



# RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

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## FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

### Wednesday, 22 February 2023

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## WEDNESDAY, 22 FEBRUARY 2023

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The Legislative Assembly met at 9.30 am.

Mr Speaker (Hon. Curtis Pitt, Mulgrave) read prayers and took the chair.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I respectfully acknowledge that we are sitting today on the land of Aboriginal people and pay my respects to elders past and present. I thank them, as First Australians, for their careful custodianship of the land over countless generations. We are very fortunate in this country to have two of the world's oldest continuing living cultures in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples whose lands, winds and waters we all now share.

### PRIVILEGE

#### Speaker's Ruling, Alleged Contempt of Parliament



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, on 11 November 2022, the Minister for Education, Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister for Racing wrote to me making a number of allegations against the member for Southern Downs. The matter relates to a statement that was made by the member for Southern Downs on 28 October 2022 during consideration in detail of the Industrial Relations and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. My concern in the matter was the reflection on a member of the judiciary in the member's speech.

I note that on 21 February 2023, the member for Southern Downs made an unreserved apology in the House. This is recorded at page 19 of the *Record of Proceedings*. Accordingly, I consider that the member has made an adequate apology and explanation. Therefore, I will not be referring the matter to the Ethics Committee for further consideration.

I wish at this time to remind all members that, as per the ruling by Speaker Mickel on 6 October 2010, criticism of members of the judiciary should only ever occur in the House by substantive motion. I seek leave to incorporate my full ruling in the *Record of Proceedings*.

Leave granted.

#### SPEAKER'S RULING—ALLEGED CONTEMPT OF PARLIAMENT

Honourable members,

On 11 November 2022, the Minister for Education, Industrial Relations, and Racing wrote to me alleging that the member for Southern Downs:

- breached Standing Order 233 concerning the sub judice rule;
- was deliberately misleading;
- misconducted himself in the presence of the House;
- disrupted the disorderly conduct of the business of the House; and
- incited or encouraged disruption of the Legislative Assembly.

The matter relates to statements made by the member for Southern Downs on 28 October 2022 during Consideration in Detail of the Industrial Relations and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022.

Specifically, 'We have this love triangle where on the one side is the parliamentary Labor party and the Labor system, on the other side are the big unions who fund them and then the Industrial Relations Commission as well. This system is locked up tight for the good and the benefit of organised labour and the people who run it.

...

I have spoken about this beautifully symmetrical love triangle with big ALP, including the parliamentary wing, big unions and the Industrial Relations Commission which work together in a way that can hardly be seen as truly independent. At the heart of this beautifully symmetrical triangle is money. We have money which flows from the labour unions which are affiliated with the Labor Party ...

...

*I wonder whether the Hon. Justice Peter Davis, the chair of the Industrial Relations Commission ... I wonder whether the President of the Industrial Relations Commission, the Hon. Justice Peter Davis, is the same Peter Davis referred to in a speech in this House by the Labor member for Toohey thanking him for assisting him on his Labor Party campaign? The House could forgive us for being a little bit sceptical.*

The minister argued that this breached SO 233(1), because reflecting on the judiciary would be considered a contempt of court outside the House.

The minister also argued that the statements were deliberately misleading, because they relate to unfounded allegations of corruption, bias and patronage by the Labor Party, unions and the QIRC.

Further, the minister alleged that such statements resulted in the member misconducting himself in the presence of the House.

I note that a further two contempts were alleged—inciting or encouraging disruption of the Legislative Assembly and wilfully disobeying an order of the House. Because the minister failed to provide adequate particulars with respect to these two alleged contempts in accordance with SO 269(3), I did not consider these allegations further.

I sought further information from the member about the allegations made against him, in accordance with standing order 269(5).

The member argued, through his Counsel, Mr NH Ferrett KC, that SO 233 is intended to encapsulate the sub judice convention and is not intended to be read that any act that would amount to a contempt of court that occurs in the House, would also be a contempt.

Further, the member, through his Counsel, contended that the comments had no effect on any legal proceedings. However, the statements in question by the member for Southern Downs have in fact been the subject of a matter in the Industrial Court of Queensland recently.

In *Gilbert v Metro North Hospital Health Service & Ors* [2022] ICQ 35, the appellant sought to rely on statements made in the House, amongst other things, to support her application to the Court alleging that Justice Davis held apprehended bias.

The member for Southern Downs' comments formed part of these submissions and exhibits presented to the Court.

These submissions were ultimately ruled to be privileged after a submission to the Court on behalf of Mr Speaker.

As this court matter occurred after the statements were made by the member for Southern Downs, and do not concern a criminal matter or civil jury matter, there is no question that standing order 233 has been breached. However, it is evidence that statements made in the House by members can have impact in the judicial system, notwithstanding sub judice rule not being breached.

The member also argued that the statements were not deliberately misleading because they clearly amount to political puffery or hyperbole that a reasonable person would not be deceived by.

With respect to the allegation that the member misconducted himself in the presence of the House, I consider that matter was dealt with sufficiently at the time by the Deputy Speaker.

Standing order 269(4) requires that in considering whether such a matter should be referred to the Ethics Committee, that I should take account of the degree of importance of the matter which has been raised and whether an adequate apology or explanation has been made in respect of the matter.

I note that on 21 February 2023, the member for Southern Downs made an unreserved apology in the House, and this is recorded at page 19 of the Record of Proceedings.

Accordingly, I consider the member has made an adequate apology and explanation.

I remind all members that as per the ruling by Speaker Mickel on 6 October 2010, criticism of members of the judiciary should only ever occur in the House by substantive motion.

Therefore, I **will not** be referring the matter for the further consideration of the House via the Ethics Committee.

I table the correspondence in relation to this matter.

*Tabled paper:* Bundle of correspondence in relation to the alleged contempt of Parliament by the member for Southern Downs, Mr James Lister MP [\[174\]](#).

### Speaker's Ruling, Alleged Deliberate Misleading of the House



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, on 22 November 2022, the Minister for Police and Corrective Services and Minister for Fire and Emergency Services wrote to me alleging that the member for Burdekin deliberately misled the House on 25 October 2022. The matter relates to a statement made by the member for Burdekin during matters of public interest.

Yesterday the member for Burdekin made a clarifying statement and apology to the House, and this is recorded at page 1 of the *Record of Proceedings*. Accordingly, I consider the member has made an adequate apology and I will not be referring the matter to the Ethics Committee for further consideration. I seek leave to incorporate my full ruling in the *Record of Proceedings*.

Leave granted.

**SPEAKER'S RULING—ALLEGED CONTEMPT OF PARLIAMENT**

Honourable members,

On 22 November 2022, the Minister for Police and Corrective Services and Minister for Fire and Emergency Services wrote to me alleging that the member for Burdekin deliberately misled the House on 25 October 2022.

The matter relates to a statement made by the member for Burdekin during Matters of Public Interest.

Specifically, *'I quote again from the minister's charter letter—'Oversee the Government's commitment to recruit over five years from 1 July 2020 an additional 2,025 frontline police officers and police personnel ...'*

*We now know that that commitment is in tatters, with the minister this week walking away from that commitment. Back in 2020 at the estimates hearings there was a plan to honour that promise. Then Deputy Commissioner Smith advised that in the 2021-22 financial year we would see a net increase of 180 officers ...*

*The government's own budget documents show that in the 2021-22 financial year there was a net increase of five full-time-equivalent police officers in this state. The then police commissioner, when questioned further, explained that the data used in the government's own budget documents is incredibly inaccurate and that the headcount had increased by 143.'*

The minister argued that the first part of this statement is misleading because the fulfilment of the 2025 new police officers cannot occur until 2025.

The minister did not provide any evidence to support his allegation that the comments regarding policing numbers being either 5 or 143 in the 2021-22 period, depending on the method of calculation, were inaccurate or false, and therefore I did not consider this part of the statement any further.

I sought further information from the member about the allegation made against him, in accordance with standing order 269(5).

Standing order 269(4) requires that in considering whether such a matter should be referred to the Ethics Committee, that I should take account of the degree of importance of the matter which has been raised and whether an adequate apology or explanation has been made in respect of the matter.

In his submission, the member provided figures showing a reduction in policing numbers from March 2020 to September 2022 but not addressing the allegations that the minister was 'walking away' from the commitment of 2025 new police officers by 2025.

I note that on 21 February 2023, the member for Burdekin made a clarifying statement and apology in the House, and this is recorded at page 1 of the Record of Proceedings. Accordingly, I consider the member has made an adequate apology.

Therefore, I **will not** be referring the matter for the further consideration of the House via the Ethics Committee.

I table the correspondence in relation to this matter.

*Tabled paper:* Bundle of correspondence in relation to the alleged contempt of Parliament by the member for Burdekin, Mr Dale Last MP [\[174A\]](#).

**SPEAKER'S STATEMENTS****Cameras in Chamber**

**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I wish to advise the House that we will have filming within the public gallery. I have granted permission for this filming for the introduction of the treaty bill after question time today. I also advise the House that TV pool cameras will continue to film after question time for the introduction of the said bill.

**Parliamentary Honour Board**

**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, you might be aware that in 2018 we launched a parliamentary honour board of members who have served in the defence of our nation. In the last few years the honour board has been inscribed with the names of members who served in pre-Federation conflicts, World War I and World War II.

Thanks to the tireless efforts of the researchers at our parliamentary library, former members who served in the Malayan emergency, the Indonesian confrontation and the Vietnam War have now been added to the honour board. To mark the update to the honour board, there will be a special event at the Members' Reading Room this lunchtime, commencing at 1 pm. I hope that you can join us for that event.


**Laurie, Mr N**

**Mr SPEAKER:** Twenty years, 240 months, 799 question times. That is a long time to keep a straight face, yet our esteemed Clerk, Neil Laurie, has done so and today he marks two decades in his role as the Clerk of the Queensland parliament.

Commencing in his role on 22 February 2003, Neil has experienced the highs and lows of parliamentary life. With a term of service that exceeds all present MPs bar one, Neil has become a wide source of advice on practice and procedure whilst maintaining the operations of the Parliamentary Service as a whole.


I believe I can speak on behalf of all members when I say that we are thankful for his dedicated service to this institution of parliament over such a long time in this state. Congratulations, Neil. I trust that you will enjoy your 20th anniversary as Clerk today. I am not sure you will enjoy your 800th question time as much!

### School Group Tours

 **Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I wish to advise that we will be visited in the gallery this morning by students and teachers from Clontarf Beach State School in the electorate of Redcliffe and Earnshaw State College in the electorate of Nudgee.

## MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

### Path to Treaty

 **Hon. A PALASZCZUK** (Inala—ALP) (Premier and Minister for the Olympic and Paralympic Games) (9.35 am): Today we make history. Today we introduce legislation formalising our Path to Treaty. The treaty is not a gift to be bestowed; it is a dignity that is long since owed. Our country and our state were not empty when the first settlers arrived—far from it. It was home then, as it is now, to the world's oldest continuing cultures with their own languages, lores, customs and beliefs stretching back perhaps 60,000 years.

Indeed, one of the first orders of business of this parliament 163 years ago was the Occupation of Crown Lands Bill to address what one member described as the 'serious collision between squatters and Aborigines'—that was putting it mildly. What we do here today is what our forebears should have done back then.

Treaties are not new. The historian Henry Reynolds points out the contradiction of the British treatment of indigenous peoples in Canada, Northern America and New Zealand with what happened in Australia. In those countries there were treaties between the Crown and the people of those nations—some were better than others. It begs the question why one was not struck here. I started asking myself that question while as a student reading documents relating to our colonial history at the British Library in London. In fact, there is evidence that colonists argued often for a treaty, but they were ignored. Much of the history I discovered, and have since learned, was never taught to me at school. Our people deserve to know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about our history.

The Path to Treaty will do two things. Firstly, it will establish the First Nations Treaty Institute. The main functions of the First Nations Treaty Institute are to provide advice to the minister and to develop a framework to assist the state and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to establish processes for conducting treaty negotiations. Our treaty will not be handed down from the government. It will be developed from community to community because each has its own story to tell.

Secondly, it will establish a formal Truth-telling and Healing Inquiry. A five-member Truth-telling and Healing Inquiry will travel the state to hear and document the stories that families and communities have handed down over the past 200 years. This is not about guilt; this is about revealing the truth of our state that has been denied and buried for far too long. The Treaty of Waitangi has given the people of New Zealand a shared sense of identity and pride that we should have too, and one we are keen to showcase in 2032.

I am deeply honoured that so many members of our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities will be with us here today to witness this historic event. I am also very proud that so many members of our government are First Nations peoples. Leeanne Enoch is the first Aboriginal woman ever elected to the Queensland parliament and the first appointed to the cabinet. Cynthia Lui is the first woman ever elected from the Torres Strait and Lance McCallum is a proud member of the Gubbi Gubbi nation and our member for Bundamba. I thank all of those—too many to mention—who have brought us to this moment.

As the Uluru Statement from the Heart says, 'to build a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood each generation is offered the opportunity to make a difference'. Today, I believe this is our opportunity. These next months will be difficult. This journey is not for the timid, but we cannot build a better future

without acknowledging the hurt and the pain of the past. I urge all Queenslanders to find in themselves the courage to finish this unfinished business, the compassion to walk in other people's shoes and the commitment to make the most of this amazing opportunity with respect and dignity together.

### 2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games, Infrastructure

 **Hon. A PALASZCZUK** (Inala—ALP) (Premier and Minister for the Olympic and Paralympic Games) (9.39 am): I have more good news for Queensland. Last Friday alongside our wonderful Prime Minister I co-signed the historic funding agreement assuring construction of the venues that will take this state to 2032 and far beyond. This joint \$7 billion agreement provides two brand new venues for Brisbane and 16 new or upgraded venues across the state. They include Barlow Park in Cairns, the Toowoomba Sports Ground, a brand new indoor sports centre for Logan—I know the Treasurer is very keen on that one—the Sunshine Coast Stadium—

**Mr Bleijie** interjected.

**Mr Dick** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! The member for Kawana and the Treasurer will both cease interjecting.

**Ms PALASZCZUK:** The mayor of the Sunshine Coast was really happy about the investments happening on the Sunshine Coast. We are happy to stand there along with him and announce those new stadiums when turning the first sod. We will be there. Others include the Redlands Whitewater—


**Mr Crisafulli:** Budget blowouts.

**Ms PALASZCZUK:** Always negative; whingeing, whingeing, whingeing. Negative, negative, negative; whining, whingeing. Others include the Redlands Whitewater Centre and the Breakfast Creek indoor sports centre. All of these venues will of course be vital for the 2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games, but the benefits to our community will last far beyond. For example, two multipurpose indoor sports centres were built for the 2018 Commonwealth Games. In the five years since, these centres have been in use almost every week of the year, including attracting the Australian Basketball School Championships, the Australian Volleyball Schools Cup and the Australian Gymnastics Championships.

The Gabba, which has been home to sport in this state for more than a century, will emerge fit for a new century, with pedestrian access to the Cross River Rail being built by this government with the trains that are being built in Maryborough for the Cross River Rail, and with accessibility as well. The trains will be accessible for people with mobility issues. For the first time, the Gabba will have facilities for female athletes, and that is a good thing. All of this will be within a two-minute train journey to Brisbane's CBD. What we propose is not just a stadium but the stimulus for major urban renewal which includes social and affordable housing linking this part of the city with South Bank.

Along with the new Brisbane arena in the Roma Street precinct, these major infrastructure investments mean a pipeline of guaranteed jobs, allowing families to put food on their tables for the best part of the decade to come. This is in addition to the \$9 billion worth of new and expanded hospitals we have announced and the \$62 billion worth of projects that we have announced of new, clean, green energy projects already earmarked, with the bulk of this investment in regional Queensland. I am proud to lead a government that continues to safely navigate this state through a global pandemic. The stewardship of our successful economic recovery plan has resulted in the strongest economy in the nation. Our green and gold runway to 2032 builds on this prosperity, providing good, decent, secure jobs, stability and investment for the next 9½ years and, once the world comes to know Queensland as we do, a golden future for decades to come.

### Manufacturing, Renewable Energy


 **Hon. A PALASZCZUK** (Inala—ALP) (Premier and Minister for the Olympic and Paralympic Games) (9.42 am): Queensland businesses are joining the Energy and Jobs Plan revolution and going green. As we transition towards a clean energy future, we know more and more businesses are wanting to decarbonise operations and offer consumers products made with lower emissions. The iconic XXXX beer will be brewed using 100 per cent renewable electricity after an agreement to power the iconic XXXX brewery at Milton with electricity from the Woolooga Solar Farm. Last year, Anglo American's steelmaking coal business in Australia committed to fully power its operations with renewable energy from 2025. This will be the publicly owned Stanwell's biggest ever retail deal, supplying Anglo American with renewable electricity to power its five steelmaking coal operations across Central Queensland's Bowen Basin.



Pacific Fair, Gasworks and Indooroopilly Shopping Centre are going green after the icons entered a deal with publicly owned CS Energy to source 100 per cent of their electricity from renewable energy. Earlier this month I visited Arnott's biscuit factory in Virginia to announce a long-term renewable energy agreement with Stanwell. It has been manufacturing biscuits in Queensland for 75 years and bakes—wait for this—40 million kilograms of biscuits a year. The deal means that by 2029 it will get 100 per cent of its electricity from renewable energy for us to eat our favourites like Monte Carlos, Kingstons or Shapes. Today I can confirm that Arnott's will be getting its renewable energy from the 252 megawatt Wambo Wind Farm in the Western Downs.

Today we have taken another step forward in the development of the Tarong clean energy hub with a 50 per cent stake in the Wambo Wind Farm. Stage 1 will be developed in a joint venture between Stanwell and Cubico Sustainable Investment. Construction will start in April and create 200 jobs. Our \$62 billion Energy and Jobs Plan is transforming our energy system to deliver clean, reliable and affordable power for generations. We have released a *Regional energy transformation: partnerships framework* for consultation which sets out how we can ensure the energy transformation delivers lasting benefits for Queenslanders. Regional roadshows will be held in a total of 14 locations across Queensland to keep communities informed and better understand their needs. Queenslanders living in First Nations and storm-prone regional communities can now apply for funding for the \$10 million Queensland Microgrid Pilot Fund to improve their energy independence and resilience through standalone electricity microgrids. I look forward to continuing to update the House as we continue to invest in and implement a clean energy future.

### Path to Treaty

 **Hon. SJ MILES** (Murrumba—ALP) (Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning and Minister Assisting the Premier on Olympic and Paralympic Games Infrastructure) (9.45 am): Today the Premier will introduce legislation that formalises our Path to Treaty with Queensland's First Nations people. This is an historic day. The treaty legislation establishes a First Nations Treaty Institute and a telling and healing inquiry. These are important steps on the Path to Treaty. We are determined for this process to be more than a symbolic gesture, with concrete actions that respond to the wishes of Queensland's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Our commitment to treaty accepts the generous invitation that First Nations people made to all Australians in the Uluru Statement from the Heart to walk with them in a movement for a better future, as does the Albanese government's referendum on a voice to federal government which we are also proud to support.

### 2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games, Infrastructure

 **Hon. SJ MILES** (Murrumba—ALP) (Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning and Minister Assisting the Premier on Olympic and Paralympic Games Infrastructure) (9.46 am): Last week the Premier and I were joined by the Prime Minister to announce an historic funding agreement for the 2032 Brisbane Olympic and Paralympic Games. The infrastructure we announced and funded for Brisbane 2032 will reshape our capital city, our region and the entire state over the next decade and beyond. In just 3,439 days, we will kick off the 2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games. Queensland will welcome tens of thousands of visitors to venues from the Gold Coast to Cairns, from the Redlands to Toowoomba.

2032 will be a year to remember. It will be an iconic year for Queensland, but it is not the first time we have hosted a state-defining event. Queenslanders remember Expo 88 fondly. For many it is an iconic part of our childhoods—a defining moment when Brisbane came of age. Future generations will remember 2032 in the same way we remember 1988. They will remember getting off the Brisbane Metro or Cross River Rail at Woolloongabba station. They will remember walking across the new plaza to the stadium, and they will not wait a lifetime to cross the road at Main Street. They will remember the spectacular opening ceremony, sharing the memory with 50,000 other people sitting in the new Gabba stadium and countless people watching it at home and across the globe, including people with a disability who will be able to access the stadium without having to use the goods lift, as they do now.

They will remember where they were when their favourite sporting hero—maybe a homegrown Queensland—took home gold and the deafening roar of the crowd as it happened and they will know that she had access to gender appropriate facilities before and after her event. They will remember walking along the new spine between Woolloongabba and South Bank, stopping for an ice cream with sweeping views of the city with a skyline that we may not yet recognise. World Expo 88 was the catalyst to transform South Bank into what it is today—a bustling precinct with shops, businesses, apartments

and open space—and so it is fitting that we will build on that legacy with the 2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games by extending the South Bank precinct to the Gabba. Expanding the Woolloongabba priority development area will see a more integrated planning approach for the whole suburb. Woolloongabba has the potential to be one of Australia's best precincts. It can provide increased affordable housing for key workers as well as employment, retail, entertainment and open space.

Our vision is for a truly walkable city, where you can walk or wheel seamlessly from the Gabba to the Brisbane Arena. That cannot happen without a coordinated approach. If we leverage this opportunity we can improve walkability, livability, accessibility and offer social and affordable housing solutions. There is evidence worldwide that revitalising areas like this brings jobs and opportunities—just look at London's Olympic Park. The games is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to accelerate the housing and infrastructure Queenslanders need. We will not waste this opportunity. We are determined that the games will deliver benefits for all of Queensland.

### Path to Treaty



**Hon. CR DICK** (Woodridge—ALP) (Treasurer and Minister for Trade and Investment) (9.50 am): The legislation that will be introduced into this House later this morning marks a turning point in Queensland history. The Treaty Institute and the truth telling and healing inquiry will be important bodies and processes that will help us define our state's future. They will enable our journey towards reconciliation and they will do so with a certainty of purpose and place. That purpose and that place are assured because of our \$300 million Path to Treaty Fund. The returns of that fund, in the order of \$20 million each year, will support the Treaty Institute and truth telling and healing inquiry.

Other jurisdictions are advancing on the Path to Treaty as we are, but no other jurisdictions in the Commonwealth has created such a sustainable funding model as Queensland, providing much needed financial certainty through the treaty process. The treaty fund and its returns are a direct investment in creating a better future for all First Nations people and for Queenslanders. The fund enables a process that will at times be confronting, but that confrontation of past injustices, of pain and sorrow is a necessary journey. That journey will make us a more cohesive, compassionate and caring Queensland, a Queensland that treats our First Nations people with dignity and respect and allows an honest telling of our shared history.

### Path to Treaty



**Hon. G GRACE** (McConnel—ALP) (Minister for Education, Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister for Racing) (9.51 am): Last week I was proud to be present as the Premier outlined the Palaszczuk government's plan for the Path to Treaty. It was an incredibly moving speech, as was the entire event. The steps outlined by the Premier last week and again in parliament this morning provide the foundation for a true and lasting reconciliation that properly accounts for what has happened in the past and charts a positive way forward for the future. I am proud to be part of a Labor government going down this path and I am looking forward to the Path to Treaty ministerial consultative committee next month. I want to see education play a key role.

Outcomes for First Nations students are embedded across every priority within our new Equity and Excellence Strategy, including our priority focus on educational achievement, especially in English and maths, wellbeing and engagement and culture and inclusion. On the last point, culture and inclusion, last week I had the pleasure of meeting with co-chairs of the Path to Treaty independent interim body, Sallyanne Atkinson and Cheryl Buchanan. Cheryl made the point that language is so critical to culture and identity and that is why I want to see and drive a real focus on the teaching and learning of Indigenous languages in our schools as part of equity and excellence.

We currently have around 40 schools that are implementing an Indigenous language program aligned to the Australian Curriculum but, more importantly, I want to see more. We are supporting around 150 schools working with local language owners to co-design a First Nation languages program. We are also working extremely hard to support and increase the number of First Nation teachers in our classrooms. Initiatives like the Pearl Duncan scholarship, the Remote Area Teacher Education Program and Centres for Learning and Wellbeing that provide ongoing professional development and mentoring are all making a real difference. We are working hard to support our First Nation teacher aides and community teachers who are so often the lifeblood of their schools. For those who want to, we are working closely with JCU on pathways to make the transition to teaching. Education has always been a powerful force in changing people's lives for the better. As we embark together with First Nation peoples on the Path to Treaty, it has never been more important.

### Hospitals, Performance Data; First Nations Health Equity



**Hon. YM D'ATH** (Redcliffe—ALP) (Minister for Health and Ambulance Services) (9.54 am): I can advise today that our hospital performance data for the October to December 2022 quarter will be published on the Queensland Health Hospital Performance website. The data indicates that the Palaszczuk government's Queensland Health and Hospitals Plan is assisting our health workers manage hospital demand as we continue to learn to live with COVID. We have seen improvements in patient off-stretcher time, emergency department seen in time and the number of elective surgeries performed compared to the July to September quarter immediately prior. Despite an easing off in overall ED demand, we have seen a lift in demand in the most urgent and complex category 1 to 3 emergency department presentations. Health systems across the globe are under pressure, but thanks to our record investment in new beds, additional staff and innovative services, Queensland's health system is performing well compared to other Australian jurisdictions.

I also want to add my voice and support to the Path to Treaty Bill being introduced by the Premier today. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples continue to experience disparities and inequity in accessing health care, their experiences with health and wellbeing services and their overall health outcomes. That is why the Palaszczuk government and Queensland Health continue to break new ground on the path to reconciliation and social justice. I am pleased to advise that all 16 hospital and health services have now released their inaugural First Nations health equity strategies. These strategies have been co-designed and will be co-owned and co-implemented between First Nations people, key organisations and hospital and health services. For the first time, a commitment to working in partnership with First Nations people to achieve health equity and improve health outcomes is embedded in the legal framework guiding our public health system. Importantly, the strategies will also strengthen decision-making and power sharing arrangements with First Nations people when it comes to health care.

These health equity strategies are the first and will be reviewed and updated as required by law every three years in partnership with First Nations peoples to ensure we remain on track to achieve life expectancy parity by 2031. On this side of the House we have a proud history of initiatives to deliver on our commitment to First Nations health, including the appointment of the state's first Chief First Nations Health Officer in 2019 and legislative reforms to ensure First Nations representation on all our health and hospital boards. It is incumbent on all of us to continue to look forward and keep working diligently to shape a better, more equitable future for First Nations Queenslanders.

### Path to Treaty




**Hon. LM ENOCH** (Algerie—ALP) (Minister for Communities and Housing, Minister for Digital Economy and Minister for the Arts) (9.57 am): For many decades the notion of treaty has been central to discussions surrounding the goal for a truly reconciled future for this country, a future where the truth of our sometimes ugly, uncomfortable past is understood and acknowledged, a future where the reconciled path forward is forged in a way that recognises the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in this country and acknowledges their ancient DNA and connection to these lands, a future where the path forward is enshrined in legislation.

In her momentous speech last week the Premier highlighted the contrast between British engagement with First Nations peoples in North America and New Zealand and the opportunities that were missed for Australia. While treaties were negotiated in other places, none were negotiated here. We know this omission was underpinned by the lie that was terra nullius. It ignored the thousands of generations of First Nations peoples who lived in and cared for this place for over 60,000 years and it set our nation on a course defined by the structural and deliberate exclusion of First Nations peoples through government policies that fundamentally imposed a level of trauma and disadvantage that is still being felt by today's generations.

The historic Path to Treaty Bill 2023 which the Premier will introduce today provides our state with the opportunity to embark on a reconciled future. The bill will establish a First Nations Treaty Institute to develop a framework for treaty negotiations and support Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to prepare for those negotiations. The bill also sets in train a truth telling and healing inquiry to examine the impacts of colonisation and to facilitate healing. As we take these next steps towards treaty in this state, there is an understanding that the path will not always be comfortable or easy. There will be times when we will need to navigate uncharted waters, there will be moments of clarity and breakthrough and other times of complex challenge.

However, there is also a great deal of hope and optimism that we can face all of this together with a sense of grace and humanity, honesty and courage. The introduction of the treaty legislation represents a significant milestone in our journey. It is a tribute to those who have brought us this far—some who have dedicated their entire lives to this work and some who are no longer with us. It is also a commitment to those who are yet to come. The Path to Treaty Bill is a profound opportunity to courageously reflect on our shared past and, at the same time, boldly and collectively contribute to a sense of who we are as a state into the future.

### Path to Treaty

 **Hon. CD CRAWFORD** (Barron River—ALP) (Minister for Seniors and Disability Services and Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships) (10.00 am): Here in Parliament House, high in the bookshelves of the Members' Reading Room, accessible by a ladder, are the leather-bound tomes of *Hansard*, the official record of proceedings dating back to 1864 and the earliest days of Queensland's parliament. When I was sworn in as Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships nearly three years ago, one of my first acts was to climb that ladder in search of the *Hansard* from November 1897. I found what I was looking for and to this very day the debate documented by Hansard has become a personal text of reference. It is the pointer star to the Southern Cross in the moral compass that I bring to my role in office.

One hundred and twenty-six years ago, in this very House where we meet today, our political predecessors debated the now much maligned Aboriginals Protection and Sale of Opium Bill 1897. In simple terms, the bill advocated providing reserves for Aboriginal people, regulating their employment and restricting the sale of alcoholic liquor and opium. Let us consider the words of the Home Secretary at the time, Sir Horace Tozer. Sir Horace said—

And I hope the result of this legislation will be to show the civilised world that however black may be the page of history in Queensland ... there is a bright page to be written, and that bright page will be written ... to ameliorate the condition of the aboriginals.

It is hard to read that debate and not get a sense of the apparent charity and goodwill of the legislators. How misguided would that benevolence prove to be.


The Aboriginals protection act would come to epitomise the most draconian form of social engineering. The act was used to exert strict legal control of the lives and movements of Aboriginal people. Instead of removing the so-called slur and 'black spot' on the history of Queensland, that bill destroyed millennia of rich Aboriginal history, connection to culture, country and custodianship. That debate more than a century ago unleashed a state sanctioned process of dispossession, brutality and violence.

Now, 126 years later, as we sit here today in this same chamber, with the benefit of hindsight and with the arc of destiny beckoning us, the Path to Treaty Bill is our chance to correct the record. This is our moment in time to right the wrongs, to finish unfinished business and to bequeath to our future generations a path forward, a Path to Treaty and a society built on dignity and mutual respect. The Path to Treaty Bill, a landmark bill for this state, will establish the structures that Queensland needs to progress treaties in our state.

We stand at an incredible moment in time and getting this right is important. Through Queensland's Path to Treaty we will honour generations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who have called for self-determination, truth-telling and agreement making. Together we will collectively learn, share, listen and heal as we hear the truth about our shared histories and how this past has and continues to impact Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. We will create a partnership that is equal and that affords freedom and power to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, where decisions are made with First Nations peoples and communities, not for them.

Queensland's commitment to a treaty is a collective pledge that is courageous and curious. We will work together in new ways to deliver real change and real outcomes. This is an honest, open and collaborative partnership that sets out a path for true reconciliation. Together Queenslanders can reshape our future. To do this, all Queenslanders are encouraged to join us on the path to treaty, because it is time.

### Energy Supply

 **Hon. MC de BRENNI** (Springwood—ALP) (Minister for Energy, Renewables and Hydrogen and Minister for Public Works and Procurement) (10.04 am): Today I rise to correct the record—not the record of this House but the one of disinformation that originated from the LNP and was blasted across the nation's TV screens last night. Yesterday, media reported on the release of a report that has been


delivered annually for many years. The report's job is to quantify the new investment required of the nation's energy system. The report does not seek to scaremonger amongst citizens, but instead to promote opportunities—opportunities like our Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan. In fact, it is in the title of the report. The report is titled the 'energy statement of opportunities'.

Queenslanders have come to expect the LNP to use the media to risk health and safety, to attack business confidence and to dog whistle to conspiracy theorists. However, what occurred last night was that Sydney's 7 and 10 news programs reported on commentary from the LNP and, unfortunately, those stories ran unchecked here in Queensland. They have taken the issues caused by a disorderly transition in New South Wales, where privatisation has ripped the heart out of their energy grid, and those stories painted the entire nation with a Liberal Party coloured brush. We will not tolerate myths peddled by the LNP. We must call out fake news that promotes those same myths.

Let me be clear to both the LNP and those media outlets in New South Wales: stop gaslighting Queenslanders. I can reassure Queenslanders that their energy system is safe, stable and secure. In fact, the report outlines that of all the east coast mainland states Queensland has the best energy reliability. That is because we have kept our system in public ownership, which means we can control the transition. The report identified that Queensland requires 780 megawatts of additional firm capacity by 2030. Our Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan will smash that and the report recognises our plan.

The Palaszczuk government's nation-leading plan will deliver 22,000 megawatts of new renewable energy, including our new stake in the Wambo wind farm announced by the Premier just this morning. It will deliver six gigawatts of new battery energy storage, seven gigawatts of deep pumped hydro storage by 2035 and our Queensland SuperGrid infrastructure blueprint confirms that, at all times, Queensland's dispatchable energy will exceed peak demand. Our Energy System Advisory Board will have very specific checkpoints along the way. We will only move as reliability is guaranteed. Under our plan we will not sell out Queensland like New South Wales did because ours is a plan that serves people and not profits.

### Bruce Highway

 **Hon. MC BAILEY** (Miller—ALP) (Minister for Transport and Main Roads) (10.07 am): If you hop in a car and travel around Queensland you will see an army of high-vis workers upgrading Queensland roads: engineers, road builders, heavy machinery operators, traffic controllers and more. Those road workers are helping to deliver a record investment in roads and transport across our state and, on behalf of this government, I thank them all for their work. Nowhere is that more visible than on the Bruce Highway. Right now we have 104 Bruce Highway projects funded and underway, with 45 projects in construction. That is part of a massive \$13 billion pipeline of joint funding locked into the Bruce over 15 years.

The Palaszczuk government has turbocharged the Bruce Highway Upgrade Program since we came to office. The program has now delivered 441 Bruce Highway upgrades—yes, 441. That is in stark contrast to the four—that is four—Bruce Highway projects under the Newman government, two of which were studies.

While 441 is a very healthy first-innings cricket score, those on the opposite side are playing soccer when it comes to Bruce Highway upgrades. The inland freight route, also known as the second Bruce, has huge potential for removing heavy vehicles from the Bruce Highway.

**Mr Millar** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member for Gregory will cease his interjections.

**Mr BAILEY:** The \$1 billion second Bruce program, from Charters Towers to Mungindi, will provide a real alternative when the coast is being hit by cyclones, heavy rain or flooding.

**Mr Millar** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member for Gregory is warned under the standing orders.


**Mr BAILEY:** Our commitment to regional roads does not stop there. Some \$18.1 billion of the Palaszczuk Labor government's record \$29.7 billion investment in roads and transport goes to regional areas, supporting more than 16,000 jobs. This includes the \$276 million Peninsula Developmental Road upgrade in Cape York for which the member for Cook has advocated so strongly. We have seen a massive increase in road safety up in the cape.

On a day when this progressive government is introducing a path to treaty, it is important to recognise the First Nations workers, trainees and now local First Nations firms playing a vital role in terms of the upgrades up in the cape. So far, 36 First Nations businesses have been engaged in working

in civil construction, vegetation and road maintenance work on the package, worth more than \$35 million. Almost 62,000 training and upskilling hours have been worked on the package so far, and more than 140 trainees have trained in civil construction over the life of the second stage of the Cape York package.

Our record investment in the Bruce Highway and regional roads is supporting not just motorists and truckies on our roads but also, of course, our First Nations workers and increasingly First Nations businesses here in Queensland. Only the Palaszczuk Labor government delivers for regional roads in our First Nations communities through better roads and not from cuts.

### First Nations, Land Transfers


 **Hon. SJ STEWART** (Townsville—ALP) (Minister for Resources) (10.11 am): Earlier this month I travelled to Tully to formally return more than 40 hectares of state owned land to the traditional owners, the Gulngay people. The Gulngay people now hold the land as inalienable freehold—land that cannot be sold and is held forever for future generations. Although it was a small ceremony, the significance of this transfer to the Gulngay people cannot ever be overstated. For some of us, it can be challenging to fully comprehend the profound significance of First Nations people's connection to country. For First Nations people, the land is not simply the ground that they walk on but a living, breathing entity filled with stories, traditions and ancestral knowledge. It is a sacred place that has sustained and nurtured them for more than 60,000 years. As a government, it is our responsibility to continue this legacy and strive to create a future that is inclusive, respectful and just for all.

As Minister for Resources, I am proud to play a small part in Queensland's Path to Treaty. Whether it is through native title, transferring state land or using traditional languages in place names, we are committed to preserving First Nations cultures and values. I inform the House that since 2015 we have returned more than one million hectares of state owned land to traditional owners. Since 2015, native title rights have been determined to exist over more than 210,900 square kilometres of Queensland. That sounds like a big number—and it is—but let's put that in perspective: it is about the size of Victoria.

We have wiped 15 racist placenames off Queensland maps—including one in your electorate, Mr Speaker—and renamed cultural sites to remember the language of our traditional owners. It is not just about the numbers; it is about the tangible impact this recognition has on the lives of First Nations people. As a government, we remain committed to recognising the rights, history and culture of our First Nations people and their connection to land. By working together, we can create a better Queensland for all.

## TRANSPORT AND RESOURCES COMMITTEE


### Report

 **Mr KING** (Kurwongbah—ALP) (10.14 am): I lay upon the table of the House a report of the Transport and Resources Committee titled *Report No. 30, 57th Parliament—Subordinate legislation tabled between 13 October 2022 and 20 February 2023*. I commend the report to the House.

*Tabled paper:* Transport and Resources Committee: Report No. 30, 57th Parliament—Subordinate legislation tabled between 13 October 2022 and 20 February 2023 [[174B](#)].

## NOTICE OF MOTION

### Queensland Health

 **Ms BATES** (Mudgeeraba—LNP) (10.14 am): I give notice that I will move—

That this House:

1. notes the continuing crisis within Queensland Health as evidenced by:
  - (a) the failure of the government to resolve the emergency in Queensland's regional and rural maternity services;
  - (b) the \$110 million cost blowout in Labor's satellite hospital program and the failure to deliver these facilities on time;
  - (c) Labor's failure to permanently discard its GP tax proposal which will cost Queenslanders more to visit their local doctor;
  - (d) Labor's failure to negotiate a 50:50 health funding arrangement with the federal government;
2. and calls on the Labor government to—

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Members, I have asked that motions be heard and I will hear the motion being foreshadowed by the member for Mudgeeraba.

**Ms BATES:** I continue—

- (a) provide a clear timeline on when the Gladstone, Chinchilla and Biloela maternity units will reopen at full capacity and rule out the closure or bypass of any other services and ensure the Maternal Fetal Medicine unit at Townsville Hospital is staffed and resourced so mothers and babies are not at risk—

**Ms Grace** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for McConnel, you are warned under the standing orders.

**Ms BATES:** I continue—

- (b) advise Queenslanders what services will be available at each of the seven satellite hospitals and when they will be open and operating;
- (c) rule out imposing any additional taxes or costs on patients visiting their local doctor; and
- (d) reduce ambulance ramping times and surgery waiting lists and the wait to see a specialist.

## QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE

**Mr SPEAKER:** Question time will conclude today at 11.16 am.

### Youth Justice



**Mr CRISAFULLI** (10.16 am): My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. In estimates last year the minister said that a very small cohort of young people under a youth justice order had involvement in the child safety system. Does the minister stand by this comment?

**Ms LINARD:** What we know from the percentage of young people in the child safety system who are involved in the youth justice system is that, yes, it is a small cohort. We also know that this cohort, unfortunately, are young people who have experienced trauma and violence in their homes. It is never an excuse, but they have gone through significant trauma and abuse. Often they may have a parent in detention.

One of the concerning things in regard to the discussion that we hear about young people who may be on dual orders—they are often referred to as dual-order young people—is that the message the community gets, sometimes from those opposite, disappointingly, is that all children in the child safety system are also those who are involved in the youth justice system. It is absolutely not true—

**A government member** interjected.

**Ms LINARD:** That is right. It demonises these young people. When I sit with these young people—I want to acknowledge Create Foundation and others who give a voice to young people in care—

**Mrs Frecklington** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Nanango.

**Ms LINARD:**—they talk about the stories told or comments made about them, including by the Leader of the Opposition. They are young people who are in the system because they do not have a parent able or willing to provide care to them. That is why they come into the care of the system. The other rhetoric that those opposite share across the community is that young people who are in residential services are people in the youth justice system. I am advised by my department that about five per cent of young people in residential services across Queensland—

**Mrs Frecklington** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Nanango, you are warned under the standing orders.

**Ms LINARD:**—are also on youth justice orders. We know that those young people equally need the intensive interventions and supports that we have been speaking about, have been investing in and have announced we will invest additional amounts in. Not for a second do I tell anyone in this House that these young people cannot have complex underlying issues. Not for a second will I not acknowledge the concerns of members of this House and communities that these young people can cause issues in communities. We need to continue to work with them intensively but also acknowledge that children in the child safety system are there because they did not have a parent or an adult willing to provide care and the state is providing that care.

## Youth Justice

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. The opposition can reveal that an Australian Institute of Health and Welfare report released in December shows that almost 60 per cent of children in the Queensland youth justice system have had interactions with Child Safety. Has the minister failed to be up-front with Queenslanders about the true crisis in her department?

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! I will wait for members to my right to cease interjecting.

**Ms LINARD:** That is a different question. The first question talked about how many children in the child safety system—

**Mr Crisafulli:** That's how this works.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Members to my left, the minister has barely started her contribution and you are already interjecting over the top of her. I ask you to cease those interjections so that we can hear the answer to the question that has been asked.

**Ms LINARD:** I take the interjection. Let me also respond with this is how this works. The child safety system has about 11,400 young people in care. Those opposite asked about how many of those young people also have a youth justice order or are in the system. The second question asks about the youth justice system. We are talking about one to two per cent of young people across the state.

It is not surprising that when we ask the question about the percentage of young people in the youth justice system who have also had involvement in the child safety system the number is different because these young people in the youth justice system and in detention are, of course, the most traumatised. They have experienced the most abuse. They are the most complex and often—about 30 per cent—have a parent who is in jail. Sadly, they have come in contact with the youth justice system.

Even then, if we look at the cohort in detention who have had contact with the system it is because they have nowhere to live. It is the child safety system that steps in and tries to provide appropriate housing for those young people and interventions, including health interventions and mental health interventions. We do not for a second not acknowledge that these young people very rarely have parents who are stepping into that space and providing the supports needed. It is the government that steps in.

In regard to the opposition's claim, the statistics we have are based on young people in the system. When I quote statistics I do not make them up like those opposite. I provide the statistics which we provide publicly—

**A government member:** Every quarter.

**Ms LINARD:**—every quarter.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Members to my left, I have given pretty clear guidance to the House previously about ministers who are being responsive to the question asked. I have heard nothing but that from this minister. I ask you to cease your interjections.

**Ms LINARD:** I also know that when you are dealing with young people who are vulnerable and coming into care, the wrong response is to cut funding to the department that has to provide the support and not adequately fund the frontline child safety workers.

The opposite of that is the approach that we have taken which is to invest more on the front line—more child safety officers, more services—and to get case numbers down from the 21 under those opposite to the 16 that we have. Do we think that the work is finished? No, it is never finished, but it is this government that has always increased funding—last budget, the budget before—for the services that vulnerable children require. That is the clear difference between us and those opposite.

## Health Services

**Ms KING:** My question is to the Premier and Minister for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Will the Premier update the House on how the Palaszczuk government is supporting health care at a time of unprecedented GP shortages, and is the Premier aware of any other approaches?

**Ms PALASZCZUK:** I thank the member for her question and I thank her for her strong advocacy for the satellite hospital that is currently being built in her electorate. This is a great initiative of this government that is bringing health care closer to home.



**Mr POWELL:** I rise to a point of order, Mr Speaker. I refer to standing order 231 related to anticipating debate. A motion was just moved that specifically refers to satellite hospitals.

**Mr SPEAKER:** It does refer to that; however, the question asked has also potentially enlivened anticipation. I allowed the question so I will allow the answer.

**Ms PALASZCZUK:** I am pleased that the health minister was able to join the member at the sod turning for that fantastic satellite hospital. In fact, there are seven being built across the south-east.

The member also talked about the issues when it comes to health care across Queensland. We know that there are GP shortages and that is having a big impact on people accessing health care when they need it most. I have spoken to some health professionals who said that during COVID a lot of people did not go to their appointments that were needed. Specialists are now seeing an increase in some conditions that they had not seen so many people present with before. I encourage people to please go and get their regular check-ups and make sure if they have symptoms to seek professional help where they can.

