pornography and its impact on attitudes towards women. And she spoke about the importance of education.

In 1982 Janine Haines introduced a bill to implement the UN International Convention on Civil and Political Rights. Over 20 years later, in some areas those civil and political rights at law have actually been reduced further. Included in that bill was a right against discrimination on the grounds of sexuality, and all Democrats continue to remain frustrated that more than 20 years on we still have entrenched discrimination in federal law on the grounds of sexuality. I noted in the clippings that were put together by the library a relevant article about the fight to have child-care facilities in the parliamentary triangle back in the 1980s. Some things continue. I also noticed her frustration with members of the media—and no doubt her endearing affection as well. She spoke on one occasion about the frustration of getting the actions and the substance of the Democrats policies, amendments and legislative record acknowledged by the media. Indeed, one of the reasons she gave for running for the House of Representatives was the obsessive focus on what happens in the House of Representatives, despite the significance of the real debates and the real amendments to legislation that happen in the Senate.

In the November 1988 *Bulletin* she talked about the problem of not getting a media focus on the work we do, the amendments we move and the bills that pass or fail with or without us,

which drift past because no media covers the Senate. That is a frustration that I think many of us would repeat today. Indeed, musing aloud, she spoke once about the need to perhaps stand in the middle of Sydney's Martin Place and progressively take off pieces of clothing as she announced legislative issues and what we had done in the Senate that day as a way of trying to get media coverage. It beats bungee jumping, I suppose. Either way, I think the frustration continued.

I did note what she said in an interview after she had failed in her tilt at the seat of Kingston. The journalist commented that perhaps she would be feeling good now that she did not have to deal with so many politicians and asked, 'Are politicians the most annoying people in the world?' Janine answered, 'No, journalists are.' I would not say that myself of course but it was perhaps an indication of the frustration that she felt. Indeed, in her final valedictory comments that have been referred to she did give thanks to the journalists, saying:

The journalists who periodically and in very small numbers cover the Senate from the press gallery also deserve our thanks, inasmuch as they are ever able to follow anything that ever happens in this place. A journalist described the Senate to me a week or so ago as the 'B-grade chamber'. I suspect sometimes it turns into a horror movie but more often than not it does a far better job than most journalists and most members of the public are aware.

Perhaps it is in some way fittingly ironic that, as usual, there were vast hordes of journalists—40 or so—who poured into the House of Representatives today to watch the sideshow that passes for question time over there, and we have a single noble and very hardworking journalist in the press gallery in the Senate to witness the debate on the motion of condolence regarding the impact and work of an extremely great Australian.

I attended Janine's funeral, as did a number of my colleagues, in Adelaide last Friday. The wide spectrum of people there was an indication of the enormous impact she had, particularly as a South Australian, and it was a continued recognition of her crucial role. It was interesting to see some of the people who were there, including Steele Hall. As has been mentioned, it

was his resignation from the Senate that led to Janine Haines initially taking up her seat in the Senate and filling a casual vacancy. But it was when she got re-elected in the 1980 election and came back in here to the Senate that she really made her mark. It is virtually impossible to list all the areas that she covered, all the areas she made an impact upon. They certainly were not just women's issues. She also ensured that women's perspectives were continually raised and that the impact on women was continually acknowledged, assessed and addressed in the different pieces of legislation that came up.

Despite the focus on her charisma and her wit, she was not just somebody who was entertaining to talk with or listen to; she was someone who was very active and effective in the hard-nosed policy area. She was a regular contributor in areas to do with taxation. She was continually talking about issues to do with poverty and the impact of different pieces of government economic legislation on poorer families and poorer people in the community. In a matter of public importance debate on taxation late in 1989, she talked about the growing inequality in Australia between rich and poor and between different families. It is a sad reality that the inequality she detailed then is, 15 years later, even greater.

Not long after she was re-elected to the Senate and took up her seat in 1981, she was a key player in the very contentious and drawn-out debate on sales tax and she argued the Democrats' strong stand on imposing a tax on the necessities of life, in particular clothing and footwear, books, newspapers and building materials. This was an approach that she continually took throughout the 1980s in her time in the Senate. In the final month of Senate sittings in 1989, she was still debating sales taxation legislation and attempting to ensure that the tax treatment of equipment for disabled people, in particular disabled children, was modified to provide more assistance to them. She also had a strong impact on nursing home policy. She was a key contributor to strengthening the sex discrimination legislation that went through the parliament in the 1980s. She was a key opponent to the Australia Card. She was vocal in opposing the reintroduction of tertiary fees.

In another sign of how sometimes some things do not change, she spoke in frustration about the lack of recognition for the work the Democrats had done in the area of the environment. I note an article from 1989 in which she expressed concern at the increasing support for independent environmental candidates in the Tasmanian elections. It expressed the frustration of the years of often fruitless effort in getting environmental issues on the political agenda when, once they were in the public eye, that was credited to the rapidly rising Green Independents. Some things do not change even after 15 years. It is a fact that the 1990 election—the one that is often referred to as the one where the Labor Party got back into government on the preferences of the so-called green vote—was one where the vast majority of that vote was a Democrat vote. That was, and remains, the largest ever primary vote that the Democrats achieved in a federal election. In that sense, as well, Janine Haines remains the most successful minor political party leader in an electoral sense across the spectrum.

I want to return to her final comments in this chamber, valedictory comments made at the end of December in 1989—the usual comments that people make in this chamber at the end of every sitting year—with the possibility, and the reality as it turned out, of an election being called in the new year. She spoke these words in the very place I am standing now, reaffirming the importance of the Senate operating as a brake on any sort of dictatorship that could occur if both houses were held by the same political party. She said:

... it would simply be a two-House version of Queensland and I do not think anybody ever wants to see that happen.

Sadly, we are about to see that happen. That is a particularly unfortunate situation and it is particularly crucial we try to ensure that it does not become some sort of elected dictatorship, and certainly the Democrats will continue to work to ensure that that does not happen.

Janine Haines was first elected to this place in 1981, which was when the Democrats first held the balance of power, and it is quite clear from looking at the debates of that time that this was something that the then government

was not that keen on. The government was not pleased to see the Senate operating in a way that prevented legislation being railroaded through. I hope that, after 24 years of having a Senate not controlled by the government, perhaps governments can now accept that it is not such a bad thing to have legislation examined and improved, and occasionally defeated. Certainly we need to remember how important and how effective the Senate was during Janine Haines's time and after in preventing a sort of elected dictatorship and in being a brake on the extremes of government. As Senator Evans said, in her final words in this chamber Janine Haines said:

Should an election befall us before we meet again, could I say that I hope everybody gets what they deserve.

I do not think Janine Haines got what she deserved, but as she said elsewhere, 'If life wasn't meant to be easy, politics certainly wasn't meant to be fair.' If you expected that it was, you would be bound to be disappointed. I know that she was disappointed that she did not succeed in her tilt at Kingston. Nonetheless, she got on with life and continued to make a strong contribution in many areas. It is indeed a great tragedy that the very significant contribution she was continuing to make was cut short not just by her premature death but by significant illness in the final years of her life. On behalf of all Democrats I pass on our condolences to her family—to her husband, Ian, to her daughters and their husbands and to her grandchildren—on their great loss. I think they can be proud of their family member and loved one Janine Haines. Few would be the people who have made such a contribution, and to have done so whilst having such a successful and loving family is something that is an amazing achievement that should be widely recognised.

**Senator ALLISON** (Victoria) (4.23 p.m.)—I am pleased to join the condolences for Janine Haines. Although I did not know her well, as a voter and a constituent I was very interested in her career. Like others who have spoken about Janine, she was instrumental in persuading me to support the Democrats and ultimately to join. I pass on my condolences to Ian—Janine’s husband of some 37 years, I understand—and to her two daughters, Bronwyn and Melanie, her three grandchildren and the rest of her family.

I thought I would start by quoting from Janine’s first speech. It was called her maiden speech but it was in fact a speech on the address-in-reply, which is timely I thought. She said:

I will endeavour to uphold the dignity of the Senate, to pursue the interests of my home State of South Australia, and to add, if possible, to the ever increasing regard in the community for women parliamentarians already engendered by that small but effective group which graces this chamber. However, it is not my intention to restrict myself to so-called women’s issues or to put only the woman’s point of view, whatever that is. On the contrary, I intend to concern myself with as many issues as possible affecting the people of this nation and South Australia in particular.

The results of the recent election surprised everyone with regard to the size and uniformity across the country of the coalition victory. That victory has led members of the Australian Labor Party to beat their collective brows and to ask themselves and the general public where they went wrong.

Before government members become too carried away with congratulatory back thumping they should realise exactly what their support is in real terms. On 10 December 1977 the Liberal Party of Australia polled for the House of Representatives 38.1 per cent of the national vote, the Australian Labor Party 39.7 per cent, the National Country Party 10 per cent and the Australian Democrats 9.4 per cent.

I use that quote from her first speech because I think it was typical of her approach to this place. She was down to earth. She was not afraid to challenge either side of this chamber. I think that, apart from anything else, she was someone

who called it like it was and was very articulate in doing so.

She was much too young to suffer a long illness and to die at 59, but I think she leaves an amazing legacy in this place. The Parliamentary Library, I am told, and many of the processes in this place were the result of Janine’s work. At the point at which she had balance of power in this place—which I gather was most of the time that she was in the Senate—she was able to argue effectively that, for a small party with very few resources, she was not likely to be able to deal with government legislation without assistance. Thanks to her efforts, we have not a library that is just full of books but a library with experts who can provide senators in this place with very sound analyses of legislation and general issues in the community. So we can thank Janine today for that. As I said, the Senate processes, which have evolved over time to provide more accountability in this place, giving us a greater level of scrutiny over government activities and legislation, were due in large part to her efforts.

I first met Janine—even though I felt I knew her—in 1996, at the time of the federal election. She came to Melbourne to assist Cheryl Kernot and me in the launch of our federal campaign. It was an enormously successful event, made so by her presence. She was someone who was very much respected, not just by our party but by the media at the time. I will remember very fondly that day.

Since that time I have met her a few times, but I have had occasion to meet her more through the *Hansard*. The 25th anniversary of the Democrats occurred a couple of years ago, and when I looked back through *Hansard* to find some quotes to use on that occasion I became fascinated by what she said and the way she said it. I was enormously impressed by her ability as a parliamentarian, as a great wit and as someone who was as sharp as a tack in this place.

She was a fantastic role model for women—the first leader of a political party in this country. Mind you, the Democrats are still the only party to produce a female leader. However, I think what was important to women in terms of her being a role model was that she was not

only the first leader but the first successful leader. Had she been a dud I think that would have been a major problem for women, but she was certainly anything but that. In fact, I would argue that she left most men in leadership positions in the dark.

Janine was critically important to the development of the Democrats as the party to be trusted with the balance of power. She was arguably our best leader. She was enormously popular. She was a straight talker—feisty but grounded in common sense, and the combination of those two characteristics made her very good in the media. She spoke directly to people through the media and when talking to them face to face. Her loss to the Democrats and the federal parliament when she failed to win the seat of Kingston was enormous but, as was typical of her, she had made a promise to the Australian people that she would not come back to the Senate if she lost her bid for Kingston and she honoured that promise and did not return. At the time I remember feeling that she should not have made that promise, but she was a person of her word and was determined in such things.

Janine was fearless in criticising government but was very keen to work with government to pass good legislation. As I read through the Senate *Hansard*, there were many occasions on which she chided the coalition when they opposed the legislation being put forward by Labor and occasions on which it was the other way round. She had no time for the humbug of this place and no time for wasted debating. She was keen to get on with the job and to see that legislation could be passed, and passed with good debate. One of her favourite topics was the hypocrisy of men and male attitudes to women, including the double standards on sexual behaviour both in the parliament and outside.

She was a consummate parliamentarian—an intelligent, passionate, quick-witted woman. At her funeral, her brother talked about how clever and bookish she was as a child. She was also very rebellious and questioning. As Janine said, in her family she was weaned on equal rights. Although she made it clear that she did not speak for women, she spoke very much as a woman and she raised women's issues. As a former teacher, she was very down to earth and

an expert on education, particularly the education of girls.

Janine was a strong environmentalist. As I look again through the speeches she made during her career, she was concerned about issues like uranium mining, particularly the Ranger uranium mine in a World Heritage area. Much of what she said then is what we say now. She was a passionate environmentalist indeed.

To say that she was a feminist, I think, is an understatement. She lived equality in her personal life. She was brought up in a family that shared household tasks—a family where equality was an expectation. Her husband, Ian, looked after her daughters when she came into the parliament. I gather she was criticised heavily for abandoning her wifely duties in doing that but, in true style, she was able to counter those criticisms. She had a rapier-like wit and a great capacity to shock, which cut through, I think, the prejudices and the nasty treatment of women that she struck both when she entered politics and from outside. In her book *Suffrage to Sufferance*, she said:

The fact is that women often have to be tougher if not smarter than men to survive in politics and it goes without saying that they have to be tougher as well as smarter in order to succeed.

She was certainly both.

One of the reasons for writing this book was to remind all of us, both men and women, how hard the struggle for equal treatment, in and out of the world's parliaments, has been for women everywhere. There has been remarkably little change throughout history in the words and pictures used to describe women who buck the system. Traditionally they have been depicted as sour-faced, unattractive, barren and humourless. Unable to win a man, they have turned their attention to becoming surrogate men and grasped at male power in order to take away their fun. Thus there were real fears expressed during every debate on female suffrage that such a move would lead to tougher rape laws, reduced drinking hours, punishment for the clients of prostitutes, closure of brothels, and the breakdown of the orderly society men had come to know and love over hundreds of years.