At the most recent National Cabinet it was made very clear that health remains the top priority of National Cabinet—that is, the Prime Minister and all first ministers. We acknowledged that it is a crucial issue. We acknowledged that there are quite complex issues across this nation in getting specialists to go to remote, rural and regional parts of Australia—not just Queensland but everywhere. It is great to see more medical places progressively opening up at our institutions across Queensland.

I mention also that we are doing a trial with pharmacists across North Queensland where they are able to dispense products for things like UTIs. They are working to their full scope of practice, which is fantastic. When I raised this at National Cabinet, other first ministers as well as the Prime Minister were extremely interested in this. I think what we will see progressively is pharmacists being able to take a greater role in health care. I think that is a good thing. They are prepared to do it.

We also have our over \$9 billion Health and Hospitals Plan for new hospitals and expanded hospitals across our state. I look forward to progressively announcing these with the health minister over the course of this year.

### Youth Justice

**Ms CAMM:** My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. Data released from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare shows over the past five years Queensland is the state with the highest correlation of children under youth justice supervision who have had an interaction with child safety. What reason can the minister give for failing these vulnerable children so badly?

**Mrs D'ATH:** I rise to a point of order, Mr Speaker. I believe the question clearly contained imputations. I ask that it be ruled out of order.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I will give the member the opportunity to rephrase the question without the imputation. I believe that was in the tail of the question.

**Ms CAMM:** My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. Data released from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare shows over the past five years Queensland is the state with the highest correlation of children under youth justice supervision who have had an interaction with child safety. What reason can the minister provide that underpins this data?

**Ms LINARD:** I note the term 'interaction'. The imputation is that all of these young people are in contact with the system. They are not. I want to quote two statistics: just 3.8 per cent of the 6,829 young people aged 10 to 17 who are subject to child protection orders are also subject to youth justice orders; as at 30 September 2022, 27 per cent of young people aged 10 to 17 subject to a supervised youth justice order are under child protection orders. I just want to put that to the side. You used the term 'interaction'. If we are talking about interactions, in Queensland more than 100,000 children are known to Child Safety every year. A report is made every four minutes. I want to pause for a moment to say that that is—

**Mr Crisafulli:** It's in comparison to other states.

**Ms LINARD:** I will get to that. You have asked a question; let me answer it.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Members to my right, there is only one person answering the question and that is the minister. I would ask you to cease your interjections. Members to my left will allow the question to be answered. I have made a couple of points about that this morning. The minister is being responsive and I will hear the answer.

**Ms LINARD:** In Queensland we have a policy whereby when the department receives notifications we investigate all of those matters. That is not the policy everywhere. The really key thing here is that in Queensland when there is an interaction with our system, whether that is a phone call to Child Safety, whether that is a referral to our support services, whether that is touching the system or whether that is coming in contact with NGOs, that is an interaction. The positive thing about that is that families in trouble can have an interaction because we fund services. This government funds the services that are required to assist families.

**Ms Fentiman:** We don't gag the services; we fund them!

**Ms LINARD:** Absolutely. I take the injection from my colleague. We do not gag those services in the communities—

**Ms Fentiman** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! The Attorney-General is warned under the standing orders.

**Ms LINARD:** We do not cut funding to programs that are needed to support the vulnerable families of these children. In 2022-23 alone Queensland is investing more than \$1.9 billion in the system, and that includes over \$158 million for family support. The reason we do that as a government is because we know that children are best when they are in families that are safe, but supported, to keep them in a safe environment. Any interaction with the system is a family in need, and of course we will remove children when we have to. A notification or an interaction is reflective—and the numbers are reflective—of Queensland investing heavily where it is required across the length and breadth of this state and continuing to increase our funding year on year. We have the lowest rate of over-representation because we have continued to invest in intensive services across the state.

### Cost of Living

**Mr TANTARI:** My question is of the Premier and Minister for the Olympics and Paralympic Games. Will the Premier outline how the Palaszczuk government is helping Queenslanders make ends meet at a time of national cost-of-living pressures?

**Ms PALASZCZUK:** I thank the member for Hervey Bay for the question. I know that the member represents a very strong electorate that has a large number of our senior citizens. I know how much he is involved in the local community and how he is always out there speaking with them. We have over \$5 billion in concessions available as part of our budget, and they increase each year. I think it is our job as elected MPs to try to inform the community about what they can access.

In terms of energy relief, there is nothing clearer: we have been able to give Queenslanders back a dividend because of the fact that we own our own assets. People would have seen that \$157 in their most recent bill. Since we announced that rebate, over the last four years households have received a \$575 dividend. That would not have been possible under those opposite because we know that their key plan was to sell it off.

As the member for Hervey Bay would know, we also rolled out an on-demand bus service at Point Vernon which is helping seniors for as little as approximately \$1.20. I understand this service has also been rolled out on the Gold Coast and Toowoomba. That is another way we are helping seniors.

The other thing we announced yesterday with our suite of reforms in relation to tackling youth justice is \$15 million modelled on the Home Assist program. That will mean that in key hotspots identified by police we will be able to help seniors with modifications to their homes. Can I stress to members that information afternoon or morning teas with seniors in their community where police come and give them local tips also helps. Of course we are also providing additional measures, including up to \$372 a year off power bills for seniors, up to \$120 a year off water bills and up to \$200 a year off council rates. We understand that the rising cost of interest rates and inflation are having an impact that is being felt by families. I ask them to please look at our website, and I urge members to try and get information out to people to see how they can save even more with the rebates available under the Queensland government.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I wish to bring the attention of the House to two special guests in the Speaker's gallery this morning: Liam and Josephine O'Brien. Liam is currently living with blood cancer, and he and his wife Josephine are spearheading the Life Saving List campaign to raise awareness of the shortage of bone marrow stem cell donors in Australia. They are working with Lifeblood, the Australian Bone Marrow Donor Registry and state and federal governments to increase these lifesaving donations. I thank the member for Traeger for bringing Liam and Josephine to the parliament today. I wish the House would make Liam and Josephine feel welcome here today.

**Honourable members:** Hear, hear!

**Minister for Children and Youth Justice and Minister for Multicultural Affairs**

**Mr BLEIJIE:** My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. I refer to news reports of the minister exiting caucus this week to avoid questions. How many times has the minister called a media conference this year to assure people she is up to the job of keeping Queenslanders safe?

**Mrs D'ATH:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. Again I believe there is an imputation. I will not even comment on the accuracy of that statement, but there is an imputation to—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Deputy Leader of the Opposition and Deputy Premier, you are both talking over a point of order which I am trying to hear. You are both warned under the standing orders.

**Mrs D'ATH:** I believe that the opening remarks in that question did contain an imputation. I ask that it be ruled on.

**Mr SPEAKER:** In response to the point of order, I will not rule the question out of order but I will give latitude in terms of how the answer is provided.

**Ms LINARD:** It is true: I did indeed exit caucus. I had to exit because I entered caucus. At some point we do have to leave, so one follows the other.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Are we finished?

**Ms LINARD:** It is obviously difficult to respond as directly as I would like to the question about community safety. Indeed, whenever the media puts questions to me about what we are doing—and it was a reference to youth justice—I indeed respond, absolutely. It is important to respond to the questions that my office receives, and we always do so. Just this morning I was on radio talking about the measures this government is taking. One thing I can assure the member and the opposition of is that this government has always been listening. Since 2015 we have always been listening and always acting.

I have been the minister in this portfolio for two years and every minister in the child safety and youth justice portfolio has absolutely been responding to the task and the challenges we have experienced. In regard to calling press conferences, I respond to the media queries that we have and indeed call the media to engage with the services we are investing in and to see firsthand the services we are providing in communities. These are evidence based initiatives that we are providing the community because we have a plan. We do not have a plan for a plan. We do not have a plan to review our plan. We have a plan. We are investing in services in community.

**Mr Powell** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member for Glass House is warned under the standing orders.

**Ms LINARD:** I also want to thank the media across Queensland who have always turned up to those opportunities to see these programs firsthand—whether it is Transition 2 Success or Community Partnership Innovation Grants. They come to see firsthand the programs that this government is investing in that were either cut or underinvested in that actually work. They want to see the programs and investments that my agency and our government are investing in to keep the community safe. The community is interested in those programs. The community is interested in hearing that young lives can be turned around.

**2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games, Legacy**

**Mr KELLY:** My question is to the Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning and Minister Assisting the Premier on Olympic and Paralympic Games Infrastructure. Can the Deputy Premier outline the contribution the 2032 Olympic and Paralympic Games will make to Queensland, and is the Deputy Premier aware of any alternative approaches?

**Dr MILES:** I thank the member for Greenslopes for his question. I know how excited he is, representing the part of the city that he does, about the opportunities for his community that will come from the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Indeed, the benefits will be experienced right across the state. The contribution of Brisbane 2032 will be incredible. Billions of dollars of investment will flood into Queensland that will help us to build the new homes and the new infrastructure that our booming state needs.

The Palaszczuk government is determined that the biggest contribution of the games is not the games themselves but the lasting legacy for our state—a legacy of upgraded sporting facilities up and down Queensland; stadiums in Cairns and Toowoomba and upgraded facilities on the Sunshine Coast, in Redlands, in Brisbane and on the Gold Coast; and of course a bigger, better Gabba that will be an anchor for an ambitious urban renewal project that will connect Woolloongabba to South Bank and the CBD. It will be a legacy of more housing, more affordable homes and more—

**Mr Millar** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Gregory, I am not sure if you are not hearing what I have said but you are already under a warning and you are interjecting. You can leave the chamber for one hour.

*Whereupon the honourable member for Gregory withdrew from the chamber at 10.42 am.*

**Dr MILES:** It will be a legacy of more housing, more affordable homes and more public space for Queenslanders. I was pleased to receive a letter from the International Olympic Committee yesterday which said—

I am writing on behalf of the International Olympic Committee to sincerely thank and congratulate you on today's announcement of the Funding Agreement ...

The letter went on to say—

These are clearly not Brisbane 2032 Games costs, but of course will enable the Games to take place in new and updated venues and provide an enduring legacy.

I table that letter.

*Tabled paper:* Letter, dated 17 February 2023, from the Vice-President, International Olympic Committee, Mr John Coates AC, to the Prime Minister of Australia, Hon. Anthony Albanese MP, Premier of Queensland, Hon. Annastacia Palaszczuk, Minister for Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development and Local Government, Hon. Catherine King MP, and Deputy Premier of Queensland, Hon. Dr Steven Miles, regarding the 2032 Brisbane Olympic and Paralympic Games [\[175\]](#).

The new Gabba is not just essential for the games; it will also deliver urban renewal. I want to say to those few members who have opposed our plans that Paralympians and spectators with a disability deserve to be able to access the stadium without the indignity of being shoved in a goods lift. Women athletes deserve to have access to gender appropriate change rooms. Working people should be able to live close to their work and close to the city and be able to benefit from the billions of dollars that we are investing into public transport, including the new Cross River Rail interchange, and their children deserve access to a school that is appropriate, big enough and state-of-the-art for them to learn and grow. We have a vision for a city where you can get around—whether that is walking or wheeling—without having to stop and cross the road at every stop: a connection from the Arena all the way to the Gabba.

*(Time expired)*

## Child Protection

**Ms BATES:** My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. On the minister's watch, dozens of children known to the department have died, there is an attrition rate of over 13 per cent in department staff, hundreds of children aged nine and under are in residential care and it appears the minister has not called a media conference this year. Can the minister explain how this is keeping Queensland children safe?

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Members to my right! The minister is capable of answering the question herself.

**Ms LINARD:** I think the question is part of the problem. Those opposite think just calling a press conference and getting in front of a camera is the answer to everything. That is the entirety of the answer that those opposite have. That is the entirety of what they offer Queenslanders—to stand in front of a camera and play politics. They have no policies.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Minister, resume your seat. Members to my left, I cannot hear the minister and Hansard cannot hear the minister. Leader of the Opposition, you are skating on thin ice.

**Ms LINARD:** Standing in front of cameras and calling press conferences does not change the lives of vulnerable children in care. It does not change the lives of anyone in Queensland for the better. In answer to the member's question—

**Mr Nicholls:** What are you running from? Stand up.

**Ms LINARD:** I am very available for media, as they know. I was in front of a large number of cameras in Toowoomba just last week. What does change the lives of vulnerable Queenslanders is actually having a policy position and a plan and then investing in it. I do not know if those opposite stood up and called a press conference when they started cutting funding to services or cutting funding to frontline workers. I am not sure if they called a press conference. Actually, I think they did and they said, 'Queensland has nothing to fear from us.' I think they did call a press conference. The system we have now is not the system we inherited in 2015. Not only is it not the system—

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order!

**Ms Camm** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Whitsunday, you are warned under the standing orders. The member for Clayfield will cease his interjections.

**Ms LINARD:** The system now is not the same system that we inherited. Having said that—

**Ms Bates** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Mudgeeraba, it is not an opportunity to wait for a pause in the proceedings and then start interjecting again. You are warned under the standing orders. The level of interjections is too loud across the chamber. I ask members to cease their interjections so I can hear the response from the minister.

**Ms LINARD:** This side of the House is actually interested in the response. They are interested in what we are meaningfully doing in the system. However, it is very clear that those opposite are not. We have made changes to improve the lives of vulnerable young Queenslanders. We have not only improved staff training; we have not only appointed a chief practitioner for family and child services to focus on continuous practice and improved practice; we have not only improved risk assessments in Queensland families; we have not only ensured better and faster information sharing; we have not only ensured our child safety centres undergo continuous quality improvement; most importantly, we have invested in the front line and made sure those child safety service centres have the staff they need—

**Ms Camm** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Minister, resume your seat. Member for Whitsunday, you are warned under the standing orders already. You can leave the chamber for one hour. You are lucky it is not going to be more. I have made myself very clear. If you are under a warning, it is not by accident. You can leave the chamber.

*Whereupon the honourable member for Whitsunday withdrew from the chamber at 10.48 am.*

**Mr SPEAKER:** Minister, you have eight seconds remaining. Do you have anything further to add?

**Ms LINARD:** Yes. We have invested in the front line, the people we need and the services that vulnerable families need. That is what makes the difference—not politics.

### Health Services

**Mrs GILBERT:** My question is of the Treasurer and the Minister for Trade and Investment. Will the Treasurer update the House on the importance of investing in health services in regional Queensland, and is the Treasurer aware of any threats to that continued investment?

**Mr POWELL:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. This is anticipating debate again, under 231. The question is about health services in regional Queensland which is the notice of motion.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I will wait to hear how the question is responded to before jumping to that conclusion, member.

**Mr DICK:** I thank the member for Mackay for her question because she knows the importance of investing in regional Queensland including investing in regional health care. That is not just investing in our great regional cities like Mackay and other regional communities; it means investing in our inland centres, particularly our inland centres that support great mining communities like Moranbah. That is why I was so pleased to join the member for Mackay and the Mayor of the Isaac Regional Council, Councillor Anne Baker—what a great champion for her community she is—late last year to announce the opening of tenders for the new Moranbah hospital. I look forward to that tender coming to a conclusion and awarding a tender to the appropriate contractor. It is vital that we deliver for all communities, particularly communities like Moranbah that deliver so much to our state.

The same is true of Emerald where I am pleased to say work on the new emergency department of the hospital is progressing well. There have been 17 Central Queensland businesses working on that project, employing 64 local workers.

The member asks me about threats to those investments, and that threat can be spelt with three letters—LNP. As I said yesterday, the member for Condamine chose his words very carefully when he said of the LNP, 'We did not support the royalties tax per se.' The member said 'we', not 'me'. That is the position of the LNP under the current Leader of the Opposition, the member for Broadwater. The LNP will walk away from revenue that the people of Queensland deserve, particularly regional Queenslanders. Without that revenue, their promises and LNP commitments will be hollow and meaningless. We saw it in the lead-up to the last election: they made fake promises to the people of Queensland and regional Queensland about the Bruce Highway. They made fake promises to farmers and graziers in the north about the irrigation potential of rivers in the north.

Under the LNP, we would see fewer police, fewer nurses, fewer teachers and we would see fewer child safety officers and fewer workers in our state's youth justice system. That is what we would get from the LNP. There would be less money to invest in regional communities like Moranbah. I say to members like the member for Burdekin, your leader's willingness to walk away—

**Mr SPEAKER:** Through the chair.

**Mr DICK:**—from the new coal royalty tiers puts at risk future investment in your community, member for Burdekin, because without those royalty tiers, there is a \$3 billion black hole in the budget and that will be filled by the Leader of the Opposition in the only way he knows. It will be filled by cuts—to jobs, to services, to regional infrastructure and to regional health care.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Before asking the next questioner to rise to their feet, I remind all members and ministers answering questions that questions must be answered and directed through the chair. There is a reason we do not refer to members individually and directly.

### **Toowoomba, Crime Forum**

**Mr WATTS:** My question is to the Minister for Children and Youth Justice. Last week the minister fronted 300 angry Toowoomba locals and heard them ask: 'Where is the Premier?' Has the minister advised the Premier she should have attended the Toowoomba Crime Forum?

**Ms LINARD:** I thank the member for the question. I want to make one thing clear, and it is something that Queenslanders know, and that is that this Premier cares about every single Queensland. This Premier has, since opposition, represented—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Member for Currumbin, you know what I am going to say: you are warned under the standings orders. I am very close to issuing a blanket warning to members. I have called the House to order. I have asked for the interjections to cease. The minister is being responsive to the question as asked. I have made it very clear that that is the baseline in terms of what we will tolerate, even during robust question times.

**Ms LINARD:** I thank the member for the opportunity to spend three minutes—now two minutes 34 seconds—talking about this Premier. This Premier listens to all Queenslanders. This Premier is a premier for all Queenslanders. This Premier listens, this Premier acts and this Premier expects that every member of this government does the same. This Premier has responded to every major challenge that this state has had since becoming Premier. Whether it was leadership through COVID, a worldwide pandemic, whether it is leadership through the current challenge, every single time she rises to that challenge because she cares about Queenslanders. She cares about Queenslanders and she acts on the difficult things and provides strong leadership.

Yesterday that same Premier stood up and unveiled a comprehensive package to respond to the concerns that we heard last week. That is what this Premier does. She listens and she acts. What she does not do is play politics with the fears and concerns of Queenslanders, like every single person opposite does. Every single time they stand up, all they think about is, 'Can I get politics out of this? Can I get a line? Can I get my face on camera?' But not our Premier. Our Premier travels the length—

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Again, members to my left, I really do not care whether you agree with the statements being made by the member. It is not your role to provide commentary and argue against it when one member has the call. I will ask again: you cease your interjections or I will start putting members out without warnings. I hope I am making myself clear to the House.

**Ms LINARD:** The Premier travels the length and breadth of Queensland seven days a week, meeting with Queenslanders, engaging with Queenslanders, and not only expects her ministers to be responsible for their respective areas but also is present across all issues in government and provides the leadership necessary, which is in direct contrast to those opposite. They have absolutely no alternative policy, plan or vision to offer Queensland—absolutely no alternative policy and vision to offer Queensland. Absolutely nothing. They attack, they run down and they bring nothing but negativity. They have absolutely nothing. They have nothing to offer now, as they had nothing to offer in 2015. Our Premier will continue providing the strong leadership that this state needs and act on the community's calls.

*(Time expired)*

### School Infrastructure

**Ms HOWARD:** My question is of the Minister for Education, Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister for Racing. Can the minister update the House on the Palaszczuk government's investment in school infrastructure, including in new schools, and can the minister advise if there are any alternative approaches?

**Ms GRACE:** I thank the member. I know how excited she was to see yet another school opening in her fast-growing area of Ripley, with Ripley Central State School opening this year and welcoming students. We opened four new schools this year. That means 25 schools—let me repeat, 25 schools—since coming to office in 2015.

**Ms Farmer** interjected.

**Ms GRACE:** I will take that interjection from the member for Bulimba—25 schools. Hundreds of new students walked through the doors at Ripley Central State School. I have already mentioned Ripley—all fully air-conditioned; Wulguru State School in Augustine Heights in Jordan—fully air conditioned; South Rock State School in Yarrabilba where the member for Logan and I welcomed the preppies and all the students—fully air-conditioned. Palmview and East Brisbane will be fully air-conditioned, and is already. Don't worry, they will be looked after and we will build them a school that every single member in this House will be envious of.

These schools alone represent an investment of \$330 million and supported 900 good local jobs throughout construction.

**Mr Mander** interjected.

**Ms GRACE:** I take the interjection from the member for Everton. What about the school we saved in his electorate, the one they were going to close for no reason other than they wanted to close the school? It was Labor that saved that school. Can honourable members believe that? The member opposite has more front than Myer. There is the member for Everton interjecting about relocating a school. We saved Everton Park State High School. We spent millions of dollars in that school and it is going from strength to strength.

**Mr Hinchliffe** interjected.

**Mr Mander** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Minister, I know you are on a roll. Member for Sandgate and member for Everton, you are both warned for quarrelling across the chamber.

**An opposition member** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** It does not matter whether you heard him; I heard you.

**Ms GRACE:** Let's not mention the schools that were shut in Toowoomba and Fortitude Valley in my electorate. The member has more front than Myer. He has no credibility whatsoever. We are spending this infrastructure money all over the state: \$80 million in Central Queensland, \$70 million in Far North Queensland, \$40 million in Mackay-Whitsunday, \$40 million in Wide Bay and \$60 million on the Darling Downs. I ask the member for Condamine: what do these figures mean? A \$10 million multipurpose court. What do we get from those opposite? Whingeing and whining. Guess what? One of the 50,000 air-conditioning units in Queensland went to the library in the member for Burdekin's electorate. Oh my goodness, those 30 schools are fully air-conditioned and they whinge and whine about it. There is over 50,000 units in this state and we will repair and maintain every single one.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Sigh! I just want that to be in *Hansard*.

**Deputy Premier and Minister for State Development, Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning and Minister Assisting the Premier on Olympic and Paralympic Games Infrastructure**

**Mr NICHOLLS:** My question is to the Attorney-General. Former attorney-general D'Ath referred a Queensland man for contempt of court for putting two signs in his yard commenting on a judge and a magistrate. Will the Attorney-General be referring the Deputy Premier for contempt of court for saying the release of youth criminals was a 'media stunt'?

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I thank the member for the question. As the member would well know as the shadow Attorney-General, the matters in this question are still before the court. Of course, any decision to grant bail is entirely a matter for a magistrate, but the prosecution has discretion to appeal those matters and those matters are still before the court. Community safety is very clearly the government's priority and, as I have said, everyone has a role to play in keeping the community safe including our courts. We do have great respect for the courts and the judiciary.

I thought I might get a question about this subject this week and it gives me the opportunity to talk about other comments that former attorneys-general have made in Queensland. There are just so many comments I could refer to in answering this question. Who could forget 'Jarrod Bleijie under pressure for betraying judge's confidence'? Then there was 'Queensland A-G "tried to defame" judge' and 'Campbell Newman rejects calls to sack Jarrod Bleijie over judge row'. What about this one?

**Mr SPEAKER:** I cannot see what you are referring to, but are you reading headlines from news articles?

**Ms FENTIMAN:** Yes.

**Mr SPEAKER:** You can do that but can you try to make sure the correct titles are used.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I am reading from the articles. In fact, my office went to great lengths to laminate all of these. I thought the member for Kawana might want to keep these as a memento to put on his office wall next to his picture of King Charles. There are many more to go, such as 'Law council joins war against Jarrod Bleijie', 'Jarrod Bleijie defends leaking confidential chat', 'Judiciary warns it may avoid talking with Jarrod Bleijie in future'—I think that has probably come true—'Queensland chief justice appointment described as throwback to corrupt era', 'Qld chief justice choice process "failed"' and 'Attorney-General Jarrod Bleijie says Queensland judiciary has confidence of Government despite differences'. These are just the ones we could find really quickly.

**Mr Brown** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** order!

**Mr Power** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Pause the clock. Members to my right. Member for Capalaba, I had called the House to order. Member for Logan, I had done similarly. You are both warned under the standing orders.

**Mr NICHOLLS:** Mr Speaker, I suspect you knew it was coming and possibly the Attorney-General did as well. Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance in relation to answering the question. The question was: will the Attorney-General refer the Deputy Premier for his comments that a magistrate was engaging in a stunt in the way that the former attorney-general did for a man who put up signs in his yard?

**Mr SPEAKER:** Thank you for repeating the question. Do you have anything further to add?

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I have run out of articles for now.

**Logan, Transport Infrastructure**

**Mr POWER:** I have a question for the Minister for Transport and Main Roads. Can the minister give an update on the Palaszczuk government's investment in Logan and the vital connections to the Gold Coast in terms of transport infrastructure? Is the minister aware of any alternative approaches that could impact Logan and the Gold Coast?

**Mr BAILEY:** I am delighted to respond to that question from the member for Logan. I was delighted to join him at the \$75 million—

**Mr Lister** interjected.



**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Southern Downs, you can leave the chamber for one hour.

*Whereupon the honourable member for Southern Downs withdrew from the chamber at 11.06 am.*

**Mr SPEAKER:** I have already counselled members today about waiting for an opportunity to make an interjection. Under the standing order 253A you can leave the chamber for one hour.

**Mr BAILEY:** I was delighted to join the member for Logan recently at the opening of the \$75 million extra lanes on the Mount Lindesay Highway between Park Ridge and Munruben, part of a \$5.2 billion investment in the South Coast transport and main roads area. That is one of the many Mount Lindesay Highway upgrades that are happening because of the strong advocacy of the member for Logan. Over many years he has got a lot done. In that South Coast—Gold Coast—region we have a record \$5.2 billion commitment in a rapidly growing area. Whether it is the M1 upgrades, the M1 interchange upgrades, the second M1 or the light rail—there are huge investments on the Gold Coast. Construction is underway on stage 3 of the light rail to Burleigh and we are also doing the planning for the light rail stage 4 to the airport and Coolangatta. It is a project that the member for Currumbin went to the last election supporting.

**Mr Hart** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Burleigh will cease his interjections.

**Mr BAILEY:** Here is what she said in May 2020 just a few months out from the election—

I am supportive of the light rail not only going to the airport but going all the way to Coolangatta. I don't think we can leave the most southern part of our electorate out of that really important piece of infrastructure.

Recently there has been doubt about whether the member for Currumbin continues to support it. On 1 February she held a press conference on light rail where she not only—

**Mr Hart** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member for Burleigh is warned under the standing orders.

**Mr BAILEY:** She not only misled journalists but refused to state her position on stage 4 of the light rail. That is on top of the member for Currumbin claiming the two properties which were voluntarily acquired had sat vacant for months when in actual fact one had only been vacated days ago and the other property needed repairs to be in a rentable state. It is hard to take what she says seriously. This follows her leaking of a confidential briefing about the Coolangatta court and police station, a very low act which was slammed by the Police Union President, Ian Leavers. He said—

Let us have a modern policing facility to work with the courts so we can better serve the community. That's what it's all about. Don't play politics. Look at the positives out of this is what I say.

Does the member for Currumbin support light rail to the airport and to Coolangatta, or has she been brought into line by the member for Burleigh, who has probably been doing some work to make sure—there he is; I acknowledge him. On top of that, recently the member for Theodore wanted us to upgrade Helensvale Road. When he was asked whether the LNP would do that, he said nothing. They are calling on us to do things that they will not commit themselves to do. What a rabble. What a shambles.

### Blood Stem Cell Donation

**Mr KATTER:** My question is to the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services. With reference to the shortages of blood stem cell donors in Australia forcing thousands of blood cancer patients to receive life-saving bone marrow transplants from overseas, will the minister commit to seeking agreement from all state and federal health ministers at the upcoming ministerial meeting to address this and release \$12.8 million of existing funding for the immediate large-scale rollout of cheek swab registration for blood stem cell donors?

**Mrs D'ATH:** I thank the member for Traeger for his question and his very passionate advocacy for improving access to stem cell donations for people with serious health issues. I acknowledge Liam O'Brien—he is in the gallery today, along with his family members—for his advocacy for this important reform work.

Improving Australia's blood, stem cell and bone marrow donation capacity is a priority for Queensland Health. I do encourage all people who are eligible to consider being a donor. All Australian governments are working closely on reform activities to make improvements under the National Haemopoietic Progenitor Cell Framework, the HPC framework, particularly those relating to boosting Australia's capacity in providing domestically sourced stem cells.

Since the publication of the National HPC Framework in October 2021, Queensland Health has been pursuing the quick resolution of priority reform matters. It has encouraged the Commonwealth to establish a national entity to oversee improvements to governance and financial arrangements within the sector and it has encouraged the clinical advisory group to prioritise its recommendations to resolve regulatory and accreditation considerations pertaining to the implementation of buccal swabs in Australia.

In response to the member's question I can advise that Queensland will offer its in-principle support to rolling out swab testing. I support what is being sought, pending the clinical advisory group's advice. Obviously we need to have the relevant health approvals to do that. I can also advise that I expect this matter to be discussed later this week. I am hosting the meeting of the Commonwealth and all state and territory health ministers, and this is intended to be discussed while we catch up with each other this week. My department is working with the Commonwealth and other Australian governments to move quickly, and we offer our strong in-principle support.

Like many Queenslanders, I know that the member for Traeger's family has been affected by blood cancers. I acknowledge again Liam O'Brien, who is with us in the gallery today, for his advocacy. Liam and others have been affected by blood cancers, and the member for Traeger and the Queensland community can rest assured that, working with the Commonwealth and other states and territories, the Queensland government is committed to improving access to life-saving blood, bone marrow and stem cell technologies.

I acknowledge all of the work that our amazing health workers do around all forms of cancer and blood cancer and the work that QIMR does in the research space. I congratulate them on the work they are doing. There is always more to do. This is an important reform piece. It is one that we should get behind. I look forward to discussing it with my ministerial colleagues at the end of this week.

### **First Nations, Justice System**

**Mr McCALLUM:** My question is of the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Minister for Women and Minister for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence. Can the Attorney-General please inform the House how the Palaszczuk government is improving access to justice and representation for Queensland's First Nations people, and is the Attorney-General aware of any alternative approaches?

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I thank the member for Bundamba for his question and for his leadership as a member of our First Nations caucus in our parliamentary party. The leadership of the Minister for Housing, the member for Cook and the member for Bundamba has been outstanding and I thank them for their contributions.

Last month I appointed Queensland's inaugural First Nations Justice Officer, who will develop strategies to drive reform and address the over-representation of First Nations people in our criminal justice system. Of course, today is an historic day, with the Premier announcing the introduction of our treaty bill. I acknowledge the many people in the gallery who have joined us today: Uncle Bob, many elders and other leaders who have been on this journey with us.

We are incredibly proud that the Albanese Labor government is finally enacting the Uluru Statement of the Heart, but we have still had no word from the Leader of the Opposition, the member for Broadwater, on where he stands on treaty or Voice to Parliament. In the last sitting week of last year, the member for Broadwater had an opportunity to stand for something. Of course he would not, because all he does is whine and hold many press conferences. There have been not a lot of meetings and certainly no bills have been introduced. He was a minister in the Campbell Newman cabinet. I am sure that no-one will be surprised to hear that Campbell Newman is spending his days tweeting that the Voice is a radical proposal that will entrench a two-tier society. We know how the Leader of the Opposition feels about Campbell Newman: he is a 'special person'. The Leader of the Opposition in fact set the tone for his party. We had the member for Mermaid Beach proudly declare, 'How can I vote for something I know nothing about? I haven't even read the Uluru statement.' I say to the member for Mermaid Beach: why not? It is a one-page document. It is absolutely embarrassing.

It is disappointing that we have not heard from anyone on that side about what they are going to do around treaty or the Voice. It is also very disappointing that we have not heard from the members in this chamber from the Greens political party. I cannot imagine how frustrating it must be for the progressive voters of Queensland who voted for the Greens hoping for some action. Instead we have seen public spats between Lidia Thorpe and Adam Bandt. What have we heard from the members for South Brisbane and Maiwar? How many times have they mentioned Voice to Parliament on their social

media? None as far as I can find. During debate of the motion last year in this very chamber, did the members for South Brisbane and Maiwar speak? The sad fact is that neither the Greens nor the LNP will stand up for First Nations communities.

*(Time expired)*

**Mr SPEAKER:** The period for question time has expired.

## SPEAKER'S STATEMENT

### Cameras in Chamber



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I advise the House that photographers from the media gallery and from the Department of the Premier and Cabinet will be taking photographs during the introduction of the treaty bill. I have allowed this given that I believe this is a bill of significance for the parliament and for the state of Queensland.

## PATH TO TREATY BILL

### Introduction



**Hon. A PALASZCZUK** (Inala—ALP) (Premier and Minister for the Olympic and Paralympic Games) (11.16 am): I present a bill for an act to establish the First Nations Treaty Institute to prepare a framework for treaty negotiations with Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islander peoples and to support Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islander peoples to participate in treaty negotiations, to provide for the establishment of the Truth-telling and Healing Inquiry to inquire into the continuing impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and to amend this act, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities (Justice, Land and Other Matters) Act 1984 and the Fire and Emergency Services Act 1990 for particular purposes. I table the bill, the explanatory notes and a statement of compatibility with human rights. I nominate the Community Support and Services Committee to consider the bill.

*Tabled paper:* Path to Treaty Bill 2023 [\[176\]](#).

*Tabled paper:* Path to Treaty Bill 2023, explanatory notes [\[177\]](#).

*Tabled paper:* Path to Treaty Bill 2023, statement of compatibility with human rights [\[178\]](#).

Let me begin by acknowledging the traditional owners and custodians of the lands on which we meet and live. I pay my respects to elders past and present, and I extend that respect to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. I recognise the richness, strength and diversity of First Nations continuing cultures and their connections to the lands, waters and seas of the place we call Queensland. I honour Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's knowledge and ways of knowing.

I know that this is an important day for my parliamentary colleagues, especially Minister Leeanne Enoch, a Quandamooka woman and the member for Algeester; Cynthia Lui, a lamalaig woman and the member for Cook, the first Torres Strait Islander person to hold a seat in any parliament of Australia; and Lance McCallum, a Gubbi Gubbi man and the member for Bundamba. I also acknowledge the respected elders and members of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities who are here today in person or who have tuned in to Parliament TV online to be a witness to this significant bill's introduction.

At the outset, I wish to advise that during this speech the names of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have passed will be mentioned. I take this step in order to share the proud stories of leaders who have created pathways in the past that allow us to take the next steps into the future.

One of the things that I feel a great sense of disappointment about is that I first read historian Henry Reynolds's books while studying documents relating to our colonial history in the British Library in London, not in a Queensland classroom where such history should have been taught. I was reading court documents I had not read or even heard of at school in Queensland. I have never forgotten what I discovered. Deep in these documents were directions from the British Colonial Office to make treaties. Reynolds points out the contradiction of the British treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada, Northern America and New Zealand with what happened here in Australia. In those countries the possession of lands by First Nations people was recognised and was negotiated. There were treaties between the Crown and the peoples of those nations. Some were better than others. The British Colonial Office had insisted on them, especially following the Tasmanian massacres, but no treaty was ever entered into here. The question is why.

The right to property is a basic tenet of British law. As we Australians know, even the theft of a loaf of bread back in the day could result in the most extreme of punishments, ensuring a one-way passage to Australia. So how do we explain the theft of an entire country? Reynolds found that the British had relied on a description from Joseph Banks during Cook's expedition of an unoccupied, sparsely populated land. This notion of an unoccupied land was upheld in court cases and Privy Council rulings all through the 1800s despite much evidence to the contrary coming from Australia—it suited the times—and we remained *terra nullius* until Eddie Koiki Mabo and the landmark High Court ruling decided differently in 1992.

This is our chance to do what we should have done two centuries ago—to make a treaty or treaties with Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islander peoples. There are rare moments in time—perhaps just once in a generation or even once in several generations—where we have an opportunity to be true agents of change. Queensland's Path to Treaty is such a moment. It is a moment which will define our humanity and our sense of fairness and will be a legacy we leave to our children. Martin Luther King Jr reminded us that the arc of the moral universe is long but it bends towards justice. Dr Jackie Huggins reminds us that the Path to Treaty is about how we mend the very fabric of our society here in Queensland and how we are able to walk together on this land we now share.

The history of this place we call Queensland and the people who live here stretches across tens of thousands of years. It is a history nurtured and preserved in the cultures of the first peoples of many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander nations. Over the past 2½ centuries the history of our state has been shared by those who have come from across the seas. We acknowledge that parts of our shared history tell true stories of deep injustice and of wrongs perpetrated against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, the effects of which echo into the present. History also tells us stories of progress of justices restored—for example, the 1936 maritime strike which reshaped the Torres Strait's pearling industry. There were no protections for workers engaged in industrial action in Queensland in 1936, much less First Nation workers, but with great courage and strength the Torres Strait Islander workers went on strike to protest over wage theft, dangerous working conditions and the right to self-determination. As a result, the nightly curfew restricting their movement was abolished, wages were increased and workers could choose their own crews and control their own boats.

In the 1980s John Koowarta, an elder of the Wik people of Far North Queensland, led fellow traditional owners to take the then Bjelke-Petersen government to court for the right to purchase the Archer River cattle station, a property which encompasses a significant part of the Wik people's country. The Queensland minister of the day had refused to allow Aboriginal people to buy such a significant piece of land although they had raised the funds to do so. In 1988 the Supreme Court of Queensland ruled in favour of the Wik peoples and paved the way for the country's first human rights law, only for the state government of the day to declare the property a national park at the eleventh hour. In 2010 the Bligh government set in motion the handing back of 75,000 hectares of the Archer Bend National Park to the Wik-Mungathana peoples.

When the British came to Australia and declared there was no system of landownership, that Australia was *terra nullius*, that had no effect on Eddie Mabo and other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. In fact, when Eddie Koiki Mabo was working at James Cook University as a groundsman he learnt for the first time that the traditional lands of his people—his land—was actually legally owned by the government. He determined to do something about it. At the time of British arrival there were around three-quarters of a million living all over this continent. For centuries they had lived on the land and from the land. They had distinct tribal boundaries which were recognised by each other. They had a system of land tenure that provided for land to be passed down through the generations.

Their culture was rich and diverse. They populated the inland deserts and savanna plains, the tropical far north, the mangroves, the swamps, the coastal lands, the rainforest, the mountains and tablelands from Tasmania in the south to the Murray Islands of the Torres Strait in the north and west to the Kimberleys. Their lives were a rich tapestry of art, music and dance. Tribal and group rituals were part of daily life and set them apart from, but as one with, other groups. For the first 200 or so years after Europeans arrived in Australia, they did not recognise the distinct cultures and practices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The Mabo decision was significant because it heralded a new understanding of the rights of Indigenous people. Five men from the Torres Strait with little formal education but who were well versed in the laws and traditions of their own culture were able to educate the rest of our nation—our politicians, our lawyers, our academics and judges—to understand the intricate system of landownership that existed in the Murray Islands.

In the mid-20th century Quandamooka woman Oodgeroo Noonuccal and Miriam woman Dulcie Flower were among First Nations activists and advocates who came together to campaign for recognition and voting rights. They formed organisations including the Federal Council for the

Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders whose campaigning led to the Commonwealth government enacting laws in 1962 that gave First Nations people the right to vote in federal elections. Queensland followed suit in 1965, giving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders their right to vote in state elections. In 1967 a referendum changed our nation's Constitution to include First Nations people for the first time. The preamble of the Queensland Constitution now references that the people of Queensland, free and equal citizens of Australia, honour the Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islander peoples, the First Australians, whose lands, winds and waters we now share and pay tribute to their unique values and their ancient and enduring cultures which deepen and enrich the life of our community. Our Queensland Human Rights Act upholds and protects the cultural rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

These are just a few examples of progress we have made as a community and a nation in our relationship with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples—progress made in workplace rights, human rights and the rights to participate in government and decision-making structures. While the arc of history may well bend towards justice, much of the progress we have made so far has been driven by the strength and determination of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. In many cases, progress has been made despite opposition from governments of the day. While we cannot change the past, we can move forward together by facing our history honestly and courageously. We can and we will achieve so much more by working together.

For many generations Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Queenslanders have called for a treaty or treaties to acknowledge their sovereignty and self-determination. Queensland's Path to Treaty journey formally began in 2019 in response to these calls. I want to acknowledge that the director-general, Chris Sarra, first came to see me not as director-general but in the first term of government to raise this very issue with me. As a government we committed to building a new way of working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples—a way of working that acknowledges, embraces and celebrates the humanity of First Nations peoples and cultures. Path to Treaty is also about facing up to the truth of our shared history—the good and the bad—so that we can create a new future together.

The Eminent Panel and Treaty Working Group began this work by leading 24 public consultations on what a treaty or treaties might mean to Queenslanders. Building on this work, the Treaty Advancement Committee met with peak bodies, local and state governments and experts in different fields to inform the next steps along the path to treaty. The Treaty Advancement Committee report was formally handed over to the Queensland government on 12 October 2021. On 16 August 2022 the Queensland government, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous Queenslanders signed Queensland's Path to Treaty commitment. In the short months since, an interim independent body has been established to guide the development of legislation and lead truth-telling activities in partnership with Queensland's institutions of memory.

I am pleased to advise the House their work is well underway. I thank them for their work co-designing and refining the legislation I present to the House today, legislation developed in partnership, which will establish an independent First Nations Treaty Institute and a Truth-telling and Healing Inquiry.

The bill will establish a First Nations Treaty Institute to support and prepare First Nations people for treaty negotiations. The institute will establish a statutory body. It will not represent the state or be party to treaty negotiations. Its functions include developing a treaty-making framework and empowering Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to prepare for and participate in the treaty making process. Truth-telling about our shared history is fundamental to the process of healing for individuals, communities and our state and so this bill will also establish the Truth-telling and Healing Inquiry to examine historical and ongoing impacts of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Queensland. The inquiry will approach these inquiries in a predominantly non-adversarial and non-legalistic way. Its functions will include inquiring into and documenting the effects of colonisation on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples by holding truth-telling sessions or hearings and to undertake other functions in accordance with its terms of reference.

The bill also repeals certain provisions in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities (Justice, Land and Other Matters) Act 1984. The provisions identified for repeal have their origins in a policy environment where the Queensland government controlled the lives and movements of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Queenslanders. Repealing them is an important and necessary step toward righting persistent wrongs of the past and ensure compatibility with the Human Rights Act 2019.

This bill is the culmination of years of work over generations. Many hands and many hearts have shaped this piece of legislation and I thank everybody who has been involved. We consulted extensively with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and Queensland government agencies to ensure a future treaty or treaties is developed with a shared understanding of the true historical circumstances of Queensland and to appreciate more than 65,000 years of First Nations culture, history, law and lore. We are here now standing on the foundations built by so many people before us: Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and non-Indigenous peoples. Together we are building momentum for something that will profoundly change the course of our great state.

The Path to Treaty will create a state where Aboriginal peoples, Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous peoples can thrive together as true equals. Our relationship will be characterised by mutual respect and trust, with self-determination and agency at the core of everything we do together. It will not be easy. There will be bumps along the road. We are walking side by side on a journey that has never before been travelled, a journey that will lead us all into a new chapter in Queensland's history. I commend the bill to the House.

### First Reading

**Hon. A PALASZCZUK** (Inala—ALP) (Premier and Minister for the Olympic and Paralympic Games) (11.33 am): I move—

That the bill be now read a first time.

Question put—That the bill be now read a first time.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a first time.

### Referral to Community Support and Services Committee

**Mr SPEAKER:** In accordance with standing order 131, the bill is now referred to the Community Support and Services Committee.

*An incident having occurred in the public gallery—*


**Mr SPEAKER:** Order, members in the gallery. I appreciate the sensitive occasion.

## DOMESTIC AND FAMILY VIOLENCE PROTECTION (COMBATING COERCIVE CONTROL) AND OTHER LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL

### Second Reading

Resumed from 21 February (see p. 85), on motion of Ms Fentiman—

That the bill be now read a second time.

 **Mr WEIR** (Condamine—LNP) (11.34 am): I rise to make my contribution to the debate on the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I state at the outset that the issue of domestic violence is a blight on our society and there is nowhere in this state that is immune. This is not something new. I think most of us would have childhood memories of families we were close to that suffered from domestic violence. In saying that, it is obvious that the problem has only increased over the years and more victims are realising that they do not need to suffer in silence as they have done so in the past. It is also a sad fact that it is common for children who have grown up in an environment of domestic violence to end up being either the victims or the perpetrators of further domestic violence, continuing that vicious cycle.

This is now one of the biggest issues that our police officers have to deal with on a day-to-day basis. Anything that we as elected representatives can do to rid society of this menace will be a benefit for society as a whole. This bill proposes to amend the Criminal Code to rename, modernise and strengthen the offence of unlawful stalking; provide that for a relevant proceeding, as defined in section 590AD of the Criminal Code, or a summary proceeding under the Justice Act 1886 for an accused person who is charged with a domestic violence offence, the prosecution must give the accused person a copy of the person's domestic violence history; and replace sexual offence terminology.

The bill proposes to rename the offence of unlawful stalking throughout chapter 33A of the Criminal Code and in other legislation to 'unlawful stalking intimidation, harassment or abuse' and modernise the offence by broadening the type of offending captured by the offence to better reflect the

way an offender might use modern technology in this regard, including capturing unlawful electronic surveillance and creating a non-exhaustive list of ways a person can be contacted via electronic and remote means.

To strengthen the offence the bill proposes to introduce a new circumstance of aggravation with a maximum penalty of seven years imprisonment for the offence of unlawful stalking, intimidation, harassment or abuse; increase the maximum penalty for the offence of contravening a restraining order to 120 penalty units or three years imprisonment; provide for a circumstance of aggravation if the person has been convicted of a domestic violence offence in the five years before contravening the restraining order; and provide that when a court makes a restraining order the default period is five years unless the court is satisfied that the safety of a person in relation to whom the restraining order is made is not compromised by a shorter period.

The bill replaces the term 'carnal knowledge', which is utilised in sexual offences across the Criminal Code, with 'penile intercourse'. The term 'penile intercourse' is ascribed the same definition as 'carnal knowledge' and is therefore not intended to alter the concept of carnal knowledge as it has been applied to date in Queensland. Submitters supported the language used to describe sexual violence be updated. QSAN submitted that using the graphic words of 'penile intercourse with a person' may adversely impact the person as they would be continually subjected to the phrase in police and court proceedings and interactions. The Queensland Legal Service stated that using this term suggested certain offences can only be perpetrated by male offenders and it had the potential to leave female offenders open to more serious charges such as rape. Legal Aid and QPU supported the inclusion of 'mouth' in the definition of penile.

Additionally, the bill changes the title of section 229B of the Criminal Code from 'maintaining a sexual relationship with a child' to 'repeated sexual conduct with a child'. The terminology within the body of section 229B is not altered in any way. Several submitters were concerned about the proposed amended title of section 229B of the Criminal Code from 'maintaining a sexual relationship with a child' to 'repeated sexual conduct with a child'. In this regard a number of submitters recommended the terminology be amended to 'persistent sexual abuse of a child' which would reflect the seriousness of the crime and be consistent with other jurisdictions, such as New South Wales, ACT, Victoria and Tasmania. I am sure that everyone in this House finds this form of sexual abuse particularly abhorrent.


As the task force found, the current definition of domestic violence in the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act is not clear about the nature of coercive control and may contribute to misidentification of domestic and family violence. The bill amends the definitions of 'domestic violence', 'emotional or physical abuse' and 'economic abuse' in the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act to include a reference to a pattern of behaviour. Amendments to section 8 of the DFVP Act aim to clarify that domestic violence includes behaviour that may occur over a period and includes individual acts that, when considered accumulatively, are abusive, threatening, coercive or cause fear and must be considered in the context of the relationship as a whole. Unfortunately, that is one of the silent forms of domestic abuse and it is also one of the most cruel. Many simply suffer in silence, to the detriment of their mental health and self-esteem.

The bill amends the principles for administering the DFVP Act to clarify that the person who is most in need of protection in the relationship must be identified and that only one DV order should be in force unless there are exceptional circumstances and clear evidence that each person in the relationship is in need of protection from the other. The QPU noted, however, that it is not always easy to identify the perpetrator in an incident, especially in situations where the person in need of the most attention is not always readily available and that requires investigation, which is a process that can be time-consuming for police. The QPU contended that the amendment, while supported, would increase the burden on police if additional resources are not provided. That is a very valid point and, as I stated earlier in my contribution, there is already a significant drain on resources. For this legislation to be successful, we will need a properly funded police force and support services.

The task force recommended that the court be provided with the respondent's criminal and domestic violence histories to help determine the risk to the aggrieved and whether to make a protection order and to assist in best tailoring the conditions of the order to keep the victim safe. Clause 56 of the bill defines 'criminal history' to include all convictions of and charges made against the person for an offence in Queensland or interstate. If the court does make an order under new section 160A and the person does not comply with the court order, they may be found in contempt of court under section 50 of the Magistrates Court Act 1921 unless the person has a lawful excuse.

As I have stated, domestic violence is a stain on our society and all sectors of our community suffer from it. All members of this House and their staff would have been confronted, at the front desk or on the phone, by someone fleeing domestic violence who is desperate for assistance. That situation

is very upsetting and distressing for the staff involved as they deal with someone who has had their whole world turned upside down and has nowhere left to turn. This is one step towards addressing that problem and we will not be opposing the bill.

 **Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (Minister for the Environment and the Great Barrier Reef and Minister for Science and Youth Affairs) (11.42 am): I rise to support the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I want to respond to some of the comments made by the member for Hinchinbrook yesterday. To be clear, nobody in this House is disputing the fact that there are men who are victims of domestic and family violence. Any victim should be protected. However, refusing to accept the data that domestic and family violence is overwhelmingly a gendered violence is irresponsible because it denies the facts and reality that allow us to actually treat and deal with the causes of that very offence.

The fact is that one in four women over the age of 15 have experienced violence at the hands of a current or former partner. On average, every week a woman in Australia is murdered by a current or former partner. Some of those women were members of our community on the Gold Coast. All of those cases are shocking and behind those high-profile cases are thousands of victims who are silently suffering. There are many reasons why women do not come forward to seek the support that they need, from being unsure how to access services and the justice system to fearing that they will not be believed if they do make that step in coming forward.

Domestic and family violence has always existed. However, it is only relatively recently that governments have treated it with the seriousness that the issue deserves. I acknowledge the work that both the Attorney-General and the committee have been doing in this space. Is the system perfect? No. That is why we are listening to the experiences of victims with our criminal justice system. I particularly thank the women and domestic violence services from the Gold Coast who bravely and sincerely shared their stories. Their voices have led to important and necessary change. We have heard them and now we are taking action.

The Palaszczuk government is, of course, committed to stamping out domestic and family violence from our communities and this bill takes another step on that journey. Coercive control is an insidious form of violence and is often the most common factor leading up to an intimate partner homicide. This bill is the first step towards criminalising that behaviour. It lays the foundation for important and essential changes that update and modernise our legislation and our response to domestic violence. It changes definitions because words matter.

The bill will update legislation to recognise the use of technology in stalking and further harassing and abusing victims. The amendments will broaden the definition of 'domestic and family violence' to include a pattern of behaviour. This amendment acknowledges that sometimes you need to consider more than one incident in isolation and, instead, look at the calculated nature of repeated behaviour. Importantly, the bill will also update sexual offence terminology in the Criminal Code. It will replace 'carnal knowledge' with 'penile intercourse'. Another significant step is changing 'maintaining a sexual relationship with a child' to 'repeated sexual conduct with a child'. The words 'maintaining' and 'relationship' soften criminal conduct and suggest a consenting association between the victim-child and the offender. These amendments will make clear the gravity of the offending and remove outdated language that minimises or trivialises those horrific offences. I acknowledge Grace Tame's advocacy on this important issue.

The bill amends the Criminal Code to modernise and strengthen the offence of unlawful stalking by renaming 'unlawful stalking' as 'unlawful stalking, intimidation, harassment or abuse'. The type of conduct that may be captured by the offence is broadened and reflects how technology has introduced new tactics and ways of offending. The additional behaviour that is captured by the offence includes monitoring, tracking or surveilling a person's movements, activities or interpersonal associations without a person's consent, including through technology; publishing offensive materials on a website, social media platform or online in a way that will be found or brought to the attention of a person; providing offensive material directly or indirectly to a person, including on a website, social media platform or online; and threatening humiliating or abusive acts against a person, whether or not involving violence or the threat of violence. It is the unfortunate reality that devices that so often bring us together can be used to perpetrate further abuse.


As the Minister for Youth Affairs it would be remiss of me not to mention how this bill will impact young people. We know that young women, in particular, experience higher rates of this violence compared to women in older age groups. We also know that young people are more likely to associate domestic violence with physical acts, despite the fact that emotional and coercive abuse are just as harmful. These reforms are about changing perceptions and enshrining in law that all forms of domestic



and family violence are unacceptable. I was privileged to listen to Chanel Contos and Elena from the Gold Coast when they visited Queensland parliament late last year. Chanel is a fanatic advocate for consent education for many people and she has brought to light the stories and experiences of many young women. I thank her for her advocacy.

Queensland first introduced the Respectful Relationships program in 2017 and since then we have improved and expanded the program with an investment of \$15.5 million. It was a key recommendation of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce report. The program teaches young people how to build respectful relationships and understand consent and the reporting of sexual assault. I thank all of the young people from across the state who put forward their views on how that particular program should be delivered to ensure that we get the outcomes that we need going forward.

To conclude, these amendments are an important step in ensuring our legislation protects victims and reflects the reality of domestic and family violence. Importantly, these amendments also lay the groundwork for the introduction of coercive control as a standalone offence. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mrs FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (11.48 am): I, too, rise to contribute to the debate of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. The date of 19 February 2023 marked three years since the death of Hannah Clarke and her children, Aaliyah, Laianah and Trey, in a shocking domestic violence attack. I think we all remember that terrible day and the terrible tragedy which took place. It did shake the nation. That tragedy rightfully sparked more outrage across our communities. No-one can ever imagine the terror and pain that Hannah and her children suffered in those final moments. Four beautiful lives were destroyed by an act of pure evil. I have said in this House before that their cold-blooded murder had no meaning at all, but there was a message for us all. It was a clear message that we must act to save victims of domestic violence.

This is about the opportunities that we have as members of parliament to stand together and assist anyone who has been in this situation or who may be in this situation in the future. We in this House have a duty to protect Queenslanders who have suffered and continue to suffer from any form of domestic violence. Those who have been in this chamber for many years will know that this is a topic on which I have spoken many times in this House. Yesterday it was disappointing to hear a minister essentially talking down this side of the parliament for not having an interest or not understanding this issue. I recall standing in this chamber in 2017 when we in opposition—when the shadow Attorney-General was the leader of the opposition—changed bail laws after the terrible loss of Teresa Bradford—the ‘if in doubt, don’t let them out’ legislation—to reverse the onus of proof for bail. That happened by leading from this side of parliament.

I acknowledge the current Attorney-General for her work in relation to coercive control, but I believe that the government has been too slow and too reactive and has failed to follow through on recommendations to ensure we have the most effective response possible. I thank everyone involved in relation to the submissions to the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce. I know that many men and women from my region took the time to share their stories about coercive control and their experience with the criminal justice system.

I thank the members of the committee, in particular the members for Currumbin and Scenic Rim from our side of the House. It was an extremely difficult bill to review, and I acknowledge everyone involved in it. Whilst I support this bill and the updating of the terminology of ‘coercive control’, I continue to wait for both coercive control and domestic violence to be made summary offences in Queensland. Whilst I acknowledge this first step, I look forward to our continuing on this journey and in a very prompt manner. The number of women and children who die or suffer as a result of domestic and family violence is far too high. We are not seeing the progress that we need to see in order to keep these people safe. The LNP opposition has been trying to address this issue for many years.

**Ms King:** By cutting domestic violence services?

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I have spoken many times in this House about representing women who had absolutely no domestic violence services under the former Bligh government. As a private lawyer, that is why I on a pro bono basis, week in and week out, assisted those people and why I then decided to run for parliament, because the women had been let down by the former Bligh government in terms of having no domestic violence services. It was left to our side of politics to continue to restore those domestic violence services.

For the member for Pumicestone to think she knows what goes on in rural and regional Queensland when it comes to women faced with domestic violence! I call out that rubbish. It is misleading the House and it shows the ignorance of the current government when it comes to women

in rural and regional Queensland and the few services they have. They also have few housing options. When they need to leave a domestic violence situation, where can they go? I tell the member for Pumicestone that right now in Chester Street, Nanango there is a four-bedroom house that has been left vacant by the Palaszczuk government for a ridiculous amount of time—and I will check whether it is two or three years. I continue to write to the Minister for Public Works about why that home is vacant. The response I have had is that there is no-one available to move into it. I say to the minister: there are many women and children who would love to be able to live in a four-bedroom house in Chester Street, Nanango. It is a beautiful home—a home vacated by one of our former doctors. Just give it up to the people who need it.


I also say to the member for Pumicestone that just seven days after the tragic incident involving Hannah Clarke and her beautiful children I stood up—I know that the Attorney-General knows this—and called for strengthened DV legislation concerning strangulation. I tabled a private member's bill in relation to that, but that has just disappeared since the election. We know that the government has done nothing with it. I called for the introduction of a new coercive control offence. I called for laws to empower police to issue domestic violence orders on the spot. I called for a rollout of GPS linked personal safety alarms to warn victims when a violent former partner is approaching their location. I called for \$2 million for frontline not-for-profit agencies, including an extra \$1 million for the Women's Legal Service. I also called for emergency grants of up to \$2,000 to help women flee dangerous homes. We know, member for Pumicestone, that none of that has happened under this Palaszczuk government.

I stand here today in support of this bill that has been coming for a very long time, since the Newman government initiated the *Not now, not ever* report—one of the most comprehensive reports into domestic violence. We know that close to 400 recommendations have been handed to the Palaszczuk government to prevent DV and improve responses to the community.

I am also concerned about the findings of the Queensland Audit Office report *Keeping people safe from domestic and family violence*. This report, released in November last year, found that the government does very little assessment and evaluation of DV measures, meaning it often does not know what is working and what more resources are needed. The report notes—

- a lack of services in some regional areas (according to the police we spoke with). People in those areas are not referred. Due to limited data, we were unable to identify the level of services and referrals for each police region or district. The QPS and the Department of Justice and Attorney-General have not identified where additional services are most needed.

Whilst I support this bill before the House, it is a very important first step into the difficult law changes around coercive control. I do understand that we need to make sure that we get this right, but it is important that we do not delay the further changes anymore. I note that this horrendous form of domestic violence that is coercive control needs to be addressed, because many of those victims live in silence. They are in fear of their lives and quite often they cannot leave because there is nowhere for them to go. Whilst the minister is still in the House, I call on him to revisit his decision around the Chester Street house in Nanango.

 **Mr KELLY** (Greenslopes—ALP) (11.58 am): I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. On Sunday, I did what I have done for the last three years on 19 February. I went with my wife and laid flowers at Hannah's Place in Camp Hill. It is a day of sadness for our community. I thought after three years that that sadness would abate a bit for me, but it brings back painful memories.

Just across the road from Hannah's Place is Whites Hill State College. Every time I visit Whites Hill State College I see Hannah's name on the honour roll and am reminded of what an amazing person she was and how much she and her three children, Aaliyah, Laianah and Trey, who were senselessly murdered, might have contributed to our community.

The place where they were murdered is an ordinary, quiet suburban street. It is a street that my grandparents lived on for 40 years. It is a street that I played on as a kid at the same ages as Aaliyah, Laianah and Trey. To think that it could become the site of such a horrific, senseless and devastating act is very challenging and saddening to me, my family and the entire community. The Clarke family were, of course, absolutely devastated. Everybody in the state and nation was devastated by this murder. I do not know how I would react if I lost a daughter and grandchildren in such circumstances. I just do not know how I would react.

The Clarkes have suffered incredibly, but they decided that they were going to lead change. This senseless act started a long time before 19 February. This was the culmination. I have heard Sue and Lloyd talk on many occasions and I have talked to them about this issue on many occasions. One of

the things they have said consistently is that one of the challenges they had is that even though they knew there was something wrong in their daughter's relationship they could not put a name to the behaviour.

One of the hardest things for health professionals to deal with in a health setting is when they do not have a diagnosis and when there is no name for a problem because they cannot treat it and work out what to do. Even if they do not have a treatment, they cannot work out how to research it because they do not know what it is. That is the sense I get when I talk to Lloyd and Sue. They did not know the term 'coercive control', but as soon as they started to understand it they could see that clearly in the pattern of behaviour that led to this terrible tragedy. With the Small Steps 4 Hannah Foundation they started they have made it their mission to deal with coercive control.

I know they will be thrilled that this legislation is passing through this House. I know they want to see it in every jurisdiction in Australia. This has been done in jurisdictions internationally. They want protection for victims. They want perpetrators stopped. They want appropriate penalties. They want appropriate rehabilitation. They actively took part in the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce. I was here when the report was handed down. I acknowledge the great work of the Attorney-General in relation to that and this legislation.

One of the things Sue and Lloyd said when they were here for the handing down of the report was that, while we need legislation to do all the things I have just outlined, to really make a change we need to change behaviour and attitudes in society. They were adamant that before this legislation was introduced we spend time educating the community so they understand what coercive control is and give people, particularly young people, the tools they need to be able to stop coercive control.

They have led this discussion in our community. I have seen them with groups of two or three, speaking to 3,000 people at gala dinners and everything in between. The support from our community has been nothing short of astounding. The Holland Park Hawks Football Club holds a day every year to promote awareness and raise money. Every local sporting club gets on board and does something for the Small Steps 4 Hannah Foundation. The Coorparoo branch of the Bank of Queensland Coorparoo—Dustin, Rhys and the team—get behind every fundraiser for the Small Steps 4 Hannah. Coorparoo Square held a long lunch last year which hundreds of people came to. Whites Hill State College makes sure their students are involved in the Small Steps 4 Hannah Foundation. The support is immense.

I pay tribute to Councillor Fiona Cunningham of the Coorparoo ward who has been at the forefront of educating the community. She managed to get me to do something last week that I have not done since I was about five. She got me to participate in the 19 days of Handstands. I thank her for that.

**Mr Krause:** I saw that.


**Mr KELLY:** It was not a pretty video, I can tell you that. It was for a good cause.

Groups like the Holland Park Hawks are trying to change the behaviour of kids and are supporting the great work in our schools when it comes to respectful relationships education that is rolling out in our local schools like Whites Hill.

This legislation is an important step forward. We have to do it all. We have to pass this legislation. We have to name the behaviour. We have to stop the behaviour. We have to protect the victims. We also need to educate the community. As members of parliament we often talk about privilege being the opportunity to stand in this place and air our thoughts with some degree of legal protection. For me, the great privilege is to vote in support of a bill like this that is changing something that is important in our community and is achieving an important outcome. It will make sure that people are protected and that if people are on the wrong path they get help for their problems.

I am also lucky because I get to work with Sue, Lloyd and their family and our entire community to try to educate people about coercive control. I will continue to work with Sue and Lloyd, people in our community and anybody who wants to say not now, not ever to domestic and particularly not now, not ever to coercive control. I commend the bill to the House.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Before calling the next member, I remind members of the members who are still on warnings. They are the members for McConnel, Nanango, Waterford, Kawana, Murrumba, Glass House, Mudgeeraba, Currumbin, Sandgate, Everton, Logan, Capalaba and Burleigh.

 **Dr ROBINSON** (Oodgeroo—LNP) (12.07 pm): I rise to speak to the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I support the general intent of the bill to prevent family and domestic violence in our society, to ensure

all victims are supported and to ensure that all men, women and children are safe. Over the past almost 14 years that I have represented the people in the Cleveland district, I have stood in this chamber on numerous occasions to support and fight for the victims of domestic and family violence, not only those in my electorate but also all Queenslanders and all Australians. I said in a speech in this chamber in 2017—

Domestic violence is like a cancer in our society. It takes many forms but all forms are harmful and some are deadly. It must be treated much more seriously by community leaders like MPs and uprooted if we are to clean it out from society.

Let us be crystal clear: domestic and family violence is a blight on our society and coercive control is not on. So I am glad to have the opportunity to once again stand up for victims and to call for stronger action to be taken.

In terms of locally, I have also risen in this chamber to support local initiatives in my electorate and more broadly the city of Redlands. I thank the professionals, community groups and volunteers who all work to combat coercive control and prevent domestic and family violence and help victims at critical times. Thank you in particular to the local support services in the Redlands, including Bayside Domestic Violence Initiative—a historical one going back to when I first started—DV Connect, Maybanke Accommodation and Crisis Support Services, the Centre Against Domestic Abuse and the Centre for Women & Co.

I want to also acknowledge WAVSS, the Working Against Violence Support Service, which is a regional domestic and family violence support service that makes a great contribution to the Redlands and Logan areas. Can I also say thank you to all who have organised and attended local events such as the candlelight vigils, the Red Rose Foundation, their Red Bench Project and Diner en Rouge. Thank you to all of the support services that consistently go above and beyond to do their best to ensure that those who reach out for assistance receive the help they require.

Today I am honoured to announce that I have agreed to be part of the newly formed community initiative called Redlands Domestic Violence Awareness, RDVA, as a program ambassador. The goal of the RDVA ambassador program is to create an alliance of Redlands ambassadors who use individual and/or combined resources, knowledge and expertise to positively impact, reduce and ultimately end domestic and family violence in Redland City. The program includes an annual event to raise awareness of domestic and family violence in our community and to raise funds for not-for-profit organisations and charities that work in supporting victims of domestic violence and raise awareness in our community directly and indirectly. I am proud to be part of a community that works to keep each other safe. As the RDVA founder Rabieh Krayem states, 'We all play a part in the solution.'

In my remaining time today I note all of the stated objectives of the bill. They have been covered in many other speeches and I support those stated objectives. In terms of definitions, which are also laid out clearly in the bill, the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce defines coercive control as something that 'is most often perpetrated against women and children, and while each individual case will be different it can include: the gradual isolation of a woman from her friends, family and other supports; degrading put-downs, humiliation and threats; stalking and monitoring her movements, including through electronic devices; the use of technology and/or social media to control and manipulate; financial control; removing reproductive control; micromanaging every aspect of her life—what she wears, when and what she can cook, eat, sleep and leave the house'.

Although this bill is a step forward, I note how long the government has taken to bring it to the parliament. Since 2015 there have been over 400 recommendations, most of which are now duplicated because of the length of time it has taken for the government to act. The LNP supports the modernisation of sexual offences language in the bill; however, we must get the language right. We cannot water down the language just to make it less offensive. Domestic violence is a ghastly offence, so let's call it what it is and be prepared to use legislative language that does not leave any loopholes or create unintended consequences. Legislation to ensure offenders are held to account for these serious offences must be effective.

In terms of removing reproductive control, no woman should be coerced by her partner into either continuing with a pregnancy or terminating her unborn child. Academic studies, including a recent study by the University of Queensland, consistently report that this is a problem. Most studies have focussed on coercion to continue with a pregnancy, but some women are being coerced, even physically forced, into having unwanted terminations, especially in cases of unexpected pregnancies. The very public case of Jaya Taki sadly demonstrates that this form of coercive control and domestic violence is occurring. Jaya was the partner of a Rugby League star. She was forced by her partner to terminate her pregnancy. There are Queensland women who face the same situation. A story in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on March 20, 2017 about Jaya's case states that she was—

... the young woman who exposed NRL player Tim Simona.

...

In an interview with Channel Nine News on Sunday night, Taki revealed that the former player forced her to have an abortion after she became pregnant while the two were still seeing each other. "He said to me, if you have this child you will ruin my life ... It'll haunt me having a child running around," ...

She went on to comply with his demand, the story goes on to say, and ended the pregnancy. The article continues—

... Simona told her having a baby would ruin his career, and that in the days following her positive pregnancy result he refused to talk to her unless it was to confirm dates for the termination to be performed.

...

"In the end," Taki said, "I gave in to him. I was so sick and so tired. He won."

Another report goes on to say that she actually went to a number of parliaments, including here in Queensland. She went on to say in another report—

"As I was to eventually find out domestic violence and abortion are closely linked, and stories such as mine are more common than we would ever think," the young mother told MPs and concerned citizens attending a forum in Queensland's parliament house ...

Further in the article she states—

"I found out I was pregnant at six weeks and whilst I knew the timing wasn't ideal I was actually still excited at the thought of having a baby—unplanned but not unwanted.

"However moments after sharing the news with him (my boyfriend) I was stunned at the heartlessness of his reaction telling me instantly to abort or I would be facing this pregnancy alone."

Ms Taki wiped back tears as she spoke about her experience two years ago and still raw and alive.

"Over the next few weeks I would be subjected to a horrifying amount of domestic abuse and manipulation," she said.

"I had begged him to talk things through with me, to support me keeping the baby but I was told things like 'How could you ruin my life like this' and 'Why would you bring a child into the world when it is unwanted by its father'."

Ms Taki said she knew her story was "more common than we would ever think."

Hearings across state parliaments have heard evidence of this kind of reproductive control. Doctors, counsellors and social workers confirm it is commonly occurring. In the implementation of this legislation I hope the Attorney-General and health minister will ensure that these laws are applied effectively, equally and inclusively so that all women are protected from all forms of reproductive control.

In conclusion, too many women and children in particular are being impacted—in some cases very seriously—by domestic and family violence of all kinds. The government will have the legislation and support when this bill passes, so now they need to ensure they effectively deal with the domestic violence crisis gripping our state. So today, as a newly appointed Redlands RDVA ambassador for the protection of women and children, I call on all men in the Cleveland area and broader Redlands coast—and everywhere—to treat women, children and other men with dignity, respect and kindness, and in so doing to help eradicate domestic and family violence now and into the future.



**Ms HOWARD** (Ipswich—ALP) (12.17 pm): I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. In March 2021 the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce was set up to examine and report on coercive control and consider the need for it to be a specific offence. The task force gave women victims of domestic and family violence an important outlet to talk about their experiences of living with domestic violence and their attempts to access justice and protection through the police and court system. From those stories the task force's first report *Hear her voice* made 89 recommendations for reforming domestic and family violence and justice systems in Queensland.

Listening to women's stories, it became clear to the task force that coercive control is at the core of domestic and family violence and that our police and justice system are letting many victims down because coercive control is not well understood or given priority. Three days ago marked the three-year anniversary of the harrowing murder of Hannah Clarke and her three children Aaliyah, Laianah and Tre by her ex-partner. The attack shocked the nation and highlighted the urgent need for us to do a lot more to protect victims of domestic and family violence. Importantly though, Hannah's story brought to light the patterns of coercive and controlling behaviours that lie at the heart of domestic and family violence. These behaviours can be nonviolent, psychological or economic, but their cumulative effect over time can be traumatic and lead to violence. For a long time many victims have not even recognised these

behaviours as falling under the category of domestic violence, especially if there is no physical violence. When it was put to Hannah Clarke by police that she had enough to take out a domestic violence order against her ex-partner she told her mother, ‘He never hit me, Mum.’

Such is the entrenched view in our society that only physical abuse can be considered as domestic violence that many coercive control victims believe that they are not victims of domestic violence at all. After losing their daughter and grandchildren, Hannah’s parents, Sue and Lloyd Clarke, courageously advocated to make coercive control a crime. The task force heard from many victim-survivors who said that coercive control can be even more damaging due to perpetrators using it to control women and rob them of their identity and self-agency. Perpetrators use dominating and oppressive behaviours to create a sense of fear, isolation, intimidation and humiliation in their victims. These behaviours over time can cause victims to question themselves and lose a sense of their own identity. As one victim-survivor stated in the first report of *Hear her voice*—

... coercive control is silent for the most parts. You are dismantled, piece by piece. One day you look in the mirror and you don’t know who you are.

At the 2020 election, the Queensland Labor government made a promise to strengthen our state’s response to domestic violence and to provide an improved justice system that would better listen to the voices of women when seeking justice and protection from domestic and family violence. We made a commitment to making coercive control a crime and to deliver this promise within four years. This bill lays the important foundations we need to implement before we can legislate coercive control as a crime later in the year.

System-wide reform is critical to ensure we have sufficient services and supports in place before introducing a standalone offence of coercive control. The first report of *Hear her voice* outlined 89 recommendations for reforming domestic and family violence service and justice systems, and work is underway to implement these recommendations. This bill implements recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66 of the task force’s first report. One of the important reforms being made will be to include a reference to a ‘pattern of behaviour’ in the definition of ‘domestic violence’ as stated in the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012. This is a significant reform that will take into account the range of coercive and controlling behaviours that lie at the heart of domestic and family violence.

Our criminal justice system is based on the misconception that domestic violence is only just physical violence; it preferences single incidents of physical violence without focusing enough on coercive and controlling behaviours, such as emotional abuse, isolation, sexual abuse and reproduction control, digital surveillance as well as financial abuse. All of these behaviours are crucial for understanding the context of domestic violence in relationships.

Victim-survivors of coercive control clearly identified in the *Hear her voice* report that they felt the justice system was letting them down and that their reports to police were not being taken seriously. This bill ensures that our domestic and family violence justice system will shift its focus to incorporate coercive control as a key component of domestic and family violence laws. It will also look at how perpetrators can use the court system to intimidate victims by amending the Evidence Act in line with a number of recommendations made by the task force—one of them being to include victims of domestic violence offences as protected witnesses. That means that victims will be protected from direct cross-examination by the defendant. Being cross-examined by your abuser is an extremely frightening and traumatic experience and can be used by the perpetrator to prevent victims from giving their best evidence or being able to give evidence altogether. Courts will also allow for expert evidence to be admitted in domestic and family violence cases and will allow judges to give directions to juries that address misconceptions and stereotypes about domestic violence. This will allow juries to better understand coercive control and its impact on victims.

Some of these misconceptions that judges can address to the jury include: that domestic violence is not limited to physical abuse; that domestic violence can consist of patterns of ongoing controlling behaviour that might appear to be trivial, minor or isolated incidents; and that there is no typical or correct response by victims to domestic violence. For instance, not all abused women can easily leave their abusive partner and sometimes abused women leave their partner and come back. In other words, we cannot think less of a woman’s domestic violence complaint just because their response to domestic violence does not match our idealistic expectations of what a woman should do in these situations.


Another frightening element of coercive control has been the rise of perpetrators using modern technology to survey and stalk their victims. A victim-survivor who gave an account to the task force said that her abuser would hack into her social media and recite things to her that he had seen in private text conversations that she had had with her friends. Perpetrators use electronic surveillance to monitor and track their victim’s movements, leading to a heightened state of fear and loss of freedom and

self-agency. Unfortunately, unlawful stalking offences have been underused by police and prosecutors in the context of domestic violence. To provide improved protection to victims of unlawful stalking, this bill will rename 'unlawful stalking' to 'unlawful stalking, intimidation, harassment or abuse'. This updates the outdated belief that stalking only happens at the end of a relationship and reflects contemporary tactics used by offenders to stalk their victims.

The bill extends the stalking offence to types of conduct where the offender might use various technology for unlawful conduct, and it will include a new circumstance of aggravation which will apply where there exists or has existed a domestic relationship between the offender and the stalked person. This could see offenders imprisoned for up to seven years. To further protect victims, the bill will increase the maximum penalty for contravening a restraining order to 120 penalty units or three years imprisonment. If in the five years before contravening a restraining order it has been found that the offender has been convicted of a domestic violence offence, then the maximum penalty will further increase to 240 penalty units or five years imprisonment. The bill also updates the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act to make clear that the person who is most in need of protection in the relationship must be identified and that only one domestic violence order should be in force unless there are exceptional circumstances and clear evidence that each person in the relationship is in need of protection from the other.

The reforms introduced in this bill will build on the suite of reforms that this government has already brought in since we were elected in 2015 and since the tabling of the *Not now, not ever* report. We will continue to make changes that are necessary. I want to acknowledge the important work of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce. I also want to acknowledge the incredible work that our local domestic violence services provide in our community. We have the Domestic Violence Action Centre, ably led by CEO Amie Carrington, as well as several other local organisations that work closely with victims of domestic violence.

On this auspicious day when we have introduced a Path to Treaty, we need to acknowledge the rate of overrepresentation of First Nations people in this space. I think it is an auspicious day for that reason. This bill will go a long way towards improving the outcomes for vulnerable women. I want to thank Minister Shannon Fentiman and the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee for their incredible work in putting this together. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr BENNETT** (Burnett—LNP) (12.26 pm): At the outset, I want to acknowledge the work of many organisations and stakeholders around Queensland and in the Burnett and Bundaberg areas involved and working in this very difficult environment of domestic violence. I echo the calls from other members who have done a shout-out. It is amazing what they are doing.

The committee had to grapple with the question of what is coercive control. Coercive control was described in a submission to the committee by the Small Steps 4 Hannah Foundation as a set of behaviours used strategically by a perpetrator to create a one-sided power dynamic in an intimate relationship which allows them to exercise significant control over another person. While this can be accomplished by physical violence—which can contribute to an atmosphere of intimidation—it is more likely to be psychological behaviour that forces an individual to bend to the other's will. Sometimes this submission may be out of fear or of wanting to avoid a confrontation or simply because the victim is no longer able to continue fighting.

The amendments brought forward in this bill as a result of the *Hear her voice* recommendations are a necessary early step to improve the justice system's response to domestic and family violence. However, some of the measures will need to be monitored closely. As we know, these things will have to evolve. The rate at which we see women and children die or suffer at the hands of domestic, family and sexual violence is far too high, and we are not seeing enough progress to keep them safe.

It is important to acknowledge the submissions from stakeholders who were supportive of the intent of the bill. However, there was some feedback on several of the provisions and potential unintended consequences from their introduction. Since 2015 there have been close to 400 recommendations handed to the government to improve responses in the community. One submission I want to highlight was from the Police Union. I know the minister is in the House and addressed this the other day. The Police Union raised concerns that the Queensland Police Service did not appear before the committee or make a submission to the inquiry. Questions were raised about the tight timeframes of the legislation and whether that had an impact on the community and stakeholders having enough time to view, digest and consider the complexities of the legislation.

Because of the significant impact on the Queensland Police, it is important that the Queensland Police Union's primary concerns with the legislation be recognised and the issues of resourcing and lack of funding be corrected. The Queensland Police have a fixed budget from which to draw resourcing

to implement the legislation and meet the expectations of the bill. The concern is that this legislation expands the body of work that must be undertaken by police and does not provide any additional resourcing to aid police in the administration and policing of the changes. Again, I acknowledge the minister's contribution yesterday assuring us that that will be corrected.

The explanatory notes state—

The Bill is likely to increase demand for courts, police and the legal profession due to the increase in the number of matters coming before the courts, as well as an increase in the complexity of matters being heard. This demand will be monitored and any costs impacts will be assessed and included in future budget processes.

The Police Union is concerned that this legislation has not appropriately quantified what the additional cost and human resourcing requirements will be under the legislation.

The Queensland Police Union's submission was very enlightening because they provide an estimated average of 10,000 cases per year which will generate a minimum of an additional 880,000 police hours—11 police officer days per file. The average police officer who does not take any breaks or sick leave will work an average of 215 shifts a year. The calculations indicate that to service these new laws and do an appropriate investigation we need to see an additional 500 extra police, noting that these police officers cannot be fresh out of the academy and must be well-trained investigators.

I will use an example from the submission of the Small Steps 4 Hannah Foundation. Under 'Response by the Police' the submission states—

We can't speak highly enough of the effort of the Police to support Hannah. The officer who took the initial complaint regularly stopped by to check on Hannah when she was at work, and we feel they provided her as much support as they were able to within the law as it currently stands. However, we also felt Police were hampered by both their workload and the lack of legislation to outlaw coercive control.

...

It's for the dedicated Police who want to solve the problem that we would like to see these laws in place. They are fighting a constant battle to make the world a safer place, and it would be good to give them an extra tool to get the job done. We also believe that there will be a need for training and resourcing to help some police understand the elements of coercive control, and how perpetrators strategically stitch them together to create an element of fear and intimidation.

Community attitudes, more understanding and awareness of coercive control is changing. I also must admit to limited knowledge of the complexities of coercive control before we started this in-depth community work. I support the calls for a government funded advertising campaign to help people understand and recognise these control measures and to understand their rights and obligations under these new laws.

I want to ensure that the work of the Small Steps 4 Hannah Foundation and the recent partnership with the Lady Musgrave Trust to launch a television advertising campaign about the red flags of coercive control gets acknowledged and encouraged to expand and to provide online access to the handy guide for women who are homeless or at risk of homelessness due to domestic and family violence.

The Queensland Audit Office report from last year, *Keeping people safe from domestic and family violence*, found that the government does very little assessment and evaluation of their measures, meaning they often do not know what is working and what resources they need. I want to discuss some of the detailed findings that we need to address. I am sure everyone has had a look at these. On page 15 of the report it states—

The introduction of "choking, suffocation, or strangulation in a domestic setting" is now a specific offence in the criminal code. No entity has measured how effective it has been ...

With regard to police training, page 20 of the report states—

The QPS has increased its number of domestic and family violence coordinator and officer positions from 47 in 2020, to 77 in 2022. We expected that those police assigned to specialist DFV roles ... would be more highly trained and have a higher level of experience and expertise. This is not the case.

With regard to high-risk teams, the report states—

DJAG has not reviewed the placement of the high-risk teams since 2016.

...

In 2018-19, government spending on prevention measures accounted for only 4 per cent (\$7.1 million) of its overall expenditure on DFV initiatives.

In reference to the Respect program in schools, the report states—

The Respect program provides resources and teacher guidelines that schools use across the year levels. The department does not know the use, detail, or outcomes of Respect education in Queensland state schools. As a result, it cannot demonstrate that the Respect program has been effective or is a useful resource.




On rehab programs, the Audit Office report points out—

The Queensland Government does not collect data on attendance rates, completion rates, and waiting lists for perpetrator rehabilitation programs ...

In conclusion, I want to acknowledge the intent and work that has gone into the legislation and remind members that all of us have a role to play in being more responsive to the hundreds of informed recommendations provided to support the work of keeping families, women and children safe.

I want to give a shout-out to some stakeholder groups which overnight pointed out that the current forms available to do domestic violence assessments need to include a section on coercive control. Currently they do not. The forms currently reference physical abuse only. A section on coercive control needs to be added with questions like: did the perpetrator stalk the victim? Does the perpetrator control the finances? Does the perpetrator take control over aspects such as where you can go, where you can sleep, who you can see, what you can wear et cetera? These all need to be included in the victims of crime assistance forms, which have not been updated since last year, and the special primary victim report, which is a very important tool that is used across Queensland. I encourage the people in charge to update the forms so those women, children and others who are looking for assistance can access it as soon as possible.

 **Mrs MULLEN** (Jordan—ALP) (12.35 pm): I am very proud to add my voice in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I commend the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and her department on this significant body of work which is seeking to modernise and make clear how we will legislate against coercive control to ensure that our laws will be most effective.

At the launch of the Criminalise Coercive Control Campaign, journalist Jess Hill said—

... criminalising coercive control will not magically fix our deeply flawed justice system ...—police, courts, family law—... But criminalising coercive control will replace the broken lens we have on domestic abuse: instead of seeing a collection of incidents, it will make visible the system of abuse that endangers—and even kills—so many women and children.

As a government, we have recognised that our systems do not always consistently protect victims of domestic and family violence and sexual violence. We took the important step of establishing the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce to independently examine coercive control and review the need for a specific offence of domestic violence and examine the experience of women across the criminal justice system.

The response to the task force's request for submissions was overwhelming. Over 700 submissions were made, 500 of those from brave individuals sharing their lived experiences. As the task force report outlined, they are from all socio-economic backgrounds. Many are from First Nations women, as well as women from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, those with disability, sex workers and people who identify as LGBTIQ+. Some are from men, a reminder that, exceptionally, women can also be perpetrators. Many victim-survivors described their experience of coercive control as the most harmful aspect of their abusive relationship.

The task force received articulate submissions opposing the criminalisation of coercive control. The commonly cited reason was unintended consequences, particularly the likely detrimental impact on First Nations peoples in the criminal justice system. However, most submissions from legal stakeholders and victims supported criminalisation, and ultimately so did the task force. Their report sets out a framework for the proposed legislation as part of 89 important recommendations to reform domestic and family violence services and justice systems.

As the first report by the task force made clear, simply making coercive control a criminal offence is not enough. The bill before us begins this vital step of reform prior to the introduction of a standalone offence. Amendments to existing legislation requiring immediate implementation were identified. This will ensure that the coercive control offence will be effective in reducing domestic and family violence and mitigate any unintended consequences.

The bill implements recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66 of the task force's first report. The bill includes a significant number of amendments to be made to the Criminal Code, the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act, the Evidence Act, the Penalties and Sentences Act and the Youth Justice Act, and this will work towards combating coercive control by strengthening Queensland's current response and laying the groundwork to criminalise coercive control. Our government has committed to introducing a second stage of legislative reform that will include a coercive control offence by the end of 2023.

I now turn to some of the specific amendments which are included in the bill. The bill proposes to amend the Criminal Code to introduce a new circumstance of aggravation with a maximum penalty of seven years imprisonment for the offence of unlawful stalking, intimidation, harassment or abuse if a domestic relationship exists between the offender and the stalked person, incorporating both former and current relationships. The amendment supports the work of the task force, which found that the offence of stalking uses outdated concepts and language and needs to be modernised to better reflect these contemporary tactics used by offenders. Importantly, the amendments also better reflect the way technology can be used to facilitate intimidation, harassment or abuse in cases of cyberbullying.

The bill also increases the maximum penalty for the offence of contravening a restraining order to 120 penalty units, or three years imprisonment. There are also changes to sexual offence terminology including the terms 'carnal knowledge' and 'maintaining a sexual relationship with a child', which have been generally welcomed by stakeholders in the community. The parliamentary committee noted some concerns regarding the renaming of sexual offence technology which the Department of Justice and Attorney-General has sought to address.

The other key amendments I wish to mention are changes to the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012. As the task force found, the current definition of 'domestic violence' in the act is not clear about the nature of coercive control and may contribute to misidentification of domestic and family violence. As a result, the bill amends the definitions of 'domestic violence', section 8; 'emotional or psychological abuse', section 11; and 'economic abuse', section 12 in the act to include a reference to a pattern of behaviour.

Other amendments aim to clarify that domestic violence includes behaviour that may occur over a period of time, includes individual acts that when considered cumulatively are abusive, threatening, coercive or cause fear, and must be considered in the context of the relationship as a whole. This is a significant part of what we are trying to achieve in recognising coercive control, and there is understandable concern from some stakeholders around the capacity of policing and justice systems to appropriately respond to these matters.

I am pleased that the Department of Justice and Attorney-General have indicated to the parliamentary committee that an evidence-based and trauma informed framework will be introduced across the domestic and family violence and justice systems; that training and education for frontline staff is being recognised to ensure they are skilled in identifying a pattern of behaviour and specifically elements of coercive control; and naturally that the increased demand from these changes—for Legal Aid, court and policing resources—must be monitored and included in future budget considerations. I am pleased to see that the committee made a recommendation on ensuring these commitments are monitored and reported back on within 12 months.

We know that coercive control is at the core of domestic and family violence. As individuals, we may see it through the lived experience of family or friends. As members of parliament, we see evidence of it from the many brave constituents we represent and who seek our help. I have to say that without the support of some incredible organisations, services and individuals, I am not sure my staff and I could offer the support we are able to. I wish to particularly acknowledge Amie Carrington and the incredible team from the Domestic Violence Action Centre who service the Ipswich part of my electorate. I also wish to recognise the team from The Centre for Women & Co based in Logan who provide outreach services to Flagstone and Greenbank, growing parts of my electorate.


I want to acknowledge our police in my electorate, the officers working in the Goodna, Springfield and Jimboomba stations. I do not ever underestimate the incredible workloads and challenges that our police face. I also recognise that the recent commission of inquiry process has been challenging, difficult and painful, but it has also shone a light on improving the ways we can address the front line of domestic and family violence policing support. I am proud that our government is making a significant investment—\$100 million—to deliver new initiatives including more victim liaison officers, more domestic and family violence support workers in police stations, more specialist domestic and family violence officers, and more specialist police prosecutors.

I also cannot let this opportunity go without expressing my support for our government's commitment to expand the specialist domestic and family violence courts, and I put in my plea to the Attorney-General for a specialist domestic and family violence court in Ipswich to be considered in the future. That is something I know my fellow Ipswich MPs also support and is very much needed in our community. More funding for Legal Aid was also another important recommendation of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce, and our government has responded with an additional \$18.6 million in

funding. At a local level I wish to thank some of our terrific law firms who support domestic and family violence victims through the legal process. I am particularly grateful to firms like VM Family Law, Brookwater Legal and McNamara Law in my electorate.

In my electorate we recently installed our first red bench at the Orion shopping centre in Springfield Central, a wonderful initiative of the Red Rose Foundation. I wish to acknowledge and thank Betty Taylor from the foundation as well as Kath Manby and Mirvac for their strong support. At the unveiling ceremony we held I was heartened by the number of stakeholders and community members who took the time to attend. We all recognise how important it is to prevent domestic and family violence in our community.