Back in 1978, it was common for men to display in their workplace their favourite calendars of semi-naked women in suggestive poses. Typically these calendars would be handed out by tyre manufacturers or local hardware shops. Now and again you still get a glimpse of these calendars in places like your local mechanic's workshop, but the practice is, I am glad to say, now rare. And it is rare because women like Janine dared to suggest that, if the boot were on the other foot, men too might be offended. She told the *Sun-Herald* that she would like to plaster her Parliament House office with nude centrefolds of men, which she would collect from a well-known magazine for women so that men would be confronted by these images—so that, in her words, 'when the men opened the door, that would be the first thing they'd see.' Of course, there were no magazines that included male centrefolds for the pleasure of women, but the concept was enough to drive home the point that such images were inappropriate in the workplace, that they objectified women and that men would not tolerate being confronted by images of their own gender in the same way.

Dignity and integrity marked Janine's career, but she was also very aware of the political machinations of her opponents. In an interview within two days of taking over the party leadership in August 1986, with respect to the dilemma of her position as a woman in Canberra, she said: 'I'm damned if I do and damned if I don't.' Referring generally to male federal politicians, she went on to say:

If I raise questions of pornography, child abuse, incest, domestic violence, they say I'm obsessed with sex.

If I raise equality of opportunity, difficulties women face, they say I'm a man-hating feminist. If I'm flippant about myself, it's lack of confidence. If flippant about them, I'm a sarcastic bitch. If I make strong statements, I'm aggressive. If not, I'm weak. If I'm angry, I'm emotional.

We are constantly being trivialised, patronised, decried and stereotyped. We are depicted as mothers, grandmothers, wives and daughters. We are described in terms of size, age and hair-colouring. Our comments are edited

into idiocy. We are considered mindless twits with nothing of value to offer the community outside the kitchen and the bedroom.

That gives us a glimpse of the wit of Janine and the way in which she used it to great effect in the parliament.

It is also important to talk about the way she wanted to see politics conducted in this place. In the second reading speech to her Human Rights Bill 1982 she called on political parties to get away from normal adversarial politics and to work together for the advancement of human rights in Australia. She said:

If ever there was a case for a matter of principle to override the considerations of party politics, it is the case for human rights.

She called the absence of constitutional or legislative protection of human rights in Australia 'a national disgrace'. Some would say that it still is. I want to finish by quoting her again. She said in 1986:

I'm a rather boring person. I'm very private ... I don't like the limelight. And I've never been able to accept a compliment graciously.

Janine, if you are able to listen to us today, I hope that the compliments that have poured out for you are acceptable to you. As someone who did not know you well, as I said, I value very much the contribution you made to the parliament and to the people of Australia.

**Senator MURRAY** (Western Australia) (4.38 p.m.)—I was honoured to be at Janine Haines's state funeral and I was impressed by the courtesy and generosity shown by Premier Mike Rann, who spoke at the funeral. Senator Lees, who is present in the chamber, gave a eulogy, as did Janine Haines's brother. All political parties were represented and there was genuine respect for and a proper send-off given to a woman who was not just a great South Australian but one who rightly won the accolade of a great Australian. Indeed, that was recognised by her being appointed a Member in the Order of Australia in 2001. She leaves behind—far too early, frankly—her husband, Ian, and a lovely family, I thought: her daughters, Bronwyn and Melanie, their husbands and three grandchildren.

In these circumstances her very longstanding husband, Ian, deserves a special mention. He has been through what many carers go through towards the end of a long, drawn out illness. I can only imagine the great trauma and great difficulty. I know Ian better than I knew Janine, and I can only think that her life was greatly enhanced by having a man like that by her side to support her in both her family and personal life and her public and political life. Like all Democrats I am very conscious of the contribution Janine Haines has made to advancing the cause of liberal humanism. I have admired her commitment and her aggression—humorous aggression, but nevertheless aggression—in making sure those ideas were properly presented and available to the people of Australia over the decades she was in public life.

Janine was in representative politics for 13 years. She was succeeded by Senator Lees, who is in her 15th representative year. It is unusual, frankly, for any Democrat politician to even get to 13 years of political life. It is extremely difficult for a minor party to get representation in parliament and for those who are elected to be re-elected. Democrats and other minor party representatives have found over time that there is no such thing as a safe seat; we are all in unsafe seats. The great thing I liked about Janine Haines was that she did not give a toss about that. She just went out and fought the battle because she enjoyed the battle, thought it worth fighting and was prepared to take the bruises and losses with great courage.

This morning my office contacted former senator the Reverend John Woodley to find out what he loved most about Janine Haines. He said what he loved about her was her ability to be enthusiastic with the members and their ideas. He described her as a great encourager of people. We heard that theme picked up by Senator Bartlett earlier. It is a side that does not come out that much in remarks about Janine Haines, because many of the remarks about her are of her public advocacy and the political life in the Senate in which she was publicly on the record. But her private work as a very hardworking motivator of ordinary—and some extraordinary—members of the party deserves the recognition that Senator Bartlett, former

Senator Woodley and Senator Lees have accorded her.

In political terms only former senators Don Chipp and Janine Haines have led the Democrats into election battle more than once. There is a story of survival in that statistic alone. The Democrats constitution includes the right of members to choose their party leader. That well-intentioned provision has at times produced leadership churning and terrible instability, but not in the early days. For 13 years, from 1977 to 1990, the Australian Democrats had just two leaders: Don Chipp and then Janine Haines. In the next 14 years, from 1990 to 2004, the Democrats have had nine leaders including soon to be leader, Senator Allison, and a couple of interim leaders. So she was in the party at a time of greater stability in the public presentation of the Democrats, but of course internally it was far from that picture.

It is important to look at her leadership in two periods: from 18 August 1986, when she first became leader, to early 1989 and then from 1989 to 1990 when she lost her seat and the leadership on 24 March 1990. In that first period of leadership, Janine had to fight no less than four leadership ballots in a row. I am aware that former Senators Siddons and Vigor were part of those contests. I do not recall enough of Democrat history to know if any other leaders had to fight as many challenges—I suspect Senator Lees did.

Janine Haines then went on to an unexpectedly early election just months after finally nailing the last internal leadership ballot. Bear in mind that here is a tough, capable political operator able to see off the challenges internally. The election that she first had to contest was a double dissolution and, to be truthful, if that election had been a normal half-Senate election, it may not have been as flash for the Democrats in terms of seats won. Nevertheless, the Democrats achieved 8.5 per cent in the Senate in that 1987 election. To put that into perspective, Senator Lees, her successor, got 8.48 per cent 11 years later in 1998; so it was not an extraordinary result. After that 1987 election Janine's polls and popularity soared as the public got interested in her and got used to her. I think there is a lesson there that leaders need to be in harness for some

time. In the 1990 election, this remarkable woman delivered a 12.6 per cent Senate result, the highest the Democrats ever achieved, and 11.3 per cent in the House of Representatives, also by far the highest the Democrats ever received. Again, to put that in perspective, three years later in 1993, under the leader John Coulter, the House of Representatives Democrat vote plunged from 11.3 per cent to 3.8 per cent.

The decision of the Democrats' Senate leader, Janine Haines, to go for election in the South Australian seat of Kingston was—I am advised and I think it is accurate—in reaction to Janine's own very cold, very down-to-earth analysis of the state of the party and its prospects. She thought that without creating the drama of a high-risk strategy such as that the Democrats' future might have been bleaker and things might end abruptly. Liberals, whom I know and respect, say that at the time Mayo would have been a better choice for her and she might well have succeeded there, but of course that is a matter of history now and she did not succeed. Sadly, the strategic shift from the Democrat Senate leader to the House of Representatives election—it is probably too long to detail the pros and cons here—necessitated giving her opponents 14-months notice of her intentions which was long enough for some very capable opponents to queer the pitch in Kingston. She might have done better than the 26 per cent she achieved because the Liberals were certainly determined to defeat her, and that of course is a recognition of her quality and character. You do not put a lot of effort into knocking off an opponent unless you really fear them, and they certainly did respect her ability. But she achieved her goal, which was not just the survival of the Democrats, who are still here 14 years later, but the reaffirmation of their strength.

I have taken a little time to sketch out a more political perspective because I think in the circumstance of condolence it is important to place a great person like this—with all the remarks my colleagues in the Senate have made—into the full range of how it was at the time. I will conclude on a personal note. The times that I met her I was delighted to meet her. She was a charming and interesting person, and

particularly wise to go with her wit and her ability, and I am sorry to see her pass so early.

**Senator CHERRY** (Queensland) (4.53 p.m.)  
—Janine Haines, to my mind, epitomised all that a Democrat, indeed a parliamentarian, should be. She was intelligent, conscientious, principled, irreverent, witty, a brilliant communicator and a brilliant parliamentarian. She was inspiring, entertaining and effective all at the same time. And, as others have said, she was a trailblazer. In 1977, she became only the 17th woman to sit in the federal parliament since 1901 and the first Democrat. In 1981, she became the first Democrat elected from South Australia. In 1986, she became the first woman to lead a federal parliamentary party when she was elected to lead the Democrats. In 1990, she became the most successful third-party leader in Australian history, winning 12.6 per cent support for the Democrats. And, at the age of 44, her brilliant political career was over, although her career as a communicator and advocate continued.

Janine Haines left a strong record on legislation. Along with Susan Ryan she helped push the landmark Sex Discrimination Act through a sceptical parliament. She won many amendments strengthening the original Medicare legislation, was a tireless defender of Australians' right to privacy and defended free education in the face of bids by the Fraser and Hawke governments to introduce university fees. These are all matters of record, but how do you capture on record the essence of such an extraordinary personality—the sense of humour and the fierce integrity? Her sense of humour was such that, as one long-time Democrat campaigner Stephen Swift reminded me, she could never resist a good one-liner, even to her cost. Her description of the conservative South Australian political party Grey Power as 'geriatric fascists', witheringly accurate as it was, would have consequences in preference negotiations for years to come.

Janine Haines was the first of several strong women to lead the Australian Democrats. I remember one of her last major public appearances on behalf of the Democrats when she agreed to launch the 1996 federal election

campaign at Port Melbourne for Lyn Allison, shortly to become the Democrats' sixth female leader. Janine's capacity to lift a crowd was still in evidence at that meeting. I last saw Janine some four years ago with her husband, Ian, at the happy occasion of Meg Lees's wedding in Adelaide. Already she was fighting the ill health that would prematurely finish her extraordinary life. I thanked her then and I thank her now for the enormous inspiration she provided to me and many others in showing what can be achieved by politicians of integrity, compassion and good humour. I can only agree with Don Chipp's assessment that she was the best leader that the Australian Democrats have ever had. To her husband Ian, daughters Bronwyn and Melanie and her grandchildren, I extend my deepest sympathies.

Her colleague Senator Michael Macklin, who was elected at the 1980 election and retired in the middle of 1990 after Janine Haines lost her seat, recalls those years as being exhilarating and rewarding. He has asked me to record the following observations:

The party shared or held the balance of power for the entire period. When the party came to seek a new leader after the charismatic and vastly experienced Senator Don Chipp, a group within the party sought to achieve something no political party had done to that time and elect a woman as leader.

However, this was not mere tokenism. Most acknowledged that Janine had a real talent for communication via the media which became clear during her time as deputy. It was believed that she would be able to make the transition work for the party. Party members responded enthusiastically to the opportunity and voted her into the position. She was able to grow the party vote until in the 1990 election it achieved its highest vote ever.

As a male deputy to the first woman parliamentary leader, I was astonished at the "maleness" of the structures that had gone unnoticed by most of us. These were slow to change.

As a small example, Janine was constantly having to remind people that it was her and not her husband, Ian, who was the senator. A visiting royal when introduced to Janine and Ian

automatically shook Ian's hand and said "How are you, Senator?" Janine answered from the side "Well thanks—and your wife?"

Her quick-witted and often sharp responses will long be remembered by those on the receiving end. However, these comments almost always served a political point.

At the end of an education conference when asked if she was concerned about the number of ex-teachers in the then parliament, she responded that she had no problem with ex-teachers but rather it was the ex-learners that were her concern. The unplanned comment gave the conference a headline which it would otherwise not have gained—and made a point about continuing education which was one of her political passions.

Janine had a Monty Pythonist sense of humour. The painted swans collection on the top floor became one of her favourite targets so that the swans found themselves either undertaking a small colloquium with each sitting on one of lounge chairs facing into a circle or getting a change of scenery by riding the senate side lift—until Joint House in exasperation took them into storage. They are now firmly attached to a solid base that some still refer to as the Janine Haines Memorial Plinth.

Then dining orders became the focus with the favourites being ordering creme caramel without the creme or Waldorf salad without the Waldorf.

Her dedication to the tasks of party leader was legendary and she seemed to be able to exist with little sleep on a diet of soft drink and chocolate. She seemed to thrive more as the demands on her time and energy grew.

Unfortunately for her political career, her attempt to get elected to the lower house did not succeed. She made the ethical point in standing that she would not retreat to her Senate seat if she failed at the election. This stand on principle cost the party dear. However, it was a pity that following her loss the federal government failed to utilise her acknowledged talents. The country was the poorer for that failure to recognise talent wherever it exists.

In closing, I seek leave to incorporate Senator Stott Despoja's speech.

Leave granted.

**Senator STOTT DESPOJA** (South Australia) (4.59 p.m.) —*The incorporated speech read as follows—*

Mr President, I wanted to record my respect and admiration for Janine Haines in this condolence debate. I was able to pay my respects in person to her family including her husband Ian, daughters Melanie and Bronwyn and their husbands Brad and Phillip, at the State Funeral in Adelaide on Friday.

Janine Haines has a unique place in Australian political history - or herstory - as the first woman to lead an Australian political parliamentary party but she also has a cherished and wonderful place in the Democrat family.

She was a trail blazer: a strong and articulate woman, she was a dynamic, clever and witty politician and she led the way for many female politicians.

I was fortunate to meet Janine when I was a student at the University of Adelaide in the late 1980's. She was still Leader of the Australian Democrats at that time before her ill-fated campaign for the seat of Kingston in 1990—a campaign which drew many (including my family) into that election.