At the same time I shared with the audience that as the local member I sometimes feel overwhelmed by how challenging the issue is and how much work we have ahead of us. I said that I feel despondent when I read some of the media reports of what some men feel they have a right to do to women: to control them, to hurt them, to kill them. I also shared that in those moments of overwhelm I am reminded that every small step matters because every step will bring us closer to the end of domestic and family violence in our community. Today's bill is actually a big step, a significant step, as we work towards making coercive control a criminal offence and ensure that all victims have full control of their lives, as it should be. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr MOLHOEK** (Southport—LNP) (12.44 pm): I rise also to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I want to start my comments by talking about my father for a moment. Back in the seventies as a young child growing up in Southport I lived in a suburban street. Most of the families in our street were working-class families. There was one particular family in our street who had a few kids—three or four boys and a girl. There always seemed to be issues across the street. I recall on one occasion my father went and grabbed one of the other next-door neighbours and they decided they would go over and speak to the father of this household. One can well imagine how that conversation went because this was a household where there was significant domestic violence, where no doubt there were elements of coercive control. My father, a prisoner of war survivor from the Second World War, was not going to stand for it.

As a young child I recall thinking, 'Man, that was just such a gutsy thing to do,' as my father and the neighbour basically shirt-collared this fellow and said, 'If we ever hear any complaint from your family, if we ever see any evidence of you doing the wrong thing by your wife and your kids, we will come over here and we will deal with you.' Unfortunately, we do not live in a society anymore where that is perhaps accepted. It is sad that more and more of us in society are choosing to turn the other way. What is so important in this issue of domestic violence in respect of protecting our families and looking out for kids is that as a society all of us need to do more, all of us need to step up and take more notice of what is going on in our communities.

A year or so ago a report was presented to the Queensland parliament on social isolation and some of the challenges that individuals are facing all across our nation and our state. Sadly, it is that social isolation and many other issues where people are withdrawing, where they are cocooning in a sense—that was a trend that was talked about in the eighties when more and more people were bunkering down in their homes and building higher fences around their houses to protect themselves. Unfortunately, that also has some negative challenges: that makes it easier for people to hide.

As members of parliament we must stand up for women, but not just women because it is not just women who are victims of domestic violence. It is children; we must protect our kids. We need to provide policy and legislation that provides greater hope for our young people and encourages them. No doubt in the coming weeks there will be some interesting debate around some of the youth justice issues that are before the parliament and the need for more intervention and early intervention. We also need to encourage men to be like my dad—men of character and courage who are prepared to speak up and defend not just their own families but the dignity of all in our society.

I note also that one of the aims the bill is to update the terminology around sexual offences in the Criminal Code. I have had some interesting discussions with some of my colleagues, including the member for Whitsunday, about this particular issue. It is not just the parliament and the judiciary that have a responsibility in this respect but also the media. Last year I had the pleasure of attending the QCROSS conference and one of the speakers was Grace Tame. I paused for a moment because I had seen all of the negative publicity about her disposition towards the Prime Minister and others. I have to be honest; I was not particularly looking forward to hearing Grace, but she was inspiring.

So much of what she had to say was supposed to be heard under Chatham House rules; there was a request that we not talk openly about her presentation. Essentially, what she said was that we need to call a spade a spade, that too often in the media we see a watering down of terminology—‘a student was in an inappropriate relationship with a teacher’ or a sporting club coach, and that is not at all what was happening. I note the Attorney-General’s comments yesterday. She said—

The amendments are intended only to modernise terminology. By replacing the term ‘carnal knowledge’ with ‘penile intercourse’ it is not intended to substantively alter the scope or operation of offences in the code.

The government has listened to the voices of brave victim-survivors ...


It is so important that we start calling rape, bullying or intimidation exactly what it is. It is such an important aspect of this bill, and I am pleased that this legislation seeks to deal with that as an issue.

There are so many different aspects of the legislation I could cover, but I want to acknowledge a few champions in our community. I publicly thank Rosemary O’Malley, or ‘Rosie’ as she is known, from the Domestic Violence Prevention Centre on the Gold Coast and wish her well in her retirement. She has been an incredible champion in relation to domestic and family violence on the Gold Coast, and she has led an incredible team of people. Her replacement, Lucy Gregory, whom I have not had the pleasure of meeting yet, has big shoes to fill but I am sure she will be equally as passionate about this cause.

I acknowledge the incredible work of Di Macleod and her ongoing commitment through the Gold Coast Centre Against Sexual Violence. It is interesting, because Di is no longer involved with the Macleod Accommodation Support Service, but it carries her name because she also established that many years ago. It would be remiss of me not to say thank you to Rosemary Larkin for her ongoing work—she has also retired after many years of faithful service—and to wish her replacement, Melanie Houghton, the new head of Macleod Accommodation Support Service on the coast, well in her future endeavours and the work she does in supporting women and families on the Gold Coast.

This is important legislation and we need to be far more diligent than we have been in the pursuit of the objects of this bill. It is some time since the *Not now, not ever* report was handed down in this parliament. There were commitments made then about the need for more crisis housing to support families. There were commitments made about the need for more publicity and more awareness in our society around the issues.

It is beholden on every one of us in this chamber to be champions for our community, to be champions for our families and to provide Queenslanders with the surety that they are living in a state where they can feel safe and valued. That should be the case for everyone regardless of where they have come from. Regardless of their ethnicity or their Indigenous background, all Queenslanders deserve to live with dignity and to know that the parliament, the services the Queensland government provides and the police will be on their side in those minutes and hours of need.

 **Ms LAUGA** (Keppel—ALP) (12.54 pm): I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill. I acknowledge two women in my community who have tragically lost their lives in recent years: Karen Gilliland, who was murdered by her ex-husband, lived in Allentown and is survived by her three children; and Sue Duffy, a 71-year-old woman who was allegedly murdered by her estranged son-in-law. I pay my respects to their families, their friends and our entire community following their tragic loss—a loss that did not need to happen and a loss that we are in this place today to try to prevent from happening again. Sue in particular reminds me—and should remind us all in the community—that domestic and family violence is not limited to people in an intimate relationship. Domestic and family violence can extend to other people within a domestic and family relationship; it is not necessarily two people in an intimate relationship.

Coercive control is an insidious form of domestic and family violence and it affects many people right across our state and the world. I acknowledge that this is potentially a very triggering bill to debate for many people in this place, myself included. I acknowledge that there has been some great discussion about the issues of coercive control and domestic and family violence, but I was particularly incensed by the member for Hinchinbrook’s comments about this being a gendered debate. This is not a competition. I am sure that there are women who are affected; there are men who are affected. Many people are affected by domestic and family violence and coercive control, but it is not a competition as to who is more affected. I think all of us would agree that we want to see less violence in our community. It is not a case of who experiences it more or less but of reducing the numbers altogether.

I acknowledge the extensive work undertaken by the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce, led by the Hon. Margaret McMurdo. I extend my thanks to its members. I acknowledge the over 500 individuals and all of the stakeholders who contributed to this important work. This reform and critical amendments are required to ensure the coercive control offence will be effective in reducing domestic and family violence and also in mitigating any unintended consequences, particularly as they relate to the misidentification of the primary aggressor and the experience of First Nations women and girls.

The bill implements recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66 of the task force's first report. The amendments to all of the different acts will work towards combating coercive control by strengthening Queensland's current response and by laying the groundwork to criminalise coercive control. The Queensland government has committed to introducing a second stage of legislative reform that will include a coercive control offence by the end of 2023.

I am pleased that this bill will require the Queensland Police Service to provide a copy of the respondent's criminal history and domestic violence history to the court in all proceedings on private and police initiated applications for a domestic violence order. The courts absolutely need a full picture of a respondent's criminal and domestic violence history in order to assess the risk posed to an aggrieved and to assist the court in best tailoring conditions that will keep the victims safe. This bill, in practice, will require that the respondent's criminal history outlines all convictions of, and charges made against, the respondent.

Clause 53 of the bill allows for substituted service for a document normally administered by a police officer. I take this opportunity to thank the police for taking on the role of serving respondents. It is a critical part of the process. Often it is the first time the respondent realises the seriousness of what they have done and the seriousness of the matter they are being served about. Receiving an email might mean that the opportunity for that realisation to occur is lost, but I understand that a respondent sometimes deliberately evades service to the frustrate court process, leaving victims without the protection of a DVO for a longer period of time. Whilst it is important that service by a police officer remains in place, we cannot let the control of offenders extend to the service of the court documents to that respondent.

Personal service provides procedural fairness to a respondent as a police officer will explain to the respondent the document as well as any consequences of not complying with the document. This personal service is also intended to give police an important opportunity to intervene, disrupt and de-escalate domestic and family violence. I know from constituents, friends and family who have spoken to me about their experiences that the moment in which a police officer serves documents to a respondent can cause a change their behaviour.

This bill also amends the Criminal Code to modernise and strengthen the offence of unlawful stalking. Stalking is a well-known risk factor for intimate partner homicide and a significant form of abuse within controlling relationships. The task force heard many stories of perpetrators using electronic surveillance to facilitate their abuse, including social media, spyware and tracking devices. It is a sign of the times that technology is now so much a part of our lives. Technology certainly has allowed coercive control to thrive. There are now so many ways that a perpetrator can follow and control another person using technology such as monitoring where a victim has been shopping and how much they have spent with apps that track people and which keep data that can be used by perpetrators, often with the victim unaware that they are even being monitored. I have had numerous people in my electorate office who need assistance in changing their Apple ID, logging out of multiple devices that they are signed into. There is also frustration from victims who struggle to block people on one app, only to be contacted by them again using another app.

Debate, on motion of Ms Lauga, adjourned.

Sitting suspended from 1.01 pm to 2.00 pm.

## **WASTE REDUCTION AND RECYCLING AND OTHER LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL**

### **Message from Governor**



**Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (Minister for the Environment and the Great Barrier Reef and Minister for Science and Youth Affairs) (2.00 pm): I present a message from Her Excellency the Governor.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): The message from Her Excellency recommends the Waste Reduction and Recycling and Other Legislation Amendment Bill. The contents of the message will be incorporated in the *Record of Proceedings*. I table the message for the information of members.

MESSAGE

WASTE REDUCTION AND RECYCLING AND OTHER LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL 2023

*Constitution of Queensland 2001, section 68*

I, DR JEANNETTE ROSITA YOUNG AC PSM, Governor, recommend to the Legislative Assembly a Bill intituled—


A Bill for an Act to amend the *Environmental Protection Act 1994*, the *Waste Reduction and Recycling Act 2011* and the legislation mentioned in schedule 1 for particular purposes

GOVERNOR

Date: 21 February 2023

*Tabled paper:* Message, dated 21 February 2023, from Her Excellency the Governor recommending the Waste Reduction and Recycling and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023 [\[179\]](#).

### Introduction

 **Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (Minister for the Environment and the Great Barrier Reef and Minister for Science and Youth Affairs) (2.00 pm): I present a bill for an act to amend the Environmental Protection Act 1994, the Waste Reduction and Recycling Act 2011 and the legislation mentioned in schedule 1 for particular purposes. I table the bill, the explanatory notes and a statement of compatibility with human rights. I nominate the Health and Environment Committee to consider the bill.

*Tabled paper:* Waste Reduction and Recycling and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023 [\[180\]](#).

*Tabled paper:* Waste Reduction and Recycling and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023, explanatory notes [\[181\]](#).

*Tabled paper:* Waste Reduction and Recycling and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023, statement of compatibility with human rights [\[182\]](#).

I am pleased to rise to introduce the Waste Reduction and Recycling and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2023. The Palaszczuk government is focused on reducing the amount of waste that goes to landfill while bringing down greenhouse gas emissions and creating more jobs in Queensland's recycling and resource recovery industry. This is an industry that already contributes \$1.5 billion to the state's economy each year and supports 12,000 jobs, and we want that to grow. We have set an ambitious but achievable target to halve our food waste, to stop 80 per cent of material from ending up in landfill and to recycle 65 per cent of our rubbish by 2030. That is why our \$1.1 billion Recycling and Jobs Fund will be investing in new green bins for households, rolling out statewide behaviour change campaigns and co-investing with councils and industry to deliver even more recycling infrastructure across the state, because when a product is no longer useful or required for its initial purpose we want it to be re-used, recycled or remanufactured right here in Queensland.

Beyond our investment though, we know that to shift the dial we need to get the policy settings right. That is why this bill is so important. These amendments will embed circular economy principles into our Waste Reduction and Recycling Act because the current 'take-make-dispose' approach is not sustainable. By embedding these principles across all aspects of the products that we design, manufacture and use we will enable improved resource recovery and reduce the long-term environmental impacts of these products.

This bill also enacts the Palaszczuk government's 2021 announcement that we would remove the automatic levy exemption for clean earth delivered to a leviable waste disposal site. It will also fulfil Labor's 2022 commitment to ban the release of lighter-than-air balloons from 1 September this year as part of our five-year action plan on single-use plastics.

The amendments proposed in this bill will, firstly, provide a head of power in the definition of 'waste' to prescribe through regulation that a thing is not a waste and move the definition of 'waste' from the Environmental Protection Act 1994 to the Waste Reduction and Recycling Act 2011. This is a technical amendment, but what it will deliver is security for those wanting to invest in circular economy products, ensuring that valuable materials are not classed as waste materials, meaning that they can be more readily remanufactured or repurposed—for example, using tyre crumb from end-of-life tyres for road construction or turning glass containers like those collected through Containers for Change into new glass bottles. This change will complement Queensland's existing end-of-waste framework and will send a strong signal to industry that it can invest in Queensland with confidence.

Secondly, this bill will introduce circular economy principles within the Waste Reduction and Recycling Act. By embedding these principles into the legislation, we are making it clear what our intentions are and that where waste can be diverted from landfill it should be. Next, this bill will change the review date for the waste strategy to five years. All levels of government are working together as we strive to increase resource recovery and reduce our waste and its impact on our environment. Making this amendment gives us better flexibility to deploy resources to on-ground action as well as to better assess performance against those targets. This is about getting things done, not just talking about them.

This bill will also remove the automatic levy exemption from clean earth and the subsequent removal of the definition of 'clean earth'. Clean earth is a valuable product important for things like building retaining walls, filling construction sites and other construction uses like landscaping. Through this change, we are incentivising its re-use. As announced in December 2021, the removal of the clean earth levy exemption will commence on 1 July 2023 and will bring Queensland in line with other states including New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia where the waste levy applies to any clean earth disposed of in a landfill or waste facility. This does not prevent project operators or landfill operators from using clean earth beneficially as an alternative to disposal at a waste facility. Additionally, landfill operators can apply for an operational purpose exemption where clean earth that is delivered to a leviable waste disposal site is used for good operation and maintenance of the site. Where this applies, the clean earth does not attract a leviable liability and provides a pathway to the beneficial use of clean earth. Other jurisdictions have similar mechanisms to enable beneficial use of clean earth at landfills.

This bill will also provide the ability for the chief executive to make a decision about amending or suspending a resource recovery area declaration. The current legislation only permits the chief executive to revoke a resource recovery area in response to identified compliance issues. Once a resource recovery area has been revoked under current legislation, the area is quarantined for 12 months before a resource recovery area can be declared. There is no current escalation pathway for enforcement to remedy compliance matters beyond the revocation power. The benefit of the chief executive being able to make a decision about amending or suspending a resource recovery area is that it provides greater flexibility and enforcement escalation pathways in dealing with investigations of activities on resource recovery areas. For example, if the chief executive decided to amend or suspend a resource recovery area to undertake an investigation of activities on the site, where the chief executive decides not to take further action following the investigation the resource recovery area can continue to operate. It is a better outcome for industry and the community, ensuring we can more easily take compliance action where facilities may have done the wrong thing while ensuring we do not have an unintended consequence of rolling back recycling. Additionally, the chief executive will also be given the ability to make an annual waste levy payment to a local government if satisfied that the payment is necessary.

Last year I launched our five-year road map to phase out problematic single-use plastics and this bill is a part of that, providing a head of power for a ban on the outdoor release of lighter-than-air balloons. Although balloon releases are currently considered to be littering under the littering provisions of the Waste Reduction and Recycling Act, the introduction of a ban on the release of lighter-than-air balloons provides clarity and certainty and is a preventative measure to avoid the action that leads to littering. In the lead-up to the commencement of the ban, extensive information will be provided to assist with this understanding. This ban is intended to commence from 1 September 2023.

Finally, this bill will provide an expiry of 31 December 2025 for the exemption from the ban for an otherwise banned single-use plastic item that is integral to shelf-ready products. This amendment will provide a time limited exemption for items that would otherwise be banned unless they are integral to a shelf-ready product like a plastic straw attached to a popper. The expiry of 2025 is consistent with the national packaging target that 100 per cent of all Australian packaging is re-useable, recyclable or compostable by 2025. While many of these changes proposed in the bill are technical in nature, they take us another step forward to a zero-waste Queensland.

In conclusion, I wanted to reflect on how important taking serious action on waste is for the economy because for every job in the landfill sector there are three times as many jobs in recycling; for the environment to stop pollution going into our waterways and protected areas and to reduce greenhouse gas emissions; and for communities across the state. Unlike the opposition, which repealed the waste levy and made Queensland the dumping ground of the country, we are prepared to do the hard work to shift the dial—to make the reforms that deliver change, to roll out infrastructure we need, to deliver on our targets. This bill is the next step in our transition to a circular economy.

### First Reading

**Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (Minister for the Environment and the Great Barrier Reef and Minister for Science and Youth Affairs) (2.09 pm): I move—

That the bill be now read a first time.

Question put—That the bill be now read a first time.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a first time.

### Referral to Health and Environment Committee


**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): In accordance with standing order 131, the bill is now referred to the Health and Environment Committee.

## DOMESTIC AND FAMILY VIOLENCE PROTECTION (COMBATING COERCIVE CONTROL) AND OTHER LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL


### Second reading

Resumed from p. 150, on motion of Ms Fentiman—

That the bill be now read a second time.

 **Ms LAUGA** (Keppel—ALP) (2.10 pm), continuing: There are so many ways now that a perpetrator can follow and control another person using technology. I am pleased that amendments in this bill will also better reflect the way technology can be used to facilitate intimidation, harassment or abuse in cases of cyberbullying and doxxing. The bill amends the Evidence Act to create a new category of protected witness with respect to any domestic violence offence and extends the prohibition on direct cross-examination to this new category of protected witness. This means that where a defendant is unrepresented the complainant cannot be cross-examined directly by them. If cross-examination is to occur it will be undertaken by a lawyer.

The bill will also provide the court with a discretion to give jury directions that address misconceptions and stereotypes about domestic violence in line with the recommendation of the *Hear her voice* report. In this context, the task force found that community members did not always understand how domestic and family violence may impact the behaviour of domestic and family violence victims. For example, why a victim may continue to remain in a relationship which is abusive. I think that this is a really positive change because many people, especially if they have not experienced domestic and family violence before, may not fully appreciate how victims react or respond. Victims often end up spiralling into a world where unacceptable behaviour may be normalised. The cycle of violence spins around almost like routine in what a victim feels like is normal everyday life, but from the outside looking in it may appear as completely delusional that a victim would even stay in that circumstance. The amendments seek to enable juries and judicial officers to be better informed and able to consider evidence of domestic violence that has been raised during a trial. This is an historic day for Queenslanders, it is an historic day for victim-survivors and I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr LAST** (Burdekin—LNP) (2.11 pm): I rise to contribute to the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. We stand here today almost two years after the establishment of the independent task force to examine coercive control and review the need for a specific offence of domestic violence having regard to the experience of aggrieved spouses across the criminal justice system. The establishment of that task force was an election commitment by those opposite, a commitment similar to that made by the LNP some seven months prior. As I said at the time of the LNP's policy announcement, addressing coercive control was about implementing a full and proper response to domestic and family violence and for that reason I will not be opposing this bill.

Like some of my colleagues on this side of the House, I have personally seen the immediate and ongoing effects of both domestic and family violence and offending against children—as a police officer and more recently as the member for Burdekin. Let me say at the outset that there is no place and no excuse for either of these behaviours. Something I know from personal experience is that many times it is our police who are the first responders to domestic and family violence; likewise paramedics and ambulance staff are also frequently first responders to these types of incidents. These are confronting situations. Quite often the victim will blame themselves or an accident. This is not done because they



condone the behaviour of the perpetrator, it is done out of fear of the perpetrator. Indeed, it was the role of police in responding to domestic and family violence that was the impetus for the commission of inquiry we saw last year. To quote from the recommendations of Judge Deborah Richards—

Police are the gatekeepers to the justice system, and their response can reduce or prevent future violence for victim-survivors and their children, hold perpetrators to account and, at times, save lives.

The recommendations go on to say—

It is essential that organisational structures are in place so officers can respond effectively to domestic and family violence

The recommendations continue by saying, quite simply, 'The QPS cannot do this alone.' I cannot agree more with Judge Richards. The QPS cannot do this alone. Not only do they need support to achieve the best possible outcome for victims, they need the resourcing and the legislation to, as Judge Richards rightly says, save lives. The report that those recommendations are contained in was provided to the Premier and relevant ministers on 14 November, but just seven days prior, the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee conducted its public hearing into this legislation. Witnesses included senior staff and representatives from a range of groups, including the Queensland Law Society, the Queensland Family and Child Commission, but who was not represented? The gatekeepers. Despite the committee reaching out to the Queensland Police Service, there was no representative at the hearing and not even a submission. I would be interested in the police minister's response as to why there was no representatives at those hearings and no submission provided.

The committee heard that an additional 10,000 complaints will be made to police each year due to this bill. If that is what it takes for this scourge to be addressed then that is what must be done, but the reality is that means an extra 880,000 policing hours per year, or 500 extra police dedicated solely to those complaints—police officers that must be well-trained investigators. We then have the recommendations of the commission of inquiry that I referred to earlier. As someone who has held responsibility for rostering one of Queensland's largest police stations, I have calculated that at least an additional 810 officers and staff will be required for the full implementation of those recommendations. All in all, the evidence from the committee and the recommendations of the commission of inquiry totals more than 1,300 police officers and staff. What Queenslanders want to know is if these 1,300 extra police officers and staff are in addition to or included in the Premier and police minister's 2020 election commitment or are they over and above that number?

Every member in this House has a responsibility to address the scourge of domestic and family violence, but we simply cannot ignore the facts. Despite this government having received close to 400 recommendations to prevent and better respond to domestic and family violence, we still have the situation where recommendations to better train police officers—and there have been recommendations for this to happen as a matter of urgency—those recommendations have not been implemented and according to the Queensland Audit Office we know that specialist domestic and family violence officers are not being assigned to specialist domestic and family violence roles.

Sadly, the Queensland Audit Office has also highlighted that despite recommendation after recommendation to this government, information is not being shared and entities are not working together. Just as we have seen in response to youth crime, cooperation is just not occurring. While entities are not cooperating, there is also a lack of oversight. The Department of Justice and Attorney-General has not reviewed the placement of high-risk teams for at least six years resulting in some areas with the highest rates of domestic and family violence not even having a high-risk team. We know for a fact that Education Queensland does not have a full understanding of the success or otherwise of the Respect program. We know for a fact that Corrections cannot tell us how many perpetrators have been in Queensland's prisons or how many are in supervision in the community and that there are no permanent programs for rehabilitating offenders in prison. We know that Legal Aid Queensland have concerns relating to the impact on their services and we know for a fact that despite all the claims this government has made, despite community uproar with regard to domestic and family violence, Queensland police and the Department of Justice and Attorney-General have not identified where additional services are most needed in regional areas. Even as recently as the task force progress report of December 2022, themes such as workforce capability and capacity, among others, were raised.

The amendments brought forward in this bill from the *Hear her voice* recommendations are a necessary early step to improve the justice system's response to domestic and family violence. However, some of the measures will need to be monitored very closely. Legislative changes to ensure offenders can be held to account for these serious offences must be effective. We must do everything we can to protect women and children in this state.

Domestic and family violence does not just happen in our cities, it happens right across this state in remote communities in rural and regional Queensland and quite often, as is the case in my electorate, the support services are simply not there or are stretched to breaking point. Victims of domestic and family violence who live in rural areas deserve the same level of care, attention and response as those who live in city areas.

If there is one message that I can give to the minister today it is this: when it comes to resourcing organisations that provide services in our communities, please consider the fact that in many cases they are restricted by the tyranny of distance and a lack of resources. Queenslanders demand that domestic and family violence be addressed and when this bill is passed there will be no excuse for this government not to do exactly that.



**Mrs McMAHON** (Macalister—ALP) (2.19 pm): I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill. Domestic and family violence is the epitome of a wicked problem. It is a problem that no one measure can address and that no one department can be responsible for but one in which we all must play a role. From the outset I thank those who work tirelessly in the domestic and family violence space, from those in our emergency services working on the frontline response to those assisting in crisis response and housing, those working in intervention and counselling programs and those working in the preventive space in community and education settings.

The amending legislation before us gives effect to the recommendations from the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce report, *Hear her voice*. That work follows on from the landmark *Not now, not ever* report. The work done by the task force and the associated reports represent a herculean effort. I would like to especially acknowledge those Queenslanders who have experienced domestic and family violence and have come out the other side to inform this report. Of the 731 submissions received as part of the task force inquiry, 646 were from individual members of the public. I would also like to acknowledge in this House those who tried and failed to get the help that they sought, those who did not get the response their situation needed and those who are no longer here, because their experiences are also captured in these reports.

If there is one thing each of the reports—the *Not now, not ever* report and the *Hear her voice* report—reiterate over and over again it is that this problem, this wicked problem, is a gendered one. This is not my opinion; it is backed by the evidence. Notwithstanding the member for Hinchinbrook's deep-dive research into the field of anecdotal evidence, every statistic provided shows that in instances of domestic and family violence women are over-represented as victims generally, victims of violence overwhelmingly and homicide victims specifically. That is not to say that violence does not occur to men but that overwhelmingly the perpetrators of domestic and family violence are men. The sooner everyone, including the member for Hinchinbrook, gets around that fact the sooner we can take serious steps to address this gendered effect and save lives. I am not sure whether it is that he cannot see it or that he will not see it, but everyone needs to see it.

This issue starts with disrespect and it starts early. It starts with the belief that women are lesser beings and, sadly, in this regard our national community attitudes surveys still show an alarming trend amongst younger Australians. It starts as jokes and poor attitudes. It manifests itself into a power and control dynamic in relationships. It ends in truly awful statistics of domestic and family violence death in this country. On average in this country, one woman a week dies at the hands of a partner or a former partner.

I am happy to address with the member for Hinchinbrook the facts and figures as well as the statistics that he quoted. He outlined the percentage of victims by gender, which, by the way, reflects more females than males as victims but does not reflect the percentages in relation to the gender of the perpetrators. I know that the member lives in a heteronormative world, but just because a victim is male it does not follow that the perpetrator must be female. Some of those victims were male children killed by their fathers. Some of those victims were men killed by their new partner's previous partner. Let us look at the perpetrator because it is their behaviour that needs to change and it is their behaviour that must stop.

Before I get to the coercive control aspects of this bill, I will briefly comment on some of the other legislative changes to the Criminal Code proposed in the bill that not only reflect the expectations of a modern Queensland but also keep up to date with the modes of offending that come with progressing technology. On that last point, amendments to chapter 33A of the Criminal Code will enhance the way the current chapter offence captures stalking behaviours.

Currently, stalking may involve physically following, loitering near or watching a person and the places they go. The new provisions to be contained in chapter 33A include updating the short title to 'Unlawful stalking, intimidation, harassment or abuse', as well as inserting additional behaviours that may constitute stalking such as contacting or using any technology or platform as well as not just following or loitering but also monitoring, tracking or surveilling a person's movements, activities or interpersonal associations, including through the use of technology. It also includes and outlines the worrying phenomenon of doxxing, that is, publishing a person's personal information, including home address and phone numbers, on a website. Additionally, a circumstance of aggravation has been included so that a person convicted of stalking behaviour in the context of a domestic relationship is liable for up to seven years imprisonment.

When I investigated stalking cases, often the relationship did not constitute a domestic relationship under the DFVP Act as it was predominantly a one-sided relationship, that is, one date that did not end well and a would-be partner who continued to harass, intimidate or stalk. Generally, that would not trigger protections under the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act.

I would like to address quickly the amendment to the short title of section 229B of the Criminal Code, 'Maintaining a sexual relationship with a child'. The use of the word 'relationship' in that offence title has attracted criticism from stakeholders for some time. With previous amendment bills that I have been involved in, stakeholders have sought to have that short title changed and the department had committed to a review. Here we are today with this amendment. The word 'relationship' is obviously extremely problematic. It implies a normalisation of heinous conduct and it seems to legitimise what is inherently criminal behaviour. It is not a relationship; it is a crime. I resist the assertion that the word 'abuse' is required here because I think we can all understand that it is a pejorative term. Unfortunately, in the eyes of the courts, we need to be talking about facts and conduct and the use of emotive terms does not assist in proving criminal offences.

For those who have worked in the sector, the concept of coercive control is a familiar one but there is a big difference between a concept and a tangible act or acts with a sufficient evidence base that is robust enough to reach the standard of proof required by the criminal justice system. The bill amends the definition of 'domestic violence' in section 8 of the act to include the words 'pattern of behaviour' and further elaborates on what may constitute a pattern of behaviour. Coercive control, much like other concerning conduct such as strangulation, is a known precursor to lethal acts within a domestic setting and, much like strangulation, is not always visible. Often it is overlooked. When investigating domestic and family violence, police look for time, date and place. They look for a specific act or conduct. 'Pattern of behaviour' allows for the cumulative effect of emotional, psychological and financial abuse, that is, not just one event and not just one incident.

Reports have outlined that it is not always easy to identify the perpetrator and, in many instances, the victim can be misidentified as the perpetrator in protection applications. How does this happen? It is actually quite easy because people have a mindset about what a victim looks like. However, a person's reaction to trauma cannot be encapsulated in a single stereotype of a victim. At the scene of a domestic and family violence incident, a woman who is hysterical and difficult to talk to is often disregarded, particularly when there is a more passive and apparently reasonable person in the room, who might be the actual perpetrator. Police tend to listen more to the calm and quiet one than the hysterical one, because a statement has to be taken.

That is how easy it is for a victim to find themselves cast as the perpetrator, because they are the one who is not being agreeable. No victim has to be agreeable; that is not the role of a victim. It is the role of police to investigate, find the facts and protect the person who is most in need of protection. I will talk later this week about the commission of inquiry into the QPS, but now I commend this bill and these amendments to the House.



**Dr MacMAHON** (South Brisbane—Grn) (2.29 pm): The scourge of domestic violence causes immense harm across Australia. We see this almost every week. In December last year at least 10 Australian women were killed because of family and domestic violence. That was three times the average rate of one woman per week. One woman a week is one too many. Three women a week is three too many. These deaths are just horrific—the unacceptable tip of an iceberg that pervades our society. Family and domestic violence is disturbingly common and notoriously under-reported.

One in six women and one in 16 men in Australia have experienced violence by an intimate partner. Family and domestic violence is one of the leading causes of homelessness. It exposes generations of Australian children to violence and trauma in their childhoods. It affects First Nations communities and people with disability disproportionately. There is much that we in this parliament could do to fix this.

This bill gives effect to some of the recommendations of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce, many of which will go some way to ensuring that our criminal justice system is up to the task of ending domestic violence. In many ways, this is by incorporating our growing understanding of coercive control into the justice system. I want to be clear: these reforms will not finish the job. I do not think anyone in this place thinks that. Similarly, neither will making coercive control a standalone criminal offence. To end domestic violence, we need to ensure that our laws are fair. This bill goes a small way towards that.

To end domestic violence we also need to fully fund our services. We are a long way off that in this state. To genuinely end domestic violence, we need to deal with the root causes of patriarchal violence and attitudes. Looking at the disgusting revelations emerging from the Queensland police force followed by this government's leaning into more policing, it is clear that we are nowhere near addressing the deep roots of patriarchal violence in this state. There is much more that we in this parliament could be doing beyond this bill.

The bill implements some of the reforms recommended in the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce report *Hear her voice: report one—Addressing coercive control and domestic and family violence in Queensland*. That task force was launched, as we all know, after the devastating murder of Hannah Clarke and her three children in early 2020 and a subsequent commitment by the Premier that this government would move to criminalise coercive control.

In recent years, studies have increasingly showed that coercive control is a major risk factor for death by domestic violence. Studies by Hohl and Myhill in 2016 said that coercive control is a thread running through the patterns of behaviour that precede domestic violence and domestic deaths. In experts' views, this essential thread running through the risk identification and assessment for domestic violence can help the legal system move beyond an incident-by-incident response and begin to identify these dangerous patterns, but I do want to be clear: I am very sceptical that a standalone offence for coercive control will fix the situation.

The Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce has done a good job at giving the widest possible interpretation to the Premier's commitment to criminalising coercive control, looking at broad-ranging ways to bring awareness of coercive control into our legal system. The Queensland Greens will be supporting this bill on the basis that it strengthens the offence of stalking to include electronic surveillance and coercive control; replaces archaic sexual offence terminology like 'carnal knowledge' and 'maintaining a sexual relationship with a child'; updates definitions of 'domestic violence' and 'abuse' to include a reference to a 'pattern of behaviour'; and clarifies that individual acts can be domestic violence when, cumulatively, they are abuse, threatening, coercive and cause fear, and must be considered within the context of a relationship as a whole.

As one frontline domestic violence support worker said to me when I was consulting with people on the first paper from the task force, 'How do you criminalise the everyday harm of threat and violence in a relationship?' This bill will not entirely do that, but these steps are worth taking.

Clause 30 of the bill prevents cross-applications being used by perpetrators to continue their control and intimidation of victims. This reflects important feedback that I have heard from the DFV sector that the legal system can become a proxy for a perpetrator. Again, it will not end the tendency of the state and the legal system to do this but it is an important step to take.

Many submitters on this bill, including Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety, pointed out that victim-survivors can be misidentified as perpetrators and that this particularly applies to First Nations people, people from migrant and refugee backgrounds and queer people—anyone who does not present as a stereotypical 'ideal victim' who is powerless and submissive. These factors are very important in the context of the government proposing to make a standalone offence of coercive control.

Since early 2021, Sisters Inside and the Institute for Collaborative Race Research have been making clear, in the context of coercive control, the violence experienced by First Nations women when they come into contact with the criminal legal system and the hands of the police and the impact that criminalising coercive control will have on them. The Queensland Youth Policy Collective pointed out that to work the bill needs significant reform of the criminal justice system to combat this misidentification.

The bill makes various other changes to ensure our current understanding of coercive control and domestic violence is incorporated into our legal system, including sentencing. The Queensland Greens welcome many of these changes. None of these will end the scourge of domestic violence. They take some steps along the path to ensuring our laws are fair, but to end domestic violence we


need much more from the government. We need to ensure our laws are fair, we need to make sure our services are fully funded—housing, health care, education—and we need to deal with the root causes of patriarchal violence in society.

The conclusion I have come to regarding a standalone offence of coercive control is coloured by my own personal experiences. I experienced financial abuse by a partner. It was not until the relationship ended that I grasped the gravity of what had happened. Listening closely to stakeholders on the ground like Sisters Inside, our concerns remain. Legal Aid Queensland submitted to this bill that expanding definitions and adding aggravating circumstances risks an increase in matters, determinants for grant aid and cost to Legal Aid. They need more support. At the most basic level, the government needs to fund legal assistance services properly if these new laws are to work. This is only the beginning—in a state where the government refuses to properly tax big corporations, when we have a \$5 billion surplus that we could be putting into frontline services right now and our Public Service is begging to be fairly funded.

Queensland's housing crisis is a perfect example of this. As I have mentioned, domestic violence is one of the leading causes of homelessness. We have seen positive steps taken by the government to introduce laws allowing survivors of domestic violence to change the locks if a perpetrator leaves and to leave a lease, but if they need to leave themselves where do they go? They cannot afford the rent. They cannot get into public housing because of the massive shortage. How many victims and their families end up staying with perpetrators because there is simply nowhere for them to go?

At a minimum, legislation of this kind needs a huge investment in primary prevention and frontline services. There is a whole sector of people working to end domestic violence, and they need meaningful support. More than another piecemeal announcement from the government, we need investment in these services on the ground. Our patriarchal culture is failing victims of domestic and family violence. We need look no further than the Queensland Police Service to see the most extreme examples of this. Evidence keeps mounting that goes beyond what training could offer in terms of reforming the police force. In November last year we heard leaked audio from the Brisbane city watch house that showed police using racist slurs. Last year's commission of audit heard harrowing evidence of racist, sexist and homophobic behaviour. The response from the government since has been leaning into more police and a tougher stance on youth justice.

When Senior Constable Neil Punchard hacked into a confidential database to leak the address of a domestic violence victim to her violent former partner, the ultimate outcome was a suspended prison sentence and community service. This was after his suspension on full pay. This does not fill me with hope that the government intends to address these issues within the police force. We need a renewed police culture, but I remain sceptical that the Queensland police force can be reformed. I feel strongly that diverting money from the police force into housing, education and frontline services would go much further to keeping Queenslanders safe and strengthening Queensland communities. The Queensland Greens, as I have said, support the measures that this bill puts in place.

 **Mrs GILBERT** (Mackay—ALP) (2.40 pm): The Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill is a commitment of the Palaszczuk government to prevent domestic and family violence from occurring in our community and I rise to speak in support of the bill.

I was a little perplexed by the member for South Brisbane's bashing of the Police Service. After listening to the experiences of the member for Macalister and knowing the great work the Police Service has done, we cannot condemn the whole of the Police Service and say that we are not going to fund it because of one report. There are a lot of good people in the Police Service who are out there day after day looking after Queensland families and our citizens. The police in my area do a sterling job.

All women and children deserve to be safe in their homes and on our streets. That is something we all agree on. I have a wish and that is that I never need to get another email alerting me to a red rose rally to remember the life of a woman or child taken due to domestic violence. This must stop. Too many lives have been cowardly and brutally taken. Society is standing up and saying no more. Perpetrators who are not listening and not getting the message need to listen up now. We have had enough.

I have had conversations with women who have successfully sought orders against their partners only to have their partner's mates drive past their home and yell abuse at them on their mate's behalf. How do our young men get to a position where abusing women on behalf of their mates is a cool thing to do? This needs to stop.

I have met with women who are desperate to break out of a cycle of domestic violence. They witnessed and experienced violence in their family homes as young girls growing up. When choosing their partners they confuse the attention given to them as love but it is coercive behaviour that then turns into violence. This leads them to trying to protect their children from their partner's insidious behaviours, only to then watch their adult children become perpetrators or victims of domestic violence. They lived through a period when what happened behind closed doors was family business. They know that now they have a voice and they want to back in changes to the law to break the violent cycle that they have lived through and have not been able to shield their children from.


As the member for Toohey said in his contribution, we need men to step up and to call out domestic violence. Domestic violence has to be everyone's business if we are going to stamp it out of our society. It was an election commitment of the Palaszczuk government to legislate against coercive control. Coercive control is a pattern of deliberate behaviour perpetrated against a person to create fear, isolation, intimidation and humiliation. It robs a person of their identity, independence and ability to seek help. This behaviour is sneaky and cruel. It can be done without making physical contact, without leaving visible marks. It makes it very hard for a victim to explain.

The Palaszczuk government established the independent Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce which brought together experts from various fields related to domestic and family violence and was led by the Hon. Margaret McMurdo. In its first report, *Hear her voice*, the task force examined coercive control and reviewed the need for a specific offence. The task force heard from victims describing the scary, exhausting and debilitating emotional harmful effects coercive control has had on them.

To ensure the court system is not used as a tool by perpetrators to harass their partners, this bill will require applications and cross-applications to be heard together, require the court to consider whether to make arrangements for the safety, protection or wellbeing of a person most in need of protection, require the court to identify the person most in need of protection in the context of a relationship as a whole and only allow the court to make one order unless there is exceptional circumstances. Magistrates are also given guidance in this bill to assist in determining the person most in need of protection. This assistance comes as a suggestion from stakeholders.

I am pleased that unlawful stalking in this bill is being upgraded, modernised and strengthened. Stalking is used to intimidate and control a partner within and outside the relationship. Perpetrators are using electronic devices and surveillance to facilitate their abuse, including social media, spyware and tracking devices. To assist the police to make better use of unlawful stalking laws, the law is renamed 'unlawful stalking, intimidation, harassment or other abuse'. This bill broadens the type of conduct which may be captured by the offence to better reflect the way the offender may use technology to facilitate unlawful conduct. The amendments to unlawful stalking include new circumstances of aggravation which will apply where there exists or has existed a domestic relationship between the offender and the stalked person, with a maximum penalty of seven years imprisonment. To ensure that the court has full information when making a decision, the police will be required to provide a copy of the respondent's criminal history and domestic violence history to the court in all proceedings in private and police initiated applications to assess the risk posed to the aggrieved and assist the court in best tailoring conditions to keep the victim safe.

My community recently recognised the 10-year anniversary of the brutal murder of Shandee Blackburn at Harrup Park. This is where she worked. I put on record the brave and dignified way that Shandee's mother, Vicki Blackburn, has kept Shandee's case front and centre to ensure there is justice for Shandee. The community was in unison that there is no room for domestic or any other violence in our community. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr MICKELBERG** (Buderim—LNP) (2.47 pm): I rise to address the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill. At the outset, I acknowledge the long campaign by those who have suffered from domestic and family violence which has brought us to the point where the parliament is now taking steps to tackle what has been and continues to be a persistent challenge for our community. I particularly acknowledge the families of those who have lost their lives at the hands of violent offenders—people like Lloyd and Sue Clarke, whose advocacy after their daughter, Hannah, and their three beautiful grandchildren were murdered so horrifically some three years ago has been an inspiration.

Like every single Queenslander, I am sick and saddened to see the rate at which women and children are dying and suffering at the hands of violent and abusive family members and former partners—violent offenders who are supposed to love and care for them and should be their biggest protector but at times are their abuser. As we debate this bill now, the number of Queensland women and children who live in fear of what might happen tonight or tomorrow is far too high. There has not

been nearly enough progress over recent years to implement laws that keep them safe. We say time and time again that community safety should be every government's first priority, which is why it is so frustrating to know that since this government came into power eight years ago there have been almost 400 recommendations handed to them to assist in preventing domestic, sexual and family violence in Queensland, but the implementation of those recommendations has been painfully slow.

It would be easy to view this criticism through the lens of one critical politician, but the government's failure to act in a timely manner is implicitly acknowledged in the recent Call for Change recommendations. It is why the commissioner felt the need to detail strict time lines for the recommendations from that report to be implemented. It is a damning report on the actions of this government.

I support the recommendations of the *Hear her voice* report that have been brought forward in this legislation. That report is powerful, and we must not just hear the voice of every woman but we need to listen and act swiftly on what is being said. The abhorrent misuse of power in any relationship should be a crime. Consistent and repeated threats, intimidation and humiliation should be a criminal offence, and those who utilise abusive methods of control should be held to account for their actions in a court of law. Women should never feel trapped in a relationship, and government should do everything in its power to ensure that every woman has a way out. We, as a society in general, should be extending a safe hand however we can.

I also support the modernisation of sexual offence language, but we must get this language right. The government's last-minute approach could cause more harm than good. I note the many submissions made by stakeholders, including those who hold concerns, as we do on this side of the House, when it comes to updating the language being used. When it comes to a sexual relationship with a child, it is abuse. There is no other word for such an unthinkable act committed by the worst of the worst. It is not a sexual relationship; it is sexual abuse. Language that is used in the law cannot continue to be sanitised to be made more palatable. Nothing about sexual assault or sexual abuse is palatable. The language needs to fit the subject matter regardless of whether or not it is unsettling.

Like all members of parliament, I often hear from victims of domestic and family violence. No corner of Queensland is immune to the suffering happening behind closed doors. They come to me as their local member scared because they do not know where else to turn. They have tried everything else. I also hear from frustrated local police who feel like their hands are tied when it comes to acting on, and preventing, domestic violence. They are weighed down by paperwork, forced to spend hours off the road doing DV applications through an interim order and subsequent civil court process when they could be charging domestic violence offenders with a criminal offence, instituting a permanent order or bail conditions that would protect the victim there and then, and imposing a consequence for the actions of the offender more quickly. Daily we trust our police to make judgements about the use of force. We trust our police to make judgements about when to charge and when to caution young offenders and we trust our police to deal with all manner of sensitive situations like suicide, yet we tie their hands through the current domestic violence protection order process.