At the funeral Janine's daughter Melanie, and her husband, Brad, recalled a story to me about how their mutual friend remembers me being at a hair dresser where she was working and one at which Janine Haines was also having her hair cut. Apparently I said: "I would love to meet THAT woman". I didn't recall this incident but I am not surprised.

When Janine addressed my University of Adelaide Australian politics class, her feminist and progressive stance on many issues were music to my ears. They are still many of the reasons I supported, worked for and joined the Australian Democrats.

It was not long after her speech that I did get to meet Janine through women's events and, indeed, was honoured to have her as a guest at a number of events over the coming years in my capacity as Women's Officer for the Students' Association of the University of Adelaide, as Women's Officer for the National Union of Students (SA).

Despite her heavy schedule—perhaps something I only really understand now—she made time to speak at these events and even attend an informal luncheon to discuss politics with a group of young women interested in 'making a difference'. She made clear her view: if we believed in changing the world for the better we had to get involved and thus, began the lure of the Democrats for me.

Despite her Lower House loss in 1990 (and let's not forget that both major parties preferred against her as I note Minister Downer made reference to in his condolence remarks in the House today), she has remained a respected and admired figure—both within the Democrats and more broadly (this is evident from the many political figures who attended her funeral last week). Nonetheless, she chose quite graciously to stay out of many of the Democrat and other political debates after her loss.

As she said at the launch of my Senate campaign in October 1995 "I've tried to keep my nose pretty much out of the Party's affairs since I lost the 1990 election on the grounds that of course you can't give the media, with due respect to those who are here today, the opportunity to play two leaders off against the other. So I retired more or less gracefully, I hope."

I watched with sadness the video of that launch over the weekend and, at the same time, marvelling at her speech to that event primarily about women in Parliament and I will table some of her comments from that speech as it a rare example of her addressing a public Democrat function after the mid 1990s. Needless to say, she was as impressive and articulate as ever.

I enclose her remarks from that event:

*Well, thank you very much first of all for having me here today. I've tried to keep my nose pretty much out of the Party's affairs since I lost the 1990 election on the grounds that of course you can't give the media, with due respect to those who are here today, the opportunity to play two leaders off against the other.*

So I retired more or less gracefully, I hope.

I'm not sure that I conducted my parliamentary career, however, as gracefully as perhaps I should have. Certainly I was either graceful or gracious when a couple of my male colleagues decided that they wouldn't cope with having a woman as the Party Leader and quite ungracefully left the Party and set up a new Party in opposition. And I was certainly not at all gracious with the glee that I greeted their defeat at the next election.

So there's no way that I'm trying to paint myself as princess pure in all of this—I don't think you can in politics. But by the same token one oughtn't to go into politics I think just having ambitions for oneself either.

A political career, it seems to me at the end of the 20th century, ought perhaps to more closely approximate the aspirations that the very earliest would-be politicians had when Parliaments first became democratised in the British system in the middle of last century. And certainly, I think we ought to take on board the aspirations to make the world a better place, that a lot of the women candidates who stood.

And I think it's worthwhile pointing out that women have not really been backward in coming forward in Australia as far as being political candidates are concerned.

They started their attempt to get into Parliament in the 1903 election and women, I might point out, stood in the Australian Federal elections, in every election since 1906, and I think it says something not about the women and their aspirations for politics but about the political parties and their attitude to women that it took until 1943 before the major parties first elected their first women to Federal Parliament.

On the other hand, it took the Australian Democrats just six months after their formation to fling their first female candidate into the Senate. And that was me. And there were not very many women there at the time. There are still not very many women there.

And the women who are there have a tendency to be received sometimes dismissively by their male colleagues. I recall for example being on a Senate select committee one year and getting to the meeting a little bit early. I was

there only with the secretary of the committee, who also happened to be female. And the door to the committee room opened—actually it was in 1988, because it was in the new and (inaudible) Parliament House—and the door opened and the male committee member put his head through the door and he said, to himself, “Oh”—he said “There's nobody here” and walked out again.

A few years earlier, we had another fairly... interesting response to the role of women in the community generally and in Parliament in particular, during the Sex Discrimination legislation debate when first of all people like Brian Harradine argued that you shouldn't have equality for opportunity for women because what would happen if they got into the police force and they had to ride motorcycles and they dropped one of them in the middle of the night and they wouldn't be able to pick it up again!

Now I'm not sure if he was worried about all those criminals going free or the damage that was done to the motorbike, it was difficult to say.

We had another Liberal MP who was worried about equal opportunity and used Parliament House as an example—he'd been carrying on about all the terrible things that could happen—marriages breaking down, all sorts of things. He got particularly worried about what would happen for example if there were male and female Telecom workers working underground around a pole, or if there were male and female truck drivers trucking across the Nullarbor—trucking across the Nullarbor—to Perth.

And at that point I got a tad testy and pointed out that, in fact, there were males and females in Parliament and I hadn't noticed anything particularly untoward going on—mind you, when you look at the blokes, that's not surprising. He then went on to point out, and I quote from memory because it is indelibly imprinted on my mind—that from time to time things did go on and he was very worried about what was likely to happen to Members of Parliament's marriages as a consequence of what he described as all the glamorous women using their guile to woo them in some way.

I had a look around the Senate Chamber and didn't think his chances were very high, but in any event there's been some resistance to women not, I'm pleased to say, within the Australian Democrats—well the (something) don't like it, but that's tough.

We have, in fact, in the time that we've been formed, managed to elect a group of Members of Parliament of whom 37% are female. Now that is higher than any other political Party. It's not the 51% that we make up of the population, but by god, we're getting close.

They include myself (I have to say that), Heather Southcott, Karin Sowada, Senator Meg Lees, Senator Cheryl Kernot, Jean Jenkins, Janet Powell, Elizabeth Kirby, Sandra Kanck, and Vicki Bourne, and those women have made significant contributions to the parliamentary debates and I think to the standing of women in parliament and in the community.

And Natasha, I am sure, bringing with her not just a double X chromosome into the system, as distinct from the slightly dented XY chromosome, which tend to proliferate, but she's also bring youth and enthusiasm and articulateness into a system that needs all of those, and I wish her well.

Janine was a role model and inspiration for many of us.

In 1997, I was asked by a newspaper to write about someone who was a role model. The article which is attached is the result. It was written with Janine Haines' permission.

When I was Leader of the Australian Democrats, the Party held the first annual Janine Haines lecture, in recognition of Janine's contribution to Australian politics and the Australian Democrats. I have no doubt this tradition will continue in her honour.

In closing, I thank the Premier of South Australia, Mr Mike Rann, for ensuring that as "one of our state's finest daughters, someone we're proud to call our own", Janine had a State Funeral (she deserved no less) and, once again, put on record my condolences to her family.

**'Her influence made me give a damn'**

**Senator Natasha Stott Despoja**

**Published in *The Age*, 17 January 1997**

THE YEAR Janine Haines entered Federal Parliament, I was in year 3 at a school that encouraged boys to do maths and girls to consider "softer" subjects. The boys were going to be firefighters, rocket scientists and other authority figures. I was going to be a nurse or a ballet dancer; after all, those were the female role models given to me.

In 1977, Haines, a maths and English teacher, filled a South Australian Senate vacancy. This created enough of a stir, as it represented the first federal representation for the newly formed Australian Democrat Party and also because the SA Government's appointment came amid constitutional controversy. That Haines was a woman and an outspoken one would continue to cause a stir in the political world for many years to come.

It was almost a decade later that Senator Haines became the first female leader of an Australian political party (a tradition that continues in the party today). She is largely responsible for creating a political environment that attracted all types of women interested in having their say and making a difference in a difficult world.

I recall watching her debate her colleagues as she battled two leadership contests, rebutting sexist jibes and derogatory comments, emerging victorious and, after two months as leader, beating Howard and Sinclair in a credibility poll.

In the late '80s, when Haines spoke to my university politics class about the role of women in the economy, she was a woman to whom I could relate. She dared discuss issues such as the worth of unpaid work in the home; maintenance defaulters; the inadequacy of economic indicators such as gross domestic product; and the need for free education and more women in power.

"Give A Damn" was one of Haines' campaign slogans, encapsulating her flair for language and her straight-talking style. It was a style often misunderstood by the media, which tended to portray her in a tough and "unfeminine" manner and overlook the fact that she is a very funny woman.

Desperate to prove the ability of the Democrats to deliver, Haines once threatened to

stand in Sydney's Martin Place and "progressively take off pieces of clothing as I announced legislative issues and what we had done in the Senate that day". This is one political gem that has not influenced me.

The most familiar caricature of Haines was with frizzy, curly hair and "bug-eyed" glasses - the product of cartoonists, who, as Joan Kirner would point out years later, were not used to drawing women in power. (A press secretary who suggested Haines change her hair and glasses didn't last.) I also remember the questions journalists asked Haines: did she make frozen casseroles for her children before she went to Canberra? How did her husband and children cope? When a newspaper magazine did a colour feature, with makeover and glamorous gown, the caption read: "Sexy? Ruthless? Funny? Will the real Janine Haines please stand up?"

She inspired young and old alike to get involved in her campaign for the federal seat of Kingston in 1990, believing, as she did, that "rightly, or wrongly, the House is the focus of Australian politics". But more importantly, she taught women that it was good to stand up for your principles and to challenge the dominant paradigm.

While Haines' loss devastated many supporters, it has given her time to do the activities she enjoys such as cryptic crosswords and tapestry. These days she belongs to seven boards, various committees, and does about 50 speaking engagements a year.

In 1995 I was honoured to have her launch my bid for the Australian Senate. Her influence made me give a damn and inspired me to do something about it. One difficulty for young women considering politics is a lack of celebrated and high-profile role models.

Often seeing what happens to those few political role models can turn many women off pursuing a political career: the way they are lampooned or portrayed by the media, and the double standards they can receive from their opponents. But women such as Haines made clear to me at an early age the impact women can have, especially in those professions traditionally not open to them.

There is also a risk in having few role models; a tendency and a willingness to endow them with superhuman qualities, to expect them to be infallible or always well-meaning. We must be careful of putting too much pressure on those women we consider outstanding or "super models".

**Senator HILL** (South Australia—Leader of the Government in the Senate) (3.33 p.m.) —by leave—I move:

That the Senate records its deep regret at the death, on 20 November 2004, of Janine Haines AM, former senator for South Australia and Leader of the Australian Democrats, and places on record its appreciation of her long and meritorious public service and tenders its profound sympathy to her family in their bereavement.

Janine Haines was born on 8 May 1945 in Tanunda, South Australia to Francis Carter, a policeman, and his wife Beryl, a school teacher. She was educated at Brighton High School in South Australia and attended the University of Adelaide, where she received a Bachelor of Arts, and the Adelaide Teachers College, where she received a Diploma of Teaching. She went on to become a teacher of English and maths at high school level before entering politics.

In 1975 Janine Haines stood for the Senate on the Liberal Movement ticket. She was not elected at that time but she was later chosen by the then Premier of South Australia, Don Dunstan, to fill a casual vacancy in the Senate following the retirement of Steele Hall in 1977. Janine Haines became the first senator—and also the first woman senator, obviously—for the Australian Democrats. Her first term as a senator expired on 30 June 1978. She was then elected to the Senate in 1980, taking up the position on 1 July 1981. She was re-elected in 1983 and 1987. Janine Haines was appointed the Leader of the Australian Democrats in March 1986 on the retirement of Don Chipp, becoming the first woman to lead a political party in Australia. She held the position until March 1990, when she resigned from the Senate to contest the House of Representatives

seat of Kingston and she was defeated by the incumbent member, Gordon Bilney.

Throughout her life in parliament Ms Haines was always an advocate for gender equality and women's issues but she also maintained a strong interest in a wide range of issues affecting the Australian community. In her first speech to the parliament she said that it was not her intention to restrict herself to so-called 'women's issues' or to put only the woman's point of view, but that she intended to concern herself with as many issues as possible affecting the people of Australia and, in particular, South Australians. She was the Australian Democrat spokeswoman for what she called the 'social justice' portfolios—health, social security, housing and construction, community services and women's affairs—as well as their spokeswoman for Finance, Attorney-General's, Special Minister of State and Prime Minister and Cabinet portfolio issues.

During her time as a senator and party leader she was a key figure in the Senate's consideration of a wide range of legislation. Among her political achievements she listed negotiating changes to sex discrimination legislation and to the Hawke government's Medicare system, her determined public opposition to the Australia Card and her stewardship of the Australian Democrats through one of their most successful periods. During her time as a senator Ms Haines was a member of a number of Senate committees, including the Senate Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes, the creation of which she strongly supported; the Standing Committee on Social Welfare; the Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority; and the Joint Select Committee on an Australia Card. She travelled overseas to represent the Australian parliament with parliamentary delegations to Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus and New Zealand.

After leaving politics Ms Haines remained active in the community. She wrote a book, *Suffrage to sufferance: a hundred years of women in politics*; she served on the council of the University of Adelaide; she was the President of the Australian Privacy Charter Council; she travelled the country speaking on a range of issues; and she engaged in radio, newspaper and

consultancy work. In the 2001 Queen's Birthday Honours, she was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia for services to the Australian parliament and to politics, particularly as a parliamentary leader of the Australian Democrats, and to the community.

On a personal note, as I was with Janine Haines in the Senate for some nine years—and while I did not know her closely I guess in this environment you get to know your colleagues reasonably well—I remember her as others have described: feisty, confident, always clear in her objectives, determined, honourable, reliable and very honest to her personal beliefs and priorities. Certainly she was a significant contributor to the case for third parties within this chamber. Following on from former Senator Chipp and the larger-than-life image that he portrayed was quite a challenge in itself. There is no doubt that she made a significant contribution to Australian political and public life. I regret that I was unable to attend her funeral, as I was attending another funeral—it seems to unfortunately be the season—but I was pleased that Senator Minchin, my deputy leader here, was able to represent the coalition.