As I alluded to in my opening comments, not-for-profit and community groups have been doing their utmost to make a difference. I have spoken many times in the House about DV Safe Phone. It was founded during COVID by a former Buderim resident, now Kawana resident, Ashton Wood. I am pleased that many members of parliament, and indeed the parliament itself, have taken up the offer of using their electorate offices as a phone collection point for DV Safe Phone. The phones that are donated through that process are repurposed, refurbished and given to support agencies right across Australia to be provided to victims of domestic and family violence as a lifeline. It is the kind of tangible support that makes the world of difference to someone suffering in an abusive situation. One of the first things those who abuse their partner through coercive techniques target is the victim's mobile phone. By confiscating or smashing the victim's phone the abuser seeks to further isolate the victim. The phones provided through DV Safe Phone by Ashton and his team are a lifeline in every sense of the word for the victims of domestic and family violence, and I commend them for their work.

Before I finish today I want to address the issue of the measurement, reporting and evaluation of government programs. In the insightful *Keeping people safe from domestic and family violence* report handed down by the Queensland Audit Office in November last year, the point was made very forcefully that the state government does very little assessment and evaluation of the measures they implement. The result is that the government, and by extension the community, is unable to determine what actions are working, what is not working, and consequently how resources need to be reallocated or allocated to improve the situation. As the Audit Office stated—

Queensland's approach does not have the coordination, structure and systems necessary to support family and relationship units.

We have seen it this week. We see it time and time again. The Palaszczuk Labor government is more interested in how things look than how things are. Queenslanders deserve better, particularly on an issue as important as domestic and family violence.

In conclusion, the LNP will be supporting this legislation because it will improve things for the victims of domestic and family violence, but progress has been too slow. This legislation is not perfect, but it is an improvement on the existing situation. The approach by the government to date has been inadequate, and it continues to be inadequate. Queenslanders rightly expect the government to put community safety first. I call on the government to act on the many sensible and considered recommendations from the many reports this government has commissioned over the years so that we can address this issue for the betterment of all Queenslanders.



**Ms McMILLAN** (Mansfield—ALP) (2.55 pm): This is the story of someone close to me—

For years, actually until Hannah and her girls were killed, I did not realise that what I'd been dealing with was called coercive control. Seven years ago, I received threats that my then partner would kill himself if I didn't take him back; insist that I share my phone location; threaten to keep my child if I didn't talk to him; tell horrible lies in court about things I had apparently done to him—to try and get me to stop having a protection order enacted. Since the day I told my then partner to leave, I (and my daughter) still deal with coercive control as a constant in our lives. My daughter is terrified of her father; direct physical abuse has stopped because I stood my ground and spent \$27,000 in the family and magistrate court systems; but the control continues and affects our emotional and mental health and I worry it is deeply affecting my daughter's self-esteem and her ability to trust herself and those adults she's meant to be able to rely on, like school teachers and her principal—because of the fear of the repercussions this will cause to her the following week if she tells anyone anything about what goes on in his home.

This is the story of a victim of domestic and family violence. She too is the victim of a man who attempted to place a retaliatory order against her twice with no evidence—only his intent to control, to cause fear, to intimidate and to destroy her self-confidence and self-worth. Disgracefully, the federal family law court insists that the nine-year-old child involved, despite having a domestic violence order against her father, visit him every second weekend. This incongruence between the state domestic violence specialist court and the federal family law court must be addressed.

Coercive control is a pattern of deliberate behaviours perpetrated against a person to create a climate of fear, isolation, intimidation and humiliation. It robs an individual of their identity, independence and ability to seek help. Coercive control is a scourge on our society. It has been an issue for too many years which, up until recent years, has gone ignored and unchecked. Many would argue that it is reflective of the broader power imbalance evident in western society and our earliest understandings of gender, namely, the social construct of gender. Social constructs are learned from an early age. Both male and female young people are not immune. From a young age behaviours are learned. These behaviours are gendered and reinforced by stereotypes, modelling and expectations. It is acknowledged that continued education such as the Respectful Relationships Program in state schools is needed if we are to move forward with these reforms to make women and girls feel safe and able to call out domestic and family violence. The harm that men have perpetrated, and continue to perpetrate, on women and children in our community cannot be underestimated. There will continue to be devastating consequences for families and communities if we do not work diligently towards solutions.

The Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022 was introduced into the Legislative Assembly by the Hon. Shannon Fentiman MP, Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Minister for Women and Minister for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence and referred to the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee on 14 October 2022. The bill lays the foundations for ensuring the introduction of a new coercive control offence—expected to be introduced in the second stage of legislative reform by the end of 2023—and will be effective in reducing domestic and family violence and mitigating any unintended consequences, particularly in relation to the misidentification of the primary aggressor and the experience of First Nation women and girls.

Some of the key issues raised during the committee's examination of the bill include: identifying the person most in need of protection, including addressing the risk of misidentifying victim-survivors as perpetrators; removing restrictions regarding the admission of evidence in the history of the domestic relationship; and providing the court with the discretion to give jury directions that address misconceptions and stereotypes about domestic violence. I had the wonderful opportunity to work with the Hon. Justice Margaret McMurdo during my time as principal of Glenala State High School in Inala. Justice McMurdo worked tirelessly to support the many young women in my school, to inspire them and to encourage their aspiration. Justice McMurdo, like me, understands these social constructs more broadly at play for these girls—as well as the impact of poverty, colour, ethnicity, indigeneity and opportunity. She has worked tirelessly over many years to address the inequities in our society, and for this she should be commended.



Last year the Palaszczuk government established the independent Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce, ably led by the Hon. Margaret McMurdo, which brought together experts from various fields related to domestic and family violence. In their report *Hear her voice*, the task force examined coercive control and reviewed the need for a specific offence. They made 89 important recommendations for reforming domestic and family violence service and justice systems. These findings and recommendations build upon the government responses to previous landmark reports, including the *Not now, not ever* report.

This bill does not include the new offence of coercive control but sets the scene and lays the foundation. The bill gives effect to those recommendations which the task force considered critical ahead of the introduction of the criminal offence. The bill implements recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66 of the task force's first report. The bill's amendments to the Criminal Code, the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012, the Evidence Act 1977, the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992 and the Youth Justice Act 1992 will work towards combating coercive control by strengthening Queensland's current response and by laying the groundwork to criminalise coercive control. The Queensland government has committed to introducing a second stage of legislative reform that will include a coercive control offence by the end of 2023.

Sadly, my loved one is not alone. Retaliatory orders are common for women in Queensland. Amendments are also made to clarify the intent and process for a court to hear and decide cross-applications to ensure the person most in need of protection is identified and protected. The task force heard that the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act is not operating as intended and cross-applications are sometimes used by perpetrators as a means of continuing to control and intimidate victims, resulting in domestic violence orders being made against victims of domestic and family violence. Like other complex issues in Queensland, our communities turn to their government, the Palaszczuk Labor government, to intervene, to challenge culture and constructs in order to protect those affected, and to establish laws that address inequities, including domestic and family violence. Coercive control is at the core of domestic and family violence.

Every member of this chamber is committed to addressing the scourge of domestic and family violence in our society, particularly because of its impact on our Queensland women and children. Every member looks forward to a future society that is equal for all and safer for our women and children. More than this, we look forward to a society where women and children, particularly girls, live without fear and where they are able to prosper and achieve their full potential.

The Palaszczuk government is committed to preventing domestic and family violence from occurring in our communities, and that is why one of our election commitments was to legislate against coercive control. The task force recommended that a standalone offence of coercive control be introduced. However, they were very clear that, prior to the introduction of a standalone offence, system-wide reform is necessary to ensure sufficient services and supports are in place across the domestic and family violence service and justice systems. This bill delivers on the undertaking and prepares for the introduction of a standalone offence of coercive control. I am proud to be part of this government, which works diligently and consistently to improve the lives of women and children in Queensland. It is because of this government that their lives will be better. I commend this bill to the House.



**Mr O'CONNOR** (Bonney—LNP) (3.04 pm): Across the road from my office in Labrador on the edge of a beautiful, green open space of one of the largest parks in our area is a small garden with a statue in the middle of it. When you first look at it, it is quite abstract. It is a strange curved shape, but after a few seconds what it is becomes clearer. The statue is of a woman hunched over, her head resting in her hands. When you look at it further, it seems as though she is crying and it would not be too far of a stretch to think she is even recoiling from or trying to protect herself from the blow of a partner. It is a tragic and beautiful memorial dedicated on behalf of my community to the victims and survivors of domestic violence. The plaque at the bottom reads 'Victims by chance, survivors by choice', and that is what we are here to take action on today.

This Labrador memorial is where the Gold Coast red rose rallies are held every time a woman from our city is killed in a domestic violence incident. I have been to many of them—far too many of them—along with our shadow minister and member for Whitsunday, the member for Mudgeeraba and my other Gold Coast colleague, the member for Currumbin. Tragically, she was there just a couple of weeks ago for a woman from her community who passed away. It is my sincere hope that none of us will ever have to cross that road to pay our respects to another woman killed at the hands of a partner or former partner.

Like so many of the stories we have heard from across our state in this debate, my community has also been shattered by horrific incidents of domestic abuse. Kelly Wilkinson, an Arundel State School mum, was allegedly murdered almost two years ago by being repeatedly stabbed and set on fire. It is just unspeakable what allegedly happened to her in a quiet suburban cul-de-sac. From our local police who were first on the scene, to Kelly's neighbours who will never forget what they saw, and especially the mums at Arundel—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Martin): Member for Bonney, can you just assure me that this matter is not currently before the courts?

**Mr O'CONNOR**: I used the term 'allegedly'.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER**: I just remind you about the rules of sub judice. Using the word 'allegedly' does not meet the test.

**Mr O'CONNOR**: I will move on to the community impact. Those people will never forget, especially the mums at Arundel State School, including those who used to walk to school with Kelly and her kids. The reverberations were felt among the entire school community and by many other locals. Hundreds of people turned out to honour and remember Kelly at a candlelight vigil on the Gold Coast Titans training oval in Parkwood to show her family that they were not alone in their grief. It was incredibly moving, and I will never forget hearing the cover of *Supermarket Flowers* by Ed Sheeran—Kelly's favourite song—echoing out at sunset not even 500 metres from where she lived, with its chorus of 'Hallelujah, you were an angel in the shape of my mum'.

Every incident we see is tragic and our Gold Coast community has some of the worst statistics of any part of our state. The Southport court regularly has almost 3,000 applications for domestic violence orders every year, with consistently nearly 2,000 charges lodged for contravening a DVO. That is why the amendments from the *Hear her voice* report that this bill contains are really important. This legislation will enact recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66 of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce. It will modernise and update the terminology around sexual offence, and I thank the many people who have advocated for this change. It is also good to see comprehensive additional conduct being captured by the offence of unlawful stalking, particularly in relation to: updating the laws to do with the technology that is so easily accessible; contacting a person; monitoring, tracking or surveillance; publishing offensive material; giving offensive material; and threatening, humiliating or abusive acts, known as doxxing.

Other important changes included in this are around the sexual assault counselling privilege framework, the Evidence Act, the Oaths Act, Telecommunications Interception Act and with jury directions. These are foundational steps to help our justice system better protect vulnerable Queenslanders with how they deal with domestic and family violence. This should provide the pathway to criminalise coercive control.


One thing I did want to raise was the Queensland Audit Office report, *Keeping people safe from domestic and family violence*, which generally highlighted the lack of assessment and evaluation of measures the government is taking. That means that they have little idea about what is working and what further resources are needed, and where those resources should be targeted. That is really important with nearly 400 recommendations handed to the government since 2015. It is so vital to follow those up.

The comment in that report about the Respect program in our schools which really stuck with me was that—

The department does not know the use, detail, or outcomes of Respect education in Queensland state schools. As a result, it cannot demonstrate that the Respect program has been effective or is a useful resource.

That is probably one of the biggest issues that is raised with me by my students that I have at Coombabah State High School and Southport State High School. It is really important to get that right, to make sure we are preventing this before it even becomes an issue from those really early and formative years. I know it has been reviewed, and I sincerely hope that it is improved upon as a priority for government.

To wrap up, we support the bill, we support the recommendations from the task force and we will continue to hold the government to account to make sure they implement it as quickly and thoroughly as possible.

 **Hon. G GRACE** (McConnel—ALP) (Minister for Education, Minister for Industrial Relations and Minister for Racing) (3.11 pm): I say that there are moments in this House—and I know that the minister, the member for Ferny Grove, said the same—where you feel very proud standing up talking to a bill,

and there is no doubt that this is one of those bills. I think it is going to make a real difference. Women make up 50 per cent of the cabinet in the Palaszczuk government, and we have a large number of women in the caucus. I am going to be so bold as to say that changes like this come about because women's voices are being heard. It is so good to have a female Attorney-General who is now putting these recommendations, demonstrating the commitment of our cabinet, our caucus and our government to preventing domestic and family violence from occurring in our communities, which is why we are starting to legislate against coercive control.

The bill gives effect to recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66 of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce's first report. It amends the Criminal Code, the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act, the Evidence Act, the Penalties and Sentences Act and the Youth Justice Act which goes to show how many pieces of legislation we have to amend to bring this about. The critical amendments in this legislation will ensure the coercive control offence will be effective in reducing domestic and family violence, while also mitigating unintended consequences such as the misidentification of the primary aggressor and experience of First Nations women and girls.

I take the work of Grace Tame. If she has done anything, she has made it clear that language is important in this area, and how things are labelled and how they are written into legislation makes a great deal of difference. We have listened to Grace Tame and I commend her. I take the member for Southport's comment when he said her contribution to this debate was very good even though he had reservations possibly, which we all have, but it was great that he was able to say that that came across. I think, if anything, that has come across.

The bill amends the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act to include a pattern of behaviour in the definition of 'domestic violence'. How important is that? The fact that we can now look at the behaviour which goes on and see that it is not just one event but a series of things that is causing concern to women—and men, but largely women—in relation to this issue is a great step in the right direction.

Domestic violence includes behaviour that occurs over a period of time as well. It includes individual acts that, when considered together, are abusive, threatening, coercive or cause fear. How many stories from constituents have I heard that reflect those words which I have just read out? The aim of this piece of legislation is to shift the focus from responding to single incidents of violence to the dangerous patterns of abusive behaviour that occur over time. We only have to be reminded of the horrific violence against Hannah Clarke and her children to understand that where there is this pattern, something needs to be done; some intervention needs to happen to prevent such horrific acts from occurring.

Domestic and family violence is a scourge on our society, there is no doubt about it. I lament sometimes when I hear people's stories. I want to share one from one of my constituents—I will call her Pam—who is an elderly woman who continually experienced this kind of behaviour in the old-fashioned way and then in the modern way. Pam was sharing her stories with me. She would ring me regularly to tell me about her frustrations, what was happening, and then I think realising the pattern of behaviour that, in a way, she either overlooked or ignored for far too long. If anything, this highlights to women what is unacceptable; that if you are in this situation, address it. Try and do something: seek assistance, speak to a loved one, speak to a friend, or indeed even speak to your member of parliament the way Pam spoke to me. I want to say to Pam that I listened. In a way, speaking from the heart today is a reflection of Pam's story that she has shared with me which I will take to my grave. I hope that the government is moving to address this issue gives her comfort.

When it comes to respectful relationships, education is key. This is why in March 2021, after hearing what was happening in federal parliament, I instigated a comprehensive review to make sure we were delivering the best age-appropriate resources and materials to our schools. We consulted more than 180 stakeholders, including subject matter experts, parents, teachers, principals and, more importantly, students themselves. Students told me directly that they want to talk about consent in a direct way. They want to talk about what makes a respectful relationship. They do not want euphemisms and they do not want gimmicks. They want to be engaged in discussions that will help them to respond to real-life issues.

Last year we delivered an updated and upgraded suite of resources for delivery this year in our schools. This is being done in an age-appropriate way. We are sharing these resources with independent and Catholic schools because we know that education is the key to a respectful relationship. I tend to think that it is commonsense to know when one is being kind, obsessive or restrictive, and that people can identify when their actions may not reflect how they should be treating


another human being, but quite clearly there are too many instances where people are not identifying that this is the case, or there is something that is preventing them from stopping themselves doing what they are doing.

We have put \$15.5 million behind this to fund professional development for teachers. We have eight specialist advisers in the field now, one for each region, and one in head office. We are hoping that starting this in an age-appropriate manner and in a manner where we can deliver straight talking to students about what constitutes a respectful relationship will go a long way.

Obviously laws need to keep up. In relation to our handheld devices—our mobile phones—when I was growing up there were no such things. Unfortunately, they have almost become a weapon in their own right with some people constantly being harassed on them, stalked on them et cetera. Laws need to keep up. I congratulate the Attorney-General on bringing this forward and updating our laws to reflect the use of modern technology.

We are amending the offence of stalking to capture technology facilitated domestic violence. That is a step in the right direction. We are bringing domestic violence victims and other witnesses within the protected witness scheme. We are allowing for domestic violence history to be considered at sentence as bad character evidence, and so it should be. For far too long these people have been perpetrating against different victims or on more than one occasion and that history was not able to be brought in. This is correcting that.

A particular section in the Criminal Code will change from maintaining a sexual relationship—and this is where words and labels are very important—with a child to repeated sexual conduct with a child, and the term ‘carnal knowledge’ will be replaced by more modern terminology. I cannot express how much I support these amendments. Coercive control is insidious. I am lucky to stand here and say I have not been a victim of it, but not many can say that. Anything we can do to bring this out into the public light to address it, to make sure that it is taken into account and to stop this from harming women is a step in the right direction. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr JANETZKI** (Toowoomba South—LNP) (3.21 pm): I think everything that needs to be said in this debate has already been said, so I will keep my contribution brief. I do want to make a couple of remarks in particular on one area of this bill that has not received many comments. Firstly, I think it does the government a disservice when they fail to recognise the leadership that has been offered from time to time from this side of the House on these issues. I look back to the *Not now, not ever* report in 2015. I was not in the House then, but that particular inquiry and the reforms that came from that report have substantially informed so much of what this House has done over the last eight years. I think the people responsible for that—the Liberal National members who were present for that and led that—are under-recognised. I think it is a disservice that the government does not recognise that.

I also want to acknowledge and associate myself with the remarks of the shadow minister as well as the former leader of the opposition, the member for Nanango, and the members for Currumbin and Mudgeeraba in respect of the leadership that this side of the House has offered over the years. I still remember the horror that enveloped this chamber that afternoon as the news came through about Hannah. Some policies came out immediately after that. I reflect on the member for Nanango's contribution, and the member for Ninderry is here; he was the then shadow minister for police, I was the shadow attorney-general and the member for Burnett was our child safety and domestic violence minister. I also mention the member for Mudgeeraba.

There were a lot of policy initiatives that we immediately recognised would be useful in this space. I am talking about coercive control, GPS trackers, additional funding for Women's Legal Service and a summary offence for domestic violence. A lot of these issues that were raised by us at that time have taken years to come about. Contributions from those on our side of the House have raised the length of time it has taken for the government and this Attorney-General to catch up to where we were a number of years ago. I think the government has to recognise that. It also has to recognise the way that we have provided leadership—much of which was from opposition but some was from government with *Not now, not ever*—has encouraged and spurred the government to action, which has ultimately taken too long.

I learnt a lot as shadow attorney-general. I never practised in family law or in the domestic violence space in private practice. However during my time as shadow attorney-general I was shocked by the number of people who despaired at the system. Over that last term I probably talked to a dozen people, often mums and dads, who had daughters who were in very dangerous environments. You know you are really scraping the bottom of the barrel when they are coming to the then shadow attorney-general; every other option had been exhausted. They had been through shelters and spoken

with politicians. They had tried everything and they still felt their daughters and their grandchildren were unsafe. It is very difficult sometimes for politicians to provide solutions, particularly in opposition. However, there is no doubt that these provisions—coercive control and the things that will also flow out of *Hear her voice*—are very worthy legislative changes. That is why we will be supporting this bill today.


One area of this bill that has not been commented on much that I want to talk about is the new additions to chapter 33A of the Criminal Code. They relate to cyberstalking and the extension of the offence to threatening, humiliating or abusive behaviour. I want to speak about Tracey and Mick Clayton, who came to see me nearly 12 months ago. Their story has been made public. They lost their precious boy at the end of 2021. He was the victim of catfishing and eventually took his own life.

Meeting Tracey and Mick alerted me to a range of criminal cyber behaviours that I was not aware of. I want to pay tribute to Mick and Tracey and acknowledge their grief and the loss of their precious boy, Zaeden. I asked the Attorney-General to meet with them and I am thankful that the Attorney was amenable to that. She met with Mick and Tracey, and some of those changes to chapter 33A of the Criminal Code are a result of that meeting. I acknowledge the Attorney-General for her graciousness in that meeting and also in acknowledging their loss and their grief in her introductory speech on this bill.

These are important reforms. After meeting Mick and Tracey I went back to the report of the cyberbullying task force that Madonna King chaired and looked through the recommendations. Although that report was done in 2018 after the tragic loss of Dolly Everett, that report was closed out in 2020. I would encourage the government to go back and look at the recommendations, many of which were implemented and fulfilled. However, I do think there are other issues that can be taken up. I know that is also the view of Tracey and Mick.

Nothing will ever replace their precious Zae, but I hope they take some small measure of comfort that reforms like this and those amendments to chapter 33A of the Criminal Code will provide Zae with that legacy. I stand with them in their grief and loss. I thank the Attorney for meeting with them and making these important changes in this bill.

Finally, I associate myself with the remarks of many of our shadow ministers. The opposition will be supporting the bill. There is so much more still to do. We will be standing ready to advocate for women, for children and for families into the future.

 **Mr SMITH** (Bundaberg—ALP) (3.28 pm): I rise to contribute to the debate. In doing so I begin by thanking everyone who has had a role in this legislative process from the task force to submissions to work on the committee to get us to where we are today. I highlight and give my thanks to the Attorney-General for the work she has done in bringing forward such important legislation today. There are also people in my electorate of Bundaberg whom I would like to thank because domestic and family violence and coercive control is a community issue. It is a community issue because it is in all of our communities. It is in all of our neighbourhoods. It is on our streets. It is something that our communities need to own when we talk about ending coercive control and domestic and family violence.

In Bundaberg we have strong communities and strong community groups. We have a very brave collective group of women who make up some of those groups. I want to thank the Zonta women, in particular Le-anne Allen, Jo Leveritt—she also runs Bundaberg Street Law—Annette Baldry, Donna Habermann and Vince Habermann for the work that they do. I thank all of the staff at Edon Place and Phoenix House, Tanya O'Shea and her team at Impact Community Services, and all of those who come together, especially on our days of action and the Zonta 16 Days of Activism, to make sure we are working towards a better and stronger community—a community that embraces everyone and is not only putting an end to domestic violence but also making sure we are preventing violence and teaching people in our community.

The reason I tend to talk about Zonta is that I often find myself reflecting on an occasion when I was first elected and I was invited to the Zonta breakfast. It was clearly a room full of very strong and brave women. There was a scattering of men around as well. One of the ladies grabbed my arm and said, 'Tom, I want to make sure you are okay being in a room filled with so many women.' I laughed it off because I thought it was a comment that did not quite relate to me. Later on, I jumped in the car and thought to myself, 'How many women have been in a room full of men and felt intimidated?' I realised that I was being asked about a shared intimidation, because so many women have been in a place where they are the only woman in a room full of men. Maybe it is in a professional setting where there have long been only men. Police officer Anne Vogler reflected on that at one of these breakfasts.

I mention Zonta and these breakfasts, because it was also where I had the opportunity to meet Sue Clarke last year. Sue spoke about Hannah and about all of the flags that she now knows were acts of coercive control but at the time did not have the name attached to them. Joining Sue was Hannah's

friend Tish. Tish spoke to us all about how she was a former police officer but that, despite being a former police officer and despite undergoing the training of our Queensland Police Service, she did not realise that the conversations she was having with Hannah were actually red flags of coercive control. She gave examples of some of those red flags, and she reflected on how she wished that she knew what coercive control really was. I think that shows that our society is moving forward. We are progressing but, unfortunately, it has taken horrific incidents to bring this forward. I think we should all commit ourselves to making sure that we do not need further horrific incidents to recognise what we need to change in this House.

We take important steps today, but we need to make sure that we are taking large leaps so that others do not have criminal acts inflicted upon them in such horrific ways—horrific criminal acts like happened to Danielle Coleman. Danielle also spoke at the Zonta breakfast last year about coercive control and the acts her partner continually inflicted upon her. The controlling behaviours eventually led to a night when her partner was so drunk that when he ran the kitchen knife across her throat he did not realise that he had used the blunt side. When she fell to the floor he thought he had killed her, and in that time she was able to run out the front and escape such a hideous act. It is so important that we legislate for coercive control because we know what coercive control leads to. It will lead to a horrific crime that ends a life. That is why it is so important that we are all here today contributing to such an important legislative process.

I note that quite often we as a society punish criminal activity by diminishing liberties, but coercive control is where victims have their liberties diminished in their own households. That is why it is so important that we push forward. The *Hear her voice* report highlighted that coercive control is a pattern of deliberate and rational behaviour designed by one person to control another person within a personal relationship. The report noted what the task force determined as failures to identify coercive control within the judicial system, causing great detriment to victims. I know that the Palaszczuk government is working strongly with government agencies and non-government agencies to ensure we are better at identifying coercive control, reporting coercive control and giving strength and confidence to victims to report coercive control and to escape that violence.

This bill seeks to include a reference to a pattern of behaviour in the definition of domestic violence. This will provide clarity that domestic violence behaviour includes behaviour over time—cumulative individual acts that are threatening, abusive, coercive or cause fear. We know that this bill will modernise and strengthen the current offence of unlawful stalking. We have heard about electronic surveillance and the use of social media, spyware and tracking devices to facilitate abuse by perpetrators upon victims.

We know of intimidation and harassment that may not currently result in conviction. I have had women come into my electorate office and talk about partners with whom they have ended the relationship, yet their car still goes up and down the street and then the car of the mate drives up and down the street. Intimidation and harassment are quite often not just one perpetrator to one victim; there can be multiple perpetrators. Hopefully this bill goes a long way towards ensuring victims feel safe and are encouraged by the fact that their members of parliament are working hard for their future and their safety.

There is a lot in this bill that we could discuss. It is important to note the title of section 229B of the Criminal Code, 'Maintaining a sexual relationship with a child'. I congratulate the Attorney-General on making the change to 'Repeated sexual conduct with a child', because an adult does not have a sexual relationship with a child. It is absolutely disgusting that this could ever be in somebody's mind. My background is as a teacher. We take previous work experience into our current roles. Maintaining means 'to cause' or 'to enable'. Adults cannot maintain sexual relationships with children. It is important that this change to our Criminal Code occurs in order to reflect community standards and ensure we are capturing all of the scum out there who are engaging in such conduct with children.

Further I note—even though it is not in this particular bill it has been foreshadowed through recommendations by the task force—that in future the government will be seeking paths to ensure people of power such as teachers, psychologists or psychiatrists will not be able to engage in a relationship with a child aged 16 years and over. This is very important. I have been talking with the QTU and with teachers locally. Currently in Queensland, a teacher can engage in a relationship with a student aged 16 years and over; they will lose their job but it is not a criminal offence. I am very determined to see that teachers, psychologists, GPs and people who are trained with behaviour management strategies and cognitive behaviour strategies will eventually face a prison sentence if they engage in such a relationship. It is absolutely needed. This is an important piece of legislation.



**Mr KATTER** (Traeger—KAP) (3.38 pm): I want to zero in on some issues. Firstly, I would draw on the comments made by my colleague the member for Hinchinbrook. There is some really good stuff in the bill that addresses a really serious issue and I would never purport to be an expert or an authority on these issues. However, there has been some language expressed in the debate and I am well aware of those cultural tensions out there now which are challenging a lot of those conservative values in society. It is naive to ignore the fact that they exist and so I want to present the side of the argument from someone with conservative values. This is not to attack the bill, but some emotional language has been used in the debate.

My colleague the member for Hinchinbrook raised the fact, as I interpreted it, that we should not forget males in this equation. We want to apply a gender lens—an issue which I am still getting my head around—because we are often debating issues where there is gender fluidity, but then we zero in on a gender lens where males are the main perpetrators with ‘male toxicity’ and those sorts of words. It feels like it is an attack on males. We work off empirical data and, yes, there is a bias against females which only makes sense because usually males are the bigger, more intimidating person in the relationship. However, there are males who fall victim to this. I have had a very close personal encounter—someone I knew very well—of this issue with someone who never reported anything and, my word, it had an impact on their behaviour, their psychology, their life. They did not report anything. In fact, men are much less likely to report things under this legislation, yet we are saying that this is really bad. There is empirical data from the ABS which I will go back over. The comment was made that statistics from the ABS show that of the 105 people who lost their lives in domestic violence 61 were females and 44 were male.

Whether we want to sit here and debate that all night—they were figures from ABS data—as to whether we think that is right or wrong, why would members charge down the throat of the member for Hinchinbrook for just reporting empirical data? It just shows that in this debate we are trying to be shut down with emotional things. What we are trying to say is that there are men who hurt in this space as well. We talk a lot about setting up things for women—and that is great and we have nothing against that—but we should not forget the males along the way because there are a lot of them hurting as well. When I draw on my own experience from my electorate office, I have heard some horrible stories from females who have been abused in their relationships and, as I said, this is probably doing some good to try to address those situations. Interestingly, a few years ago—I am not sure if it was by way of coincidence or not—I had two First Australian senior ladies who said, ‘Rob, that’s fine that they’ve got these supports in town for the women, but what about the men? My son got caught in this thing and it’s ruined his life. Where’s the supports there for men?’

We sit here time and time again addressing these issues for females as they require it—and that is a good thing—but I want to hear more conversation and as much energy or emotion around the men who fall victim to these circumstances as well, and we would like to be able to debate it maturely. Instead, we presented some empirical data and people jumped down our throats. It is good for there to be rigour in debate, but we need to at least acknowledge when there is empirical data presented before us.

As I have said, we are supportive of what the government is trying to do here in addressing a very real and serious issue in coercive control, but do not forget the men along the way. We take great exception to people saying, ‘You can’t bring in this because that’s male toxicity. It’s got to be a gender lens.’ It might have to have a gender lens, but that does not mean that we forget the others either. With that, I reiterate again that we will be supporting the bill on that conditional basis.



**Hon. LM LINARD** (Nudgee—ALP) (Minister for Children and Youth Justice and Minister for Multicultural Affairs) (3.44 pm): I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill. I want to acknowledge and thank the members of the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee for their examination of the bill and its recommendations. The bill and the reforms contained within it represent a significant step in combating non-physical forms of domestic violence. It makes a number of amendments to further shift our approach to domestic and family violence to focus on the dangerous patterns of abusive behaviour over time. It also directly addresses several key recommendations of the Women’s Safety and Justice Taskforce’s first report, *Hear her voice*. The task force stated very clearly that system-wide reform was needed before any new coercive control offence came into effect.

Listening to victims, you discover just how much of an issue coercive control is. I want to acknowledge the work of Sharon Gingell and her team at Northside Connect in Nundah in my own electorate for the amazing work that they do through their domestic and family violence support service, which of course includes victims of coercive control. Northside Connect produced a podcast series

called the *Injustice of Intimacy*. It did a whole series—six episodes—on coercive control. I was honoured to be able to officially launch the services last year and to honour the contribution of those who were a part of that process in bringing these victims' voices out publicly. One victim of coercive control who contributed to the podcast said—

I know first-hand how confusing and deeply demoralizing this sort of abuse can be. I was nervous in case someone who happened to identify me as a contributor to a podcast might think I was fraudulent and 'out' me to my ex, because my situation had been really well hidden from most people around me, who would not have dreamed that he was ever anything but sweet, funny, and nice.

But having experienced how destructive coercive control is to a target's general health and wellbeing, and knowing how deadly it can ultimately become, put my anxieties into perspective and made participation—

in the podcast—

an easy decision.

Coercive control in intimate relationships has been very widespread, and successfully hiding in plain sight, for much too long. We urgently need to bring it to light and seriously address it community-wide.

This bill shines a bright light on a dark issue.

Turning now to my ministerial responsibilities, the bill amends the Youth Justice Act 1992 to address implications arising from these recommendations for children and child offenders. Specifically, the bill provides a mitigating factor for child offenders who are victims of domestic violence in addition to those who have been exposed to domestic violence. There is a clear and adverse link between exposure to domestic and family violence and future engagement with the youth justice system. Our youth justice workers often note that young people under supervision are both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence and coercive control or have been exposed to domestic and family violence.


According to the 2020 youth justice census, approximately 60 per cent of young people under youth justice supervision have experienced or been impacted by domestic and family violence. This equates to 948 young people, and over half of them are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander young people. Young people exposed to domestic and family violence are at greater risk of adverse life outcomes, including increased psychological and physical disorders; diminished educational attainment; and increased rates of homelessness, substance abuse and behavioural difficulties. There is also a substantial body of evidence indicating adverse childhood experience is linked to increased risk of engagement in offending.

The bill amends section 150 of the Youth Justice Act to provide that when sentencing a child offender who is also a victim of, or has been exposed to, domestic violence a court must treat the impact of the domestic violence and how it may have attributed to the offence as a mitigating factor. Importantly, the bill recognises that children may have been exposed to the harmful impacts of domestic violence without necessarily being the direct victim. The term 'exposed to domestic violence' includes overhearing threats of physical abuse; overhearing repeated derogatory taunts, including racial taunts; experiencing financial stress arising from economic abuse; and seeing or hearing an assault or comforting or providing assistance to a person who has been physically abused.

Whilst not excusing the actions of a child offender, this amendment recognises the intrinsic and harmful link between historical exposure to domestic violence and potential future offending. These provisions will require the court to consider these relevant factors when deciding an appropriate sentence. They do not fetter the discretion of the courts to consider all factors, including the seriousness of the offence and impact on a victim, when determining an appropriate sentence. The amendments to the Youth Justice Act will also enhance alignment with other Australian jurisdictions, as each criminal court in Australia has broad statutory power to consider all relevant circumstances at sentence for both adult and child offenders.

In closing I would like to finish as I started and that is by acknowledging the voices of victims, those with current or past lived experience, to acknowledge their courage and their bravery in telling their stories. I acknowledge the voices of victims who have come to my electorate office, those who have spoken to me about their lived experience and the incredible resilience that they show to continue to call for these important reforms. I acknowledge those voices closer to home, the voices of those in this House who have experiences and stories in their own families, including my own. The community is calling for this reform—it is time and many might say it is past time. It is our government that is continuing to listen and act. Finally, I thank the committee for its work and the secretariat for their work in allowing people's voices and contributions to such an important conversation to be heard. I commend the bill to the House.



 **Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (3.51 pm): I rise to address the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. At the outset I associate myself with the contributions of members of both sides of the House. In particular I acknowledge the contribution of the Attorney-General and government members but also shadow ministers and members on this side of the House because this is very important legislation.


There have been many horrific instances of domestic and family violence in Queensland over the last little while that have truly shocked Queensland and shocked myself in relation to the violence that has been perpetrated against women, and in some cases men, but particularly in relation to children and in family circumstances as well. The provisions within this legislation will address and hopefully protect women but also reduce the occurrences of domestic and family violence. It has to be acknowledged, as the member for Toowoomba South said, that there has been significant work that has been contributed not only by the Labor government but also by the former LNP government in relation to the commissioning of the *Not now, not ever* report which was led by Dame Quentin Bryce. Its many recommendations have been implemented by this government and continue to receive bipartisan support.

I will not repeat all of the points that have previously been made, but those specific cases, in particular the death of Hannah Clarke and her three children, the circumstances that Doreen Langham faced and also Tara Brown, were quite shocking. As an elected representative in this place I was not only shocked but outraged that these types of occurrences could occur in the community and that in the 21st century we have these circumstances facing women and children. Addressing pervasive behaviour, coercive control, is important. There is a pattern of behaviour over time that some people fail to recognise or do not particularly understand. Sometimes that might be neighbours, friends or other family members not seeing that form of behaviour and what it can potentially lead to. The provisions in this legislation are very important in relation to tackling those behaviours. As other members of the House have spoken about, I have sat with victims who have experienced very troubling circumstances and I have attempted to assist them through a variety of mechanisms. I know that they will be appreciative that this legislation not only is being introduced but also will receive bipartisan support.

We need cultural change across the community. It is the responsibility of each and every Queenslanders to ensure that they lead the way when it comes to tackling these issues. We have our education programs in schools. I know that there have been steps to further enhance those, in particular ensuring that relationships are respectful and that our young people receive the education that they need in relation to understanding how to conduct themselves individually but also when they are in relationships. It is important that in our homes both parents, relatives and family members continue that important educative work so that we bring up our next generation of young people to understand the importance of being respectful. That modelling needs to take place in homes. We need all of our community leaders, whether that is our teachers, our police officers, our health professionals or community leaders working together to tackle this issue. In my own electorate of Moggill some of my Rotary clubs, in particular the Kenmore Rotary Club, has undertaken some important community education work and facilitated forums in relation to raising the profile of this issue and working collaboratively with other service clubs and other community leaders to tackle it in our own area.

The other point that I wanted to make is in relation to social media and the responsibility that some of our social media companies have. We know that this cuts across many jurisdictions, but some of the material that I continue to see and that young people are exposed to on social media platforms is cause for real concern as to some of the information that has been promulgated out there. I think they have a greater responsibility to deal with that and ensure that our young people are not being exposed to inappropriate content and content that works against what we are all trying to achieve. We can implement legislation, but it is that cultural change that we need. When children, teenagers and young people have these devices in their hands and they are getting messages from other people that are highly inappropriate and work against educative programs, it is the responsibility of social media companies to ensure that young people are not getting messages which can lead to occurrences of domestic and family violence.

I take the opportunity to acknowledge all members of the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee. They have done some very important work in scrutinising this legislation. I also acknowledge all of the submitters to the committee as well because those who make contributions to that very important democratic process ensure that the legislation is fit for purpose. I conclude by commending the bill to the House.

 **Ms PUGH** (Mount Ommaney—ALP) (3.58 pm): The Palaszczuk government is committed to preventing domestic and family violence from occurring in our communities and that is why we are legislating against coercive control. At the outset I say how proud I am that Queensland will be one of

the first jurisdictions in the world to do so. I am so proud to be part of a parliament that is making this change. Coercive control is a term that many Queenslanders only really heard for the first time a few years ago when Hannah Clarke and her beautiful children sadly lost their lives. What I saw in my community at this time was an awareness that was starting to be created that some of the clusters of behaviour from perpetrators that previously did not have a name that we could put to them were, in fact, part of an insidious pattern of behaviour that had far-reaching impacts on the women and the children caught in these relationships. For some women and their friends, they realised for the first time that the behaviour of their partners or their former partners had a name and that it was not just impacting on their mental health and the way they felt about themselves, it actually was in many cases an indicator that their physical safety was at risk.

There are many aspects of this bill. I want to touch on the emergence of all kinds of technology and their impact and the ability that this has given to perpetrators and dangerous partners who can now use, in ways that they could not 10 or 20 years ago, people's phones, household cameras and other kinds of technology to track their partners.

I experienced this firsthand a few years ago through the friend of a friend who was being stalked by her former partner, which included all kinds of technological surveillance. They stayed at my house overnight so that they could debug their house. Out of an abundance of caution, we sought advice from a DV assistance group, which did a great job. They suggested all kinds of strategies such as turning off phones so that the perpetrator could not track them to the house. We even took a different car to my house so that he could not track her car if he had bugged it. That is how far we went.

The next morning, while my husband and his family were building in the backyard, her former partner—we had never met him before and he had never been to our house—came through our gate. As I said, we had never met that man before. The only way he could have found our house was by tracking his former partner's phone, which was switched off. Luckily, my husband and his parents were able to escort him off the property. He never saw his daughters and his former partner, who were just inside the house only a few metres from where he was standing. That was a pretty scary experience. It is so important to note that he was able to do that by using technology from the cameras that they had in their home, which he had installed, and their home computers. Finally he tracked their phones and he might have even tried tracking her car. It is worth reflecting on the fact that he could keep really close tabs on his partner at all times and she would never know when he was watching her because of all the surveillance that was installed. It is incumbent on all of us to be aware that technology, while so useful in some ways, can easily be abused like this by perpetrators.

No matter the specific types of abuse that victims experience, one behaviour that many victims identify with is the cycle of abuse. You experience incredibly loving and apologetic behaviour afterwards. It is a honeymoon period, if you will, with a promise to never do it again. I witnessed this close up and firsthand in my early 20s when I saw a friend, who was like a sister to me, experience a coercive control relationship that eventually turned violent. She has given me permission to share her story today, which I appreciate because it profoundly informed my views of domestic violence and the many different forms it can take.

From early in the relationship it was obvious to everyone that my friend's partner was mercurial. When we met him he was the definition of charming. He was lovely, interesting, interested in us and very affectionate. However, when we were out I often saw my friend on the phone reasoning with him and cajoling him. She was always being accused of some imaginary wrongdoing. Those cycles would conclude with a vicious verbal outburst from her partner. There would be a big blow-up followed by a period of calm and a lovely honeymoon phase. Watching this behaviour and the impact that it had on my friend, I knew deep in my heart of hearts that he was abusive. There was something wrong with his behaviour. It was abusive to try to make someone doubt their own behaviour and to make them second-guess whether it was even worth leaving the house that day because he would be so upset when he got home. To monitor your partner's every move is abusive.

However, I did not have the confidence to intervene. That was until a few years into the relationship when she called me very early in the morning, in tears, because after a very long barrage of verbal abuse the night before she had turned around and she hit him. He responded by immediately calling the police. She was frantic. She did not know what to do. The next day it was as if the altercation had never happened. I could now confidently say, 'You need to get out' because I could put a name on it: it was domestic violence. Later on I realised that that was what he had wanted all along and that it would have been only a matter of time until he hit her back. Back then what I did not realise was that, of course, that relationship had always been abusive.


I sat my friend down and told her what I thought. To my absolute amazement she packed her stuff and she never went back. I am eternally grateful that she did that. I am so grateful that we had a good outcome, but I know that many women do not. Looking back now, I know that her partner spent their entire relationship trying to isolate her, humiliate her and gaslight her but, like so many Queenslanders at that time, I did not have the knowledge or the vocabulary to call it for what it was.

This bill gives effect to the recommendations. Critical amendments in this legislation will ensure that the offence of coercive control can be effective in reducing domestic and family violence while also mitigating any unintended consequences such as the misidentification of the primary aggressor, which is a particular issue for First Nations women and girls. As I outlined earlier, my friend was incredibly lucky that when the police came that night they correctly identified that she was not the aggressor in the relationship. She was very lucky. That is what this legislation will seek to underpin and enshrine.

The bill amends the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012 to include 'pattern of behaviour' in the definition of 'domestic and family violence'. I have just spoken about the insidious pattern of behaviour that we saw from my friend's partner over a number of years, which culminated in a physical altercation that I have no doubt would have gone both ways had she stayed any longer. Domestic violence includes behaviour that occurs over a period. It includes individual acts that, when considered cumulatively, are abusive, threatening, coercive and cause fear. Under the new definition my friend's partner and many other women's relationships would be clearly captured because the aim is to shift the focus from responding to a single incident of violence to the dangerous patterns of abusive behaviour that occur over time.

I know that my friend's experience is incredibly common. We heard story after story after story from the amazing and brave women who came forward to inform the *Hear her voice* report. It is a landmark report. In addition to those brave people who put their voices forward for the parliament to hear and legislate on, I believe that everybody in this chamber and, indeed, everybody in Queensland knows somebody who this legislation will help or could have helped. We know that in part because of the *Hear her voice* report and because of the many women who shared their stories in that forum and with their local members. They have asked for help. As legislators, we have seen clear patterns emerge and we know that passing this legislation in this House is absolutely and fundamentally the right thing to do.

I finish by recognising everyone who has shared their story, whether in an official forum or in any other way. That can be really traumatic. It can be really tough. Your stories have helped inform this legislation and everything that is still to come before the Queensland parliament to stop the scourge of domestic violence. Thank you for speaking up even though it can be really tough to do so. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Ms LUI** (Cook—ALP) (4.07 pm): Today I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment 2022. I acknowledge the Attorney-General for all her efforts and hard work and the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee for their work in the examination of this bill.

Prior to walking into this House, I worked in Cairns for a community organisation that supported women and children experiencing domestic and family violence and homelessness. While trying to think about the words to put into this speech, I thought about one particular woman with whom I had worked who shared her story of how she had gone through coercive control in the early stages of her relationship and how she was totally blind that what was happening to her was the start of a domestic violence relationship. She said—

It starts with love bombing. You are made to feel like you are the most amazing person alive. You feel good about yourself and you get comfortable with the idea of being treated like a queen. Then everything changes. The body shaming and name calling starts. You get upset and you challenge it. You are labelled crazy. Everything you wear is ugly. You get told how ridiculous you look. You start to feel less about yourself. He uses that opportunity to tell you what to wear. He questions everything you do—where you go and what you do. You get accused of seeing other people. You stop doing things without him for argument sake. You start to feel trapped. You try to make sense of what is happening to you and around you. You want to talk to someone. He tells you that everyone is against him and the relationship, and tells you to stop sharing your business with anyone. You stop talking through your experience with the people you trust. You trust no-one. No-one will ever understand. You start to look inward for answers. Life suddenly becomes a very lonely place but you love him.

I have heard many stories from women escaping domestic and family violence. Mostly women would reach out because their experience puts them in a situation of homelessness and isolation. For some, reaching out to a support service is merely to talk about their situation and try to make sense of everything. Often they are not ready to take the big step to escape domestic and family violence and we find that they continue to go back to the person hurting them the most. This is why it is important for all of us—as individuals, in our families, in the community and in our workplaces—to keep this

conversation alive by creating awareness of domestic and family violence. The more we talk about it, the more the message gets out there and we save lives. We educate the ones who do not really have a good understanding of the challenges faced by people in that situation.


Last year I attended the annual AFL Cape York House high tea in Cairns. It is an event to create awareness and raise vital funds in terms of domestic and family violence in Far North Queensland. I give a shout-out to Rick Hanlon, general manager of AFL Cape York House and a huge advocate in relation to domestic and family violence. At this event I had the opportunity to hear from guest speaker Angela Barker. Angela is a domestic and family violence survivor. Angela experienced domestic violence at the hands of an abusive partner at the tender age of 16. She was choked and beaten so violently. That would soon change Angela's life forever. One thing she said that stuck in my mind was, 'He is married now and he has a family. I have been robbed of a life, of getting married and having a family of my own.'

That is the whole reason we need to keep talking about domestic and family violence, because that is what it does to a person: it robs them of a normal and healthy life. Some people, like Angela, get to live, but when you are stripped of having a family it becomes very real. There are many other women like Angela. Sadly, some do not escape the hands of their violent partner. I thank Angela for her courage and for her work to raise awareness of domestic and family violence. I also thank AFL Cape York House for their continued work to raise awareness of domestic and family violence. I am particularly supportive of the work they do. AFL Cape York House supports many young Indigenous men from communities in my electorate of Cook, in Cape York and Torres Strait. Holding this event every year and getting those young men to participate gets them to be part of the conversation that is happening in community. Where we can build one person to stand up against domestic and family violence and where we can start early to change their thoughts about positive relationships into the future, it is a head start for us as a society.

I also commend all of the other organisations in my electorate doing amazing work to support vulnerable women and children going through domestic and family violence: Weipa Community Care, Cooktown and District Community Care, Pormpur Paanth in Pormpuraaw and Muru Kosker on Thursday Island. These are organisations doing amazing work to support women but also to create awareness of this very important topic.

I also give a shout-out to the councils in my electorate. The member for Traeger also mentioned support for men in this situation. I give credit to the councils in my electorate for thinking outside of the box, because most have taken their own initiative to set up safe houses that deter men away from the homes of families. Hope Vale and Kowanyama Aboriginal shire councils have identified that women and children are making the ultimate sacrifice to escape domestic and family violence by leaving their homes and that we should be keeping our women and children safe at home and removing the perpetrators from this situation. I really want to commend the councils in my electorate for thinking outside of the box and for walking this path to support not only the women in this situation but also the men. We should continue to encourage positive and healthy relationships, because that is what we all need. We should also get them to be part of this journey as we move towards better outcomes for everyone.

The bill proposes to amend the Criminal Code to rename, modernise and strengthen the offence of unlawful stalking and provide that for a relevant proceeding or a summary proceeding under the Justice Act 1886 for an accused person charged with domestic violence offence the prosecution must give the accused person a copy of the person's domestic violence history. The bill also replaces sexual offence terminology. This is a very important bill. I support all of the amendments in the bill. Our women and children deserve stronger measures to help keep them safe. These measures will also strengthen the agencies and the organisations in all of our communities out there working really hard to make a difference. At the end of the day, it means that we save lives and keep women at home. I think that is the ultimate goal for us. I commend this bill to the House.

 **Ms BOYD** (Pine Rivers—ALP) (4.16 pm): This bill is a big step in laying the groundwork for our government's commitment to legislate for a new offence of coercive control. The Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce *Hear her voice* report made 89 recommendations. The standalone offence of coercive control is one, but this bill implements recommendations 52 to 60 and 63 to 66, with further reform to come in the near future. When it comes to violence against women, we know that it is significantly under-reported. We are beginning to gain a greater understanding of the culture of silence that surrounds it. We have come such a long way from the days when the rape of a woman was considered a property crime. Our laws have been made by and for men, and these laws still have men's interests at their centre. While there has been progress, it has been slow and we need to do more to ensure that


patriarchal rights are not at the centre of justice, that abused women are not further abused and traumatised through coming forward. We need to create a system where the pursuit of justice outweighs the embedded gendered interests. As legislators we have much work to do, and I look forward to further legislative reform in this space.

We know that if we make only coercive control a criminal offence it will not be enough. Our justice system and the services that sit around it also need reform. We also know that language matters. In listening to victim-survivors, this bill moves to amend the Criminal Code's outdated and inaccurate offence terminology. Some of these terms normalise child sexual abuse or insinuate children are willing participants in the abuse. These terms include 'carnal knowledge', which will be replaced with the term 'penile intercourse' whilst retaining the same definition of the offence. Also, the offence of 'maintaining a sexual relationship with a child' will be changed to 'repeated sexual conduct with a child', better representing the crime and removing the suggestion of consent or equal power. These changes better reflect the seriousness of these offences and take away language that we know is damaging—language that minimises or trivialises these offences.

This bill also better protects domestic violence victims by ensuring that they are protected witnesses and protects them from being cross-examined by the defendant—their perpetrator. If the defendant refuses legal representation then they will lose their right to cross-examine the victim. This protection is also extended to other witnesses of domestic violence. This is a protection that will be built into the system to protect victim-survivors from being traumatised while seeking justice.

Changes through this legislation to the Evidence Act allow for relevant evidence of the history to be considered and the admission of expert evidence during criminal proceedings. This will inform the nature and effects of domestic and family violence. These changes aim to address misconceptions, stereotypes and bias surrounding domestic violence.

These are but a few of the amendments that the legislation will make. These changes will make a real difference. We know that when we talk about breaking the silence we need to do that by and through the law. Long gone are the days when women are considered a man's property under the law. Our laws need to have considerations for women's rights and interests. They need to be able to identify and deal with the complexity of these relationship abuses and must not be used to silence and suppress. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Ms KING** (Pumicestone—ALP) (4.20 pm): I rise to speak in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. Before I begin my contribution, and at the request of her friends, I remember Janet Guthrie, a proud black woman living in Bongaree, who was taken from her children, her family, her friends and her community violently last week. Rest in power, Janet. In remembering Janet, I acknowledge the disproportionate dangers and greater complexity faced by Queensland's culturally diverse and First Nations women.

It is distressing and bewildering that so many people save their most cruel and repulsive behaviour for those they claim to love most or to have loved. Like so many people in this chamber, I have had these situations play out for people close to me. I will never forget the distress of wondering how and what we could do to keep somebody I love very much safe. Like that person, I was helpless to do anything except hope that things would get better and that somehow she could be protected. While that was a long time ago, the shadows cast are long and dark and the impacts continue today.

Since 2015 our Palaszczuk government has worked tirelessly to peel back layer upon layer of the challenges around domestic and family violence. It is not an easy space to work in. From implementing all 121 recommendations of the *Not now, not ever* report, to the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce's reports 1 and 2, to the Commission of Inquiry into Queensland Police Service responses to domestic and family violence, our government's work has been unrelenting. We created the standalone offence of non-lethal strangulation in 2016, and within a year at least 800 people had been charged. We have invested over \$1.3 billion since 2015 in prevention and support services. I think it is a bit rich for the LNP to criticise our government's work when the last time they got their hand on the reins they cut \$380 million from family and community services, including domestic and family violence services, in their very first budget.

Tragically, as much as our government attempts to do, there is always more needed. I often think of journalist Jess Hill's groundbreaking book *See What You Made Me Do* and her feedback from victims that exposure to anti domestic and family violence advertising campaigns made their violent partners more angry and more likely to hurt them rather than less. It is hard to understand, but as Ms Hill notes—

... statistics tell us something that's almost impossible to grapple with: it's not the monster lurking in the dark women should fear, but the men they fall in love with ...

One of the things we have learned so tragically in recent years is that for many that fear does not need to be regular physical violence to be very real. Many victims of coercive control are never physically assaulted until the moment they are attacked with intent to kill, but the threat of harm to themselves and their children, their loved ones or their pets is woven through every moment of their lives. They may not recognise themselves as victims of domestic and family violence, even as they live in fear that one day their partner will kill them. This bill is essential because it grapples deeply with even more layers of that complexity, recognising that coercive control is intrinsic to most domestic and family violence.

The task force noted in particular that one of the most concerning aspects of contemporary domestic and family violence trends is the ability for perpetrators to weaponise court proceedings and orders as an ongoing form of abuse. Clause 30 of the bill specifies that except in exceptional circumstances only the person most in need of protection should be granted a DV order, and that the assessment of which party is in most need of protection should be made in the context of the relationship as a whole. This recognises the reality of systems abuse where a perpetrator uses the legal process to continue to control, harass, harm and intimidate a victim. This change is especially important for First Nations women who commonly face being incorrectly identified as perpetrators.


Clause 34 provides magistrates with guidance in how to determine which party to a relationship is most in need of protection in the context of cross applications, based on the recommendation of the Queensland Domestic and Family Violence Death Review and Advisory Board. Judicial officers face significant uncertainty in the emerging understanding and increasing litigation of domestic and family violence, so these changes are welcome. Clause 49 allows the court to make a costs order against a person they determine has engaged in systems abuse or legal abuse. That will be a powerful deterrence measure against a perpetrator who uses these methods.

The bill gives courts discretion to provide directions to a jury that address misconceptions and stereotypes about domestic and family violence to overcome biases we know put victims at an inherent disadvantage in the system. Consistent with the task force recommendations, the bill also facilitates admission of expert evidence about domestic and family violence. Making this expert evidence about the patterned, cumulative and coercive nature of domestic and family violence admissible is important, given the outdated views about this kind of violence are persistent such as that if domestic and family violence was genuine and serious a victim could or should have just left. As Ms Hill states in *See What You Made Me Do*, the question should not be 'Why didn't she leave?', but 'Why did he continue to abuse her even after he promised to stop?'

It is a shame that the member for Hinchinbrook feels offended at the idea that domestic and family violence and coercive control need to be viewed through a gender lens. Personally, what offends me are the statistics that show women and children suffer the most and are at the greatest risk. I am offended that a woman every week is dying at the hands of someone who once claimed to love her. I am offended when a woman leaves her partner, moves away to hide and he relentlessly tracks her down and kills her. I am offended by the deaths of Hannah Clarke and her three children.

I ask members of this House to be very careful when they go down the 'not all men' path. Nobody is forgetting men who experience domestic and family violence, but statistics show this is a profoundly gendered crime. He who sups with the devil should have a long spoon. Like many members of this Assembly, and especially female members, every time I speak on social media or in this House about strengthening domestic and family violence laws or increasing funding or adding programs, I am bombarded by abuse, always from men. When these men do that, they are outing themselves as men who choose to abuse, threaten, disparage and harass women. They bring their personal behaviour towards the women in their lives into stark question. If they feel entitled to abuse, harass, threaten or degrade a female MP, what do they feel entitled to do in the privacy of their own home to the women in their life when they say or do things they do not like?


In conclusion, the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022 takes even more important steps towards protecting Queenslanders from domestic and family violence and holding perpetrators accountable. I thank the Attorney-General for her profound commitment to this work. I thank the Premier for her continued bravery in bringing these measures forward. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr POWER** (Logan—ALP) (4.29 pm): As the member for Logan I am invited to so many gatherings that are joyous and connect the community, but one of the saddest events I attended was at a townhouse complex in Browns Plains which as their member I had previously doorknocked. But this time it was different: one of the townhouses was missing. I notice the member for Waterford has arrived; the member for Waterford was there with me. Even though we were in a crowd, I had the

overwhelming sense of being alone because I could still smell the burning ashes of the house that had been burned down with Doreen Langham inside. It has touched all members of the Logan community profoundly, and we in this place will look every day for opportunities to make change. I want to acknowledge Defenders for Hope, which is an organisation that sprung from those ashes to try and fight for women who face domestic violence and keep them safe. I commend and support their work.

A member in this place attempted to step away from the idea that this is overwhelmingly an issue of men who hurt their female partners, so I want to look at the actual statistics. In our country, between July 2010 and June 2018 there were 240 men who killed their female partners and, significantly, 65 women who killed their male partners. When we look further at those statistics we see that 95 per cent of those who were convicted of the murder of their partner were male, so that is a ratio of 95 per cent to five per cent. Even if we include both murder and manslaughter, 82 per cent of those convicted were male. When I look at those statistics they are stark and they are something that, as a married man, I am deeply concerned about. What is it in my Australian male culture that I need to tackle to make a change? Because no brave, upstanding Australian man could ever accept those statistics. They are stark. The other statistics quoted included very sad cases of fathers killing sons, sons killing fathers and past partners killing present partners. The stats are absolutely clear: 95 per cent of those convicted of the murder of their intimate partner were men who killed their female partner and only five per cent were women who killed male partners.

I am brave enough to stand up to that stark and terrible fact and realise that we need to address it. Some say it is a gender lens. Let's say it is a responsibility lens. Men need to look at these statistics and say, 'We need to change the way we view our partners and the way we view our relationships.' Looking at the changes needed going forward, this bill is an important step towards making that change. Men need to be encouraged to confront the stark facts on this issue.

 **Ms RICHARDS** (Redlands—ALP) (4.32 pm): I rise in support of the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill. I thank so many of the members in this place who have contributed so meaningfully to this debate. I had the opportunity earlier to tune into some of the member for Traeger's contribution. I would ask him to read the member for Logan's contribution relating to the statistics around the number of women who are dying at the hands of men. Statistics do not lie; those are the facts. To hear that this is an emotional debate, well, it darn well is an emotional debate. If we do not talk about it and work on it, we are never going to get to the point where we solve domestic and family violence in our communities.

From the outset I thank all of those submitters and witnesses who have shared their deeply painful and personal stories and experiences. I want to thank all of those organisations and individuals who work each and every day in the prevention of domestic and family violence because it is only through working together as a community that we will solve this problem and change the ending for so many women, children and families.

While I am on my feet, I want to take this opportunity to thank those organisations in the Redlands. Stacey from the Centre for Women & Co is an absolute powerhouse. She has been transforming the landscape in the Redlands when it comes to advocacy and awareness and preventing domestic and family violence. Stacey and the team work to support people who are in crisis situations, and I know they do a fantastic amount of work across my island community. If you think about domestic and family violence in an island context, the only way you can get off that island is on a ferry that has a very rigid timetable.

When you talk about coercive control and tracking movements, for so many women on our islands they have done an amazing job. I also thank Lil Flanagan, who is about to step into the next chapter of her work in the domestic and family violence space. She has done a fantastic job as the manager of the Redlands office for the Centre for Women & Co. The work that she has done personally is amazing. I know that she will continue to do amazing things and I wish her well in the next chapter.


The Centre Against Sexual Violence in Redlands also does an amazing job. Betty Taylor from the Red Rose Foundation is incredible. There are so many organisations that are working hard right the way across Redlands to see an end to domestic and family violence. As every member in this place will know, next week sees the commencement of International Women's Week, so I cannot think of a more perfect time to bring this legislation into the parliament for debate.

I know there are a lot of events planned right across the Redlands next week in terms of talking about the importance of women in our communities and the important role that men play in our communities—the important role they must play if we are to see that change. I am looking forward to emceeing the inaugural Redlands Domestic Violence Awareness ambassador program. I am really proud of the member for Capalaba, Don Brown, who will also be stepping into that role as an

ambassador. The event will not only raise awareness but also vital funds for services in the Redlands, so I thank Rabieh Krayem for all of his work in bringing this event together. He has the most incredible sister who is coming up from Sydney. She plays a very big role in multicultural communities across New South Wales in the domestic and family violence space. That should be a really terrific event, and I am looking forward to seeing lots of men in the room.

I also thank the Attorney-General and Premier for all of the work they have done. They have been tireless in their pursuit of advancing women in our communities and looking at the issues that impact us the most. They have been unwavering in their pursuit of an end to domestic and family violence. That has been played out large in this chamber over the last eight years, particularly in the last two years. We have built on the *Not now, not ever* report. The Hon. Margaret McMurdo has done a fantastic job with the task force and its recommendations which we in this place will be working to deliver. The work of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce has been outstanding. Their comprehensive consultation with victims is at the heart of that research work, so thank you to everyone who participated in that. We held a commission of inquiry into police responses into domestic and family violence, and I think the member for Cooper put it extraordinarily well when she said that that is a very difficult piece of work to undertake. There is lots of very hard work and difficult conversations, but our government is doing that. We are working in that space to make sure that everybody is coming on this journey with us.

As I said, this is the first step to make sure we bring coercive control to the forefront. It is the foundation piece. It is an important piece of work and we must make sure we get it right for our communities. I am proud of what the Palaszczuk government is doing in this space, as is everybody on this side of the House. We will make sure that women in our communities are safer and that we have stronger communities. I commend this bill to the House.

 **Hon. MC de BRENNI** (Springwood—ALP) (Minister for Energy, Renewables and Hydrogen and Minister for Public Works and Procurement) (4.39 pm): I feel that it is very important that I and other men in this House make important contributions to this debate. I want to speak on this bill and be a part of this government that is taking further decisive action to keep our communities safe and put a stop to domestic and family violence. I want to commend in particular the Attorney-General and members of the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee for their work on these important reforms. I would also like to recognise the Hon. Margaret McMurdo and members of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce for their report *Hear her voice*. The recommendations it proposed are instrumental to the development of these reforms.

As other members have done, I want to extend my sincerest appreciation and gratitude to the countless victim-survivors who shared their experiences with the task force and our government. I also want to express my sympathy for the pain and trauma they have experienced. I say to them that their courage and insight are what makes legislative reform and cultural reform like this possible. However, it is crucial that the burden of ending domestic and family violence is not borne by those victims and their families alone. We all have a role to play, especially some of us because the truth as others have said—and they have been quite clear and frank about this—is that more often than not the kind of violence addressed by these reforms is perpetrated by men so it is appropriate that men shoulder their share of the load.

I concede that that is difficult. It is difficult to call out mates, colleagues or family members; it is uncomfortable to interrogate a loved one's behaviour, maybe even our own. However, difficulty does not negate the fact that it is entirely necessary to do exactly that. We must continue to engage in a lot of listening and a lot of learning. We must continue to endeavour to deconstruct some of the outdated ideas that are passed down to us. The same is true for the government and the community at large. Our laws should reflect contemporaneous, evidence-based understandings of domestic violence. This bill is another important step towards just that.

The evidence that is before us demonstrates that coercive control is at the core of domestic and family violence. As the Attorney-General said, it can be perpetrated without any physical contact at all. Critically, what we are doing today in amending the definition of 'domestic violence' in the Domestic and Family Violence Protection Act 2012 addresses that by including 'pattern of behaviour'. We have heard—and I agree—that all of the evidence suggests that domestic violence can include behaviour that occurs over a period of time, often made up of individual acts that when considered cumulatively are abusive, threatening, coercive or cause fear. Our aim is to shift the focus from responding to single incidents of violence to the dangerous patterns of abusive behaviour. In doing so, we will reduce that harm and stamp out more violence. Our reforms before the House today will continue on the work that the Palaszczuk government has done to protect and empower victim-survivors.



Domestic violence does not discriminate. It affects us all, albeit in different ways. The community that I represent has known difficult times and has experienced its own share of heartbreak and tragedies. I want to recognise though that there are many in our community who work every day to support victims and those affected. I particularly want to recognise and acknowledge the work of the Centre for Women & Co. They are a vital hub providing a truly incredible range of support services delivered by an incredible group of Queenslanders. They provide support for women across Logan and the Redlands. They never stop looking for ways to empower women to feel safer and to build a better future for themselves, their children and our community. As their local member of parliament, along with the other representatives of the communities of Logan and Redlands, we all see and recognise the incredibly positive impact they have every day on families in our communities. We are incredibly proud to support the Centre for Women & Co, and I thank them for the services they deliver and their advocacy which means that reforms like this come before this House. I am proud to support these reforms. I am proud to support the mission to protect and empower victims of domestic violence. I commend this bill to the House.



**Hon. SM FENTIMAN** (Waterford—ALP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Minister for Women and Minister for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence) (4.44 pm), in reply: I thank all honourable members for their contributions to the debate on the Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I want to particularly acknowledge the members who spoke of their own experiences of domestic and family violence within their families and communities. This bill would not have been possible without the resilience and courage of victim-survivors who have shared their stories with the task force and the committee. The Palaszczuk government has heard these victim-survivors and is privileged to progress this bill through the parliament as the first step towards criminalising coercive control. I will now address some of the matters raised by members during the course of the debate.

At the outset, I want to be clear that the task force told us how important it was to take our time to get this right. Micah Projects CEO, Karyn Walsh, has said—

These laws are an important step towards keeping women safe.

The package of reform from the women's safety and justice taskforce is an opportunity to shift our systems to better support victim-survivors and hold perpetrators to account.

However, it is imperative that the government take its time with the development and implementation of legislation to ensure that our systems are ready and avoid unintended consequences.

We must listen to the people who work each and every day to keep women and children safe to ensure that we get this right. Again, it is disappointing that so many of the members opposite continue to ignore the advice of experts and call for legislation to be expedited.

I would also like to note that, consistent with recommendation 84 of the first task force report, the operation of legislation will be reviewed as soon as practicable five years after the last legislative amendment has commenced. This will ensure the review can adequately evaluate the operation and impact of the amendments.

I am proud to stand in this chamber and defend the government's record in addressing all forms of violence against women. Since 2015 our government has invested over \$1.3 billion to tackle all forms of violence against women. We restored and then massively increased funding for domestic violence services that were cut under the previous government. We built the first new shelters in 20 years. Funding for sexual assault services has increased by 95 per cent. Funding for men's behavioural change programs has increased by 178 per cent. On top of this increase, additional funding of almost \$3 million has been provided to existing perpetrator intervention services to help meet demand. This was a recommendation from the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce and the Clarke inquest that the government has delivered on.

We were the first state to introduce a standalone nonlethal strangulation offence and the first state to introduce paid domestic and family violence leave, which has now finally been rolled out nationally. We also reinstated a Queensland Women's Strategy to address gender inequality. We reinstated programs like Skilling Queenslanders for Work, which was cut by those opposite, which supports vulnerable women, including victims of violence, into employment and training.

During the contributions of several of those opposite, we heard the statement that apparently we do not evaluate our programs. I want to remind everyone in the House of the following: High Risk Teams have been evaluated and are now being expanded; specialist courts have been evaluated and are now being expanded; the family pathways model, which works with young boys who are using violence against their mums, was evaluated and is now being expanded; Respectful Relationships in our schools

was evaluated and those materials have now been updated; and embedded specialist DFV workers in police stations were evaluated and are now being expanded. All of these evaluations have been either released publicly or examined by the task force, the commission of inquiry or a coronial inquest.

I also want to note that the member for Mudgeeraba mentioned that there was no funding for Community Legal Centres. I want to remind the member for Mudgeeraba that we were the first government to provide funding to My Community Legal in her electorate to support their work with domestic violence victims. Several members referenced the Queensland Audit Office's report. As I have said, since that Audit Office report started many years ago we have now completed the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce and we are now implementing it. We are a government that is committed to ending violence against women and holding perpetrators to account.

I also note in her contribution, the member for Nanango called for police to be able to issue on-the-spot DVOs. They can. It is called a police protection notice. I would like to remind the member that we passed legislation to increase the penalty for breaching a police protection notice.

I also note the concerns of some members and stakeholders about the misidentification of victims. The intent of these amendments is to reduce the misidentification of victims as perpetrators. The task force heard about the over-representation of First Nations people in the domestic and family violence and criminal justice systems in Queensland and the high rates of misidentified First Nations women as perpetrators of domestic and family violence. The bill aims to reduce the misidentification of victims as respondents in civil proceedings by requiring the court to consider the person most in need of protection in a relationship and only making one order to protect that person unless there is clear evidence that each of the parties in the relationship are in need of protection from each other.

The bill also provides legislative guidance to magistrates in determining who is most in need of protection, which includes considering whether the person has characteristics that may make them particularly vulnerable; for example, women, children and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This was informed through consultation with domestic and family violence stakeholders and recommendations of the Domestic and Family Violence Death Review and Advisory Board. In line with recommendation 23 of the task force, the Department of Justice and Attorney-General is developing a framework to support training, education and change management across all parts of the system. This framework will be informed by the voices of people with lived experience, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, with a focus on culturally capable approaches.

The member for Whitsunday suggested that the amendments to the Criminal Code sexual offence terminology are piecemeal and rushed. The Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce made a number of recommendations directed at ensuring that terminology and concepts used in relation to sexual offences are in keeping with community standards. However, the task force cautioned that changing the name of the offence is not a matter of simply replacing one name with another.

The member for Currumbin claims that, as a former prosecutor, she understands the need to not jeopardise convictions, so let me reiterate: jurisprudence is built around the interpretation of language used in, and the elements of, an offence. The renaming of these offences has been carefully developed and considered by legal experts to ensure that they minimise the risk of unintended consequences.

In 1989, Queensland was the first jurisdiction to introduce the offence of maintaining a sexual relationship with a child and, since then, the offence has been considered not only by the Queensland Court of Appeal but also by the High Court of Australia.

I note that the members for Condamine and Buderim referred to concerns that the title change to the maintaining offence does not reflect the language of other jurisdictions that is persistent child sexual abuse. I would remind them that the 2017 Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse found that the Queensland offence provided the best opportunity to charge repeated or ongoing child sexual abuse in a manner that is more consistent with the sort of evidence a complainant is more likely to give. While the terminology used in an offence can influence how it is understood by the community, it is vital that well-intentioned changes to language do not have detrimental impacts in securing convictions. It is imperative that the offence continues to operate in a way that does not jeopardise justice for victim survivors, especially when complainants in many of these matters are children.

I acknowledge the contributions of the members for Hinchinbrook and Traeger and their advocacy for male victims of domestic and family violence. These laws are not gender-specific and I acknowledge that there are male victims of violence who do face unique barriers to access support and justice. However, as the task force noted, and many members have noted, the overwhelming majority of victims are women.

I also want to thank the member for Noosa for her work on the Legal Affairs and Safety Committee. I agree with the member that it is crucial we monitor and evaluate the implementation of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce recommendations. Work is well underway to develop a whole-of-government domestic, family and sexual violence monitoring and evaluation framework to measure and monitor outcomes achieved across the system. This responds to recommendation 85 of the first task force report and recommendation 184 of the second.

In response to recommendation 88 of the first report, we have appointed Linda Apelt as the interim independent supervisor to oversee implementation. I want to thank Linda for her work, including on delivering her first report which was tabled late last year. The member for Whitsunday asked me when government would be announcing a permanent implementation supervisor. I can inform the member I look forward to making that announcement very soon.

In conclusion, I once again thank all members for their contributions during the debate. I commend the bill to the House.

Question put—That the bill be now read a second time.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time.

### Consideration in Detail

Clauses 1 to 81, as read, agreed to.

Insertion of new clause—



**Hon. SM FENTIMAN** (4.55 pm): I seek leave to move an amendment outside the long title of the bill.

Leave granted.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I move the following amendment—

1

**After clause 81**

Page 68, after line 7—

*insert—*

**Part 7A           Amendment of Public Guardian Act 2014**

**81A   Act amended**

This part amends the *Public Guardian Act 2014*.

**81B   Amendment of ch 5, pt 4, hdg (Appointment of community visitors and child advocacy officers and related provisions)**

Chapter 5, part 4, heading—

*omit, insert—*

**Part 4           Community visitors and child advocacy officers**

**81C   Amendment of s 109 (Appointment)**

Section 109(2)—

*omit, insert—*

(2)   The basis of employment of a community visitor under an appointment may be—

(a)   permanent; or

(b)   temporary for a fixed term; or

(c)   casual.

(3)   Employment under subsection (2)(a) or (b) may be made on a full-time or part-time basis.

**81D   Amendment of s 113 (Duration of appointment as community visitor)**

(1)   Section 113, heading 'Duration of appointment as'—

*omit, insert—*

**Resignation, suspension and termination of**

(2)   Section 113(1)—

*omit.*

(3)   Section 113(4)(a), 'subsection (3)'—

*omit, insert—*

subsection (2)

- (4) Section 113(5), 'subsection (4)'—

*omit, insert—*

subsection (3)

- (5) Section 113(2) to (7)—

*renumber* as section 113(1) to (6).

I table the explanatory notes to my amendments and a statement of compatibility with human rights.

*Tabled paper:* Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022, explanatory notes to Hon. Shannon Fentiman's amendments [183].


*Tabled paper:* Domestic and Family Violence Protection (Combating Coercive Control) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022, statement of compatibility with human rights contained in Hon. Shannon Fentiman's amendments [184].

Amendment agreed to.

Clauses 82 to 97, as read, agreed to.

Schedule, as read, agreed to.

### Third Reading

 **Hon. SM FENTIMAN** (Waterford—ALP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Minister for Women and Minister for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence) (4.56 pm): I move—


That the bill, as amended, be now read a third time.

Question put—That the bill, as amended, be now read a third time.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a third time.

### Long Title

 **Hon. SM FENTIMAN** (Waterford—ALP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Minister for Women and Minister for the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence) (4.57pm): I move the following amendment—

#### 2 Long title

Long title, before 'the *Telecommunications*'—

*insert—*

**the *Public Guardian Act 2014*,**

Amendment agreed to.

Question put—That the long title of the bill, as amended, be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

## MOTION

### Queensland Health

 **Ms BATES** (Mudgeeraba—LNP) (4.57 pm): I move—

That this House:

1. notes the continuing crisis within Queensland Health as evidenced by:
  - (a) the failure of the government to resolve the emergency in Queensland's regional and rural maternity services;
  - (b) the \$110 million cost blowout in Labor's satellite hospital program and the failure to deliver these facilities on time;
  - (c) Labor's failure to permanently discard its GP tax proposal which will cost Queenslanders more to visit their local doctor;
  - (d) Labor's failure to negotiate a 50:50 health funding arrangement with the federal government;
2. and calls on the Labor government to—
  - (a) provide a clear timeline on when the Gladstone, Chinchilla and Biloela maternity units will reopen at full capacity and rule out the closure or bypass of any other services and ensure the Maternal Fetal Medicine unit at Townsville Hospital is staffed and resourced so mothers and babies are not at risk;
  - (b) advise Queenslanders what services will be available at each of the seven satellite hospitals and when they will be open and operating;

- (c) rule out imposing any additional taxes or costs on patients visiting their local doctor; and
- (d) reduce ambulance ramping times and surgery waiting lists and the wait to see a specialist.

2023—it is a new year, but the same health crisis in Queensland. It is that simple, and it will not change for as long as those opposite occupy those benches. In particular, it will not change for as long as the member for Redcliffe occupies the chair as the Minister for Health—the worst health minister Queensland has seen since—well, the Deputy Premier. Let me tell you, that is no mean feat given his shambolic time in the seat, and that says a lot about just how utterly hopeless those opposite have been in managing the health portfolio in the past eight years.

Seeing as though it has been some time, I thought I would remind honourable members about how horrifically poor the last year was when it came to matters of the health portfolio. Those opposite presided over the greatest failure in patient safety since the Jayant Patel saga at the Mackay Base Hospital. It uncovered dozens and dozens of women who were permanently, physically and psychologically harmed, some to the point where they will never have children again, a tragedy in the truest sense of the word.

Clinicians were sacked, the board was sacked and the chief executive left but the health minister remained. When we warned the government about failures in the Mackay Base Hospital in 2021 we were told that we were scaremongering by—of all people—the Premier. That is right, the Premier. She is so checked out, so tin-eared and now so arrogant that she has dismissed these patients and whistleblower concerns as scaremongering. How wrong was the Premier?

Then there was the horrid mess in the Forensic and Scientific Services laboratory. In the face of insurmountable evidence and a growing chorus of whistleblowers, the minister said the LNP was playing pure politics. What an absolute clanger that one was! It turns out that rapists and murderers could be walking free because of the lab's failures. Those failures were on top of record ambulance ramping, surging waiting lists for surgery and specialist appointments, and EDs bursting at the seams. It is hard to imagine it could get any worse, but it has. There are consequences for that and Queenslanders are living it.

Since this House last sat the lack of maternity services in rural and regional Queensland has hit crisis point. Under those opposite, maternity services have closed their doors in Chinchilla, Cooktown, Biloela and Gladstone. It has been nearly 230 days since Gladstone was put on bypass—a maternity ward which services nearly 60,000 people has been closed for nearly 230 days. It is scarcely believable and yet it has happened. There has been a domino effect in Central Queensland. The pressure on Rockhampton as a result of the Gladstone closure has reportedly led to more obstetricians in Rocky deciding to move on. Now rumours abound that the Innisfail Hospital could be the next regional maternity service to shut up shop.

Is it any wonder our state's obstetricians are fed up when the minister bizarrely talked down the role they played last year? Today we have seen coverage of yet another leaked report, this time from the Townsville Hospital where whistleblowers have lifted the lid on mothers with high-risk pregnancies being at risk due to chronic understaffing. The report says it in black and white: the hospital's maternal foetal medicine workforce, comprised of only two specialists, is so overwhelmed that it has led to 'documented delays in the care of high-risk pregnant women with risk of adverse pregnancy outcomes and potential medico-legal consequences'. That is what the clinical reviewer said. It is dire. Year after year, crisis after crisis it continues.

Do honourable members remember the flagship health announcement at the last election from those opposite, the Satellite Hospitals Program? Extracted through a question on notice we have uncovered that that program is now running woefully late and horrifically over budget. It was promised that they would all be opened by May 2023. Some will not open until 2024—when exactly we do not know. They are \$110 million over budget and likely to be more. Leaked audio revealed what a Queensland Health staff member thought about the program—a ruse. 'Not hospitals', the audio said. Never a truer word was spoken.

The member for Pumicestone and the Minister for Health did not even hold a press conference with a gold shovel. No-one in their Facebook echo chamber believes they are hospitals either. The AMAQ has said these facilities are hospitals by name only and not nature. There are no beds, no emergency departments and no theatres. They are not hospitals. Those opposite have been so badly embarrassed they only invited themselves to their own unveilings. It is a joke. When will it end? It will end when the government changes.



**Hon. YM D'ATH** (Redcliffe—ALP) (Minister for Health and Ambulance Services) (5.03 pm): I move the following amendment—

That all words after 'continuing' be omitted and the following inserted:

'pressures on health systems across Australia, and

- (a) notes the growth in hospital demand over the last eight years and supports the Palaszczuk government's \$9.7 billion—

**Mrs Frecklington** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Pause the clock. I am going to hear this motion in silence. Anybody else who wants to interject will be warned.

**Mrs D'ATH:** I continue—

Queensland Health and Hospitals Plan to deliver an additional 2,509 beds;

- (b) notes the need to deliver care closer to home, and supports the Satellite Hospitals Program;
- (c) notes the pressures on primary care arising from the former coalition government's extended Medicare rebate freeze;
- (d) supports efforts to expand access to primary care, such as the North Queensland Community Pharmacy Scope of Practice Pilot;
- (e) supports the Palaszczuk government's commitment to deliver an additional 9,475 frontline workers this term of government;
- (f) notes the challenges caused by workforce shortages, including specialists, that have impacted services such as maternity services—

**Mr Crisafulli** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Leader of the Opposition, you are warned.

**Mrs D'ATH:** I continue—

and the ongoing efforts of the Palaszczuk government to address these issues;

- (g) notes the most recent Queensland Health and Commonwealth performance data showing improved health performance and Queensland's favourable national performance;
- (h) supports all state and territory governments in their ongoing, bipartisan work with the Commonwealth government to reform hospital funding that will ensure all Australians have access to sustainable, free public health care; and
- (i) commends the Palaszczuk government on the record \$23.6 billion investment in Queensland's health system in the 2022-23 budget.'


In speaking to this motion and in responding to the shadow health minister's contribution, I say that what we have here in Queensland is an opposition that has absolutely no idea; an opposition that wants to override clinical advice and ignores information already in the public domain for Gladstone, Chinchilla and Biloela hospitals; an opposition that calls for bypass to be permanently ruled out, a proposal that is clinically the worst option when staff shortages exist, places patients at extreme risk and is not supported by the Department of Health; an opposition that now wants to talk about federal funding reform a year after all state and territory health ministers started raising this with the former minister Greg Hunt; an opposition that does not want to recognise that the only meaningful progress on health funding reform has occurred with the election of the Labor Albanese government; an opposition that has never publicly come out and supported the North Queensland community pharmacy scope of practice pilot, putting them out of sync with their colleagues in New South Wales; an opposition that has not committed to a single additional bed or single additional healthcare worker, unlike the \$9.7 billion Queensland Health and Hospitals Plan—a real plan, not talking points on a napkin; and an opposition that has no idea when it comes to the performance of the Queensland health system.

I have seen the social media posts from the shadow health spokesperson. My question is this: when is she going to just say thank you for the great work that our health workers are doing every day? It is like the Leader of the Opposition saying, 'I'm not going to oppose for opposition's sake. I'm not going to be negative when there's some good message out there.' When there is a good performance report what do they do? They put out rubbish saying we are failing Queenslanders and they are being left behind. What they are doing is criticising the health services and the performance of our health workers. That is what they are doing. They are ignoring the fact that Queensland has the second best emergency department seen in time performance in the country—I repeat: second best in the country. We are the best performing when it came to seeing elective surgery patients within the clinically recommended time frames—I repeat: best in the country.

Queensland is outperforming New South Wales and Victoria on ambulance response times. When it comes to the elective surgery, the AMA says that addressing the elective surgery backlog also demonstrates that Queensland is ahead of the pack when it comes to elective surgery performance. While we account for approximately 20 per cent of Australia's population, we only account for 10 per cent of the elective surgery backlog. The AMA said that.

When is the shadow health minister going to acknowledge the clinical work of our health workers and the improvement in their performance over the last quarter instead of putting a negative spin on everything because she believes they are all duds. We have heard her say it in this chamber.

*(Time expired)*

 **Mr HEAD** (Callide—LNP) (5.08 pm): What an absolute disgrace! We give the Palaszczuk government an opportunity to stand up and show Queenslanders that they are listening, that they are serious about fixing the health crisis. Instead, the health minister comes in here and continues to play politics while mothers continue to run the risk of giving birth along our major highways; while a grandma, an uncle or a child sits at the top of a hospital ramp in the back of an ambulance unable to be admitted to hospital because the failures of this health minister and this Premier mean the emergency department is full. I fully support this motion as moved by the member for Mudgeeraba.

I know that the constituents of Callide and people all across Queensland support this, too. The member for Mudgeeraba has worked with the LNP team and, in total, we have run 28 health crisis town hall meetings. This motion comes from having listened to the thousands of brave Queenslanders who have shared their stories.

Labor likes talking about their record on health and, judging by the health minister's comments, they seem to think everything is roses. They must be governing a different Queensland to the one I live in. The Satellite Hospitals Program was meant to cost \$280 million. We all like talking in layman's terms here so, for those who cannot imagine how much money that is, just imagine 1.3 Wellcamps. Now, well before they are even finished, they are expected to cost nearly \$400 million, which gets you just shy of two Wellcamps—a whopping \$110 million over budget. Guess what: they are not even real hospitals. They do not have overnight beds. This is the incredibly low standard of the Palaszczuk Labor government.

On 9 November last year I spoke in this House about one brave mother who gave birth to little Matilda on the Bruce Highway. That is right: she has 'Bruce Highway' on her birth certificate. I wish I could say that she was the only baby I have met with 'highway' on her birth certificate, but I have also met baby Beatrix—yet another baby who has 'highway' on her birth certificate because of the failures of this government. This is the reality that the people of rural and regional Queensland continue to face.

While our shadow health minister travels the state listening to all of these horrendous stories, Premier Palaszczuk continues to defend the worst health minister Queensland has ever seen. At least when the Treasurer and the Deputy Premier were health ministers they could publicly commit to birthing services in the bush. The now Deputy Premier even said, 'Queensland is one of the safest places in the world to give birth.' Well, not if you live north of Gympie and west of Toowoomba, thanks to this Premier and this health minister.


To this day, Callide remains without a single active maternity ward across 14 hospitals. Gladstone, my next closest hospital, which should have a maternity ward, remains on bypass—now for a total of 229 days. What has the member for Gladstone been doing about this? He certainly has said a lot of things but what has he actually done? On 18 July he said, 'Every day I am in communication with the health minister's office, the CQHHS CEO and board members.' It has been 219 days since that comment. You would think that a government minister would only make such a comment if they could back it up.

From June last year through to mid-November—over more than 130 days—have a guess how many times the member for Gladstone sent communications to the CQHHS about maternity. Seven. Seven times out of 130 days is a fair stretch from 'every day'. He also said that he had been in touch with the health minister's office, but guess what: even though we received the CQHSS request for information months ago, the one submitted to the health minister keeps getting delayed. I wonder why. It appears that the member for Gladstone has completely lied to his electorate and made out that he is doing something he is not. I wish that was not the case, but we know it is the cold, hard truth. He is certainly welcome to show his constituents otherwise. This Palaszczuk government is rotten to the core and is more worried about how things look than how they are, so I will not be holding my breath.

We know that this issue runs a lot deeper than across Callide and impacts people from all across rural and regional Queensland. The member for Gregory still does not have renal dialysis in Longreach, even though it was promised more than two years ago. If the health minister is serious about fixing these issues, she will answer every question posed in the original motion.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Member for Callide, you used some unparliamentary language in that contribution. I would ask that you withdraw.

**Mr HEAD:** I withdraw.

 **Ms KING** (Pumicestone—ALP) (5.13 pm): I rise to speak in support of the amendment moved by the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services. If the opposition wants to talk about health in Queensland, I stand by the record of our Palaszczuk Labor government. Queenslanders know that it is only Labor that delivers more frontline staff, new and upgraded hospitals and innovative models of care to tackle the pressures that our health system is facing.

In Pumicestone at the 2020 election we promised to build a satellite hospital at Bribie Island, and that is exactly what we are doing. Bribie locals know that our Palaszczuk government is delivering for them every time they drive past the site on First Avenue and see our awesome satellite hospital building rising from the ground. For people in Pumicestone, our satellite hospital means a new long-hours minor accident and illness centre, renal dialysis chairs, mental health services in their community—

**Mr Millar** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Order!

**Ms KING:**—and other specialist hospital services tailored for our community in the heart of our community. Since 2015, across the Metro North HHS our Palaszczuk government has recruited—

**Mr Millar** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Member for Gregory, you are warned under the standing orders.

**Ms KING:** We have recruited 592 more doctors, 2,013 more nurses and midwives, 115 more ambulance officers and 553 more allied health professionals. That is our record. On the other hand, if we look at the LNP's record, at the 2020 election they dangled a half-baked last-minute building they called a hospital. When you dug beneath the surface, it did not offer any hospital services at all, yet they never stopped criticising our Palaszczuk government's satellite hospital that will offer the hospital services that our community needs right in the heart of our community.

The ugly truth at the heart of the LNP and at the heart of the member for Currumbin is that she and they simply do not believe in public health care. That is why last time they were in government they sacked 1,432 frontline health staff from our health area, including 731 nurses. That is their record: 731 nurses marched out the door.

Cutting health care is completely on brand for the LNP, and we saw that the federal LNP's record was just as horrific. Not only did the Abbott-Turnbull-Morrison government's Medicare rebate freeze strangle primary health care, they made things even worse in 2019 when they stripped GP priority status from our Bribie, Beachmere and Caboolture communities. GP clinics could not find doctors, locals waited up to six weeks for an appointment and bulk-billing rates dropped through the floor. Only a new federal Labor government giving back our GP priority service turned that situation around.