I also wanted to make mention of the fact that Senator Vanstone and Senator Patterson, two female ministers, wanted to make a contribution to this debate but were unable to do so because of other duties. They nevertheless wanted to each be personally associated with these words and to express their sympathy to her family. On behalf of the government as a whole, I extend to Janine's husband, Ian, her daughters, Bronwyn and Melanie, and to her other family members and friends our most sincere sympathy in their bereavement.

**Senator WATSON** (Tasmania) (4.50 p.m.) — I rise in support of this motion and to take this opportunity to add my condolences to the family and friends of one of our more respected and successful former colleagues, Janine Haines. Janine's term as a senator was completely within my time in this parliament, so I saw her arrive as a fresh and inexperienced novice. I also saw her grow in confidence and in leadership qualities as she successfully faced the challenges of politics and of life.

Janine Haines saw herself as a member of a mainstream political party and she presented herself in a very positive way, not only in her usually impeccable attire but also in the way she approached the processes of parliament, the media and the public. Accordingly, she was seen as a very acceptable new leader of her party following the retirement of Don Chipp—a role that she carried out with great credit to the Australian Democrats until she took on the logical next step of growth that she wanted in her party: to seek representation in the House of Representatives. Perhaps unfortunately for the Democrats, her leadership was probably too brief, but her contributions were certainly the major reason that the Australian Democrats were a credible and positive third force in Australian politics in the late 1980s.

Janine Haines promoted respect for her party's position, public support for their third-force role, and she carried out her role with dedication, dignity and enthusiasm. To overemphasise her role in breaking some moulds for a female politician would be to belittle and perhaps risk patronising her contribution. Janine Haines knew she had a task to face and to my knowledge she never considered being a female to be any sort of restriction in that task. She was a very able contributor to the parliamentary process, and she will be remembered as a very positive influence for her party and on this Senate. I wish to take this opportunity to add my personal condolences to Janine Haines's family on the loss of this very good person at far too young an age. Those who knew her will be left with many good memories.

**The PRESIDENT** (4.59 p.m.)—I had the pleasure of serving in the Senate for three years with Janine Haines. She was a delightful colleague: sharp-witted—as has already been said here today—straightforward and an individual of particular integrity. Janine Haines rose to lead her party during some turbulent times, but she strove to be measured and objective as issues came before the Senate. She was a very honourable person and one never had any reason to doubt her word when she gave it.

One abiding legacy that Janine Haines has left with the Senate is the induction seminars for new senators and senators elect. The idea of such seminars was her suggestion back in the late eighties and they have been conducted after every general election since then. It is typical that Janine should have suggested something so eminently sensible to make the lives of new senators just a little easier.

After leaving the Senate, Janine was an occasional radio commentator on politics, and I found her contributions always balanced and laced with an attractive Australian scepticism which embraced all political parties. I was unable to attend her funeral in South Australia last Friday but was represented there by the member for Grey. I offer my personal condolences to Ian and to their family.

**Senator BOSWELL** (Queensland—Leader of The Nationals in the Senate) (4.10 p.m.)—It is a very sad day particularly for the Democrats but also for people like me who have sat opposite where Senator Murray is sitting now. I think at some stage I sat next to Janine Haines in the parliament for a number of years before she moved down to the front bench. I always found her to be a very delightful lady, a very good colleague and quite a friendly person. We used to have a few little jokes between us as we sat there before she moved to the leadership of the Democrats.

I remember when former senator Don Chipp resigned and Janine Haines took over the leadership role of the Democrats. This was the start of a long list of women leaders: former senators Janet Powell and Cheryl Kernot and Senator Meg Lees and Senator Stott Despoja—all were very capable leaders but Janine Haines had a special place, possibly because she was the first woman to lead a political party. She must have had a lot of courage because she was prepared to put her money where her mouth was and she took a huge risk to go into the lower house. She must have understood the risks but she saw the need to further lift and promote the Democrats so as to have a presence in the lower house. Unfortunately for the Democrats, they lost a good leader in the 1990 election. But, whilst she lost her own seat, she

got a very high vote of about 26 per cent. In that election when she was running for the lower house she also got the Democrats into the highest position they had ever been in, which I think was around 12.6 per cent. I think there was quite a large class of Democrats after the 1990 election.

She had different views from us. I know we joined forces on the proposed Australia Card but we had basically different views. Nevertheless, that is what you expect in the Senate: to come in here and meet different people with varying views. She fought very hard for what she believed in and she made a large contribution on those views she had. She was successful in promoting a lot of her ideas and getting them into legislative form.

It is very sad when someone leaves us so early; it is also sad when you know them personally. It does not often happen here that you know the people who have passed away. On behalf of the National Party, my National Party Senate colleagues and my National Party colleagues in the House, I extend our condolences to the family of Janine Haines, to her two daughters and to her grandchildren. We wish them all the best at this very sad time.

**Senator CHRIS EVANS** (Western Australia—Leader of the Opposition in the Senate) (3.40 p.m.) —On behalf of the opposition, I indicate that I wish to support the condolence motion moved by Senator Hill on behalf of the government on the death of former senator Janine Haines. I should say at the outset that I did not know Janine Haines personally, but I do remember her well as a public figure and admire her contribution to Australian political life.

Janine Haines was born in South Australia in 1945. She studied at the University of Adelaide and at Adelaide Teachers College before becoming a teacher of maths and English. In 1977, in a quirk of Australian political history, she was appointed to the Senate by the South Australian parliament to fill a casual vacancy created on the resignation of senator and former South Australian Premier Steele Hall. She and Steele Hall had stood on the same

Liberal Movement Senate ticket in 1975. In 1977 Hall made a deal to rejoin the Liberal Party and stand for the House of Representatives, thus resigning his Senate seat. Janine Haines was chosen to complete his term. Of course, by 1977 the Liberal Movement had mostly faded away and many of its members, including Ms Haines, had joined the Australian Democrats.

Even though there were only a few months remaining in her term, Senator Haines showed great commitment to her new role. Her first speech to the Senate, delivered on 22 February 1978, focused on education, the status of women and Indigenous issues. These early words on the public record displayed a concern for the wellbeing of the individual and a clear commitment to social justice. To use her own words, she had ‘a compassionate concern for each individual Australian’.

It was also clear that Janine Haines would not shy away from dealing with contentious issues, nor would she avoid controversy. In addressing the issues of pornography and the portrayal of women during that first speech, she was more than willing to ruffle some senatorial feathers. Throughout her parliamentary career she did not lose that outspokenness in support of her beliefs. The frankness she showed in her first speech and throughout her time in the Senate was a characteristic she also admired in others. In reflecting on the death of former senator Jim Keefe in 1988, Senator Haines said:

Perhaps he—

that is, Senator Keefe—

was unaware of the fact that this place has a tradition whereby speakers in their maiden speeches keep things fairly non-controversial. Maybe he simply did not care or was just unimpressed by the fact that that tradition existed, because his maiden speech was certainly not one of the pious sort that from time to time we hear in this chamber. I think he set the scene in that maiden speech for the future outspokenness that was to be a characteristic and a significant element of his political career.

I think those words aptly describe Janine Haines’s own style in the Senate.

She was elected to the upper house for the Australian Democrats in 1980, beginning her term in July 1981, and was subsequently re-elected in 1983 and 1987. She served on a large range of committees. During her time in parliament she was her party's spokesperson on a number of portfolios, including social security, health, legal and foreign affairs and treasury. Of course, in her public life she is best remembered for her leadership of the Australian Democrats. She was deputy leader under Don Chipp from August 1985 and then parliamentary leader from 1986 and occupies a unique place in our history as the first female leader of an Australian federal political party. She was one of those many talented and determined women who have worked hard to break through into areas which have been traditionally dominated by men. Her passing reminds us that there still remains much work to be done in that area.

She continued to serve as her party's parliamentary leader until 1990. In that year she made the courageous and determined political decision to resign her Senate seat and stand against Gordon Bilney in the marginal Labor seat of Kingston. Her showing in Kingston was impressive—and very worrying for the Labor Party at the time—but it was ultimately unsuccessful.

Janine Haines's legacy is not just defined by her place as Australia's first female party leader. She was also effective in using the Senate to pursue the wishes of her constituency. She clearly understood the potential of the Senate. At the same time, she was sufficiently pragmatic to appreciate the Senate's position in our political system. In 1988, when she was considering running for Hindmarsh, she said:

... getting someone in the Reps is important because that's where the media focus is. Our major problem is not getting a media focus. The work we do, the amendments we move, the bills that pass or fail without us drift past because no media covers the Senate.

Former Labor senator Rosemary Crowley informed me of Janine Haines's prominent role in establishing the Select Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes. She recalls that Senator Haines was instrumental in lobbying for

the formation of that committee after public outrage over a number of deaths following tonsillectomies performed in privately owned hospitals. Ten years after entering the Senate, Ms Haines listed her involvement in establishing that committee as one of her proudest achievements. As Rosemary Crowley reminded us last week:

Janine was extremely good at picking up an issue important to the community and bringing it to policy prominence.

As well as her work on the Select Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes, Janine Haines was also proud of her role in the 'no tax on necessities' controversy and in securing changes to the first Medicare legislation and the Sex Discrimination Act. She was undoubtedly skilled at using the procedures and mechanisms of the Senate to deliver outcomes for those who elected her to this place.

As I mentioned earlier, her commitment to the work of the Senate is undeniable, despite her tilt at a seat in the House. In 1985, following the death of James Odgers, Clerk of the Senate and author of *Australian Senate Practice*, she spoke of her personal connection to the man whose name is so closely linked with this chamber and of her affection for the place itself. To quote her words:

Jim Odgers transmitted to me the love and respect he had for this place. Some colleagues here may not appreciate that he was largely responsible for my wanting to continue with a political career in the Senate as distinct from anywhere else.

I am sure that will be music to the current Clerk's ears.

Given that love of the chamber and of her party's role, I believe that Janine Haines would have been disappointed at the Democrats' recent loss of four senators. In her valedictory speech on 22 December 1989, she said:

... the Senate does operate to put a brake on any sort of dictatorship that could occur if both Houses were held by the same political party ...

I think she would also be concerned about the loss of the non-government majority in the Senate from 1 July next year.

In addition to working to build up the role of the Senate, Ms Haines was also effective in building up the profile of her party—through her time as Democrats leader, but most particularly in her campaign for Kingston. She was able to draw a strong vote for the Democrats from both Liberal and Labor supporters and was noted for her ability to clearly stake out the middle ground between the Labor Party and the coalition. Nationally, she was a formidable political vote winner.

Janine Haines could be frank and outspoken and was acknowledged for her unique sense of humour. With that characteristic grin, she ended her valedictory speech with the words:

I wish everybody here a joyous Christmas and a very happy New Year. Should an election befall us before we meet again, could I say that I hope everybody gets what they deserve.

Her electoral loss in Kingston in 1990 does not detract from Janine Haines's legacy. Her strategy to raise the profile of her party was very effective and yet she ended up without a seat in parliament. The national political scene lost one of its major figures, a woman who was widely described in the media last week as a trailblazer. No doubt Ms Haines could have engineered a return to the Senate after losing Kingston, but by not doing so she showed great integrity.

In her later years I am sure that Senator Haines rose to life's challenges with the same integrity and wit with which she approached her parliamentary duties. In public life, her role as this country's first female party leader, her distinctive style and the example she set to other women, as well as her contribution to the development of the role of the Senate and to her party, will shape our memory of her and will shape her place in Australia's history. To those who knew her best, to her husband, daughters, grandchildren, family and friends, and to her Democrat colleagues, I offer, on behalf of Labor senators past and present, our most sincere condolences.

**Senator LEES** (South Australia) (4.13 p.m.)  
—We are all enormously saddened by Janine's passing, particularly, as Senator Boswell has just said, at such a young age. I would like to note

that former senators Vicki Bourne and John Woodley would like to be associated with this tribute and the motion of condolence this afternoon. Janine was an extraordinary woman. When you look back through the press clippings of the time that she was in the Senate, through the clippings of the 1990 election, when she lost and left, and then through the most recent clippings since her death on 20 November, there is just accolade after accolade. She is described as being strong, confident, honest, feisty, compassionate and smart. Indeed I could find virtually no criticisms, and I think that in itself is an extraordinary achievement.

Janine will be remembered as a trailblazer, a feminist and a very astute leader. For 10 years she was a very capable, strong and determined legislator. Again, going back to those press clippings, she was often controversial but she was always caring. She left an indelible mark not just on the Democrats and the Senate but on the nation as a whole.

In a press release that she put out on the 10th anniversary of her entry into the Senate she lists a number of achievements she had already attained by 14 December 1987, including:

- her successful lobbying for the formation of the Senate Select Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes.
- her role at the centre of the “no tax on necessities” controversy in 1982, when the Democrats blocked Fraser's Sales Tax bills 1-9A.
- the successful negotiation of major changes to the first Hawke Government's Medicare system.
- her strengthening of the Sex Discrimination Legislation.
- her involvement in the sensitive Justice Murphy enquiry on behalf of the Democrats.
- continuing public and party support through four Leadership ballots within 18 months
- her stewardship of the Democrats through their most successful election campaign ever.

- her determined public opposition to the Australia Card.

I notice also in the press release, which reminds me more of her personality, she put at the end:

Janine counts as a personal triumph her (mostly) successful attempts to curb her vitriolic tongue and quick temper—she still doesn't suffer fools gladly (or at all!) but at least it doesn't show as much.

I think that sums up the person whom we remember in Janine Haines.