Lately I have noticed that the member for Broadwater has been making a lot of cooking videos. The only reason I can think of is that he is trying to make people forget what he actually cooked up when he was last in power. He is trying to cook up a shiny new image for himself so that, instead of thinking, 'Oh, there's that whingy guy who sacks health workers,' people might start thinking, 'Oh, there's the guy who makes cannelloni.' The reality is that the only thing the member for Broadwater hates more than pineapple on pizza is our local health workers. When he is in front of a camera cutting up steak, Queenslanders remember him cutting the jobs of those 731 nurses. That is the reality of the member for Broadwater's time sitting around Campbell Newman's cabinet table and his new plan to cut wasteful spending. The fact is: in his apron or out of it, the member for Broadwater is still the LNP's cuts guy. He only knows one recipe: cutting health funding, selling assets and sacking frontline staff.

I visited Caboolture Hospital recently. The staff there are in a parlous state, because when the LNP leader shows up in our community Queenslanders and our local health staff know that he is not there for them. He is nice to their faces, but when cameras are rolling he is attacking our health workers, he is bagging our hospitals and he is getting ready to sack our health staff. The LNP and the member



for Broadwater have only one plan: cut, sack and sell. That is their recipe for Queensland. That is all they have and they need to be ashamed of all they have failed to deliver, in power and out of it, for Queenslanders and their health care.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Member for Theodore, you are on a warning. I asked you repeatedly to come to order and you ignored that request.

 **Mr POWELL** (Glass House—LNP) (5.19 pm): Mr Deputy Speaker Kelly, I cannot tell you how much it pleases me that I am following the member for Pumicestone in this debate this evening. As I rise to support the motion moved by my good colleague the member for Mudgeeraba, I want to focus on one particular aspect, and the member for Pumicestone raised it in her contribution—these satellite hospitals. Previously I have spoken at length about the Caboolture satellite hospital—the satellite hospital that literally is one kilometre down the road from a real hospital. However, let me tonight focus on the so-called satellite hospital in the member for Pumicestone's electorate at Bribie Island. We need a bit of a history lesson here because, contrary to what the member for Pumicestone just said, they did not promise the people of Bribie Island a satellite hospital; they promised the people of Bribie Island a hospital. How do I know that? On 16 October 2020 the member's own Facebook page said—

Our team is getting the word out—if you want Bribie to have a ... Hospital you need to vote Labor!

What did the signs say? 'Labor will build a Bribie hospital'; 'Bribie hospital! Thanks to Qld Labor'; 'Vote Ali King for Bribie Hospital'; 'Vote Labor for a Bribie hospital'. They do not once say the word 'satellite' on any of those corflutes around the electorate of Pumicestone. How has that gone down with the member for Pumicestone's constituents? In early February—just this month—the member for Pumicestone put up a post on the Bribie Island Community Discussions page that said—

Did you know? Our Bribie Satellite Hospital will include a Minor Accident & Illness Centre open late 7 days a week

Let us see how that was received. David said—

A more accurate description would be a 'clinic'. To call a clinic a 'Hospital' is typical politician speak.

As a 'Hospital' how many beds will it have.

As a 'Hospital' will it be 24 hour, 7 day a week.

As a 'Hospital' will it provide a greater range of emergency services greater than a local GP.

Please clarify how the facilities provided qualify this 'clinic' to be called a Hospital

Danny said—

This facility is much needed but by calling it a 'hospital' gives people on the island false expectation. Better to call it what it is ...

Then in response to Olivia, who asked, 'What else will be at the clinic?', the member herself said—

I will announce more details about what exactly the services will be when I get more information.

However, as Terry rightly pointed out—

... surely the services that will be provided are already settled? How the internal infrastructure (plumbing, oxygen outlets, electrical outlets etc) is designed will determine the services that can be offered.

Then Stronach says—

Is it true these 'hospitals' won't be open at night, have overnight beds or be open all week? If so, how are they classed a 'hospital' please?

Then we have Janine—

... will it be 24 hours?

In response to that, the member says—

... the minor accident and illness Centre will be open early until late.

But not 24 hours. Perhaps the kicker was Heike, who said—

Really satellite hospital that isn't going to be open 24 hrs and basically no emergency centre what benefits is that to the Bribie Island people it is just a medical centre why spend the public money for something so useless

The member's response said—

If you don't find it useful, you'll still be able to travel to Caboolture and beyond to get hospital services—that's up to you.

The whole point of the hospital on Bribie Island was so that people did not have to run to Caboolture!

I want to conclude by saying that the member said that she is happy to stand by the member for Redcliffe, the health minister. When they did the sod turning, the Minister for Health put up a lot of photos of her alongside the member for Pumicestone doing the sod turning.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Member, you will not use that as a prop.


**Mr POWELL:** I am happy to table that, Mr Deputy Speaker.

*Tabled paper:* Social media posts by the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services, Hon. Yvette D'Ath, dated 11 February, and the member for Pumicestone, Ms Ali King MP, dated 10 February, in relation to the Bribie Island Satellite Hospital [185].

What did the member for Pumicestone post? Well, who is missing? The Minister for Health! That is how much she stands by the Minister for Health. She does not! She does not want her anywhere near her because the member for Pumicestone knows that she has sold the people of Bribie Island a pup and they have been conned. This is not a hospital. It is barely a satellite hospital!

*(Time expired)*

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Before I call the member for Thuringowa, I would like to remind those three members who are on a warning—the members for Broadwater, Gregory and Theodore—that generally engaging in the interjections that are going on will also land you being asked to leave the chamber. You are on warnings and you need to conduct yourselves accordingly.

 **Mr HARPER** (Thuringowa—ALP) (5.24 pm): Welcome back! We have plenty of energy on that side, and that is the best the LNP can do? It has flatlined! There is zero pulse! Wheel it through the emergency department! Come on, member for Moggill: issue a recognition of life extinct! The party has gone!

I am proud to represent Thuringowa and the electorate of Townsville and our health workers in our HHS. I will fight for it every day. Why? Because I understand it. I have worked in health for 30 years. The LNP just does not get it. Let us get to the Leader of the Opposition—the bloke who cut and run from Townsville, but, then again, he was not much of a loss. When he was the local member he endorsed the sacking of 398 health workers, including 156 nurses, in our hospital. What were you thinking? What was the defence from the Newman government? The sackings were a matter for the local health boards. Our ambulance station staff were sacked and he was the minister, the—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Through the chair.

**Mr HARPER:** The former member for Mundingburra was the minister sitting in the Newman cabinet and made that decision to sack health workers.

**Mr Millar** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Member for Gregory, you can leave the chamber for one hour.

**Mr HARPER:** That is one down.

*Whereupon the honourable member for Gregory withdrew from the chamber at 5.26 pm.*

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Thuringowa, when I pause the clock you should resume your seat and not participate in the debate until I call you.


**Mr HARPER:** We will never forget what the LNP did to our hospital. That is in stark contrast to what our Labor government is doing for our HHS. We are putting more nurses back on and more paramedics. We are building 143 more beds right now. There is the Kirwan Health Campus and \$40 million in my electorate looking after our health staff. Since 2015 we have employed 183 more doctors, 295 more nurses and midwives, and 75 more allied health professionals. Those opposite only know one thing. The LNP only knows one thing—cut, sack and sell. We are restoring. We have built up our health capacity because we have an ageing and growing population.

It is important to recognise that our health investments are paying dividends. Let us do a bit of a comparison between the performance data released today and the 2014-15 Newman budget. In 2014-15 the Townsville HHS saw 78 per cent of ED patients within the recommended time frame. Today's quarterly data shows that the HHS saw 83 per cent—an improvement in an ageing and growing population. In 2014 the Townsville HHS median ED wait time when the Leader of the Opposition was the minister was 14 minutes. Today's performance is 11 minutes, again with an ageing and growing population. We are doing better than the former LNP. All it did was sack, cut and sell our assets. The LNP is addicted to tearing down our health system and our health workers because it wants to create a perception of crisis to justify its radical decisions to sack health workers. I still have not heard an apology from the shadow minister for health who called our regional health workers 'duds'. This is a great opportunity to apologise to our health workers. Apologise! Too often people are either deferring care or heading straight to the ED because they cannot access a GP.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Minister and shadow minister, you will cease your quarrelling across the chamber.

**Mr HARPER:** As I just said, people are either deferring care or heading straight to the ED because they cannot access a GP, particularly one who bulk bills. That is why I am such a big supporter of the North Queensland Community Pharmacy Scope of Practice Pilot. Does the LNP support that pilot? We have not heard a thing. It is a commonsense measure that will increase awareness of vaccines and provide treatments for common conditions. Women should not have to pay money for a GP appointment just to access the contraceptive pill. Our pharmacy pilot will fix that. I have one question: will the LNP and the Leader of the Opposition back it in? The silence is deafening. Again we are backing our health workers; those opposite sack our health workers.


 **Dr ROBINSON** (Oodgeroo—LNP) (5.30 pm): I rise to support the motion moved by the shadow health minister. The motion notes a number of Palaszczuk government health failures and calls for better information and improved services for Queenslanders. Redlanders are acutely aware that the health crisis continues to fester at our local Redland Hospital under the mismanagement and failings of this Labor Palaszczuk government. This is by no means a reflection on the efforts and dedication of our extraordinary health and allied professionals who do their very best to work under sometimes difficult and demanding circumstances.

Our community was alarmed to learn that, with the exception of Hervey Bay, Redland Hospital scored the worst of all Queensland hospitals when it came to waiting for more than a whole day in the emergency department to be admitted to a bed. Redlands is home to a large proportion of ageing residents, as well as the general mix of families and singles. It is completely unacceptable and shameful that sick or injured Redlanders of any age must wait so long to be allocated a hospital bed. For the worst three months of 2022—June, July and August—there were no fewer than 735 patients at Redland Hospital waiting longer than 24 hours in ED to be admitted. This was also at a time when COVID patients were being treated outside of the main hospital buildings in a tent. With extensive development occurring across the city, it is more than evident that the Redlands population is growing rapidly and there will be additional calls upon health services that are not even coping now. It has become critical that the government heeds the call to deliver sooner rather than later. The further delay of the much needed Redland Hospital upgrade, including an ICU and a 32-bed expansion—and that number has moved about—has been a cause for great concern.

As recently as December 2022 AMA Queensland president Dr Maria Boulton called for urgent action to address alarming concerns about risks to patients at Redland Hospital. Dr Boulton said the staged expansion of Redland Hospital must be delivered not mothballed indefinitely. Hear, hear! At the time Dr Boulton outlined serious concerns raised by AMA Queensland members at Redland, the only metropolitan Queensland Health hospital without an intensive care unit, ICU or critical care unit, without 24/7 general surgical services and inpatient orthopaedic services. Sadly, we are becoming accustomed to worst-ever figures at Redland Hospital under Labor with ambulance ramping having reached worst-ever records in our history at 73 per cent and remaining unacceptably high. It is totally objectionable that our paramedics are having to sit ramped with patients outside the hospital when critical calls for their services are coming in from elsewhere.

The government led us to believe that satellite hospitals are the answer to the struggling health system, only for Queenslanders to learn that construction is behind schedule and the project in the Redlands is well and truly over budget. In the state budget it was announced that Cleveland was to be the site of the satellite hospital when we already had the hospital in Cleveland. The confusion continued until eventually Redland Bay was confirmed as the site. Redland Hospital appears to have been deprioritised by the health minister in favour of this satellite medical centre. Redland Hospital should have been the priority as promised by the government in the election and the deprioritising of the hospital upgrade, especially during the COVID pandemic, made no sense if caring for Redlanders was the top priority.

Parking at Redland Hospital has been woefully inadequate and troublesome for far too long. While the new car park, when it eventually comes, is a welcome addition, it is overpriced, wrongly prioritised ahead of the ICU and beds and will come at the expense of existing free parking, including staff parking. Redlanders, and indeed people from across the state, are become accustomed to the level of incompetence and poor performance caused by the mismanagement of this government. I concur with Dr Boulton when she says the people of Redlands and the doctors, nurses and other healthcare workers who strive against the odds every day to deliver quality and safe health care deserve better. That is why tonight I renew my call for the health minister to be replaced—a first step in restoring confidence in our health system. All Queenslanders deserve better.

 **Mrs GILBERT** (Mackay—ALP) (5.35 pm): I support the amended motion of the minister. Let us be clear: those opposite only have one plan when it comes to addressing the pressures that health systems are facing nationally. We just heard from the member for Oodgeroo, who has no plan, bagging the health system. We know what the plan from those opposite is just by looking at their legacy in health. It is quite startling. They cannot deny the legacy that they have left behind. Their track record is cuts. There was not a frontline professional that was left untouched. They cut doctors, they cut nurses, they cut midwives, they cut allied health professionals, they cut paramedics. Under that lot 4,400 health workers were gone.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Member, you will use correct titles in this place and refer to people by their correct titles.


**Mrs GILBERT:** Those opposite are hell-bent on their crusade to tear down the health system. They made cuts to funding. They sacked thousands of frontline services. They have the audacity to think they could do a better job. Shame on them. It is clear that it is only the Palaszczuk government that is able to face the challenges of health systems right across the country. Those opposite like to blatantly ignore the fact that they sacked 4,400 health workers the first chance they had and they will do it again. The member for Oodgeroo banged on about the satellite hospital that he is getting down his way. Did those opposite have any plans for any hospitals? Did they build any? Nothing, zip, bags of hot air.

Only last week I was on the ground down in the mighty town of Sarina where they are well on the way to building a brand new hospital. It is a truly beautiful sight. Not only is it a you-beaut, brand new, state-of-the-art hospital; it will improve health care and also provide jobs for the community. I am so proud to be the assistant minister for health and regional health infrastructure because I get to meet the most amazing people, people like Woollam's construction apprentice, James Falzon.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mrs GILBERT:** Look at those opposite putting down the locals in my area. I get to meet people like Damian Paull, Brad Muir and Max Druery. They are all working on the Sarina Hospital. That is just one project that we are delivering as the Palaszczuk government. I will offer some advice to those opposite: read our Queensland Health and Hospitals Plan. It is a blueprint for what a real government does. It is a good read and it could help those opposite to get some policies and plans together instead of being full of hot air. The Palaszczuk government has committed \$9.75 billion of additional funding to deliver new hospitals because the LNP planned zero and delivered zero. It is only this side of the House that has a plan for hospitals, including the Mackay Base Hospital, a state-of-the-art cancer centre and an extra 2,509 extra beds.

To drive home the message, there will be a new \$1.2 billion hospital for Bundaberg, which the member for Bundaberg just cannot stop talking about as he is so proud of it. There is the \$1.3 billion hospital for Toowoomba. The member for Toowoomba campaigned for a lesser hospital. His plan would have been 3.4 per cent of what we are going to spend. That is what he promised for the people of Toowoomba. What a bad plan. It was another half-baked plan from the LNP. They just cannot get it right.

 **Mrs FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (5.40 pm): Mr Deputy Speaker—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Order! I rose to my feet to bring the House to order. I ask you to take your seat, member for Nanango. I do not appreciate the childish behaviour that I just heard from members on my left. I cannot identify which of you were involved. Any repeat of that behaviour and I will be warning people.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I never thought I would start my contribution to the debate on this motion by saying: health minister, goodness me but you are safe from your assistant. If that is what we have coming as we on this side and the rest of Queensland call for the health minister to resign, the assistant minister—

**Mrs GILBERT:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I take personal offence at the member for Nanango.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order! I will hear the point of order in silence.

**Mrs GILBERT:** I take personal offence at the member for Nanango and her mean girl stance.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Mackay, what you did you say at the end of that point of order?

**Mrs GILBERT:** I said 'her mean girl stance'.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** That is unparliamentary. I ask you to withdraw.

**Mrs GILBERT:** I withdraw.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Are you maintaining your original point of order?

**Mrs GILBERT:** Yes, I am.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Resume your seat.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I will withdraw but I will say this—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order! There will be no buts. Member for Mackay, you are an experienced member of this House. There is no cause for interjecting and using language that like when you rise on a point of order. You are warned under the standing orders.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** The people who are concerned that the member is the assistant health minister to the most incompetent health minister Queensland has ever had are the mums of Mackay and the babies who will never grow up to live a proper life. They are the ones who should be upset that the member is the assistant health minister. She came into this House to speak to this motion but for three whole minutes did not even mention her government's record. She spent her entire time rubbishing the former government, which actually fixed former health minister Anna Bligh's—

**Mr Harper:** You cut thousands.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** We restored maternity. That is what we did. We put maternity services back into Cooktown. We put maternity services back into Beaudesert. We planned maternity services for Weipa, but then these jokers got in and canned that idea. We planned for Kingaroy and we planned for Roma. We fixed up the health system after these jokers and then premier Anna Bligh—and a couple of the people who are now ministers were sitting around the cabinet table when she did it—stood up and said that the health system was a basket case. Embarrassingly, it is worse today than it was then.

How ridiculous it is that when we left government two per cent of patients on the long waitlist for elective surgery were not seen within clinically recommended times. Today, under this health minister, it is 22 per cent. That is an embarrassing indictment on the health minister of this state. What went on in Mackay was the worst indictment on the health system that I have ever heard about. The jokers opposite can laugh about babies losing their lives and mums never again being able to have babies. Everyone else lost their jobs but who got to keep hers? The health minister got to keep her job! That is a shame. The assistant minister for health represents Mackay. Where was that member? How was she looking after her constituents? I can tell the House that it was the member for Whitsunday who had to take all the phone calls.

Let us talk about another minister in this House. Let us talk about the member for Gladstone. Not one member who has spoken to this motion has uttered the word 'Gladstone'. Why should we be talking about Gladstone? Because Gladstone has been on bypass all this time! An expectant mum in the big electorate of Callide cannot have a baby in Callide. I was born in a hospital in Callide. Those mums deserve to have babies, just like me, in Callide. Who would ever have thought that a mum in Callide would have to go to Rocky? There is pressure on the poor health workers in Rocky because the minister refuses to listen when it comes to the bush baby crisis. I urge everyone in this House to Google the words 'bush baby crisis'. What place comes up? Not a Third World country and not another state. There are pages and pages of articles about the bush babies crisis under this health minister. We thought the bush baby crisis was bad when the Deputy Premier was health minister but, my goodness, it has gone from bad to worse. A minister of this government has said that if it is not fixed he will resign. Gladstone has been on bypass for 290 days and the minister is still here. He should hang his head in shame.

**Ms Pease:** You're misleading the House.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Misleading the House? I say this to the member for Lytton: a minister was so disgusted that mums in his electorate cannot give birth there that he said he was going to resign from his post. That is the fake news that we get from this government because the member for Gladstone is still sitting in his ministerial leather, still supporting the health minister who should resign and still supporting the assistant health minister who definitely does not deserve a promotion. The Premier was right when she said there is no talent in the backbench.



**Ms McMILLAN** (Mansfield—ALP) (5.46 pm): I rise to speak in support of the amendment moved by the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services. The Palaszczuk government is about listening and delivering, unlike those opposite who cannot help themselves but cut, sack and sell. They do not know any other way. We have a plan that includes actual funding, actual hospitals and actual jobs. The

Queensland Health and Hospitals Plan is a \$9.78 billion plan to invest in new hospitals and beds across Queensland. It is not a planned plan. It is not a plan to review. It is not a plan to cut. It is a plan to deliver world-class hospitals that are being built by our government right now, creating good local jobs and ensuring people across the state, including those in my electorate, can access the healthcare services that they need.


The ambitious Health and Hospitals Plan will see three new hospitals and the new Queensland Cancer Centre delivered as well as expansions at 11 sites including at hospitals near to my electorate, the QEII hospital and the PA Hospital. A \$465 million expansion at QEII will deliver 112 additional beds. As part of the Accelerated Infrastructure Delivery Program, a further \$25 million investment will be made into 28 modular wards. Together, both of those projects will create around 1,200 construction jobs. That is creating jobs and not cutting them. I am also exceptionally proud of the \$12.1 million 26-bed medical ward that opened at QEII hospital in June of last year. Ward 5A means greater capacity to manage demand and improve access to inpatient care. Importantly, it recommissioned an old ward that had previously been occupied by administrative staff.

The PA Hospital will see around 249 new beds with an investment of \$350 million under our Health and Hospitals Plan. A refurbishment to the renal unit at the PA will deliver three additional beds in the second half of this year as well as the redesign and refurbishment of eight treatment spaces within the existing renal unit and increasing dialysis treatment bays.

The ambulance officers based at Wishart station need to be commended for their tireless work supporting our community. Of course, they are enjoying a brand new addition to their ambulance fleet, because this is what good governments do.

I want to talk more about our satellite hospitals, which will provide healthcare services to patients closer to their homes and in a more convenient location. Only those opposite could argue against delivering services to Queenslanders. We do not know what those opposite would do with the satellite hospitals should they ever be returned to the government benches—probably sell them off to the highest bidder at the first chance! As I mentioned earlier, they do not know any other way. Residents of Eight Mile Plains will have a satellite hospital in their community, and residents of the southern end of my electorate will enjoy this access close to home. Our \$376.9 million Satellite Hospitals Program will provide day therapy services such as renal dialysis and chemotherapy, outpatient services and community-based health services such as mental health support and oral health.

Those opposite will shut down our ideas and plans, but what alternatives will they propose? Cutting healthcare workers, just like they did when they were last in power? Ripping funding out of non-government organisations? Running our health system into the ground all over again? In fact, 1,470 public servants lost their jobs in my community. In Metro South alone, the former Newman government sacked 926 staff. They only budgeted \$1.9 billion in their last budget. Metro South's budget in 2022-23 was \$3.02 billion. The difference is abundantly clear. The Palaszczuk government builds; the LNP cuts. The Palaszczuk government creates jobs; the LNP sacks. Who knows what they will sell? They do not have a plan and they cannot deliver. I commend the amendment to the House.

 **Mr JANETZKI** (Toowoomba South—LNP) (5.52 pm): When the history of the Palaszczuk Labor government is written—and believe me, member for Pumicestone, it is being written right now—health will be the Palaszczuk government's greatest failing, just as it was in the Bligh-Beattie era. Think back to that end of that era. We had the fake prince, the basket case of Queensland Health being split and of course the payroll crisis. Nurses were underpaid, overpaid and never paid.

**An opposition member** interjected.

**Mr JANETZKI:** Yes, the member for Sandgate was there for that, too.

**An opposition member** interjected.

**Mr JANETZKI:** That is right: it was the member for Stafford back in those days.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kelly): Order! Pause the clock. Member for Sandgate, you will return to your seat if you want to engage in this debate.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, members! Member for Bonney, you are on a warning.

**Mr JANETZKI:** I cannot forget the Jayant Patel incident either. Now we are nearing 10 years of this government, and I do not think it is any coincidence that the two previous health ministers were two of the three most senior figures of the government. I do not have any sympathy for the member for Redcliffe, but the seeds of this disaster in our health system were sown by the former health minister

the member for Murrumba and the then health minister the member for Woodridge. Let's look at the seeds that were sown over those years. Imagine: 38 maternity services—the member for Nanango just spoke about it—have closed since 1998. The member for Callide represents an electorate bigger than Tasmania and there is not a single place for a woman to have a child in that electorate. This government is shameful.


What about satellite hospitals? The member for Glass House did a brilliant job. Member for Pumicestone, it is time to call them what they are. They are not satellite hospitals. It is time to be honest with the people.

Then we have the fifty-fifty health funding. I remember that time and time again the Treasurer would look over here at the opposition leader and say, 'Pick up the phone and talk to ScoMo.' It is time to reply in turn: 'Treasurer, pick up the phone to your mate down the road, the member for Rankin, the Treasurer of Australia, Jimmy Chalmers.' Just a couple of boys from Logan, right? I can imagine, though, that the Treasurer probably had a tough time tracking down the federal Treasurer over summer. Jim Chalmers was pretty busy over summer writing his article—remaking capitalism. Isn't that humble: just remaking capitalism? Just a couple of boys from Logan—the 'slogans' from Logan! Come on Treasurer. Pick up the phone and talk to your mate Jimmy Chalmers. It is time to go there. Let's face it: he is about to remake capitalism—tax by tax, intervention by intervention and super account by super account. That is how they plan to remake capitalism in Australia.

The one thing the Treasurer here in Queensland has in common with the federal Treasurer is that he loves taxes. We have seen it again with the patients tax. We know that they are addicted to it. We know what the AMAQ and the RACGP have said about it: it is illogical, it is immoral, it will mean the death of bulk-billing across regional Queensland, it will force doctors from practice and, most importantly, it will mean it will cost more for people to go and see a doctor—in the middle of a cost-of-living crisis. We know that it is still a live issue. There was political panic and the Treasurer had to put it on ice for a couple of years, but we know it is still a problem.

The Family First Medical Centre submitted a petition in the belief that the member for Hervey Bay would stand with them. The member for Hervey Bay promised them he would fight for the 27,000 patients on the books, but who was the sponsor of the online petition? It is the Clerk! The member for Hervey Bay should stand with the 27,000 patients in his electorate who are concerned—the diabetes patients and those with long-term illnesses who will pay more to see a doctor. It will be the member for Hervey Bay's fault, together with the Treasurer. He should stand up for his people. We know that those opposite are at war internally. Who knows what the Treasurer said to the member for Hervey Bay to stop the petition. They are at war with lawyers, magistrates, investors, the taxpayer and each other. That is why they will never be able to—

*(Time expired)*

 **Ms RICHARDS** (Redlands—ALP) (5.57 pm): This is a moment of déjà vu for me. I recall a very similar contribution in November last year. I was looking at the speakers list. Four of the speakers opposite sat in the LNP Newman government and I think the member for Callide was still in his teens. Some 50 per cent of those on the other side of the House sat in the Newman government. I ask them to put up their hands if they sat in the Newman government. Not one member opposite wants to put their hand up.

You cannot rewrite their history. The member for Glass House spoke about history. The member for Toowoomba South just spoke about writing history. The Newman government wrote a very dreadful history when it comes to health care, particularly in the Redlands. We heard crickets on the Barrett centre. Was there any apology for the closure of the Barrett centre? No. Was there an apology for the closure of Wynnum Hospital? No. Was there an apology for closing of the Moreton Bay nursing home? No, there was no apology for that. Was there an apology to the sacked healthcare workers? I hear silence.

I think about the workforce and about the amazing teams of nurses, doctors and staff who care for our people. I had the opportunity to visit our TAFE. Alexandra Hills TAFE was ready to close. They are out there training our nurses of the future. What is the LNP's track record? They close, they cut, they sack and they sell. You cannot rewrite that history.

That is in stark contrast to what we are delivering. I have heard in the contributions from those opposite what satellite hospitals will deliver. Where do people get chemotherapy services? I will tell members where they get them. They get them in a hospital. I said that in my last contribution. Where do people get renal dialysis services?

**Mr Head:** Not in Longreach.

**Ms RICHARDS:** In a hospital is where you get them, member for Callide.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order! The level of interjection is far too high. Member for Callide, I would ask you to stop quarrelling across the chamber.

**Ms RICHARDS:** Renal dialysis, chemotherapy, X-ray, ultrasound—

**Mrs Frecklington** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Pause the clock. Member for Nanango, I just asked the House to come to order and bring down the level of interjection. You immediately injected yourself into the debate. You are on a warning.

**Ms RICHARDS:** Our satellite hospitals are going to deliver healthcare services for our communities closer to home. I had the opportunity to visit the satellite hospital a couple of weeks ago. It is going gangbusters. I give a huge shout-out to Josh and Darren on site. They are doing an amazing job. We were on site on the hottest and most humid day in the world two weeks ago. They are doing a fantastic job. They have taken me through the spaces. They are not far off starting the defects liability phase. They have done an absolutely amazing job. The site was handed over to Hutchinson Builders on 7 January and they are at the point of getting ready for the defects liability phase.

That hospital is going to be amazing for my Redlands community. It is going to be amazing for the growing southern end of the Redlands. I heard the member for Oodgeroo say in his contribution that he thought it should have been in Cleveland. Where is the growth occurring in the Redlands? It is occurring down in the southern Redlands and across the Southern Moreton Bay Islands. It will be a fantastic asset for our community.

In terms of the Redland Hospital, the car park is the linchpin. Anyone who knows anything about planning would know that that site needed the car park rectified before—

**Mr McDonald** interjected.

**Ms RICHARDS:** There are seven storeys, Jim. The car park unlocks the site.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Use correct parliamentary titles, please.

**Ms RICHARDS:** Sorry, Mr Deputy Speaker. The car park unlocks the site. The expansion of the hospital will see the delivery of the ICU and 27 additional beds. In the last budget there was funding for 25 additional beds that will deliver even more services to my Redlands community. When we talk about delivery it is happening right there. We have had 11 additional paramedics provided to help service the Southern Moreton Bay Islands.

Across the healthcare spectrum, it is the Palaszczuk government that is delivering. That is in stark contrast to the LNP. At every election we only need to look at the commitments that were not there. What they did when they were in office is telling. It tells the story. A leopard does not change its spots—they cut, they sack, they sell. I would not be surprised if on their agenda somewhere is that they would sell off the satellite hospitals. Privatisation is in their DNA. I am proud of what the Palaszczuk government is doing. It is more than the LNP will ever do. Their track record and their history speaks for itself. They are not fooling me and my community. Their track record speaks volumes.

Division: Question put—That the amendment be agreed to.

**AYES, 49:**

**ALP, 49—**Bailey, Boyd, Brown, Bush, Butcher, Crawford, D'Ath, de Brenni, Enoch, Fentiman, Furner, Gilbert, Grace, Harper, Healy, Hinchliffe, Howard, Hunt, Kelly, A. King, S. King, Lauga, Linard, Lui, Madden, Martin, McCallum, McMahon, McMillan, Mellish, Miles, Mullen, O'Rourke, Palaszczuk, Pease, Power, Pugh, Richards, Russo, Ryan, Saunders, Scanlon, Skelton, Smith, Stewart, Sullivan, Tantari, Walker, Whiting.

**NOES, 31:**

**LNP, 31—**Bates, Bennett, Bleijie, Boothman, Camm, Crisafulli, Frecklington, Gerber, Hart, Head, Janetzki, Krause, Last, Leahy, Lister, Mander, McDonald, Mickelberg, Minnikin, Molhoek, Nicholls, O'Connor, Perrett, Powell, Purdie, Robinson, Rowan, Simpson, Stevens, Watts, Weir.

Pair: Dick, Crandon.

Resolved in the affirmative.

Division: Question put—That the motion, as amended, be agreed to.

**AYES, 50:**

**ALP, 50—**Bailey, Boyd, Brown, Bush, Butcher, Crawford, D'Ath, de Brenni, Enoch, Farmer, Fentiman, Furner, Gilbert, Grace, Harper, Healy, Hinchliffe, Howard, Hunt, Kelly, A. King, S. King, Lauga, Linard, Lui, Madden, Martin, McCallum, McMahon, McMillan, Mellish, Miles, Mullen, O'Rourke, Palaszczuk, Pease, Power, Pugh, Richards, Russo, Ryan, Saunders, Scanlon, Skelton, Smith, Stewart, Sullivan, Tantari, Walker, Whiting.



**NOES, 31:**

**LNP, 31—**Bates, Bennett, Bleijie, Boothman, Camm, Crisafulli, Frecklington, Gerber, Hart, Head, Janetzki, Krause, Last, Leahy, Lister, Mander, McDonald, Mickelberg, Minnikin, Molhoek, Nicholls, O'Connor, Perrett, Powell, Purdie, Robinson, Rowan, Simpson, Stevens, Watts, Weir.

Pair: Dick, Crandon.

Resolved in the affirmative.

Motion, as agreed—

That this House notes the continuing pressures on health systems across Australia, and

- (a) notes the growth in hospital demand over the last eight years and supports the Palaszczuk government's \$9.7 billion Queensland Health and Hospitals Plan to deliver an additional 2,509 beds;
- (b) notes the need to deliver care closer to home, and supports the Satellite Hospitals Program;
- (c) notes the pressures on primary care arising from the former coalition government's extended Medicare rebate freeze;
- (d) supports efforts to expand access to primary care, such as the North Queensland Community Pharmacy Scope of Practice Pilot;
- (e) supports the Palaszczuk government's commitment to deliver an additional 9,475 frontline workers this term of government;
- (f) notes the challenges caused by workforce shortages, including specialists, that have impacted services such as maternity services and the ongoing efforts of the Palaszczuk government to address these issues;
- (g) notes the most recent Queensland Health and Commonwealth performance data showing improved health performance and Queensland's favourable national performance;
- (h) supports all state and territory governments in their ongoing, bipartisan work with the Commonwealth government to reform hospital funding that will ensure all Australians have access to sustainable, free public health care; and
- (i) commends the Palaszczuk government on the record \$23.6 billion investment in Queensland's health system in the 2022-23 budget.

## LAND AND OTHER LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL

Resumed from 17 March 2022 (see p. 542).

### Second Reading



**Hon. SJ STEWART** (Townsville—ALP) (Minister for Resources) (6.12 pm): I move—

That the bill be now read a second time.

I thank the Transport and Resources Committee for its consideration of the Land and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022. I note the committee tabled its report on 6 May 2022. I also thank those who took the time to lodge a submission and participate in the committee process. The committee had three recommendations, including one that the bill be passed. I will address the recommendations shortly.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Members, I would ask you to please take your conversations outside.

**Mr STEWART:** Thank you, Mr Speaker. It was hard enough hearing myself. This omnibus bill will improve land related legislation to support the creation of good new jobs, make processes more streamlined and contemporary, and facilitate better stakeholder outcomes to drive economic development.

Firstly, I would like to talk about amendments to the Land Act that will facilitate the development of the Greenvale and Shoalwater Bay defence training sites leased to the Commonwealth Government to support the delivery of the Australia-Singapore Military Training Initiative. These sites will see a state-of-the-art training base at Greenvale and the expansion of the Shoalwater Bay training area. It will see around 14,000 Singapore armed forces personnel coming to Queensland every year for 25 years training for 18 weeks each time, which means more money being spent in our local communities. It also means the creation of good jobs for our regions. This will bring a significant economic boost to Central and North Queensland and will support good jobs in the region.

I would like to discuss reforms raised through the committee process that will whip our stock route network into shape. Queensland's stock routes have a long and rich history of supporting the pastoral industry and landholders. Today stock routes are mainly used for moving stock on foot, which is a cost-effective alternative to transport by road or trail. The stock route network, which includes—

**Ms Grace** interjected.

**Mr STEWART:** Gracie, it is a bit of a tongue twister—which includes 72,000 kilometres of roads—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Correct titles, please.

**Mr STEWART:**—across 48 local government areas is also important for emergency pasture and long-term grazing. Industry stakeholders and local governments have shown strong support for the continuation of the network which has proved to be a vital piece of infrastructure, especially during times of drought. This government is saddling up to support our agricultural industry by introducing changes to the Stock Route Management Act. The changes in the bill are the result of extensive consultation with various stakeholders.

These amendments are focused on creating a better funded network that provides improved outcomes for drovers, graziers and other users that rely on the network. Currently, local governments can only keep 50 per cent of the revenue obtained from permit fees. Under these new changes, local governments that manage and maintain the network will be able to keep 100 per cent of the fees and charges collected from the use of these stock routes. Stock routes are administered jointly by the state and local governments, with local governments responsible for the day-to-day management of that network.

This bill also introduces an application fee for permits. This will allow local governments to cover the costs of assessing an application. This fee will be a uniform statewide fee prescribed in the Stock Route Management Regulation to ensure consistency across the state. Local councils will be able to waive this fee in times of hardship or during drought. Currently, local governments recover less than five per cent of the cost of managing and administering the stock route network through the collection of permitted fees. This is not sustainable and means that local ratepayers largely subsidise commercial users of that network. These important changes in the fee structure, combined with proposed revisions to permit fees consulted on for the remake of the Stock Route Management Regulation, mean that fees are estimated to recover 38 per cent of the cost of local councils managing that network. Local governments will continue to be required to reinvest this money into administration, maintenance or improvement of the network.

The Palaszczuk government continues funding to the network for capital works and the maintenance of infrastructure along that network. Currently, the allocation is around \$940,000 per year. The Palaszczuk government will continue to provide this separate funding to local governments for stock routes. These reforms are a positive step towards improving the management of a stock route network. They address some longstanding issues while balancing the needs of local government and the pastoral sector. The proposed amendments will apply upon assent except for the application fee provisions which, subject to the passage of this bill, will commence by proclamation. The delayed time frame will allow for the remake of the Stock Route Management Regulation to include the new fee for permit applications.

I would like to thank all those who have been involved in this extensive consultation process and for their time, dedication and contributions. This is an important reform and I am proud to be presenting it to the House.

I turn now to amendments to the Vegetation Management Act 1999. In its report the committee recommended that I revisit the proposed amendment to identify regional ecosystems and their classes in a certified database and not the Vegetation Management Regulation, as is currently the case. The Vegetation Management Act regulates the clearing of native vegetation in Queensland and the requirements for clearing depend on the class of the associated regional ecosystem. The schedules in the Vegetation Management Regulation identify the full list of Queensland regional ecosystems, their class and identify grasslands that are regulated or not regulated under the vegetation management framework.

In their joint submission to the committee during its consideration of the bill, the Environmental Defenders Office and the Wilderness Society expressed their concerns about this amendment to use the certified database and not the Vegetation Management Regulation. This concern related to the lack of parliamentary oversight for the new process, as updates to regional ecosystems and their class would no longer be subject to a regulation amendment process.

The goal of the amendment in this bill is to streamline the administrative process, minimise mistakes and inconsistencies, and establish a central resource for landowners. This central resource will allow landowners to access details relating to the identification and application of regional ecosystems as regulated by the vegetation management framework—the Vegetation Management Regional Ecosystem Description Database.

The determination of regional ecosystems and their class is purely a technical process based on science. The Department of Environment and Science through the Queensland Herbarium determines this information using mapping based on satellite data and records it in their Regional Ecosystem Description Database. Currently, the department updates the regulation annually to align with the latest improvements in the science, as reflected in the database. There have been instances where these two records are out of sync, which creates confusion when there are two sources of differing information. However, I take on board everyone's as well as the committee's recommendation. An alternative approach is proposed that will address these concerns, while still achieving the original intent of the amendment. I will move an amendment during consideration in detail which will require the certified Vegetation Management Regional Ecosystem Description Database be tabled in the Legislative Assembly and take effect upon tabling. The tabling process maintains ongoing parliamentary scrutiny and disallowance of updates to regional ecosystems and their class.

I want to be clear: there is no change to the regulation and management of native vegetation. The proposed amendment solely aims to alleviate administrative burden and provide a consolidated point of reference for landholders to access information relating to the identification and application of regional ecosystems regulated under the vegetation management framework. This amendment does not remove the ability of a landholder to challenge the mapping, including the presence, extent or class of regional ecosystems, on their property. I am satisfied that the amendment will address the concerns raised during the committee process and the committee recommendation. I also believe it will be more efficient and reduce complexity for landholders.

I now turn my attention to other amendments to the Land Act 1994. This bill initiates the first step towards a more modern state land administration system in Queensland. It allows for more efficient and strategic land allocation. This amendment allows the chief executive to make an offer to a lessee to convert a lease to freehold. The current requirement means this cannot happen without first receiving a conversion application from the lessee. This amendment will streamline the existing processes and underpins the success and growth of businesses while reducing red tape.

Leases suitable for conversion would be those without any underlying tenure or other interests that are incompatible with freehold tenure and that have no public purpose associated with retaining state ownership. The current leasehold estate reflects historical state land policies that focused on state ownership and greater state oversight of land to drive and support the development of key industries. This is reflected in the number of private commercial leases that are primarily for-profit and are not core to government business. Generally, these areas have undergone intensive development, leaving the state with limited or no opportunity to achieve community or further natural resource outcomes.

While this change will introduce a process for initiating conversion, let me be clear it does not remove any of the checks and balances necessary in dealing with state land. Nor does it alter the role of the Department of Resources in determining the most appropriate tenure of the land. There are several safeguards in the Land Act and other pieces of legislation that ensure leases over land that has a public benefit are not converted to freehold, such as a lease over a community reserve, national park or state forest.

Taking up the option of freehold is absolutely voluntary. The bill itself does not create freehold. Rather, it provides the mechanism for the chief executive to make a proactive conversion offer. This change will not remove a lessee's right to possession and use of the leased land during the term of their lease should they not wish to avail themselves of the opportunity. The offer to convert is subject to the lessee satisfying requirements, such as meeting native title requirements.

I will now move to the Survey and Mapping Infrastructure Act 2003. Surveying technology is rapidly changing, and revision of the survey standards must keep pace. Survey standards apply to cadastral surveyors to regulate the quality and consistency of surveying information that is submitted to Titles Queensland in the form of land parcel descriptions. The Survey and Mapping Infrastructure Act 2003 authorises the chief executive to make written standards and guidelines for surveying. These documents need to be updated frequently to keep up with the rapidly evolving survey practices and technology. Failure to do so may render them obsolete and reinforce issues.

For the survey standards to take effect, the department must undertake a multi-step approval process requiring the minister to give notice of their making as subordinate legislation. The survey standards are highly technical, and ministerial oversight has not triggered additional technical review or consultation since the current framework commenced in 2003. This adds to a lengthy process for amendments, meaning updates do not take effect in a timely manner. The bill will streamline the process for survey standards to take effect so they can be more responsive to advances in technology and user needs.

I turn now to the proposed amendment to the Central Queensland Coal Associates Agreement Act 1968, which is an act that establishes an agreement between the state of Queensland and BHP Mitsubishi Alliance entities for the mining of steel-making coal in Central Queensland. BHP Mitsubishi Alliance currently holds four special coalmining leases under this act, which form part of larger Central Queensland steel-making coal projects.

Under the current provisions, the act does not allow the transfer of interests in these special coalmining leases without making the transferee a party to the Central Queensland Coal Associates Agreement. BHP Mitsubishi Alliance approached the Queensland government with a proposal to amend the Central Queensland Coal Associates Agreement. This was to enable the transfer of a special coalmining lease in circumstances where the proposed transferee does not become a party to the agreement.

As required under the act, the Queensland government and BHP Mitsubishi Alliance have negotiated and agreed to amendments which will allow them to apply to either remove a special coalmining lease from the act and agreement without any transfer of interests in the lease through an exit application, or remove a special coalmining lease from the act and agreement and transfer the interests in the lease through a transfer and exit application. In deciding an exit application, or a transfer and exit application, the minister must consider the legitimate commercial and operational objectives of the companies, the interests of the state as a party to the agreement and the public interest in relation to the regulation of coalmining in Queensland.

If an exit application or a transfer and exit application is approved, the Central Queensland Coal Associates Agreement Act 1968 will no longer apply, and the removed mining lease will be administered under the Mineral Resources Act 1989. The state's energy and mineral resources belong to the people of Queensland, and the government's responsibility is to ensure they benefit from the development of those resources. It is to the benefit of the Queensland public and the government for all operators to have the same flexibility to manage their assets.

Other amendments included in the bill are clarifications and minor improvements to a range of existing provisions. For example, the bill amends the Place Names Act, the Land Act and the Vegetation Management Act to remove the requirement to notify in a regional newspaper. The requirement to notify and for how long remains, but where the notice must be published is changed. This amendment is in response to the closure of many regional newspapers unfortunately. As a result, greater flexibility is required in how public notifications are published.

The amendments require notices to be published through media channels suitable to engage with the affected community. It is the responsibility of the relevant entity to use the most appropriate channel to match the target audience, for the prescribed notification period. If a regional newspaper is still in circulation, this option is still available.

Finally, the committee also recommended that I table a corrected version of the explanatory notes and ensure that the electronic version of the document is the same as the tabled document. Unfortunately, the document containing the explanatory notes tabled with the bill was corrupted, affecting the formatting throughout the document. I have tabled an erratum replacing the explanatory notes tabled on introduction. This same corrected version was published electronically.


I again thank the committee for its consideration of the bill and for its support of the bill. I tabled the government's response to the committee's recommendations on 5 August. Three amendments are proposed to the bill to be moved during consideration in detail. The first addresses administrative changes required to clause 2 to ensure appropriate operation of provisions requiring commencement on a day fixed by proclamation. Clause 2(e) references clause 97. However, clause 97 is proposed to be omitted from the bill as the sectional definition it was implementing will be inserted into clause 107 instead.

Clause 2 will also be amended to address a processing error that resulted in a single number being inadvertently omitted from the end of clause 2(f). This omission, if left uncorrected, will cause a consequential amendment to the Stock Route Management Act 2002 to commence on assent rather than by proclamation, as is necessary.

The second amendment will require an amendment to the long title of the bill to include changes to the Mineral Resources Act 1989 to improve the operation of the existing rent deferral framework for critical mineral mining leases. These amendments will provide increased support to the critical minerals industry by enabling applicants to release more capital and redirect the deferred rent into their project

during its infancy to improve its chance of success. Supporting and incentivising the emerging critical minerals industry is a key part of both the Queensland Resources Industry Development Plan and the Queensland Energy and Jobs Plan.

The third amendment relates to the committee's recommendation for me to revisit the proposal to certify regional ecosystems and their class in a database, and not in the Vegetation Management Regulation. As I have already outlined, I have taken on board this recommendation and propose to amend the bill to require the tabling of the certified database in the Legislative Assembly. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Mr WEIR** (Condamine—LNP) (6.31 pm): I rise to speak to the Land and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022 in my role as shadow minister for natural resources, mines and energy. Before I speak to the bill, I would like to take this opportunity to express my sympathy to the family, friends and work colleagues of the two miners, Dylan Langridge and Trevor Davis, who lost their lives in a workplace accident at Dugald River mine. The minister informed the House yesterday that an investigation is underway by the Mines Inspectorate and we look forward to those findings. Let's hope that this is sooner rather than later.

The Land and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2022 was introduced into the parliament and referred to the committee on 17 March 2022 with a reporting date of 6 May 2022. Here we are, nine months later, ready to debate the bill.

The committee has made three recommendations. Recommendation 1 is that the bill be passed. Recommendation 2 is that the minister revisit the proposed amendment to certify the regulation vegetation status rather than this being included in the Vegetation Management Regulation, and the minister has moved amendments to that, so I will speak to that later in my contribution. The committee also recommended that the minister table a corrected version of the explanatory notes as a matter of priority and ensure the electronic version of the document is the same as the tabled document. This caused great confusion for the submitters.

This is an omnibus bill that amends a number of acts and regulations. Some are innocuous and some are more substantive. The proposed amendment to the Cape York Peninsula Heritage Act 2007, for example, in clause 4, updates the definition of 'landholder for the land' to reflect that the Aboriginal land under the Aboriginal Land Act 1991 is not only held by land trust trustees. The Cape York Land Council advised of their support for this proposed amendment.

The proposed amendments to Central Queensland Coal Associates Agreement Act 1968 under clause 7 insert a new schedule 7 which contains the proposed 2022 agreement between the parties to the Central Queensland Coal Associates Agreement. The agreement provides a process to allow the removal of a special coalmining lease from the agreement, or the removal of an SCML from the agreement and transfer of removed lease. The department advised that—

The agreement act legislates an agreement between the state and various BHP Mitsubishi Alliance entities for the mining of coal in Central Queensland. There are four special coal mining leases under the agreement act that are part of larger Central Queensland metallurgical coal projects.

The proposed amendments will allow the companies to make an exit application to remove a special coalmining lease from the act and the agreement without the transfer of interest in the lease or a transfer and exit application to remove a special coalmining lease from the act and agreement and transfer of the interest in the lease. If the exit application is approved, the act and the agreement will no longer apply, and the removed mining lease will be administered under the Mineral Resources Act 1989. It may be then transferred under the provisions of the Mineral and Energy Resources (Common Provisions) Act 2014.

The committee sought assurances that the proposed amendments do not trigger any new provisions for the leaseholder in terms of the application process. The department explained that there are two new application processes. It is not actually a transfer, but removes a special mining lease from the operation of the act and the agreement. Then it would be basically a normalised mining lease under the Mineral Resources Act. The application process is simply as listed in the current legislation, so they just need to make that application to the minister.

The second one is a transfer and exit application where again the parties would apply to exit from the operation of the act and the agreement, however would potentially be seeking to transfer some of the interests in the mining leases. In response to the committee's questions about whether the proposal will trigger additional environmental, water or other aspects in the transfer process, the department advised that—

It will normalise the mining leases ... The existing requirements under the Water Act, for example, will then apply to the new holder of the mining leases ... The environmental authorities in a transfer follow the mining lease ...

The amendments to the Land Act and the Land Regulation were supported by submitters apart from some concerns regarding clause 22 which inserts proposed new section 165B which enables the chief executive to decide to offer to convert a lease to either freehold land or a perpetual lease. This amendment enables the chief executive to proactively manage the leasehold land estate by providing an alternate pathway for initiating conversion. The department informed the committee that the eligible leases are those for which there is no underlying tenure or interest in the land that is incompatible with freehold tenure, and when there is no public purpose associated with retaining state ownership of these tenures. Freeholding such land aims to provide greater tenure security to support business development and growth which is critical to contribute to Queensland's economic prosperity. The amendment will basically allow the department to proactively offer the opportunity for freehold to that tenure holder. They will not be obligated to accept the offer and if they do not, the tenure continues as it is.

The feedback that the department has received is that with the process of getting the application together with the requisite information and the uncertainty as to exactly where you can and cannot expect to get a positive outcome can be a daunting experience to some applicants. If they then choose to take up the offer to convert their lease to freehold, it will be a much more streamlined and clearer process to them as to what that means and what it looks like. The department went on to say that while the change will streamline the process, it does not remove any of the checks and balances necessary in dealing with relevant state land tenures. Before a conversion offer can be made by the chief executive, an assessment of the suitability to convert the land will be undertaken by the department. This assessment considers relevant state and local government requirements, strategies and policies relating to the land.

There are also a number of safeguards in the Land Act and other pieces of legislation that ensure leases over land that has a public benefit are not converted to freehold. This includes leases over community purpose reserves, national parks in some instances, and state forests. Other requirements such as resolving native title under the Native Title Act 1993, a Commonwealth act, will also need to be addressed before leasehold land can be converted to freehold.

AgForce advised the committee that while it is supportive of the introduction of an alternative, it considered that term lease tenures require further attention. AgForce believes that the state government should consider the implementation of a further tenure conversion program aimed at improving tenure security for term leases. As a preference, this could see the conversion of all leases to freehold or, at the very least, the conversion of term leases to perpetual.

AgForce provided an example of the types of issues that might be encountered during the process. As the value of land goes up, freeholding land is a very interesting conversation to have with leasehold people because, to use an example, at the moment in Boulia the land revaluation is proposed to be over 300 per cent two months from now. When you start a freeholding process, that is the moment at which they determine the cost of that transfer.

This bill introduces the long-awaited amendments to the Stock Route Management Act 2002. The explanatory notes state that the bill achieves its policy objectives by amending the Stock Route Management Act so that local government can retain permit fees and other charges collected. This is to improve cost recovery for the local government arising from managing the stock route network. Local government can charge an application fee—the amount to be prescribed when the Stock Route Management Regulation is remade—to cover some of the administrative costs arising from managing access to the network while giving local government the flexibility to waive these fees in cases of hardship such as during drought, for example.

The Minister for Resources no longer needs to consider a local government's draft stock route network management plan. Local government no longer needs to establish working groups to advise on preparing draft plans. The processes for updating and publishing the stock route network map utilise contemporary technologies and reflect local circumstances and community input. Local government stock route network management plans are extended to harmonise their review time lines with the state's Stock Route Network Management Strategy so that actions in the strategy can be incorporated into local government plans. Local government is required to consult with state agencies where stock routes are co-located or next to state controlled roads, waterways and protected areas to minimise risks to road safety, transport infrastructure, park management activities and biodiversity.

The bill introduces important changes to the act that are the result of extensive stakeholder consultation over many, many years. An important component of the bill is that all revenue from the use of stock routes will stay with the local governments that manage and maintain the network. Currently local governments are required to remit 50 per cent of the fee revenue they receive to the state government.

The bill introduces a new fee to cover some of the costs incurred by local government in assessing applications related to travel and agistment permits. The uniform statewide fee will be established in the Stock Route Management Regulation. This will ensure the fee regime is fair and consistent across the state. The bill provides local governments with the ability to waive that application fee if they believe circumstances, such as financial hardship for the applicant, warrant such a waiver. Enabling local governments to keep 100 per cent of the revenue and collect application fees will support better cost recovery for local governments, which will continue to use this revenue for the management of the network in their area.

Clause 55 provides that the chief executive has the power to decide stock routes for the state by certifying a digital electronic map showing them. The clause also provides that the certified map must be published on the department's website. Both AgForce and the LGAQ supported the process of updating and publishing the stock route network map online. However, the LGAQ advised that, given all roads can be used as stock routes in addition to stock routes that are not roads, concern was expressed by local governments that the community found it confusing that not all stock routes were clearly identified on the map. The LGAQ recommended that the department develop consistent communication and education tools for all stakeholders to ease the burden on individual local government officers who are required to respond to concerns regarding grazing on stock routes not identified on the maps.

The department advised that it would work with the LGAQ and other members of the Stock Route Strategy Stakeholder Working Group in relation to the development of appropriate communication and education material. The LGAQ advised that local governments, as managers of the network, have the knowledge and expertise to identify where changes to the mapped stock route network are appropriate. They went on to recommend the establishment of a map amendment process outside of the legislative framework to support input by local government regarding changes to mapping and network categorisation and additional consultation with local governments about the extent and classification of the stock route network including the determination of appropriate service levels for each category of the stock route. In response, the department advised that it will continue to engage with the local governments most impacted by any proposed changes before any updated stock route network map is finalised. The Department of Resources acknowledged that local governments, as managers of the network, have knowledge and expertise to advise where changes to stock routes may be appropriate.

Clauses 63 and 67 relate to the proposed fee regime for stock route management. The LGAQ advised the committee that the stock route network is approximately 150 years old and comprises approximately 70,000 kilometres of roads, reserves and corridors on pastoral leases, state land and dedicated reserves which are used to move stock on foot as well as provide emergency agistment. The network provides feed for the agri-industry as well as some major infrastructure and transport of water, power and communication. It also has some significant native flora and fauna, remnant vegetation and cultural heritage.

The consultation report identified most of the formal submissions supported stock route fees being based on a user-pays principle, the adoption of the proposed fee framework comprising fee unit structure for indexation, increases in travel and agistment permit fees, fees for small stock being set at one-seventh that of fees for large stock and the standard application fee. Submitters generally acknowledged that fee increases are long overdue and necessary to make up for the significant shortfalls in cost recovery. Overall, they considered the proposed fee levels to be reasonable and more representative of the value of the benefits to stock route users and the agistment fees are more aligned with commercial rates. There was general support for a user-pays approach. However, the concern was that fees should not increase to levels which make driving unviable.

Clause 63 amends section 116 and implements the proposed application for permit arrangements, including allowing for a local government to waive payment in case of financial hardship. Clause 67 replaces section 187A to achieve the policy objective of greater cost recovery by local governments by allowing local governments to keep all revenue received from application fees, permit fees, water facility agreements and fines for reinvestment in the stock route network. Proposed new section 187B provides that a local government receiving revenue from stock route application fees, permit fees, water facility arrangements and fines must use the amount for the administration, maintenance or improvement of the stock route network in its local government area.

In relation to application fees, the LGAQ explained—

Clause 65 of the bill essentially creates this process where there is the ability for local governments to have an application fee.

The LGAQ also highlighted that, while not specifically addressed in the bill, the fees for travelling permits have not changed since 1989 due to the existing permit fee being so low that it does not trigger the annual indexation rules. Fees for grazing are subject to regular indexation but are significantly below commercial agistment fees and are not representative of the true cost incurred by local government. The costs incurred by local governments in managing the stock route network have been estimated at approximately \$4.8 million per annum. Local governments can recoup some of the management and maintenance costs by charging fees for travelling stock and agistment, but the overall revenue captured in 2017-18 was just \$324,000. This means local government recovered between four per cent and five per cent of the cost of managing the network depending on seasonal demand.

It is the ratepayers who carry the majority of the burden just because the current fee structure has not changed in some 20 years or so. When we think about ratepayers, it is important we think about some of Queensland's smallest and remote councils. Many of them do not have enough own-source revenue as it is to adequately sustain their existing and planned operating budgets. However, there are those local governments that have not seen travelling stock for years coupled with limited demand for agistment permits, resulting in an inability to recoup the costs of managing the network regardless of how much the permit fees increase. The LGAQ confirmed that, while the proposed amendments allow for local governments to retain 100 per cent of the application fees, there would still be out-of-pocket costs for councils and, hence, the need for us to talk about long-term, ongoing opportunities to make sure the network is well funded and maintained.

In response, the department indicated that this issue would be considered during the remake of the Stock Route Management Regulation. Acknowledging that the proposed amendments will not provide 100 per cent cost recovery, it increases the level to around 40 per cent—again, on average. Some councils will have a better level of cost recovery and others less, depending on their local circumstances.

In relation to state government funding, the current allocation is around \$940,000 per year for councils through an annual application, or a submission to seek funding from the state for capital works and for the maintenance of infrastructure on the stock route network. Predominantly that relates to water infrastructure—everything from dams, bores, windmills and troughs to pads associated with those watering points—to make sure that essential infrastructure is provided. The LGAQ advised the committee that it would welcome the opportunity to work with the state government to identify other mechanisms for local government cost recovery following the completion of the regulation review.

The bill provides for a number of provisions, particularly those relating to fees, to be included in the Stock Route Management Regulation, which is to be remade. The department stated that the existing stock route regulation is quite old. The new regulation will be made subject to the passage of this amendment. The new regulation can then be put in place with the new fee structure that was outlined in the consultation report that the department released earlier this month.

Whilst there was widespread support for the stock route amendments, the same could not be said for the amendments to the Vegetation Management Act 1999. The department stated that the proposed amendments to the Vegetation Management Act will enable regional ecosystems and their conservation status, regulated regional ecosystems and unregulated grasslands to be identified through a certified database rather than in the schedules to the Vegetation Management Regulation.

The Queensland Herbarium, in the Department of Environment and Science, is responsible for identifying, describing and mapping regional ecosystems. Periodically, the Herbarium makes changes to regional ecosystems to reflect improved scientific knowledge. This currently requires subsequent amendments to be made to the Vegetation Management Regulation to keep it up to date. Clause 94 proposes to amend section 8 to provide for regional ecosystems to be identified through a certified version of the Vegetation Management Regional Ecosystem Description Database rather than through the Vegetation Management Regulation 2012. Section 8 currently defines vegetation to be—

... a native tree or plant other than the following—

- (a) grass or non-woody herbage;
- (b) a plant within a grassland regional ecosystem prescribed under a regulation;
- (c) a mangrove.

Clause 94 proposes to amend section 8(b) as 'identified in the VM REDD as having a grassland structure'. The VM REDD is defined under amendments to the schedule in clause 107 to mean 'the version of the Regional Ecosystem Description Database certified by the chief executive under section 22L'.



Clause 97 amends existing section 20AK to insert a new section, 20AK(3), to clarify that a 'regional ecosystem number, for a regional ecosystem, means the regional ecosystem number established under the VM REDD'. Clause 97 provides that the regional ecosystem number that applies to a regional ecosystem is that shown in the certified VM REDD and not the Queensland Herbarium's Regional Ecosystem Description Database.

Clause 98 amends existing section 20D(3)(b). The proposed amendments will provide that a change to a regional ecosystem—for example, a change to the conservation status, number or description—is done by certifying a new version of the VM REDD.

Clause 99 inserts a new section to clarify that each mapping category can be shown on the regulated vegetation management map or on a property map of assessable vegetation. The explanatory notes state—

Previously the definition of mapping categories didn't include PMAVs and only referred to the regulated vegetation management map.

The explanatory notes also state—

The clarification does not alter any existing PMAVs or the process for assessing PMAV applications.

Clause 100 amends existing section 20HB to clarify the circumstances in which the chief executive must amend the regulated vegetation management map. The explanatory notes state—

The amendment corrects an error of terminology, in that there is no provision under the Act for amending a property map of assessable vegetation (PMAV).

Clause 101 inserts a new section which provides for regional ecosystems to be identified through the VM REDD. The explanatory notes state—

This approach will produce significant savings for the Department of Resources and the Department of Environment and Science by not having to process regulation amendments to update schedule 1-5 ...

The department advised—

We currently have a disconnect in that there is the regional ecosystem database that is online, published by the Herbarium, and then there is the regulation under the Vegetation Management Act. The issue that we encounter currently is that the two can get out of sync. When the regional ecosystem database is updated by the Queensland Herbarium, we then need to amend the regulation. Having two points of reference for the same information is a recipe for confusion.

The joint submission from the Environmental Defenders Office and the Wilderness Society highlighted their concerns regarding the proposal to certify the REDD as providing the regional ecosystem conservation status rather than having the status currently listed in the Vegetation Management Regulation. The submission states—

Under the current process, changes to the regulations are tabled in Parliament which would allow for the provision of a disallowance motion in the event that grasslands were inappropriately changed from regulated to exempt. However, under the new proposed process, such a change would not pass through Parliament and would, therefore, not be subject to the rigorous checks and balances currently in place.

AgForce agreed, advising that it did not support the proposed changes and recommended that the government retain the declaration process in the Vegetation Management Regulation. AgForce further advised—

Any changes to regulated vegetation status needs to be advised in advance and not subject to an unknown publication ...

With regard to the mapping process, AgForce advised that it—

... has been extremely supportive of the Queensland government's efforts, particularly through the Herbarium, in understanding and mapping the vegetation across the state and the regional ecosystems across the state and having those accurately identified because there is a whole legacy and history of that mapping being either semi correct, incorrect or so forth.

Clause 96 amends section 19Q to clarify that a development that is clearing vegetation under an accepted development vegetation clearing code is only categorised as accepted development under the Planning Act if it complies with all of the requirements.

AgForce sought clarification regarding how code-compliant clearing will impact on other relevant purposes listed in section 22A of the Vegetation Management Act, such as coordinated projects under the State Development and Public Works Organisation Act. AgForce noted that coordinated projects are outside the scope of the clearing codes and the referral stages of the Sustainable Planning Act 2009. The department stated—

Clearing for a coordinated project is a relevant purpose under VMA s22A. Where the clearing does not comply with an ADVCC and is not exempt clearing work, it is assessable development under the Planning Regulation 2017 and a development approval is required.

AgForce also expressed some concerns as to the intent of PMAVs. It states—

We have some considerable concerns about discussions of which we have been aware of some moves to change the PMAV instrument within the act, to perhaps introduce more controls within that PMAV instrument ...

The committee report states—

Stakeholders who commented on the proposed changes to the VMA, including AgForce, the EDO and the Wilderness Society, were in agreement that any change in a regional ecosystem status should remain within the Vegetation Management Regulation.

The committee noted the department assurance that landowners could be notified, but since then the minister has announced that he is going to address that recommendation in the committee report, and that will alleviate those concerns that were raised.

The fundamental legislative principles analysis highlighted the unprofessional standard of the explanatory notes which, as I stated earlier, created a lot of confusion. The report states—

Explanatory notes were tabled with the introduction of the Bill. Under the heading *Consistency with fundamental legislative principles* this statement appears:

The Bill has been drafted with regard to fundamental legislative principles (FLPs) as defined in section 4 of the Legislative Standards Act 1992 and is generally consistent with these provisions.

Such an imprecise statement as 'generally inconsistent' implies that the Bill is not wholly consistent with the FLPs.

...

In this instance, after stating the Bill is 'generally consistent' with fundamental legislative principles, the explanatory notes continue:

Although consistent, some amendments may be regarded as impinging on FLPs. The following will address this perceived impingement.

The explanatory notes continue—

However, using language such as 'may be regarded as impinging' and 'this perceived impingement' is an inappropriate, almost begrudging, way to describe and acknowledge areas of inconsistency with FLPs.

The analysis in the explanatory notes in the section regarding issues of FLP is poor. Various, the explanatory notes at times fail to:

- . identify the specific FLP that is said to arise
- . articulate how there is an inconsistency with FLP or how an issue arises
- . clearly set out any justification for any inconsistency or breach.

The analysis goes on to state—

The explanatory notes also contain numerous errors. The notes on provisions, the relevant clause numbers do not correctly align with the clause being explained. Obviously, the committee would not be able to identify where information may have been omitted.

Not only the committee but the stakeholders and submitters to this bill. There were 36 clauses that were incorrectly numbered in the explanatory notes. The lack of professionalism in compiling these explanatory notes, which the minister tabled in the House, is simply staggering and raises questions as to the functionality of the minister's office. Despite this, we will not be opposing the bill. As I stated earlier, this is a long-awaited reform of the stock route legislation—the third attempt, as I understand it—so we will be supporting the bill.

Debate, on motion of Mr Weir, adjourned.

## ADJOURNMENT

### Nanango Electorate, Electricity Transmission Infrastructure




**Mrs FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (7.01 pm): During December and January when people across our state were focused on Christmas and new year, having a break from work and winding down, spare a thought for the residents of the Nanango electorate who had just found out about the state government's proposal to bring enormous electricity transmission lines right through their properties. There was no relaxing for them, just anxious thoughts and nights wondering if their rural homes, their properties and their businesses would end up in the path of the massive new 500-kilowatt transmission lines needed for the state government's newly announced Borumba Dam pumped hydro project. There are six four-kilometre-wide corridors that have been suggested for this project to connect Borumba Dam to the Woollooga Substation in the north and the Tarong and Halys substations in the south.

These corridor proposals affect my community in large parts of the north, east and central part of the Nanango electorate. I am fairly sure the state government and the Minister for Energy really do not understand how many people live in these areas and how this project will greatly affect their lives, so I back their calls for state owned land to be the first choice for the corridors and that all available technology and infrastructure is used to minimise the impact on private landholders, the environment and our traditional owners. It really is a case of 'out of sight, out of mind'. In response, my communities have rallied. In the north they have formed the Kilkivan Action Group, which is working alongside the communities from Widgee in the member for Gympie's area. There was a serious lack of communication with the residents of Kilkivan, with Powerlink, the government entity tasked with the transmission power project, acknowledging its poor handling of communication and that it needed to make improvements. This obviously was too late for the Kilkivan community, which felt ignored and overlooked even though the project is in their backyard.

In the south an action group has been formed by the residents of the Blackbutt, Benarkin and Taromeo areas. I have met with both groups to hear their concerns and support their calls for transmission infrastructure, if it is to be built, to be put on existing state owned land corridors including state forest. Both groups have had parliamentary petitions. The first just closed and has secured nearly 2½ thousand signatures and I am pleased to be sponsoring the Blackbutt group petition, which is now up on the parliament's website. I urge the community and other members to support this by signing the petition. The petitioners want the government to know that the potential new corridors will cut a swathe through private land, consuming vast tracts of ecological habitats and destroying those regional communities. While the community accepts the importance of these types of projects, it believes it is unfair to impose associated transmission infrastructure that will adversely impact their land.

### Redcliffe By-Election, Anniversary

 **Hon. YM D'ATH** (Redcliffe—ALP) (Minister for Health and Ambulance Services) (7.04 pm): This evening it is a pleasure to rise in this adjournment debate. It is a special anniversary for me: nine years ago Redcliffe voted for change. It was the Redcliffe by-election on 22 February 2014. I once again thank everyone who came out—people from right across Queensland who came to Redcliffe—to help, and I acknowledge members in this chamber for that. However, I particularly want to acknowledge the public servants who came out that day: the doctor who turned up in his scrubs with his stethoscope and stood next to us in front of the cameras and said to the Premier and me, 'We stand with you,' because of the attacks that they went through under the Newman government and the furies who were called 'fakes' on pre-poll and election day.

**Mr Powell** interjected.

**Mrs D'ATH:** I hear the member for Glass House laughing at that. They were real firemen who do a tremendous job and they were called 'fakes'. In fact, the then premier Campbell Newman walked up to them and asked what number they were and what station they worked at so he could follow up, and I know some of them did get those calls afterwards. It was atrocious. Staff were petrified. Public servants were petrified. NGOs were terrified to associate with anyone from Labor because they feared their funding. They were actually threatened that funding would be stripped away from them. Then there was the atrocious behaviour of the former member Scott Driscoll, who ended up sentenced to imprisonment.

People still remember, but what they remember most is how they were treated by the Newman government. Only last week I had someone say to me, 'I was Newman-ed.' They still remember. Health workers still remember. I thank the people of Redcliffe for supporting me over those nine years and prior to that for the six years as the federal member. I know that the opposition recently came to Redcliffe for two days and the Leader of the Opposition said that he was there to listen to the people of Redcliffe. They might have been listening to the people of Redcliffe for two days; I have been listening to them for 15 years. I know my community and I am thrilled that we delivered the rail line—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Ms Lui): Order, members! Order!

**Mrs D'ATH:**—worth over \$1 billion and I know—

**Mr Bailey** interjected.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Miller, order!

**Mrs D'ATH:**—that the Abbott government dropped that—


**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mrs D'ATH:**—rail line when it was elected. There was the millions of dollars put into—

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order! Member for Miller, you are now warned under the standing orders.

**Mrs D'ATH:**—Redcliffe Hospital with the MRI and the CT and millions of dollars into our schools. They are all air conditioned. They all have solar thanks to the Palaszczuk government. There has been investment in our special schools and investment in our roads. We are building a safe pedestrian crossing now for Clontarf Beach State High School and there is so much more to come, including a billion dollars to duplicate the Redcliffe Hospital.

### **Bundaberg Floods, Anniversary**

 **Mr BENNETT** (Burnett—LNP) (7.07 pm): Last month was the 10th anniversary of the Bundaberg floods. In January 2013 a record 9.5-metre flood ripped through the town, leaving a trail of destruction and despair. Quick-rising waters tore homes apart, cut off evacuation routes and stranded people and pets on their roofs. We were left with horrific memories but memories of mateship and resilience. I remember the immense courage and generosity when the Bundaberg community banded together to rebuild. People came from everywhere to clear the mud, wash the clothes, make the sandwiches and generally support the community. The power of the water was immense but the power of the people was even stronger.


Last month I hosted a morning tea to thank those involved in the recovery and it was a chance to reflect on and thank those incredible people who helped to put the pieces back together. From police, fires, ambulance crews to the Red Cross, Salvos and our SES, our local groups and organisations went above and beyond to help. There are so many people who put the needs of others above their own—a true display of solidarity and friendship. Our local councils, local media and emergency services had some harrowing days, but together we pushed through and recovered. I again want to give a big thankyou to all who were involved in the rescue and recovery efforts. Your help, your assistance and your actions will never be forgotten.

This flood and weather system damaged 3,000 properties, 600 businesses and 7,000 people were evacuated—the biggest evacuation in Australia's history after Darwin. The LNP made it our priority to not only ensure people received assistance as effectively and as quickly as possible but immediately started to build resilience directly after the flood. The then LNP government invested \$2.4 million for two new flood levees, \$1.5 million for major stabilisation works, \$2.2 million for sporting and recreation clubs and more than \$63 million in financial assistance for primary producers and small businesses, all in a couple of months.

Just to name a few things the LNP did back in those days: \$486 million for recovery works went out to tender; \$900 million in transport recovery works in partnership with the federal government; \$4.2 billion in the 2013-14 budget to rebuild Queensland and \$9.3 billion for reconstruction over three years; \$2.4 million for two new flood levees; \$300,000 to the council for flood warning systems and another \$150,000 to install river stations.

The reason for tonight is to call for action. Ten years after the floods we still do not have a mitigation strategy. It is complex, I acknowledge that. It needs a lot more work. Ten years after we were promised boots on the ground we still have not seen mitigation projects. We still cannot agree on what our community needs, wants or deserves. I think it is time that we put a decade of broken promises to bed, we get on with the job and make sure that Bundaberg gets the few mitigation projects it was promised. The work and engineering has been done. The commitment is there. It is up to all levels of government to step up and make sure that the Bundaberg and broader community get those projects. I draw an analogy with last year's Brisbane floods. We are already buying back homes. We are spending a lot of money in Brisbane on flood resilience works. I think the bush deserves better. Whether it is Bundaberg, Maryborough or Gympie, we deserve our fair share to make sure our communities are the best places to live and raise our families and that includes future flood mitigation works. Let us get on with the job.

### **Kurwongbah Electorate, Sporting Clubs**

 **Mr KING** (Kurwongbah—ALP) (7.10 pm): I rise tonight to remind everyone how awesome community sport is and give a shout-out to the local clubs across my electorate of Kurwongbah. We all know being active every day has social, emotional, intellectual and health benefits. Participating in community sport is a great way to keep us moving—especially our kids. Whether you are a fan of Rugby League, netball, AFL, soccer, cricket, baseball, waterskiing, rowing, swimming or motorsports we have

got you covered. We have the Pine Rivers Bears, Moreton Bay's only BRL team; the Narangba Rangers; and the Burpengary Jets. Everyone knows I am a big fan of Rugby League so it is great to get along to games at these three great clubs. It is no surprise that I am also now a foundation member of the mighty Dolphins NRL team which is just down the road.

I also do not mind AFL now and I dropped in recently at the sign-on days for both the Narangba Crows and the Moreton Bay Lions. It was great to see so many local kids putting their hands up to play for these terrific local clubs and the Narangba Crows marquee I donated being put to good use to give the kids some shade.

We are lucky to have five fantastic netball teams in Kurwongbah. Does anyone else have five netball teams? Haha! In the north we have the Narangba Valley Novas, the Narangba Dynamos, the Genies based at St Eugene College and the Burpengary Jets. In the south we have the Pinecones based at Genesis Christian College. I look forward to helping out these clubs as much as possible throughout the coming netball season.

Then we have the Burpengary Brumbies Cricket Association, the Narangba Demons baseball club and two great soccer clubs, the Caboolture Sports Football Club and the Narangba Eagles. Thanks to the new Albanese federal government, in partnership with the Moreton Bay Regional Council, the Eagles' home ground will soon be getting an upgrade of their facilities worth a couple of million dollars. Hopefully this is good news for the Demons baseball as well as they share the same clubhouse at the Harris Avenue Sports Complex which has also recently got a tennis centre in collaboration between our government and the council.

On Sunday I was out at the Lake Kurwongbah Water Ski Zone come and try day. It is always a great day. Locals want to join up to the club and they let people ski to get a bit of a feel for what it is like. I look forward to getting back out there again to check out the new wash-down area that Seqwater has committed to delivering. Lake Kurwongbah is also home to the Pine Rivers Rowing Club. Both of those clubs, the Lake Kurwongbah skiers and the Pine Rivers Rowing Club, have been on the lake for 60 years. I thank the Minister for Sport for coming out with me recently to meet with members and hear about the rowing club's exciting plans for the future. I will round out water sports with a shout-out to the Burpengary Regional Aquatic Leisure Centre, home to some of our brilliant Paralympic athletes. I will finish up with a plug for one of my other favourite places, Lakeside Park raceway. I get out there as often as I can. Some of my colleagues have been out there recently. I know the member for Chatsworth loves the place as well. If you are into motorsport Lakeside is the place to be.

### Broughton, Mr P



**Mr MOLHOEK** (Southport—LNP) (7.13 pm): I rise this evening to pay tribute to the life of Paul Broughton OAM, an extraordinary elder statesman of the game of Rugby League who unfortunately passed last December. I stand here today to honour Paul's accomplishments and his life. When thinking of Paul my memories of him are filled to the brim with fond recollections of his time with us. He was a beacon of hope and a pioneer of Gold Coast Rugby League. Paul had an unwavering vision for Rugby League on the Gold Coast and worked tirelessly to bring that vision to life. He was a man of dignity and a man of decency. He worked hard to build the great game of Rugby League and build its roots on the Gold Coast.

Paul did not just have a massive impact on the game, he also saw the best in others and inspired us all to achieve our best. In my time of knowing Paul I was moved by the way he devoted his time and energy to mentoring young people, instilling in them a sense of purpose and passion for Rugby League. He worked with the young people to create change and influence them for good through our state's proudest sport, Rugby League. Paul is also one of the founding fathers of the Gold Coast Titans and its inaugural chair. The Gold Coast Titans hold a special place in my heart as one of its fellow founding members. The Titans will continue to bestow the highest honour with the Paul Broughton Medal Award annually to the player who does the most to lift those around him, who makes the sacrifice and models the selflessness required to put their teammates in a better position than themselves. The award encapsulates the essence of Paul Broughton and he will live on with us.

Paul has lived a rich life filled with legacy—the legacy of hope. Without him a piece of the Gold Coast is missing. He will forever be missed by so many. His selflessness was second to none and I am proud to have had the opportunity to have called him my dear friend. In fact, I often thought of him as something of a father figure. Paul, thank you for your selflessness throughout your life and for having had a significant impact not only on me and the greater community but also on Rugby League and inspiring a generation of young people. Though Paul may be gone, his legacy and impact will continue to inspire and uplift our community for years to come. At the funeral it was incredible to see the number

of players who came. Every single one of the recipients of the Paul Broughton medal bar one were there to honour Paul and to escort his casket from the church, which I think says an awful lot about the respect and the legacy that Paul has left. Vale, Paul. We will miss you.

### Mansfield Electorate

 **Ms McMILLAN** (Mansfield—ALP) (7.16 pm): The Mansfield electorate has kicked off 2023 with many activities and events to celebrate and embrace our diverse community. It was a pleasure to welcome the Lunar New Year of the Rabbit with the Taiwanese community and my colleagues, Peter Russo MP, member for Toohey, the member for Stretton and the member for Algeester at a wonderful gala dinner. On 26 January it was an honour to welcome our new Australian citizens at a ceremony hosted by the Lions Club of Brisbane MacGregor, which was coordinated by Wishart resident Surendra Prasad. On this day I also attended the inauguration festival of the new Brisbane Bhakti Yoga Centre in Burbank, the Greenleaves Retirement Village BBQ in Upper Mt Gravatt and finished off the day with a community street party on Mount Gravatt Hill coordinated by Upper Mount Gravatt resident Greg Goebel.


I have held mobile offices across the electorate to discuss many issues with residents at Mount Gravatt Plaza, the Village Upper Mount Gravatt, Rochedale Village and Coffee with a Cop at Flying Pepper Cafe. I would like to thank Senior Sergeant Dave Stafford and the Upper Mount Gravatt Police Station for meeting Rochedale residents. Special congratulations to Flying Pepper owner Lucy for winning my February business-of-the-month award.

It has been the first time since 2020 that our schools have had a smooth start to the school term due to the COVID-19 pandemic. I would like to sincerely thank our principals, teachers, teacher aides, administration, cleaning and maintenance staff, parents and carers for supporting our students in what has been a challenging few years. The smoother new year has enabled our schools to reintroduce leadership and induction ceremonies for our students and for their parents and carers to share in this celebration.

It has been a pleasure to present badges and certificates to our emerging leaders at Mount Gravatt East State School led by principal Rachel Korst, Mackenzie State School led by Gina Bryant, Wishart State School led by Ray Bloxham and St Bernard's Catholic Primary School led by new principal Dan Hodge. Clairvaux MacKillop College hosted a brilliant STEM program event about space exploration for the next generation of space leaders. In an Australian first, Clairvaux's brightest students are working with Griffith University and industry partners to build and launch a satellite this year.

I would also like to congratulate Mansfield State High School under the exceptional stewardship of my good friend principal Karen Tanks which saw three 2022 graduates receive Distinguished Academic Achievers Awards. Congratulations to students Aakash Bhattacharya, Julia de Beer and Varsha Gopal on their dedication and hard work to achieve this esteemed recognition. Well done to our students.

### Telestroke Service

 **Mr KNUTH** (Hill—KAP) (7.19 pm): There is no denying that access to basic health services in regional, rural and remote Queensland is rapidly declining. GP medical practices are closing in regional centres, which is coupled with the closure of maternity services plus the postponement of vital surgeries. Those living in small communities have no option but to travel for hours just to get a prescription filled. However, I point out that there could be some good news for Queenslanders. There is one health initiative that the government can immediately action by introducing a dedicated statewide telestroke service. Telestroke is ready to go so I urge the minister to act quickly as this service will save lives. Every state in the country has a telestroke service except Queensland. There is no argument, spin or reason why it should not be adopted by the state government.

In November last year I put a question to the health minister about adopting a telestroke service. I received, in part, the following response—

Queensland Health is leading a statewide reform agenda to transform the future of our health system, which includes the consideration of a state-wide telestroke service.


This work is still in the consultation and development phase and therefore we are unable to advise a current timeline nor outcomes from this important phase.

While I appreciate the minister at least giving some hope to Queenslanders, this statement provides no clear answer on implementing a telestroke service.

The statistics speak for themselves. Stroke is one of Australia's biggest killers. It kills more women than breast cancer and more men than prostate cancer. More than 80 per cent of strokes can be prevented. Regional Australians are 17 per cent more likely to suffer a stroke than those living in metropolitan areas. Every 90 minutes someone in Australia will suffer a stroke and by 2050, without action, that number will increase to a stroke every 10 minutes.

An estimated 24,700 Australians suffered a stroke for the first time in their lives in 2020. Many of those were experienced by people living in rural and regional Australia. In our state, over 5,000 people will suffer a stroke for the first time this year, with 25 per cent of Queenslanders experiencing a stroke in their lifetime, providing ample reasons why this service needs to be adopted immediately. I call on the Minister for Health to make a quick decision to implement a statewide telestroke service.

### Logan Electorate, Road Upgrades

 **Mr POWER** (Logan—ALP) (7.22 pm): I am really pleased that the Minister for Main Roads is in the chamber tonight because recently we were on the Mount Lindesay Highway to see the new works being progressed between Chambers Flat Road and Park Ridge/Munruben where the two-lane road is being upgraded to four lanes. Shortly after we were there they opened up the road and we now have a smooth flow of cars on it. An important part of the project was the building of raised double bridges across Norris Creek. I think we should call it the 'Bailey Bridge' because Mark Bailey, the Minister for Main Roads, really pushed for the investment on the Mount Lindesay Highway.


**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr POWER:** There are a lot of accolades for the minister in the chamber, which is great to hear. The minister is too nice to say that the LNP cut \$160 million of the funding that was promised in the 2012 budget. He is too nice to say it, but I am not too nice to say that under the LNP outer suburban areas got cuts, especially to road investment. There were \$160 million worth of cuts. There was no construction whatsoever on the Mount Lindesay Highway between Browns Plain and Jimboomba. The minister has transformed that. He listens to the advocacy of the member for Jordan and me, which is why we have four laning from Rosia Road to Stoney Camp Road and four laning from Stoney Camp Road to Chambers Flat Road. The highway at Jimboomba will be upgraded to four lanes. The service road is ready for four laning between Chambers Flat Road and Greenbank Road. I have to say to the minister that, while I have really built him up, I will be advocating for even more for the Mount Lindesay Highway and I know I have a supporter.

The most important thing that the minister did was put the Mount Lindesay Highway on the national agenda. Because the Mount Lindesay Highway is now part of the national freight network, funding is accessible. That is a real achievement that will have a lasting impact on the Mount Lindesay Highway. It is why we will continue to see investment being made.

The project is state of the art. Importantly, it ensures better fauna connectivity across the Mount Lindesay Highway. Under the Norris Creek Bridge—the 'Bailey Bridge'—there are better connections for animals to travel. There is a separate corridor for animals to travel as well as overhead ladders for animals. Very high trees have been left in place, which is a really important for gliders. The project has been based on research. It is a fantastic project thanks to continuing investment from the Palaszczuk government, which invests in the outer suburbs. That contrasts with the LNP government that cut \$160 million worth of funding and has no legacy between Browns Plains and Jimboomba.

### Currumbin Electorate, Floods

 **Mrs GERBER** (Currumbin—LNP) (7.25 pm): This time last year my community experienced devastating flooding. The homes of residents of Elanora and Tallebudgera flooded in a way that they had never seen before—not during Cyclone Debbie and, for some, not in the 40 years they have lived there. One year on and our community is still waiting for this state government to provide them with the answers that they have asked for.

I am so glad that the Minister for Main Roads and Transport is in the chamber tonight because, just last week, 200 members of my community came together in the hope that this state government would come down, listen to them and provide them with the answers that they deserve. They wanted to be provided with the promised hydraulic report that looked into whether or not the M1 construction works contributed to the flooding of their homes. Did the minister turn up? Did this state government turn up to give my community the answers they deserve? No! They were a complete no-show.

Therefore, I will read into the record what was said by some of the people at that forum so that this minister can hear it. Kathleen from Tallebudgera said—

We would like to be heard by our government. Our home is still ruined, and we have a 97-year-old mother living at our home with no walls, no flooring ... and we are still fighting with our insurance.

Mandy from Tallebudgera said, 'We need answers, this was not normal.' Camilla from Tallebudgera said, 'Keep pushing the state government for accountability and response.' Graham from Elanora said—

I want confirmation from the Government that the drainage has been improved around the M1 roadworks. We are only back in our house now after 12 months and I don't want to worry every time it rains.

Terrence and Moira from Elanora said—

We want a reply to any questions regarding the cause of the flooding and to inform residents. I have lived in my house for 24 years and never been flooded until the roadworks started.

Robin from Elanora said—

I lost my home and am still in temporary accommodation. My home is still under repair and my insurance premium has increased by over 100%—it is unaffordable, and I am fearful it will happen again.

Tony and Michelle from Elanora said—

It appears that neither the Minister nor the Premier could care less about us, we are collateral damage and our lives are not important enough to be bothered with.

That is what my community is saying and this state government refuses to listen and refuses to give them the answers they deserve. I am calling on the minister to meet with my community. I call on him to come down and talk to the residents and give them the answers they deserve. All they want is a time line for the release of the hydraulics reports. They want to be consulted on the terms of reference for the hydraulics report. They want the government to communicate with them around what is happening. They deserve those answers. Those people's homes flooded in a way that has never happened before. All they are asking is for the state government to listen to them, consult with them and keep their word. Release the hydraulic report in full.

### **Bundaberg Electorate, RACQ LifeFlight and Bundaberg Hospital**



**Mr SMITH** (Bundaberg—ALP) (7.28 pm): Just in time so that the paint does not peel off the walls! Earlier this year in Bundaberg it was wonderful to join Canterbury Bulldogs CEO Aaron Warburton and Canterbury Bulldogs director Andrew Gifford as well as community champion Dale Rethamel at the official handover of more than \$8,500 to the RAQC LifeFlight, which represents one dollar for every ticket sold at last year's first-ever NRL premiership match to be held in Bundaberg. It is part of a three-year deal that our government has committed to with the NRL, the Canterbury Bulldogs and the local council.

**Mr Harper:** Who won?

**Mr SMITH:** It does not matter who won. I can tell the member for Thuringowa that Rugby League won on the day.

It was wonderful to be there and to be joined by critical care doctor Richard Parker, who demonstrated the equipment that had already been purchased. That included a new airway kit and training mannequin. The mannequin is fitted with an intubation head for advanced airway management and realistic articulation which is vital for ongoing training and professional development. The airway kit included a video laryngoscope. I did ask the member for Thuringowa about the pronunciation because, in case members have not heard, the member used to be a paramedic! More importantly, this very laryngoscope had been used to save the life of a patient in Biggenden only weeks earlier. It is wonderful to see that the Canterbury Bulldogs' commitment to Bundaberg is an ongoing legacy. They not only provide great entertainment for the people of Bundaberg but in fact contribute towards saving lives in the region. That is an absolutely wonderful legacy of the Canterbury Bulldogs in Bundaberg.

While talking about saving lives, we should talk about the new \$1.2 billion Bundaberg Hospital as the first works are underway. That is right: the Palaszczuk government is delivering the promises it made to the people of Bundaberg at the 2020 election to deliver a brand new, world-class hospital. That is the same brand new, world-class hospital that the LNP never gave any real commitment to. In fact, during the 2020 election campaign, after the Premier announced the location members of the LNP said, 'I think we should wait a little bit longer and see what else might be out there. There might be some smaller blocks possibly owned by some private investors.' The LNP wanted to delay the hospital. One



would have thought that in the fake \$28 billion that was reported at the time they would have had some fake billion dollars for a new hospital! They did not even have the fake money to put up at the 2020 election. Instead, they just proved that they are fakes when it comes to health care in Queensland. They sack nurses and they sack health workers. The Palaszczuk government is building a brand new Bundaberg Hospital for the people of Bundaberg.

The House adjourned at 7.31 pm.

### **ATTENDANCE**

Andrew, Bailey, Bates, Bennett, Berkman, Bleijie, Bolton, Boothman, Boyd, Brown, Bush, Butcher, Camm, Crawford, Crisafulli, D'Ath, Dametto, de Brenni, Dick, Enoch, Farmer, Fentiman, Frecklington, Furner, Gerber, Gilbert, Grace, Harper, Hart, Head, Healy, Hinchliffe, Howard, Hunt, Janetzki, Katter, Kelly, King A, King S, Knuth, Krause, Langbroek, Last, Lauga, Leahy, Linard, Lister, Lui, MacMahon, Madden, Mander, Martin, McCallum, McDonald, McMahon, McMillan, Mellish, Mickelberg, Miles, Millar, Minnikin, Molhoek, Mullen, Nicholls, O'Connor, O'Rourke, Palaszczuk, Pease, Perrett, Pitt, Powell, Power, Pugh, Purdie, Richards, Robinson, Rowan, Russo, Ryan, Saunders, Scanlon, Simpson, Skelton, Smith, Stevens, Stewart, Sullivan, Tantari, Walker, Watts, Weir, Whiting