I want to put on the record the process by which she became a senator. Some people work very hard within political parties, ministers' offices and unions and in all sorts of ways to get themselves through the processes and into parliament. But for Janine it was largely through a mixture of an accident, her passion for justice and also the simple fact that she liked to keep busy. Like many women teachers in the early seventies she was forced out of teaching and into the home to look after her daughters. While she found that very fulfilling, it did not keep her busy enough. So she went and started a master's degree. But a whiplash injury meant that poring over microfilm and spending long hours in a library simply was not possible anymore.

She tried to find something to do. She volunteered to work in the office of Robin Millhouse, a Liberal movement member. When the Liberal movement ticket for the Senate was put together in 1975 Janine was asked to be No. 3 on that ticket. The record reads that she first stood for the Senate in 1975 as a No. 3 Liberal movement candidate on the Liberal movement ticket behind Steele Hall, who was elected. Former Senator Hall resigned from the Senate to contest the seat of Hawker in 1977 as a Liberal. By this time the Liberal movement had officially merged back into the Liberal Party. As I read through various minutes of meetings it seems it was by a majority of only one vote. That was the decision and most of them went back into the Liberal Party. Some did not. They were joined by other progressive individuals who formed the new LM, and Janine was one of those.

Later that year the new LM and the Australia Party merged to form the Australian Democrats. There was a dilemma as to who should fill the vacancy when Steele Hall resigned because the party had disappeared. The Electoral Act by then required that someone from the same party at the time of a senator's election should fill the vacancy. The decision of the Dunstan state government was that they would go back to the original ticket. They could not go back to No. 2 on the ticket, Michael Wilson, because by then he was a member of the state lower house so that left No. 3 on the ticket, and that was Janine.

At the 1977 election Janine had been selected by the state of South Australia and formally appointed to the Senate. But, by the time all that happened, the Democrats had preselected their Senate ticket. She had not nominated and did not stand at the election because there were others on the ticket. I think from memory it was led by Ian Gilfillan, who is now in the state upper house. He was unsuccessful, but two Democrats were elected—Don Chipp in Victoria and Colin Mason in New South Wales. They began their term the day after Janine's first term expired on 30 June 1978. She made the decision then, with her husband Ian, that she enjoyed politics and wanted to go on. It was agreed that Ian would work with her to build the Democrats. He was a very important part of the party as well at this stage.

The records show that she was a member of the state council, she was a publicity officer and she served on campaign committees, gradually building the party, putting it together, getting ready to stand in the preselection in which she was successful in 1980. I met her at about this time when she first came down to Mount Gambier, trying to work on branch development throughout the state. At that stage she encouraged me to stand as a lower house candidate, which I did not do. It is now all history. Janine became the first woman to lead a political party and that, too, did not come easily. As I read from her press release, within a period of less than two years she fought four leadership ballots—for the deputy leader and then leader, taking that position when Don Chipp retired

and turning the 'Chippocrats' into the Democrats.

She was an enormously important role model for all women, not just those who were interested in political life. In the last few days I have met women in local government as well as state government who were inspired by Janine, so not just women in federal politics but women in state and local government politics as well. It goes beyond that. It goes to women who continued their careers in a whole raft of fields, having the confidence to keep going and in particular to seek promotion.

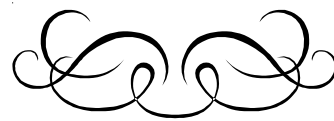
After she led from the front at the 1990 election and she was not successful she did what many people regretted—that is, she left politics. That is the only time, looking through all the press clippings, that I found people were not happy with her decision. Indeed, there were some quite strong criticisms both publicly and privately of her at that time for not continuing or at least not agreeing to work and stand for the following election. She said she would go, and go she did.

Janine did quite a lot, particularly in those early years. By 1992 she had written a book. She was travelling back and forth to Melbourne to host a Melbourne radio program. She was out on the speakers circuit where she was very active for many years. She wrote a weekly column for the *Sunday Herald* and book reviews for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. She was a deputy chancellor of the University of Adelaide from April 1997 to April 1999. A special tribute to her can be found at Old Parliament House, where a room is set out with even her trademark glasses on the desk. In 2001 her service to politics was recognised in the Queen's Birthday Honours List, and she was awarded an AM.

In a rare but typically forthright interview given in the aftermath of the 1990 election—as you read the article you realise that the journalist had great difficulty getting her to sit still and concentrate on the interview at hand—she said:

I have no regrets about anything I did in my whole life. I have no regrets about anything I failed to do except win in the last election.

Over the years Janine was loved and supported enormously by her family and friends, in particular by her husband, Ian, who is devastated by this loss. Above all else, Janine was a devoted wife to Ian, her loving husband of 37 years. In particular I want to extend my condolences to Ian, to Janine's daughter, Bronwyn, and Bronwyn's husband, Phillip, and to their children, Matthew and Sophie, who have lost nana. My condolences go to Melanie and her husband, Brad, and to little Max, who has also lost his nana.





THE PARLIAMENT OF THE  
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HANSARD

29 November 2004

**CONDOLENCES:**

*Haines AM - Former Senator Janine*

**The SPEAKER** (2.00 p.m.)—I inform the House of the death on Saturday, 20 November 2004 of Janine Haines, AM, a former senator. Janine Haines represented the state of South Australia from 1977 to 1978 and 1981 to 1990, and was a former leader of the Australian Democrats.

**Mr ANDERSON** (Gwydir—Acting Prime Minister) (2.00 p.m.)—On indulgence, I would like to say a few words about the passing on 20 November of Janine Haines, a former leader of the Australian Democrats. Janine Haines was born on 8 May 1945 in South Australia to Francis Carter, a policeman, and his wife, Beryl, a schoolteacher. She was educated at Brighton High School and Adelaide University, where she received a Bachelor of Arts, and the Adelaide Teachers College, where she received a diploma of teaching. She went on to become a teacher of English and maths in high schools before entering politics. [start page 16]

In 1975, Janine Haines stood for the Senate on the Liberal Movement ticket. She was not elected at that time, but was later chosen by the then Premier of South Australia, Don Dunstan, to fill a casual vacancy in the Senate following the retirement of Steele Hall in 1977. Janine Haines became the first senator and also the first female senator for the Australian Democrats. Her first term as a senator expired on 30 June 1978. She was elected to the Senate again in 1980, taking up the position on 1 July 1981. She was re-elected in 1983 and 1987. She was appointed leader of the Australian Democrats in March 1986 on the retirement of

Don Chipp, becoming the first woman to lead a political party in Australia. She held that position until March 1990, when she resigned from the Senate to contest the House of Representatives seat of Kingston and was defeated by the incumbent member, Gordon Bilney, from the Labor Party.

Throughout her time in parliament Mrs Haines was always an advocate for gender equity and women's issues, but she also maintained a strong interest in a wide range of issues affecting the Australian community. In her first speech to the parliament she said it was not her intention to restrict herself to so-called women's issues or to put only the women's point of view but that she intended to concern herself with as many issues as possible affecting the people of Australia and in particular her home state of South Australia. She was the Australian Democrats' spokeswoman for what she called the social justice portfolios—health, social security, housing and construction, community services and women's affairs—as well as finance, Attorney-General's, Special Minister of State and Prime Minister and Cabinet portfolio issues.

During her time as a senator and party leader she was a key figure in the Senate's consideration of quite a wide range of legislation. Among her political achievements she listed changes to the sex discrimination legislation, the negotiation of changes to the Hawke government's Medicare system, her determined public opposition to the Australia card and her stewardship of the Australian Democrats through one of their most successful periods.

During her time as a senator Mrs Haines was a member of a number of Senate committees, including the Senate Select Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes, the creation of which she strongly supported. She was also a member of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, the Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority, and the Joint Select Committee on an Australia Card. She travelled overseas to represent the Australian parliament with parliamentary delegations to Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus and New Zealand.

After she left politics she remained very active. She wrote a book, *Suffrage to Sufferance: 100 Years of Women in Politics*. She served on the council of Adelaide University. She was the President of the Australian Privacy Charter Council. She travelled the country speaking on a range of issues and engaged in radio, newspaper and consultancy work. In the 2001 Queen's Birthday Honours List Janine Haines was appointed as a member of the Order of Australia for service to the Australian parliament and to politics, particularly as parliamentary leader of the Australian Democrats, and to the community. On behalf of the government and, I am sure, all who knew her in this place, I extend to her husband, Ian, her daughters, Bronwyn and Melanie, and to other family members and friends our very real and sincere sympathy on their loss.

**Mr LATHAM** (Werriwa—Leader of the Opposition) (2.04 p.m.) —On indulgence, the Australian Labor Party joins with the Acting Prime Minister in expressing our condolences and sympathy on the passing of Janine Haines. She was well-liked and respected around this building and, of course, well-remembered as leading the Australian Democrats when they were at their peak. She can take great credit for that achievement.

She saw them as much more than a Senate party—she saw the true legitimacy of Australian politics as resting in this place, the House of Representatives, and so at the 1990 election she decided to give up her place in the Senate to contest the seat of Kingston in this place. She won more than 26 per cent of the primary vote but failed to attract the preferences that were needed to take the seat. That was a real landmark in the development of the Democrats and an achievement in its own right. For that party, it had the spin-off benefit of lifting their profile. In fact, at that election, in the Senate they lifted their support to 12.6 per cent of the vote nation-wide and so her party easily held the balance of power in the other place. So while she was unsuccessful in trying to be the first Democrat elected to the House of Representatives, she gave them their high-water mark in the Senate.

She was a very effective politician. She was the first woman to lead an Australian political party and in that role was an inspiration to a huge number of Australians. She was a strong and committed leader of her party and saw its role as much more than an upper house political organisation. In the 1990s, after that defeat, she continued to make an important contribution to the Australian community through her writing and her public speaking. In fact, she had just begun a new career as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide, her home town, when she was struck by illness. [start page 17]

On behalf of the Labor Party—and I am sure it is shared right around the House—I pass on my condolences to Janine's partner, Ian, to her daughters and to her grandchildren. She was well-respected in Parliament House and well-respected indeed in Australian public life, and she will be greatly missed.

**Mr COSTELLO** (Higgins—Treasurer) (2.06 p.m.) —On indulgence, on behalf of the Liberal Party, I too wish to pass on our condolences to the family of Janine Haines: to her husband, Ian, her daughters Bronwyn and Melanie and to other family members, on what will be a very great loss for them. Janine Haines filled a casual Senate vacancy in 1977 at the age of 32. It was a very young age to begin a parliamentary career. She came into the Senate to fill the vacancy caused by Steele Hall, who had been elected on the votes of the Liberal Movement Party. Steele had been a premier of the Liberal and Country League in South Australia and had disagreed with the Liberal and Country League and formed the Liberal Movement Party. He had been elected to the Senate and, when he vacated the Senate seat, Janine Haines filled it. Steele was to bring the Liberal Movement Party back into the Liberal and Country League and turn it into the Liberal Party of Australia in South Australia. Janine went on to the other third party force which was then gathering in Australia, the Australian Democrats—which had also been formed by a former senior member of the Liberal Party, Don Chipp.

Janine Haines's view was that if the Democrats were to become the significant third party force in Australian politics they had to win lower house seats. She had the courage of her convictions to run for a lower house seat in 1990, when she did exceptionally well but did not win. The seat that she ran for, Kingston, has been very much a marginal seat, slipping between the various political parties, ever since 1990. Janine Haines's position in the Senate was taken by Senator Meg Lees, who in turn was also to go on to lead the Australian Democrats.

Senator Haines began what has proven to be quite a tradition in the Australian Democrats. She was the first woman to lead a political party, and she did it with great panache and great aplomb. There is no doubt that in her day she was a very significant political player. She attracted a lot of adherence to the Australian Democrats, and she was a very forceful spokeswoman for the Australian Democrats. There is no doubt that she had a keen intellect, a very good political feel and a great deal of charisma as she led that political party.

Janine Haines went through some personal difficulties. She came close to death in a car accident once, out at Whyalla, but she never let those difficulties deter her. She talked about a ravenous hunger for politics and said, 'Once you've tried it, you get hooked.' That may well be the experience of many members in the House. It is a great tragedy for her and her family, to whom I pass on the condolences of the Liberal Party. It is a loss to the people of South Australia and those people who supported her in third party politics during her career. On behalf of the Liberal Party, I pass on condolences to her friends and supporters.

**Ms MACKLIN** (Jagajaga) (2.10 p.m.) —On indulgence, I am very pleased to join the previous speakers to offer my condolences to Janine's family. Hers was an extraordinary life cut far too short. Janine Haines became the first woman to lead a federal parliamentary party, in 1986. I have to say I am very sorry that I did not know her. Those who did know her often described Janine Haines as having a very direct

and no-nonsense style—one of the great characteristics that I think many people will remember her for. She certainly demonstrated that in some of her early speeches in the parliament where she called for urgent action to address the plight of Indigenous Australians. She also called for greater recognition of and participation by women in public life.

Given her prior career as a teacher, she pursued with great passion the issue of access to education. As she said herself, the right of children to the best education system possible was something that she pursued right throughout her parliamentary career. She called for the government of the day to stop providing placebos and start administering restorative medicine in the form of action not words, teachers not tape recorders and relationships not rock gardens. She had a great passion for education that of course came from her time as a teacher. In an unusual combination for a teacher, she was a teacher of both maths and English. She studied the Australian poet John Shaw Nielsen while she was teaching part time. She was a woman of extraordinary talents and interests.

As others have said already today, there is no question that she was a popular and very widely respected leader of the Australian Democrats. I think that, as others have said today, those years could be looked upon as the party's golden years, and that owes so much to her extraordinary leadership. To her husband of 37 years, Ian, her daughters Melanie and Bronwyn and their families, the grandchildren, we offer our sincere condolences.

**Mr DOWNER** (Mayo—Minister for Foreign Affairs) (2.12 p.m.) —On indulgence, I would very briefly like to support the comments that have been made and say how very sorry I was to hear of Janine Haines's death. I think Janine Haines was the most substantial leader that the Australian Democrats ever had, and I really mean that. As others have said, she was a very articulate woman and a very intelligent woman. She was also a very honourable and honest woman. Whilst I did not agree with her on many issues, I really did admire her fortitude,

her courage and her integrity. She was, as I said, the most substantial leader that the Australian Democrats have had. She was substantial not just in terms of her high profile but in terms of the substance of the person.

I had a little to do with her, as she came from my own state of South Australia. In particular I think today is the day to confess that in 1990 we were very concerned about her determination to win the seat of Kingston. Janine Haines was very popular at that time. The Democrats were riding very high in 1990, and she put a substantial effort into winning the seat of Kingston against the then Labor member for Kingston, Gordon Bilney. I have known Gordon Bilney for a fair period of time, including before he became a member of parliament. We were both in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade together. But, curiously enough, I did not want to see the Democrats win the seat from the Labor Party, because I believed that if the Democrats won Kingston then that would have given the Democrats a beachhead which they would have been able to build on, and in time the Democrats would have become a significant third force in Australian politics, rather akin to the British Liberal Democrats.

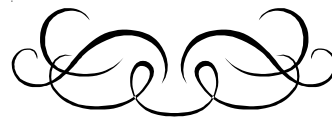
I recall working quite closely with Gordon Bilney to ensure that the Democrats did not win that seat—in other words, that Janine Haines did not win. I can only say that, in the interests of the diminishing support for the Democrats, Janine Haines's failure to win that seat was a very significant development. If she had won that seat, I think the Democrats would have made a beachhead into the House of Representatives. I think she would have been a very significant and forceful figure in the House of Representatives. For those of us who have had significant Democrat votes in our own electorates, it would have been a very major problem for us in terms of holding our seats. I have to confess some self-interest in that regard.

In conclusion, I think she was the most substantial and the most significant leader the Australian Democrats have had. She was a very good woman, a very honourable woman. I extend my condolences to her husband, Ian, and to her children, Bronwyn and Melanie.

**The SPEAKER** —As a mark of respect to the memory of Janine Haines, I invite all honourable members to rise in their places.

*Honourable members having stood in their places—*

**The SPEAKER** —I thank the House.



**SOUTH AUSTRALIAN  
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
HANSARD  
Monday 22 November 2004**

**HAINES, Mrs J., DEATH**

**The Hon. P. HOLLOWAY (Minister for Industry and Trade):**  
I move:

That the Legislative Council expresses its deep regret at the recent death of former senator Janine Haines, former federal leader of the Australian Democrats, and places on record its appreciation of her distinguished public service, and that as a mark of respect to her memory the sitting of the council be suspended until the ringing of the bells.

Like many fellow members, I was saddened to hear of the death on Saturday of Janine Haines at the very young age of 59. She was an intelligent, determined, witty and generous woman. At the height of her career she was one of the most popular and respected women in the country. Of course, as a senator for a decade she helped foster generations of female Democrat senators. She was born Janine Carter in the Barossa Valley town of Tanunda on 8 May 1945. She then went to Brighton High School, just a few years before I went to that school.

At Adelaide University she completed a Bachelor of Arts and then a Diploma of Teaching at Adelaide Teachers' College. From 1967 she spent a decade teaching maths and English in high schools. Many people benefited from her teaching, including my wife who was taught English by her. Her interest in politics reportedly began in 1974 when she attended a meeting of the South Australian Liberal Movement. It is appropriate that the council honours her today because, in a sense, it was in this very room where she began her career.

In December 1977, this parliament chose her to fill a casual vacancy in the Senate following the resignation of Steele Hall and, as a result, she became the first ever Democrat senator. Her initial term in the Senate was very short, lasting until only 30 June 1978, but she won re-election at the 1980 election and then spent the best part of a decade representing the state in Canberra. Janine Haines' maiden

speech vividly reminds us of her no-nonsense style of speaking, her compassion and the wide range of issues she was to pursue throughout her career.

She was pleased to be joining what she called the 'small but effective group of women' in the Senate. However, she told the Senate:

It is not my intention to restrict myself to so-called women's issues or to put only the women's point of view, whatever that is.

She then proceeded to argue passionately for genuine federal government action to address the plight of Aborigines. The new senator did, of course, talk about the status of women, especially in the Public Service. Being typically ahead of her time, she railed against the availability of pornography, which degraded women and diminished their dignity. She told the Senate:

The rights of Aborigines and women will never be assured if the government and other bodies continue to blinker themselves. . . continue to look at a problem from the wrong end of a telescope so that individuals disappear into the middle distance and injustices and anomalies are treated by talking rather than doing.

Finally, in that maiden speech she talked about schools. Specifically, she urged governments to spend money on the basics such as teachers and classrooms rather than tape recorders, video machines and rock gardens. When she re-entered the Senate in 1981 she proved herself to be extremely hardworking. She sat on a number of Senate committees, including those concerning social welfare, private hospitals and nursing homes, the National Crime Authority and the ill-fated Australia Card. In 1985 she became Deputy Leader of the Australian Democrats; and the following year, on the resignation of Don Chipp, she became the first woman leader of a national political party.

Throughout her career she demonstrated a terrific feistiness and resilience. A newspaper profile of her in 1986 showed that these qualities were complemented by a great sense of humour. That profile tells us the story of a pretty luckless visit to the Upper Spencer Gulf. While driving on a dirt road near Port Augusta, she was almost hit by a yellow panel van. At a hotel in Whyalla, she had a glass of beer accidentally spilt over her dress. Later, she had

planned television and radio interviews cancelled. Her car then ran into mechanical problems and, on the way back to Adelaide, she was booked for speeding and given a \$75 fine. In the evening, over a glass of white wine, she was still quite able to laugh about the day's events. 'I believe that, if this is bad, it can only get better,' she said. She told the reporter that what kept her going was her pigheadedness.

The popularity of the Democrats steadily grew in the 1980s, as did their number in the Senate. The party very much owed its success and high standing to Janine. In 1989, Senator Haines decided to take the biggest political gamble of her career. After mulling over the future of her career and her party, she met with the members one night in a hall in Gilles Street. Soon after, she emerged to tell waiting television cameras that she would indeed contest the seat of Kingston at the upcoming federal election. She polled a pretty respectable 26 per cent in Kingston, but it was not enough.

Typical of her style, Janine Haines did not sit back and relax after leaving parliament. She threw herself into all manner of things, including public speaking and a radio program in Melbourne. One journalist interviewing her in 1990 said, 'The word "restless" barely begins to describe the woman, both physically and intellectually.' 'Holding a conversation with Janine Haines is like trying to catch a runaway balloon,' the interviewer said, 'except that she never runs out of air.'

In 1992, Janine Haines published a book called *Suffrage to Sufferance*, the story of a hundred years of women in politics. Besides writing about the low level of representation by women in parliament, she also complained about the stereotyping of women MPs.

'The question I was most frequently asked in the years I was a senator was, "How does the family cope?";' she wrote. 'This was closely followed by inquiries about whether I employed a housekeeper and whether I spent the weekends cooking and freezing casseroles so that the family would have something to eat while I was in Canberra. The answer to both questions was no.' Her book profiled a number of women parliamentarians around the world—both their successes and the problems they face. She wrote, 'Their stories are a reminder that social justice is not just an academic exercise but a vital element in the lives of real people.'

Janine Haines remained active in the community through-out the 1990s. In June 2001, she was made a member of the Order of Australia for services to the Australian parliament, politics and the community. Janine is survived by devoted husband Ian, her daughters Bronwyn and Melanie and three grandchildren. On behalf of the government I pass on our condolences and best wishes to her family. Janine Haines was a thoughtful and compassionate woman—a woman who led with strength and grace. In doing so, she was greatly respected and admired by people right across the political spectrum. She was, of course, a fine South Australian.

On a personal note, I had the pleasure of meeting Janine Haines on a number of occasions. She lived in Netley, in the federal electorate of Hawker, when I worked for the member for that electorate for some years. So, I had the opportunity to speak to her on a number of occasions. Further, her husband Ian was one of my teachers at Brighton High School, ironically, where Janine herself also was a student and a teacher. I add my personal condolences to her family.

**The Hon. R.D. LAWSON:** In seconding the motion, I wish to speak briefly on behalf of Liberal members of the Legislative Council, in associating ourselves with the comments made by the Leader of the Government and expressing our sadness and regret at the passing of Janine Haines. Janine Haines made an outstanding contribution to Australian public life. It will be a contribution which will be long remembered, and one which ought to be noted on her sad passing.

The leader mentioned the fact that it was in this chamber, on 14 December 1977, that Janine Haines was appointed to the Australian Senate to replace Steele Hall. It ought to be noted that, at that time, there was some dispute as to whether or not Janine Haines should replace Steele Hall, who had been elected to the Senate as a member of the Liberal Movement.

By December 1977 that had ceased to exist, and it was the position of my predecessors from the Liberal Party that someone other than Ms Haines ought to be appointed to the Senate. However, the government ruled, notwithstanding the absence of any particular statutory provision at that time, that it was appropriate that she be appointed, and she held office in the Senate from 14 December 1977

until the end of June 1978. She was re-elected in 1981 as a senator representing the Australian Democrats and she remained a member of the federal parliament until 1990, a period of almost 10 years. During those 10 years she made a significant contribution, first as deputy leader and then as leader of the Australian Democrats and as the first woman leader of a national political party.

She was a most articulate and passionate person, strongly opinionated, very energetic and effective. In an interview that appeared in *Australian Society* in May 1987 she said of her earlier occupation as a teacher:

When I started teaching I really got a tremendous kick out of passing on knowledge—not just information, but knowledge. I like kids. In fact, corny as it sounds, I really like people. I thoroughly enjoyed teaching.

That element of the teacher and the didactic certainly came out in Janine Haines's public presentations. She was always anxious to educate the community in her particular way of political thought and, as I said before, she was most articulate. She said in the same article:

I haven't got time to worry about my image or my dress or my glasses. I'm not going to turn myself into some kind of plastic media image. I think that's a con game.

I believe that she was true to that creed. She had a strong, positive and well understood image in the Australian political scene, but it was by no means an artificial or created one. She was always true to herself. She was an inspiration to many women in our community: not only women who supported the Australian Democrats but women from all walks of life and all political viewpoints. She was courageous—indeed, some might say ultimately foolish—to embark upon the task of winning a seat in the House of Representatives: a difficult task, and one that she did not succeed in achieving. Not many people would have taken that particular course. Many who have taken it in the past have come back into parliament by various means subsequently.

Not Janine Haines. She worked effectively in the community after resigning from parliament and unsuccessfully contesting that election. In conclusion,

we mourn the passing of Janine Haines for the great contribution she made not only to the Australian Democrats and to South Australian life but to our national life. We, too, express our condolences to her family and friends.

**The Hon. SANDRA KANCK:** Janine Haines was very much larger than life and meeting her in itself was an experience. I first met her in early 1981 when she had won the 1980 election to that position in the Senate and was about to head off. I took over the job that she had been doing, which was as a volunteer with Robin Millhouse, working here in Parliament House on sitting days. Having met Robin, he organised for Janine to come in and tell me what she thought I should be doing. Robin introduced her to me and said, 'Janine, this is Sandy Kanck.' 'Sandy? Sounds like my principal's dog,' she sniffed. Nevertheless I went on to work as a volunteer for Janine as well for a day a week for the next two years. I was always welcomed as part of the staff even though I was simply a volunteer and, when staff were discussing things, I was part of the discussion; my opinions were sought and Janine, of course, always gave her opinions.

A lot of people have commented on her humour and wit. She told the story once of going on a trip overseas as a senator when very few people were on the flight, so she was upgraded to first-class in one of those planes that has an upper level. Only five people were up there and, when the Qantas steward began taking them through the safety routine, Janine hopped up in the aisle behind the steward, mouthed all the words and did a demonstration with an imaginary face mask and life buoy, and had the other four people in the plane collapsing in fits of laughter. Ultimately, the poor steward was unable to go on with the presentation. I think that that wit and humour is probably what Janine would most want to be remembered for.

However, she will be remembered for taking over the leadership of the Democrats in 1986. It was a very strong message to women all around Australia that not only could women hold leadership positions but also that they should. In doing so, she changed the nature of the Democrats because so many people had seen us as simply an invention of Don Chipp. Media commentators believed that the Democrats would go out of existence once he left, but she proved

them wrong. Also, for Australia at large, she showed the real relevance of the Senate as a house of review. In 1989 she made the decision to run for a lower house seat, choosing the seat of Kingston. I think that the word ‘pigheadedness’ has already been used—some would call it courage, others would call it pigheadedness—but she was determined that it was going to be Kingston. Some of us counselled her that this was not the right seat but, in line with the person that Janine was, with other seats being suggested such as Boothby and Mayo, she said, ‘I don’t have a connection with those seats, but I do have a connection with Kingston.’

The leader mentioned the Brighton High School connection, and that was one of those. She had not only attended Brighton High School as a student, but also had gone on to teach at Brighton High School; her husband was still teaching at Brighton High School at that time. She did not have those sorts of connections with Mayo or Boothby, so she would not stand for them. That was the nature of Janine; for her, it was a matter of integrity that she run for a seat where she had those connections. History has shown that the attempt did not work, and I think that history will also show that it was one of the dirtiest election campaigns in recent history in Australia. I will not go into too much detail about that. However, in putting that focus on Kingston and the Democrats running for lower house seats, we had our highest ever House of Representatives vote.

Janine had already put on the record that she was not prepared to go back in and fill her own casual vacancy and, in 1989, she insisted that the party have a ballot to choose a replacement. That replacement was Meg Lees who also went on to become a leader of the party. When she lost, she kept her word and did not go back in and fill her casual vacancy. Not only did she refuse to do that but, when she was approached to consider running to be the national president of the party, she also refused to do that. She said she had seen too many other politicians suffering from ‘relevance deprivation syndrome’, and she was not going to hang about and have that accusation made of her. So she went off to university, got her master’s degree, wrote a book (as we have heard), went on the public speaking circuit, and generally kept herself very involved in public affairs. She was put on government boards but she gave great respect to the incoming leader of the Democrats, Janet Powell, by not taking on these other positions,

which allowed the new leader to get on with the job without always having to look over her shoulder to see if what she was doing was going to meet Janine’s approval.

I express my regret that Janine has met a very early death at only 59 years of age, and on behalf of my party I extend condolences to Ian, Bronwyn and Melanie and their families. Janine Haines, Mr President, was a class act.  
One White

**The Hon. IAN GILFILLAN:** I would like to add my support to the motion and my condolences to the family. Janine Haines is someone who will not be forgotten in the annals of political history in Australia for many of the reasons outlined by the previous speakers. Those who had the never-boring experience of knowing and spending time with Janine Haines were, I think, left with the unarguable impression that here was a person with a rapier wit and mind.

She and Michael Macklin, in the Senate, were probably two of the most ruthless and effective debaters and parliamentarians that Australia had seen in a generation. I have always been grateful that that skill was schooled and honed by our former colleague the Hon. Robin Millhouse who, she was always prepared to concede in her wry way, she had to some degree been influenced by—and I think that showed from time to time in her style of approach in honesty and individuality in politics. I think the quote in *The Australian Society* article expresses another of my reactions to her involvement in politics, and that is the gratitude that she was a Democrat, for she is quoted as saying:

The Democrats is a perfect party for me. I don’t like extremism and I won’t be told by any group that their ideas are 100 per cent right and everybody else’s are 100 per cent wrong, because that is patently not true.

I felt that that was what she expressed in her approach to politics the whole time she was in the public arena or in the party, and I congratulate Janine and her family for having contributed, at considerable cost, so generously to the political life of South Australia and Australia.

My deepest regret is that Janine was deprived of the good health to enjoy those years to which she was so richly entitled, of seeing her children and her grandchildren grow and thrive. For that my sadness, and sympathy to Ian and her daughters and others, is profound. But her memory is strong, admirable, and will live on.

**The Hon. KATE REYNOLDS:** I regret that I met Janine Haines only once, and that was only very briefly. By the time I became active in the Democrats, she was already quite unwell. However, no woman can be part of the Australian Democrats without being aware of the strength of her influence and, certainly, her inspiration of others, as we heard just now. One of the reasons why I have never supported quotas for women in our party is that Janine Haines proved that we just do not need them. As Senator Lyn Allison said this morning, she was the first female leader of an Australian political party and, arguably, our most successful. She was a great role model for women and a great parliamentarian. Lyn also went on to say that she was a woman of enormous personal charm, dignity and integrity. It is very uplifting to hear so many people from so many different political persuasions with such a consistent message.

I was reading other people's thoughts about Janine Haines, and I came across Senator Andrew Bartlett's first speech which was, in itself, very interesting reading. He states:

Many people use their first speeches to mention some of their heroes or inspirations. He goes on to mention a lot of people who influenced his political life, and then states:

If I had to pick a single Democrat out of the pack, I would probably go to one of my original inspirations, Janine Haines, whose insightfulness and originality I found very inspiring and nearly as appealing as her sense of irreverence which she managed to maintain.

As I am sure all members would understand, life in parliament often makes it very difficult to maintain some of those virtues and characteristics with which we come to this place. On the telephone this morning, I spoke to Heather Southcott who is, of

course, a former member for Mitcham, one of our party elders, and a renowned community activist. She talked about Janine as a woman of incredible intelligence. She mentioned Janine's quick wit, and said, 'You had to be there to really make the most of it.' She was excellent in debate, and she said she could think faster on her feet than anyone else Heather knew. One of the attributes that I have always admired in people—I think because I suffer from it—is that Janine did not suffer fools gladly, which is also hard in the life of a parliamentarian.

The Janine Haines Lecture was established by the Australian Democrats in 2002 in our 25th year (which was also the anniversary of Janine Haines' appointment to the Senate) to promote and further the influence of her remarkable and nationally significant political career, because Janine was instrumental in ensuring that the Australian Democrats not only played but continue to play a distinctive, inspiring and effective role in Australian politics. So, every year the Janine Haines Lecture explores contemporary political issues and attempts to make some positive contribution to political discussion.

Three lectures have been held so far: the first in 2002 was given by Professor Marion Simms in Sydney; the second in 2003 was in Hobart and given by former Democrats senator Dr Norman Sanders; and we hosted the third Janine Haines Lecture in Adelaide this year on the topic of women and self-governance, and that was presented by Professor Lowitja O'Donoghue.

I have no doubt that the Janine Haines Lectures will continue to grow in importance as people not only wish to pay respect to her memory and contribution but also wish to make further contributions to political discussion in this country. I refer to a wonderful quote from Dr Norm Sanders in his lecture in 2003 in which he talked about Janine Haines as 'Madam Lash'. We know that is a term that we like to bandy around when we are talking about our whips, but I think she was a formidable personality and would have made the most of that title. He says that she was a tremendously inspirational leader and so clever and smart and able to grasp things immediately and put them out to the public in an understandable way. He said:

She was always fighting migraines and I really admired her pluck for hanging in there like she did and coming across as strongly as she always did with her migraines. She is [at the time] an amazing woman. Just amazing.

I also found a little snippet of information courtesy of a speech from Senator Stott Despoja. At the time Janine Haines was elected to the Senate there had been 177 members of the House of Representatives but there was not one female member at the time that she was elected to the Senate. I also draw attention to the fact that, as members would be aware, the Hon. Sandra Kanck has introduced a human rights bill. Senator Janine Haines did that in 1982. Sadly, that was not successful but you can see that our state MPs are continuing a fine record of standing up for human rights. I conclude with some of Janine Haines' own words. If members visit the women in politics site on the South Australian State Library web site, they will see some extracts from a piece of research done by Susan Mitchell in *The Scent of Power*, in which she set out to trace the so-called feminisation of Australian federal politics.

She chronicled a decisive period for women in Australian politics in the late 1990s, as the battle to set 'quotas' for female candidates began in earnest. The web site tells us that Susan Mitchell began her interview with Janine Haines by asking about the future feminisation of politics—or, rather, the possibility of it. Janine Haines said:

Certainly some women are put off going into politics when they see how women politicians are treated, but there are equally many men who are put off when they see how the men in politics are treated. . . Nobody worries whether the blokes are the right blokes. Some of the biggest male dorks are hanging about, not just on the back benches but on the front benches too. There are blokes who couldn't get up without somebody else having written a speech for them. Even then, they couldn't read it properly. I'm not joking. But nobody says anything about that. They've got there because of their faction, or they're an old unionist or a businessman or a farmer. Where there is real perceived power, they're not going to let women in without a fight or without the law being changed. It's the 1990s equivalent of equal pay. Some cynical folk would say that not a lot has changed, but I admire the forthrightness with which Janine Haines spoke. Her advice to women who were considering entering politics is as follows:

Go for it. You don't not go for a driver's licence because people get killed on the roads. You go on the road knowing that every other person out there is a lunatic, so take the same attitude to politics. The women you need to model yourself on are the athletes. Forget about women in business, the law and medicine, look at your women athletes. They go for it. They do whatever it takes to win. Sometimes it's not good for them, but in the end they win. They never give up.

There are some very important lessons in those remarks for women who want to be involved in politics in the future of whatever political persuasion, for men who find it tough to hang in there and for all of us who, from time to time, wonder what on earth happened and how we ended up in places such as this. I would like to acknowledge Janine Haines' significant service to the Australian community, to the Australian Democrats and to the Australian political landscape. Of course, I pay my respects and offer my condolences to her family.

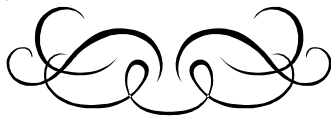
**The Hon. CARMEL ZOLLO:** I would also like to add my support to this motion. As honourable members have heard, former senator Janine Haines was a teacher prior to entering politics, and I would like to place on record my appreciation, in particular, for her dedication to that profession. It was quite interesting that the other night the Hons Sandra Kanck and Caroline Schaefer and I were seated together at dinner. The Hon. Sandra Kanck asked whether there was a particular teacher who had influenced our lives and I think I did say that, if any, it was probably former senator Janine Haines.

I guess I am part of the history of migration of this country post World War II. I attended Kensington-Norwood Girls' Technical High School, as I think it was known in those days, and Janine Haines was my English teacher in my leaving year. I was awarded a scholarship for my leaving year, and I fondly remember Janine Haines as the only teacher who urged me to stay on to do an extra year of high school. I know that other friends have similar memories of Janine Haines as being someone who showed an interest in her students. She was always good-natured and definitely witty, and she was also very kind and caring in her demeanour. I think she was a very compassionate person. The girls and I still get together once a year, usually for Christmas—which is coming up soon—and her name is often brought

up as someone for whom we had enormous respect. I would also like to acknowledge her political contribution as a South Australian. I agree that her passing really is a very sad moment for one so young; and to her family and friends I add my condolences. One White

**The Hon. A.L. EVANS:** Family First would like to express its condolences and compassion to the family of Senator Janine Haines. I never met her but followed her career with interest through the media and in other ways. When you think about her achievements, they were considerable. Taking over from the founder and leader of the party, a popular person, to take the party further was a very creditable achievement. She also achieved perhaps the highest vote of the party's history. When she decided to quit the Senate and run for the House of Representatives, it certainly was a courageous decision. She will be missed, but she will always be in the history of South Australia as a fine, outstanding person of courage.

Motion carried by members standing in their places in silence



SOUTH AUSTRALIAN  
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
HANSARD  
Monday 22 November 2004

**HAINES, Mrs J., DEATH**

**The Hon. M.D. RANN (Premier):**  
I move:

That this house expresses its deep regret at the death of Janine Haines, a former senator for South Australia and federal leader of the Australian Democrats, and places on record its appreciation of her outstanding service to the state and to the nation, particularly in the field of politics.

Like many fellow members, I was both saddened and shocked to hear of the death on Saturday of Janine Haines at the age of only 59. Janine was an intelligent, determined, witty and generous woman. At the height of her career she was one of the most popular and respected women in the country. And, of course, as a senator for a decade, she not only helped foster generations of female Democrat senators but also fostered female representation in parliaments across the nation.

Janine Haines was born Janine Carter in the Barossa Valley town of Tanunda on 8 May 1945. She went to Brighton High School and then Adelaide University. She completed a Bachelor of Arts and then a Diploma of Teaching at Adelaide Teachers College. From 1967, she spent a decade teaching maths and English in high schools. Her interest in politics reportedly began in 1974, when she attended a meeting of the South Australian Liberal Movement.

It is appropriate that the house honours her today because, in a sense, this is where Janine began her career. In December 1977, this parliament chose her to fill a casual vacancy in the Senate following the resignation of Steele Hall. As a result, she became the first ever Democrat Senator. Her initial term in the Senate was a very short one, lasting until only June 1978. But she won re-election at the 1980 election, and then spent the best part of a decade representing the state in Canberra.

Janine Haines' maiden speech vividly reminds us of her no-nonsense style of speaking, her compassion and the wide range of issues that she was to pursue throughout her political career. She was pleased to be joining what she called the 'small but effective' group of women in the Senate. She told the Senate:

However, it is not my intention to restrict myself to so-called women's issues or to put only the woman's point of view. . . whatever that is.

She then proceeded to passionately argue for genuine federal government action to address the plight of the Aboriginal people.

The new Senator did, of course, talk about the status of women, especially in the Public Service. Being typically ahead of her time, she railed against the availability of pornography, which degraded women and diminished their dignity. She told the Senate:

The rights of Aborigines and women will never be assured if the government and other bodies continue to blinker them-selves. . . continue to look at a problem from the wrong end of a telescope so that individuals disappear into the middle distance and injustices and anomalies are treated by talking rather than doing.

Finally, in that maiden speech she talked about schools. Specifically, she urged governments to spend money on the basics, such as teachers and classrooms, rather than 'tape recorders, video machines and rock gardens'. When she re-entered the Senate in 1981, she proved herself to be extremely hardworking. She sat on a number of Senate committees, including those concerning social welfare, private hospitals and nursing homes, the National Crime Authority and the ill-fated Australia Card. In 1985, Janine became Deputy Leader of the Australian Democrats. The following year, on the resignation of the Democrats' founder and leader, Don Chipp, she became the first woman leader of a national political party.

Throughout her career Janine demonstrated a terrific feistiness and resilience. A newspaper profile of her in 1986 showed that these qualities were complemented by a great sense of humour. That profile tells a story of a pretty luckless visit to the Upper Spencer Gulf: driving on a dirt road near Port Augusta, she was almost hit by a yellow panel van; at

a hotel in Whyalla, she had a glass of beer accidentally spilt over her dress; later, she had planned television and radio interviews cancelled; her car ran into mechanical problems; and, on the way back to Adelaide, she was booked for speeding and given a \$75 fine. In the evening, over a glass of white wine, she was still quite able to laugh about the day's events. She said, 'I believe, if this is bad, that it can only get better.' She told the reporter that what kept her going was her pig-headedness.

The popularity of the Democrats steadily grew in the 1980s, as did their numbers in the Senate. The party very much owed its success and high standing to Janine Haines. In 1989, Senator Haines decided to take the biggest political gamble of her career. After mulling over the future of her career and her party, she met with party members one night in a hall in Gilles Street. Soon after, she emerged to tell waiting television cameras that she would indeed contest the seat of Kingston at the upcoming federal election. Of course, it was a big throw of the dice and a big gamble that benefited her party and its representation in the Senate, but not herself personally. I understand that she made the promise that, if she was not elected to the House of Representatives in the seat of Kingston, she would not subsequently fill any vacancy in the Senate nor, indeed, the vacancy that she left. Janine polled a pretty respectable 26 per cent in Kingston, but it was not enough.

Typical of her style, Janine Haines did not sit back and relax after leaving parliament. She threw herself into all manner of things, including public speaking and a radio program in Melbourne. One journalist interviewing her in 1990 said:

The word 'restless' barely begins to describe the woman both physically and intellectually. Holding a conversation with Janine Haines is like trying to catch a runaway balloon, except that she never runs out of air.

In 1992, Janine Haines published a book called *Suffrage to sufferance: a hundred years of women in politics*. Besides writing about the low level of representation by women in parliament, she also complained about the stereotyping of women MPs. She wrote:

The question I was most frequently asked in the years I was a senator was, 'How does the family cope?'

This was closely followed by inquiries about whether I employed a housekeeper and whether I spent the weekends cooking and freezing casseroles so that the family would have something to eat while I was in Canberra. The answer to both questions was no.

Her book profiled a number of women parliamentarians around the world—both their successes and the problems they faced. She wrote:

Their stories are a reminder that social justice is not just an academic exercise but a vital element in the lives of real people.

Janine Haines remained active in the community throughout the 1990s. In June 2001, she was made a member of the Order of Australia for services to the Australia parliament and politics and to the community.

Following a long illness, Janine is survived by her devoted husband, Ian, her daughters, Bronwyn and Melanie, and three grandchildren. On behalf of this side of the house and all members of parliament, I pass on our condolences and best wishes to her family.

Janine Haines was a thoughtful and compassionate woman—a woman who led with strength and grace and who, in doing so, was greatly respected and admired by people right across the political spectrum. She was a fine South Australian, and may she rest in peace.

The Hon. R.G. KERIN **The Hon. R.G. KERIN (Leader of the Opposition):** On behalf of the Liberal Party, I rise to second the Premier's condolence motion and express our regret at the passing of the Hon. Janine Haines, former senator for South Australia. I wish to place on record our appreciation of her distinguished public service. Mr Speaker, I ask that you convey to Mrs Haines' family—her husband, two children and three grandchildren—our deepest sympathies and appreciation for the contribution she made to the nation following her election as a member of the Australian Senate.

Mrs Haines was born in Tanunda and was brought up by her mother, a school teacher, and her father, who worked for the Commonwealth Public Service after constant moves with the police force. She spent her school years in single sex classrooms where she

was encouraged to excel in mathematics and science, fields that traditionally have been dominated by boys. She later attended the University of Adelaide, graduating in the early 1970s as a qualified teacher. She went on to become a senior maths and English high school teacher before embarking on her career in politics.

Janine Haines was elected to the Senate in 1977 following the resignation of former senator Steele Hall, a former SA premier. She took on the leadership of the Democrats from party founder Don Chipp in 1986, becoming the first woman to lead an Australian political party. She was a no-nonsense lady who fought strongly for female leadership and equality in the business sector throughout this country. During her parliamentary term she continually pushed for social and economic justice and was a vocal advocate for conservation of the environment. She was a trailblazer of the time, and the Democrats achieved their highest level of support during her reign as leader.

Mrs Haines resigned from the Senate position during the 1990 election as the Democrats attempted to achieve representation in the House of Representatives, with Mrs Haines running for the seat of Kingston. Although the Democrats were able to nearly double the party's vote nationally, Mrs Haines and the party were unable to win their first seat in the lower house. She retired from politics after this loss. Her service was recognised in 2001 with the Order of Australia Medal in the 2001 Queen's Birthday honours list.

I am sure all members present will join me in paying respect to the late Mrs Janine Haines, acknowledging the worthy contribution that she made to our nation and expressing sympathy to her family and friends.

**Ms BREUER (Giles):** I want briefly to add my condolences to the family of Janine Haines. It is important that we pay tribute to women like Janine Haines, who was a trailblazer for us women here in the house today and for so many other women who are in politics. More interesting is the fact that, when one looks at the young age at which Janine has died and thinks back to when she went into parliament, one realises that she was a very young woman to go into parliament. That was a double achievement for her, because women of my generation, as she was,

found it very difficult to take big steps like this. We were not raised to think in the way that many of our young women are today. For women like her to take a huge step such as that was a great achievement. Janine certainly has been a trailblazer for women. I think we as women here need to acknowledge that—as do so many other women in Australia who now have opportunities that we had to work very hard to get.

The connection that the Premier made with Whyalla is interesting. I also have a connection there with Janine Haines through a very dear friend of mine of whom she was a niece. He spoke very highly of her as an outstanding family person as well. It is wonderful if we can be in politics and can still have that family connection and input, and be thought of as a great family person as well as an achiever in our field. My condolences also go to the family and I thank Janine Haines for the contribution she made to our lives.

**Mr BRINDAL (Unley):** I worked with Janine Haines on a number of occasions, just following her defeat in the election for Kingston, when I was elected as the new member for Hayward. Janine was active all of her life in the Brighton area, and it was on issues of community import down there that I first came into contact with her. As the Premier and leader have said, Janine scored 26 per cent of the vote in Kingston. I would say quite confidently that any member of this house who could achieve 26 per cent of the personal vote (because her appeal in Kingston was a personal appeal) would not be doing terribly badly.

It was a very poor opponent who tried to underrate Janine Haines because, although not doubting her gender, especially since at that time there were many fewer women in the chambers of the Australian parliament, she had an integrity that is not always evident in those with whom I have dealt over the past 15 years. She had a fearsome intellect and a strength of conviction which made everyone aware that, no matter her gender, she was a fearsome person to be dealt with. She was a wonderful politician and she was a politician of integrity. She kept her promise. She said to the people in 1989 that she would run for Kingston and, if she did not win the seat of Kingston, she would leave politics; and she did exactly that. That stands in stark contrast to some who have come after her and who say one

thing one day and two days after the election do an entirely different thing.

Janine Haines was a person of great integrity and dignity. She has done much to forward the interests of the Democrats. In fact, had it not been for her promise, the Democrats may have fared a lot better in these last decades than they did. But she honoured her promise that kept her from politics, and the Democrats and the political process in Australia is probably poorer for the result. Like other members of this house, I extend to her family my condolences, and I would hope that her greatest legacy is that it may not be said, 'We shall not see her like again.'

**The Hon. S.W. KEY (Minister for Employment, Training and Further Education):** My mother and I met Janine Haines after she addressed a meeting of the Women's Electoral Lobby. This must have been in the mid 1970s. At that stage I was quite young, but I remember listening to her and being impressed with not only the argument that she put but also the way in which she put it. I guess that in all the years I knew her that was one of the things that always impressed me; that is, her ability to communicate forcefully.

South Australia, as members in this chamber would know, was the second democracy in the world to give women suffrage and the first in the world to give women the right to sit in parliament. I know that Janine was very proud of this heritage. As a South Australian in federal parliament, she was a woman who made a number of political firsts, particularly when she became the first woman to lead a political party in 1986. It is interesting to note that throughout 1985 and 1986 Senator Janine Haines survived four leadership ballots within the Australian Democrats in order to become the deputy leader and then the leader.

We have heard already about the campaign that she ran in the seat of Kingston, and we know that her vote was very much connected to her as a woman and as a good politician. I believe that Janine contributed significantly to the Australian psyche about women in politics and also helped our understanding of the need for women not only to think about running for parliament but also do it.

Janine was very straightforward on a range of issues, and she also had a very strong view about a

number of social issues. She campaigned and argued against irradiated food and human rights. She moved the motion that formed one of the longest running Senate select committees, namely, the select committee on private hospitals and nursing homes.

Janine was also a great writer. I remember reading one of her pieces of work on the Women's Temperance Union and the contribution in South Australia by the Women's Temperance Union on women's suffrage in this state. Her book on women and politics is still being used as a textbook in both the secondary and higher education areas. In 1992 she helped establish the Australian Privacy Charter Council which aimed at preventing potential privacy abuses in the new electronic data and surveillance world. The work of the Australian Privacy Charter Council raised the profile of this important issue and influenced laws and policies over the next decade.

Janine remained active on a number of social issues when she left parliament. One area which I do not think has been discussed is that she was the patron of the Gay and Lesbian Immigration Task Force of South Australia, which provides support and assistance to same sex couples where one partner is not an Australian citizen or permanent resident, and she campaigned for equality in immigration laws and procedures.

As has been mentioned, she was awarded an Order of Australia in June 2001 for service to the Australian parliament and politics, particularly as a parliamentary leader of the Australian Democrats and the community. I also pay my respects to Janine as a political leader and someone who ensured that the stereotypes about women, particularly women in politics, were challenged. I saw her as a great leader and woman role model. I express my condolences to her family and friends.

**Mr KOUTSANTONIS (West Torrens):** I had the good fortune of meeting Janine Haines on a number of occasions because she was a constituent of mine in the suburb of Netley for a while. I remember when I first ran for office as a councillor in the local Plympton ward in the City of West Torrens that my campaign manager at the time was the member for Playford. I went through the electoral roll which was provided to me by the council and chose people whom I should doorknock immediately. On the list we saw Ms Haines' name and I went and knocked

on her door. She invited me in and asked me a number of questions about my views and told me she was not voting for me despite having met me personally (which has not been my experience since). I can report to the house, given the campaign skills of the members for Spence and Playford, that I lost resoundingly. I came third.

*An honourable member interjecting:*

**Mr KOUTSANTONIS:** Yes, I came last, that is right. Ms Haines wrote to me afterwards to wish me better luck next time and give me a few tips. I can assure the house that I visited her again as the member for Peake because I lived around the corner from her in Netley, and she congratulated me and said that my technique had improved greatly.

Janine will be sadly missed. She was a very strong supporter of the local community in Netley while she was there and regularly attended neighbourhood watch meetings. She was a good local activist. I extend my deepest condolences to her family.

**Mrs HALL (Morialta):** Like many members, I knew Janine Haines quite well over a number of years, and I do not wish to repeat much of what has already been said. However, I endorse the remarks that have been made so articulately by a number of speakers. I believe that she was an inspiration to women in politics, and it goes without saying that that was across the political spectrum. It has already been mentioned that she had a very quit wit, and certainly 'feisty' is a word one could always use to describe Janine.

I recall on a number of occasions in the early days of my association with Janine that she held very strong views on the quota system for women in parliament. Some may find it surprising to know that she strongly felt it was the wrong approach to get women into parliament. However, I liked some of her retorts when she was asked about what she would do with the children, etc., and she said, 'I have always held the view that women are different from men and, whilst I would never presume to say "we are definitely better," it is a philosophy to which I subscribe.'

I think that if anyone has not read her book, *Suffrage to Sufferance*, you get that very distinct drift when you read it and, as the minister has already

said, it is used as a text book, and I know that many young women who are interested in politics have used it very much as a reference book. I think it said something about the integrity of her as an individual when she contested the seat of Kingston, I think in 1989, that she very strongly gave the commitment publicly that if she was unsuccessful in that attempt that would be the end of her political career. I know that she was under great pressure following that loss but she absolutely stuck to her word and the commitment that she had given very publicly. I, too, would like to convey my condolences to Ian and the family, and I know she will be a sad loss.

**The Hon. J.D. HILL (Minister for Environment and Conservation):** I would like to add my condolences to those given by members in the house to the family of Janine Haines and add a couple of footnotes to the comments that have been made. The first is that Janine was the chair of the Southern Hospice Foundation between 1990 and 1993, (a body that I am a member of, and I was chair for a period of years sometime after her) and I know that she gave very good service to that organisation and she will be sadly missed by those associated with it. She was also the chair of the board of directors of the Anti-Cancer Foundation between 1992 and 1995.

Also, members have referred to the campaign for Kingston. I recall that campaign very well. It was a very tough campaign and the Labor candidate, Gordon Bilney, prevailed in the end, after a very tough fight. He was very grateful to Janine because I think it helped increase his profile. In the caucus meeting after the election he was appointed to the ministry and, as a result, he had a bigger office given to him in his electorate. An extra room associated with his electorate office was given to him for ministerial purposes, and he had a plaque placed on the wall of that room called the Janine Haines Memorial Room, in honour of Janine's contribution to his achievements.

**The SPEAKER:** The chair shares the views expressed by honourable members and I, personally, can relate a couple of things that matter to me. First, I understood that, unlike most other Democrat supporters, Janine was a very decisive person and a very good driver. She is very dissimilar from most Democrat supporters in that respect in that they are quiet in traffic and tend to drive in the centre lane.

You only have to look at election time as to where the Democrats' posters are in the back window of motor cars; if there are three lanes on the road, the Democrats are all in the middle. They drive by ritual rather than by reason or observation. Janine, on the other hand, was always able, as in politics, to find a way past, be it to the left or to the right, and she took it regardless of what might have been behind her noting what was happening. On one occasion I remarked upon that, the only occasion upon which I was, perhaps, fortunate to be in the same car as she was driving when we were going somewhere—it was nearly Christmas time—from the University of Adelaide. I cannot recall exactly, other than that I was compelled to remark upon it and she said, 'Yes; if you are leading you need to find the way, and if you are in control you need to be certain that you will get where you are going.'

She was able to meet deadlines and, in the second context, can I then relate that she served the University of Adelaide's Governing Council very well during the time that she was a member of it, and it was in that context that I had connection to her. She was very thorough in her work, very dignified in her approach to the remarks that she made, unafraid of anybody that had an alternative view, and willing to listen, however, to whomever it was that might be able to provide useful information. By chance, anybody who provided information that she knew to be incorrect she was quick to remind them of the fact where they were mistaken and, in the process, ensure that the outcome of the debate was not influenced by misinformation. Altogether then, an outstanding person, and clearly someone with that personality capable of doing what she did during the course of her sadly short life.

The chair, on behalf of all honourable members, will convey the condolences of the house to the family and provide a copy of the remarks made in the *Hansard* in the process of doing so. I invite all honourable members to join with me in standing in their places in silence to mark our respect for her service.

Motion carried by members standing in their places in silence.

